



## Sen. Donnelly gives Gov. Pence cover

Vote on Planned Parenthood defunding, stance on EPA rules dovetails with governor

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Earlier this summer, the politically wounded Gov. Mike Pence seemed to be taking a page out of the “shut it down” Ted Cruz playbook, or his own “time to pick a fight” stance.



As the Obama administration’s Environmental Protection Agency prepared to roll out its new Clean Power Plan, Pence

was defiant. On June 24 in a letter to President Obama, Pence wrote, “If your administration proceeds to finalize the Clean Power Plan, and the final rule has not demonstrably and significantly



improved from the proposed rule, Indiana will not comply. Our state will also reserve the right to use any legal means available to block the rule from being implemented.”

The governor seemed to be suggesting that Indiana would defy the rule of law, though spokeswoman Kara Brooks said the decision “not to comply” would actually mean that the EPA would write the Indiana clear air rules.

On Monday after the EPA released rules that one electric industry figure described as “hosing” Indiana, Pence’s defiance seemed to hit

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## Miller fights in Goshen

By **MAUREEN HAYDEN**  
 CNHI State Reporter

INDIANAPOLIS – As cities around Indiana take up measures to guarantee civil rights protections for gay citizens, conservatives are marshaling forces to stop them.

The group Advance America is taking credit for killing such a measure in Goshen, the latest community to consider adding sexual orientation and gender identity to its local human rights ordinance.

Eric Miller, who heads the Indiana-based organization, said blocking the Goshen measure was essential to stopping a “pro-homosexual agenda” that is sweeping the state and disrupting



**“Yes, I have left my position as treasurer for Sen. Donnelly’s campaign and yes, it is because of his vote to defund Planned Parenthood.”**

*- Former Lt. Gov. Kathy Davis*



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Advance America's Eric Miller sits in the front row of the Goshen City Council chambers Tuesday, where he successfully convinced Republican council members to force a tabling of a civil rights expansion ordinance. (Goshen News Photo)

groundwork for a state law to protect gay rights. "They knew they had to have Goshen to continue the momentum moving toward a statewide law," he said. "We've put a stop to that."

Miller is a longtime lobbyist who vehemently opposed same-sex marriage. He pushed the General Assembly to adopt a controversial Religious Freedom Restoration Act, which critics said was a license for businesses to discriminate against gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender citizens.

**Before the** religious freedom law was signed, a dozen communities already had human rights ordinances. Nine of them covered sexual orientation or gender identity, though local rules varied. Once the law passed, local leaders across Indiana started reexamining their ordinances.

Several cities, such as Terre Haute and Martinsville, passed measures in recent months with little debate or controversy. But Miller and other social conservatives decided to draw the line in Goshen and neighboring Elkhart.

Mayors of both cities cancelled votes on LGBT ordinances after Miller orchestrated vehement opposition. In Goshen, a city of 32,000, the vote was

scheduled for Tuesday's city council agenda.

Miller's argument is that local rules protecting sexual orientation and gender identity will force businesses to serve gay couples. And, in tones that his critics call fear-mongering, he said the ordinances will allow cross-dressing men to access women's bathrooms where they can prey on children. The American Family Association of Indiana echoes his concerns and urged members across the state to oppose the Goshen ordinance, describing it as "an extension of the moral decay" of the sexual revolution of the late 1960s.

**Goshen Mayor Allan** Kauffman said Miller's efforts were surprising and offensive. Kauffman has called for what he describes as a "graceful conversation" for proponents and opponents to share their concerns in a more civil manner. "The fears are real on both sides," he said.

Chris Paulsen of Indiana Equality has supported the local ordinances, arguing that they signal to lawmakers the support among voters for expanded LGBT protections. "We've had a number of wins," Paulsen said, discounting Miller's

contention that developments in Goshen will kill efforts elsewhere. But she does believe Miller when he promises massive pressure on elected officials who are considering similar measures.

**That includes state lawmakers** who were expected to take up the issue of adding sexual orientation and gender identity to the state's civil rights law next year. "That's how these guys play," Paulsen said.

Miller said he isn't backing back down. He'll spend the next few months, before the 2016 election year,

"educating and informing" lawmakers on what he says is the harm that comes from enacting LGBT protections on a state level, he said. "They know the potential impact this has on the 2016 election," he said. "There are a whole lot of people in Indiana who still support traditional values." ❖

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## Donnelly, from page 1

a chord. It wasn't the cacophony of indignant voices from the Indiana Republican congressional delegation that underscored the governor's defiance. Instead it was Democratic U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly.

In the wake of the new rules, Donnelly explained his dismay in what has become the perception that Indiana and Hoosier consumers will pay a disproportionate price for what is a national and global problem.

"Indiana has made significant investments in clean energy in recent years. Even without burdensome regulations from the EPA, Indiana already has one of the world's cleanest coal-fired power plants, the world's largest geothermal heating and cooling system, and has increased renewable energy generation eight-fold since 2008; all while Hoosier manufacturers and consumers are embracing energy efficiency to reduce their electricity bills and improve their bottom lines," Donnelly said. "EPA had an opportunity to encourage Indiana to continue to innovate and diversify our energy portfolio in a way that was good for our environment and good for Indiana's economy. The final rule, however, completely missed the mark. Instead of providing a workable plan with fair, achievable carbon goals, the rule requires Hoosiers to carry one of the heaviest loads in reducing the country's carbon emissions, which will make energy more expensive for families and make it more difficult for Indiana businesses to compete."

Donnelly added, "This rule seems designed to establish by regulation the 'cap and trade' plan that I voted against in 2009. We need to find a better way to protect our environ-

ment without disproportionately shifting the burden onto all Hoosier families."

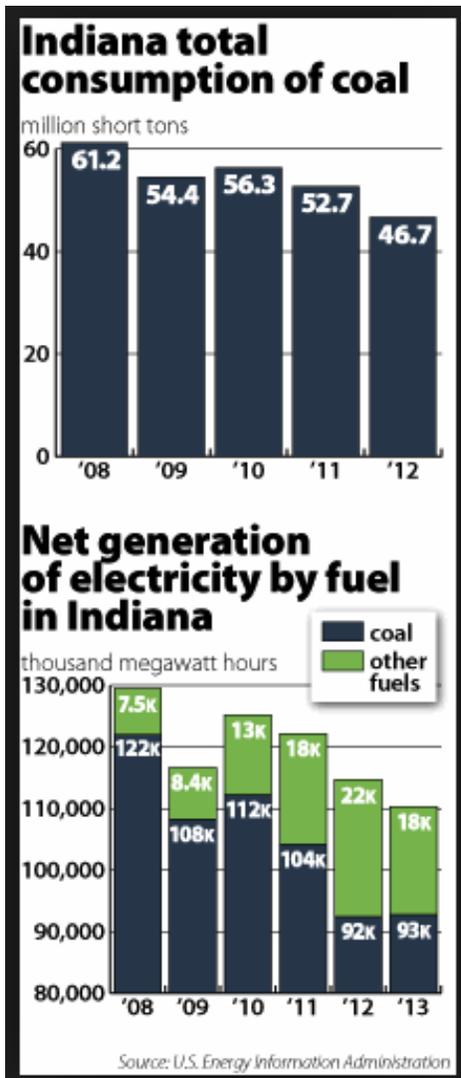
Donnelly may have also given Pence some cover on the Planned Parenthood defund issue. Late last month, Pence ordered an Indiana Department of Health investigation of Planned Parenthood of Indiana and Kentucky on whether the organization was playing a role in harvesting fetal tissues, which has been the subject of five clandestine videos that rekindled the issue. As a congressman,

Pence helped ignite the defund issue in Washington.

With the governor in trouble with his base over the Religious Freedom Restoration Act "fix" last April, the investigation and renewed vows to defund seemed like a political ploy to help him with his base. With no smoking gun in Indiana, Pence said, "Now the people of Indiana have that assurance that those practices that have been alleged in those videos are at least not taking place here in the state of Indiana." He added, "I have long believed that the largest abortion provider in America should not also be the largest recipient of federal funding under Title X."

When the defund vote took place in the Senate on Monday, Donnelly was one of two Democratic senators to vote with the Republican majority. Donnelly explained, "While Planned Parenthood clinics in Indiana do not partake in fetal tissue donation and were found to be following the law, today's vote is about Planned Parenthood clinics around the country. I cannot in good faith support federal funding for this organization until the questions of whether other clinics are complying with federal and state laws are answered."

With Senate Democrats having



enough votes to block the defund, Senate Minority Leader Harry Reid had the luxury of allowing Donnelly and U.S. Sen. Joe Manchin of West Virginia to take a position that will help with the Granger Democrat's 2018 reelection. But the vote and statement lent credence to Pence's positions.

The political volatility of Donnelly's vote became clearer on Wednesday when former Lt. Gov. Kathy Davis resigned as his campaign treasurer. "Yes, I have left my position as treasurer for Sen. Donnelly's campaign and yes, it is because of his vote to defund Planned Parenthood," Davis said in the email.

### The Ritz window of credibility is vanishing

On April 16, Supt. Glenda Ritz learned that the Howey Politics Indiana Poll conducted by Bellwether Research had her trailing Gov. Mike Pence in a hypothetical matchup 42-39%, or within the margin of error. While the Democrat wouldn't rule out a challenge to Pence prior to that, the polling revealed a historic opportunity.

Two weeks later, she openly hinted at a challenge, saying all her political options for 2016 were on the table.

That talk on the heels of the Indiana General Assembly session prompted a new parlor game: Was Glenda Ritz gubernatorial caliber? Did she have the gravitas to build on her 2012 upset victory and three years of sparring with Gov. Pence to take a credible shot at becoming the state's first female governor?

On June 4, Ritz jumped in, saying at Ben Davis High School, "Today in Indiana, out-of-touch Republican leadership at the Statehouse embrace policies that tear Hoosiers apart instead of bringing us together. These realities are why, today, in order to move Indiana forward I am announcing my candidacy for the Democratic nomination for governor of Indiana." Two weeks later, a second Bellwether Poll showed Ritz tied with Pence at 42%.

And then . . . virtually nothing.

With 2012 nominee John Gregg still an unproven fundraiser, State Sen. Karen Tallian barely moving the needle of credibility as a candidate, and with Democrats such as House Minority Leader Scott Pelath taking a pass, Ritz faced that window of opportunity to show that she had gravitas, that she could organize the campaign, that she had a big idea that could propel her to a new office on the Statehouse second floor, and that she could raise the mother's milk of politics (money).

Today, that window to create a distinct gubernato-

rial impression is vanishing. With the primary now just a little over nine months away, there is no big idea. There is no campaign phone number or press person. Campaign staff is just now being assembled. The critical lesson from Gregg's near upset of Pence in 2012 – hire a finance director out of the gate – was missed. Ritz actually regressed on the money front instead of seizing Robin Winston's mantra that a credible candidate has to raise so much money in a finite time frame to be operative. And there have been two campaign finance complaints filed that a finance director could have prevented. There are a website and a Facebook page, but both have been mostly static.

The remnants of her 2012 campaign that was described as a massive grassroots populist uprising fueled by social media raised an expectation that her campaign rollout would feature hundreds if not thousands of educators. Instead, she declared on the last day of school, when teachers who could have been a part of a massive stage prop were still in the classroom. The optics of her rollout was that of an ordinary press conference, instead of the movement many believed she still could command.

Ritz told the IndyStar's Chelsea Schneider last week that the campaign is in an "organizational phase," adding, "We're seven weeks into it ... because up until June 4, I actually was running for superintendent, so now I'm starting a whole new, brand-new campaign for governor. With that comes all the organizational aspects that you have when you actually begin a campaign. I plan to do fundraising that will actually be able to run a quality campaign, because that's really what it is all about. The people in Indiana deserve to have a campaign that's going to be of high quality, and so I plan to raise enough money to do just that."

What that interview revealed was a moment that seized an unprepared candidate, as opposed to a candidate who methodically seized the moment. In Democratic circles, the missing-in-action candidate (Ritz went on vacation after her announcement, then traveled to Europe on state business) found a perplexed and unimpressed party, that was amplified by the IndyStar's Tim Swarens who cited a litany of messaging, fundraising and finance reporting blunders that brought him to the conclusion that calling Ritz a "minor league candidate" was an affront to the Indianapolis Indians.

Winston told HPI last week that Ritz was preparing an "unorthodox" campaign based on her savvy use of so-



Supt. Glenda Ritz leaves her gubernatorial announcement press conference at Ben Davis HS in June. (HPI Photo by Mark Curry)

cial media to galvanize an array of teachers and educators who have been agitated and disaffected by the 2011 Daniels/Bennett reforms. On that front, the emerging teacher shortage and the decision by Republican legislative education committee chairs Robert Behning and Dennis Kruse to begin studying the unintended consequences of those reforms should have played right into the Ritz wheelhouse. Instead, there was silence.

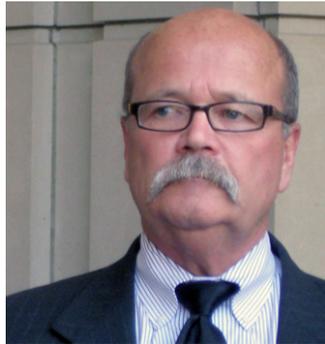
Skeptics wondered if Ritz could gravitate and talk credibly about issues outside of education. In the two months since declaring, there has been silence. On both fronts, Ritz gaining traction and credibility could have fueled the fundraising aspect of the campaign. Instead, Gregg is dominating the money wars, actually out-raising Pence during the first half of the year.

Winston insisted last week that Ritz still has time to get it together. But not much. The critical window of making a credible first impression is gone, and the opportunity for a rebound narrow.

## Gregg on LGBT rights

As a House legislative leader, John Gregg backed the Defense of Marriage Act a generation ago, which was signed into law by a Democratic Indiana governor. But that support gave then same sex marriage advocacy group, Freedom Indiana, cause to be skeptical of his candidacy.

Earlier this week, Gregg used his evolved stance on marriage issues to press for an expansion of Indiana's civil rights code to include sexual orientation. In an email to potential supporters, Gregg said, "Even though all Hoosiers now have the right to marry, the fight against discrimination is far from over, and we can't let Mike Pence stand in our way. On any given day, a Hoosier could go to work in the morning, go to the courthouse over lunch and get married, and return to the office to be fired for being gay. That's why along with my fellow Democrats, we've launched a petition demanding Gov. Mike Pence expand Indiana's civil rights law to ban this type of discrimination. Will you add your name?"



Gregg added, "Mike Pence's discriminatory RFRA law already cost Indiana a fortune in new jobs and out-of-state investments. And today, there is still no statewide non-discrimination law to protect LGBT Hoosiers from being fired from their jobs or evicted from their homes simply for being who they are. No one should lose their job or their home because of whom they love. Join me in supporting the expansion of Indiana's civil rights protections to cover LGBT Hoosiers. Sign the petition and tell Mike Pence: 'Stop allowing LGBT discrimination in Indiana.'"

It is on this front that Pence may be the most vulnerable politically. Last week, Pence seemed to be

whistling past the graveyard, telling the NWI Times' Dan Carden that the improved economy might make the civil rights expansion a moot point. "I think our economy speaks for itself. Our economy is strong and growing stronger, and that's a testament to the resilience of the people of Indiana and to the great reputation our state enjoys," Pence said. "We're going to move forward on the policies that are making that a reality, and we'll leave debates about the future for the future. I really do believe that we found a way through that difficult period last spring to calm the waters, and the facts speak for themselves: Indiana's economy is strong and growing stronger."

The civil rights expansion is a double-edged sword for Pence. If he outright rejects the expansion, Pence will face a rebellion from the business and corporate community, and the potential loss of the NCAA headquarters and huge conventions like GenCon, which brought 60,000 people to Indianapolis last week. Supporting the expansion will inflame his base, including Advance America's Eric Miller who successfully derailed civil rights ordinances in Elkhart and Goshen this past week.

Multiple sources tell HPI that Pence may try to thread the needle. He will likely make the case that the expansion must take place because he opposes any kind of discrimination, and the religious community isn't one that discriminates. But Pence is also expected to push for legislation that will protect religious freedoms. In doing so, Gov. Pence will be facing one of the most critical chapters of his political career, and one he must conduct adroitly.

What HPI will be watching is whether Pence takes the two-prong approach and initiates the discussion while laying out the parameters before sending the package to the General Assembly. Or will House Speaker Brian Bosma, who led the RFRA "fix" last April while finding common ground with Olympic gold medalist Greg Logannis, lead the charge?

Either way, the 2016 Indiana General Assembly is shaping up for a sensational session and one, ironically (given the context of the 2012 campaign when Pence successfully avoided divisive social issues) that will find its most compelling issue in that zone.

## Sugar would run as 'independent' Dem

Former Bayh chief of staff Tom Sugar told WISH-TV that if he runs for governor, it will be as an "independent Democrat." Look for Sugar to play up his connection to Evan Bayh. "I will never operate as though I'm entitled to his support," said Sugar. "I'll work my butt off to earn it." Sugar's goal is to change the system and says a Sugar campaign would remind people of John McCain's Straight Talk Express. "If I get into this thing, I'll participate in the Democratic primary," he said, "but I'll run as an independent Democrat. That's what I will call myself because both parties are to blame for the state of our politics today and both parties must be a part of the solution."❖

# Club endorsement of Stutzman doesn't have the pop of 2012

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman picked up the endorsement many expected him to get from the Club For Growth last week. The question is whether it will have anywhere near the impact that it did in 2012 when the club played a decisive role in Richard Mourdock's upset primary victory over U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar.

When Mourdock imploded in late October 2012, booting a 36-year Republican Senate seat to Democrat Joe Donnelly, the Club For Growth was about as popular in Hoosier GOP circles as shingles. In the Mourdock campaign, the club pumped in bundled money and polled for the Indiana treasurer. After Mourdock's upset, then

President Chris Chocola attempted to debunk Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll numbers that had Lugar easily defeating Donnelly in a head-to-head general election matchup, while the Granger Democrat was tied with Mourdock. Chocola didn't believe the Howey/DePauw polling was credible and even if it was, the late April numbers would be Donnelly's high water mark, he said.

All of those assertions were disproved, as Sen. Donnelly will attest.

The Senate race dynamic in the 2016 cycle is completely different. Stutzman will benefit from the club's bundling prowess, and he needs it. U.S. Rep. Todd Young out-raised him by \$400,000 in the second quarter and has more than \$1 million cash-on-hand advantage. Both Stutzman and former chairman Eric Holcomb (who raised \$200,000 in the 2nd quarter) will be under tremendous pressure to improve their 3rd quarter FEC reporting.

But the club's endorsement process this cycle is

perplexing. In 2012, the club PAC had Mourdock in Washington twice for an extensive interview. The second one came after a poor performance on the first. That should have been a red flag that Mourdock was a not-ready-for-primetime player. In the hours after his upset of Lugar, Mourdock said stupid things and by the end of the summer, he was on a short leash. But his October debate comment on rape not only imploded the Senate race, it nearly brought down the entire Republican ticket.

The new club President David McIntosh had a short conversation with Young earlier this summer, but Young campaign manager Trevor Foughty told HPI "they never met" with the Bloomington Republican. "They had their decision made up in May," Foughty said.

In Stutzman, the club now has a candidate who, like Mourdock, has a penchant for saying controversial things, earning him at one point in 2013 the Washington Post's "worst week" designation. It was also fascinating that the club endorsement included a statement from Chocola, who is damaged goods with a large part of the Indiana GOP. The endorsement did not get wide play in Indiana, and the Washington Examiner's lead paragraph went like this: "After crashing and burning in Indiana four years ago, the Club For Growth is taking another stab at using the Republican-leaning state to elect a senator sympathetic to its conservative, free-market principles."

Foughty points out that the timing of the club's endorsement was poor for Stutzman. It came as Young had his REINS Act pass the House and the unveiling of a higher education proposal with Purdue President Mitch Daniels. "There's a difference between fighting for principle, and fighting and actually winning," Foughty said.

The Club For Growth has a poor record when it comes to backing winners. Since 2006 and in addition to Mourdock, the club has endorsed Republican Senate candidates Mike Bouchard, Mike McGavick, Michael Steele, Stephen Laffey, George Allen, John Sununu, Bob Schaffer, Steve Pearce, Sharon Angle, Ken Buck, Joe Miller, Josh Mandel,

Mark Newmann, Connie Mack, Don Stenberg, and Chris McDaniel. None of them ever made it to the U.S. Senate.

## Young announces steering committee

On Tuesday, Young announced a steering committee that included Indiana House Ways & Means Chairman Tim Brown; State Sens. Jim Merritt, Ron Grooms;



former Lt. Gov. John Mutz, former Indiana GOP chairmen Jim Kittle Jr., Al Hubbard and Murray Clark; former State Sen. Tom Wyss; Brig. Gen. John McGoff; State Reps. Todd Huston, Mike Karickhoff, Heath VanNatter and Holli Sullivan; former U.S. assistant secretary of education Carol D'Amico; Doug Rose; and former secretary of commerce Mitch Roob.

Young said, "I'm humbled by the level of support our campaign has already received from leaders across the state. These steering committee members have decades of experience tackling the most important issues facing our state and nation: Creating jobs and economic opportunity; ensuring safety and security at home and abroad; and providing responsible, conservative leadership. They will play an active role in this campaign, and their advice and leadership will be invaluable. I'm proud to have them join our team."

### Delph encouraged to run

Another problem for Stutzman is the potential campaign of State Sen. Mike Delph, who was encouraged to run by Pastor Ron Johnson, of the Living Stones Church in Crown Point. "He has been somebody who has been a rock-solid vote for those of us who share Biblical values, and he is somebody that has demonstrated unwavering commitment, even at the censure of his own party at times," Johnson said of Delph, according to the NWI Times. The 10-year central Indiana senator, accompanied by his wife and five daughters, seemed nearly overwhelmed by their enthusiastic reception so far from home as he embraced Johnson, a friend of nearly two decades, who hosted the Delph family for the weekend. "It's been a huge spiritual, uplifting moment for me and my family," Delph said. "It's just been an awesome experience in Lake County. I've really enjoyed it." If he gets in the Republican U.S. Senate primary, Delph plans to build his campaign on the support of evangelical Christians, who he said are craving for one of their own to hold office instead of again having to hold their noses and vote the lesser of two evils. "I think we've lost our way spiritually as a country. Faith and the Bible have traditionally been an important part of American history and American life; I think that needs to have a voice," Delph said. "It's not a decision to take lightly. Family is very important to me. Keeping my family together, whether it's in Washington or in Indiana, is very, very important to me," Delph said. "It's something we're still looking into, thinking about and praying about." Delph said if the decision was his alone, he would be running. However, he insisted the needs of his family come first, and he's still not sure he wants to spend his days constantly dialing potential campaign donors for



dollars.

### Hill following Donnelly's path

Former Indiana Rep. Baron P. Hill's road to the Senate won't be an easy one, but Democrats think they have a roadmap to get him there (Pathé, Roll Call). Although Hill declared his candidacy in mid-May, in the middle of the 2nd quarter, he raised just \$151,000 with \$143,000 in the bank. That included a \$2,700 donation from Indiana native son singer John Mellencamp. Meanwhile, Rep. Todd Young, one of three Republicans in the race, posted a \$1 million haul in the 2nd quarter, before even declaring his Senate candidacy. It's the latest sign that Hill has an uphill climb to win statewide. He first ran for Senate in a special election in 1990, losing to Sen. Dan Coats by 7 points. Elected to Congress in 1998, he was narrowly defeated in 2004, then won his 9th District seat back in 2006, before losing again four years later. So far, Hill's the only Democrat in the race. Former Democratic Sen. Evan Bayh, who's sitting on \$10 million in campaign cash, has said he won't run. The Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee doesn't know "if the field has settled," said spokesman Justin Barasky, but they are confident in Hill's ability to win tough campaigns. The odds aren't in his favor. Although President Barack Obama put Indiana in play in 2008, capturing 50 percent of the vote, Mitt Romney went on to carry it by more than 10 points in 2012. The Rothenberg & Gonzales Political Report/Roll Call rates the Senate race Favored Republican.

### Rothenberg/Gonzalez INSen analysis

The Rothenberg/Gonzalez Political Report has the Indiana U.S. Senate seat "Republican favored for now." It notes in its July 24 edition, "Depending on the national environment and how the GOP primary turns out, the race could become competitive.

Key takeaways:

**Baron Hill:** "Hill is running on the Democratic side and hoping to take advantage of a Republican implosion. But he raised just \$151,000 before the end of June. Some Democratic strategists are still holding out a glimmer of hope that popular former Sen./Gov. Evan Bayh will run because they believe he can walk into the seat. But there is no indication that Bayh is interested in running for Senate this cycle."

**Eric Holcomb:** "Holcomb finished June with a modest \$277,000 in campaign funds. That's not going to be enough to compete."

**Marlin Stutzman:** "Stutzman had \$849,000 on hand on June 30 and could receive help from conservative outside groups such as Club For Growth. The congressman is kind of a lone wolf in the delegation and regarded as very conservative, but he also made some waves when he told Roll Call that he would support Kentucky Sen. Mitch McConnell for leader in the next Congress.

**Todd Young:** "Young is the final entry into the

race and had over \$2 million in the bank at the end of June. He is regarded as more of a mainstream conservative compared to Stutzman, and is a top contender for the seat.

**R/G Analysis:** The GOP race is just beginning, but it looks like it will come down to a choice between Young and Stutzman. Young will try and line up establishment support, particularly from Republicans who fear Stutzman would be a general election liability and Coats allies who didn't like how Stutzman attacked the Senate in the 2010 primary.

### 9th CD: Pfaff joins GOP field

Jim Pfaff is the fourth candidate to seek the 9th CD Republican nomination. Pfaff grew up in Johnson County, lives in Bloomington and has worked for Focus on the Family in Colorado and then went to Capitol Hill as the chief of staff for Cong. Tim Huelskamp of Kansas. He owns Innovative Research and Data Solutions, LLC. Pfaff ran George Witwer's 1996 gubernatorial campaign. He joins a field that includes Attorney General Greg Zoeller, State Sens. Brent Waltz and Erin Houchin.

### Mayors

#### Fort Wayne: Big check for Harper

Informed and reliable sources tell HPI that Republican mayoral nominee Mitch Harper landed a "six-figure check" from a major donor this past week. Councilman Harper is attempted to defeat two-term Democrat Mayor Tom Henry. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Henry.

#### Indianapolis: Hogsett to refuse perks

The consummate political insider, Joe Hogsett, has a new message for Indianapolis voters. He's promising to "refuse the perks and gifts" that seem to come with the office, an apparent reference to Advance Indiana's exclusive reporting about how Mayor Greg Ballard accepted memberships in private country clubs worth tens of thousands of dollars, in addition to free tickets to sporting events and concerts (Advance Indiana). "I won't change the car I drive to work in," he says. Indianapolis' mayor is provided with 24x7 security, which includes a city-furnished car driven by the mayor's security detail. "And I'll take on the downtown insiders who cheat the system and steal your tax dollars," he declares, borrowing our own campaign slogan. He tells us he's "never forgotten where I come from." **Horse Race Status:** Safe Hogsett.

### Attorney General

#### Carter, Sen. Head, Arredondo lining up

Democrats are unexpectedly euphoric over what they see on the horizon. It's not exactly something out of "Field of Dreams," but local Democrats are about to

embrace the most prominent Hispanic ever to serve on the bench in Indiana (James, NWI Times). He is Lorenzo Arredondo, who retired five years ago after three decades as Lake Circuit Court judge. And he is poised to come out of retirement. Lake County Democrats hope to see him nominated as the party's attorney general candidate during next June's convention. Not only would Arredondo be one of those rare Lake County residents nominated for statewide office, but the party sees him as becoming part of the bigger picture. Arredondo looks the part of a retired judge and one who ought to be attorney general. He's handsome, distinguished and statesman-like. But it's not just the silver hair and in a black robe that has Democrats intrigued. He is one of the most prominent Hispanics in the state of Indiana. He made an appearance at Lake County Sheriff John Buncich's fundraiser a week or so ago and chatted with John Gregg, the man Lake County Democrats are pushing for governor. Thanks in part to Buncich's backing, Gregg reportedly is intrigued by the possibility of Arredondo being the attorney general candidate.

Former two-term Attorney General Steve Carter is thinking of making a comeback (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). He is exploring running for the office again in 2016. He previously served from 2001 to 2008. "I like the work," Carter said. "It's a great opportunity for an attorney to help people with some issues maybe they can't help themselves with, like consumer protection and vote fraud." Logistically, if he would lose in the May primary, he could possibly still meet the deadline to sign up to run for attorney general in the 2016 Republican nominating convention.

Carter recently sent an email to potential GOP supporters to gauge support, but said he doesn't have a timeline for making a decision. Since he left office, he has been working privately. Much of that work has been for the Indiana Attorney General's Office, via contracts to help with a case affecting payments Indiana gets from the tobacco master settlement. According to the Indiana Auditor's Office, Carter was paid \$146,600 in 2014, \$107,078 in 2013 and \$150,900 in 2012.

Informed and reliable sources are telling HPI that State Sen. Randy Head, R-Logansport, is preparing to seek the AG nomination. ❖

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# Most state Republicans have yet to settle on a presidential contender

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Former Indiana Republican chairman Mike McDaniel had to describe himself as “Switzerland” during the 1996 contested Republican gubernatorial primary. As the 2015 presidential race unfolds with historic unpredictability heading into tonight’s first debate, the Hoosier State is teeming with neutrality. And it might stay that way well into next March when Super Tuesday will become the big winnowing force.



Howey Politics Indiana made a number of phone calls and emails to key Republicans asking them if they had a horse in

the presidential race. Strategist Anne Hathaway seemed to speak for many, when she said, “I am still undecided and unattached! A totally different and unique position for me! I know some of the candidates personally, have friends working for just about every candidate and still struggling as I don’t think that anyone has clearly articulated a vision of where they will take the country nor their path to victory. Eager to watch on Thursday night to see if that has an impact.”

Another key strategist, Jennifer Hallowell, answered the question, “Not yet,” but then added, “I’m leaning toward (Jeb!) Bush.”

Former Republican chairman Mike McDaniel said he is “personally” leaning toward Bush because of his affinity for President George H.W. Bush. “I love his dad,” McDaniel said, but added, “I’m watching Rubio. I like the whole idea of the next generation and the contrast with Clinton or Biden.”

**Richmond Republican** mayoral nominee Kyle Ingram told HPI, “I’m undecided. No one is talking my language yet. I’ll be watching the debate Thursday night.”

And completely uncharacteristically, uber operative Bob Grand has not publicly settled on a candidate. He did not return an email asking if he has settled on a candidate. Last winter, he talked favorably about New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie. He and powerful fundraiser Dan Dumezich are expected to back the same candidate and

unless Christie catches fire, a good bet would be Jeb!

Like this election cycle, Hoosier Republicans are in a strange place. The state has a lengthy history with the Bush dynasty, and a Bush45 presidency might find cabinet posts for people like Purdue President Mitch Daniels or former GOP Chairman Al Hubbard, both with tenures in the Bush 41/43 administrations. Daniels is politically celibate, but he has a long history with the Bush clan and could privately influence many Republicans in the state.

Unlike other years, up until April many Indiana Republicans were watching and waiting for Gov. Mike Pence to decide on whether to enter the race, with the Religious Freedom Restoration Act fiasco essentially rendering him into a reelection bid. In the three months following, few have made a decision and even fewer have publicly signed on. Another factor is the contested U.S. Senate race, which finally reduced itself to three or four candidates. Because of potential Senate bids, no one in the Republican congressional delegation has endorsed a presidential candidate.

Gov. Pence has not publicly supported a candidate and neither has Indiana Republican Chairman Jeff Cardwell.

The fact there are 17 candidates in the field and almost no one has articulated what Hathaway calls an apt “vision” may be responsible for the reticence.

**Dick Lugar, the former** U.S. senator and 1996 presidential candidate, observed in a speech at the University of Illinois on Wednesday, “A kind of indirect national debate is currently underway between those who recognize the destructive potential of political incivility and partisan warfare and those who glory in them and recast them in positive terms. This debate is being fueled by the circumstances of the Republican Presidential primary campaign in which the huge size of the field has created an incentive to distinguish oneself from the pack with out-

landish statements intended to demonstrate ideological purity and gain media attention at any cost.”

Lugar added, “The very real risk of this is that we further weaken important norms concerning what constitutes civil behavior in our politics and our society.”

McDaniel noted that in the power days of L. Keith Bulen, “He’d make sure there was someone in every camp, just so there were lines of communication open.”

The surge of Donald Trump has become a shock-and-awe spectacle, with few Hoosiers jumping on that bandwagon, with many expecting the billionaire to pull a Ross Perot and implode as Perot did in the early summer of 1992. In contrast, Perot had wide support in early 1992 and ended



## 2016 Republican Presidential Nomination

National: GOP, Dem | Iowa: GOP, Dem | New Hampshire: GOP, Dem | South Carolina: GOP, Dem | General Election Match-Ups

Polling Data																	
Poll	Date	Trump	Bush	Walker	Huckabee	Carson	Cruz	Rubio	Paul	Christie	Kasich	Perry	Santorum	Jindal	Fiorina	Graham	Spread
<b>RCP Average</b>	7/26 - 8/2	23.2	12.8	10.6	6.6	6.6	6.2	5.2	4.8	3.4	2.8	2.0	1.4	1.2	1.0	0.4	Trump +10.4
FOX News	7/30 - 8/2	26	15	9	6	7	6	5	5	3	3	1	2	1	2	0	Trump +11
Bloomberg	7/30 - 8/2	21	10	8	7	5	4	6	5	4	4	2	2	1	1	1	Trump +11
CBS News	7/29 - 8/2	24	13	10	8	6	6	6	4	3	1	2	1	2	0	0	Trump +11
Monmouth	7/30 - 8/2	26	12	11	6	5	6	4	4	4	3	2	1	1	2	1	Trump +14
NBC/WSJ	7/26 - 7/30	19	14	15	6	10	9	5	6	3	3	3	1	1	0	0	Trump +4

**All 2016 Republican Presidential Nomination Polling Data**

up with 455,934 votes and 19.7% of the general electon vote. Hoosiers have a long history of admiring people who tell off politicians in Washington.

Howard County Republican Chairman Craig Dunn likened Trump to the 2012 version of U.S. Rep. Michele Bachmann, who led in Iowa for a time during that cycle. Others compared Trump to 2012 candidate Herman Cain, who was also a flavor of the month.

Allen County Republican Chair- man Steve Shine believes that Trump is actually serving a good role for the GOP, allowing people to "vicariously vent their frustrations." Shine, however, isn't backing a candidate. "I'm going to back the nominee," he said, adding that many Hoosier Republicans "are waiting to see what happens."

There are a number of tell-tale signs that there is volcanic volatility in play. One was the St. Petersburg Times Poll in Florida that had Trump leading favorite sons Bush and Sen. Marco Rubio in late June. Trump had 26%, compared to 20% for the former two-term governor and 10% for Rubio, the state's junior senator. That was a jaw dropper.

**Pew Research polling** revealed that while Democrat Hillary Clinton's trustworthiness is in free-fall, the Republican presidential field isn't doing much better with 32% having a favorable impression of the Republican Party, while 60% have an unfavorable view. Favorable views of the GOP have fallen nine percentage points since January. In the NBC/Wall Street Journal poll released Monday, Bush's fav/unfav rating among all Americans is 26% positive, 40% negative (-14). And Donald Trump is at 26% positive, 56% negative (-30). Ratings for other Republicans: New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie (-13); Sen. Ted Cruz, R-Texas (-12); Sen. Rand Paul, R-Ky. (-10); former Arkansas Gov. Mike Huckabee (-8); Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker (-1); and Sen. Marco Rubio, R-Fla. (+1). "To be sure, the trends for this survey are not favorable for the Democrats,

## 2016 Democratic Presidential Nomination

National: Dem, GOP | Iowa: Dem, GOP | N.H.: Dem, GOP | S.C.: Dem, GOP | General Election Match-Ups

Polling Data									
Poll	Date	Sample	Clinton	Sanders	Biden	Webb	O'Malley	Chafee	Spread
<b>RCP Average</b>	7/20 - 8/2	--	56.0	20.3	13.0	2.2	1.3	1.0	Clinton +35.7
CBS News	7/29 - 8/2	362 RV	58	17	11	2	1	1	Clinton +41
NBC News/Wall St. Jnl	7/26 - 7/30	253 RV	59	25	--	3	3	1	Clinton +34
FOX News	7/30 - 8/2	499 LV	51	22	13	1	1	1	Clinton +29
Quinnipiac	7/23 - 7/28	681 RV	55	17	13	1	1	0	Clinton +38
CNN/ORC	7/22 - 7/25	392 RV	56	19	15	1	0	0	Clinton +37
PPP (D)	7/20 - 7/21	496 RV	57	22	--	5	2	3	Clinton +35

**All 2016 Democratic Presidential Nomination Polling Data**

but neither can it be said that the Republicans have the upper hand," says Democratic pollster Fred Yang.

**Trump's lead ballooned** in a Fox News Poll released Monday from 18 to 26%, while Bush had 15%, Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker at 9%, and neurosurgeon Ben Carson at 7%. In CNS News Poll, Trump led Bush 24-13%. In the CBS News Poll, Trump holds a large lead among Republican primary voters who say they are angry while 79% think Trump says what he believes, rather than what people want to hear, far higher than the other candidates tested.

Good bets as to where Hoosiers might gravitate would be Bush due to the legacy of his presidential father and brother, Ohio Gov. John Kasich, a fellow Midwesterner, who a number of Hoosiers we talked with made their top two or three. Carly Fiorina and Carson could be in a better dark horse position if either was catching traction on fundraising and in the polls. When Fiorina addressed the Lugar Series earlier this year, her talk earned her a standing ovation. But that has yet to result in any overt backing.

**Several Republicans** believe there are pockets of support for both U.S. Sens. Rand Paul and Ted Cruz within the Tea Party circles.

Dunn thinks Republican support here could stay fluid through Super Tuesday in March 16. He doesn't believe tonight's debate or the Iowa caucuses will be key

thresholds. "The final result didn't bear any resemblance to those events," Dunn said. "That won't happen until after New Hampshire and South Carolina, when the money starts choking off for all but a few." He believes that Super Tuesday could winnow the field to six candidates.

**If that indeed occurs** and no one catches fire, a thrilling scenario would be for an actual primary fight to come to Indiana that May. The Hoosier State got to wit-

ness a historic battle between Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama in 2008, with more than 100 campaign appearances piling up between March and May by the candidates and their families.

Says Shine, "I think Indiana is going to be a huge player in the primary. I don't think the nomination will be nailed down before May." ❖

## Jonathan Pollard should be sent to Israel

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – I have no sympathy for Jonathan Pollard, the convicted Israeli spy from South Bend. Not after the way he betrayed this country, hurting relations with Israel in the process, and then renounced his own parents. But there was no reason for him to remain in prison beyond the normal time for release on parole in November.



Actually, I wish Pollard had been released a little earlier, not a lot earlier, but before the 2011 death of his father, Morris Pollard, prize-winning microbiologist and long-time director of Lobund

Laboratory at the University of Notre Dame. The anguished father longed to see the release of his son, even when the son wouldn't speak to him.

Pollard could have been held beyond completion of a 30-year sentence if the Department of Justice objected to release and convinced the U.S. Parole Commission that he was still a threat to national security. He remains no threat. All that highly classified information he stole while a civilian Navy intelligence analyst in 1984-85 is way outdated now.

To keep him in prison longer would serve no useful purpose.

Thus, with the Justice Department offering no objection, Pollard will be free in November, eventually to go to Israel, where he will be welcome. Although he was paid handsomely for spying by his Israeli handlers, he initiated the contact with apparent motivation to help Israel.

**Speculation that** his release is intended to lessen Israeli opposition to the agreement with Iran to curtail its nuclear weapons program seems unfounded. There might have been value in releasing Pollard over a year ago, when there was discussion of freeing him as a bargaining chip in stalled Israeli-Palestinian peace talks.

The discussion was over releasing Pollard to Israel, with Israel then releasing some Palestinian prisoners to remove a roadblock in the talks. That didn't happen. So, Pollard lost any value as an early-release bargaining chip.

My wish for a little earlier release for Pollard was not out of sympathy for him but rather out of sympathy for his distinguished father. During an interview with Morris Pollard back in April 1997, it was heartbreaking to hear his anguish as he told of his desire to see his son free, or at least to have a call from Jonathan, who had renounced him and the efforts of people like Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh to win his release from prison with pleas for compassion.

**Father Hesburgh, who** brought the renowned Jewish researcher Morris Pollard to Notre Dame to head Lobund in 1961, was urging an early release then, not out of belief that Jonathan was innocent but because of the heartbreak for the parents and belief that longer imprisonment would serve only vindictiveness.

Many others who knew the parents, Mildred and Morris Pollard, highly respected in the South Bend community, also hoped that their son would be released before they died. Mildred died in 2003, Morris at age 95 in 2011.

Jonathan added to their heartbreak. In that 1997 interview, Morris Pollard told of how his son had turned his back on his parents. He wouldn't phone them, take their calls, answer their letters or cooperate with their efforts to free him. He took his father's name off the visitor list.

**Morris Pollard blamed** the influence of Esther Pollard, the woman his son married in prison, for turning him against his family and their approach to winning release. She did use a different approach than that of the parents, Father Hesburgh and others seeking compassion in their pleas for release. She harshly denounced this country's officials and system of justice, portraying Jonathan as a hero being persecuted. Jonathan took that approach. Denouncing those who could bring about an earlier release brought no early release.

Now comes the question of whether Pollard must remain in this country under terms of parole for five years before leaving for Israel. He wants no part of this country. We have no reason to want him here. Let him go. Not out of sympathy, but to be rid of him. ❖

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

# Who actually pays taxes?

By **MICHAEL HICKS**

MUNCIE – All taxes are ultimately paid by households, either directly through various taxes or indirectly through price changes.

Perhaps the most misunderstood aspect of taxation is the answer to the simple question of who pays. Now, to simplify the issue, this has little to do with the tax rate. Rather, it has everything to do with who actually bears the burden or ‘incidence’ of a tax.



To an accountant, the answer to the ‘who pays’ question is straightforward. Households pay income taxes, corporations pay corporate taxes, property owners pay property taxes and consumers pay sales taxes. The problem with this simplicity of understanding is that it is both terribly wrong, and terribly misleading. The statutory taxpayer is rarely

the one who really pays a tax.

All taxes are ultimately paid by households, either directly to the government, or indirectly through changes to the prices or quantity of goods and services. It is probably easiest to start with the one tax that is most distortionary—payroll tax.

Payroll taxes comprise a flat collection, primarily for Medicare, Social Security and unemployment insurance. The biggest chunk is statutorily paid by businesses, with about 40 percent withheld from worker paychecks. That is what you see on your paystub each month under FICA deductions. The money to pay for these taxes comes from business revenues that would otherwise be paid in the form of wages, profits or other business expenses. The question isn’t about what is reported on the pay stub, but rather about which pot of money the revenues are drawn from. That is an economic question.

**It turns out that** the economic incidence of taxes is determined by the relative responsiveness of supply and demand to a price change. Economists call this elasticity. So, the less responsive an item is to a price change, the higher its share of any tax will be. As it turns out, labor supply is much less responsive than labor demand to a change in wages. So, workers end up paying almost all payroll taxes through lower wages, not solely the share that is reported on their pay stubs. Also, because low-income workers have a less elastic labor supply, poor workers probably pay all the payroll taxes, perhaps 15 percent of their wages, while higher income workers’ pay a much smaller share.

Other obvious examples are property taxes on

rental homes. In places with few rental properties and many renters, that tax can be easily passed on. So it is college students, not landlords, who mostly bear the cost of a tax through higher rents.

**A great deal of research** tells us that sales taxes on staple items are borne by the consumer, sales taxes on luxury items are felt mostly by the business owners, and income taxes are mostly paid by households. The most contentious tax is on corporations. As it turns out, corporate taxes, especially in high tax America, are largely paid by workers. All of this leaves economists chuckling. As it turns out, many naïve folks argue for higher taxes on corporations and property holders, thinking that this will be fairer. They couldn’t be more mistaken. ❖

**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.**



# No separation of church and state

By **RICH JAMES**

MERRILLVILLE – The Rev. Ron Johnson makes no pretenses about the separation of church and state. There is none.

Johnson is the pastor at Living Stones Church in



Crown Point and sometimes uses the pulpit to espouse his stands about a variety of social issues. A Republican, he also has run for state representative without success. Johnson made headlines last spring when he led a group of pastors against Gov. Mike Pence.

When much of the nation turned against Indiana because of the “religious freedom” debacle, Pence had the Legislature bring him a bill to “fix” the problem. After he signed that bill into law, Johnson and other ministers turned against the governor, saying he had sold out the religious right.

**Last Sunday, Johnson** was back at it when he welcomed state Sen. Mike Delph, R-Carmel, to the Living Stones Church. “(Delph) has been somebody who has been a rock-solid vote for those of us who share biblical values, and he is somebody that has demonstrated unwavering commitment, even at the censure of his own party

at times," Johnson told his congregation as he introduced Delph.

**Delph, of course, is** weighing a run for the US. Senate seat being vacated by Republican Sen. Dan Coats. Delph said he would be in the race if it was his decision alone, but he said he must consider his wife and five daughters, who accompanied him to Crown Point for the weekend. Delph said that if he does run, he will build his campaign with the support of evangelical Christians. "I think we've lost out way spiritually as a country. Faith and the Bible have traditionally been an important part of American history and American life; I think that needs to have a voice," Delph said.

Delph, a lawyer, is a former top aide to former

U.S. Rep. Dan Burton, an Indianapolis Republican and one of the most conservative members of Congress. If Delph should enter the race, he would join U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman, another ultra-conservative; U.S. Rep. Todd Young; and Eric Holcomb, the former chief of staff for Coats.

Democrats are hoping a fiery Republican primary will open the door for likely Democratic nominee, former U.S. Rep. Baron Hill. ❖

**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.**

## Equity in economic development?

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – Let's separate growth from economic development. Growth is more of what we have. Economic development is an increase in our choices. Another burger place with 20 more part-time burger-flipping jobs is growth. A Burmese family starting a Burmese restaurant, where there are no such restaurants, is an increase in choice and is a small step in economic development.



Who should pay for growth? Normally, we say the private sector should pay for growth and even pick up the bill for inconveniences inflicted on others. That is why, if my memory is correct, there was a hot dispute years ago in Shelbyville when a big chain grocery wanted the city to pay for a stoplight and road improvements at the entrance to its new store.

A proposed subdivision in Southwest Indiana, just off the new I-69, will offer housing and commercial space not currently available in town. Is this growth or development? Who should pay for the roads, sewers and water lines necessary for this sub-division? The private land owner? Taxpayers? Other businesses? The Economic Development Corporation (EDC)?

**Many EDCs are public-private** partnerships. They may get tax dollars from the local Economic Development Income Tax (EDIT) and/or Tax Increment Financing Districts (TIFs). In addition, EDCs are usually funded by local firms such as public utilities, banks, realtors, and others that see their futures tied to the well-being of the community.

As public-private entities, EDCs do not have to meet even the weak standards of transparency required of local governments. Some EDCs involve themselves in community development projects because the line between community and economic development is blurry. Is a swimming pool economic or community development? Does it matter if it makes a place a more desirable place to live and work?

EDIT money comes from those who live in the county. These funds could be used to alleviate the pressures of poverty. TIF funds are property taxes that could be used to expand government services by cities and towns, schools and libraries. Should we expect low-paid workers and poor homeowners to bear part of the burden of development projects from which they may not benefit?

**These are questions of equity.** They can be answered if the EDCs of the state, starting with the Indiana Economic Development Corporation (IEDC), understood they have an on-going public responsibility to demonstrate the value of their activities.

Look at the web site of your local EDC. Does it tell you how they spend their money? Does it indicate with some specificity who benefits from their activities? Do they issue an annual report that is more than platitudes about projects for which they take credit?

Public concerns about how EDCs operate are often stifled in meetings because only a few citizens express their misgivings. Those who question specific economic development activities are labeled as petulant and perpetual naysayers.

Economic development has been accepted widely as a public good, yet EDCs (by whatever name) cannot ignore legitimate questions. We need think only of a basketball arena and a football field in Indianapolis. ❖

**Mr. Marcus is an economist, writer, and speaker who may be reached at [mortonjmarcus@yahoo.com](mailto:mortonjmarcus@yahoo.com).**

**Dave Bangert, Lafayette Journal & Courier:**

What sort of gymnastics will state lawmakers try to pull off at this point to remedy a looming teacher shortage after years of running off potential, young candidates by convincing Hoosiers that public schools were essentially broken? And will they actually be willing to shoulder some of the blame? We're about to find out. Last week, the chairmen of the Indiana House and Indiana Senate education committees asked House Speaker Brian Bosma for a summer study into the creeping ambivalence to the teaching profession. It's a situation that has depleted the ranks of undergrads studying education in state universities and put some districts on their heels when it comes to recruiting for open positions. In their letter to Bosma, Rep. Robert Behning and Sen. Dennis Kruse laid out numbers that have pricked up ears in recent months. New data from the state show that "licenses issued to first-time teachers (have) declined from 16,578 in 2010 to 6,174 in 2014." "We think," Behning and Kruse wrote, "it would be wise for the Indiana General Assembly to proactively address this issue." No kidding. Where to start? The biting commentary came right away from teachers, who have been bristling under state-pushed reforms — the killing of collective bargaining, the rise of private school vouchers, pay raises tied in part to student performance on standardized tests and more — put into high gear in 2010. "It's not that hard to figure out," said Randy Studt, a German teacher at West Lafayette High School. "We could get this problem sorted out in, I don't know, an afternoon. ... The fact that they're just now realizing this is a problem? Come on. Look in a mirror, you guys. Listen to what you've been telling Indiana — and what you've been telling teachers, in particular." Maybe a decent place to start would be with a recording from the May 14 Purdue University trustees meeting. That day, College of Education Dean Maryann Santos de Barona laid out the situation on the West Lafayette campus, where undergraduate enrollment in her school is down 33 percent since 2010. She was clear: This was a national issue, playing out not just at Purdue or other campuses in Indiana. Purdue President Mitch Daniels, former governor during Indiana's ramp up on school reform, didn't have much to say about all that. Will legislators offer something more? ❖



**Maureen Dowd, New York Times:**

A pattern of cutting corners, a patina of entitlement and inevitability, has led to this. Destroying digital messages and thwarting official investigations while acting all innocent about wiping out sensitive material. Avoiding reporters after giving disingenuous explanations at uncomfortable news conferences. Claiming egregious transgressions are a private matter and faux controversy while sending out high-power lawyers and spin doctors to deflect and minimize. Two controlling superstars with mutable hair and militant fans, married to two magnetic superstars who can make a gazillion an hour

for flashing their faces and who have been known to stir up trouble. A pair of team captains craving a championship doing something surreptitious that they never needed to do to win. It turns out Tom Brady and Hillary Clinton have more in common than you would think. Brady had his assistant terminate his Samsung phone the day before he talked to an investigator about Deflategate. Hillary set up a home-brew private server, overruling the concerns of her husband's aides, and erased 30,000 emails before the government had a chance to review them to see if any were classified. Brady and Hillary, wanting to win at all costs and believing the rules don't apply to them, are willing to take the hit of people not believing them, calculating that there is no absolute proof. They both have a history of subterfuge — Brady and the Patriots with Spygate, Hillary with all her disappearing and appearing records. Her strategists worry about surveys showing that voters do not trust her. But her private server is a metaphor for her own lack of trust and a guarded, suspicious mind-set that lands her in needless messes. Joe Biden is also talking to friends, family and donors about jumping in. The 72-year-old vice president has been having meetings at his Washington residence to explore the idea of taking on Hillary in Iowa and New Hampshire. When Beau realized he was not going to make it, he asked his father if he had a minute to sit down and talk. "Of course, honey," the vice president replied. At the table, Beau told his dad he was worried about him. My kid's dying, an anguished Joe Biden thought to himself, and he's making sure I'm O.K. "Dad, I know you don't give a damn about money," Beau told him, dismissing the idea that his father would take some sort of cushy job after the vice presidency to cash in. Beau was losing his nouns and the right side of his face was partially paralyzed. But he had a mission: He tried to make his father promise to run, arguing that the White House should not revert to the Clintons and that the country would be better off with Biden values. Hunter also pushed his father, telling him, "Dad, it's who you are." ❖

**Bob Hammel, Bloomington Herald-Times:**

Enervating is an interesting word. With the same takeoff as energizing, it triggers instinctive positive buttons for me on first thought, but then learning crowds in and says, "No, that's not what it means at all — it's the opposite." Webster says to enervate is "to reduce the mental or moral vigor" of something. Roget couples it with verbs such as "sap, enfeeble, tire, exhaust." As a liberal, I find concession of the 2016 Democrat presidential nomination to Hillary Clinton enervating. And, boy, I hate to head into an election season that way. Bloomington to the contrary, Indiana is a terrible place to be a Democrat. It can't be all that much fun to be an Indiana Republican, either, with a Legislature that makes old Will Rogers, Kin Hubbard and Mark Twain lines look contemporary, and a governor frequently beyond the ken of Kin or any other satirist. ❖

## Pence seeks BMV probe

INDIANAPOLIS — Gov. Mike Pence is canceling a Bureau of Motor Vehicles contract with private license branch operator Express MVA and requesting a formal ethics investigation into a top BMV official who took a job at the company after allowing it to charge customers a “convenience fee” whose legality has been questioned (IndyStar). “This Administration is committed to a government that is as good as our people,” Pence said Monday. “After this matter was brought to my attention, I called for the contract with ExpressMVA to not be renewed when it expires in October. I also asked for an investigation by Indiana’s Inspector General to ensure that state government adheres to the highest levels of transparency and full disclosure.” Those moves come in response to an Indianapolis Star investigation published last week. The Star found that former BMV Chief of Staff Shawn Walters allowed a relatively small contractor called Express MVA to open a private license branch.

## Michigan City closes budget gap

MICHIGAN CITY — Riverboat casino funds are being used to help close a \$5.8 million budget shortfall this year in Michigan City caused partly by a loss in revenue from the statewide property tax restructuring (NWI Times). The City Council adopted an ordinance Tuesday night that directs \$2.4 million in casino proceeds into the general fund for operating expenses. The measure also reduces the budget by \$1.7 million and allocates \$1 million into the general fund from the city’s share of proceeds from the LaPorte County Economic Development Income Tax or CEDIT. The budget cuts included 15 positions in various departments being eliminated

or reduced to part-time, officials said.

## Obama sees war if Iran deal fails

WASHINGTON — President Obama took on critics of the nuclear deal between Iran and six world powers in an aggressive speech on Wednesday, saying they were the same people who created the “drum-beat of war” and played on public fears to push the United States into the Iraq war more than a decade ago (New York Times). “Let’s not mince words: The choice we face is ultimately between



diplomacy and some sort of war — maybe not tomorrow, maybe not three months from now, but soon,” Mr. Obama told about 200 people in a speech at American University. “How can we in good conscience justify war before we’ve tested a diplomatic agreement that achieves our objectives?”

## Pence aims at NY businesses

INDIANAPOLIS — Gov. Mike Pence is headed to New York with the hope of luring new business to Indiana (Associated Press). The Indiana Economic Development Corp. says in a statement that a delegation led by Pence will meet with location advisers, developers and company executives. Pence plans to pitch Indiana as a business-friendly, low-cost, low-tax haven. The Republican governor’s trip is the state’s ninth “jobs mission” where state officials seek out businesses in states that traditionally have higher taxes. Before the state’s delegation returns on Thursday, they also will make stops in Connecticut and New Jersey to make similar appeals to business.

## ISTEP test results will be delayed

INDIANAPOLIS — The results of this year’s Indiana standardized

student tests are being delayed by a month or more as a testing company official said Wednesday it was struggling to finish grading the exams (Associated Press). The president of McGraw-Hill Education CTB told State Board of Education members at its regular business meeting in the Indiana Memorial Union in Bloomington that changes made to this spring’s ISTEP test have pushed back its grading work. That means schools and parents likely won’t receive results from exams that were completed in May until at least mid-December.

## State homeless population declines

INDIANAPOLIS — The state’s overall homeless population is declining. A new report shows it’s down about 2% and 9% down from five years ago. But there are still nearly 6,000 homeless Hoosiers (Indiana Public Media). The annual Point-In-Time Homeless Count is required every year for communities that receive federal funding for programs that help the homeless population. The count happens at the end of January and this year revealed there were more than 5,800 people without homes.

## Zoeller contests EPA air rules

INDIANAPOLIS — The battle over global warming and the nation’s first limits on heat-trapping gases from power plants heads to the courts now, just days after the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency put them in place (Louisville Courier-Journal). Coal-dependent Indiana and Kentucky will be at the center of the fray, as part of a coalition of states asking first that EPA delay all enforcement until their legal challenges are exhausted, then asking the courts to overturn the rule. “The president can’t write his own law,” said Indiana Attorney General Greg Zoeller. “Without legislative authority, the EPA is now undertaking to expand their authority. “This is the way we have checks and balances.”