



Gregg's campaign begins to emerge

Democrat's IACT appearance with Pence begins to lay out issues

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – For the past year, John Gregg has been in the shadows, dialing for dollars while Gov. Mike Pence has, for better or worse, dominated the headlines. Some have

suggested that the former Democratic House speaker should simply stay in the corner, and

let his rematch this November be a referendum on the incumbent and driven by the first-term Republican.

Last Thursday before the Indiana Association of Cities and Towns "Bootcamp" for newly elected officials, John Gregg 2.0



began to emerge. He preceded Gov. Pence, both giving about 20 minute addresses. Pence walked through a familiar litany of economic development benchmarks and the Healthy Indiana Plan 2.0. But with Gregg, the speech laid out the first cursory markers of the coming showdown.

While Gregg has taken a position on the LGBT civil rights expansion, most other policy matters had not taken form. That segment drew to a close on Thursday, and again on Monday when his building campaign released its first position paper calling for "greater

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Farming the Trump card

By **MARK SOUDER**

FORT WAYNE – It is not very often that the big business of agriculture is part of a major political story. Yet over the past few weeks in Iowa, and in Indiana, agriculture and the policies that support farming today have emerged as a potential major factor in Republican primaries – for President in Iowa, for United States Senate in Indiana and even the third district congressional race in northeast Indiana.

When I began my campaign for Congress in 1994 a 77-year-old farmer named Elmer Heinley asked me to sit down at his dinner table and discuss farming. He was moved to tears as he described the old days



“This legislation represents a good-faith effort to balance religious liberty and civil rights protections for gay and lesbian Hoosiers.”

- State Sen. Travis Holdman, after Senate Rules Committee passed SB344 by a 7-5 vote



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when the next generation farmed the family's land. Now the children move to big cities and the farmers wait to farm suburbanites.

But Elmer also raised some important basic policy questions that I never forgot. Obviously the costs of equipment, farmland, environmental regulations, seed, fertilizer, labor and other such expenses were turning agriculture into what WOWO radio in Fort Wayne had touted on its nationally famous "Little Red Barn Down on the Farm in Indiana" morning show as the "big business of farming."

There has been a steady decrease in the number of farmers and likely will continue to be. Should subsidies of many types attempt to slow this trend or at least give smaller farms a chance to survive? Times change but is such dramatic change always good? If smaller-scale farmers disappear what will the social impact be? How will green space in America be affected? Does anybody even talk about this?

If you oppose subsidies, does that include Purdue extension offices and their programs? What about the county 4-H fairs and state fairs that all the assistance props up? If there were five corporate farmers per county, the fairs wouldn't amount to much. There are soil and water districts, the federal rural development loans, the REMCs, ethanol subsidies, and hundreds of other programs that people don't even realize exist.

What happens to competition if the farms get consolidated as the processors have? Will the corporate conglomerates gain control of the land as well? For example, I remember discussing with John and Joe Hilger the incredible power of Lay's on the potato industry, which is just a tiny chip of the issue.

If America suddenly would drop agriculture subsidies, what would happen to food prices and food supply? Would food, even more essential than energy, be subject to the same boom/bust patterns, and become controlled by international cartels with

little concern for American interests? In his farmhouse in rural Whitley County, Elmer Heinley convinced me that the system, as messed up as it is, was worth preserving though it needed significant change.

Congressman Marlin

Stutzman also plunged into another area of controversy: WIC and food stamp programs that are under the Department of Agriculture and thus in their budget. Should they be considered farm programs or welfare programs (Stutzman argues welfare)?

When I first went to Washington in 1983 as Republican staff director of the House Select Committee on Children, Youth & Families, the Democrat staff director was Allan Stone. He had worked for Sen. George McGovern, with the particular responsibility for developing those programs. (Stone later became one of President Clinton's speechwriters.) He said that



McGovern and Republican sponsor Bob Dole had been interested in poor children, but that the political appeal for them in South Dakota and Kansas was that it would provide a market for farm products. Thus it became part of the Ag Department and its appropriations.

Do conservatives really think that moving these programs under welfare department supervision will improve their management? Shouldn't the goals of a taxpayer-funded program include supporting American farmers versus just finding the world's lowest prices for commodities? Does anyone today really believe that support programs for low income families are going to be cut by anybody?

In Iowa, government financing of agriculture has become vital to keeping Trump ahead of Ted Cruz. Even Sen. Chuck Grassley appeared at a Trump rally. Gov. Terry Branstad says that Cruz must not prevail. Not surprisingly, Iowa gets the most direct subsidies to farmers. Will agriculture subsidies be the factor that puts Trump over the top?

Here in Indiana, Senate candidate Stutzman rolled out his first ad, highlighting his farm background. The farm lobby opposes him because of Stutzman's opposition to their favored agricultural policies in Washington. I would argue that Stutzman's ad is not really about agriculture, but about the personal and social implications of being a homespun farmer in Indiana. It is a "values" commercial masquerading as an agricultural one.

In Iowa, personally conservative farmers are trying to decide if Trump's social positions and lifestyle are less important than his positions on government aid. In Indiana it is the reverse. Farmers are trying to decide if Stutzman's social conservatism trumps his public positions on aiding farmers.

But I used the word "public positions" carefully because it is still more complicated in real life. Over 60% of American farmers collect no subsidies. The top 10% collect about 75% of the direct subsidy dollars.

In my congressional agricultural advisory committee this debate was a point of some contention. Several members, including current 3rd District congressional can-

didate Kip Tom, were focused on not capping agricultural subsidies based upon income. Others maintained that the programs were designed to help smaller family farms survive, not make the big farmers richer.

Tom Farms has received millions in federal dollars. Marlin Stutzman has received at least a quarter million. Kip Tom argues, as do other corporate farmers, that it is the small farmers that inflate prices through inefficiency. Modern corporate farmers disdain the folksy "inefficient" family farmer Stutzman portrays.

My political takeaway is this. The farm lobby may feel under duress, but by its putting the subsidies first and foremost, and not acknowledging the more comprehensive mix of the cultural and economic issues, they are endangering their broader support in every race, including their indirect support of Donald Trump in Iowa, attacking Marlin Stutzman's Senate campaign in Indiana, and using corporate agricultural funding to prop up Kip Tom in the 3rd District.

As someone who supported almost all of the different agriculture efforts for 16 years in Congress, I am appalled at the tone deaf response of the industry in the political arena this cycle. Without some adjustments, it is the ag industry itself that could trigger the changes they fear. ❖

Souder is a former Republican congressman.

Gregg, from page 1

transparency." There was a clear political angle as it came on the first anniversary of Gov. Pence's JustIN controversy. "While this governor would have created a taxpayer-funded propaganda machine to control what information reporters and the public have access to, I want to throw open the doors of state government," Gregg said. "Times have changed. With advances in technology and following the lead of other states and communities, similar to what Mayor Pete Buttigieg did in South Bend, we can make our state government one of the most open and transparent in the nation. Hoosiers expect and deserve no less."

Gregg said he would create a Public Transparency Commission, strengthen powers of the public access counselor, and mandate a 10-day turnaround on public information requests.

The IACT speech, coming before a bipartisan audience of locally elected officials, became his campaign's policy outline.



Campaign preamble

Gregg spun this preamble:

"The press has been asking, 'What's your platform? What's your platform?' It may not be glitzy, but it's three simple steps. It's competence, it's common sense and it's inclusiveness," Gregg began. "Competence means you understand the needs of Hoosiers. Competence means that you learn about the problems. Competence means you understand state government and local government. Competence means you study the issues and you work to find a solution using common sense.

"I am a very pragmatic person. I am not an ideologue," Gregg continued. "If you want someone who follows a rigid ideology, I want to be candid, I am not your candidate. That's fine. We'll just disagree and it's not personal. But if you want someone who looks for that middle ground, someone who believes in reality, someone who believes in working with common sense, I'm your candidate."

On inclusion, Gregg continued, "When I say inclusion, I mean the LGBT community. I absolutely do. That time is long overdue. When I say inclusion, I ab-

solutely mean when you do education reform, you include teachers at the table." That line was met with prolonged applause.

"I also mean that when you say inclusion, you are talking about INDOT and highway issues. You reach out and talk with contractors. And architects and engineers and talk with people who build the roads," Gregg said. "You reach outside to the state's expertise, and invite and welcome these people. We can do better if all people have a seat at the table regardless of where you live, who you are, how much you make, who you live with or who you love. And being inclusive means something else. It means that each and every one of you are at the table, too."

Gregg issue silos

Gregg addressed five other issue silos:

■ **Local control:** "For too long the people at the Statehouse have been wrestling control away from local government and local leaders like you. That has got to stop," Gregg said to more applause. "Local government leaders, folks in this room, you know what your community needs, you know what's best. Local control should actually mean something and in a Gregg administration it will. As governor, I will respect you, your office, I will respect the job you were elected to do, I will work with you and the legislature. I will work with you on matters large and small and I will assure that you will always have a seat at our table. Ideas don't always come from the top down, so that's why including you is so important."

■ **Education:** "Education needs to be in the hands of teachers, parents, advocates, students and the local leaders, not Statehouse politicians," Gregg explained. "I can assure you as governor I will work with Supt. Ritz or whoever is in that office." Again, this line drew significant applause from local officials. "If we show teachers respect, that professional respect, and public schools respect, that will deal with this teacher shortage. I am all for accountability. Teachers want accountability, but we are over-testing our students. One of the things we need is early childhood education. In a \$30 billion budget, I will go over that budget and it is high time we have an optional pre-kindergarten program throughout the entire state. Community leaders tell me it will help grow our economy."

■ **Infrastructure:** Gregg took a subtle dig at

Pence, saying, "I will be unveiling my infrastructure plan in the next couple of weeks. We unveiled one in the summer of 2012, a comprehensive plan. With no personal disrespect, the governor put his out there last October. It will acknowledge and support local government, and we're going to give you control of your money." Gregg added, "We need to get more input from you, the contractors and we need to come up with a plan to forecast that, our future projects and our funding." And he said, "I'm not talking about just state roads and bridges, I am talking about all the roads and bridges. I'm talking about trains, and transit, and broadband and cell towers. That's all part of our infrastructure today. We have to have an adult conversation. We need to look at all of our assets at all levels of government and we have to find a way to pay for it. I am encouraged by the discussions coming out of all four of the caucuses with the legislature during this General Assembly."

■ **Crime and drug treatment:** The Democrat describes the narcotic crisis sweeping the state. "I want to partner with you in fighting crime and the horrible drug problem in Indiana," he said. "That scourge of drugs is in each one of our communities. I was told just Saturday that in my hometown of Sandborn, if I wanted heroin, I could

find it. When I was 18 years old, I couldn't even find a six-pack of beer. And you can buy heroin out in the middle of nowhere all over Indiana? This is a problem, with the property tax caps, we've got to make some fundamental changes and approach. For instance, other states have come up with innovative drug programs that curtail drug abuse. We've got to consider that here. We have to address drug rehab; drugs is an addiction. In many cases just locking people up

has huge draws and absolutely poor outcomes." On the methamphetamine issue, like Gov. Pence, Gregg does not address this crisis in a specific policy sense.

■ **Jobs and per capita income:** On this front, Gregg repeated calls for focusing not "on the number of jobs, but the quality of jobs." He explained, "Our state has many challenges. Our per capita income continues to slide and Hoosiers are making less."

Gregg also noted that "We are dead last in voter participation. Some call these challenges, but I see opportunities. They create a path forward and a vision for the future. We can only do that together. Democrat, Republican, rural and urban, north and south. We can only do



that with a leader who wants to serve as governor and not just be governor. On jobs, and education, infrastructure, the environment and crime, and not focus on divisive issues that hurt our economy."

Gregg began his speech, saying, "I am running for governor again. I believe with my experience I would be an effective chief executive officer. I believe I can make a difference and I believe I can be the servant leader Hoosiers want and Hoosiers deserve. I bring people together, regardless political party or ideology."

Campaign evolving

Jeff Harris joined the Gregg campaign as communications director earlier this month, and is also coordinating his policy initiatives. "You'll start seeing John's policy rollout," Harris said on Monday. Earlier, Harris said that more than 100 volunteers have been building the policy initiatives. "It will be comprehensive and far reaching. It will include topics such as veterans and the environment. We will be adding some policy, as we did today. A majority will come after the session. We'll be releasing policy statements all spring and summer."

That does not preclude Gregg weighing in as the General Assembly continues. "We'll have to see how the session rolls out," Harris said. "He's not commenting on bills right now. A lot of these issues won't get beyond committees, but when appropriate, he will weigh in." Harris added that the candidate and campaign will be watching the civil rights extension issue closely as it began in earnest on Wednesday, with the candidate likely to comment.

Gregg commented on the Visit Indy study which claimed that RFRA cost the state \$60 million in revenue. Gregg said Tuesday in a story picked up by the Washington Post, that the findings of tourism group Visit Indy were "further proof" that Gov. Mike Pence "hurt" Indiana's economy. The group polled conventions that chose other locations after the Pence-backed religious objections law that critics said sanctioned discrimination against gay people.

Asked about the widespread sentiment that the thrust of the Gregg campaign has essentially been as the "anti-Pence," Harris said, "It's incredibly early in the campaign at this point. Look back in history and this is not unusual. Right now the media is focused on the General Assembly. As this campaign continues, John will be on the record for every issue facing Hoosiers. On many policy issues, John has a long history and a long record. We'll update a lot of those positions as the result of the legislature and what Mike Pence and his administration do."

Building the campaign

Tim Henderson has been in place as campaign director and Kristen Jones is finance director. Both have worked in those roles for much of 2015, a time when Gregg raised \$2 million.

Harris came on board in the first week of January and this week, Kasey Kendrick was named campaign scheduler. She has worked in similar positions with Gov. Frank O'Bannon, U.S. Rep. Andre Carson and U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly.

The Gregg campaign is currently weighing contracts with a pollster and media consultants, though Harris said there is "nothing formal" at this point. Next week, Gregg will file his certified ballot signatures and will hold a media availability.

Rematch prospects

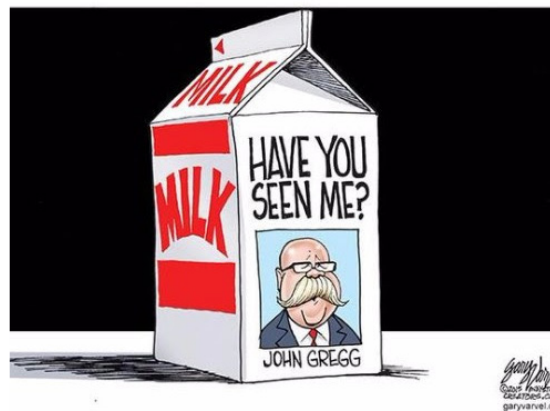
Many state and national observers believe this will be a tight, competitive race. Howey Politics Indiana's Horse Race will begin its race ratings in its Feb. 11 edition, following the Feb. 5 primary filing deadline.

Governing Magazine did make a rating change, moving it this week from "Leans Republican" to tossup. It noted: By now, many had expected Pence to have rebounded from a botched attempt to pass a religious freedom law that spawned a pro-LGBT backlash among Democrats and the GOP-leaning business community. But a year later, Pence is still hobbled by that controversy, which remains unsettled due to pending legislation. Once seen as a rising GOP star with national ambitions, Pence can't seem

to make anyone at either end of the spectrum – and even those in the middle – happy. Republican legislators, who have a supermajority, have shown little deference, and Pence's highly billed State of the State address, intended to turn a new page, doesn't appear to have changed minds. Pence will have money to spend on his reelection, and he should benefit from an improving economy in the conservative state. Still, this contest, already competitive when we last looked, has moved toward the Democrats, as Gregg, who lost narrowly to Pence in 2012, has coalesced Democratic support. Gregg isn't considered a great campaigner, but he raised \$2 million during the last half of 2015. A possible Libertarian candidacy could have an impact too; Pence won in 2012 by a narrow plurality, not a majority. This contest could bounce back and forth before Election Day. For now, though, we're moving the race from leans Republican to tossup.

Pence prospects

Gov. Pence used his IACT speech to hit on a number of familiar themes. He told the local officials that



working with local government means economic development projects in an effort to create jobs. He also cited the Regional Cities Initiative designed to get regions of the state to work on common projects, noting that the Senate Appropriations Committee had just approved the expansion from two regions to three just minutes before. "If you see someone knocking around your town, know that the Indiana Economic Development Corporation moves at the speed of business and we are ready to springload and make that investment," Pence said.



Wednesday, and whether it can even make it over to the House, let alone a bill reaching the governor's desk. How Pence would handle any legislation is one of the great unknowns of the 2016 election cycle at this point. Even more so will be the reaction if he signs legislation, vetoes it and faces an override, or if nothing happens.

In the "nothing happens" scenario, the danger for Pence is he will have little control over what happens next. If there is an erosion of support in the GOP's business wing, or if key economic

development drivers such as major conventions or the NCAA considers moving its headquarters, those become major stories beyond the March 15 legislative sine die. Howey Politics Indiana will follow up this status report on the Gregg campaign with a similar one for Gov. Pence in late March.

On Tuesday, Indiana Workforce Development issued its December jobs report, showing the jobless rate remained static at 4.4%, considered in the Pence camp a significant campaign plank. When Pence took office in January 2013, the jobless rate was above 8%. "After closing out a year of record economic development and private sector employment in Indiana, I welcome the news that our unemployment rate remains at its lowest point in more than a decade," Pence said Tuesday. "The fact that more Hoosiers are working than ever before is worth celebrating, but I remain confident that we can build an Indiana ever more prosperous in the months and years ahead. Hoosiers can rest assured that this administration will continue to pursue the kinds of policies that have made record economic development and employment the hallmarks of our economy."

Pence faces a critical six weeks. While his senior staff believes he laid out key markers on the LGBT civil rights expansion, many in the Statehouse community saw the governor's position is murky. It is unclear how that issue will evolve in the Indiana Senate, which began debate

Pence orders flags lowered for principal

Indiana Gov. Mike Pence has ordered flags to be flown at half-staff in honor of an elementary school principal who pushed children out of the way before being struck and killed by a school bus. Pence's office says flags will be lowered at state facilities in Marion County from sunrise to sunset on the day of Susan Jordan's funeral, which has not yet been announced. The governor is also asking businesses and residents to lower flags. Jordan was the principal of Amy Beverland Elementary School in Indianapolis, on the city's far northeast side. She was killed Tuesday when a school bus suddenly lurched forward and went over a curb outside the school. Two 10-year-old children were also struck. ❖

Photography With Punch
A Fresh Look At Indiana Politics
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9 legislators face primaries; challengers have virtually no funds

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – With the filing deadline just eight days away, and volatile issues such as the civil rights extension and the A to F ISTEP grades for schools, the threat of a widespread primary challenge scenario has yet to surface.



Only three incumbent senators and six House incumbents are currently facing primaries. Of the House incumbents, only one, State Rep. Jeff Ellington, was appointed in December.

There are other contested primaries in two open Senate seats and two in the House. None of the nine incumbents had opponents who were credibly financed at this point in the cycle.

Both social conservative activist groups and the Free Enterprise business PAC headed by former Angie's List CEO Bill Oesterle have suggested that if the civil rights issue isn't resolved in their favor, they might seek primary challengers. But there is little evidence that a coordinated campaign is under way. None of the incumbents challenged has played a conspicuous role in any of the civil rights or education controversies. There have been no splashy press conferences or news releases sent out for any of the challengers that tend to happen when a serious effort is under way to target an incumbent.

Tea Party activist Monica Boyer wrote on her "Not on My Watch" blog, "Last year after the Indiana General Assembly fell hook, line, and sinker for the economic terrorism threats and media bully tactics, they passed the unconstitutional RFRA 'fix.' Hoosiers watched as Speaker Bosma and Senator Long stood arm in arm with homosexual activists and big corporations on the house floor during a press conference. That day, the activists promised to be back this session with full demands for special rights and forced acceptance. They didn't hide their agenda a bit. There was no question where they were headed. They let lawmakers know they would take the 'fix' and be back for more. And they are back."

Both Long and Bosma are up for reelection, and Long acknowledged to Howey Politics Indiana in November that there could be political consequences for his role in creating SB100. "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."

Bosma is sitting on a \$1.2 million war chest and President Long has \$533,000.

Challenges to leadership usually happen months in advance, though not always. Then-Johnson County Councilman Brent Waltz began his successful 2004 challenge to Senate Finance Chairman Larry Borst in mid 2003. But in 2006, Greg Walker hadn't made a decision to challenge Senate President Pro Tempore Robert Garton until January, just before the filing deadline. Walker had no electoral history prior to his stunning upset of Garton.

Filing deadline is at noon Friday, Feb. 5. Here are the contested primary General Assembly races thus far: Senate primaries: SD12 Blake Doriot v. Joanna King (open); SD20 Sen. Luke Kenley v. Scott Willis; SD24 John Crane v. Sen. Pete Miller; SDS44 Josh Anderson v. State Rep. Eric Koch (open); SD50 Jeremy Heath v. Sen. Vaneta Becker. House primaries: HD17 Jesse Bohannon v. Jack Jordan (open); HD28 Luke Stephenson v. Rep. Jeffrey Thompson; HD59 Lew Wilson v. Rep. Milo Smith; HD62 Sawyer Sparks v. Rep. Jeff Ellington; HD69 Nancy Franke v. Rep. Jim Lucas; HD72 Michael Harkness v. Rep. Steven Davison; HD77 Billy Garrett v. Henrietta Jenkins (open);



Senate Appropriations Chairman Luke Kenley (left) is facing a primary challenge from Scott Willis, but has a huge cash advantage. Senate President Pro Tempore David Long doesn't have a primary opponent to date, and sits on \$533,000. (HPI Photo by Mark Curry)

HD85 Denny Worman v. Rep. Casey Cox.

Here is the current financial data for incumbents facing a primary challenge:

■ **SD20:** Senate Appropriations Chairman Luke Kenley raised \$104,000 in 2015 and reported \$250,190 cash on hand. Scott Willis for State Senate committee reported no financial activity. Willis does have financially influential backers such as Fred Klipsch, so the late big donation reporting will be essential in the homestretch of

this campaign.

■ **SD24:** Sen. Pete Miller raised \$1,005 and had \$24,109 cash on hand. The Crane for Indiana Committee had not filed a financial summary.

■ **SD50:** Sen. Becker had \$197,964 cash on hand at the end of 2014. Her 2015 report was not listed on the Secretary of State portal. There was no committee filing for Heath.

■ **HD28:** Rep. Thompson raised \$15,280 and had \$9,872 cash on hand. The Committee to Elect Luke Stephenson reported no financial activity.

■ **HD59:** Rep. Smith raised \$57,071 in 2015 and had \$15,778 cash on hand. The Committee to Elect Lew Wilson did not report any financial activity.

■ **HD62:** Neither the Friends of Jeff Ellington or the Committee to Elect Sawyer Sparks had filed any financial information.

■ **HD69:** Rep. Lucas raised \$16,690 in 2015 and had \$384 cash on hand and his primary opponent Franke had not filed a cycle summary.

■ **HD73:** Rep. Davisson raised \$20,480 in 2015 and reported an ending balance of \$8,605. The Committee to Elect Michael A. Harkness did not file a financial report.

■ **HD85:** Rep. Cox raised \$47,031 in 2015 and had \$2,978 cash on hand. Worman's campaign committee is listed as "disbanded."

HD26: Rep. Truitt won't seek reelection.

One year after Election Day for the past eight years, state Rep. Randy Truitt said he took stock of what he was doing in the General Assembly and asked whether he was ready to run for another two-year term (Bangert, Lafayette Journal & Courier). "For the first five years or so, after sitting down with friends and family, it's been an almost immediate decision to keep at it," Truitt said Tuesday. "For the past few years, it's been more trying, taking more time to come to 'yes.' This year, that dragged into the new year and a new session. I guess I knew. ... I didn't come down here for a career."



On Tuesday morning, the West Lafayette Republican announced he plans to retire from the legislature at the end of the year and will not run for reelection in House District 26. Truitt said he wanted to spend more time with his business, the real estate firm Main Street Management, and his family. "Being home for the remaining part of my daughter's senior year of high school is really important to me," Truitt said. "My youngest is in eighth grade, and I

am looking forward to being there for him. And of course it will be great to more freely enjoy watching my son, Peyton, play football at Purdue." The announcement came as a surprise, coming a little more than a week before the Feb. 5 deadline to file to be on the May primary ballot (Lafayette Journal & Courier). Truitt said that among the phone calls and text messages he'd received Tuesday were "four or five people who said they were interested in information about what it takes to run and do the job." "I imagine there will be more," Truitt said. Attempts to reach Chuck Hockema, Tippecanoe County Republican Party chairman, were not immediately successful Tuesday. District 26 includes a large part of West Lafayette, the southern part of Lafayette and the western parts of Tippecanoe County. Democrat Deanna McMillan, who is an adjunct professor of construction engineering at the Ivy Tech Community College's Corporate College, filed last week to run in District 26.

HD3: Rep. Brown seeking reelection

State Rep. Charlie Brown (D-Gary) has filed for reelection to the House District 3 seat he currently holds in the Indiana State Legislature. "Embracing the future rather than fearing it often involves hard work and perseverance, however. It's not something that 'just happens.' For many years, I believe I have exhibited these characteristics at the Indiana House of Representatives here at the Statehouse," Brown said.

HD48: Doctor to challenge Miller

Jim Barnes, a retired doctor active in the Elkhart County Democratic Party, will run for the Indiana House seat now held by Rep. Doug Miller, a Republican (Vandennack, Elkhart Truth). Barnes, an internist at the Elkhart Clinic for 25 years before retiring, said Wednesday that public education is his top issue. Miller will seek a second term this year, and Barnes said it would be "a mistake" to let him run unopposed. Barnes also cited Miller's support of legislation last year that would have stripped Indiana Education Superintendent Glenda Ritz, a Democrat, of the chairmanship of the State Board of Education. Barnes backs Ritz. "Overall, I think Doug Miller should not be a rubber stamp for the Pence administration ... particularly when it comes to education policy," Barnes said.

HD77: Four seeking to replace Riecken

The list of candidates for Rep. Gail Riecken's District 77 seat has grown to four, with Evansville native Brandon Ferguson officially filing this week (Osowski, Evansville Courier & Press). Ferguson, a union tradesman and part-time student, will run on the Democratic ticket, setting up a May primary battle with deputy prosecutor Ryan Hatfield, who filed earlier this month. Ferguson, a father of three, said he doesn't have much political experience but thinks as a member of the working class, he is best suited to represent the people of Evansville. "Time

and time again, the working class is either forgotten or being taken advantage of," Ferguson said. Riecken decided not to run for reelection after losing the race for Evansville mayor to Lloyd Winnecke. The race for the vacated seat is one of the more competitive races in Indiana early on, with four candidates already filing. On the Republican side, Rev. Billy Garrett will be facing Henrietta Jenkins in May's primary.

SD3: Washington files

A Gary community leader who was defeated in a 2012 primary challenge to state Sen. Earline Rogers, D-Gary, will try again this year now that the veteran Region lawmaker is retiring (Carden, NWI Times). Darren Washington, president of the Calumet Township board and former president of the Gary school board, last week filed paperwork with the secretary of state to run for the Democratic nomination in Senate District 3. "We must also preserve and create new employment opportunities by supporting our unions through continuous construction projects and supporting existing small businesses with revenue generation possibilities," he said.

U.S. Senate

Young launches sustained TV ad campaign

Indiana's Republican U.S. Senate race took an emphatic turn Monday when U.S. Rep. Todd Young commences what his campaign calls a "sustained" TV ad campaign.

Young was the first of the three candidates to go up on the air, running a TV ad during the first Republican presidential debate last summer. Earlier this month, U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman began airing a TV on cable outlets in Indianapolis and Fort Wayne. But Young's TV ad buy is different, in that he is sitting on a \$2.6 million war chest, more than twice as big as his closest rival, Stutzman, a farmer from Howe.

It comes in a race with no clear heir apparent to the retiring U.S. Sen. Dan Coats. While there has been no public polling in the race to date, Young's clear money advantage gives him a traditional advantage over opponents like Eric Holcomb, the former Indiana Republican chairman, who has touted dozens of endorsements and what he calls a grassroots network.

The Young TV ad introduces the Bloomington Republi-

can as an effective conservative. The ad's text:

VO: Meet the tough pro-life conservative, Todd Young. A childhood mopping floors in the family small business. Then, the Naval Academy and Marines. Now? He's focused on simplifying the tax code for hardworking Americans. And Todd Young's landmark bill would stop Obama from issuing even more job-killing regulations. A bill hailed by conservative leaders across the country. That's the kind of leader we need in the U.S. Senate.

TY: I'm Todd Young and I approve this message.

Stutzman, who filed on Tuesday, is articulating his profession as a farmer, with his first TV ad titled, "We Need a Farmer," saying that "Washington doesn't need another lawyer, it needs a farmer."

Young out-raised Stutzman \$750,000 to \$335,000 during the fourth quarter of 2015. The third candidate, Holcomb, raised \$60,000 for the period. Young's \$2.6 million cash on hand towers over the approximate \$1 million for the Stutzman campaign. Stutzman has been endorsed by Club For Growth, but the CFG PAC did not include Stutzman in a year-end bundling appeal, allowing Young a key money advantage. While Holcomb's fundraising has been anemic and his cash on hand is well below \$500,000, he has been endorsed by former Angie's List CEO Bill Oesterle, who has formed a PAC that could potentially fund a future Holcomb TV ad campaign. Oesterle has been polling on behalf of the civil rights expansion in the Indiana General Assembly and presumably has surveyed the U.S. Senate race.

Stutzman's campaign refers to the candidate as a "fourth generation farmer" he says "has benefited from the support of a strong grassroots network of conservative Hoosiers."

"We are pleased to have the help and support of so many Hoosiers as we cross this threshold. Now, the real work of defeating the ruling class in D.C. begins," Stutzman stated.

But Holcomb's campaign announced he had picked up the endorsement of former Indiana Farm Bureau President Don Villwock. "Just because he's a farmer doesn't mean he gets our support," Villwock told Politico last week. In endorsing Holcomb, Villwock said, "I think the quality I admire most about Eric Holcomb, and the reason I'm endorsing him, is his outstanding ability to listen. I could take extremely



U.S. Rep. Todd Young's TV begins what the campaign calls a "sustainable" statewide ad campaign that will extend through the May 3 primary. In lower photo, U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman, family and supporters watch as he files at the Secretary of State's office on Monday.

complex agriculture issues to him and he would ask great questions, repeat what I had said to make sure he understood the problem and then would immediately start working on potential solutions.”

Holcomb filed his campaign papers on Wednesday, saying, “I am grateful to everyone who volunteered their time to collect the signatures necessary to get us on the ballot in May. I am also grateful to all those who came to the Statehouse today to show their support. It is because of you that this campaign is growing every day, and it is because of you that we will show Washington, D.C., there is a better way.”



Eric Holcomb files and chats with Secretary of State Connie Lawson.

Senate Straw Poll on Feb. 6

The Republican Central Committee for Indiana’s Sixth CD will sponsor a forum and straw poll next month for candidates running for the U.S. Senate. The event will take place from 9 a.m. to noon on Feb. 6 in the auditorium at Rushville Consolidated High School, 1201 Park Blvd. in Rushville. Eric Holcomb, Rep. Marlin Stutzman and Rep. Todd Young have confirmed their participation.

Congress

2nd CD: Walorski files

Rep. Walorski (IN-2) visited the Statehouse to officially file paperwork for reelection to Congress in Indiana’s 2nd District. While at the Statehouse, she addressed the House and Senate chambers. Rep. Walorski said, “I’m honored and grateful to serve the hardworking Hoosiers of Indiana’s 2nd District. The support I’ve received from every corner of the district has been overwhelming.

I remain committed to fighting for our veterans, service members, farmers, entrepreneurs and small business owners, and the families I’m fortunate to represent.” Her campaign also announced they started 2016 with over \$750,000 in the bank. Democrat Lynn Coleman of South Bend filed earlier this month.

3rd CD: Banks first on the air

State Sen. Jim Banks kicked off his 3CD ad campaign titled “Service.” The advertisement features Jim’s wife, Amanda, who served in Jim’s place in the State Senate while Jim deployed to Afghanistan in 2014 and 2015. Amanda states: “Our prayers were answered; Jim returned

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to us safely after an eight-month deployment to Afghanistan. Jim left his life, his family and his career to serve his nation and keep us safe. While Jim served our country overseas, I was honored to take his place and serve our district in the State Senate. For Jim, it's a calling to protect and defend America and the liberties we hold dear; and he'll do the same in Congress."

Eagle Forum PAC, a conservative public policy organization founded by pro-family leader Phyllis Schlafly, endorsed Banks. Mrs. Schlafly released the following statement: "I am proud to endorse State Sen. Jim Banks. He is a vital voice for Indiana as a proven conservative leader. Rarely do you find a candidate of Jim's stature, someone who has served the public as a consistent conservative, who is dedicated to his family, and who has defended our nation from its enemies."

3rd CD: Tom files

Republican businessman and family farmer Kip Tom has officially filed to appear on the ballot for United States representative in Indiana's 3rd Congressional District. Tom submitted his paperwork with Secretary of State Connie Lawson Wednesday and made the following statement: "Since announcing my candidacy, I have been humbled by the positive reaction I've received from Republicans in the 3rd District. They are tired of continuing to send career politicians to Washington and are hungry for a conservative outsider with real business experience."

6th CD: Messer files

Luke Messer filed for reelection to continue serving in Indiana's 6th Congressional District, a 19-county region including Decatur County and stretching from Delaware County to Jefferson and Switzerland counties along the Ohio River (Greensburg Daily News). "It's an honor to serve Hoosiers in east-central and southeastern Indiana, and I am grateful for the trust they have placed in me to represent them in Washington," Messer stated after his filing. "These are challenging times for our nation, but I believe our priorities are clear: We must protect our national security, defeat Islamic extremist terrorists and get our economy moving again," Messer continued.

8th CD: Orentlicher raises \$101,000

Dr. David Orentlicher announced Tuesday that he surpassed



State Sen. Jim Banks (top) became the first GOP candidate to go up on TV in the 3rd CD, and Trey Hollingsworth did the same in the 9th CD GOP race.

his fundraising goal for the fourth quarter of 2015. Despite not launching his campaign until mid-November, Orentlicher raised \$101,352 by the end of 2015 (plus another \$223 from in-kind candidate donations). All of the contributions came from 130 individual donors, with no PAC dollars, and a median contribution of \$250. Cash on hand at the end of the year totaled \$100,751.69. "We are gratified by the strong support we are receiving," said Orentlicher. "We've been emphasizing the need for real economic opportunity in the 8th District, and voters are responding enthusiastically." Should he be nominated, he would face U.S. Rep. Larry Bucshon.

9th CD: Hollingsworth begins TV ads

Trey Hollingsworth began running attack ads against Attorney General Greg Zoeller, portraying Zoeller as a career politician. He ends the ad, saying, "I am Trey Hollingsworth, businessman, an outsider and Christian conservative."

9th CD: Houchin files

State Sen. Erin Houchin filed as a candidate for United States representative on the Republican primary ballot in Indiana's 9th Congressional District this week (Bedford Times-Mail). "I'm running for Congress because our country, our state and the 9th District need and deserve conservative leadership in Washington. In the last seven years, the Obama presidency has done nothing to fix what is broken in Washington," Houchin said in a prepared statement. "The issues our country faces are too great to stand idly by. I have lived, worked and served in the 9th District all my life, and I look forward to being the strong conservative leader that we need in Washington."

Statewides

Dr. Jennifer McCormick, the superintendent of Yorktown Community Schools, will make an announcement regarding the Superintendent of Public Instruction race at 9 a.m. in the Indiana Statehouse South Atrium. Dr. McCormick will hold events in Jeffersonville, Evansville, South Bend and Fort Wayne over the next two days as well as make stops in Terre Haute, Lafayette and Munster.

Wednesday Filings: Democrats:

Todd Nighthenheler CD3, John Dale CD4, Tom Pappas SD40, State Rep. Scott Pelath HD9, David Russ HD39. **Republican:** John R. Kasich president, Eric Holcomb U.S. Senate, Trey Hollingsworth CD9, Gerry Keen HD26. ❖

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Civil rights expansion passes first hurdle

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The first chapter of Indiana’s civil rights expansion barely passed its first hurdle Wednesday night by a 7-5 vote in the Senate Rules Committee, with business interests and LGBT advocate critical of the effort for omitting transgender Hoosier citizens. Republicans said



the transgender issue was too complicated to be included at this point. Family groups characterized the legislation as a “dramatic erosion of religious liberties.”

Senate Republicans said that SB 344 would add sexual orientation, active duty military status and veteran status as protected classes in Indiana’s civil rights laws for employment, housing and public accommodations, while also including provisions aimed at protecting Hoosiers’ religious liberty and rights of conscience. The bill would charge a legislative study committee with examining issues related to discrimination based on gender identity.

“This legislation represents a good-faith effort to balance religious liberty and civil rights protections for gay and lesbian Hoosiers,” State Sen. Travis Holdman said. “We all know this is a contentious issue, but I believe it’s one the General Assembly must address and I look forward to continuing the discussion in the days ahead.”

Freedom Indiana campaign manager Chris Paulsen reacted, saying, “Lawmakers still aren’t listening. Tonight, they took a bad bill and made it worse for LGBT people in our state who have to live each day in fear that they could be fired, denied housing or turned away from a public place for who they are. Senate Bill 344 continues to fall far short of ending legal discrimination against LGBT people in our state. As amended, it repeals the Indiana Religious Freedom Restoration Act but replaces it with substandard protections that omit transgender people entirely and provide religious carveouts that undermine the very purpose of the civil rights law. We will continue to work with lawmakers to fix this bill, but we are disappointed that they have not made the substantive changes we know a majority of Hoosiers want to make our state open and welcoming to all people.”

And Indiana Competes, a business coalition, also expressed frustration. “Peter Hanscom, initiative director of Indiana Competes, said, “The legislature had a chance

to strengthen Indiana tonight and make our state more competitive, but this opportunity was not seized. We want to believe the General Assembly is sincere in their efforts to pass meaningful legislation to eliminate discrimination, but tonight’s hearing showed Indiana missing another opportunity. The Hoosier business community has said from the beginning that Indiana must be a place that welcomes all, not most. We respect the legislative process and will continue to work with the General Assembly, but we will not support a final bill that does not provide for equal rights for the entire LGBT community.”

“This is a part of the process,” Sen. Brandt Hershman, R-Buck Creek, told the Evansville Courier & Press. “This is a boat to get us to the next point.”

Senate Republicans cited the major provisions, which included:

- Adds sexual orientation, active duty military status and veteran status as protected classes in Indiana’s civil rights laws for employment, housing, and public accommodations.

- Calls for a legislative study committee to examine the topic of discrimination based on gender identity.

- Provides exemptions to the sexual orientation provisions for clergy, religious organizations, and small businesses of five or fewer employees engaged in marriage-related activities (same as current employer exemption in Indiana civil rights law).

- Replaces Indiana’s RFRA law by codifying the existing “material burden” standard of judicial review established by the Indiana Supreme Court for claims involving Hoosiers’ state

constitutional rights to freedom of speech, thought, conscience, religion, the press, and assembly. This would return Indiana to the same legal standard for these core constitutional rights that existed before RFRA was enacted last year.

- Prohibits government entities from taking discriminatory action against clergy or religious organizations based on actions taken in accordance with their religious beliefs regarding marriage.

- Mirrors federal law in allowing religious-affiliated state contractors to limit their hiring to people who follow the organization’s teachings.

- Prohibits government entities from denying any license, including a marriage license, to a person based on their lawful activities related to marriage or sexual orientation.

- Maintains all local civil rights ordinances as they existed on Dec. 31, 2015. Prohibits new local ordinances from differing with state law regarding what classes are



Senate Minority Leader Tim Lanane testifies as Sen. Travis Holdman listens during debate over SB100 and SB344.

covered and what penalties can be levied.

"It is going to go to the floor of the Senate where there will be a robust debate and its fate is unknown," Senate President Pro Tempore David Long said. "We don't know what will be the outcome, but we'll have the discussion and we'll see where it goes."

Senate Minority Leader Tim Lanane, D-Anderson, was critical. "Last year, the Republican-inflicted fight over RFRA resulted in great damage and exposed enormous deficiencies in Indiana's Civil Rights protections. In large areas of our state, it's legal for LGBT Hoosiers to be married on Saturday and fired for it Monday," Lanane said. "Since then, Hoosiers have called on lawmakers to send a strong signal, to make very clear that Indiana does not condone discrimination. Tonight, Republican leadership failed that task spectacularly. They took a step backwards and passed a bill that seemingly overcomplicates what is a very simple question: does Indiana permit discrimination or doesn't it? Almost equal rights. Allowing 'a little bit' of discrimination – as under SB 344 – won't cut it.

The Senate Rules Committee hearing brought a diverse and expected range of perspective. Curt Smith of the Indiana Family Institute warned that the two bills would be "dramatic erosion of religious liberties," adding, "our convictions is freedoms are not to be reapportioned from time to time." Smith added, "Don't be the first legislature in Indiana to erode our religious freedoms and liberties."

Proponents of the legislation included Indiana Chamber of Commerce President Kevin Brinegar, who said it was time to update Indiana's first civil rights expansion in nearly half a century, and Indiana Wesleyan University President David Wright, who said that "all law-abiding citizens should have legal protections." Wright added, "We are in the midst of time when our social fabric is stretched close to a breaking point. I am struck of how often fear and anger are the subtext of our conversation."

How they voted on SB344

Voting Yes: Republicans: David Long, Fort Wayne; Brent Steele, Bedford; James Merritt, Indianapolis; Brandt Hershman, Buck Creek; Doug Eckerty, Yorktown; Ed Charbonneau, Valparaiso; Travis Holdman, Markle.

Voting no: Democrats: Tim Lanane, Anderson; Jim Arnold, LaPorte; Jean Breaux, Indianapolis; Karen Talian, Ogden Dunes. Republican: Dennis Kruse, Auburn.

Super RFRA sidelined

The first volley in the civil rights battles expected to play out in the General Assembly today ended in an abrupt fashion. After State Sen. Mike Young introduced SB66, telling a packed Statehouse hearing room that the

bill was designed to "protect the rights of everyone in this room," Senate Judiciary Chairman Brent Steele pulled the plug, saying "Due to the fact that it has been mischaracterized by some in this room, and outside this room, and will be demagogued — the timing is incorrect," Steele said. "Probably next year will be a good chance to have a legal discussion about protecting our constitutional rights."

Steele, R-Bedford, said the bill, sometimes referred to as "Super RFRA," designed to override the Religious Freedom Restoration Act and the subsequent "fix" should return during the 2017 session.



Senate Judiciary Chair Brent Steele and Sen. Mike Young as Steele pulls the plug on SB66.

Young said the legislation was designed to "protect your rights," and to allow Hoosiers to "practice your religion." But he also noted that there were "people who want to demagogue and fear-monger." He added, "Remember, I had a bill that would protect your rights."

Freedom Indiana campaign manager Chris Paulsen's reaction was jubilant, saying the committee "just decided to not advance SB66, the 'Super RFRA' bill! That means this heinous

bill is almost certainly dead for this legislative session—and it's because of your hard work. It's definitely a relief that Hoosiers will be spared a second RFRA-fueled tragedy. But lawmakers shouldn't pat themselves on the back quite yet. It's unfathomable that willingly taking our state down this same dark road of destruction was even up for consideration. Even more importantly, rejecting SB66 does nothing to solve the real problems we know are facing Indiana: LGBT Hoosiers have no explicit protections."

"We've been clear from the beginning that this bill does nothing to solve the problem of discrimination against LGBT people, but instead sent the message that some Indiana lawmakers are still not serious about making certain that all people have equal rights. Moving forward, we must focus on real solutions to our real problems," said Indy Chamber CEO Michael Huber.

Sunday alcohol sales bill fails

A bill that would have allowed Sunday sales met the same fate as many similar bills before it — the measure was quickly voted down five to eight in the House public policy committee (Smith, Indiana Public Media). Several members of the committee, including Representative Ed Clere, R-New Albany, cited concerns about access to alcohol in pharmacies and grocery stores. "I especially have concerns about the placement and display and access to hard liquor," Clere said. But Rep. Tom Dermody says his bill has nothing to do with those issues. I believe if that was a big issue we would have been filled with bills to deal with that in this session," he said. Patrick Tamm of the Indiana Association of Beverage Retailers said, "We are pleased to see the committee recognize a necessary comprehensive public policy solution regarding how and where alcohol is sold." ❖

House Public Health OKs meth bills

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – An amended HB1390, designed to keep manufacturing levels of pseudoephedrine out of the hands of notorious methamphetamine cooks passed the House Public Health Committee 11-1.

The amended bill would give the Indiana Pharmacy Board and the Indiana State Police some oversight in determining provisions of “patients of record” which would give law-abiding Hoosiers full access to purchase PSE products such as Sudafed.

The bill would prevent meth cooks and smurfs – consumers who are not known to pharmacies – from purchasing the 120 mg packets that have fueled what prosecutors say are tens of thousands of meth labs across the state, making Indiana the domestic meth production leader in the United States for three consecutive years.

A key complaint about rescheduling PSE was the proverbial law-abiding consumer needing Sudafed at 11 p.m. on a Saturday night. State Rep. Charlie Brown, D-Gary, asked Smaltz, “Does this cover this common concern? Would mommies be able to get it at 11 or 12 at night?”

Smaltz responded, “It would be very difficult not to get PSE. She would be able to get the tamper resistant product.” Tamper resistant PSE cannot be used by meth cooks.

Public Health Committee Chairwoman Cindy Kirchhofer, R-Beech Grove, praised the work of Smaltz, who had originally proposed rescheduling PSE. But he worked diligently over the past couple of weeks to find a compromise. “I don’t know if I’ve ever seen anyone work as hard on a bill as you have,” Kirchhofer said.

Earlier this month, Kirchhofer had declared that the anti-meth bills would not advance. Smaltz told HPI that House Speaker Brian

Bosma had made it known that he wanted to see legislation advance to the House floor.

Kirchhofer voted for the bill, saying that while she had reservations, “I am voting for the state of Indiana. When I vote in my district, this is a negative vote. I may take a different action on the floor. I want to get this on the floor for consideration.” She cited polling in her district that had 68% of her constituents against rescheduling.

But Kirchhofer’s Beech Grove district had only a couple of dozen meth labs since 2007, compared to more than 700 in Smaltz’s Allen, DeKalb and Steuben county district. Some 1,533 meth labs were busted statewide in 2014. “This compromise will work for me where I’m at and won’t inconvenience people where there’s no problem,” he said.

State Rep. Ed Clere, R-New Albany, was the lone vote against the bill advancing the House floor.

State Rep. Steve Davisson, R-Salem, who is a pharmacist, recommended that the start date for a potential enrolled act be July 1. Davisson said that this would allow legislators and law enforcement officials to gauge the effectiveness of the potential law for the last six months of the year. In his vote, Davisson said, “I think this will stop smurfers from getting 120 mg. I vote yes.”

Smaltz told HPI shortly after the vote, “It is a war that rages. Today we won a battle and I am happy we did.”

On Monday, prosecutors like Mike Steiner of Martin County and Jeff Arnold of Delaware County tried to lend some perspective. Of the 1,5033 known labs busted in 2015, Steiner observed that without the smelly andry-hous ammonia no longer part of the process, “We have to get stupid lucky to find our labs. I would guess there are 20,000 to 30,000 labs across the state. Just a guess.”

Frizzell’s HB1157 passes

House Committee on Public Health unanimously passed a bill authored by State Rep. David Frizzell (R-Indianapolis) that would expand law enforcement’s ability to curb the prevalence of methamphetamine labs around the state.

House Bill (HB) 1157 would build on these efforts by keeping PSE accessible to consumers, but make it illegal for all individuals convicted of a drug-related felony to possess these medications without a prescription. “Our families and communities have been plagued by the meth epidemic that has run rampant throughout Indiana,” Frizzell said. “This bill makes it harder for meth precursors to get into the wrong hands while not inconveniencing law-abiding Hoosiers.” ❖



State Rep. Ben Smaltz (top) shows how much PSE can be legally purchased during a House Public Health Committee hearing on Monday. He earned praise from Chairwoman Cindy Kirchhofer (lower left). At lower right, Prosecutors Jeff Arnold and Mike Steiner testified that Indiana is home to tens of thousands of clandestine meth labs.

The Sanders surge & Clinton's comeback

By **CHRIS SAUTTER**

WASHINGTON – The new Bernie Sanders campaign ad featuring the classic Simon and Garfunkel recording “America” helps explain what is behind the Bernie Sanders surge in Iowa. The ad with its lovely imagery and uplifting message encapsulates what the Sanders campaign is about—ordinary people coming together to form a political movement in order to restore America’s promise.



Like the iconic song recorded in February 1968, on the eve of the Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy assassinations, the ad conveys a search for lost idealism. The 60-second spot contains no dialogue. Rather, it consists of a panorama of every-

day Americana images—small towns, farm fields, working people—intertwined with huge Sanders rally shots. In the background, the duo sings their beautiful tune concluding with the refrain “they’ve all come to look for America.” Of course, the actual Paul Simon lyrics – like the year 1968—end on a darker note as the song moves prophetically from hope to disillusionment. Nonetheless, the Sanders spot resonates as a sweeping political statement about hope and change in 2016.

In his campaign and in the ad, Sanders is targeting a key component of the Obama coalition – educated white Democrats, particularly baby boomers who grew up on the idealism and music of the 1960’s. This is underscored by the fact that the spot is virtually devoid of urban America, whose voters form the core of the Obama coalition.

Barack Obama was elected president on a coalition composed mostly of minorities, young people, women, and white progressives. The roots of that coalition can be found in Robert Kennedy’s presidential campaign of 1968, though Kennedy’s coalition represented more of an attempt to bridge the gap between poor white and black America. Ever since RFK’s campaign was tragically cut short, progressives have been attempting to create a winning multi-racial, multi-ethnic, cross-class coalition in presidential campaigns, succeeding eventually with Obama in 2008.

In Iowa, Obama’s coalition is the one Sanders is seeking to replicate—young people and anti-war boomers.

He also hopes to follow Obama’s example by attracting a record number of new voters to the caucuses, and, in fact, leads in polling among first-time caucus participants – mostly younger voters – by more than 50 percentage points.

The “America” ad is aimed at cutting into Hillary Clinton’s natural constituency—people over 45 years old. Clinton started out with overwhelming support from the older demographic, but Sanders’ focus on fundamental change has been luring older liberals away. In Iowa, Clinton is now carrying the over 45-year old vote with only 53%, according to a Quinnipiac poll released Wednesday down over 20%. Sanders leads overall in the Quinnipiac Iowa poll 49% to 45%, though the Real Clear Politics average of recent polls in Iowa is 46% for Sanders and 45.8% for Clinton.

The Sanders surge is a product of both a compelling message and wariness of the Clintons. Clinton’s slide in the polls began with the e-mail server scandal, reminding older voters of the drama of the Clinton years and introducing new voters to Clinton as a politician with serious baggage. She seemed to have found her footing during the House Benghazi hearings last fall and in a debate that focused on her comparative strength, foreign policy. Those coincided with Larry David’s hilarious “SNL” impression of Bernie Sanders that portrayed Sanders as a cranky, shouting old man who makes little sense.

Then Clinton seemed to take her foot off the pedal, allowing Sanders to regain traction and take a slight lead in Iowa. But with success has come more careful scrutiny. As a result, in the past week, the Sanders surge seems to have stalled giving Clinton an even chance to pull out a win.



Clinton has also begun to make a stronger case that she is a lifelong champion of progressive change and that her proposals stand a better chance of becoming reality. Clinton is now airing an effective closing ad, one that includes footage of her over many years advocating for women and children. Many Demo-

crats instinctively find her more electable, though current polling suggests otherwise.

In short, Iowa is too close to call and will come down to turnout and dwindling number of undecided voters. For those yet to decide, the election is a choice between competing messages: Clinton’s message of political realism that continues the progressive Obama policies versus the Sanders message that real change is not possible unless we fundamentally alter the political system and equalize power between corporate interests and the people.

As wonderfully inspirational as the “America” ad is, it just may not be the right one for the Sanders campaign to close the deal in Iowa. “Feel good” ads motivate supporters, but rarely move undecided voters. There are

reports that the Sanders campaign is considering airing a “comparative ad” in the final days before Iowa. Such a move would be controversial given Sanders’ pledge to run only positive ads. But comparisons between Sanders and Clinton positions on Iraq, Wall Street, and campaign finance can only help Sanders.

The stakes in Iowa are high for both Clinton and Sanders. But they are greater for Sanders. It is difficult to see how he stops Clinton in states with racial diversity if he can’t win in Iowa, a state that is overwhelmingly white. Sanders strategy is to pick up so much mo-

mentum that Clinton’s leads in the later states evaporate. That strategy will only work if Sanders wins both Iowa and New Hampshire.

Either way, Democrats face a quandary. Bernie Sanders the socialist may not be electable, at least in a conventional presidential campaign (which 2016 has not yet been). But Hillary Clinton the candidate may be too fundamentally flawed to overcome doubts about her honesty and the country’s yearning for real change. Once again Democrats may have to rely on self-destructive Republicans to hand them the White House. ❖

A billionaire decides to run for president ...

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Once upon a time, there was a billionaire who decided to run for president of the United States. He never had run for elective office before. Not



for governor or senator or mayor or anything. But with an ego as gigantic as his fortune, he decided to start out at the very top, running for president.

He had name recognition from activities outside of government. His talk of president got news media attention, although skeptics thought he wouldn’t really run. But he took advantage of pop-

ulist anger toward government, building a following with clever one-liners and the argument that with his wealth he didn’t need to seek contributions from special interests.

He denounced Washington in Washington, saying: “This city has become a town filled with sound bites, shell games, handlers, media stuntmen who posture, create images, talk, shoot off Roman candles, but don’t ever accomplish anything. We need deeds, not words, in this city.”

He said the nation’s leaders were stupid in dealing with foreign nations threatening America’s status in the world. The situation was desperate, he said, using this analogy: “We’ve got a patient whose heart has stopped beating and has broken fingers and toes, and all the politicians want to talk about is the fingers and toes. I want to go straight to the heart.”

He promised to get the heart beating again, in effect, to make America great again.

Critics called him a huckster. They said he alienated large groups of voters, including blacks in one of his controversial speeches. But the billionaire, without having to spend much of his own money, shot to the top of the polls, the very top, well ahead of two experienced candi-

dates thought to have the best chance for president.

The news media, fascinated by this unusual candidacy and the anger and support he aroused, provided extensive TV and newspaper coverage. He was on the cover of Time. Coverage propelled his rise to the top. Sometimes, however, he blasted the news media, despite their role in his rise, over some things that were reported. This helped him among angry followers not trusting the news media and not wanting to hear anything negative about a man who would save the nation.

That billionaire was Ross Perot.

This analogy isn’t exact with the rise now of another billionaire, but it does get to the oft-asked question about Donald Trump: “Have you ever seen anything like this?”

Similarities? Yes. Also, many differences. Perot ran as an independent for president in 1992, not for a major party nomination. Much later in the election year than now, Perot led the two candidates who would be the nominees of the two major parties, President George H.W. Bush, the Republican incumbent, and Bill Clinton, the Democrat who went on to win the presidency.

In June, an ABC/Washington Post poll showed these startling percentages: Perot, 36; Bush, 30; Clinton, 25. Perot was contending that Japan was the country eating our lunch because of dumb U.S. government responses. Trump says it’s China and Russia. Perot cited the deficit constantly in his warnings of doom, while Trump hammers most at illegal immigration. Changing issue? Sure. Yet, Trump appeals to the same type of angry and older white voters as Perot did in his warning that America was sick, with a failing heart.

Perot, as voters came to view him as a little whacky, dropping out and then back in, lost in the three-way presidential contest, getting 19 percent, the best showing by an independent since Teddy Roosevelt in 1912. Clinton won with 43 percent. Bush failed for reelection with 37.5 percent.

The analogy with Perot doesn’t mean that Trump also will falter as voters focus more on him as their potential president. But it just isn’t true that we’ve never seen anything like the startling populist rise of Trump in courting angry voters. ❖

Who wins Iowa and why they win

By **LARRY SABATO** and **KYLE KONDIK**

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. – As the 2016 presidential race officially begins, both party contests are in a place that we, and many others, did not expect them to be. On the Democratic side, frontrunner Hillary Clinton faces a stern challenge from a stronger-than-expected foe, Bernie Sanders. And the Republicans could be on the verge of nominating Donald Trump. Still, no votes have been cast. Pulling down the curtain on a contest yet to begin is both premature and foolish.

Here's how we're looking at Iowa right now on both sides.

With just a few days to go before the Monday caucuses, we believe Clinton is decently positioned to survive Iowa. Momentum and excitement appear to be more on Sanders' side, but he may be over-reliant on a base of supporters that are not well distributed throughout the state and a bit less likely to turn out at the level he needs, as we explain further below. If despite all this, Clinton still comes up short, let's not forget that Iowa's Democratic activists are overwhelmingly white and more liberal than in many other states where Clinton will be favored due to strong minority backing. So a Clinton loss here is far from fatal.

For the Republicans, the late momentum appears to be Donald Trump's, and he has built a modest edge in the kickoff contest. The GOP's leadership, faced with a choice between the devil and the deep blue sea (Trump and Ted Cruz) from their establishment perspective, seem to favor the flexible Republican Trump over the ideologue Cruz, at least for now. We still have questions about Trump's ability to get his supporters to caucus locations on Monday, but if he can jump that hurdle, he may only grow in strength in the state contests to come.

As we know from previous elections, polls in Iowa routinely miss the mark, and late surges can produce unexpected results. Both party electorates are still in flux, and we can only offer our best guesses about the situation 100 hours before Iowa votes, and in advance of a potentially important Fox News Republican debate on Thursday night -- a debate that Trump apparently has decided to skip.

It's unclear what effects this might have on the race. Trump's absence (assuming there isn't a last-minute reentry) diminishes the importance of the final pre-Iowa debate, removes Trump as the on-stage target for seven opponents (all of whom would be shooting bullets at the frontrunner), makes Trump even more the center of attention, and provides an alternative event for his followers to watch and other networks to cover in order to poach audience from the debate. So perhaps it's another

Trump master stroke -- unless Iowans feel dissed by the maneuver or think Trump's behavior signals instability that doesn't match the demands of the Oval Office. Marginal changes in voter attitudes can easily have a decisive impact on the very competitive Iowa battle.

In any event, the overall Iowa picture, as best we can determine it, is that (1) Sanders and Cruz both have the upset potential to emerge as the Iowa victors; but (2) As of right now, Clinton and Trump look like modest favorites in Iowa.

As we suggested, Iowa does not always pick the eventual nominee -- in fact, winning it confers only a coin's flip chance of winning the nomination -- but it will help us answer some key questions about both this contest and contests to come in future cycles:

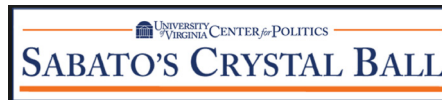
1. How real is Trump's support? For many weeks, the two dominant GOP players have been Trump and Cruz, Cruz and Trump. Back and forth the lead has gone, at least as measured by the polls. The larger the turnout on caucus night, the more likely

new participants attracted by Trump will be showing up (although, let's remember that Cruz and most other candidates are also recruiting newbies). The CW suggests Cruz may have peaked too early, setting Trump off to attack him on "natural-born citizenship" and insufficient antipathy to illegal immigration. More important, Cruz being in the Iowa catbird's seat rang alarm bells in the U.S. Senate and other power centers in Washington. Cruz is roundly disliked by his colleagues and they are determined to do what they can to stop him.

2. How hard will Sanders make Clinton work?

Nothing, not even the email crisis, has shocked the Clinton campaign like the Sanders surge in Iowa. This time, Clinton thought she had made the course corrections necessary to get off on the right foot. Sanders is no Barack Obama, to begin with, and she had put far more resources into Iowa than ever before. She had so many national advantages that, surely, Hawkeye Democrats would see that it was her turn, that she was the only electable one, that a tough fall campaign demanded a swift nomination crowned with unity. Well, no. Iowans have proven resistant to all those arguments, although the contest is still clearly winnable for Clinton: Polls show the race is effectively tied. If Sanders defeats Clinton in Iowa and New Hampshire, we still believe that Clinton will be the nominee -- though she may limp into the Philadelphia convention if the contest turns into a long, painful slog.

3. What is the GOP leadership up to? Campaigns regularly develop false narratives. One such narrative with great currency at the moment is that the Republican establishment has come to terms with Trump, has accepted him as the likely nominee, and believes they can live with that -- and even win in November. The reality is that most mainstream Republicans want neither Trump nor Cruz; they simply haven't settled on an alternative among the crowded mainstream lane (they may never do so). ❖



Facing up to the 'cost disease'

By **MICHAEL HICKS**

MUNCIE – It is not difficult to find fault with the rising expenditures in higher education, or to feel frustrated with the ever greater cost of educating children. Both past and future readers of this column will be exposed to my criticism of universities and schools that waste public dollars. Still, it is important from time to time to state what should be obvious; costs associated with education are likely to continue to rise for reasons unrelated to waste or ineptitude. Let me explain.



Across the economy, the past 300 years or so have seen a rapid growth in productivity of the typical worker. Stated more

plainly, the value of goods and services produced by a typical worker has risen enormously, driven by all sorts of things from technology to education to personal freedom. This productivity growth has made us shift our spending, both privately and publicly, to things once considered a luxury. Universal education through high school and open enrollment universities are two of these things. But, our productivity in these two sectors has not seen the growth that has characterized manufacturing, transport, agriculture, food service or most other sectors.

Most of the modern wonders that improve productivity – technology, organization, supply chains – have done almost nothing to impact the costs of education. To be sure, technology can help, but most technology gains in education have focused on quality, not cost savings. For all the computers, screens, internet services and the like, the typical student-teacher ratio isn't much changed from when I was a boy, or when my great-grandfather was a boy. That is not a criticism of education, simply an economic fact that all policymakers must understand.

College classes are likewise similar. I teach a class of almost 50 graduate students – half online, the remainder in my classroom. These in-demand electronic classrooms reach students in a half dozen states simultaneously. Although technology increases the geography, it takes me just as long as ever to grade papers, which is an important part of the education process, and there is no computer that can do it for me. This is a large class of graduate students, but it cannot really be larger without reducing quality by cutting papers and essay exams.

The cost impact comes from something economists call the "cost disease." You see, those fifth grade teachers and college professors cannot really teach many more students than they did a century ago. However,

colleges and schools have to keep salaries competitive with what professors and teachers could make elsewhere. Otherwise they'd have no teachers and professors. This is most pronounced in fields with the best options outside education.

We can focus on lots of cost savings in education, but we must also recognize that cost disease is an economic reality that will limit how far those savings can go. It is also why we'll be spending a larger share of our GDP on education in 2115 than we do today. ❖

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The right path for roads and bridges

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – "How should we pay for our roads and bridges?" Eulala Effersen asked as we waited for our coffee to cool.

"Are you asking a theoretical or a practical question?" I said. "Is your emphasis the best way to balance who pays with who benefits? Or is your concern how do we get the Indiana General Assembly to come up with more money for roads and bridges?"



"Both," she said with a smile containing too many teeth.

"As far as practical politics goes," I replied, "Rep. Ed Soliday of Valparaiso has an interesting proposal. He says raise the existing per-gallon gas tax, shift existing fuel sales tax revenues from the

general fund to roads and bridges, and offset the loss to the general fund by raising the tax on cigarettes."

Eulala was making little steam engine sounds at her coffee. She gazed at me with her cold blue eyes and asked, "Will it be enough?"

"Oh, Rep. Soliday wants local governments to help close the gap by passing or increasing their vehicular taxes often called wheel taxes," I said.

"Then it's going to cost Hoosiers more to operate cars and trucks," she declared. "That's makes workers less willing to travel long distances to work. Won't that force some employers to pay more to get the workers they

want?

"That causes prices to rise," she continued. "Higher taxes make store deliveries more expensive and then retailers will have to raise prices. All of this brings about inflation, drives jobs overseas, causes unemployment, and the evisceration of American society."

I laughed heartily. "I'm sorry to laugh at you, but you sound like those folks who never understood economics and pontificate about what politicians should do. All that linear inevitability in your rant means you neglect the more complex economic reality. If taxes go up, or if the minimum wage rises, it doesn't mean that prices have to rise. Profits may decrease and the owners of companies may take less for themselves."

"You're a fool, if you believe that would happen," Eulala laughed back at me. "Stock prices would fall and resources would be shifted to other investments."

"Exactly," I asserted. "And that reduces the wealth of the owners and the income of executives."

"Next," she said, "you'll have companies trying to wring lower prices out of their suppliers, shifting the higher taxes, or the minimum wage, backward through the supply chain. Fat chance of that."

Undaunted, I said, "Most of all, you're neglecting the benefits to those who use the roads and bridges. Trucks and cars will be safer, less damaged, move faster. Everyone can benefit from lower transportation costs. All this knee-jerk talk about higher prices, inflation, and general economic calamity ignores the benefits of the increased infrastructure spending and a more equitable distribution of income."

Surprisingly, Eulala gulped her coffee and left without another word. Some people don't want to hear another side of the story. ❖

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

Hispanic shuffle in Lake judge races

By **RICH JAMES**

MERRILLVILLE – It is almost like Yogi said about deja vu all over again. And, wouldn't you know that it involves the Democratic primary for Lake Circuit Court judge – one of the places where there supposedly isn't a place for hard-core, in-the-gutter politics.



It is only of late that politics has played a role in the Circuit Court race. Judge Felix Kaul was Circuit Court judge for six, six-year terms, retiring in 1980. He rarely had a challenge.

Lorenzo Arredondo took over as Circuit Court judge in January 1981 and served five terms, retiring in 2010. Arredondo now is a Democratic candidate for attorney general.

It is what happened at the 11th hour of filing in 2010 that has drawn so much interest in this year's race. Alex Dominguez, a young lawyer and nephew of then-Lake County Sheriff Roy Dominguez, heard that Arredondo might be retiring and filed for the office on the final day.

But the anointed one was George Paras, who had the backing of Arredondo, who hadn't made a public announcement about retiring. Paras narrowly won, defeating

Dominguez by just over 2,100 votes.

Six years later, uncle Roy Dominguez is giving serious thought to running for the Circuit Court judgeship. Dominguez lost a county commissioner's race after leaving the sheriff's office.

If there is one Hispanic in a race in Lake County, chances are there will be two or more. Eduardo Fontanez Jr. says he is considering a run. But Dominguez says that is only because he is talking about getting into the race. Dominguez contends that political operative Bob Cantrell is pushing Fontanez to run.

Cantrell was blamed for Fontanez's candidacy in 2006 when Fontanez ran unsuccessfully against Lake Superior Court Judge Jesse Villalpando, a former state representative. Cantrell later went to prison for his role in having convicted traffic offenders directed to a consulting firm with which he had ties. He is a free man today.

While that may be enough to make any race exciting, there's more.

Before Dominguez and Fontanez surfaced, Marissa McDermott, wife of Hammond Mayor Thomas M. McDermott Jr., said she is considering the Circuit Court race. Importantly, Mayor McDermott is the immediate past county Democratic chairman and still has countywide clout.

Interestingly, the race could boil down to Marissa McDermott versus Paras.

Paras would be expected to have the backing of Lake County Sheriff John Buncich, who now is county Democratic chairman. ❖

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.

Donnelly says heroin bill moves

FORT WAYNE — More than 19 months after he helped introduce legislation aimed at reducing heroin use and opioid abuse, U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly says Congress might be ready to act on what he called “a public health crisis.” Donnelly, D-Ind., on Wednesday predicted “a full-scale push” by him and other federal lawmakers for a similar bill (Francisco, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). “We’re going to work non-stop to get this done this year. This problem never takes a day off,” Donnelly said in a conference call with reporters. A Wednesday hearing on heroin and opioid abuse by the Senate Judiciary Committee “is an indication that the ball is moving,” Donnelly said. “I am cautiously optimistic this is the year.” Committee members and hearing witnesses discussed the Comprehensive Addiction and Recovery Act, which incorporates provisions of a bill that Donnelly and Sen. Kelly Ayotte, R-N.H., introduced in 2014 and reintroduced in 2015. CARA would strengthen prescription drug monitoring programs, expand the availability of overdose reversal drugs, expand “take-back” programs for the disposal of unused or unwanted prescription drugs and provide substance abuse treatment for those who are incarcerated. “My commitment is to have a vote on (the legislation) this year. I’m going to work non-stop to try to get that done,” Donnelly told reporters.

Police video bill passes House 65-30

INDIANAPOLIS — Under current law, police can classify body camera footage as part of the “investigatory record,” meaning it doesn’t ever have to be released. Rep. Kevin Mahan’s (R- Hartford City) House Bill 1019 would allow the public and the press to seek a court order to release



the footage (Indiana Public Media). To do so, the person requesting the video would have to prove releasing footage is in the public interest and wouldn’t put someone at risk or potentially tamper with a trial. “I’m a citizen of this state,” Mahan said. “I could be the victim of a crime or I could be the victim of police misconduct, and I feel pretty comfortable with where this bill is.” Mahan’s bill polarized the House, largely along party lines. Rep. Cherrish Pryor (D- Indianapolis) said police footage should be readily accessible to the public. “The recordings are public records and should be made available to the public without any legal or court actions,” Pryor said. The House approved the bill 65 to 30, with two Republicans joining Democrats in voting no. The measure now moves to the Senate.

Abortion bill passes Senate committee

INDIANAPOLIS — A bill preventing mothers from getting an abortion under certain conditions before 20 weeks passed Senate committee Wednesday (Indiana Public Media). The bill is virtually identical to one that didn’t pass last year. It bans abortions less than 20 weeks into term, but only if the patient’s motivation is based on race, gender, disability, or the possibility of disability. Supporters of the bill say it also ensures women receive information about options outside of abortion when met with news that their child has a life-threatening disability – something they claims does not happen often enough. “What we have found is besides doctors pressuring women to have the abortion, they are not giving them the care and being compassionate in terms of what these women are facing,” says bill co-author Sen. Liz Brown, R-Fort Wayne. Sen. Mark Stoops, D-Bloomington, says the bill breaks federal law, which allows for abortions before 20 weeks with no questions asked. Critics also say the process of identifying motivations behind an abortion would be

impractical and create privacy issues. “That’s a pretty intrusive process for the state to get stepping into, when they don’t know the patient and their circumstances,” says Dr. Kathryn Carboneau of Fort Wayne. The bill advanced through Senate committee with a vote of seven to four.

Environmental regs bill passes

INDIANAPOLIS — Legislation that would prohibit Indiana state agencies from enacting tougher environmental rules and standards than the federal government narrowly won the backing of a state House committee on Wednesday following a discussion that invoked the water crisis in Flint, Michigan (Associated Press). The House Environment Affairs Committee voted 7-6 to send the legislation authored by its chairman, Rep. David Wolkins, R-Winona Lake, to the full House for consideration. Wolkins, who has sponsored several similar bills over the years, said he’s hopeful this measure will pass the House and won’t stall in the Senate, where previous versions have never been brought to a vote. Wolkins said he’s been pleased with Indiana’s environmental regulations for more than a decade under Republican governors but believes his bill is needed in the event that future state regulators, presumably under Democratic governors, “overreach” and impose tough environmental rules, which he said could stifle economic development.

Clinton open to Obama on SCOTUS

DECORAH, Iowa — Hillary Clinton on Tuesday said she was open to appointing President Obama as a Supreme Court justice. At a campaign event in Decorah, Iowa, a voter asked the Democratic presidential contender if she would consider making such a move (CBS News). “Wow, what a great idea. Nobody has ever suggested that to me. Wow, I love that, wow,” Clinton said.