



# Politics and the power of maps

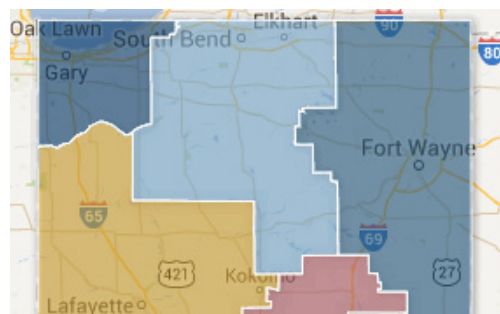
### Reps. Stutzman and Walorski have similar ideological hue, but the maps change behavior

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – U.S. Reps. Jackie Walorski and Marlin Stutzman are conservatives in neighboring Northern Indiana congressional districts. They have an ardent Tea Party base and strong cred with social conservatives.

But their behavior shows a slight variation. In Jack Colwell’s column last week and in HPI Washington correspondent Mark Schoeff Jr.’s analysis of Walorski’s work on the military sexual assault scandal in our June 13 edition, the word “bipartisanship” is a frequent one in her lexicon. She talked about “the power of working together across [party] lines and being unified with one purpose.”

As Colwell observed: Some Tea Party activists who strongly supported Walorski could be surprised at her talk of working with Democrats on legislation and about a bipartisan meeting at the White House. They’ll get over it. She’s still out to kill Obamacare. Some of the Democrats



in the district who figured Walorski would be like a Richard Mourdock in railing against bipartisanship, making her an easier target for defeat in 2014, could be surprised. And disappointed. But they’ll still have votes to cite as the House moves or stalls.”

**Continued on page 4**

# Girding for marriage fight

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Last January when the topic of Indiana’s constitutional amendment to forbid gay marriage came up, conservative State Sen. Brent Waltz acknowledged its likely passage in the General Assembly that would include his support, but added, “We’re probably on the wrong side of history.”

Another page of that history was written by the U.S. Supreme Court on Wednesday, with a 5-4 decision that essentially struck down the 1996 Defense of Marriage Act. In a second ruling, the high court punted back to the district court California’s Proposition 8, a referendum that passed by a 52-percent majority, outlawing gay marriage and overruling a previous court ruling.



**“I am confident that Hoosiers will reaffirm our commitment to traditional marriage and will consider this important question with civility and respect for the values and dignity of all people.”**

- Gov. Mike Pence



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The two decisions sent a seismic social and political shock wave throughout the nation. Here in Indiana, conservative family advocates, legislative leaders and Gov. Mike Pence quickly affirmed their intention of pursuing the constitutional amendment in 2014 that would place the question on the ballot that November.

**Pence said**, "While I am disappointed that the Supreme Court has overturned the federal Defense of Marriage Act, I am grateful that today's decisions respect the sovereignty of states on this important issue. These decisions preserve the duty and obligation of the states to define and administer marriage as they see fit. Now that the Supreme Court has had its say on the federal government's role in defining marriage, the people of Indiana should have their say about how marriage is understood and defined in our state."

Pence said he expects a constitutional amendment to pass. "Given that opportunity, I am confident that Hoosiers will reaffirm our commitment to traditional marriage and will consider this important question with civility and respect for the values and dignity of all of the people of our state," he said. "I look forward to supporting efforts by members of the Indiana General Assembly to place a constitutional amendment on the ballot for voter consideration next year."

**Senate President** Pro Tempore David Long said, "The Defense of Marriage Act is a federal law and key portions of it were clearly struck down by today's Supreme Court ruling. However, it appears that the Court has left intact the right of states to determine for themselves how to define marriage. Therefore, I will be asking the Senate's legal staff, as well as other legal experts, to conduct a thorough analysis of the case with a goal of providing guidance for the General Assembly as we contemplate a constitutional amendment on the definition of marriage in 2014. That being said,

I fully anticipate that both the Senate and House will be voting on a marriage amendment next session."

House Speaker Brian Bosma noted his "disappointment" in the DOMA decision but added, "I am certainly pleased the Supreme Court has confirmed each state's right to address the legal issue of what constitutes one of the most important institutions in our society. The members of the General Assembly will be fully equipped to address the issue of the constitutional amendment in the coming legislative session, and with today's decision, I am confident the matter will come before the General Assembly and ultimately be placed on a referendum ballot for voter consideration. As they have in 30 other states, Hoosiers should have the right to speak on this issue."

**Even a jubilant** Chris Paulsen of Indiana Equality observed, "We are enormously encouraged by today's Supreme Court rulings, but we know that it will have little effect on the legislative situation in our state."

In 2011, before Indiana Republicans took super majorities in both chambers, the House backed the gay marriage ban 70-26 with 14 Democrats voting with the majority, and it passed the Senate 40-10, with four Democrats joining the majority. As WIBC's Eric Berman noted, "Of those, majorities, 56-17 and 38-9 are still serving."

"I haven't read the opinion yet, but certainly it doesn't affect the 36 states where either laws or constitutional amendments are in place," said State Rep. Eric Turner, who has sponsored the legislation. "I am encouraged that states can still make their own decisions on the definition of marriage."

In writing his majority opinion, Justice Anthony Kennedy wrote, "DOMA singles out a class of persons deemed by a State entitled to recognition and protection to enhance their own liberty. It imposes a disability on the class by refusing to acknowledge



a status the State finds to be dignified and proper. DOMA instructs all federal officials, and indeed all persons with whom same-sex couples interact, including their own children, that their marriage is less worthy than the marriages of others."

Justice Antonin Scalia wrote a stinging dissent, calling the decision "jaw dropping" and added "It takes real cheek for today's majority to assure us, as it is going out the door, that a constitutional requirement to give formal recognition to same-sex marriage is not at issue here – when what has preceded that assurance is a lecture on how superior the majority's moral judgment in favor of same-sex marriage is to the Congress's hateful moral judgment against it. I promise you this: The only thing that will 'confine' the Court's holding is its sense of what it can get away with."

The debate picked up in earnest across Indiana on Wednesday. Paulsen observed, "The Supreme Court affirmed that all loving and committed couples who marry deserve equal legal respect and treatment. In an additional victory for the freedom to marry, the Supreme Court dismissed the Perry case, ruling that the proponents of Proposition 8 do not possess legal standing to appeal the lower court rulings that invalidated it. This ruling likely means the swift restoration of the freedom to marry in California."

But this is Indiana.

Micah Clark of the American Association of Families of Indiana said the court ruling won't change the pursuit of a constitutional amendment banning same-sex marriage. "This is for the people of Indiana to decide," he said.

Indiana Family Institute's President Curt Smith called the court's Proposition 8 decision "a blow to millions of Californians." And he called the DOMA ruling a strike against the "authority of Congress."

**"As disappointing as this decision** is, the debate over marriage continues," Smith vowed. "We believe voters – not activist judges – should decide the definition of marriage. If Indiana's General Assembly passes a marriage resolution in 2014 as part of the constitutional amendment process, voters will have the opportunity to decide the future of marriage at the ballot box. We urge the General Assembly to make passing a marriage resolution a priority when they reconvene in January."

As for the DOMA strikedown, Smith said, "The Su-

preme Court's ruling on DOMA is disappointing because it removes the authority of Congress to make marriage policy for federal purposes. While the DOMA ruling damages the federal view of marriage, we are focused on the fact that the California Proposition 8 ruling allows Indiana to move forward with a constitutional amendment initiative."

**While there are huge legislative** majorities poised to pass the constitutional amendment, there has been a dramatic shift in public sentiment both nationally and here in Indiana. In the April Howey Politics Indiana Poll conducted by Christine Matthews of Bellwether Research, 50% supported the constitutional amendment and 46% were opposed. In the October 2012 Howey/De-Pauw Indiana Battleground Poll, 48% backed the amendment and 45% were against. Movement on the issue is fluid and dynamic.

A Pew Research Center survey in May found that for the first time, more than half (51%) of Americans favored allowing gay men and lesbians to marry. The same survey found that 72% percent of Americans believe that legal recognition of same-sex marriage is inevitable, regardless of whether they themselves favor or oppose it: While 85% of same-sex marriage supporters say legal recognition is inevitable, so do 59% of opponents.

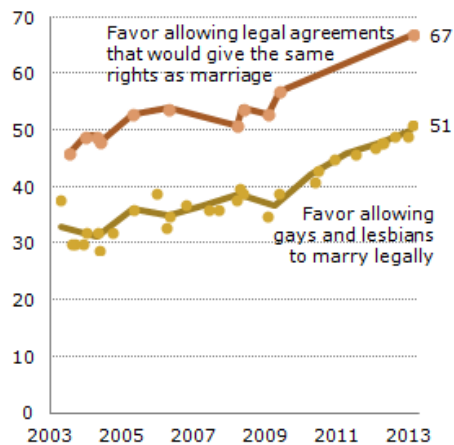
A number of Indiana business interests such as Eli Lilly and Cummins have and will likely oppose the amendment, believing it will obstruct business interests. They will cite the mantra behind right to work, where legislative leaders and Gov. Mitch Daniels said that Indiana should be prepared to do anything that would spur job growth.

House Minority Leader Scott Pelath, D-Michigan City, observed, "Today, there was vindication of Democratic priorities. At the same time, I am embarrassed for those who continue to press the case for inequality. The time has come for Indiana lawmakers to pour their energies into helping our state's struggling middle class. There is no need to muddy up our state's highest document with an amendment that is likely to be a blemish on Indiana's history."

**Senate Minority Leader Tim Lanane**, D-Anderson, said, "Landmark decisions for civil rights in our country where SCOTUS has chosen to clear a path for same-sex marriages to be recognized. Moving forward, it's my hope that Indiana becomes a state that welcomes all, regardless of sexual orientation."

Republican State Sen. Luke Kenley and State Rep.

### Growing Support for Same-Sex Marriage, Gay Legal Agreements



PEW RESEARCH CENTER May 1-5, 2013. Q36a-b. Trend line for gay marriage shows yearly averages for readability.



Ed Clere indicated they would oppose the amendment. "Just because a state may have the right to do something, however, doesn't mean it should," Clere told CNHI. "The marriage amendment is wrong for Indiana, and I will continue to oppose it."

**While Long and Bosma** believe the Supreme Court rulings give states latitude in deciding who can get married and receive corresponding benefits, Attorney General Greg Zoeller will play a key role.

In Wednesday's rulings, several have suggested such a constitutional amendment will put the state at odds with the 14th Amendment, which states, "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the

state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Zoeller's office is reviewing the Supreme Court opinions and will advise state legislators, the AG's law clients, as to the impact on Indiana statutes.

The issue is fraught with political, legal and emotional consequences and shifting perception. It will be a bitterly fought battle, and potentially an expensive one during both the 2014 Indiana General Assembly and the campaign leading up to next November. ❖

## Stutzman/Walorski, from page 1

What did she learn from her time as a state legislator that works well in Congress? "The need to work together," Walorski says, "Bipartisanship."

Going into her unsuccessful 2010 challenge to then-U.S. Rep. Joe Donnelly (who won by fewer than 2,500 votes) and the 2012 campaign, Democrats tried to portray Walorski as a Tea Party partisan firebrand.

Stutzman has taken a stronger public position on abortion-related issues, mining the Dr. Kermit Gosnell story for publicity and writing about his family history with the issue. Both he and Walorski voted for the recent 20-week abortion ban bill. He underscored his opposition to the gun background check issue by assailing the legislation, and then made a public appeal for gun manufacturer Baretta

to locate in Indiana. Stutzman has taken a lead role in the farm bill debate, seeking a separate vote on food stamp appropriations. There is less public talk from Stutzman on reaching out across the aisle.

The difference is the political veneer rather than substantive policy. In the 2014 Cook Partisan Voting Index, Stutzman sits in a +13 Republican 3rd CD. His biggest threat would be from a primary challenger, which doesn't appear likely to happen this coming cycle.

Walorski sits in the +6 Republican 2nd CD, according to Cook.

Their election experiences in 2012 are instructive. Stutzman handily defeated Democrat Kevin Boyd 187,872 to 92,363. Walorski won a squeaker, 134,033 to 130,113 over Democrat Brendan Mullen while Republican presidential nominee Mitt Romney carried the district with 56 percent. Walorski had a \$1.878 million to \$1.273 million ad-



## Cook Partisan Voting Index, Cook Political Report

CD	Member	PVI	Rank	2012Pres	Margin	Romney	Obama	2008	Margin	McCain	Obama
IN 1	Visclosky, Peter	D+10	324	Obama	(24)	37	61	Obama	(28)	36	63
IN 2	Walorski, Jackie	R+ 6	170	Romney	(14)	56	42	Obama	(1)	49	50
IN 3	Stutzman, Marlin	R+13	88	Romney	(27)	63	36	McCain	(13)	56	43
IN 4	Rokita, Todd	R+11	111	Romney	(24)	61	37	McCain	(10)	54	45
IN 5	Brooks, Susan	R+ 9	145	Romney	(17)	58	41	McCain	(6)	53	47
IN 6	Messer, Luke	R+12	104	Romney	(23)	60	37	McCain	(12)	55	44
IN 7	Carson, Andre	D+13	341	Obama	(28)	35	63	Obama	(34)	33	66
IN 8	Buchson, Larry	R+ 8	152	Romney	(19)	58	40	McCain	(2)	51	48
IN 9	Young, Todd	R+ 9	144	Romney	(17)	57	41	McCain	(6)	53	46



vantage over Mullen. Stutzman had a \$960,000 to \$42,000 lead over Boyd.

While Walorski said she wasn't surprised by her 4,000-vote victory, many observers, including this one, didn't expect a close race. The newly drawn district had prompted Donnelly to jump into the U.S. Senate race.

When it comes to 2014, most see Stutzman easily winning a third term. And Walorski? Right now all eyes are on Mullen, who has yet to decide whether to seek a rematch. But if he does, then the 2nd CD becomes the marquee Indiana congressional race for the cycle. Or as Stuart Rothenberg observed in the June 14 edition of the Rothenberg Political Report, "This is an intriguing seat for Democrats."

### **Farm bill reveals the difference**

This nuanced difference between the two was revealed by last week's vote on the farm bill, which has turned into a huge embarrassment for Team Boehner.

Walorski joined most of Indiana's Republican Congressional delegation in voting for the bill.

Stutzman joined Democrats Pete Visclosky and Andre Carson in voting against the measure that was defeated 234-195, with Stutzman joining 62 Republicans in voting no. They did so for very different reasons.

Carson called the bill "an affront to the character of this nation," adding, "This bill failed today because it would irresponsibly cut \$20 billion from the SNAP program, shutting down food aid for nearly 2 million Americans and removing over 210,000 children from free school lunch and breakfast. We cannot afford to push our most vulnerable citizens aside, and as a member of Congress, I am not willing to cast a vote that would ensure more hungry kids, seniors, and families throughout the country and in my hometown, where one in five kids have no idea where their next meal is coming from."

Stutzman reasoned, "Hoosiers sent me here to change the way Washington works and I'm pleased that my colleagues have joined me in rejecting the old path of business as usual. While it might have been called a 'Farm Bill,' the American people understand that it was anything but. This trillion dollar spending bill is too big and would have passed welfare policy on the backs of farmers."

Stutzman continued, "As a fourth-generation farmer, I know first-hand how important the Farm Bill is for farmers but I also know that farm policy and food stamp

policy are different. That's why I am renewing my calls for Congress to have an up-or-down vote to split the Farm Bill into a true, farm-only Farm Bill and a separate food stamp bill. Separate consideration of these policies will allow us to forge ahead with real solutions and reform instead of repeating the mistakes of the past. Let's get to work."

House leadership did not allow separate up-or-down votes on the food stamps and farm subsidies. Stutzman has been reaching out to the 61 other Republicans pushing the split vote, and Boehner said earlier this week he was "open to suggestions."

Walorski didn't put a statement out on her support for the farm bill (she received some national exposure from filing an amendment to rescind a "Christmas tree tax") even though she visited Bullard's Farm Market in Elkhart a few days afterwards.

U.S. Rep. Luke Messer, R-Shelbyville, explained his ye vote this way, saying, "I voted for the Farm Bill which cut spending by \$40 billion over the next 10 years. The bill would have added needed drug-testing and work requirements in return for receiving food stamps. It also would have made important reforms to farm payment programs to improve the integrity of these programs and save taxpayers money. If a similar bill reforming these programs fails to pass the House by September, we will continue the reckless spending and failed policies of the past. I'm disappointed in today's result and hope my colleagues will join me in passing these important reforms."

And U.S. Rep. Larry Bucshon told the Evansville Courier & Press a few days prior to the vote, "A solid crop insurance program, I think, is pretty critical to America's farmers. I think that's one of the big things that's going to be in there." He voted ye.

Bucshon had a nuanced view of the SNAP program, saying he likes the House farm bill's reforms. He said the bill "eliminates some of the ways that

states have gotten people on the SNAP program without even applying for the program based on subsidies to support their energy they use to heat their homes in the winter."

"Some states have put in that, if people qualify for any other federal program, they automatically are eligible for SNAP without applying," Bucshon said. "So basically what we've done is, people that are eligible for SNAP, when they apply for the SNAP program, will get their benefits — but we feel strongly that people need to apply to the program and be approved to the program, and not get into the program essentially through the back door."





In an interview with Hoosier Ag Today, Indiana Farm Bureau President Don Villwock said the defeat will leave Indiana farmers in limbo. "Without a new Farm Bill, we will go into the wheat planting season with no crop insurance on the table," Villwock said. "This kind of uncertainty does not bode well for the future." He said the drought of 2012 showed just how well the crop insurance system works, "You did not see farmers lined up in Washington this spring begging for a handout of disaster relief."

The Chicago Tribune blasted the GOP leadership for "ignoring" Stutzman's amendment, and referred to farm subsidies as "the obsolete, Soviet-style affronts to the free market" that "have got to go."

Politico reported earlier this month that the Stutzman farms in Howe, Ind., have received just under \$180,000 in farm subsidies since 1979.

Stutzman told the Fort Wayne Journal Gazette that his goal isn't depriving people food. "This is not about taking food away from children or people who are in need," he said about splitting the farm bill in two. "This is about a delivery system. And the delivery system that we have in the food stamp program is an expensive one. We're seeing abuse from top to bottom, whether it's companies who want their products to be eligible for purchase, whether it's swipe fees, whether it's the folks who are selling them on the street for cash."

Heritage Action for America CEO Michael Needham reacted by saying, "Over the past year Rep. Marlin Stutzman been the tip of the spear, pushing to end the unholy alliance between food stamps and farm policy. Change comes slowly in Washington, but the big-government special interests are beginning to feel the heat. It is only a matter of time before we restore much needed sanity to this process."

The farm bill debacle had analysts and pundits scowling over the impotence of Congress, which had a historic low 10% approval rating in the latest Gallup polling on the subject.

"Here's the simple political reality: The majority party in the House should never — repeat NEVER — lose floor votes on major (or, really, minor) pieces of legislation," observed Washington Post blogger Chris Cillizza. "Republicans, literally, write the rules governing the debate — and, as the majority, must ensure that even in the worst-case scenario they can get the 'yeas' they need from their own side. That didn't happen as a number of conservatives revolted, believing that the cuts proposed in the bill were insufficient. (Democrats who voted against the bill largely did so out of a concern that the legislation cut in the wrong



places. It's not the first time that the GOP leadership team of House Speaker John Boehner (Ohio.), House Majority Leader Eric Cantor (Va.) and Majority Whip Kevin McCarthy (Calif.) have failed to wrangle conservatives allied with the Tea Party into line."

Wonkblog added, "Republicans continue to act as an opposition party and not as a governing party, which is congruent with increasing parliamentary behavior among the electorate and their elected officials," said one former Republican lawmaker. "This is not a path to a majority. House Republicans need to recognize their destinies are intertwined."

And the Wall Street Journal editorialized: Most days it seems House Republicans can't see the forest for the trees, for example, conducting repeated ObamaCare repeal votes that had no chance of enactment. On Thursday the trees revolted. The House majority's most conservative members joined Democrats to send the nearly \$1 trillion farm subsidy and food stamp bill down to stunning defeat. The post-vote silence on the House floor spoke volumes: The 195-234 vote was a sharp rebuke to the House leadership. Let's hope the vote marks the beginning of the end for the long alliance between urban Democrats who support food stamps and rural Republicans dependent on crop subsidies. Sixty-two conservative Republicans, including committee chairmen Paul Ryan and Jeb Hensarling, joined a large majority of Democrats, whose complaint was the bill spent too little on food stamps. The farm revolt suggests that these are the kinds of politically productive battles to fight. Mr. Stutzman says his rural voters 'care more about out of control spending and the debt than they do about farm subsidies.' That sounds like the kernel of a reform movement."

What occurred here was a showdown between pragmatism and the perception of doing business as usual, and the revolutionary fervor of Stutzman, who seeks quantum change even with a 7.5% jobless rate and reports that tens of thousands of Hoosier children face hunger issues.

Walorski's district pulls her toward the pragmatic



middle; the Stutzman district gives him the latitude to venture toward the edge.

### General Assembly origins

When Stutzman and Walorski began their careers in the Indiana House, both represented staunchly Republican districts and neither seemed vulnerable for reelection. Neither received recriminations, for instance, over the controversial Major Moves vote.

In 2008, the Indiana Chamber of Commerce gave Walorski a 62% rating for the session and a 72% aggregate ranking, compared to 84% for Stutzman and an 89% aggregate. In 2009, after Stutzman won an Indiana Senate seat, his session score was 79%, while Walorski posted an 89% score in the House. In 2010, the last year they served together in the General Assembly, Walorski had a 71% rating in the House and Stutzman 83% in the Senate. Their aggregates were similar: Walorski at 79% and Stutzman at 81%.

The lessons here are two-fold. Placed in a competitive district, a congresswoman may not vote all that differently than someone like Stutzman in a securely Republican district. But the verbiage changes. So does the appeal to find someone in the other party to work with.

### Whiter, more conservative districts

The other aspect here comes in a national context, with the National Journal reporting that Republican congressional districts are becoming "whiter" and "more conservative." In this analysis, the pretext is to explain the polarization in Congress, particularly the House.

The National Journal reported: After Republicans won only 48 percent of all votes cast for the House in 2012 but 54 percent of the seats, it's no secret that the party enjoys the huge built-in structural advantages in the chamber that Democrats had going for them decades ago. In a January memo, veteran GOP pollster Bill McInturff observed, "If you began your career as a Republican trying to win the House in the 1970s and 1980s, you would adopt, as I do, the borrowed adage, 'There's no crying in redistricting.'" The current unprecedented geographic concentration of Democratic voters was compounded by the 2010 wave election that gave Republicans unprecedented power in state legislatures to redraw political boundaries. Combined, these two demographic developments cast doubt on whether even a 2006-size

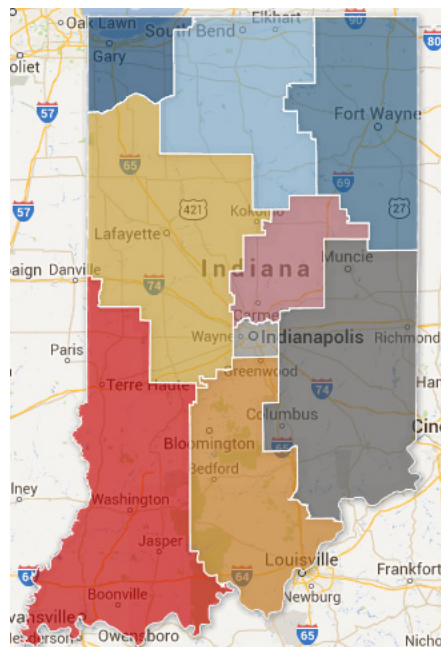
wave would enable Democrats to win control of the House at any point this decade.

The analysis continued: But could the Republicans' arguably rigged House majority actually be a curse disguised as a blessing? It's an interesting question. They clearly did everything they could to purge Democratic voters from their districts ahead of 2012, no matter whether those voters were white, black, Hispanic, left-handed, or right-minded – just as Democrats would have done had the roles been reversed. But in the process of quarantining Democrats, Republicans effectively purged millions of minority voters from their own districts, and that should raise a warning flag. By drawing themselves into safe, lily-white strongholds, have Republicans inadvertently boxed themselves into an alternative universe that bears little resemblance to the rest of the country?

Indiana is a microcosm of this. Of the nine CDs, five have Cook PVI's in the double digits (Rep. Pete Visclosky at D+10, Andre Carson at D+13, Stutzman at +13, Rep. Luke Messer at R+12, and Rep. Todd Rokita at R+11). It is hard to see any of them losing a general election this decade. And then there are three other districts just below double digits: Reps. Susan Brooks and Todd Young at R+9 and U.S. Rep. Larry Bucshon at R+8. Of this entire group, only Bucshon seems mildly vulnerable and that would be to a primary challenger as the Club For Growth is pushing for him to be "primaried" for not being conservative enough. To date, a credible Republican challenger has yet to heed the Club For Growth prodding.

Most of the Hoosier minorities have been pushed into Visclosky's 1st CD (71.6% white, 20% black, 13.8% Hispanic) and Carson's 7th (60.2% white, 28.8% black, 9.9% Hispanic). The rest of the districts are all at least 85% white, topped out by the 6th CD which is 94% white, followed by the 9th at 92.4% and the 8th at 92.5%.

The National Journal reported: As Congress has become more polarized along party lines, it's become more racially polarized, too. In 2000, House Republicans represented 59 percent of all white U.S. residents and 40 percent of all nonwhite residents. But today, they represent 63 percent of all whites and just 38 percent of all nonwhites. In 2012 alone, Republicans lost 11.2 million constituents to Democrats (a consequence of not only the party's loss of a net eight House seats but also the fact GOP districts had grown faster in the previous decade and needed to shed more population dur-





ing redistricting). Of the 11.2 million people Republicans no longer represent, 6.6 million, or 59 percent, are minorities.

This population dynamic changes behavior.

## **Immigration reform**

When it comes to the emerging issue of immigration reform, none of the Indiana delegation has taken a lead or even conspicuous supporting role, even though the Republican National Committee's "Growth and Opportunity Party" report last winter and another by the Young Republicans last month portrayed the party as too white, too old and too dogmatic. None of the Indiana Congressional Republicans has embraced either report. The 10-foot pole has become office equipment.

And it's easy to see why. When these Members go back to 85% to 90% white districts, their constituents don't want them creating "amnesty." They don't really want to see their representative negotiate and compromise with President Barack Hussein Obama. Their issue rigidity is bolstered with constituent rebar.

Analyst Charlie Cook observed, "In the 232 congressional districts represented by Republicans, the average Hispanic share of each district is 11 percent (the 200 congressional districts held by Democrats are, on average, 23 percent Hispanic). Just 40 of the 232 Republicans in the House come from districts that are more than 20 percent Hispanic, and just 16 from districts that are at least one-third Hispanic. At the other end of the spectrum, 142 districts represented by Republicans are less than 10 percent Hispanic (including all seven Indiana GOP-held districts). In all, 84 percent of House Republicans represent districts that are 20 percent or less Hispanic.

Cook continues, "Of course, Republicans without a large bloc of Hispanic constituents could still back changes to immigration law, and vice versa. But if Speaker John A. Boehner abides by the Hastert rule – which says that a bill should only be brought to a vote if the majority of the majority supports it – then House legislation overhauling the nation's immigration system will have to rely on a substantial number of Republicans who represent mostly white districts."

On the June 15 edition of NBC's Meet the Press, U.S. Sen. Lindsey Graham predicted immigration reform would pass the Senate with 70 votes. But he added ominously, "If we don't pass immigration reform, if we don't get it off the table in a reasonable, practical way, it doesn't matter who we run in 2016," he said of the presidential race. "We're in a demographic death spiral as a party."



In surveying the House Republicans, Messer observed, "We have an obligation to fix the system. It's having devastating impacts on local governments. The big question is whether our leaders will focus on politics or good policy. The opportunity will depend on leaders focusing on consensus instead of divisions."

Messer sees consensus developing on border security and worker documentation. "It starts to break down on the path for citizenship," he said.

The implications in Indiana on passage of immigration reform cut across several strata. Indiana General Assembly leaders and lawmakers like State Sen. Mike Delph initiated immigration laws because the federal government abrogated responsibilities.

Stutzman told HPI on June 19 that "It all starts with border security. Border security is vital to all of this. We're going to find ourselves in a similar situation down the road if we don't control the border. We have to know who is coming in and who is going out of the country."

He said his constituents "want that problem fixed first" and added, "The American people want a solution. After that, we have to realize there are anywhere from 10 million to 12 million people who are here illegally. Many of them came here legally and overstayed their visas. I think we also need to recognize we have a broken immigration process."

Stutzman added, "There's a tough road in front of both the Senate and the House."

The Associated Press reported the Senate could vote on final passage as early as today. First must come two more procedural tests set for Thursday. "We're on the edge of passing one of the most significant pieces of legislation that this body has passed in a very long time," Sen. Chuck Schumer, D-N.Y., said on the Senate floor Wednesday. "The vast majority of members in this body realize that the immigration system is broken and needs fixing." Supporters posted 67 votes or more on each of three procedural tests Wednesday.

Many in the GOP-controlled House oppose the pathway to citizenship at the center of the Senate bill. And many prefer a piecemeal approach rather than a sweeping bill like the one the Senate is producing, AP reported. The House Judiciary Committee is in the midst of a piecemeal effort, signing off Wednesday on legislation to establish a system requiring all employers within two years to check their workers' legal status.

But from a purely political standpoint, it may be Rep. Walorski who faces ballot box consequences in 2014 if the immigration reform goes down. ❖





## 3 possible GOP chair scenarios facing Gov. Pence

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

BLOOMINGTON - Six months after winning his office, Gov. Mike Pence faces one of his most significant political appointments of his first term: Who will be the next Indiana Republican Party chair?

As has become his modus operandi, Pence and his inner circle will keep their options close to the vest. His is not a leaky operation.

There are three emerging schools of thought among pundits and partisans on who might be capturing Pence's attention:

**1. Choose a conservative evangelical who would burnish this sector of the GOP's historical hold on all points of executive, legislative and political power.** Over the weekend, the Hoosier Access blog came out in support of Jeff Cardwell, the former Indianapolis councilman who now heads the governor's faith based outreach office. The Hoosier Access board of directors said in a Sunday post, "(Cardwell) understands the role of the state political apparatus and knows how to work closely with the elected officials across the state to achieve not only Indiana GOP goals but also how to incorporate the goals of our elected officials into that larger picture. In addition to his private sector experience, Cardwell has significant experience working in the public sector as an Indianapolis City-County Councilor. As the Economic Development Committee Chair, he worked closely with Mayor Greg Ballard to steer investments into the city's infrastructure without raising taxes. With his colleagues, Ballard worked to enact balanced budgets that kept the city on a paying basis. He is also not considered an Indianapolis power broker where as Holcomb was. In addition to being a successful business owner, Cardwell currently serves in Governor Pence's cabinet. While he does serve as an advisor and counselor to the Governor in this capacity, we believe that Cardwell's leadership skills (as well as his prolific fundraising abilities)

would be a better fit just a couple blocks away from the Statehouse."

**2. Gender diversity is a problem for the GOP and some are advocating Pence choose the first Republican Party chairwoman after 160 years of operation. Two names stand out here, Jennifer Hallowell and Anne Hathaway.** Both have a sterling resume when it comes to party politics. Hathaway was a chief of staff at the Republican National Committee during the 2008 convention and is close to out-going Chairman Eric Holcomb. She was a regional political director for the 2004 reelection campaign of President George W. Bush and has campaign experience dating back to the other Bush's



Those involved in the GOP transition include (from top to right) Anne Hathaway, Jennifer Hallowell, Cecelia Coble, Auditor Tim Berry and Treasurer Richard Mourdock, Jeff Cardwell and Gov. Mike Pence.

presidential campaigns. She played an advisory role in the emerging 2010 campaign of current U.S. Sen. Dan Coats and has also been affiliated with Karl Rove's political action network. Hallowell is married to Marion County Republican Chairman Kyle Walker, and has been associated with the congressional campaigns of David McIntosh (a close Pence ally) and Luke Messer, helped then-Marion County Prosecutor Carl Brizzi win a tough reelection battle, and has been a key strategist for Indianapolis Mayor Greg Ballard during his 2011 reelection campaign. Both the Brizzi and Ballard campaigns overcame a significant Democratic trending in



the state's largest county.

**3. Take care of a potential glaring political problem in 2014, which has some advocating state Auditor Tim Berry.** This scenario would have the term-limited Berry moving over to State Party, allowing Pence to choose his replacement. Holcomb had been pushing Fishers bank executive Cecelia Coble for auditor, who would give the GOP a first-ever Latino presence on the 2014 ballot. Also angling for the 2014 ticket as auditor are Indianapolis Councilman Michael McQuillen and the elephant on the table, term-limited Treasurer Richard Mourdock, a serial campaigner who cannot stay out of the arena. Many party leaders we've talk to cringe at the idea of a potentially explosive convention floor fight and Mourdock's presence on the ticket. And the fact is, there is still a "Mourdock Wing" of the Republican Party, a product of his extensive crisscrossing the state for more than a decade, stoking and stroking support from the Tea Party wing and other groups. Mourdock has just concluded an extensive presence during the 2013 Lincoln Day Dinner circuit, vowing to have his voice heard. A Chairman Berry and a newly appointed auditor poised for reelection would take care of a big problem for the governor. It would also put Coble on the ballot, which would help the party which has been struggling with Latinos, one of the largest emerging demographic voting sectors in the state.

Pence has seen what a controversial candidate can do to gender-based dynamics.

In 2012, he was a heavy favorite in the gubernatorial race and many expected a win of landslide proportions.

It didn't turn out that way as Pence won with only 49% of the vote and just under a 3% plurality over Democrat John Gregg and Libertarian Rupert Boneham. Despite President Obama's unpopularity here (Mitt Romney would win with 56%), the gubernatorial race was actually overshadowed by the \$51 million Mourdock/Joe Donnelly U.S. Senate race.

In the September 2012 Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll conducted by Christine Matthews and Fred Yang, Pence was leading women 46%-33%. As Matthews observed after the election, "He basically never improved upon that."

In the October Howey/DePauw poll, Pence and Gregg were tied among women at 42%. And when the votes were counted on Election Night, Pence had lost the female vote by a stunning 52-47%, perhaps the most surprising demographic shift of the 2012 cycle. One of the reasons was that Pence, ever the loyal Republican, rallied around Mourdock after his catastrophic "God intends" rape remark at the New Albany Senate debate, which essentially kicked away this reliably Republican Senate seat to Donnelly.

Pence appeared at campaign events with Mour-

dock, defended him, and his campaign had sent out a mailer (obviously in the works prior to the Mourdock meltdown) that had him vowing to defend all life. Several western and southern Indiana county Republican chairs told HPI that the mailer backfired in the wake of Mourdock's implosion, sending female Republicans into the arms of Boneham.

But it didn't end there. Supt. of Instruction Tony Bennett was upset by Democrat Glenda Ritz and 2nd CD Republican Jackie Walorski won a 4,000 vote race over Brendan Mullen in another showdwon that turned out much tighter than expected.

In the October Howey/DePauw Poll, Ritz led 39%-35% among women and by a very large 47%-30% margin among college educated women. Bennett led men by 46%-33%, but there were more undecided women (27%) than men (21%).

As Matthews would observe in her post election HPI column, "Usually a statewide office like this benefits from the strength of the Republican at the top of the ticket. Bennett was getting just two-thirds of Romney's voters in our last poll, just a little worse than Mourdock. But, as we know, there was a lot of ticket-splitting in the U.S. Senate race and so the benefit from the top of the ticket was mitigated."

So beyond the Pence and Donnelly victories and the Republican legislative super majorities, the party emerged with its second female lieutenant governor in Sue Ellspermann, and the tandem victories by Walorski and Susan Brooks in the 5th CD.

Gov. Pence's chief of staff Bill Smith told HPI that the Pence office "is getting calls from committee members" and said he will "make a recommendation to the committee on who the governor could support. I'm pretty confident we'll have someone people can unite behind."

But clearly, Indiana Republicans had gender issues, some of which can be addressed or exacerbated by the new chair, who will appear on talk shows, newscasts and weigh in on critical issues, opposing Democratic Chairman John Zody.

How that impacts the party in 2014 and 2016 are critical questions. So Pence faces a key decision here. What kind of acumen and face does he want to place on his Grand Old Party?

## **Latest developments**

Gov. Pence reportedly met with Cardwell this week.





## Ob-la-di, GOP life goes on

By **CRAIG DUNN**

KOKOMO – Indiana Republicans will soon get an up-close-and-personal look at what it feels like to be John Calipari, the University of Kentucky basketball coach. Fresh on the heels of Kentucky's 2012 Men's NCAA Basketball Championship, Calipari lost six key players to the NBA draft. Kentucky was forced to lace up sneakers and start the process of moving toward another NCAA championship in the future.

The Indiana Republican Party was recently sent into such a moment of shock when several key leaders of the party organization resigned on June 19. Chairman Eric Holcomb, Vice-Chairwoman Sandi Huddleston, Political Director Justin Garrett and National Committeewoman Becky Skillman all announced impending resignations. Admittedly, to an outside observer with little understanding of the political landscape, it looked like a shocking development that could only be the nefarious work of some unseen hand. Was this



a political coup d'état on the part of Governor Mike Pence to eradicate all vestiges of former Governor Mitch Daniels' team from Republican life? Was this a coordinated effort on the part of the resigning members to send a message to the Republican faithful that all was not well within the Grand Old Party? While the timing of the resignations, with all four coming on the same day, was a big surprise, the reality had a much simpler explanation.

**Holcomb had previously** been asked by Governor Pence to stay on in his leadership post until the conclusion of the legislative session. With the session over, Holcomb was invited by United States Senator Dan Coats to transfer his considerable experience and political talents to his office as Indiana chief of staff. This is a great move for Holcomb and a big pickup for Dan Coats, who will face reelection in 2016.

Garrett was offered employment by Indiana University Health Systems. Justin is a talented person and it was only time before some business or organization offered him increased responsibility and the pay that goes with it. Service on the Indiana Republican Party staff has long served as a springboard to bigger and better things.

Sandi Huddleston provided long-tenured service to the Republican Party and she was ready for a break from

the time commitment and responsibilities of the job. Sandi has been a stalwart in the party and her service will be missed as she takes this much-deserved break.

**Becky Skillman has** discovered that her considerable talents, demonstrated in her excellent service as lieutenant governor, have transferred very well to the private sector. Her responsibilities with her current employer increased to a point where she was finding it difficult to devote the appropriate time to traveling to national meetings.

It is always difficult to go through change and lose such key players who have been instrumental in past Republican victories. Fortunately, the Indiana Republican Party will be rebuilding the team from a position of strength and not from weakness. A reminder to those nattering nabobs of negativism who might paint this changing of the guard as anything other than natural coincidental resignations: Indiana Republicans hold every statewide office except two and have super majorities in both houses of the Indiana Legislature. The Republican Party is in a strong position and will become even stronger in the future.

What direction will the Indiana Republican Party take with its future leadership? Governor Pence has made it clear to the leadership of the State Central Committee that he is open to their suggestions of successor names or of attributes that the committee might like to see in its new leadership. It is refreshing to know how open and accessible the governor has been in this process. He is a great leader and his confidence in our eventual success in replacing our leadership is contagious.

**Make no mistake:** The new leadership team of the Indiana Republican Party will have the complete support of Governor Pence. State Central Committees of both political parties have long supported their incumbent governors by trusting them with proposing the leadership for the state party. Although it is not a rubber stamp process by any means, there is a great deference given to the governor as the only state-wide elected official who has a published platform and who has run on that platform in all 92 counties. I know that I will personally support Pence's suggestion for chairman with my vote.

Fortunately for the Indiana Republican Party, these leadership changes have occurred in 2013, a non-election year. The new leadership team will have a few months to get settled in before the battles of 2014 begin. Just like Kentucky basketball will inevitably rise to the top of the NCAA, Indiana Republicans will once again dominate the elections in 2014. "Ob-la-di, Ob-la-da, life goes on, la la how the life goes on!" ❖

**Dunn is chairman of the Howard County Republican Party.**



## Growing up in a city of potheads

By **MAUREEN HAYDEN**

INDIANAPOLIS — I grew up in a city of potheads. That's a wild exaggeration, but I did grow up in a city that was one of the first in the nation to decriminalize marijuana.



In 1972, when I was a high school freshman in Ann Arbor, Mich., the city council passed an ordinance making possession of small amounts of marijuana a civil infraction, subject to a \$5 fine. The penalty has since been raised to \$25.

The vote made national headlines, but as I recall, it seemed almost anticlimactic. The vote — challenged in court but later reaffirmed by a voter referendum

— wasn't nearly as exciting as having John Lennon and Yoko Ono come to town, just as the pro-weed, anti-war movement was starting to take hold in Ann Arbor. They took part in the John Sinclair Freedom Rally, named for the hippie poet and activist who'd been sentenced to 10 years in a Michigan prison for giving two joints to an undercover police officer.

No way was my mother going to let me or any of my siblings go to the rally. But I can still remember some of lyrics to the song Lennon wrote for it. ("It ain't fair, John Sinclair / In the stir for breathing air...") And thanks to 21st Century technology, my grown children can see a clip of Lennon performing his song "John Sinclair" on the video-sharing website, You Tube.

Why this blast from the past? Because I've written more marijuana stories in the last few months than I have in the last few decades.

**There was some serious** debate on marijuana in the Indiana Statehouse last session. Some observers scoffed at a failed pot-decriminalization proposal floated by liberal Democrat Senator Karen Tallian of Portage and a Libertarian-like Republican senator, Brent Steele of Bedford.

But Republican authors of the sweeping criminal code reform bill that passed were ready to pull down the penalties for marijuana crimes until Republican Gov. Mike Pence stepped in with a veto threat.

Tallian is ready to revive her proposal in the next session. In doing so, she'll likely cite a recent American Civil Liberties Union report documenting racial disparity in mari-

juana possession arrests. Using the FBI Uniform Crime Reports from 50 states, the ACLU found black Americans were nearly four times as likely to be arrested on pot possession charges as white Americans, even though marijuana use is about the same for both groups.

The report found no decline in pot-smoking over the last 40 years of the drug war, and it estimates that local communities, combined, are spending more than \$3 billion a year to enforce pot laws. It also urges states like Indiana to license and regulate marijuana, legalizing it for people 21 or older.

**Elkhart County Prosecutor** Curtis Hill, who is black and lives in the Indiana county with the highest racial disparity reported in the ACLU report, thinks that's a terrible idea. He's been prosecuting drug and other crimes for almost 25 years and worries that legalization will drive up marijuana use, especially by teenagers. "We don't need more people walking around dazed, in some foggy haze," Hill said. "We're better than that."



Research on Hill's concern is mixed. Some studies show increased marijuana use after decriminalization; others contradict those findings.

I don't smoke pot and I wasn't a teenage pothead. But I have schoolmates who were, so I found this interesting: Earlier this year, when the Michigan legislature was debating a bill to decriminalize marijuana throughout the state, Ann Arbor's mayor told a local radio station that the city had a lot more problems with alcohol abusers than marijuana users. ❖

**Hayden covers the Indiana Statehouse for Community Newspapers.**



## Roemer surveys the world of business & security

By JACK COLWELL

WASHINGTON -- Tim Roemer, the former congressman from South Bend who served on the 9/11 Commission and then was ambassador to India, consults now on global competition.

With middle classes expanding in India, China and other countries, while middle class joblessness still is too high in America, Roemer sees opportunity for trade to meet rising demands elsewhere and provide jobs at home.

But he warns that opportunities will be lost if American businesses don't know the territory abroad.

"Each country is a different challenge, with a different culture, a different people, a different way of doing

business," Roemer says. "A business that trades with China shouldn't think what worked there will apply to India or Indonesia."

That's where the consulting comes in.

Roemer is a senior vice president of APCO Worldwide, providing strategic counsel on global markets.

The former six-term congressman, who was instrumental in creation of the 9/11 Commission, on which he served, retains a strong interest in homeland security and in security for diplomats abroad, a concern brought into focus by the killing of a U.S. ambassador in Benghazi, Libya.

During his two years as ambassador to India, Roemer says, he and the embassy were protected by what was called a "Zebra Plus" security package utilized in areas where there have been terrorist attacks. Terrorists strike frequently in India. About 180 people, including Americans, were killed in the 2008 bombings and shootings in Mumbai. Roemer had a car with armor, armed security and presence at the embassy compound of 22 Marines.

**"But there's always danger,** no matter how much security," he says, because an American ambassador is an inviting target for anti-American terrorists. And with news coverage of him as America's top diplomat there, he was a recognized figure in India.

The Marines are on guard at the embassy, protecting the people and classified documents there. But the host country is counted on for security outside and when the ambassador travels.

"I went to my daughter's soccer game, and play stopped when I arrived," Roemer recalls. "There were eight

guys (security) who came around me with machine guns."

Roemer says host country security clearly was insufficient in Benghazi. And he expressed concern that congressional cutbacks on funding for security for diplomats could have played a role. "It takes resources and money," he warns. "You can't do it on the cheap."

**On homeland security,** Roemer is pleased that of the 41 recommendations of the 9/11 Commission, 39 have been passed into law and another has been partially implemented. The only reform rejected by Congress involves Congress itself.

"Congress would not implement its own reform," says Roemer.

The commission recommended that Congress cut the number of committees and subcommittees claiming oversight of homeland security - from 60 to 90 at times - with members often seeking publicity in allegedly investigating.

"They point fingers at every agency," Roemer says. "They call the same witnesses. And the witnesses spend a third of their time testifying before some congressional hearing. They should be spending their time protecting our country."

The commission recommendations couldn't prevent the Boston Marathon bombings, Roemer says, because such a "soft target" as a marathon makes security difficult. He predicts that at the next marathon, there will be drones of seagull size providing views of the entire 26.2-mile course.

Before he left for two years in India, Roemer met in the Oval Office with President Obama, who appointed him as ambassador.

**"The president envisioned** an economic bridge that would mean more jobs in America," Roemer says. He cites agreements with India aimed at just that.

At the end of their discussion, Roemer relates: "The president put his arm around me and said, 'There are a billion people there. I want you to shake hands with every one of them.' He was joking. But he did want me to reach out, not just to the officials, but to everybody down to the lowest caste members. I took that to heart."

His travels helped to make Roemer so recognizable. His family wasn't thrilled about going there - his four children hated leaving their schools and life in America. But they adjusted, Roemer says, and a son now at Notre Dame even went back to India for spring break. ❖

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





## Improved employment hides continuing deficits

By **MORTON J. MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS — The May unemployment rates for Indiana counties were released last week. They show improvement although the state figure (8.1 percent) remains above the national rate (7.3 percent).



Before our state cheerleaders begin clog dancing, let's look at what is going on.

The top 10 of our 92 counties have unemployment rates of 9.9 percent or more. Fountain County leads with a 12 percent rate followed by Fayette and Sullivan.

The bottom 10 unemployment rates are between 5.6 and 6.7 percent with Hamilton County enjoying the lowest rate followed by Dubois and Daviess. These days economists are inclined to say that 6 percent

unemployment is natural, normal, or satisfactory. That arbitrary number changes with the analyst as well as the place and moment of analysis.

**Our current situation is part** of the continuing improvement in the American economy. All is not, however, a blaze of prosperity in the Hoosier state. In 45 of 92 counties, the May 2013 unemployment rate is greater than that rate in 2012. There is a measure of stagnation for you.

In the 460 county-May months since 2009 (92 counties times 5 years), the unemployment rate was 10

percent or greater one-third of the time.

What does a 10 percent unemployment rate mean? Nothing, if there is no empathy in your heart for the worker struggling to find a job.

**Ten percent unemployment** means one in ten workers is searching for the food to feed a family and the rent to sustain a household. He or she can be invisible to those believing they are among the elite because they have good health care and retirement savings. Invisible too are the unemployed to the over-compensated corporate executives who drive or are driven in luxury cars along cheerful boulevards that hide from view the housing of the poor. Even the ordinary worker with a car on the freeway may not see the dwellings of the unemployed because the Department of Transportation puts up walls to hide their homes from view.

Despite Indiana's crawling improvement, its position could have been stronger if the state had acted prudently. Instead Indiana tossed aside great opportunities and serious responsibilities in favor of knee-jerk fiscal folly – cutting spending and taxes from a bloated surplus.

**What is left is a massive** deficit – a deficit of public services which will have cumulative effects over the next generation. The workers of today who have not received the basic training necessary for the labor market will be tomorrow's workers. The children denied better education as school budgets have been cut will be the workers of the next decade. The elderly and infirm whose medical services have been reduced may meet their maker sooner because the legislators and governors of our state have put money ahead of mercy. ❖

**Mr. Marcus is an independent economist, writer and speaker. Contact him at [mortonjmarcus@yahoo.com](mailto:mortonjmarcus@yahoo.com)**

## Lake primary ballot forming

By **RICH JAMES**

MERRILLVILLE – The 2014 Democratic primary ballot is quickly forming in Lake County. It traditionally is the most crowded of all elections in the four-year cycle in the county.



Besides the majority of the countywide offices on the ballot, there also are state representative races, some state senate races, a congressional race and township contests. There also are county council contests that will draw special attention because of the enactment of a county income tax last

month. And one of the three county commissioners, Roosevelt Allen, a Gary Democrat, is on the ballot. He backed the tax.

And, looking another year ahead, the outcome of the 2014 primary elections will help shape the 2015 mayoral contests.

But, back to 2014.

**Lake County Auditor Peggy Katona** held a fundraiser last week and drew most of the notables in Democratic politics. Katona, however, isn't running for re-election as auditor, she is running for county treasurer.

Katona is caught up in the term-limit thing that limits her to two consecutive terms as auditor. So she will be seeking the treasurer's post where she served two terms before becoming county auditor. Her family has had a stranglehold on the treasurer's office. Katona's father, Andy Holinga, died in office when he was treasurer. His wife,



Irene Holinga, then served a couple of terms as treasurer, and remains on her daughter's payroll today.

With Katona leaving the auditor's office, a vacancy is created. Current county Treasurer John Petalas faces the two-term limitation law as well and thus will be seeking the county auditor's post. Both are qualified for the jobs they hold as well as the ones they will be seeking.

There are those who like to say Katona and Petalas are playing the musical chairs game by moving from office to office. That, however, is terribly unfair to those who chose to make a career of public service.

Term limits ought to be decided by the voters, not the laws of Indiana. While there are term limits for county treasurer, auditor, sheriff, recorder, coroner and clerk, there are no limits for county prosecutor, assessor, surveyor, councilmen or commissioners. It is an untenable situation

that discourages public service. It is something that ought to be addressed by the legislature.

There is one other thing about the 2014 Democratic primary that needs to be mentioned. Republican Hank Adams was elected county assessor four years ago largely because he had the support of many Democrats who didn't care for nominee Carol Ann Seaton of Gary. It was learned after the primary, in which Seaton defeated Ross Township Assessor Randall Guernsey, that Seaton had residency problems. Adams may not be able to seek reelection because of health issues, and likely couldn't win if he did run.

The most prominent Democrat being mentioned as a county assessor candidate is county Councilman Jerome Prince of Gary. ❖

**Rich James is a columnist for NWI Times.**

## What were we thinking?

**"You have enemies? Good. That means you've stood up for something, sometime in your life."**

– Sir Winston S. Churchill

**By KEVIN BRINEGAR**

INDIANAPOLIS - I don't normally take the time to respond to factually incorrect, personal attacks on the Indiana Chamber and its work. But when the diatribe comes from a Howey Politics Indiana columnist – even one who supported John Edwards' ill-fated presidential candidacy – then some sort of response seems appropriate.



So, let me offer an apology (of sorts) to Shaw Friedman for so irritating him by being an effective advocate for free enterprise, economic growth and prosperity. Speaking on behalf of an organization that has represented Indiana companies and their employees for 90-plus years, we're sorry that:

■ Indiana has one of the fastest-growing economies in the country according to the Bureau of Economic Analysis and one of the most attractive environments

to start a business and create jobs, per the folks at Site Selection, CEO magazine and various other sources. Shame on us for advocating for policies to make our state more competitive in the national and international battle for jobs.

■ We've been a leading voice for education reform – fighting for enhanced standards, charter schools, vouchers and improved school performance among others – and

working to ensure that every child has the opportunity for a quality education and future success.

■ We somehow thought it would be a good idea to have the country's most expansive infrastructure funding program over a 10-year period, allow for billions of private dollars to be invested in telecommunications expansion and finally synchronize our state's clocks with the rest of the nation.

■ We created a long-range economic development plan for the state in Indiana Vision 2025 and are working with numerous statewide partners to achieve its goals. What were we thinking in trying to ensure that "Indiana will be a global leader in innovation and economic opportunity where enterprises and citizens prosper."

■ Finally, we "apologize" that we do not share the blind faith of the columnist in the ability of government to solve all of our problems – that we expect the private sector to play a substantial role in our future prosperity.

Those "blindly obedient allies" in the Legislature likely have cause to dispute the allegations coughed up by Mr. Friedman. We'll simply live with the fact that we always have supported, and will keep doing so, "better education, less poverty, improved health and better quality of life."

We know our "well-heeled donors" – we call them "members" (80% of which have fewer than 100 employees) who provide the jobs that keep our economy moving – feel quite differently about their contributions to our state's future. We'll continue to help empower these organizations and individuals to produce their own success. ❖

**Kevin Brinegar is president and CEO of the Indiana Chamber of Commerce.**



## Leadership is an essential ingredient

By **LEE HAMILTON**

BLOOMINGTON — For those of us who think and write about democracy, few things are more appealing than a book about how to make it work better. My shelves are groaning with them.

They contain a lot of good and helpful ideas. There are proposals on how to improve elections and plans for strengthening legislative bodies, judicial systems, and the rule of law. There's a whole body of literature on how to make government and civil institutions stronger and more effective. There are ideas for buttressing the press and the public's access to information, and schemes for improving the civic organizations, think tanks, watchdog groups and policy-focused nonprofits that make our democracy so vibrant.



But over time, I've concluded that as complicated as democracy's workings might be, one thing matters above all else: Effective leadership. It might not guarantee results, but without it, nothing much happens.

I saw this throughout my career in Congress, but it was most obvious in the counties and communities that made up my district. What struck me over and over was the difference that good leadership — both within and outside government — could make.

For instance, we now have fairly elaborate programs for the education of special-needs children. In my own state of Indiana, and in many others, this was not true a relatively short while ago. But over the years, parents, teachers, school leaders and others recognized the need, stepped forward, and pressed for change at every level from the school board to Congress.

**Similarly, managing water** resources has been an enormous challenge — dealing with floods when there's too much and drought when there's too little is a pressing matter in both rural and urban areas. But over the years, I've watched countless local leaders do the hard and sometimes tedious work of developing watershed programs. Our water supply today is far better managed than it used to be.

Everything from getting a gate put in at a dangerous rail crossing to strengthening local health-care facilities to building an effective local law-enforcement system —

with capable police chiefs, dedicated judges and energetic prosecutors — demands that people step forward and lead. Strong leadership matters to quality of life, to how well communities respond to challenges, and to how vital our communities are.

**Being an active citizen matters**, too, but as citizens we know that we depend heavily on good leaders to make our communities work. We rely on people to roll up their shirtsleeves at every level of our democracy, and we demand a great deal of them. We want them to set goals and motivate us. We expect them to plan, organize and manage effectively. We hope that they can take the disparate strands of our communities in hand and make sure they're all pointed in the same direction. We look for a sort of tough-minded optimism, a conviction that "I can make a difference and so can you," so that we'll be inspired and energized by it.

That's why communities pay so much attention to leadership development — to identifying and training young leaders who can make a difference to the places they live. Strong, capable, determined leadership provides the energy that improves the quality of life in a community and breathes life into our representative democracy.

One of the eternally refreshing gifts of our representative democracy is that it encourages people to solve problems in their community — to remember, as the saying goes, that democracy is not a spectator sport. Maybe they love where they live and want to make it better; maybe they have a child with special needs who is not being served well by the schools; perhaps they know in their hearts that they can do a better job than the people who are in charge right now. Whichever it is, people step forward — often out of nowhere — to take matters in hand. That's what moves us forward as a society.

**"I believe in democracy** because it releases the energies of every human being," Woodrow Wilson said. It is the great paradox of representative democracy: We are free to remain passive, but we can't make progress unless skillful, can-do people recognize that with freedom comes the responsibility to lead. ❖

**Lee Hamilton is Director of the Center on Congress at Indiana University. He was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives for 34 years.**





**E.J. Dionne, Washington Post:** The roof fell in on John Boehner's House of Representatives last week. The Republican leadership's humiliating defeat on a deeply flawed and inhumane farm bill was as clear a lesson as we'll get about the real causes of dysfunction in the nation's capital. Our ability to govern ourselves is being brought low by a witches' brew of right-wing ideology, a shockingly cruel attitude toward the poor on the part of the Republican majority, and the speaker's incoherence when it comes to his need for Democratic votes to pass bills. Boehner is unwilling to put together broad bipartisan coalitions to pass middle-ground legislation except when he is pressed to the wall. Yet he and his lieutenants tried to blame last Thursday's farm legislation fiasco — the product of a massive repudiation by GOP conservatives of their high command — on the Democrats' failure to hand over enough votes. He seemed to think he could freely pander to the desire of right-wing members of his caucus to throw millions of low-income Americans off the food stamp program. When that didn't produce enough votes, he then expected Democrats to support a measure that most of them rightly regarded as immoral. In the end, the bill went down 234 to 195, with 62 Republicans voting no and 24 Democrats voting yes — more help, by the way, than Nancy Pelosi usually got from Republicans when she was speaker.

Boehner can't have it both ways, and he should be called out if he lets his party's disarray throw the nation into an entirely unnecessary debt-ceiling crisis this fall. The country shouldn't be held hostage because of Republican chaos. Start with the food stamp cuts, and let's remember that this program is a monument to bipartisanship. The current form of the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) is, in large part, the product of an unlikely alliance between former Sens. Bob Dole and George McGovern in the 1970s. They were far apart ideologically, but both were horrified that too many Americans were going without nourishment. Food stamps have been an enormous success in curbing hunger in our rich nation, while also serving as a powerful stimulus to economic recovery during hard times. The bill the House voted down would have cut food stamps by \$20.5 billion, eliminating food assistance to nearly 2 million low-income people, most of them senior citizens or working families with children. As Robert Greenstein, the president of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, explained, Southerland's proposal violated "the most basic standards of human decency" because it made no effort, as other work requirements have in the past, to create employment openings for those who "want to work and would accept any job or work slot they could get, but cannot find jobs in a weak economy." The collapse of the farm bill will generally be played as a political story about



Boehner's failure to rally his own right wing. That's true as far as it goes and should remind everyone of the current House leadership's inability to govern. But this is above all a story about morality: There is something profoundly wrong when a legislative majority is so eager to risk leaving so many Americans hungry. That's what the bill would have done, and why defeating it was a moral imperative. ❖

**Gary Welsh, Advance Indiana:** House Speaker Brian Bosma and Senate President Pro Tem David Long may both be attorneys by profession, but they left their ability to interpret constitutional law, at least as it respects the rights of gays, somewhere in their dark, distant past. Despite Wednesday's U.S. Supreme Court ruling striking down the federal Defense of Marriage Act. Bosma and Long have declared that the fight against the recognition of rights for same-sex couples in Indiana must go on. Now that same-sex married couples in Indiana will enjoy the same rights under federal law as all opposite-sex couples presently enjoy, any continued move by Indiana lawmakers to throw up roadblocks to rights afforded under state law to same-sex couples are totally misdirected and self-defeating. In a manner of speaking, we're biting off our nose to spite our face. Here's a question for Bosma and Long. Since Indiana's same-sex married couples will now be able to file joint income tax returns for federal tax purposes, how are they going to file their tax returns for state purposes since the state income tax piggybacks on the federal income tax? ❖

**Eric Bradner, Evansville Courier & Press:** The vacancy atop the Indiana Republican Party gives Gov. Mike Pence the best chance yet to make his own mark on the state's most powerful political party and to get some real distance from his predecessor. State GOP chairman Eric Holcomb announced last week that he is resigning, effective July 9. Holcomb's sharp political mind and effective fundraising skills suited him well for the role of state party chairman. But the reality is, he got the chairman's job due to his work with former Gov. Mitch Daniels. He agreed to stay on for a while longer to help Pence's transition and see his first legislative session through, but he wasn't picked by Pence in the first place. Republicans have the political power to do anything they want, but there are a number of areas of disagreement in their party. The next party chair will have to maintain the peace and that task could be harder than it has been. So far, Pence hasn't truly been confronted with those splits. ❖



## Chamber issues score card

INDIANAPOLIS - The Indiana Chamber of Commerce handed out scores to all 150 state legislators for their voting records on pro-economy, pro-jobs legislation during the 2013 General Assembly (Howey Politics Indiana). The numbers, released in the organization's annual Legislative Vote Analysis, also contain a two-year total for each legislator. The 2013 scores ranged from 44 percent to 100 percent. House Speaker Brian Bosma, who votes at his discretion and therefore was scored on fewer bills, was the lone perfect mark. The highest full-time voting record for 2013 was Rep. Ed Clere (R-District 72 of New Albany) at 97 percent. The top senator was Joe Zakas (R-District 11 of Granger) at 87 percent. Last year, there were 15 legislators with 100 percent. The reason for the slightly lower vote scores overall is the type of public policies on the docket, observes Indiana Chamber President and CEO Kevin Brinegar. "The issues in 2013 were more complex and less partisan in nature. Two examples involved the Common Core academic standards and the ratepayer protection for the Rockport synthetic natural gas plant. Both were highly complicated, containing various provisions, and had significant supporters and opponents in both parties. This could very well be a sign of things to come." Brinegar also points out that the Senate scores, on average, were notably lower than in recent years.

"That happened because the Senate watered down several crucial bills or simply refused to move other pro-jobs bills altogether. What's more, the gap between the top (87 percent) and bottom (60 percent) scores in the Sen-

ate was closer this year, as Democrat scores increased overall while Republicans went down," he notes. "All in all, however, it was another successful session for Hoosier businesses and their workers. Legislators, for the most part, voted to grow jobs and move our state forward, and the results show it." A total of 19 legislators also received a star designation for their significant efforts on issues deemed of critical importance or their overall leadership. Among them: Speaker Bosma and first-term House Minority Leader Scott Pelath (D-District 9 of Michigan City) who together championed the Indiana Career Council legislation. Says Brinegar of Pelath: "He brought a breath of fresh air to the House and it was noticeable. From our perspective, things were much more focused on policy issues than political issues."

## Pence appoints Purdue trustees

INDIANAPOLIS - Wednesday, Gov. Mike Pence named appointees to the Purdue University Board of Trustees (Howey Politics Indiana). Pence announced the appointment of Lawrence "Sonny" Beck to the Purdue Board of Trustees. President of Beck's Superior Hybrids in Atlanta, Indiana. The Governor expressed his deep gratitude to Keith Krach for his service to Purdue University, serving two full terms, where he currently serves as the Chair of the Board of Trustees. President and Chief Operating Officer of McDonald's, Don Thompson, of Oakbrook, Illinois, has been reappointed to the Board to serve a three-year term effective July 1, 2013.

## Obama climate plan impacts state

WASHINGTON - President Barack Obama's plan to combat

climate change by limiting carbon pollution from power plants would affect Indiana more than most states (Groppe, Gannett News). Indiana is a top energy-using state and most of its electricity comes from coal-fired power plants, the largest single source of greenhouse gas emissions. Coal generates about 40 percent of U.S. electricity but more than twice that of Indiana's power. "The president is stepping up to reduce the climate-disrupting pollution that is threatening our economy and endangering our communities, farms and families with extreme heat, drought and more frequent severe storms," said Jodi Perras, campaign representative for Indiana Beyond Coal, an effort by the Sierra Club to reduce the number of coal-fired power plants. But industry groups said the regulations will cause power plants to close, costing jobs and affordable power. "The regulations proposed by the president will invariably raise electricity costs and decrease service quality for major industrial customers, like the steel industry," said Thomas J. Gibson, president and CEO of the American Iron and Steel Institute.

## Rokita concerned about energy costs

WASHINGTON - U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita, a member of the House Budget Committee, expressed concern about energy costs. "Congress must continue its constitutional role of oversight of this administration. Regulations like the ones the President unveiled this week are lowering production, increasing energy costs and hindering job growth. In any economic environment, but particularly now, federal regulations must be smart and must not needlessly hinder job creation." said Rokita.

