

Sen. Long girds for SB100, reelection

Senate president prepares for epic social showdown as he seeks reelection

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The question was posed toward the end of the Howey Politics Indiana interview with Senate President

Pro Tempore David Long.

His wife, Melissa, a TV anchorwoman in

Fort Wayne, was just weeks away from her retirement. So the question for the state's top senator was, how much longer for you?

"I'm running for reelection," Long said of 2016. "I'm up this



year. I knew that going into this. I'm not afraid of any outcome, whatever that is. I think you have to have the courage to lead. It's important for the Senate to bring it."

That was in reference to SB100, the interview topic we just talked about. The tenure question was posed, not necessarily in the context of the coming civil rights expansion sequence, as the penultimate issue raised in the interview. But Long answered it in the context of what is now looming as one of the most contentious policy showdowns in recent memory.

"I need to see this issue through and a few other tough ones as well," said Long, who took the Senate

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Losing refugee story grip

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Successful politics is about the marathon, not the sprint, as we all know. It is the long view over a short gain. Wise leadership looks beyond current opinion polls and calculates long-term ramifications.

And there is always assessment of action and unintended consequence.

When it comes to Gov. Mike Pence and the Syrian refugee story, his Statehouse policy team has exposed an already embattled governor to an array of consequences that are now almost impossible to forecast. It is a story that has already escaped control of the governor's media handlers. It is a scenario



"I called for a coalition of allies to put boots on the ground and defeat ISIS. I was the first to call for NATO to invoke Article V after the attacks in Paris. We need a no-fly zone in Syria."

- Ohio Gov. John Kasich, at the Columbia Club Monday



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that is, for the time being, bolstered by public opinion that supports his initial case, but it is a fight that he did not need to pick.

Pence wrote in an op-ed article last Friday, "Last week one of the terrorists who perpetrated the attacks in Paris exploited the European Union's refugee system to gain entrance to France. In the wake of this terrorist attack and the concerns expressed by our federal security agencies, on Monday I directed all state agencies to suspend the resettlement of Syrian refugees in Indiana until the federal government implements proper security measures. Hoosiers should know that the resettlement process for those seeking asylum in Indiana will continue for all non-Syrian refugees. Indiana is not alone in making this decision. A bipartisan majority of governors from around the country have made a similar decision."

The problem is that whether you back the move or not, Pence does not appear to have any statutory authority or legal precedent for the action he announced. Matt Lloyd, Pence deputy chief of staff for communications, responded to a request from HPI on authority and he responded, "FSSA has full authority to control the number of refugees that are allowed into Indiana," he said of the Family Social Services Administration. "The Refugee Resettlement Office of FSSA is the authority." He cited no Indiana statutes or code.

But this has been widely debunked by legal experts and even Abdul-Hakim Shabazz, an attorney and key Pence administration defender.

University of Michigan Law Prof. Richard Primus, writing for Politico, explained, "Politically, it's a winning position with a lot of Americans right now: As presidential candidates whip up anti-immigrant sentiment, it plays on voters' desire to be kept safe from what sounds like a dangerous wave of potential terrorists. But legally speaking? The technical constitutional-law term for these declarations is 'bluster.' Here's the fact about governors' plans to block the entry of refugees

or any other immigrants to their states: They can't do it. The decision to admit a person to the United States belongs to the federal government exclusively. Once a person is legally admitted to the United States, she can live wherever she chooses."

It was followed by an American Civil Liberties Union lawsuit where Ken Falk explained, "There is no border around the state of Indiana that prevents people from entering our state who may move freely within the United States. Decisions concerning immigration and refugee resettlement are exclusively the province of the federal government, and attempts to preempt that authority violate both equal protection and civil rights laws and intrude on authority that is exclusively federal."

The Paris terror attack of Nov. 13 set this sequence in motion. It was followed by a Republican Governors Association conference in Las Vegas six days later. And on Nov. 16, Gov. Pence along with more than 20 other mostly Republican governors announced they were banning Syrian and Iraqi refugees from their states.

So it appears there was some coordination in Las Vegas.

This idea had poll support. In a Pew Research Poll conducted Sept. 22-27, 51% supported Syrian refugee resettlement here, and 45% opposed. But after the Paris attacks, Bloomberg News showed 53% opposing Syrian refugees coming here while 28% favored. Fox News found 86% of Republicans, 67% of independents, and 49% of Democrats opposed. An NBC News/Survey Monkey Poll revealed 56% disapproved. It came as Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump called for a national Muslim registry and closing of mosques, and Ben Carson compared the refugees to "rabid dogs."

Coming to light are other malfunctions within the Pence administration. The Statehouse File reported that it asked FSSA if there were any pending Syrian refugees heading to Indiana and was told by spokeswoman Marni Lemons "there are not currently." The Statehouse File

reported on Nov. 17: A letter was sent to Catholic Charity and Exodus Refugee Immigration from FSSA ordering that pending cases should be "suspended or redirected to another state that is willing to take Syrian placements until assurances that proper security measures are in place have been provided by the federal government." On Nov. 18, when Lemons was asked why she said there were no Syrian refugee cases pending the day before her agency sent the letters stopping the relocations, she denied making the claim. When asked again on Nov. 20, Lemons said she didn't understand the question.

The Bloomington Herald-Times reported there was a Nov. 21 "Facebook" posting in Spencer saying, "Spencer set to be the first Indiana town to take in 200 Syrian refugees." Then this: "Despite Gov. Mike Pence's efforts, the small town of Spencer has become the first town in the state to openly accept a surprising number of Syrian refugees." After a few seconds, a message flashed on the screen indicating the message was a prank.

Then came a backlash of Facebook responses about a message with not a grain of truth to it. "Oh no. My hometown. Say it isn't so," the Herald-Times reported. "Y'all better teach your women to shoot first and ask questions later." And this: "The boys in Owen County will have a great time for awhile and won't have to buy targets to practice their shooting skills." A few supporters of helping refugees weighed in as well. "I hope this is true." "I wish this were true."

The Herald-Times reported: When Spencer Town Council member Dean Bruce saw the post, he sent the author a message via Facebook asking him to please take it down. "As a town board member I think this is very inappropriate and has been done just to invite hatred and divisiveness," he wrote. The author subsequently wrote a long explanatory piece called, "Hate Lives in a Small Town: Spencer, IN," that was published on the Failed Task Podcast website. He details the response to his fake news post, which generated lots of talk and got more than 10,000 views.

And on Monday, the Associated Press reported that Indiana is now poised for a legal showdown over the case, which will almost certainly generate national and international headlines.

AP reported: A nonprofit group that helps resettle Syrian refugees in Indiana says it will defy Pence and continue to bring in refugee families when scheduled. The group says more than a dozen refugees already are destined for Indiana, and another agency said it expects the next family to arrive in December. Carleen Miller, executive director of Exodus Refugee Immigration, said she needed to make a quick decision and didn't want to force the family into "any more scrutiny or drama." The family had fled Syria in 2011. But Miller said the next time

her nonprofit is sent a family of Syrian refugees, they will be resettled in Indiana, despite Pence's order. "Our stance right now is, it's business as usual. We're going to resettle refugees. That's our job," Miller said, adding her organization is aware of 19 more refugees coming, but have not received arrival dates. She said she usually is notified several weeks beforehand. The next scheduled arrival is a family of four, including children ages 2 and 1. They are scheduled to arrive in Indianapolis Dec. 10 and be placed by Catholic Charities Indianapolis.



If the Pence administration does what it legally can do, which is deny benefits to refugees, it risks sanctions from the federal government.

So here's what the Pence administration is now facing: An ACLU lawsuit that is challenging Gov. Pence's legal authority to block refugees, which is sure to draw national media coverage. The defiance of Exodus, which is preparing to resettle more than a dozen Syrians, which will also be nationally conspicuous. The Spencer story that has the potential to generate more headlines of Indiana's intolerance. And we have a governor in a tough reelection fight saying he has "confidence"

that he has the authority to act, while his staff can cite nothing saying he does.

Also in the crosshairs is Gov. Pence's long-time stance as pro-family and faith-based orientation, now working to prevent embattled families from coming here under the guidance of faith-based organizations.

This is shaping up to be a classic case of an array of unintended consequences stemming from a political opportunity and shoddy staff work. An Indiana governor should never be in such a place where his authority is suspect, but that's where he is now.

It used to be that only IUPUI Prof. Sheila Kennedy was openly mocking Pence's intelligence. In this week's HPI interview, Democrat challenger John Gregg explained, "I've got to assume the governor has access . . . I hesitate to use the word . . . intelligence, in reference to the governor. You have to assume he's got intelligence from the federal government which shares intelligence with the governors. I'm hoping that was based on intelligence that we're not privy to. I'm anxious to hear whether that is or is not the case."

One prominent Republican, who commented off the record, noted that the politics of division can result in short-term gain, but few figures who practice in this manner rarely fare well in the long term.

It's too early to tell how this chapter of the Pence administration is going to play out, but there is a plethora of warning signs that the coming headlines and optics are going to be as politically cruel and misguided as the announced policy was on Nov. 16. ❖

David Long, from page 1

helm in 2006 after the Republican primary upset of Sen. Robert Garton. "I can't say, 'I'm not running for office, guys. Take this tough vote when it won't have any consequences for me.' So it's important that I stay there. I don't say that thinking I'm irreplaceable, because, as DeGaulle said, "The cemeteries are full of indispensable people."

So while Long and House Speaker Brian Bosma talk about highway funding and teacher shortages as their top priorities, and with Gov. Mike Pence playing a latent, inconspicuous role in the civil rights expansion, Long and Bosma are clearly girding for a showdown that could define the state, Gov. Pence and their own careers. When State Sen. Travis Holdman and Long introduced SB100, it drew media coverage across the nation. So SB100 will play out in the national spotlight, just as the Religious Freedom Restoration Act did in March and April. Bosma described to HPI earlier this month as potential the "heaviest lift" of his decades-long career.

And there has been talk about potential primary challenges by the religious right, who are ardently opposed to the civil rights expansion. The filing deadline for the May primary will come about the time of bill crossover in February. So it was telling that a simple question about how many years President Long envisions himself leading the upper chamber came in the context of SB100.

Local sources tell HPI that Long is not as vulnerable as Garton was in 2006. Fort Wayne Councilman-elect Jason Arp is a political ally of State Rep. Christopher Judy, who upset State Rep. Kathy Heuer, even though she represented Aboite Township in Long's Senate district. Arp also challenged Allen County Republican Chairman Steve Shine in 2013. If there were to be a primary challenge to Long, Arp would fit the profile.

"I'm telling my guys there is no caucus bind on this," Long said. "We are not twisting arms. We want everyone to ultimately vote their consciences on this, to do what's the right thing to do. We need to have this discussion in Indiana. There's no sweeping it under the rug. We've taken issues head-on over the years since I've been the leader. We haven't ducked anything. We've taken some tough votes and passed a lot of meaty legislation. This is a very difficult issue because it's right on the cutting edge of social change. A lot of young people are not bothered by it; a lot of older people are tremendously bothered by it. They've seen society changing so rapidly they think it's a bad thing. As I told people, this is a train coming down the tracks and it's coming down fast, whether they like it or not. You either get run over by it this year or next year, or you guide the train on a set of tracks and consider all of these issues that we have in this bill, that deals with them



fairly and thoughtfully in a more balanced way. But you're not going to duck the issue. And Indiana, because of RFRA, has had this moved up a couple of years. It is what it is."

HPI asked Long for his "overview" of the coming session, with the final topics SB100 and his own political future. Here is our nearly hour-long interview:

Long: There are some really good stories out there for our state. The economy is strong, the unemployment numbers are strong. I like the fact that our state is one of the leading states in vocational education, modern education. We're trying to get these kids certified coming out of school by working with our local businesses. We've got different regions with their work councils trying to fill a skills gap that exists all over the country, but certainly here in Northeastern Indiana where we're manufacturing intensive. We're not graduating enough of them. Businesses in China want to come here and they are desperate for the right work force. That's a good story. People around the country are interested in what we're doing and Hoosiers need to know that; I don't think it's well understood and it's a positive for us. Our efforts in education are strong. We have an issue with our A through F plan that we have

to get resolved. I think there's a fair chance of dealing in a bipartisan way with the obvious drop in grades that's going to occur. I don't have final numbers, but it's going to drop. That's going to occur when you have a more rigorous test, which we do have today. But it's not good to have the scores drop the way they have.

HPI: Every sixth grader in Clay County Schools did not pass ISTEP. Did you expect that kind of drop-off?

Long: I don't know that anybody expected that, but we're going to resolve it in such a way that those draconian outcomes aren't going to occur. There are three or four ways that it could happen. I know Speaker Bosma has spoken with Rep. Pelath and I've spoken with Sen. Lanane already. We've talked with the Department of Education and Supt. Ritz and we've talked with the governor and the Board of Education as well. There's a willingness to work together and find solutions, but right now there is no consensus. We're going to make sure the unintended consequences don't occur.

Per capita income and the economy

HPI: We're still seeing the per-capita income lag. Do you think that will come up after a decade of pro-business legislation and laws now in place?

Long: I'm very encouraged by the future economic opportunities in the state. If you look at the businesses coming into Indiana, those jobs are not low paying. There are a ton of mid-wage jobs coming in and some high wage as well, that we weren't seeing in the past. I think our future economic opportunities are strong so long as we can push for better educational outcomes for our

kids. I think our plunge into pre-K is a very positive thing for Indiana. We have a parallel problem: Kids coming into our school systems who have had some very bad parenting. Part of that is pure ignorance on how important it is to read to a child and nurture those kids, teaching them the alphabet before they get to school. A lot of that isn't happening. The other part of the problem, dealing with kids who are struggling at the upper levels of K-12, is a real challenge as well. For a lot of kids, college isn't going to be the answer. How do we best approach that? Overall, I feel like we're going in the right direction in Indiana. I'm bullish about outcomes getting better. We're going to produce a better-prepared child for the workforce. We want our kids to succeed, we want them to stay here. We want jobs to come to Indiana and be grown here. It's all connected. I feel we're going in the right direction for a state that has not traditionally valued education. I think Indiana is adapting to that today.

HPI: I've been writing about high speed internet? Is that a high priority for you and the Senate caucus?

Long: I think where we have a deficit is in rural Indiana. It's all about density and population and how you get the internet out to rural areas. What's the best process? Is it through the REMCs? Is there enough money for the large vendors to engage. Do we have to incentivize for it to happen? There's a lot of dark fiber out there and are there ways to bring that into play in the business centers of rural Indiana. Hospitals are often the location that you can use as a hub. It's a need, not just in Indiana but all over the country. We're starting to see solutions, but it's a real problem.

Meth and heroin

HPI: I've tried to make the connection between rural Indiana's lack of connectivity and the meth and heroin problems. Is that a fair connection to make?

Long: I don't know. I think it's hard for us to get our heads wrapped around where the wide parts of rural Indiana are struggling. Meth is one of the reasons, clearly. That's a scourge throughout rural Indiana, and rural America. We're seeing the heroin issue as well. Are they connected? Somewhat, but not completely. Is that associated with poverty? Somewhat, but not completely. Heroin itself crosses all economic spectrums, as you know. We have a two-fold problem. We have to deal with the dealers and we have to have a better, more affordable, treatment for our addicts. That's a tough nut to crack and one that we're going to talk about this coming session.

HPI: Middle class people can't afford treatment. A family can spend \$25,000-\$30,000 for a 25-day stay in a facility. They can't afford that.

Long: That basically says if you don't have money, you're not going to get the proper treatment. That's one of the big dilemmas in dealing with this crisis. No one I know of has effectively dealt with this in the United

States. Other countries have dealt with it. I don't know if they always have the right answer. The United States might have to forge its own approach. Some of these countries provide drugs directly to the addicts, and that has produced varying successes and failures and in some ways hasn't solved the problem at all. I'm not suggesting that. But if we don't have a much more effective approach in the mental health area, we're going to see this problem expand.

HPI: We rank about 38th in mental health services nationally. Are you saying we should invest more on this front?

Long: Dealing with the heroin outbreak and the opioids makes this a huge priority. It's expensive and we'll have a bumpy road getting it set up. It has to happen; you cannot treat addiction effectively if you don't have low-cost access, and there's just no two ways around it. As it is today, almost all Hoosiers are priced out of a treatment program. It's just very expensive. The expansion of the problem has created the need for a low-cost answer. We're going to have to find one.

HPI: With pseudoephedrine, Speaker Bosma is calling for it to be a prescription drug. Do you see that as a solution?

Long: There's no question we've tried everything but that in dealing with the meth problem. The problem is that anyone who needs a cold medicine wants to buy off the shelf and I struggle with that. Will it be the tonic that people think it will be?

HPI: Vanderburgh County Prosecutor Nick Hermann says there are 140 other remedies available to consumers. Do you agree with that assertion? If there's that kind of product alternative, then why not make PSE harder to get, going through a pharma gatekeeper?

Long: How effective will this be? Part of my concern is that we're still producing a lot of meth in Indiana, but we're seeing an increasing amount coming over the border from Mexico as well. The Speaker is reflecting the frustration that we haven't been able to solve the problem with other efforts that have avoided requiring a prescription. I think we'll look at it and talk about it. Our caucus has resisted that so far, but the vote gets closer every year. There's still a lot resistance. Are you going to price cold remedies until it's far more expensive to get them? Is it going to be an expensive prescription? We all get several colds a year. We have to make sure we're not punishing the general public in order to solve the problem. The Speaker didn't take this position before.

Gas tax hike and highways

HPI: Gas has been as low as \$1.65 a gallon. Isn't this the best time to raise gas taxes in order to position the state well over the coming decade? Is this a unique opportunity, even though a number of representatives and senators have signed Grover Norquist's no-tax-increase pledge?



Long: I don't worry about what Grover Norquist thinks. Grover is a federal guy who doesn't translate to the state level. You can make the case that the federal government is irresponsible, but the states have to balance their budgets. We operate on very thin margins. We operate very responsibly in Indiana. This is a national problem. All 50 states are grappling with this. In South Carolina Gov. Haley is resisting tax increases. We need a long-term solution to our funding problems. There are various options, including that everybody pays a fee when they renew their license. You can raise taxes. You can put extra tolls. There is no easy solution and it is not popular with the people when you start talking about raising taxes or fees or whatever you want to call them. There's a growing awareness that we have to pay to solve our own problems here. The federal government isn't going to do it, nor should it. The year 2017 is when I'm looking to find that long-term solution. This year there will be some proposals, including the governor's, to find some short-term solutions. I suspect his idea will be enhanced with some local government money as well. Long term, we have to find the solution and have the courage to propose some tough things that in the past people might not have supported. With proper discussion we can lay the foundation for why this is necessary. We're the crossroads of America and we need good highways for our transportation system to be effective for our economy. I see 2017 as the year to do it.

HPI: With gas prices so low, it seems like an ideal opportunity to raise the gas tax and give the state another 10-year road maintenance plan.

Long: We pride ourselves with being fiscally responsible people, but we're also states' rights people. We know we are responsible for our own deeds here. Hoosiers are not exempt from doing this anymore than citizens from other states. We have a need. You have to be careful what polls say based on the question asked, but it's clear that people in Indiana are becoming aware. It is an election issue with the Democrats, I think unfairly, because they criticize our investments in our roads, but they didn't vote for any of the budgets that provided the funding. We did it despite their votes. We didn't get any votes for the \$1.3 billion we put in the last couple of years. And we only got two Democratic votes in the entire Statehouse for Major Moves, which didn't raise any taxes or any fees on the average Hoosier. We've done some remarkable things. I'm proud as a Republican that we've found solutions that other states haven't and built 40 years of pending projects in the last decade. Our state is way down the road from where we were 10 years ago when the last Democratic administration was in power. It's because Republicans have taken some tough votes and we've survived those tough votes. People said we would lose our majorities and we took them any way. We faced the music and our state is the better for it. No one from the opposing party should be saying that we haven't invested in our roads in the last



decade. We've done a remarkable job. We have to find a solution for long-term funding. What we do next is imperative.

Constitutional convention, redistricting

HPI: What's the latest with the Assembly of State Legislatures and a constitutional convention?

Long: A bipartisan group is trying to put the rules together. We're about three quarters of the way to getting the rules done. One of the suggestions is to meet in Philadelphia to finish it off symbolically. Our group has come to the conclusion you're not going to get 34 states and, most importantly, 38 states to ratify and agree on any amendment if it's just one party. That's why we're bipartisan. It's impossible to get 38 states if you don't have the Democrats. There's a lot of suspicion from Democrats. Republicans control three-fifths of the legislatures in this country. The Democrats don't control many of their own, there's a bunch of purple states where you have one house under one party and one with the other. It means for us to find consensus, we have to have red and blue states working together. Other states have different agendas; they are not worrying about that issue and it will be doomed to failure. If an amendment crosses the threshold of 34 states, then we'll have a universally set of rules that will guide the process and allow for a convention of the states.

HPI: I've made the connection between the lack of movement on issues in Washington with the gerrymandered seats in redistricting. Is that a fair connection? Wouldn't an independent redistricting commission further your goals of removing the inertia in Washington?

Long: I would take issue with the word gerrymandering here. I think if you look at the maps that have been drawn with redistricting, you'll see why Indiana got accolades for doing a great job. There was the transparency with the way we did it, we followed the Supreme Court edicts to a T. We kept communities of interest together, borders together, cities, counties and school districts, we bent over backward to keep communities together. We met that majority/minority districts issue head on. We did it exactly the way the Supreme Court wanted. We were far more fair and inclusive than our counterparts on the Democrat side. That's why we didn't get sued in Indiana for any of our maps. I think we have fought for fair maps. In the process of redistricting, it's assumed you have to have certain outcomes to show proper maps drawn, with so many Republicans and Democrats. That's not the way redistricting works. The proper way for redistricting is ensure you're not drawing people out of their natural constituencies in order to achieve an outcome. That's what you'd have to do in order to show some people better, more balanced outcomes. I didn't hear a lot of complaining for a commission when the Democrats were drawing the maps. That may or may not be the right answer for Indiana. We'll

see. No matter what the outcomes are, for this discussion, look around the country and you'll see the California Democratic Party has infiltrated their commission. That's a one-party state and there's no chance for Republicans to succeed out there. Those districts are drawn very much to the Democratic Party's agenda. Arizona and other states were sued for their commission. There's a lot of variety on commissions: Do you have a commission that's totally independent? That's appointed by groups outside the political process? Do you have commissions put together that make recommendations to the legislature? Do you have to have a constitutional amendment in Indiana? Probably do. That's a factor in this discussion. It's important to recognize that just having a commission doesn't automatically give you equal Republicans and Democrats getting elected. Nor can you do that if you follow the directions of the United States Supreme Court. They specifically have said that someone getting reelected in a district is not something that violates the U.S. Constitution.

People have voted for this person; drawing somebody out of a district may be just as bad as not, so it's a fine line. We're going to have a full discussion about it. If you're going to have a constitutional amendment to take it out of the hands of the legislature, I don't know what will come of it, but I think we need to get this resolved by the next census. I'm committed to that one way or another.

SB100, civil rights and religious freedom

HPI: SB100 is going to be a national story. I'm already seeing coverage of this nationally. When you took part in drafting SB100, what do Hoosiers need to know from your standpoint? Unless it's resolved quickly, it's going to dominant. Speak to us. What do we need to know?

Long: I will remember that almost 40% of all Hoosiers already live under civil rights of various kinds. There are already 17 cities that have their various statutes. None is the same. Each attempts to extend protections to sexual orientation and gender identity. The most recent one is Zionsville and it does have religious freedom aspects. The clashing issue of the day is religious liberty versus the civil rights of the LGBT community. This past year we saw very quickly that a discussion that morphed from same sex marriage to civil rights was really the basis for the RFRA uproar. I think it was a manufactured perception created to push this issue. RFRA was never meant to discriminate, but the historic interpretation of the law was never picked up by the national media. The reality of a very difficult explanation was lost. That being said, that's the environment we're operating in right now. We come at this with a bill that tries to balance civil rights with religious liberty. It's a unique bill in the country. It does provide protection for churches and their organizational

attachments such as schools, businesses associated with the church and for pastors, so they are exempted from the law. But, it also tries to focus on some of the cutting-edge difficult issues of the day. For instance, how do you know someone is actually, honestly dealing with a gender identity issue? There's not a really good explanation out there. We've tried to work with the mental health standards for what our definition is. We've tried to put some certainty and hopefully, some sanity into the definition so that no one can take advantage of this concept. There are people who question identity change. Two businesses in Fort Wayne have dealt with employees who have changed gender identity over the past three years. It's a very tiny percent of people, but how do you define that? We tried to put a 12-month parameter around it. This concerns the medical process, or living openly in an honest way as the other gender. We don't want people to



say, "Today I woke up and felt differently and I'm going to dress (differently) and I'm going to start showering in the women's showers and using the women's bathroom." That is a real time problem for us right now. The Obama administration intervened in Chicago and Illinois schools suggesting people can start showering and anatomically they wouldn't be correct to do that. A guy goes into a woman's shower, well that makes people's heads explode, and rightly so. You saw the whole Houston LGBT rights go down over the bathroom issue.

HPI: It's amazing how it's morphed into this.

Long: It is. So our bill deals with that. We empower that it is not a discriminatory act for a school or a business to define gender-specific bathrooms and showers and locker rooms and to basically say who can and can't use them. I think that's necessary in order to get a handle on what is currently an undefined area of the law. We think we need to empower our schools to say what is their standard and to protect them. We're going to be very specific about this bill. We're not going to run away from it and we're not going to apologize for it. I think that's important to protect our kids and I think it's important to protect those going through gender identity issues and transgendering. It views people as they may be. The last thing you want is someone taking advantage of that and pretending to be going through that to gain access to a bathroom or a shower.

HPI: We're talking about 19,000 Hoosiers who are transgender, if it runs per capita to 0.3% of the population, according to the Williams Center at the UCLA Law School. That surprised me. I didn't realize there were that many people in the category, or if Indiana is below the national average, we still may be looking at 10,000 to 15,000

transgender citizens.

Long: Yes, but it's still significantly small with the sexual orientation issue. It's a tough one for us dealing with that. We take it head on with this bill and deal with it.

HPI: The general public doesn't have any idea where the governor stands on this. I'm assuming that you and Sen. Holdman have been working with the governor and his staff on this.

Long: We are not working with the governor. We've put this together in the Senate. The governor is aware of what we're trying to do. I know he's talked to a lot of people about this on all sides of the issue, including the gay community, including transgender representatives. He's talked to the strong religious rights representatives. I'm not speaking out of turn that he is doing his homework on it. We all struggle with the religious freedom side of this, where you draw the line. It's not easy. But here's my thought, Brian, if people of faith don't step up to the plate and try to find a way to both make these issues coexist, the four words and a comma is going to prevail one of these days and religious liberty is going to take a back seat, and religious liberty is just as important as freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of assembly. We can't lose sight of that, how important a constitutional right is that as well. We have to find a way in our modern world, which is changing, like it or not, and protect religious freedom as well. That's one of the goals of this bill is to do that, while recognizing that the world is changing and we have to deal with that.

HPI: Does the governor have to come out and take a stance before . . .

Long: He will eventually.

HPI: He's put it in the context of in or during the General Assembly session next January, and your caucus is going to start taking positions and votes. We don't know if any bill that gets out of the Senate will even get a hearing in the House.

Long: We don't know if a bill can pass the Senate right now. We don't know if the Democrats will support it. They have their own version. We don't have any of the answers to that right now. It's why we introduced it the day that we did. We need to have a discussion about it starting now to lay the groundwork for it. It makes us more vulnerable, including myself, because people are already screaming, "Primary these guys. Take them out." I get that. I live with it. I accept it as part of the responsibility of being a leader. It was a necessary timing. We needed to let our guys see it, and the public, and let all sides weigh in on it. Of course people on either side of the extremes are going to launch grenades at it. They don't want it to pass, on either extreme. The hard core Democrats and the LGBT don't want Republicans to pass anything because Democrats want to pass a bill that doesn't deal with religious liberty. There are many people on the far right end of this discussion who don't want it to pass because they feel we need to draw a line in the sand on this. This is somehow

giving in to an agenda if we do that. They are losing sight of the fact that we are going to need to accommodate both constitutional rights here. I think this is a very good piece of legislation. It does not mean it's perfect. I've yet to see a perfect bill in my 20 years here. It is a legitimate, honest attempt to deal with all sides of this issue and find a path.

HPI: Speaker Bosma is describing this as the "heaviest lift" of his career. Do you see it that way?

Long: I'm telling my guys there is no caucus bind on this. We are not twisting arms. We want everyone to ultimately vote their conscience on this, to do what's right. We need to have this discussion in Indiana. There's no sweeping it under the rug. But the issue, you're not going to duck it. And Indiana, because of RFRA, has had this moved up a couple of years. It is what it is.

Political future

HPI: I see your wife Melissa (pictured) is retiring. How long do you see yourself going at this job after nine years?

Long: I'm running for reelection. I'm up this year. I knew that going into this. I'm not afraid of any outcome, whatever that is. I think you have to have the courage to lead. It's important for the Senate to bring it (SB100). I think we're the body that started the RFRA language. We're used to this discussion. The outcome is clearly up in the air as to what will happen. But I think our senators are battle-hardened. However they vote with a lot of discussion, hearing a lot of information we'll provide, that will be out. The outcome is absolutely up in the air.

HPI: I wasn't trying to equate your political plans with any primary challenge next year. My question was broader. How long do you see yourself doing this?

Long: With my wife retiring, it's changed our lives a little bit. We're very busy, very high profile people. She's the best known person in Fort Wayne, probably, and she's going to be finished in about four weeks in her on-air TV job. It's going to be great for us, give us more time together. We'll see where the world goes for us. I need to see this issue through and a few other tough ones as well. I can't say, "I'm not running for office, guys. Take this tough vote when it won't have any consequences for me." So it's important that I stay there. We are all replaceable, and I am just as much as anyone who has come before me. But there are also times when you have to stand and fight with your troops, and that's just the way it is. So I'm going to stand with them and take whatever comes. But I will say, I'm proud of our caucus and their willingness to take a tough vote. We're good people. We have a lot of opinions on a lot of different issues, but they're good people who care about their state. ❖



Gregg says Gov. Pence will be rematch issue

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – For the first time in more than half a century Hoosier voters will have a gubernatorial rematch, between Gov. Mike Pence and 2012 Democratic nominee John Gregg.

In an exclusive Howey Politics Indiana interview last week, Gregg said that his wife, Lisa, framed the essential question: "Do you want to be governor, or serve as governor?" His response: "Well, I want to serve as governor."



Despite being out-raised \$10 million in 2012, Gregg came within 2% of what would have been the biggest upset since 1996. Candidate Pence simply ignored the social issues that helped define his 12-year congressional

career. This time, Pence has been splattered by them, first with the Religious Freedom Restoration Act fiasco last March and April, and now with the looming showdown over civil rights expansion. Gregg now says that Pence has been "defined" by his ideology and sees that as a critical new element in this race.

While he supports the "four words and a comma" approach on the civil rights expansion issue, Gregg obfuscates on other big policy questions, telling HPI that he and his team are working on a number of position papers that will be released sometime next year. A question about whether pseudoephedrine should be a prescription is answered by talk of dealing with crime and drugs. Does Gov. Pence have the authority to block Syrian refugees? Gregg would only go so far as to say he "hopes" Pence didn't do it for political reasons. A question about his big campaign idea is answered with a question about Gov. Pence's.

Gregg has been focused on two things in 2015: Raising money and campaigning for fellow Democrats. At the midway point, he actually out-raised Pence for the first half of the year, \$1.76 million to \$1.63 million, but still trailed Pence \$4.2 million to \$2.4 million cash on hand. He and his handlers joked at the on-set of this interview that we had to be "relentless" to draw time away from fund-

raising, and once the audio stopped, he was back on the phone.

With the Indiana State Teachers Association I-PACE dropping \$100,000 into the Gregg campaign this month, Gregg and Pence have raised about an equal number of dollars in big donations since July 1, \$560,000 in large contributions for Gregg compared to \$559,500 for Gov. Pence.

His campaign is about to ramp up, with Tim Henderson in place as campaign manager, Kristin Jones as finance director and Mary Callen a key fundraiser. About 100 people are working to put Gregg's policy positions together. Additional staffing will be announced in January.

We asked Gregg to give an overview of his campaign in this HPI interview:

Gregg: We feel the campaign is doing real good. We've been endorsed by the state party. We've got a unified party and we're picking up support from moderate Republicans each and every day. That runs from people saying, "Hey John, we're going to vote for you," to making campaign contributions. A lot of Hoosiers are moderates, and not all of them are Republicans. There are moderate independents. There are the Republicans who voted for Dick Lugar, but they've probably voted for Evan Bayh. They voted for Mitch Daniels but they probably voted for Frank O'Bannon. We feel we're making great inroads

with those folks and our message. They realize that Mike Pence is not Mitch Daniels. That's probably the biggest difference. It becomes more noticeable each and every day. Last time we said, look at his record in Congress, he's an ideologue. He's not a leader. He was fine in Congress when he was dealing with soundbites, just hurling issues. But when it came time to be an administrator and get things done, he's not done that. Obviously RFRA was the moment where they said the emperor has no clothes. But it's at that moment that they also reflected and saw that rather than deal with education, and trying to work together, it was, "Let's get rid of Glenda Ritz." So that's come back up. Then you had just constant other issues, beyond RFRA, to state agencies,

and people wondered who was minding the store, to the closure of the Interstate (65). That was just kind of the gift that kept on giving. We think we're in a good place. Our fundraising is going good. That's what I'm focused on.

HPI: How much do you need to raise to be competitive?

Gregg: We had \$7 million and he had \$17 million (the actual numbers were \$6.4 million for Gregg and \$14.8



million for Pence in 2012). This time the great news is it's not just the money. He's not running on the coattails of a popular two-term governor named Mitch Daniels. This time he's running on his record and it's a record that shows failure and a lack of leadership.

HPI: Will the Democratic Governors Association come in this time with funding? If they had come in at the level you expected, you might have won.

Gregg: They did come in.

HPI: But they didn't come in at the level you expected, or were told.

Gregg: We are appreciative of the level they did (laughs). The DGA is here and they're excited about our race. I'm not going to divulge what they're doing or what they're going to do. But we've got a great, great working relationship with them. It is a fantastic relationship. The executive director of it was the liaison to my race the last time.

Civil rights and SB100

HPI: We're all waiting to see where the governor lands on the civil rights issue. You've been pretty clear. How are you perceiving where Gov. Pence is at this time?

Gregg: The one thing that we haven't stressed enough is that, had I been governor, we wouldn't even be dealing with RFRA. It wasn't something that would have even hit my desk, because I have enough faith in my ability and my relationship with legislators and other business, civic and elected officials from around the state that I think we'd have, to quote Barney Fife, nipped it in the bud. I think that's important. We wouldn't be having to deal with Indiana's reputation. It's suffered. We would be dealing on these issues of living-wage jobs, issues in education, working on our infrastructure. I've been clear all along that it should be four words and a comma. Anything short of that is a compromise and I think we're long overdue on that. I don't know where Gov. Pence will fall on that issue. It really doesn't matter because he's shown his true colors, and his colors are he's an ideologue, and even with all the RFRA situation, as well as that group out of Pennsylvania, where they are going to be addressing women's health care? Here we've got people critical of him and he's still going back to his ideology, whether it will bring people together or not. He's a divider, not a uniter. We need to be brought together.

HPI: When you were in the House, did you vote for the Defense of Marriage Act? And if you did, how did you evolve?

Gregg: You know I don't remember. That's been 20 years ago or close to it. I think, like a lot of Hoosiers

and a lot of Americans, it's a different world than it was 20 years ago, 10 years ago, even five years, once Hoosiers look at an argument based on discrimination as opposed to faith, and the other thing I always stress to people, it's the law now. The Supreme Court says it is the law of the land. There's no going back on it and we need as a society to look ahead. I tell people if they're for it or against it, it's a settled issue. What we have to do in Indiana, because of what happened with RFRA, I think we need to repeal that. First of all I never did think it was needed. Because of the reputation it has, and because you've already got the 1st Amendment, we need to repeal it and add four words and a comma and move forward.

HPI: So you're on the same page as Sen. Delph on the RFRA repeal.

Gregg: (long pause) He runs for something statewide and he gave me peanut butter. I never figured that one out.

Pence and Syrian refugees

HPI: Does the governor have the statutory authority to suspend Syrian refugees? I've asked them that, they say they do but can cite no statutes in Indiana Code, nor a judicial precedent.

Gregg: We put out a statement. First of all, all Hoosiers have a right to be safe in their homes and at work, and their children deserve to be safe at school. I'm hoping that when the governor made his announcement, it wasn't a political reaction. I've got to assume the governor has access . . . I hesitate to use the word . . . intelligence (laughs), in reference to the governor. You have to assume he's got intelligence from the federal government, which shares intelligence with the governors. He's got Homeland Security, he's got the State Police. I'm hoping that was based on intelligence that we're not privy to. I'm anxious to hear whether that is or is not the case. You've got to give

the governor the benefit of the doubt that it was that type of decision-making, rather than being the first to run to a microphone. Obviously he's had the tendency in the past to give a sound bite on national media. I'm just hoping it was based on this intelligence only he has.

HPI: My question was whether he has the statutory authority? You're an attorney. Does he?

Gregg: He's an attorney, too.

Meth, heroin and crime

HPI: On the meth/heroin front, there will be leg-



isolation to make pseudoephedrine a prescription drug. Do you support that?

Gregg: I've not seen that specific bill. We are preparing a release in policy on what we consider a major program dealing with drugs and crime. This whole scourge of meth has been a huge issue for years now. I'm a farm kid at heart and the idea you could use anhydrous ammonia is beyond understanding.

HPI: But the cooks don't need that anymore.

Gregg: They don't need that anymore. I have seen people in my home county who are over 40 years of age that have meth problems. We have toured Scott County and I think with HIV and the needles program, we have to take a comprehensive look. We've got a good group of people looking at it. We have to look at how the drug rate and the crime rate are tied together, how the incarceration rate doesn't give these people the skills to cope. Part of the reason they turn to these drugs is they have problems coping. They don't have money, they're dealing with stress in their life and some of it may be just experimenting. But we're not giving them anything once they end up in prison. We're not giving them any types of skills. We can do a better job. The governor of Vermont has what he calls the "hub and spokes" program which I think is a unique thing. That would be from a certain area, say Columbus, you go to more regional areas, you run a spoke down to Austin, to Bloomington and one to Batesville. It gives you a way to coordinate activity and what those local governments are doing. You can see what the state is doing through State Board of Health. You see what the non-profits and the churches are doing. We've got to do a better job. There's nothing good coming out of this meth problem or this problem in Scott County. It ought to tell all Hoosiers that serious drug problems aren't just urban problems.

HPI: You agree there needs to be dynamic change with methamphetamine.

Gregg: It's not working.

HPI: Where do you stand on marijuana? For medicinal use? Decriminalization?

Gregg: I absolutely have no problem with the legalization of medical marijuana. I think it's about time we do that. You know my dad died in June 2014 with cancer of the esophagus, and then it metastasized in his brain. It wasn't something a doctor said, "Have you thought about this?" But had the doctor said this was something you might want to think about, we should be entitled to that option. We're long overdue.

The campaign 'big idea'

HPI: What's your big idea?

Gregg: I'm stilling wondering what Mike Pence's big idea is. As a Hoosier, it took him almost three years to come up with a highway program, and it was almost pooh-poohed by his overwhelming super majority Republican legislature. That's telling. We put a plan out in 2012 and he puts one out at the end of 2015. That 4.4 unemployment record is extremely misleading. There's only one way you can really tell how Hoosiers are doing and it's looking at per-capita income. And we're at least 39th or lower. Thirty-nine is documented in the Howey Politics Indiana, and it must be true. Some would say it's 43rd. The truth of the matter is the state right behind us is Louisiana.



Now is that anything to brag about? I don't want to keep touting we've only got 4.4% unemployment. I can show you statistics that show that 70% of the Hoosiers are not self-sufficient. They are not even living paycheck to paycheck. They are gulping water each week. That's the story. Don't talk to me about 4.4% unemployment when you've got people working \$10, \$12, \$13 an hour jobs and no benefits. It's nothing to brag on. One of the things you'll see different in a Gregg administration is we want to focus on the quality of jobs, not the quantity. We have for many years focused on that

number. You do that in advanced manufacturing, you do it in life science, you do it in logistics. You do that only if you're a welcoming state, people are willing to come here, or businesses are willing to expand, and where Millennials want to come and stay here and raise a family. That's not been the case under Mike Pence. Regardless whatever happens under RRFA this session, we've been given a look we don't deserve because of the governor and it's time we had somebody who leads by bringing people together rather than by division.

HPI: When we were younger, governors were in charge of roads, education and public safety. Around Gov. Orr, it became about job creation. How much can a governor really do?

Gregg: The state puts a lot of money in economic development. Another thing: In addition to quality of jobs, we have declared war on cities, towns and counties in Indiana. As governor, I want to work with those people. Look at Central Indiana and what those communities have done. Look at Fishers and Greenwood, look at what Indianapolis and Zionsville, McCordsville, Carmel, Lafayette, Bloomington and Columbus. We need to be working not just in Central Indiana but all around the state with local units of government, partnering with them. We need capital available for businesses which want to expand. We need to do everything we can to foster entrepreneurship and I'm not seeing that. Those are the things a governor does by bringing in people together, focusing that economic development toward them, and working with local units of

government. I think our future rests in these small businesses. Sure everybody wants that new automotive plant to come here. But the truth of the matter is, it's these companies that start out with a handful of people like Exact Target or Angie's List. That's what we need to be fostering the environment for. We are in a global economy. We have to think globally.

HPI: Any other big policy coming?

Gregg: We'll be putting our policy out. We'll be focusing on jobs and the quality of jobs. We're going to be talking about education, about what we can do about the affordability of college. Gov. Daniels is obviously doing a good job of holding the line (on costs) at Purdue. It's long past the time we look at testing. All you have to do is look at the headlines. He would be well-served to listen to (Supt.) Glenda (Ritz). You've got local communities who are proud of their schools. That pause Glenda was talking about and why it was needed was legit. The idea that the governor told teachers, "Don't take it personally," was, like duh. It's long past time we do something with early childhood education. We've been talking about that for 20 years.

Statewide high speed internet

HPI: I've been writing about statewide high-speed internet. Lt. Gov. Ellspermann has pulled people together and appears to be laying a foundation. Is that a priority for you?

Gregg: Yes, yes. Lt. Gov. Ellspermann is from a rural area like I am. She realizes those challenges. Where I live, we've got some folks still on dial up. We are on the lowest DSL available. It's not much better than dial up. My wife and I don't have cable, we have Netflix. We can't even download a movie. You've got people who don't have good cell coverage. My wife is an I.T. person. She does some contract work. She goes to my mother's house to do the work. A lot of towns in Indiana can't access high speed internet. It's the way people make a living. Part of our infrastructure plan won't just be roads and bridges. It will be high speed internet and cell. What Lt. Gov. Ellspermann is doing is on the right path. We'll stay on that path when we're in office. That's not a partisan issue, that's a quality of life issue.

The coming campaign

HPI: What will you be looking for with a future



running mate?

Gregg: Right now we're focused on the end-of-the-year fundraising. We'll stay focused early next year on fundraising and finishing up on policy. We won't even be dealing with a running mate until next year.

HPI: Are you coordinating with the Ritz campaign?

Gregg: Glenda and I get along fabulously. I talk with Glenda weekly. I call Glenda when I have questions on education. She and I talk directly. Our staffs work together. Our staffs have met with both of us. She's an unbelievable wealth of knowledge.

HPI: Any other big differences between the race you ran in 2012 and how this one

is unfolding?

Gregg: The biggest difference isn't me, it's that Mike Pence is showing his true colors. That is the number one issue. I learned a lot from my first statewide campaign. I feel I am a better candidate, though I don't know how you define that. We've got a good team. It's a broad-based team, with Republicans, Democrats, independents, business, labor. There's a greater level of excitement this time. There's much more interest in the race. In 2011, I could never get on Fort Wayne TV. But last week, I got all three Fort Wayne stations to cover me. My wife, Lisa, asked me one question, "Do you want to be governor, or do you want to serve as governor?" Well, I want to serve as governor.

Will Hillary help?

HPI: Does Hillary Clinton help you at the top of the ticket?

Gregg: I'm convinced she does help us. It's no secret the president wasn't popular the last time and he has not increased his popularity in Indiana. I think she does. The bigger issue is we don't have any idea who they're going to nominate. We've seen since 1988 that Hoosiers split their tickets. You have Evan Bayh running against a national ticket that had a favorite son in Dan Quayle. Evan Bayh won as well as President Bush and Vice President Quayle. Even with the president last time, we came within two points. I think they'll focus on our vision for Indiana, our style of leadership, inclusive, bringing people together, as opposed to someone who leads from behind and does everything based on ideology. ❖

An epic HPI Power 50 for our Bicentennial

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Looking back on the 2015 Howey Politics Indiana Power 50 list, we didn't have too many misses.

U.S. Sen. Dan Coats had the biggest impact when he announced he wouldn't seek reelection, setting off a political chain reaction that cut across the statewides and two Congressional Districts.

U.S. Rep. Luke Messer ascended to the No. 5 spot in the House hierarchy. U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks' role on the Benghazi panel had her questioning Hillary Clinton. Joe Hogsett became mayor of Indianapolis.

John Gregg, Baron Hill, Eric Holcomb and U.S. Reps. Marlin Stutzman and Todd Young, and Attorney General Greg Zoeller all worked 2015 to set up statewide races in 2016.

Prominent mayors on the list – Lloyd Winnecke, Duke Bennett, Tom Henry, Peter Buttigieg, Tom McDermott and Greg Goodnight – all won reelection in November.

And there are a number of names on the 2015 list – Pat Kiely, Greg Ballard and Tim Berry – who have moved on.

So like we do every December, we ask Howey Politics Indiana subscribers to craft the 2016 list of Hoosiers likely to have the greatest impact on the coming year. Not only is 2016 our Bicentennial year, but it promises to be an epic election sequence with the gubernatorial, U.S. Senate and at least two Congressional districts in play.

Look for a SurveyMonkey survey coming your way later this month. Don't hesitate to shoot me an email or create your own list and send it to bhowey2@gmail.com.

We'll publish the 2016 list on Jan. 7, 2016.



2015 HPI Power 50

1. Gov. Mike Pence
2. House Speaker Brian Bosma
3. U.S. Sen. Dan Coats
4. Joe Hogsett
5. Senate President David Long
6. U.S. Rep. Luke Messer
7. State Sen. Luke Kenley
8. Ways & Means Chairman Tim Brown
9. U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly
10. Lt. Gov. Sue Ellsperman
11. John Gregg and Baron Hill
12. Evansville Mayor Lloyd Winnecke
13. State Rep. Gail Riecken
14. U.S. Rep. Todd Young
15. U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks
16. Supt. Glenda Ritz
17. Fort Wayne Mayor Tom Henry
18. U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita
19. Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr.
20. Purdue President Mitch Daniels
21. State Sen. Brandt Hershman
22. FSSA Commissioner John Wernert and Deputy Commissioner Michael Gargano
23. Pence Chief of Staff Jim Atterholt
24. State Sen. Dennis Kruse and State Rep. Robert Behning
25. State Rep. Tom Dermody and Sen. Ron Alting
26. U.S. Rep. Larry Bucshon
27. U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski
28. Terre Haute Mayor Duke Bennett
29. South Bend Mayor Peter Buttigieg
30. Indianapolis Mayor Greg Ballard
31. U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman
32. Kokomo Mayor Greg Goodnight
33. State Sen. Jim Merritt
34. Democratic Chairman John Zody
35. Pat Kiely
36. State Rep. Jud McMillin
37. DWD Commissioner Steve Braun
38. Attorney General Greg Zoeller
39. Eric Holcomb
40. Bill Smith
41. Republican Chairman Tim Berry
42. Dean White
43. John Hammond III
44. U.S. Rep. André Carson
45. Bob Grand and Brian Burdick
46. Lacy Johnson
47. U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky
48. Betsy Wiley
49. State Rep. Greg Steuerwald and Sen. Brent Steele
50. House Minority Leader Scott Pelath ❖



Power 50: Budgets, mayors, presidents

Pence's 2016 decision, mayoral races and biennial budget dictate this year's annual list

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY, MATTHEW BUTLER and MARK SCHOEFF JR.**

INDIANAPOLIS – It's a budget year. And a municipal election year. And for the second time in a quadrennial cycle, a presidential speculation year.

These are the components that helped shape the 2015 Howey Politics Indiana Power 50 list. As we've been doing since 1999, the Power 50 is designed to calibrate clout and forecast who in our political/public policy complex is most likely to impact events in the coming year from Washington, D.C., to Indianapolis, and from Evansville to



Elkhart. With the help of our Survey Monkey application, more than 400 of our subscribers and readers weighed in for this edition.

Thus, for the year at hand, we focus on the budgeteers, the mayors who will headline the municipal

Continued on Page 3

The Powerless One

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Going rogue in the Indiana General Assembly is not a new concept.

We've had our Jerry Bales and Dan Stegahns who were perennial thorns in the sides of their leadership, frequently refusing to get with the program. There were trips to the woodshed, the back bench and sanctioned primary challenges.

There have been others, like Eric Turner, who switched parties. And there have been establishment politicians of today who were banished to the backbench a generation ago, with Sens. Luke Kenley and Murray Clark having the gall to challenge then Senate President Pro Tem Bob Garton.



"2014 may be judged a year of progress at our university, but to rise above the threatening environment which now envelops our whole educational sector, much more decisive action will be required."

- Purdue President Mitch Daniels

Three key questions for Gov. Kasich

By **CRAIG DUNN**

KOKOMO – I’ve been around the block a time or two and you can get a pretty good feel for a political candidate by taking a look at who shows up to their fundraising events. It was with this in mind that I attended Ohio Gov. John Kasich’s Presidential fundraiser at the Columbia Club.



I won’t go into details as to who attended the fundraiser. That would be bad form and get me sent to a corner. I will say that the crowd of about 60 well-heeled donors were overwhelmingly individuals who were there giving their personal resources and not just serving as conduits for some special interest. These were fiscal conservatives who were legitimately concerned

about the future of their country and not just the future bottom line of their corporate financial statement.

That’s a good thing because Kasich told the audience during his remarks that donating to his campaign won’t get you a darn thing except good government.

What was most unusual about this political fundraiser was the near absence of the usual collection of business and legal special interests. If you attend just a few fundraising events for candidates for local, state or national office, you tend to see the same faces time after time. In fact, you can usually make the name tags up in advance. The Kasich event brought new faces to the fold and that was impressive.

I must admit that I am intrigued with John Kasich’s campaign. Kasich has done an exemplary job as Governor of Ohio by eliminating a massive state budget deficit and restoring fiscal conservatism to his state and resuscitating its economy in the process.

But Kasich has brought more than mere budget cutting skills to the governor’s office in Columbus. He has successfully forged coalitions of diver-

gent interests to reform taxes, education and administration of state government. These facts are widely known. What has impressed me the most about Kasich’s campaign has been his conduct as a responsible adult in the Republican Presidential Sweepstakes.

Kasich has avoided resorting to childish name calling and accusations against fellow candidates. He has acknowledged the central truth that we may reform our immigration policies but that it is totally unrealistic to think that 14 million illegal immigrants can or will be deported.

Gov. Kasich has identified the National Debt as a dagger aimed at the heart of our country and has expressed cogent plans to address the debt as President. He has also recognized the significant threat posed by ISIS and, make no mistake about this, plans to assign dealing with this threat a higher priority than tilting at the dubious windmill of global warming.

Kasich spent about 30 minutes addressing the group and fielding questions directly from the crowd. He was relaxed and comfortable conducting this give and take session. I saw a man who exuded leadership and a charisma that is difficult to project during the circus of a televised debate.

I was fortunate to be allowed a one on one opportunity with Gov. Kasich to ask a few questions as a journalist. Now, I know that I am no journalist. I make no representations to be one. I write a highly biased opinion column every couple of weeks for Howey Politics. That’s it. Because of my lack of journalist training, I didn’t come up with some intriguing questions such as, “Boxers or briefs?” or “Who’s your favorite rock band?”

I asked three questions that I thought most Republicans would want to ask if they had the opportunity.



Ohio Gov. John Kasich (center) with Howard County Republican Chairman Craig Dunn and Ryan Dunn at the Columbia Club Monday night. (HPI Photo)

Dunn: Gov. Kasich, many Americans are stills unemployed, underemployed or forced to work part time. What is your plan for creating meaningful jobs?

Kasich: I’ve put forward an action plan for my first 100 days in office. It will reduce corporate and personal taxes, balance the budget within 8 years, reduce regulation and red tape and send money, power and influence out of Washington, back to the states. This will significantly jump start quality job growth.

Dunn: What is

your plan for dealing with ISIS?

Kasich: I've laid out a plan to destroy ISIS. I called for a coalition of allies to put boots on the ground and defeat ISIS in February. I was the first to call for NATO to invoke Article V after the attacks in Paris. We need a no-fly-zone in Syria. The West needs to recognize the existential threat posed by ISIS. We cannot delay. We must defeat them now.

Dunn: You are a candidate in a very crowded field. How do you stand out from your opponents?

Kasich: I'm the only candidate with a plan to balance the budget, send power back to the states and recharge our economy. I also have executive experience as Governor of Ohio where we turned an \$8 billion budget hole into a \$2 billion surplus while cutting taxes by \$5 billion. We won the mother of all swing states with 64 percent of the vote. I also have foreign policy experience having served on the House Armed Services Committee for 18 years. When I was in Washington we actually balanced the budget and cut taxes. The voters are looking for results. I've shaken things up and delivered results my entire career.

It was a brief interview but sums up, in a nutshell, why I believe that Gov. Kasich will gain traction as we go forward and the election moves from the illusionary battle of polls to the real test of Presidential primaries.

The challenge as a Republican candidate has always been one of how do you win the nomination for President without jeopardizing your ability to win in the General Election.

There are other candidates with larger bank accounts.

There are other candidates who are media darlings.

John Kasich is a workhorse whom I believe will be a serious player as the months unfold. Kasich's hard work, leadership and a bold relevant message will resonate with Republican voters as the GOP Presidential field gets winnowed down in the coming months.

It's time for real leaders to rise. ❖

Dunn is chairman of the Howard County Republicans.



New Hampshire GOP seeks an alternative

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Polls conducted more than two months before the nation’s first presidential primary usually don’t mean much. But there is one now that means a lot.

Early polls before the primaries four years ago were of course in the category of darn near meaningless. They showed big percentages for Republican presidential contenders such as Michele Bachmann, winning favor for saying what she thinks, even though she was thinking some wacky stuff, and Herman Cain, “Mr. 9-9-9,” a Republican African-American with noted achievement in a field other than politics.



Polls now with Donald Trump and Ben Carson doing so well may or may not tell much about whether one of them or neither will become the Republican nominee.

The one poll that tells a lot right now is a recent survey of likely voters in New Hampshire’s first-in-the nation Republican presidential primary. The big winner: Mitt Romney.

Wait. Mitt isn’t running this time. Do some New Hampshire voters think it’s still 2012?

They know Romney isn’t in the race, but they seem to wish that he was.

The poll, a scientific sampling by Suffolk University and the Boston Globe, asked how the New Hampshire Republicans would vote if Romney were added to the field.

Romney was the top choice at 31 percent, with an over 2-to-1 win over Trump, at 15 percent. Trump led in the polling with only the announced candidates listed. Romney also trounced Carson, back at 7 percent.

What does this mean?

Well, it doesn’t mean that Romney will now jump in and win the New Hampshire primary. The deadline for getting on the ballot has passed.

It does mean that a lot of Republicans in New Hampshire, and quite likely in other parts of the nation, aren’t thrilled with either Trump or Carson as their nominee. They would welcome somebody with better credentials for the presidency and a better chance of winning. They regard Romney as such a person.

Is there a candidate actually in the field they could turn to if Trump and Carson go the way of prospects who pop up in the polls and then fall down when evaluated more carefully?

It was supposed to be Jeb Bush. That was the

view of many party leaders and big contributors.

It was the view of Romney, too. He contemplated running again but decided not to do so after big early fundraising by Bush and signs that the party establishment was uniting behind Bush.

Bush, however, just can’t seem to catch on with the voters, the ones voting in the primaries to pick the Republican nominee.

That’s why some influential Republicans sought recently to convince Romney to run to save the party from what they fear would be a disaster with Trump or Carson as the GOP nominee in the general election, when credentials for president are taken seriously.

Romney again said he won’t run.

Maybe a candidate already in the field – such as Marco Rubio, in some scenarios – will gain decisive backing as others drop out and Trump and Carson drop back.

Another scenario is that Trump, Carson and others now in the field will split delegate strength in the primaries and caucuses, with no clear winner emerging as the Republican National Convention convenes in July in Cleveland. What then? A brokered convention? GOP movers and shakers and candidates with large numbers of delegates maneuvering to pick the nominee?

That’s probably far-fetched. With so many delegates at stake in the primaries in modern times, some candidate with momentum is expected to wrap up the nomination well before the convention. Conventions become coronations, not places for meaningful balloting.

But if primary voters somehow fail to give a decisive delegate total to any contender and the convention is wide open, could Republicans turn to somebody suggested in that New Hampshire poll? Romney? Or somebody else with presidential credentials? ❖

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

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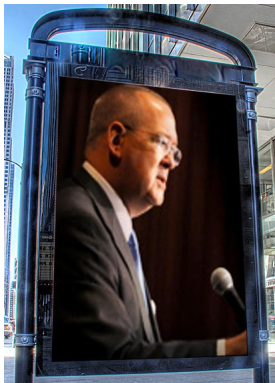
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YOUR FRIENDS ALL HANG OUT HERE... DO YOU?

Nader gives Yellin some good advice

By MICHAEL HICKS

MUNCIE – Ralph Nader, the scion of fuming consumer advocacy, recently penned an open letter to Janet Yellen, chair of the Federal Reserve. In it, Nader suggested that Yellen should “sit down” with her economist husband for some advice. Knowing how well that note would’ve been received at the Hicks household, it is hard to imagine what outcome he expected. It seems though he wants her to increase interest rates to help household savers. Still, other than assessing Nader’s perennially poor analytical skills, there are three good economics lessons embedded in this exchange.



Firstly, Nader is rightfully concerned that savers have suffered from a lengthy period of low interest rates on bank deposits. What he seems not to grasp is that nearly all of us are both borrowers and savers. So, low deposit interest rates will be, for most families, offset by lower rates on mortgage interest, credit card and other consumer debt rates. There is no clear class of people exclusively damaged by low interest rates.

Second, interest rates are the price of capital investments. They reflect the value borrowers place upon the items they purchase, most particularly productive capital and equipment. They are not the whimsical beast of a governmentally sanctioned financial system, but are determined primarily by market forces. Since the early days of the Great Recession, all interest rates have been low. This reflects the low rate of return borrowers expect from new capital and equipment, which results in less borrowing. Nader may not be familiar with the technical name economists have given this phenomenon. We call it a recession.

Finally, the immediate goal of the monetary policy in a recession is to reduce non-market interest rates in order to encourage an increase in borrowing. To do so, the Fed reduces the rate it charges banks to borrow funds, which in turn will reduce the market interest rates they charge their customers. Quite simply, the extra supply of dollars is intended reduce the market interest rate for borrowed funds.

The larger goal attached to the Fed’s effort to lower interest rates is to move the economy from recession to recovery. The lower interest rates boost purchases of productive capital such as new machinery, along with consumer goods like automobiles. The fancy economic name for this increased borrowing at lower interest rates is the law of demand.

There is reasonable disagreement over the tim-

ing, magnitude and impact of the Fed’s monetary policies. There are also reasonable questions about the role monetary policy may have played in fostering bubbles in the dot-com period of the ‘90s, housing in the ‘00s and today’s stock market. What is not at issue is the intent and expressed goals of those policies to improve economic performance for savers and borrowers alike; they are more often than not the same person. This last point is the substance of Janet Yellen’s reply.

The only question this leaves me with is why Ralph Nader, with his apparently facile grasp of economic policy coupled with his ineffectual communication style, is not again a candidate for president? ❖

Michael J. Hicks, PhD, is the director of the Center for Business and Economic Research and the George and Frances Ball distinguished professor of economics in the Miller College of Business at Ball State University.



Commuters giveth and taketh away

By MORTON MARCUS

INDIANAPOLIS – They drive out of your county every morning headed for a job in a neighboring county. At night they come home with cash to spend in your county. That’s the pretty picture of commuting activity.



The less attractive view is the daily flood of commuters on the congested roads coming into your county, holding good jobs, and taking home big wads of cash to spend in their home counties. Every mayor and economic developer wants to attract those good jobs, but also wants those workers to be residents of his/her town, to be shoppers in his/her

stores, and to pay taxes to support local public services.

In 2014, according to the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, \$60 billion flowed into Hoosier counties via commuting while \$55 billion flowed out of those counties. That was a \$5 billion net inflow from other states, mainly from Illinois (Chicago), Ohio (Dayton and Cincinnati), and Kentucky (Louisville).

Only 19 of Indiana’s 92 counties export more earnings than they import via commuting. Marion County alone has a net outflow of nearly \$15 billion, two-thirds of the \$22 billion net outflow generated by those 19 counties. Vanderburgh and Elkhart counties are two other billion dol-

lar net exporting counties.

On the other side of the balance sheet are the 73 net importers of earnings. They draw \$27 billion from their neighbors. Hamilton County alone nets \$5.4 billion via commuting, followed by Hendricks, Johnson, Porter, Boone and Lake, all in the net \$1 billion club.

Remarkably, in a time of great economic turbulence, the gross flows in and out of Indiana counties have been very stable between 2007 and 2014, after adjustment for inflation. Inflows grew only 2.2 percent while outflows increased a mere 0.6 percent.

However, at the county level, there have been some dramatic changes. Howard County cut its net outflow by a third (from \$600 million to \$400 million). Allen County was close behind with a \$196 million reduction in its net outflow; Elkhart County saw a \$152 million improvement while Vigo and Vanderburgh each exceed \$100 million reduction in net outflow.

Tippecanoe, Allen and Elkhart are the least depen-

dent on the inflow of earnings via commuting; only 11 percent of their respective earnings come from commuting. By contrast, Franklin, Ohio and Morgan counties derived over 70 percent of their earnings from commuting.

In the same year, 2014, Franklin, Ohio and Martin counties exported to other counties more than two-thirds of the earnings they generated. Under 15 percent of earnings originating in Washington, Lawrence and Allen counties left those counties.

Is it better to be a net importer or exporter of earnings? Much depends on the costs and benefits of commuting vs the costs and benefits of moving workers to the jobs. Does the value of increased density of population out way the value of a higher density of economic activity? Let me know if you have answers. ❖

Mr. Marcus is an economist, writer, and speaker who may be reached at mortonjmarcus@yahoo.com.

Democrats are thanking Rev. Johnson

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – Crown Point's Ron Johnson made a couple of runs at becoming a member of the Indiana House of Representatives. Even though he hasn't made it, he continues to try to impact legislation. Johnson, a Republican, is pastor of the Living Stones Church in Crown Point and is leader of the Indiana Pastors Alliance. And he is likely to spend as much time in Indianapolis during the upcoming legislative session as he is at home.



Johnson was at center stage during the Legislature's Organization Day a couple of weeks ago. He and his entourage were at the Statehouse to protest attempts to add civil rights protections for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender Hoosiers to Indiana law. That is expected to be the dominant issue during the upcoming short session just as it was much of the long session earlier this year.

The anticipation that a controversial issue will dictate discussion during a short session is highly unusual. Generally, lawmakers want to get into and out of a short session with the least amount of damage. They want to return home to campaign for reelection.

And this year is particularly special because Gov. Mike Pence wants legislators to avoid making waves that could dampen his own bid for reelection. Pence and Johnson think a lot alike on civil rights for the LGBT community. But unfortunately for the governor, Johnson will keep the issue at the forefront.

The civil rights issue is a result of the Pence last session signing the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, which was seen by many as a license for discrimination against homosexuals. It also defined Pence's darkest hour as he went on national TV and failed miserably in defending the legislation. A boycott of Hoosier businesses followed.

The state's civil rights law bars discrimination in employment, housing and public accommodations based on race, religion, color, sex, disability, national origin or ancestry. Indiana Democrats, largely, want to add "sexual orientation, and gender equality" to the civil rights act. But Johnson and others think that addition to the civil rights act will infringe of their religious liberty.

Adding to the woes of GOP legislators is that the Indiana Chamber of Commerce, which largely backs Republicans, supports the addition of sexual orientation and gender identity to the civil rights law. But while Pence and Republican legislative leaders say they are looking for options or a compromise, Democrats are smiling and quietly thanking Crown Point's Ron Johnson. ❖

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.

John Krull, Statehouse File: When Democrat John Gregg runs against Indiana Gov. Mike Pence, a Republican, in the gubernatorial campaign next year, the wisest strategy for the challenger might be to sit quietly in a corner somewhere. Any activity on Gregg's part will just distract attention from the overarching issue — Pence's contentious and divisive leadership. In one way or another, I've been writing about Indiana politics for nearly 40 years. I've known eight governors, lawmakers by the hundreds and also-rans by the score. I long ago lost count of the number of committee meetings, press conferences and campaign events I've covered. And I never have seen a political leader as polarizing as Mike Pence. Hoosiers either love him or detest him. There seems to be no middle ground. That's why the Democratic candidate for governor is likely to be all but irrelevant to the outcome of next year's election. I know there are Republicans who believe — and Democrats who worry — that Gregg's history of landing on both sides of difficult issues at different times will make him vulnerable. Gregg has staked out, at varied times, differing positions on same-sex marriage, education reform and other controversial issues. Putting together TV spots made up of sound bites showing Gregg debating with himself in most campaigns would be devastating. But this is not likely to be most campaigns. The only other elected Indiana official in recent years who has aroused feelings of similar intensity was former Superintendent of Public Instruction Tony Bennett. One of the architects of Indiana's education reform movement, Bennett aroused both fervent loyalty and passionate animosity. Mike Pence has moved into Bennett country. His strident positions on education, same-sex marriage, Indiana's ill-advised Religious Freedom Restoration Act and, now, the issue of Syrian refugees have made him almost radioactive. The ballot next year will say Hoosiers have to make a choice between John Gregg and Mike Pence. In reality, the choice will be much simpler than that. Mike Pence, yea or nay? ❖



Charles Haynes, NWI Times: The horrific terrorist attacks of recent weeks have brought out the worst — and the best — in the American character. First, the worst: Attacks on Muslims have spiked significantly across the country. A number of American Muslims have been assaulted, including a pregnant woman in San Diego. Others have been harassed and intimidated. At least seven mosques have been vandalized, shot at or threatened. In this growing climate of fear, Syrian refugees fleeing violence and oppression have become scapegoats in the frustrating, seemingly endless war on terror. A majority of governors have announced the refugees would not be welcome in their states and at least one, Gov. Mike Pence of Indiana, has already turned away a Syrian family that had been thoroughly vetted for three years (fortunately, Connecticut stepped up to take them in). On the Republi-

can primary campaign trail, Jeb Bush and Ted Cruz called for a Christians-only admission policy for Syrians and Ben Carson compared refugees to "rabid dogs." Not to be outdone, Donald Trump made incendiary comments suggesting that, if elected, he would close mosques and establish a registry of American Muslims. Meanwhile, David Bowers, Democratic mayor of Roanoke, Va., suggested the government "sequester" Syrian refugees in the same way it did Japanese-Americans during World War II. Bowers later tried to walk back his comments by apologizing "to those offended by my remarks." Fear and prejudice appear to be a winning message. According to a recent poll, 54 percent of Americans oppose President Barack Obama's plan to admit just 10,000 Syrian refugees — a tiny fraction of the more than 4 million people displaced by the violence in Syria. Even more disheartening — to me at least — another poll finds that 30 percent of Republican voters in Iowa want Islam to be illegal in the United States. So much for the First Amendment. No refugee resettlement program is completely risk-free, no matter how robust the vetting process. But the far greater risk is to turn our backs on desperate people, condemning them to refugee camps (or worse) — places that can become breeding grounds for extremism. ❖

William Kristol, Weekly Standard:

How unusual is this year's GOP presidential race? Consider this: Here's roster of the 11 men who've won Republican presidential nominations going back to 1944: Mitt Romney, John McCain, George W. Bush, Bob Dole, George H.W. Bush, Ronald Reagan, Gerald Ford, Richard Nixon, Barry Goldwater, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Tom Dewey. Seven had previously run for the nomination before winning. Almost all were nominated after substantial time in public office or the public limelight; the two who might be considered exceptions (George W. Bush, who had only six years in office, and Mitt Romney, who had only four) were the sons of a former president and a former presidential candidate, respectively. Or look at it this way: In the 18 presidential elections going back to 1944 and constituting the voting lifetime of all but the very oldest primary voters, a Bush has been on the general election ballot six times, Richard Nixon five times, and the voters have had a chance thrice to consider, in the primaries and/or the general election, Bob Dole, Ronald Reagan, and a Romney. So this is a deeply conservative party accustomed to the discipline of repetition and the comfort of familiarity. But this year has of course been all topsy-turvy. The candidates who'd run before (Rick Perry, Rick Santorum, Mike Huckabee) haven't fared well. Nor have the "dynastic" candidates (Jeb Bush and Rand Paul), nor the ones with the most years in office (John Kasich, Lindsey Graham, George Pataki, Bobby Jindal). Instead, the four who now lead the pack include two men—one of them African-American—who've never held public office, and two young first-term Cuban-American senators. ❖

3 seeking HD62 in GOP caucus

BLOOMINGTON — Bloomington firefighter and tree-cutting business owner Jeff Ellington's interest in serving the public as a politician continues as he seeks HD62 seat vacated by Linton Republican state Rep. Matt Ubelhor (Lane, Bloomington Herald-Times). Ubelhor has resigned his seat effective today to pursue business opportunities at his longtime job as a mine manager with Peabody Energy, saying new obligations mean he can no longer devote adequate time to serve his constituents. District 62 Republican precinct committee leaders will vote on Ubelhor's replacement at a caucus Dec. 21 in Bloomfield. Ellington served on the Monroe County Council from 1997 to 2005 and was appointed Monroe County recorder last year after the death of Jim Fielder. "I am the limited-government believer who wants to let taxpayers keep more of their paychecks and wants businesses to be unleashed to their full potential," he said in a news release announcing his plan. Ellington joins Amy Lore, who worked as a speechwriter and adviser for former Lt. Gov. Becky Skillman and filed paperwork for the slot last week. She currently is the public relations, marketing and business development manager for Greene County General Hospital. Greene County Commissioner Nathan Abrams of Bloomfield also is a candidate for the seat.

Willis to challenge Sen. Kenley

WESTFIELD — Republican Hamilton County business owner Scott Willis announced that he is running for SD20, challenging Senate Appropriations Chairman Luke Kenley. "Hamilton County has seen tremendous growth in the last two decades in large part due to our great schools.

Our schools have consistently been asked to do more with less as our tax dollars are redistributed throughout the state," Willis said. "The current school funding formula has made it extremely difficult for our schools and puts education in Hamilton County at risk."

Lugar UIndy talk open to public

INDIANAPOLIS - As foreign policy becomes a leading issue in the 2016 presidential race, one of America's most respected voices on international affairs returns to the University of Indianapolis to share his insights on current tensions around the world. Former U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar will deliver the keynote address Saturday at the 39th annual Lugar Symposium for Tomorrow's Leaders, presented by UIndy's Richard

G. Lugar Academy. For the first time, the 10 a.m. opening program – including Lugar's address, which he has often cited as his most important annual public speech – will be open free to the general public. This year, the statesman plans to focus his talk on the challenges facing the United States in the Middle East, our relations with Russia and China, and concerns about information security and cyberwarfare. Seating is limited, and attendees are asked to register in advance at: uindylugarsymposium.eventbrite.com.

Allen Tea Party seeks delegates

FORT WAYNE — The Allen County Tea Party is urging its supporters to run next year for Republican precinct committee positions and to be delegates at the party's state convention (Francisco, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). The Tea Party said in a news release it is seeking people who would nominate or appoint "true constitutional conservatives" to local and state offices.

Black pastors rebuke Trump

NEW YORK - It seemed like a powerful counterpoint to the perception of Donald Trump as intolerant: A hundred black ministers and religious leaders would endorse him at his offices in Manhattan, vouching for his sensitivity and broad-mindedness (New York Times). But within hours of the announcement a few days ago, furious backtracking, denials and finger-pointing were underway. By Monday afternoon, the supposed declaration of support from a cross-section of African-Americans seemed to crumble as several pastors insisted they had never agreed to attend or back Mr. Trump. In the end, his political debut with black leaders was refashioned into a private meeting.

Clinton says no ISIS ground troops

NEW YORK -- Hillary Clinton said putting combat troops on the ground in Syria or Iraq is a "non-starter." The former secretary of state was speaking to "CBS This Morning" co-host Charlie Rose in an excerpt released Monday. The full interview will appear Tuesday morning. "At this point," Clinton said, "I cannot conceive of any circumstances where I would agree to do that because I think the best way to defeat ISIS is, as I've said, from the air which we lead, on the ground, which we enable, empower, train, equip and in cyberspace where don't forget they are a formidable adversary online."

Most families don't get into pre-K

INDIANAPOLIS — The majority of families who applied for Indiana's new preschool pilot program for disadvantaged children were turned away due to limited funding. Only about 43 percent of those who applied were accepted.

