



Doc Bowen and shifting politics

Legendary career was shaped by razor thin wins & changing politics

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Perhaps the most inspiring part of Doc Bowen’s legacy is that between 1946 and 1972 he delivered 3,000 Hoosier babies when he was the small town family physician in Bremen. The future Indiana governor would say that having his hands on so many emerging lives taught him “how to approach emergencies and problems with a certain amount of calmness and common sense.”

Bowen’s political career as Marshall County coroner, state representative, Speaker of the House, Indiana governor and then U.S. Health and Human Services secretary gave an array of portals for him to impact these lives, from the delivery room to the morgue.

His political and subsequent policy reach, however, brought tax relief to 6 million Hoosiers, and as the capstone of his career, what he believed would be catastrophic health insurance for millions of Americans.

It was, as Doc Bowen put it, his “greatest accom-



A celebratory Speaker Otis “Doc” Bowen clasps the hand of Gov. Edgar Whitcomb at the 1972 Indiana Republican Convention. Four years before, Whitcomb had defeated Bowen.

plishment” and worth pondering one more time in the wake of his passing at age 95 on May 4.

While his tax reforms of 1973 lasted a generation until the gradual revenue, housing, industrial and popula-

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Doc always remained Doc

By **JACK COLWELL**

SOUTH BEND – Even as governor of Indiana and then in Washington as a member of President Reagan’s Cabinet, Otis R. Bowen remained “Doc” Bowen, never pretentious, always with the same friendly, caring ways of his years as a family doctor in Bremen.



Maybe Doc wouldn’t fit in with politics today.

But I think he would, and politics would be better for it.

Doc was mild mannered. His style in politics was low-key persuasion rather than bombastic



“That young girl was my mother, and if she had gone to Kalamazoo that night, you wouldn’t be reading this today. I would have been aborted.”

- U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman



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partisan threats or arm-twisting. It is a mistake to think, however, that he didn't get things done. He won a tough battle in his first months as governor for passage of a major property tax relief program. It was to become highly popular, as were many other Bowen initiatives that made him one of the most popular governors in state history.

I wrote once about a conversation with Doc in the governor's office as it appeared that his tax relief plan was doomed. Since his plan for needed property tax cuts involved a sales tax increase to fund the property tax relief, he was attacked as a "big taxer" by a right-wing group buying advertisements and in Indianapolis newspaper editorials and cartoons.

Bowen told me he would not give up and would not compromise on something that wouldn't work.

"I'm getting a little aggravated," he said, which was about as strong as Doc ever got in his language.

Would he resort finally to use of threats of patronage firings to sway wavering legislators?

"That is not good government," Bowen said. "That is poor government. We're trying to restore

some humanism and integrity to government."

He could be stubborn when he thought - as he did with his tax relief plan - that he was doing something that was right for Hoosiers.

And of course he did prevail.

More than one of the reluctant legislators finally providing the needed votes for the plan to pass said afterward: "I just couldn't vote against Doc."

He did it his way. The way of a friendly, caring family doctor from Bremen who so often had the right diagnosis, the right prescription.

Doc was often underestimated by political opponents who thought he was too mild-mannered to win anything. Relying on speaking common sense and facts rather than partisan vilification and distortions, and on determination, he would win. It would be hard to bet against him even in the current political climate.

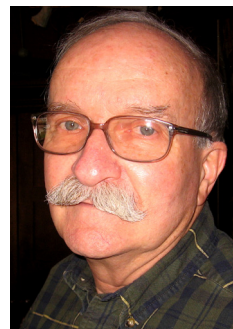
Doc wouldn't change. But someone like him could help to change the climate. ❖

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

Revealing Bowen anecdotes

By **GERRY LaFOLLETTE**

INDIANAPOLIS – Sometimes an anecdote reveals as much or more about a person's character as a list of accomplishments.



I first met Otis "Doc" Bowen in 1961 during the biennial legislative session. It was his second ses-

sion, my first for the old Indianapolis Times. Why it was his second and not his third hangs the tale.

In 1956, Doc was finishing a term as Marshall County coroner and was elected to the Indiana House. Two years later, he lost reelection by four votes out of 14,588 (as Casey Stengel used to say, you can look it up).

I have covered my share of elections for the Times and later the Indianapolis News and I can say four votes is definitely grounds for a recount.



Doc said no. He trusted fellow county folks to have done a fair job in the first place.

The second story is a bit more involved and revealing. In the 1969 biennial session, the major piece of legislation of the Marion County Republican organization was huge. It became known as "Unigov" and it combined many aspects of city and county government.

It was first introduced in the Senate where the vote was tight, 26-18. Six did not vote, including the father of today's House Speaker Brian Bosma. Then it went to the House.

Among those pushing the bill was then Mayor Richard G. Lugar. Somehow, somehow, Lugar was told that Doc was sitting on the bill. Lugar held a morning press conference to denounce the stalling tactic. He gave out Doc's office phone number. More than 1,000 calls came in running 9 to 1 against the bill.

Then Lugar learned that Doc was not sitting on the bill, that, in fact, Doc had put it at the bottom of the stack of Senate bills, letting it rise to the top in due time. Two significant developments ensued, revealing much about both men. Mayor Lugar called an afternoon press conference to admit his mistake, to apologize and note that Doc was following his usual procedure. Lugar refused to blame anyone else for the false information. Second, at the same time, Doc did not get mad or react in a vindictive manner.

The bill passed the House easily and changed the nature of Indianapolis and Indiana politics for more than a third of a century. ❖

LaFollette retired after more than 30 years of covering Indiana politics for the Indianapolis Times and the Indianapolis News.

Doc Bowen, from page 1

tion changes prompted Gov. Frank O'Bannon and Lt. Gov. Joe Kernan to revamp the Indiana system in 2002, Bowen's "greatest accomplishment" was a fleeting one. Within this riveting three-year window when he served President Reagan as HHS secretary, from 1985 through 1989, many of the seeds of political division that torment us today were sown, literally under his out-sized political footprint.

Bowen was no stranger to political adversity. First elected to the Indiana House in 1956, he was defeated for reelection by four votes, and refused a recount because he didn't want to be seen as a "crybaby." A 92-year-old supporter died the day before the election and her large family didn't make it to the polls. Bowen regained his seat in 1960. He became minority floor leader in 1964 after the LBJ Democratic landslide, shepherding a caucus of just 22 Republicans.

1 vote from oblivion

In the political fallout of Vietnam, House Republicans ended up with 66 seats in 1966, setting up the Nov. 28 showdown at the Claypool Hotel between Bowen and State Rep. Bill Howard of Noblesville, who was backed by

Marion County Republican Chairman L. Keith Bulen. On the first ballot, the two men were tied at 33 apiece.

On the second ballot, Bowen won, with speculation that Reps. Ray Crowe and Charles Bosma were the ones to shift votes. Crowe would tell author Stanley Huseland that he voted for Bowen on both ballots.



Bowen with State Rep. Charles Bosma, whose vote helped him win the speakership in 1966.

Current House Speaker Brian Bosma confirmed that his father was the tie-breaker on behalf of Bowen. "Yes he was," Speaker Bosma told HPI. "Doc and Charlie spoke of that vote on many occasions with my Dad saying it was one of the hardest and best votes he ever cast. That vote cemented their long friendship and began their collaboration on a number of issues, including my Dad's deciding vote on Doc's property tax cut when he was in the Senate and Doc was governor."

Larry Borst would later tell Huseland in his book "Political Warrior: The Life and Times of L. Keith Bulen," "When you think about it, if Bowen had lost as Speaker, he probably never would have become governor, or secretary of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and our history would have been different, all over one vote."

In his autobiography "Doc," Bowen would write, "I now see my election as Speaker as the single most important event in my political life – a defining moment."



Gubernatorial striving and change

Bulen and Bowen would clash in 1968 when Bowen first ran for governor and the powerful chairman backed Secretary of State Edgar D. Whitcomb. In that convention floor fight, Whitcomb easily defeated Bowen and Purdue University Agriculture Dean Earl Butz. Bulen had formed a coalition of big city chairs – Allen County's Orvas Beers, Vanderburgh's Don Cox and Vigo's Buena Chaney among them – who sought to ram home not only the governor nomination, but the entire ticket.

Huseland writes: "Bowen took his 1968 defeat hard. He believed he had been the victim of an unfair system run by unfair people. Bowen saw moral shortcomings in Republican organizational leaders generally, and their domination of state nominating conventions in particular. These were the 'kingmakers' whom he believed had treated him shabbily in the 1968 state convention. They employed questionable practices to control delegates, in Bowen's view. They were not content to defeat him, but humiliated him and his supporters by giving him short shrift in the location of his convention hotel suite and by squelching his nominating demonstration" to just two minutes.

Bowen's humiliation set the foundation for what would be a shift from nominating the governor and lieutenant governor at conventions and the proverbial "smoke filled room" to primary elections. Bowen would be the last convention nominated gubernatorial nominee in 1972 and the first in 1976 to be nominated via the ballot. "This would be his ultimate revenge against Keith Bulen and all the others who wielded the political power he believed was unjust," Huseland observed.

In what would be a prescient observation (seen in the context of the 2012 Dick Lugar/Richard Mourdock U.S. Senate primary), Huseland writes that Bulen and his organizational colleagues, in turn, believed the Bowen philosophy was a path that would lead to the destruction of the strong and accountable two-party system. They foresaw, instead, a system in which candidates would need parties less, a future dominated by candidates who depended instead on celebrity, interest group money and media buys to win the nomination.

Bowen would tirelessly work the Lincoln Day circuit, meeting every potential delegate while bypassing

the big county chairs, and where in 1970 he encountered a 14-year-old boy with a bulky RCA tape recorder at the Miami County Fairgrounds (Howey) who asked him if he was preparing for a second gubernatorial run. "I have to admit the prospect has crossed my mind," Bowen said. It was a decision he actually made while giving a conciliatory speech for Whitcomb at the '68 convention that had spurned him. Bowen would easily win the '72 nomination over Bulen candidate W.W. "Dub" Hill, Sen. Phil Gutman (backed by Beers) and Whitcomb's candidate, Owen County Judge William Sharp.

As for his running mate, State Sen. Robert Orr was a late entry who had backed Whitcomb in 1968. "I won't do anything to help you, and I won't do anything to hurt you,"



Bowen reportedly told Orr, paving the way for a third-ballot victory. The 1972 deals would set the foundation for 16 more years of Republican rule in Indiana. The Bowen-Orr ticket would defeat former Gov. Matt Welsh by 303,000 votes after trailing by nearly 10% that summer. His mantra was "visible and lasting" property tax relief. Voters would also approve a Constitutional amendment allowing the governor to serve any eight years in a 12-year period.

In 1973, Bowen forged his property tax restructuring while doubling the state sales tax to 4 percent. That extra revenue would fund the Property Tax Replacement Fund. He would need now Sen. Bosma to forge a tie in the Senate and Lt. Gov. Orr to break it. That tax relief package would last until the late 1990s.

When O'Bannon and Kernan decided to move on that issue in 2002, Kernan met with Bowen. "We spent about an hour together and went over things," Kernan recalled of that meeting. "In all my dealings with him, he'd been terrific. He was not afraid to speak his mind, but at the same time, what was refreshing was he was always willing to help when called upon. He told me what it ought to look like, that it being revenue neutral was important."



"One of the amazing things was that Doc's tax reforms lasted as long as they did," Kernan said. Kernan had become mayor of South Bend as Bowen was leaving the Statehouse in 1980. "In restructuring property taxes, one of the things Doc did was provide opportunities for local governments to provide additional tax revenue in a number of different ways. That was a recognition of the importance of local government."

Republican National Committeeman John Hammond III observed of Bowen, "He was one of the strongest and instinctually keen political figures in Indiana history."

Former State Rep. Steve Moberly, whose first eight years in the House coincided with Bowen's gubernatorial tenure, explained, "His quiet, gentle country doctor persona concealed a very shrewd political mind and a determined will to enact his agenda whether it was property tax relief or malpractice tort reform for doctors. Beth Bowen, his first wife, was a great teammate for him and they barnstormed the state together in his campaigns for governor."



Doc and health reform

From an Indiana perspective, the tax restructuring is what Bowen's chief "visible and lasting" legacy is. But Doc Bowen had much larger designs on American society, which prompted him to come up with the outlines of what would be called "catastrophic health insurance." When President Reagan decided to make him the first medical doctor to head the sprawling Department of Health and Human Services, Bowen did so with a condition, that he would have the opportunity to forge a catastrophic health care plan.

It would be far from visible and lasting.

In the book "Power, Politics and Universal Health Care: The Inside Story of a Century," by Stuart H. Altman and David Shactman, they noted that the elderly were paying as much out of pocket in 1984 as they had in 1965 before Medicare was adopted.

The pair wrote: Almost immediately after becoming secretary, Bowen tried to convince Reagan to propose catastrophic insurance for Medicare beneficiaries in his 1986 State of the Union address. Initially, Reagan was supportive, but he later declined under pressure from the insurance industry. However, he told Bowen to form an advisory council to study the issue.

"The mild-mannered Doc Bowen turned out to be

a pit bull on the issue of catastrophic insurance," Altman and Shactman wrote. "Although he chaired the advisory council, he insisted from the outset that he did not want his own views to influence its conclusions. He went so far as to avoid attending the council meetings. However, his low public profile later appeared to be a ruse. Near the end of the council's deliberations in fall of 1986, he inserted his own plan – nearly identical to the one he published before he became secretary. Apparently he had intended this all along. Whether the president also intended this outcome when he authorized the advisory council is not clear."

It is within this context that Bowen presided over the political fissures that would begin late in the Reagan presidency, extend to "Hillary Care" in the early 1990s, and finally to Obamacare in 2010 and beyond.

Liberals believed that social insurance programs engender a great deal of solidarity because everyone contributes and thus, everyone is deserving of benefits, the authors wrote. They require "income-related" contributions. Hence these programs redistribute money from the wealthy to the less well off, providing a social safety net for those in need.

Republicans and conservatives contend that social insurance programs are expensive, inefficient and unfair, and they crowd out private insurance.

The Bowen proposal threatened to take government health programs in the opposite direction of the conservatives. Under his proposal, the program had to be budget neutral and self-financed. Requiring the elderly to finance their own care was a departure from the model of social insurance typified by Medicare. Although it was government insurance, it was neither universal nor mandatory. It more closely resembled the purchase of private Medigap policies.

Conservatives within the administration attempted to keep the proposal private while they lobbied the president to oppose the initiative. Knowing he had formidable opposition, Bowen acted boldly, Altman and Shactman wrote. Before opponents could coalesce, and without any White House review, he scheduled a news conference and made the details of his proposal public. The New York Times reported "the unauthorized action outwitted and outraged conservatives, including some of the president's closest advisers." Congressional Democrats immediately hailed his proposal and offered their support.

Only one person in the entire Reagan administration could have driven this initiative, Altman and Shactman observed. Thanks to Doc Bowen, Medicare Catastrophic was suddenly part of the public debate.



Bowen would tell a University of Virginia forum some years later, "There were – I counted them up – 69 different steps that we went through before the President signed the bill. The way it started out was, we developed an Executive Advisory Commission, composed of Tom Burke as a chairman, and then two or three others. Then I devised three separate groups – or task forces. One was to deal with the Medicare problems of those 65 and above, and then one for the 65 and below, and then on the long-term care such as nursing homes. The only one of the three that Congress was interested in was those above 65. They kind of sloughed off the others. Each of these task forces developed their recommendations. The President gave his address on February the 4th, 1986. Then on November the 19th, 1986, that was from February to November, we had our plan completed, because the President asked for the report by the first of December."

"So we did three years' work on one, and got the plan to the President, and it wasn't until February the 24th, 1987 – which was about four months after I delivered the plan to the President – that the President announced that he was preparing to send the plan to Congress," Bowen said.

Bowen would find Attorney General Edwin Meese, who headed the Domestic Policy Council, ardently opposed. "Expanding government, I guess, was the biggest complaint he had," Bowen said. Altman and Shactman observed: The president's Domestic Policy Council was appalled. Bowen's program represented everything the Reagan administration had run against. It would expand the role of the federal government while crowding out private insurance that was already providing similar coverage. It would lead to increased government spending and larger deficits.

Meese appointed a separate committee, omitting Doc Bowen, to find alternatives to what we were trying to do.

At another meeting, Meese invited the big insurance companies that handled Medigap to come into the White House, "and brought me in there before them," Bowen recalled. "I was probably the only one in there favoring the plan, and the insurance people said, 'Sure, we can do the same thing,' but the cost was going to be much, much higher. Remember that the cost in administering Medicare is 2% or two cents on the dollar, and this was going to be

way higher. Luckily, I had one of these charts and a big pen I could draw with, and I drew a thousand lines across there tracing the cost of where a dollar would go."

It was Reagan's chief of staff, Don Regan, who stepped in and allowed the shrewd Bowen plan to be placed on the President's plate.

"President Reagan and Bill Brock and I were the only three who had an elected position, and I think that we knew a little bit more about what the people wanted than the rest of them did," Bowen said. "And I think that Reagan was for it, but didn't know how to get it done. He tried it when he was governor but didn't get very far. I think he hinted about it in his first term a little bit. And then when he had somebody come in and try to champion it, it gave him an opportunity to jump on the bandwagon for it."

By the time the Bowen plan had garnered Reagan's attention, he had a bigger problem, the Iran-Contra Scandal. Looking for a diversionary headline maker, Reagan anted up the Bowen plan. "Again, whether this is so, I'm not sure,"

Bowen said. "I'm a little suspicious: That was in the heat of the Iran-Contra affair, and I think he wanted something to divert attention away from that, and onto the health situation. . . . I think it took a little courage for the President to do that, knowing that his number one, two, and three boosters were anti."

Once it was sent to Capitol Hill, the specter that would cluster around the Affordable Care Act or Obamacare 20 years later happened to the Bowen plan. Democrats loaded it up like a Christmas tree. The House passed the measure 328 to 72; the Senate 86 to 11. In "Power, Politics and Universal Health Care," the authors noted: Ronald Reagan had signed the Medicare Catastrophic Bill in the Rose Garden on July 1, 1988 - the largest expansion of Medicare since its inception. It hardly resembled the modest bill Doc Bowen had recommended. In fact, after the drug benefit was added, Bowen and then the president himself threatened a veto." It was saved by Iran-Contra.

And then the political bottom fell out.

Support for the plan went from 91 percent in 1988 to 65 percent five months after passage, and then to 46 percent in March 1989 after Reagan and Bowen left office. Members were shocked, and on Nov. 21-22, 1989, both houses of Congress overwhelmingly repealed the law.

Bowen would cite the Bush41 administration's "unwillingness to defend the program" and added, "As controversy erupted, the administration did nothing."

"As the 21st Century begins, we remain where we were in the '80s, a nation with hundreds of thousands of





frail elderly people ... face the possibility of catastrophic illness and escalating health care costs. Our lack of action is a damning indictment on our humanity and our political will."

That would set in motion two decades plus of some of the most divisive politics since the Civil War and the Civil Rights movement over health care.

Epilogue

As Doc Bowen was taking his final, shallow breaths on Saturday, the Sunday editions of the New York Times were pounding off the presses. Included was a column by conservative writer Ross Douthat, who uncovered a 1970s era RAND Corporation study that found "that more expensive health insurance doesn't necessarily lead to better health." It was reaffirmed by Oregon's new "lottery" health system where health outcomes for new Medicaid users were not much different than those for the uninsured.

Douthat continued: "First, if the benefit of health insurance is mostly or exclusively financial, then shouldn't health insurance policies work more like normal insurance? Fire, flood and car insurance exist to protect people against actual disasters, after all, not to pay for ordinary repairs. If the best evidence suggests that health insurance is most helpful in protecting people's pocketbooks from similar disasters, and that more comprehensive coverage often just pays for doctor visits that don't improve people's actual health, then shouldn't we be promoting catastrophic health coverage, rather than expanding Medicaid?"

You could only surmise Doc Bowen's reaction and answer to that one.

On Dec. 16, 1986, Bowen would tell President Reagan and the Domestic Policy Council: "I would never do anything as secretary that would embarrass the President; I was a political and ideological conservative who wanted government out of individual lives whenever that possible; I had succeeded in public life by listening to and acting on the concerns of people; catastrophic illness was a genuine problem that needed to be addressed; there was no private-sector answer, though that would be the best solution; and the proposal would be self-financing."

Beneath the hornrimmed glasses and his genteel demeanor was a shrewd, cunning and intellectually robust public servant. Had Doc Bowen's "greatest accomplishment" not succumbed to the prevailing political winds, it's a fascinating mental exercise to wonder where we might be spending our political capital today. ❖

The legacy of Gov. Doc Bowen

By **RAYMOND H. SCHEELE**
and **SALLY JO VASICKO**
Bowen Center for Public Affairs

MUNCIE – Scholars who study leadership write of "transformational" persons. These are individuals who fundamentally alter organizations and public policies in a way that dramatically changes the way people live and brings progress to society. Such individuals have qualities that attract others to their point of view.

Since achieving statehood, Indiana has been served by 50 as governor. Of those, only a handful can be categorized as transformational. All historians of Indiana place the Civil War governor, Oliver P. Morton, on the list, along with Paul V. McNutt, the governor during the Great Depression. Increasingly, Otis R. Bowen is on that list.

Governor Bowen fundamentally changed Indiana, and America. For Hoosiers, he cut property taxes and

raised revenue by increasing the sales tax. It was a massive revision of our tax structure and the results are still with us as Hoosiers recently voted to solidify property tax controls in the state constitution.

Otis Bowen was most proud of his original profession, medicine. He graduated from IU medical school in 1942 and



was in the U.S. Army after his internship in South Bend. He served in the Pacific Theater during World War II and returned to Northern Indiana after the war, settling in Marshall County, where he set up his medical practice as a family physician.

He knew the medical profession from the inside. As Speaker of the Indiana House of Representatives, he saw to it that the IU School of Medicine was transformed, with medical classes held at other state universities, with programs emphasizing the training of family practitioners.

As governor, he coupled this change with a limit on the liability of physicians while maintaining the legal protection of patients. These reforms made Indiana one of the



few states to avoid a shortage of medical doctors.

Moreover, he put in place the statewide medical air transport system where helicopters are dispatched to transport patients to the appropriate hospital for treatment. He was governor when the 911 emergency phone number was adopted.

Knowing Indiana is the "Crossroads of America," he did not wait for federal funds to complete Indiana's planned interstate highway system. He used state funds to speed up completion of the highways and then waited for federal funds to reimburse the state coffers.

When Governor Bowen was nominated by President Reagan to be secretary of Health and Human Services, two Hoosiers sat beside him in the confirmation hearing: Republican U.S. Senator Dan Quayle and Democrat U.S. Representative Andy Jacobs Jr. The bipartisan support from Hoosiers was a clear signal of Bowen's ability to bring people together.

Once in the cabinet, Bowen was confronted with the AIDS crisis. He immediately launched a nationwide information campaign to inform citizens about the disease and he encouraged more funding for medical research. Linking with the surgeon general, he stepped up efforts to educate Americans about the dangers of smoking.

When "Doc" Bowen left the governorship in January of 1981, the political science department at Ball State University founded the annual Bowen Institute on Political Participation. It was funded by John Fisher, then CEO of Ball Corporation in Muncie.

Fisher wanted a program that would honor the public service legacy of Governor Bowen. Those of us who were instrumental in forming the Institute on Political Participation focused on the declining interest in politics and public service that was taking place in America.

Long before "civic engagement" became a national concern, former Governor Bowen was appearing at the annual Bowen Institute, encouraging students and citizens to become active in their communities. He personally attended the Institute each year except when he was in Washington, in the President's cabinet. Even then, he videotaped a unique message for the participants. Each year he spoke of the critical importance of being involved in public life, whether one was a Democrat, Republican, or Independent.

In 2007, Ball State University added new programs to honor Governor Bowen by creating the Bowen Center for Public Affairs. The center continues the annual Bowen Institute on Political Participation, but also added a Public Service Institute that delivers cutting-edge programs to local communities throughout Indiana with projects such as Community Conversations and certified training programs for local government officials. The center also founded the Institute for Policy Research, which conducts funded research projects as well as conducting the annual

Hoosier Survey on issues facing our state. The center also maintains the Disability Project, which seeks to provide employment opportunities for persons with disabilities.

The Bowen Center for Public Affairs is just one example of his impact on all of us. When you enter one of the interstate highways, you will be driving on a roadway that received the personal attention of Governor Otis Bowen. When you see a helicopter landing at your local hospital, you will be reminded of Otis Bowen. When you visit your physician, you will be reminded that Indiana is one of the few states without a shortage of family physicians because of the programs put in place by Otis Bowen. When we read of new medical advancements that hold promise for attacking diseases and injuries, we know that Dr. Otis Bowen was instrumental in that effort.

We have witnessed the passing of a great Indiana governor and public servant for all Americans. But his legacy will continue because of the transformative nature of his contributions. ❖

Raymond H. Scheele and Sally Jo Vasicko, co-directors, the Bowen Center for Public Affairs, Ball State University.

Pence pays tribute to Doc Bowen

INDIANAPOLIS - Gov. Mike Pence bowed his head in silence Wednesday during a solemn Statehouse memorial for former Gov. Otis "Doc" Bowen as an honor guard posted in the domed Rotunda kept watch over the late governor's official state portrait and bronze bust. Pence and a



handful of state officials and former Bowen staffers attended the memorial, pausing with heads lowered before a wreath honoring the former GOP governor and U.S. Cabinet secretary, who died Saturday at age 95. Pence, who made no remarks, then signed one of two condolence books the public can sign through today at the Statehouse, where honor guards from the State Police and Indiana National Guard will take

turns watching over the Rotunda. Among Bowen staffers was Judith Palmer, a retired Indiana University administrator who served as a senior budget analyst for Bowen in his first term and was his executive assistant for public health in his second term. She called Bowen, a former family physician, "a caring, compassionate" person notable for his openness to other viewpoints on all issues. ❖



Gov. Doc Bowen, with 'Kindest personal regards'

By **CRAIG DUNN**

KOKOMO — It was May 1972, and I was a newly elected delegate to the Indiana Republican State Convention. This was not a singular achievement in itself; thousands of delegates had been elected before me and many thousands more were to come. What was unique was that I was only 18 years old. The 26th Amendment to the United States Constitution had been enacted and 1972 would be the first year that 18-year-olds could vote or become a candidate for office.



It was not a very rigorous campaign. My campaign manager, my mother, had the foresight to marry a man with a name near the beginning of the alphabet and so, on a delegate ballot where four of 11 candidates were elected, I carried a natural advantage. Although it wasn't exactly a testament to the care and thoughtfulness devoted to the selection of convention delegates, this electoral quirk helped seal my election.

The 1972 election would be unique for quite another reason. It would be the last election where the governor candidate would be selected at the convention and not in a primary. No longer would candidates be chosen behind closed doors in rooms reeking of cigar smoke. After 1972, candidates would be decided by voters picking the best qualified person with a name beginning near the beginning of the alphabet.

The one-month time period leading up to the 1972 Republican State Convention was an exciting time for an 18-year-old boy new to the political process. Armed with a list of eligible delegates for each county, prospective candidates would pursue an expensive process of wining and dining convention voters. It seemed that just about every other day I would receive an invitation to go to some restaurant or hotel for a reception featuring a candidate seeking office.

The most enjoyable experience of this month of political campaigning was the opportunity to get to meet and come to know Otis R. Bowen. I wasn't naive enough to assume that the Bowen campaign's interest in me was because of my political savvy or influence. They were interested in gaining my support because I represented

the novelty of the newly enfranchised youth vote. Being 18, wearing bell bottom pants, and looking dashing in my paisley shirt instantly qualified me for admittance into the political inner circle.

Otis Bowen, then Speaker of the Indiana House of Representatives, was pitted in a rugged battle for the nomination with Judge William Sharp and W. W. "Dub" Hill. The competition for delegate support was intense in the days leading up to the convention. My own county chairman was firm in his support for Judge Sharp. It seems that a deal had previously been brokered with the Hamilton County chairman that if Hamilton County would support Elwood "Bud" Hillis for congress in the 5th District, Howard County would back Judge Sharp for governor. In my first act of political rebellion, I backed Doc Bowen.

When all of the political battles had been fought and all of the balloons had been dropped, Doc Bowen scored a significant triumph at the convention. The reason that most delegates could cite as their reason for supporting Bowen was that he was a good man, an honest man, a nice man and sincere. Wow! Imagine a candidate with those credentials emerging from the chicanery and smoke-filled halls of a political convention.

Gov. Bowen did not disappoint us in his first term. Bowen ushered in much-needed tax restructuring for Indiana, completely reforming the complicated system of property tax. This tax restructuring helped create the atmosphere for Indiana's economic success during the '70s and '80s.

In 1975, fresh from graduating at Ball State, I found myself looking for work in the depths of a recession. While waiting for my wife to graduate from college I was utilizing my business degree by picking up dead animals along the road for the Delaware County Highway Department, quite removed from shrimp cocktail and caviar. I had the great fortune of bumping into Governor Bowen at a fundraising event for a local judicial candidate. Bowen had written a very nice reference letter for me when I sought to be a congressional intern in 1974. Fortunately for me, and to my utter amazement, he offered me a position with his reelection campaign. I leaped at the opportunity.

It was an educational and exciting year working for Governor Bowen. I traveled with him, doing advance work. One sage described my job as being one part gofer, one part event planner and one part scapegoat in case anything went wrong. He'd laugh and tell me that if anything went wrong, I'd be the one going to prison. Very motivational!

During my brief travels with the governor, and frequently with his lovely wife Beth, I got to know a wonderful human being. They just didn't make a person any finer than Doc Bowen. He was honest, forthright, hard-working



and a first-class gentleman. I'll never forget Governor Bowen jotting down the license plate numbers of cars that sped past his vehicle when we were on the highway. Indiana had just implemented a 55-mile-per-hour speed limit and he would send a postcard to the violators reminding them to slow down. He was sincerely more interested in saving lives than he was in fuel economy.

Doc Bowen also knew how to drop the hammer.

I recall walking into a restroom at one of our campaign events and finding an animated Governor Bowen with his finger in the chest of a county chairman. I quickly beat a retreat. Shortly after becoming a county chairman myself, I related the story and then asked Gov. Mitch Daniels what I had to do wrong to end up with a finger in my chest. He thought it was best that I not find out.

In 1996, I was invited to the new Bremen Public

Library to do a program on my recent Civil War book. My program had been promoted in the local paper and one of its readers had taken note. When I arrived for the program the librarian presented me a hand-written letter from Doc Bowen, apologizing for having to miss the talk due to illness, but congratulating me on the success of my book. It was a gesture that I will remember and a letter that I will treasure forever.

It is with great sadness but fond memories that I look back on the man and the career of one of Indiana's greatest governors. I bid him farewell with the words that he used to close every one of his letters, "Kindest personal regards." ❖

Dunn is chairman of the Howard County Republicans.

Lugar, Donnelly urge caution on Syrian WMD

By MAUREEN HAYDEN

INDIANAPOLIS — Just a year after Indiana Republican voters dismissed Dick Lugar from his Senate career, the specter of weapons of mass destruction in the hands of terrorists has developed in Syria.

Last weekend, the longtime Republican senator was featured along with former national security adviser Zbigniew K. Brzezinski, a Democrat, on Bloomberg Television's "Political Capital with Al Hunt" where he weighed in on the volatile situation in Syria.

Lugar, former chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, is wary of the U.S. becoming more deeply involved in the Syrian civil war even while he worries about the humanitarian crisis unfolding.

One of Lugar's concerns: That increasing U.S. military involvement would inadvertently bolster extremists in the Syrian opposition and lead to unknown consequences.

Asked what he thought about using U.S. air power to enforce a no-fly zone over Syria, or taking out the Syrian air force or bombing the palace of Syrian president Bashar Al Assad, Lugar responded: "Well, that really does get into warfare, because he (Assad) does have some pretty good aircraft and air defenses. And it's all well and good to talk about the no-fly zone, but that really does put American people at risk who are flying the planes, as well as the planes themselves, and that really oversteps the line."

On Tuesday, during an interview in Indianapolis, Lugar repeated his concerns about the U.S. becoming involved in what he sees as an unwinnable situation.

He acknowledged the tragedy of the Syrian con-

flict: Since March 2011, the civil strife there has killed more than 70,000 people, according to United Nations. That's why he's been supportive of humanitarian aid to Syrian refugees who've fled into neighboring Turkey.

But he fears that U.S. military involvement in Syria could add to the instability of a region plagued with deep ethnic and religious divisions and lead to the kind of long-term entanglement that the U.S. found itself in after invading Iraq. "It's beyond our ability to sort this out," Lugar said. "We attempted to do so in Iraq for 10 years. We tried to bring about democracy, human rights, stability, and peace and we had some success. But absent the U.S., it's become unraveled again.

Lugar differs from many Republicans in Congress who are pushing for more U.S. involvement in Syria, but he urges caution. "Countries really have to develop their own institutions, and determine their own future," Lugar said.

U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly confirmed what could be a developing worst case scenario in the Middle East with al-Qaeda affiliated Syrian rebels seeking access to Syria's weapons of mass destruction stockpiles. "The al-Qaeda rebels are very interested in the weapons," said Donnelly following his trip in which he met with Syrian refugees, rebel leaders and officials of Turkey in a week-long trip to the Middle East. He said the al-Nusra Front is the al-Qaeda affiliated group of jihadists "that continues to grow" and is seeking access to Syria's sarin gas and other WMD.

Last weekend, Israel bombed Syrian military compounds, which, Donnelly said, may have been a move to prevent Hezbollah from getting control of Syrian missiles. Donnelly said that it is unclear who has used sarin gas in the deadly civil war, the national government or the rebels. Asked by HPI what would happen if al-Qaeda or its affiliates would get control of WMD, Donnelly said, "That's a non-starter. That cannot be allowed to happen." ❖



A year after defeat, Lugar shuns retirement

By MAUREEN HAYDEN

INDIANAPOLIS — One year ago, Indiana's longest serving U.S. senator was rejected by Republican primary voters and forced into an unwelcome retirement from a distinguished political career that spanned 46 years.

But at 81, former U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar is hardly in a resting mode.



In the months since his loss, the former chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has traveled on a nuclear-powered warship to the South China Sea; founded The Lugar Center to continue his work on weapons nonproliferation and global food security; signed on with the German Marshall Fund to head an institute devoted to diplomacy; and joined the faculty of three universities.

He's also been knighted by both the British and the Poles, using the accolades -- like the multiple honors bestowed on him recently -- to raise awareness and money for these efforts.

After his many years of public service -- including two terms as Indianapolis mayor and 36 years the Senate -- why not retire?

"I'm still living in this world," is how Lugar answered that question, during a break from a busy schedule of events in Indianapolis Tuesday. "And it's still a dangerous world."

Lugar, a Rhodes scholar and farmer, spent much of his Senate career trying to make it a little less dangerous.

Before finishing his final term in early January, he was awarded the Defense Department's highest civilian honor, the Distinguished Public Service Award, for "his extraordinary leadership and contributions to America's national security."

The award was in recognition for his work with former U.S. Sen. Sam Nunn, a Georgia Democrat, to craft the bill that created the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program. Better known as Nunn-Lugar, the program has

eliminated more than 7,500 nuclear warheads in the former Soviet Union and continues to secure and destroy weapons of mass destruction around the world.

The only sign of residue disappointment from his 2012 primary loss to Tea Party favorite Richard Mourdock -- who subsequently lost to Democrat Joe Donnelly -- appears when he talks about his age.

"Some people are surprised by what we're doing," Lugar said, of the multiple commitments he's made to universities and institutions. "They think: 'This is an 81-year-old man. What the devil is he doing?'"

It's a question, he said, that echoes what he heard on the campaign trail last spring. "Some people, frankly, said: 'We like you a lot. We've supported you again and again. But, you know, now you're too old. Somebody who is 80 or 81 ought to know when it's time to get out.'"

Lugar didn't agree, then or now. He's in good health, still deeply interested in international affairs, and still feels a strong sense of obligation to make the world a safer place.

After he lost the May primary, he reached out to a multitude of people, from Hoosiers serving in the military to world leaders with whom he'd forged alliances and friendships.

"All of these people who'd relied on me for a long time," Lugar said. "I assured them that I would still be around, doing what I could to influence world opinion."

His schedule this week is typical of the life he's now leading. On Monday, he spoke to an audience of lawyers that included Supreme Court Chief Justice John Roberts; on Tuesday, he visited the Children's Museum of Indianapolis in the morning to promote the museum's 50th anniversary and was honored in the evening by the Indiana State Museum.

He's scheduled to be back in Washington, D.C., to receive Germany's highest honor, the Grand Cross of the Order of Merit, from the German president. Today, he has a gala to attend and an award to accept from former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright.

The awards, he said, are humbling, but also provide him an opportunity to talk about his work and the causes he still cares about.

"I deeply believe in the things that I've been doing," Lugar said. "I don't have the opportunity to do them as a United States senator any more. But I'm grateful for the opportunity to keep working." ❖



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



Pence signs on to life movement apex

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - When Gov. Mike Pence's ink flowed on to Senate Enrolled Act 371 Tuesday - signing into law further abortion restrictions - it was the first step in an era where the pro-life movement sits at the apex of its Indiana political and policy power.

Never in the state's history have the executive and legislative branches wielded this much pro-life clout, even though the bill Pence signed will not prevent legal abortions. What is occurring is a continual nibbling away of abortion rights in the legislature. And it will likely happen in each of the next three years of Gov. Pence's term. The governor has said that he will be predisposed to sign any pro-life legislation that crosses his desk.

SEA371 establishes what Indiana Right to Life describes as "health and safety standards for chemical abortion facilities." But in the eyes of Planned Parenthood of Indiana, the law has morphed from "egregious piece of legislation that intrudes on women's personal health care decisions and imposes further restrictions on abortion, which is a safe and legal procedure." And PPIN promises an appeal of the law, as it did when a 2011 bill defunded Planned Parenthood, with the Appeals Court eventually ruling that law unconstitutional.

SEA371 passed the Senate 35-14 on April 11 and the House voted 70-26 on April 2. Those margins reflect what Howey Politics Indiana has described as the pro-life "juggernaut" in Indiana, headed by Gov. Pence. Of the 125 winners in the General Assembly in 2012, Indiana Right to Life had endorsed 75. It wasn't always that way. Republican Gov. Robert D. Orr (1981-89) was actually a member of Planned Parenthood.

Howey Politics Indiana in its April 18-21 issues survey asked: Which comes closest to your view on abortion?

The results were: Abortion should always be legal (20%); should be legal most of the time (19%); should be made illegal except in cases of rape, incest and to save the mother's life (45%); or abortion should be made illegal without any exceptions (16%).

Planned Parenthood of Indiana has proved to be a political feather when it comes to backing pro-choice candidates. There is little political action committee activity promoting, financially backing and endorsing abortion rights candidates. The Indiana Republican Party - where chamber leaders such as former Speaker Paul Mannweiler and former Senate President Pro Tempore Bob Garton were both pro-choice - has become an overwhelming bastion of pro-life supporters since Garton's primary defeat in 2006, which occurred in part when life activists launched a grassroots campaign backing challenger Greg Walker. When House Republicans returned to power in 2011 with Speaker Brian Bosma at the helm, it commenced a new era that resulted in the PPIN defunding.

In signing the legislation, Pence said, "I believe in the right to life and in protecting the health and well-being of women in Indiana. Abortion-inducing drugs can be very dangerous, and must be prescribed under conditions that ensure proper medical care. This new law helps accomplish that goal. I applaud both chambers of the General Assembly for passing this legislation. I am especially ap-



Gov. Pence signs legislation that would restrict the use of RU-486, the chemical abortion drug.

preciative of the leadership of Senator Travis Holdman (R), who authored the bill and Representative Sharon Negele (R), who sponsored the bill in the House."

The legislation did undergo several changes, including deleting the requirement that transvaginal ultrasounds be required for patients.

The Pence press office headlined the signing under the title: "Governor Pence signs bill to safeguard women's health." According to Indiana Right to Life, when chemical abortion drugs are used up to nine weeks of pregnancy, past the Food and Drug Administration's seven-week



guideline, complication rates drastically rise. According to the New England Journal of Medicine, the failure rate of the chemical abortion drug is 8 percent at 7 weeks, but the failure rises to 23 percent at 9 weeks.

Pence's signature came about nine months after Right to Life President Mike Fichter had signaled opposition to the chemical drug RU486. This was followed by Pence's election over Democrat John Gregg, who is also pro-life but who said during the campaign he would not take an activist approach in changing Indiana's abortion laws.

"We heartily thank Gov. Pence for affixing his signature to SB 371," said Fichter. "SB 371 is a victory for Hoosiers.

It is important that abortion facilities adhere to common sense standards for health and that women are provided with appropriate informed consent materials. Through the passage of SB 371, we believe a situation like the Gosnell 'House of Horrors' can be prevented in Indiana. The law requires that chemical abortion facilities undergo inspection and licensing, in the same fashion as surgical abortion facilities. This crucial oversight mechanism will help ensure chemical abortion facilities are ready to adequately care for any woman who experiences complications following her procedure."

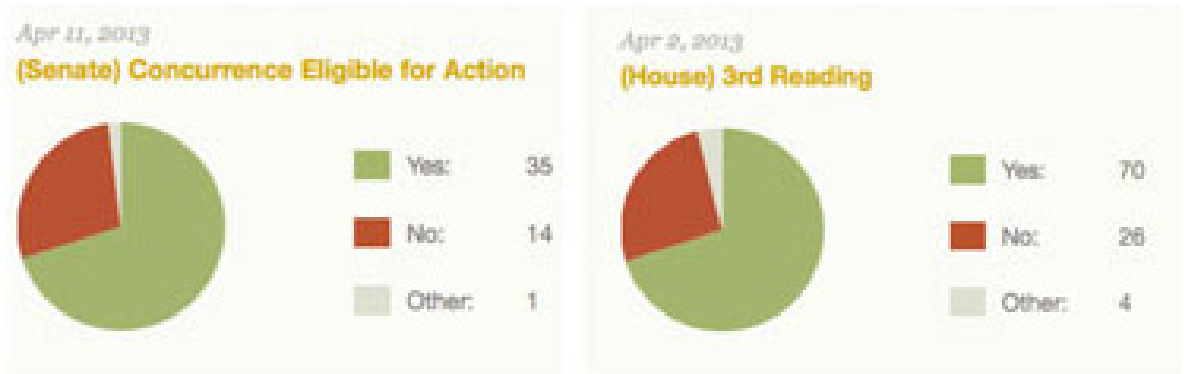
That was in reference to the current trial of Dr. Kermit Gosnell in Philadelphia, charged with committing dozens of late term abortions and even killing babies after their birth. U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman and other Indiana Republicans have used the Gosnell trial to promote the pro-life cause.

As it did with the defunding law of 2011, Planned Parenthood will likely challenge the law in court. "Working with the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) of Indiana, we are currently reviewing the constitutionality of this harmful new law," said Betty Cockrum, president and CEO of PPIN. "It is very likely that we will be challenging SEA 371 in court."

"The additional regulations in this bill are in no way related to 'patient safety,'" Cockrum said. "Legislators really intend to chip away at Hoosier women's access to abortion – and as part of a coordinated national effort, shut down Planned Parenthood's health care centers that also provide preventive care. The fact is, non-surgical abortion, the subject of SEA 371, is already highly regulated. This

piece of legislation is aimed at one non-surgical abortion facility in Indiana – our health center in Lafayette, where thousands of Hoosier women and men have for 37 years received their Pap tests, breast and testicular exams, birth control and STD testing and treatment.

"Non-surgical abortion is very safe," Cockrum added. "Politicians should care about the facts, and stay out of women's personal health care decisions."



"This statute imposes requirements that fail to meet even minimal rationality standards and is, in our estimation, clearly unconstitutional," said ACLU of Indiana Legal Director Ken Falk.

In October 2012, the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals upheld a June 2011 injunction from a lower-court judge blocking a law that would have prevented Planned Parenthood of Indiana from participating in the state's Medicaid program.

Indiana University law professor Dawn Johnsen told Indiana Public Media that such laws are not meant to protect women's interests. "These bills it's been said are intended to chip away, and we're at the point where they're really hacking away at the availability of abortion services because in four states now there's only one provider in the entire state."

Curt Smith of the Indiana Family Institute acknowledged that the pro-life movement will on an annual basis contest the edges of Indiana abortion laws. "I think we're pushing the envelope here," he said. "The courts have constricted the last step," which would be the repeal of Roe v. Wade.

"Clearly technology is showing us there's life in the womb," Smith told Howey Politics. "There's a capacity to see the baby, the fetus, in great detail. It's alive, it's smiling, its heart is beating. We are doing surgeries on babies in the womb. And we are aborting babies in the womb.

"I'm very proud of our legislators," Smith said. "They are testing the limits." ❖



Stutzman writes that he was on verge of abortion

By **MARLIN STUTZMAN**

WASHINGTON — On a cold December night in 1975, a 17-year-old girl sobbed on the bedroom floor of a neighbor's house. Her own home had just burned to the ground, destroying everything she had. But that wasn't the only weight she carried that night. She had just discovered that she was a few weeks pregnant with her first child. In the dark, alone and terrified, she decided to find a way to Kalamazoo, Mich., 40 miles away, to "take care of her situation."

That young girl was my mother, and if she had gone to Kalamazoo that night, you wouldn't be reading this today. I would have been aborted.

Recently, after speaking on the House floor about the horrors of Dr. Kermit Gosnell's abortion clinic in Philadelphia, I began wondering if my mother had ever thought about ending her unplanned pregnancy. My parents never gave any indication that it was ever a consideration, but was it?

I gave her a call. When she answered, I talked to her about my speech on the House floor and then asked gently, "Mom, did you ever think about ." There was a tense pause, and then, through tears she said, "Marlin, I'm so sorry!" As we cried together, I was no longer a congressman, but a son understanding for the first time the heartache and struggles my mom had gone through before I was born. As we talked about her fear of driving 40 miles alone, I had to think, "What if a 'Gosnell' clinic was only four miles away instead of 40?"

She asked if I could forgive her. I answered, "Yes, with all my heart." I said that I couldn't imagine how scared she must have been, and how thankful I was for her and Dad's strength to do the right thing and protect my life. It could have ended so differently. At home with my wife and two children that night, my heart ached at the thought that all of this might never have been.

For 40 years, our society has been unwilling to come to grips with the grim truth about abortion. We've raced down a dead-end street, willfully blind to the facts, only to find ourselves at 3801 Lancaster St. — Kermit Gosnell's clinic in West Philadelphia. There, behind brick walls,

he killed hundreds of babies by snipping their spinal cords just moments after delivery.

After hiding behind euphemisms like "choice" for so long, is it any wonder that Dr. Gosnell and his staff hid behind the euphemism of "snipping" to describe severing infants' necks with scissors? After decades of claiming that the unborn child is just a "blob of tissue," why should we be horrified to see freezers, trash bags and cat food tins stuffed with such blobs? Why should the White House find Dr. Gosnell's actions "unsettling" when, as a state senator, President Obama voted against Illinois' Born Alive Infants Protection Act?

Our natural horror and grief are absurd unless we face the truth that abortion takes an innocent human life. There is no moral distinction between ending a child's life five seconds after birth or five days before. Yet many of those who are repulsed by Dr. Gosnell too quickly pivot to phrases like "safe, legal and rare" as if they were legitimate arguments.

In fact, these are the abortion industry's underlying falsehoods — lies the Gosnell case exposes.

What's the difference between the abortion business, funded by giants like Planned Parenthood, and Dr. Gosnell's Philadelphia house of horrors? Not much. Abortionists like him have recommended their gruesome practices as normal procedures for years. The only difference now is that their sterile terminology has been revealed in horrific pictures and eyewitness accounts for what it is: the killing of the weakest among us.

Right now, Americans ought to come together for an honest conversation about abortion. In the days and weeks ahead, let's leave the euphemisms at the door, examine the facts and find our national conscience.

Kermit Gosnell, like every other abortionist in this country, sold lies to young women like my mother. Two years after *Roe v. Wade*, my young parents made the incredibly difficult decision to reject those lies and protect my life. The impactful conversation with my mom just a few weeks ago made me wonder how many more fathers, wives, business owners, doctors and public servants are missing today because of abortion?

Since 1973, more than 55 million children have been killed before birth. I was just 40 miles from being one of them. ❖

Rep. Stutzman is an Indiana Republican.



U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman with his wife and sons at Gov. Pence's 2011 campaign kickoff in Columbus. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)



Pence signs budget, vetoes 2 licensing bills

INDIANAPOLIS - Gov. Mike Pence used his veto power for the first time Wednesday to reject two bills that would have launched new state licensing and certification requirements for some health care professionals (Bradner, Evansville Courier & Press). The measures he rejected — House Bill 1242 and Senate Bill 273 — would have required licenses for dietitians, diabetes instructors and anesthesiologist assistants, as well as a certification for music therapists. Pence, who on his first day in office signed an executive order barring many of the state agencies he oversees from imposing any new regulations at all, said in a statement that he rejected the bills because he saw them as burdensome.

"Lower taxes and less regulation, including fewer licensing requirements, will mean more jobs for Hoosiers," Pence said. "I am vetoing these licensing bills because I believe they create barriers to the marketplace for Hoosiers and restrict competition." In a statement announcing his decision to veto the bills, Pence cited a 38 percent increase in professional licenses — from 340,000 to 470,000 — since 2004. Over that time period, the state's population has increased 7 percent.

"I have been willing to sign licensing legislation that opens new opportunities for employment or streamlines existing practices and procedures, and I will continue to do so," Pence said. "However, the bills that I am vetoing today do not meet that standard." The House and the Senate are scheduled to return to the Statehouse for one day in June, during which they would largely be dealing with technical corrections that need to be made to bills they approved this year. They could use that day to vote on overriding Pence's veto.

Pence announced the vetoes the same day he signed into law a new two-year, \$30 billion budget — one that will reduce the state's 3.4 percent individual income tax rate to 3.3 percent in 2015 and then 3.23 percent in 2017. It's still not clear whether Pence will sign two other controversial bills approved by the majority legislative Republicans. One would give \$100 million in loans to the Indianapolis Motor Speedway, and the other would elimi-

nate four at-large seats — all currently held by Democrats — on the Indianapolis City-County Council.

90 BILLS AWAIT GOVERNOR; VOUCHERS TODAY:

Gov. Pence still needs to act on about 90 remaining bills by Saturday. The governor's office says Pence will sign the bill Thursday afternoon at Calvary Christian School. He will also sign liability insurance for teachers legislation.

PENCE SIGNS FELONY CODE REFORM: State Sen. Brent Steele's legislation updating Indiana's felony code for the first time in more than 30 years was signed into law today by Pence. Steele said House Enrolled Act 1006 is aimed at ensuring Indiana's criminal sentencing policies are fair and consistent for both victims and offenders. HEA 1006 establishes a new sentencing system that divides felonies into six levels instead of four. Other bills signed by the governor include: House Enrolled Act 1016 to promote rehabilitation in the state's justice system by expanding problem solving courts; House Enrolled Act 1053 to improve Indiana's sex offender registry; House Enrolled Act 1108 to establish sentencing alternatives for youthful offenders; House Enrolled Act 1482 to give offenders a fresh start by allowing for expungement of certain crimes if offenders demonstrate their rehabilitation.

PENCE SIGNS TELE-MEDICINE ACCESS BILL: State Sen. Vaneta Becker's legislation to improve health-care access for Indiana's residents by supporting new medical technologies was signed into law by Pence. SEA 554 requires Indiana's Office of Medicaid Policy and Planning to reimburse health-care providers for telehealth and telemedicine services offered to Medicaid recipients.

PENCE SIGNS LOCAL GOVERNMENT, STUDENT BILLS: Pence signed into law two bills authored by State Sen. Randy Head. The first bill — Senate Enrolled Act 343 — contains several provisions to streamline the process of local government reorganization if political subdivisions choose to merge. "Reorganization is a voluntary process, but if two locations decide to merge, this law establishes a simplified way to do it," Head said. Senate Enrolled Act 345 was also signed into law today. This legislation establishes a Commission on Seclusion and Restraint in Schools to construct a model plan for Indiana schools on the proper methods, standards and training for student seclusion and restraint in the rare instances when such actions are necessary to protect students. ❖



Gov. Pence signs the budget in Crawfordsville with Ways & Means Chairman Tim Brown present.



How did Gov. Pence do in his first session?

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – How did the governor do? That's a question always pondered after a legislative session. The answer is especially significant after a new governor's first legislative session.



Is he off to a good start, getting what he wanted and looking strong for the future? Or not? Let's ponder.

Q. Did Gov. Mike Pence get what he wanted in his first experience in dealing with the Indiana General Assembly?

A. Sort of.

Q. What did Pence want?

A. A 10 percent cut in the state income tax rate. That was his No. 1 goal. What he campaigned on last year. What he implored the legislature to approve. What he needed to establish himself as a successful state executive and enhance his chances for his ultimate goal, the White House.

Q. He got his tax cut, right?

A. Sort of. It's kind of like asking if Manti Te'o achieved his goal. For the Notre Dame star it was a sort-of result. He reached his goal of selection for the National Football League. But as a Heisman Trophy runner-up, he was hoping for something better than second-round, No. 38 pick, in the draft. Pence was hoping for something more than the slightly less than 5 percent cut he got, with it taking over four years to reach that.

Q. With Republicans holding super majorities (so Democrats couldn't even break a quorum) in both House and Senate, why didn't the new Republican governor get exactly what he wanted?

A. Doesn't always work that way. Legislators have minds of their own, priorities of their own, and they don't always bow to wishes of a governor, even if he is from their own party. Republican legislative leaders had priorities of their own and wouldn't go along with the full 10 percent tax cut.

Q. What did legislative leaders want?

A. They wanted a little more for schools to make up for some of the cuts in recent years and more for transportation, particularly to fix up some of the state's crumbling roads. They too favor tax cuts - and approved such other cuts as elimination of the inheritance tax - but

they feared draining off too much revenue in an income tax cut at a time of economic uncertainty and with a lot of unfunded state obligations.

Q. Was the governor mad about what happened?

A. Not publicly. He called the final budget and tax package a "great victory." Pence and the Republican legislative leaders praised each other upon adjournment and hailed what they calculated overall as the biggest tax cut in state history.

Q. Did everybody mean all the nice words?

A. Sort of. Unlike Washington, they were able to reach a workable compromise, get other work done and avoid the vicious eye-gouging, dereliction of responsibility and lasting bitterness of a congressional session. Nobody was entirely pleased. But nobody eye-gouged in a way that prevents future cooperation.

Q. Since Pence was known in Congress for barbed partisan rhetoric and strong stands for conservative causes, was it a surprise that he didn't blast away at Republican legislative leaders like House Speaker Brian Bosma and Senate President Pro Tem David Long when they opposed his full 10 percent cut?

A. No. He did initially object strongly and seek to rally public support for the full cut. And outside groups did attack the GOP leaders. But Pence knew this was not Congress, that stalemate wasn't an option and that the Republican legislators weren't enemies but political friends with a few different views. Many legislators, Democrats as well as Republicans, used the term "nice guy" to describe Pence. House Democratic Leader Scott Pelath said of Pence: "I don't like many of his policies, but I do like that we are able to work together on things that we do broadly agree on."

Q. Were the legislators themselves less quarrelsome, less Congress-like than in other recent sessions?

A. Yes. Democrats were pleased that GOP super majorities didn't just run over them, giving them no part in the legislative process. Republicans were pleased that the Democratic minorities didn't try to be obstructionist, objecting to and arguing over everything. They got along. Imagine that. It was good for them and good as well for the governor. ❖

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



Ellspermann comes to Lake County

By **RICH JAMES**

MERRILLVILLE - It happens every time a new governor is elected.

He climbs in a state police car and visits Lake County and says he wants to put the not-so-pleasant past aside and become a partner with the county.

Eight years ago, Gov. Mitch Daniels came to Lake County and said the county has an incredible amount of potential and can become the economic engine for the state.

In fact, Daniels came back a number of times in an effort to show the county that he was serious about being a partner and that he understood Lake County sometimes drew the short stick when it came to getting help from Indianapolis.

Heck, Daniels even stayed overnight at a home in East Chicago, one of the most Democratic cities in the state. It was part of an effort to show he was serious about hooking up with one of the state's most Democratic counties for the common good.

Daniels, of course, followed through with his commitment to Northwest Indiana and helped form the Northwest Indiana Regional Development Authority. He also chipped in \$10 million a year in state money for the first 10 years.

Generally, Daniels and the governors before him knew what Lake County needed from the state. The official visits were just part of the dog-and-pony show.

New Gov. Mike Pence isn't making the courtesy calls, but instead has sent Lt. Gov. Sue Ellspermann in his stead. Ellspermann was in Lake County last week asking the usual questions.

"How can the state be a partner?" Ellspermann told reporters as to what she said to local officials during the roundtable discussion.

"Sometimes we may think we're helping and we're not," she added.

She also told reporters, "I tell them starting out, don't worry about what the administration wants, I want to hear from you. It really is about educating the governor and me and how we can best serve this area."

Ellspermann said she is from southwestern Indiana

and thus knows the attitude of the people in Northwest Indiana in terms of feeling like a stepchild.

"**We won't fix everything** overnight, but I am confident that we will do our best to be partners with Northwest Indiana to figure out solutions that work," Ellspermann said. "We see NWI as an incredibly important part of our state and we want equal prosperity if not more prosperity up here."

What I wonder but don't know is whether Ellspermann told the Lake County folks to enact an income tax if the county wants financial help from the state.

That, of course, is what the state – both Republicans and Democrats – has been telling Lake County for years.

Ellspermann said she intends to hold similar meetings in all 92 counties.

She said she will relay the local feelings to Pence. While Ellspermann's appearance here was welcome, there was one troubling aspect.

The roundtable held at Albanese Confectionery on U.S. 30 in Hobart was closed to the media.

Ellspermann said the privacy was needed to get



those in attendance to speak freely.

Wow, I can't remember anyone in Lake County being shy about speaking his or her mind about the way they are treated by the state.

What is that buzz word in recent years?
Transparency?

* * *

Finally, farewell Doc. It was a privilege to have known you. ❖

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



Treat good news as good news

By **MORTON J. MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS — I like to complain as much as anybody else. In truth, I may do more than my share of finding fault and wagging a finger in warning. Nonetheless, I'm tired of commentators (including many economists) who find nothing good and only the darkest clouds for the past few months.



When the latest employment numbers were reported last week, they were universally described as "disappointing" and "not up-to-expectations." The fact that they demonstrated a continuing upward trend in the national economy was discharged by the gloom merchants as "insufficient to support positive anticipations."

To me, short-term changes in the month-to-month employment numbers should not be taken as gospel. Right now, unadjusted year-over-year numbers look safest for interpretation. What I see is a slow but persistent recovery that ranges from vigorous to sluggish across the nation.

When we compare private sector employment in March of 2012 and 2013, North Dakota (7.7% growth) and Utah (5.9%) lead the 50 states while Kentucky trails way behind at 0.5%. Indiana ranks 32nd with 1.6% increase compared to the nation's 1.9% advance.

Forty thousand additional jobs in Indiana is not a number that warrants bringing out the celebratory fireworks, nor does it justify wearing funereal garb when addressing the subject.

Jobs alone, however, do not tell the story. How well are American and Hoosier workers being paid for their efforts? The average weekly earnings of American workers rose by more than \$15 in the past 12 months to \$818.40. That is a 1.9% increase on the surface. Yet with consumer prices rising by 1.5% over the same period, take home pay squeezed out a meager 0.4% increase for the year.

Indiana had a good year in average weekly earnings. We ranked 14th in the nation in the growth of earnings, doubling the nation's 1.9% increase with our own 4 percent growth rate. Our 2013 average of \$761.55 put us where many Hoosiers feel comfortable - in 26th place among the 50 states, or 7% below the national average.

The highest weekly earnings in the nation (in excess of \$925) go to workers in Massachusetts, Washington, Connecticut and New York. The lowest weekly earnings are

found in Mississippi, South Dakota, Nevada and Arkansas.

Hoosiers did well in the growth of weekly earnings despite not increasing their hours worked per week. Total earnings are the product of hours worked and earnings per hour. Since our hours worked per week were unchanged in March 2013 from 2012, the growth in weekly earnings is due totally to an increase in earnings per hour.

Here, in growth of earnings per hour, Indiana ranked ninth in the nation, besting 41 other states and out-pacing the scourge of inflation.

Now that the legislature has gone home, maybe our state administration could find out the reason for this potential horn-blowing event. ❖

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"The Best Indiana Political Reporter: *Howey Political Report* editor Brian Howey."

HOWEY
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Joe Scarborough, Politico: Evidence keeps coming in that the Republicans and Democrats who voted against background checks for criminals and terrorists occupy the most extreme corner of American politics. A new PPP Poll of voters in South Carolina's 1st Congressional District shows that 86 percent of those Southerners support the type of background check that Congress killed last week. This district is so conservative that Mitt Romney carried it by 18 percentage points last year. But this week, voters by a 2-to-1 margin say they would be less likely to vote for a candidate that opposed background checks on gun purchases. Perhaps the most conservative state on the gun issue is Texas. In the Lone Star State, almost 80 percent of Texans favor background checks on ALL gun purchases. That includes an overwhelming majority of Republicans, gun owners, and self-identified conservatives who support a background check system more comprehensive than the Manchin-Toomey approach. In my home state of Florida, a recent Quinnipiac poll showed that 91 percent of Floridians support universal background checks on all gun purchases. Voters in the Sunshine State, again, overwhelmingly support a more sweeping approach on background checks than the Senate bill that Senator Marco Rubio threatened to filibuster. Only 8 percent of Floridians side with the freshman senator and oppose background checks on terrorists and criminals who want to purchase guns. In Virginia, the home of the NRA, 91 percent of Virginia voters from gun households support background checks. In New Jersey, that number rises to 95 percent. In Pennsylvania the number is 96 percent. So much for winning the Philadelphia suburbs next year. These numbers aren't shocking. After all, what American in his right mind would oppose background checks on someone who is violent, mentally ill, a criminal or a terrorist? The answer, it seems, is no one other than the United States senators and congressmen who kowtow to the survivalist wing of a special interest group that is marching them into a dark corner of American politics that will damage them politically while putting millions of Americans at risk.

Matt Tully, Indianapolis Star: Six months after the 2012 elections it remains clear that Indiana did the nation a favor when it made an exception to its current Republican leanings and sent a Democrat to the U.S. Senate. If Congress needs anything, after all, it's politicians like Sen. Joe Donnelly — sensible, rational, moderate Democrats and Republicans willing to admit when they're wrong and to make an honest appeal for middle ground. Party labels — who cares? What mattered in November was that Indiana kept a Senate seat long occupied by Richard Lugar in the hands of another independent thinker. Not everyone would

agree with that assessment, of course. In the four months since taking office, Donnelly has annoyed some on the right for embracing same-sex marriage, after years of publicly opposing it, and for supporting expanded background checks on the purchase of guns. Many of my conservative correspondents have written to suggest this proves Donnelly is a pawn of the D.C. Democratic power structure. Donnelly disputes that notion, as do I. "My responsibility is to Indiana and to the people back home," he said over the phone recently. "The issue of what the party wants is not a concern; it's not an interest." And here's the thing: both the gun and marriage positions are actually mainstream these days. Moderate even.

Doug Ross, NWI Times: A key report on Northwest Indiana's economy Monday showed productivity is up, but not because more workers have been hired. In Northwest Indiana, at least, this seems to be the jobless recovery everyone has been worried about. When the Northwest Indiana Council of Economic Advisors presented its first report on the region's economy, in November 2011, the brain trust reported there were 358,411 jobs as of last count. That had shrunk to 351,652 by Monday's report. Labor force participation — the people either already employed or looking for work — had shrunk from 56.8 percent to 56 percent. We need jobs, and we need job applicants to have the skills required for them. Economics is called the dismal science for a reason, but not all the news on the labor market is dismal. Here's something downright inspiring: On Thursday, a team at the ArcelorMittal Global R&D Center in East Chicago was handed the Chantrelle Prize for Team Innovation, an award by the Society of Innovators of Northwest Indiana. It's a traveling trophy, so now it's ArcelorMittal's turn to host it for six months. The project that earned this honor is impressive. The team figured out how to make auto parts with steel that is a total of 14 percent lighter and reduces the carbon footprint 14 percent over the life of the vehicle. It's a big deal — huge — because it means keeping steel competitive as automakers move toward a 54 mpg standard for every vehicle in the fleet. ArcelorMittal's Indiana Harbor plant alone sold about 5 million tons of steel to the automotive market last year. So workers' innovative thinking is protecting jobs in the region. ❖





Legislators pay taxes late

INDIANAPOLIS - I-Team 8 found nearly one in three Indiana lawmakers has paid their property taxes late at some point during the last five years, a rate nearly three times higher than the state average (WISH). Like other homeowners, lawmakers who paid late faced hefty penalties and late fees. Now, they're also facing criticism from some taxpayers, asking: why can't they pay on time? In Indiana, property taxes are due twice a year, once in the fall and once in the spring. This year's spring installment is due on Friday, May 10 in all counties across the state, except for LaPorte County. According to data compiled for I-Team 8 by Indiana's Department of Local Government Finance, 10 percent of Hoosiers were late on at least one of their property tax payments last year. Over the last five years, the average rate of delinquent payments is 10.9 percent, according to that data. I-Team 8 spent weeks combing through property tax records to find out if Indiana lawmakers are paying on time. We requested five years worth of public tax records on homes, condominiums and businesses owned by every Indiana legislator and their spouse. Our research uncovered a disturbing pattern: 26 percent of the House and 34 percent of the Senate made at least one late property tax payment in the last five years. The report cited State Reps. Milo Smith, John Bartlett and Peggy Mayfield, and State Sens. Greg Taylor, and Karen Talian. Some wrote their check just a day or two beyond the due date. Others let late payments drag out for months, or even years. At least 17 of the legislators paid late more than once during that five year



period, according to I-Team 8's analysis. I-Team 8's analysis shows late payments among legislators over the last five years have totaled \$20,375 in penalties and late fees. Records showed all lawmakers were current on their property tax payments as of early May.

Republicans see Benghazi coverup

WASHINGTON - Politicians love few things better than a scandal to trip up their opponents, and Republicans hope last year's fatal attack on U.S. diplomats in Libya will do exactly that to Hillary Rodham Clinton and other Democrats (Associated Press). History suggests it might be a tough lift. The issue is complex, the next presidential election is more than three years away, and a number of reports and officials have disputed criticisms of Clinton's role when she was secretary of state. Still, Republicans and conservative talk hosts are hammering away at Clinton's and the Obama administration's handling of the 8-month-old tragedy. A daylong House Oversight Committee hearing Wednesday starred three State Department officials invited by Republicans. Security was poorly handled in Benghazi, Libya, they said, and administration officials later tried to obscure what happened. But the three men offered little that has not been aired in previous congressional hearings. Afterward, Republicans all but acknowledged they're still seeking a knockout punch. Aside from crippling Clinton in 2016, Republicans hope public anger over the Benghazi attacks and their aftermath will besmirch congressional Democrats in next year's midterm elections. By late Wednesday, Democrats expressed confidence. "The unsubstantiated Republican allegations about Benghazi disintegrated one by one," said Rep. Elijah Cummings of Maryland, the House committee's top

Democrat. "There's no evidence of a conspiracy to withhold military assets for political reasons, no evidence of a cover-up."

Zoeller favors U.S. convention

INDIANAPOLIS - Attorney General Greg Zoeller sympathizes with state lawmakers who want to take an extraordinary step to rein in the power of the federal government. The two-term Republican said Wednesday he likes the idea backed by some members of the Republican-controlled General Assembly for a federal constitutional convention, called by the states, that would propose changes to the U.S. Constitution limiting federal authority. "The failures of the federal government in some areas and the actions of the federal government in others have real consequences in our states, and they need to pay a little more attention to state legislatures," Zoeller said. The U.S. Constitution requires Congress to call a constitutional convention when two-thirds of state legislatures demand one. "We might be able to save Washington from itself by having states be more engaged," Zoeller said.

900 jobs come to Subaru at Lafayette

LAFAYETTE - Subaru of Indiana Automotive plans to expand its Lafayette plant again (Loizzo, WBAA). The company announced Wednesday it will add production of the Subaru Impreza in 2016. The expansion means an investment of more than \$400 million and the creation of up to 900 new jobs. SIA executive vice president Tom Easterday says this is an economic boon for the entire community.