



Bosma contrasts Indiana with DC

Despite reform movement, Speaker finds urgent work ahead on jobs and ‘opportunity gap’

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Seated in Indiana House Speaker Brian Bosma’s law offices overlooking Monument Circle, the first question posed during this interview was about the pending immigration bill facing Congress.

“This is what’s on my mind,” Bosma interjected. “The contrast between Washington, D.C., and the state of Indiana. Let me wax philosophical.”

Subsequently, the pundit recognized the Speaker from Indianapolis.

Bosma then produced a prodigious stack of paper, which turned out to be the Indiana House agendas dating back to 2002 when he was minority leader. The stack was more than a half foot thick.

“My frustration is with the way Washington handles issues because I had to talk recently, at one event, about



the differences in Indiana 10 years ago and today,” Bosma said. “To do that, I keep copious electronic and paper files. I had a giant file in my desk drawer that said ‘prior agendas.’ And I pulled out our ‘New Direction’ agenda that our team put together in 2002. It said what we were going to do, it said why we needed to do it. And it told the story about what was really a dysfunctional state government, a

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Emails, John Gregg & me

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

NASHVILLE, Ind. – This state is on the precipice of the most important policy sequence in a generation, how it institutes the Affordable Care Act and Medicaid expansion.

These decisions will impact hundreds of thousands of Hoosiers and define state budgets for decades to come.

But the attention this past couple of weeks has been a sideshow consisting of emails from former Gov. Mitch Daniels, former Education Supt. Tony Bennett and his then-chief of staff Todd Huston about whether the writings of Prof. Howard Zinn should



“Repealing Obamacare and cutting spending is not an economic plan. It’s not.”

- President Obama, speaking in Galesburg, Ill. on Wednesday



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be exposed and taught to Indiana students. If nothing else, it's given us an inner view of one of the more successful governorships in modern times and the first digital one at that. It's a show that pales in comparison to what is coming down the pike, which is something that this publication will dig into in the coming weeks.

And this Daniels email story forged by Associated Press reporter Tom LoBianco and his Freedom of Information Act requests to the Indiana Department of Education might not have existed had not this writer ended up at a Vincennes University luncheon with then-House Speaker John Gregg in November 2001.

Gregg had pulled some strings and gotten me an honor from the university where I studied journalism under Prof. Fred Walker Jr., between 1974 and 1976 before heading off to Indiana University at Bloomington. It wasn't something I had sought and it certainly worked against the grain of my modus operandi which is to "blend" as opposed to being a conspicuous character.

I didn't know it at the time, but those circumstances allowed me to make perhaps my biggest impact on Indiana journalism.

The internet age had dawned and was now becoming a pervading aspect in the way we communicate. In the long Indiana General Assembly session of 2001, House Bill 1083 would have prevented press access to the electronic mails of government officials. Beyond personal meetings, phone calls, letters and facsimiles, the email was becoming a key way to communicate and the

rules developed around it not unlike what we're currently witnessing with Facebook, Twitter and Instagram.

HB1083 passed both chambers and ended up on the desk of Gov. Frank O'Bannon, who by vocation was publisher of the Corydon Democrat. He was a latter-generation newspaperman. And O'Bannon vetoed the bill.

Had he signed HB1083, it would have dramatically changed Indiana journalism by keeping what has become a huge swath of information out of the public arena. We wouldn't have learned, for instance, about the cozy relationship between Duke Energy and the Indiana Utility Regulatory Commission and the Edwardsport plant overruns.

The volume of emails between government officials, their employees, counterparts, constituents and even the press has been huge and expansive. Having the potential access to these emails hasn't been abused, in my opinion, but it adds a 21st Century check and balance for the Fourth Estate and its watchdog role over government. Most government officials know that you don't put anything in an email that you wouldn't be comfortable with showing

up in a court hearing or on the front page.

As Robin Winston, former O'Bannon aide and Indiana Democratic chairman, liked to say, "A letter can die on the shredder, but an email lasts forever."

After O'Bannon vetoed the bill, Speaker Gregg was under intense pressure from his chamber to bring up the veto for an override on Organization Day that November. Given Indiana's weak constitutional governor-



Gov. Frank O'Bannon vetoed HEA1083 in 2001, creating an override opportunity that November.



ship, the override probably would have been successful. And by circumstance that he had concocted, John Gregg ended up at a luncheon table seated next to me.

While most of us at the luncheon were dressed in ties and sportcoats, I remember Gregg showed up wearing a red and black lumberjack shirt. He was in his usual jovial mood, enjoying the notion that I had to ride in a convertible through downtown Vincennes as part of its annual holiday parade, which reminded me of the final scene in the movie "Animal House" though the boys at Delta House were hung over and didn't show.

What John Gregg ended up with was a third-generation journalist who relentlessly bent his ear about his upcoming decision to call up the O'Bannon veto of HEA1083 the following week. The word was that Gregg would hand down the veto for a vote.

In the 2004 "10th Anniversary Edition" of *Howey Politics*, I described the scene: "I pleaded, begged and



Speaker Gregg decided against calling HEA1083 down for an override.

implored Gregg not to hand down the bill. He listened politely, but was noncommittal. When I left the banquet hall, I used a 'Rexism' to describe what I had just done, telling a friend, 'I feel like I just threw up in the punch bowl.'"

A week later, Gregg refused to hand down the override.

And three years later, in that 10th anniversary edition, Gregg observed, "You were not given the credit you personally deserved on the issue of the media bill and the override. You told me it would've been disastrous to hand it down and you were right. That is a decision I've never regretted and I owe you a big one on that."

Actually, despite the discomfort of not having HEA1038 signed into law has caused Purdue President Daniels and now State Rep.

Huston, Hoosiers all owe Gregg a big debt of gratitude for having the courage to buck his chamber and keep government emails in the check and balance system that has, for the most part, kept Indiana state government corruption-free since the last big scandal that occurred 30 years ago.



Bosma, from page 1

dysfunctional economy, and dysfunctional fiscal house and it pledged to make a difference."

There followed a litany of Bosma-produced agendas: In 2009 it was "Moving Indiana Forward." In 2010, it was the "Taxpayer Protection Plan." In 2011, the "Strength in Indiana Pledge."

"In every circumstance, we promised Hoosier voters and taxpayers that we would focus on what was important and we would find solutions," Bosma said. "Whether it was balance our state budget for the first time in a decade and keeping it balanced, which we pledged and we did every year since, or our pledge to remake Indiana's economic

atmosphere, taking it to 'The Best in the Midwest' and top 10 in the nation, which we pledged and fulfilled, we have taken every opportunity to select a pledge. Whether it was



internal promises, like opening the doors to state government and taking the Internet so you could watch it live, or repealing lifelong health care for legislators, passing a statute so nobody could do it again in the future, or searching in a civil fashion for bipartisan solutions, which we did this year with the work councils. We have pledged and pledged and pledged and we have fulfilled those pledges."

"We've done it notwithstanding walkouts, protests, and fortunately, in the last year, civil discourse. So over the last decade, we have led our fellow legislators to visualize solutions, articulate solutions and effect solutions. I feel really good about what we've done. It's not been perfect by any



means. But to plan it, say it, do it, is a key legislative leadership skill and one that I see very much lacking in Washington. There's a real contrast between what I see happening here in Indiana and what has happened in Washington. I don't see much plan it, say it, do it. I hear a lot of say it."

About a half hour later, Bosma finally got to the immigration question initially posed. "Not dealing with the issue is not a solution because, for all practical purposes it is de facto amnesty if we don't deal with it in some fashion," he said. "A lot of those folks have been here for a number of years."

Bosma had been at an NRCC fundraising event with House Budget Chairman Paul Ryan and members of the Indiana Republican delegation the night before in Indianapolis. "I shared a message with members of our congressional delegation just last night," he said.

"We all happened to be in the same place at the same time. I had a private conversation with a couple of them and I told them they need to get something done on this issue. It's very clearly a stumbling block for the nation right now. We have to deal with 11 million folks who aren't going anywhere. They are not going to rush out of the country. From my perspective, the first item is to secure the border and then to deal with the folks that are here in a reasonable fashion that includes an expanded and enhanced guest worker program, and gives some path to citizenship with consequences. Consequences like paying taxes and back taxes if they haven't been paid."

Three of those members, U.S. Reps. Marlin Stutzman, Jackie Walorski and Luke Messer, have served under Bosma and now under U.S. House Speaker John Boehner, who has invoked the "Hastert Rule" vowing not to move an immigration bill without a consensus of the conference.

How did the Hoosier Republicans respond to his message?

"Rightly, they're listening to their leadership team," Bosma said. "We've got a young delegation. Marlin Stutzman was introduced as the dean of the congressional delegation. He's been there three years. So it's going to take them awhile to sort through and I'm sure they are expressing themselves to their leadership to solve the prob-



lem."

But he noted that there is "universal frustration with the leadership in Washington and with their inability to find common ground in solutions when it's happening in the states."

Bosma's message is a jarring contrast to what's happened at the Indiana Statehouse and the U.S. Capitol.

In Indiana, the two Republican governors, Mitch Daniels and Mike Pence, and two majority GOP chambers since 2011 have forged historic education reforms, tax breaks and deregulation ranging from telecommunications (igniting a multi-billion-dollar investment in the state) to general fund support for all local school districts, to now an array of charter schools and vouchers that some critics say is the

cutting edge to a shift from public to private education.

In Washington, there is sclerosis, polarization and gridlock. In Indianapolis, the perception is that things are getting done.

Polling in Indiana, Washington

On Wednesday, an NBC/Wall Street Journal poll revealed 83 percent disapproved of congressional performance and 57 percent would vote to replace every member of Congress. President Obama's approval sank to 45%. The right/wrong track stood at 29/61%. "Outside the Beltway, voters are saying, 'You don't get it,'" said Republican pollster Bill McInturff. Democratic pollster Fred Yang, who polled for HPI in 2012, paraphrases from Shakespeare to describe the public's mood: "Now is the summer of our discontent."

In contrast, the HPI Poll conducted in April by Republican pollster Christine Matthews of Bellwether Research, gave Bosma at 24/12% favorable/unfavorable, Senate President David Long at 13/6% fav/unfav, and Gov. Mike Pence 52/10% fav/unfav. In the September 2012 Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll conducted by Matthews and Yang, by a 59 to 32 percent margin Hoosiers saw the U.S. on the "wrong track." But by a 59 to 29 percent margin, they saw Indiana on the "right track." In a March 2012 Howey/DePauw survey, Hoosiers rated Indiana



General Assembly Republicans 38/36% fav/unfav and Democrats 32/39% fav/unfav.

Jobless rate concerns Bosma

The irony is that the U.S. unemployment rate is 7.6 percent while the May Indiana jobless rate is 8.4 percent.

Bosma has served two stints as Speaker from 2004 to 2006 and from 2010 to the present. He has the pedigree, serving more than 30 years in the House. His father, Charles, served in both the Indiana House and Indiana Senate and in 1966, cast the tie-breaking Republican House caucus vote that made Doc Bowen Speaker and on the path to the governorship. Many see Bosma with a gubernatorial pedigree.

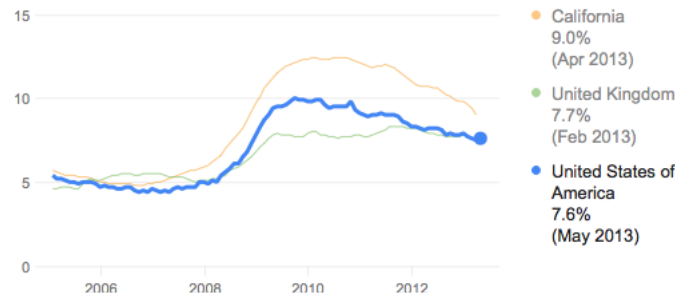
As Speaker, he has given committee chairmanships to three Democrats, initiated web streaming of House chamber and committee hearings, and last January reached out to new House Minority Leader Scott Pelath, D-Michigan City, and Senate Minority Leader Tim Lanane, D-Anderson, to co-sponsor his Work Council legislation that was signed into law by Gov. Pence.

Despite all of the reforms he has helped shepherd through the Indiana House, the high jobless rate and a continued moribund state economy is not lost on him.

"Despite all of the positive changes we've made in our economic terrain here on the playing field that causes everyone to say we're No. 1 in the Midwest or the top 10 or five in the nation, we still have an (8.4%) jobless rate," Bosma said. "We've done the beginnings of addressing that this year. We did the career council and the governor's regional works councils. We have to take substantive action to address two items: The skills gap, which is a consequence of almost a million Hoosiers not having the high tech skills to succeed in today's high tech economy, and what I believe I coined as the 'opportunity gap' which is having high growth opportunities for our high achieving graduates here, or high opportunity students, from our high schools to, more importantly, our colleges. There was

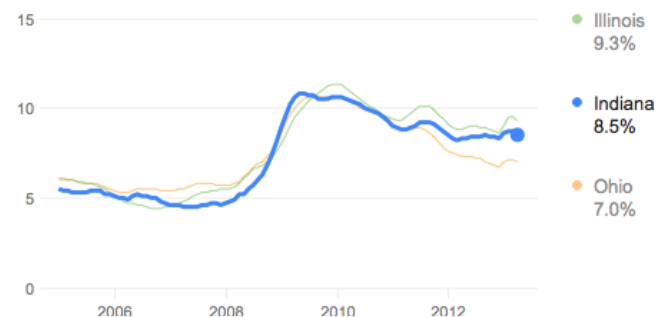
7.6% (May 2013)

United States of America, Unemployment rate



8.5% (Apr 2013)

Indiana, Unemployment rate



a study funded by the Lilly Foundation that looked at the difference between our 14th in the nation ranking for sending students to college, and our 44th in the nation ranking for the educational level of our ... adult population."

"This is the biggest issue we've got here – the opportunity gap," Bosma said. "It's the high potential students out of our high schools and universities. It's not just that we're losing kids. We had a debate this year on the tax burden and the right tax to cut. And the governor correctly identified that the tax burden on Hoosiers has increased over the last 30 years, compared to other states. The source of that increase was not higher taxes, it was a decrease in our per capita income. We went from having 94 or 95 percent of the average per capita income

in the 1970s to in the mid-80s as a percentage of per capita income."

Again, this is a persistent problem. Candidate Mitch Daniels identified per capita income as a top priority during his 2004 gubernatorial campaign, but Indiana went from \$31,276 in 2005 to \$34,943 in 2010, according to U.S. Commerce statistics. That compares to U.S. figures of \$34,586 in 2005 to \$40,584 in 2010. A University of New Mexico study based on U.S. Department of Labor data listed Indiana's per capita income at \$30,528 in 2004 which ranked 34th in the nation (which was \$37,725), to \$36,902 which ranked 39th, compared to \$42,693 nationally. The U.S. Census for 2011 lists Indiana household income at \$48,393, compared to \$52,762 for the U.S.

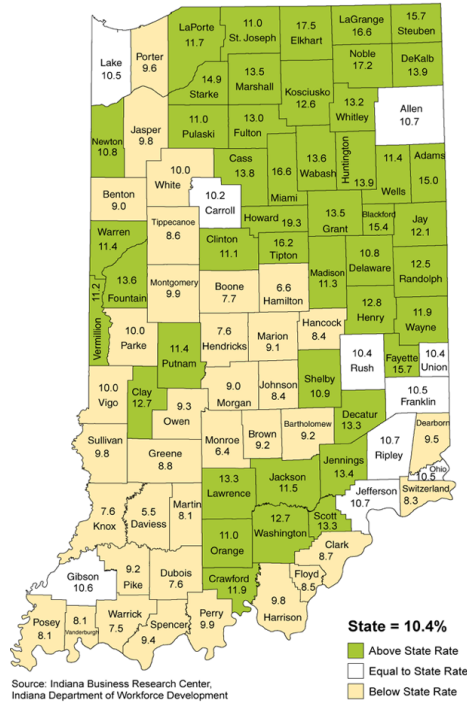
"While we've had growth in those years, it's been nothing like the growth nationally," Bosma explained. "The opportunity gap is the issue. Not the high unemployment rate. It's because we don't have the high wage, high income jobs for these high potential graduates. That's why leaders are willing to appropriate \$25 million for the biotech research institute. We see that as one of many elements to attracting those high wage research jobs."



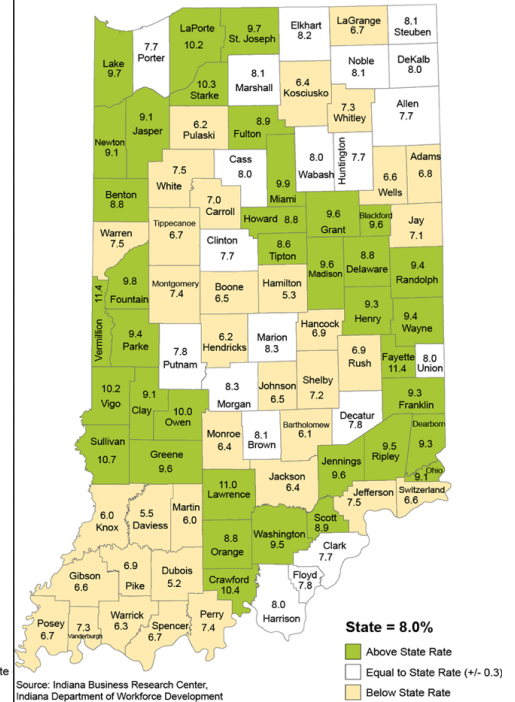
January 2008 Unemployment Rates



May 2009 Unemployment Rates



April 2013 Unemployment Rates



Speaker Bosma with Minority Leader Scott Pelath and business leaders in January introducing the work council legislation.

Reaching out to Pelath

The House Republican caucus began developing the career council idea a year ago this summer. In January, Bosma called Pelath and invited him to co-sponsor the measure.

"I had pledged in prior years my intent to restore civil debate. Bipartisanship. It was a high priority for me," Bosma said. "There is just no reason, again thinking about the contrast with Washington, that we can't address the issues together that we can agree on that are best for Indiana and the nation. So I made a call to Scott shortly before the start of the session, asking if he would be a coauthor of the bill and I also reached out to Sen. Long and Sen.

LANANE if they'd be willing to be the Senate cosponsors. Again, it is an effort to get us to agree, and Scott very graciously and immediately accepted. We had a press conference shortly after the start of the session. Someone came up to me and said, 'I can't remember, maybe ever, having a minority and majority speaker having a joint press conference on an issue. I think Paul Mannweiler came up to me and said it happened once back in the '70s.'

Indiana House Democrats described it as a "rare joint announcement."

Pelath said, "While we may disagree at times on the methods used to reach the goal, legislators on both sides of the aisle are fully committed to the effort to help



Hoosier workers find and retain good-paying jobs. The greatest economic development tools we have in Indiana are the men and women who take pride in doing an honest day's work. It only makes sense for us to put the machinery in place to let them get the skills they need to continue to provide for themselves and their families."

Sixty-seven percent of manufacturing companies are reporting a moderate to severe shortage of available, qualified workers and 56 percent of those expect the shortage to increase in the next three years, House Democrats noted.

The two would spar on the impact of Obamacare, with Pelath citing an Indiana Hospital Association study saying Medicaid expansion could create 30,000 jobs, something Bosma contests, saying it is shuffling chairs.

Problems in other areas

Bosma sees other areas lacking. "We have a high school engineering certificate, but we haven't issued one of those." He wants more teachers and students in STEM programs – science, technology, education and math. "We have to have more students pursuing that level, because that is where the jobs are going to be. I just talked to one of the folks at our building trades and they are having difficulties finding their next generation of building trades folks with the math skills you need to pursue that career."

It was something confirmed by J.R. Gaylor, CEO of the Associated Builders and Contractors, to HPI earlier this week. Gaylor was one of Gov. Pence's appointees to the career council.

"I was in South Bend talking to an employer," Bosma said. "He has four different manufacturing operations. His No. 1 concern was he could not find high school graduates who were prepared to be trained by him, which was a high tech manufacturing operation. He said, 'I don't need a young person with a bachelor's degree. I don't need an associates degree. I need a person who has enough high school science and

math and computer skills who can operate my machinery."

Bosma added, "He said, 'I can't find them.' I'm nominating that guy to be on the regional works council."

Bosma notes, "We've got to align our technical, high school education and career opportunities. We've got to align our college opportunity graduates with appropriate opportunities here in Indiana. That is really the biggest challenge we face to move and keep Indiana moving forward and keeping our best graduates here, to get the unemployed off the unemployment rolls."

A strategic plan will be produced by the career council in 2014.

"It took us a long time to get here, and it's not going to be an immediate turnaround," Bosma said, "but we have to deal with it today."

The coming marriage amendment

If there is a friction point in Bosma's efforts to bridge the skills and opportunity gaps, it is with the impending marriage constitutional amendment. When Bosma pushed for the Right to Work legislation in 2011, he and other leaders like Gov. Daniels and Sen. Long couched it in the logic that the General Assembly had to do anything it could to create more high-paying jobs.

This constitutional amendment will be ardently supported by Gov. Pence, but it is finding opposition from leading Indiana corporations such as Eli Lilly & Company, Cummins and the Indiana Chamber of Commerce, which view it as a potential impediment for attracting highly skilled workers, the kind of employee Bosma describes as wanting to attract and keep in the Indiana economy.

Bosma was an early backer of the amendment, but he is clearly not pleased that it has drawn so much attention in the wake of the U.S. Supreme Court rulings in June and knows it will be the dominant issue in January. "It will take 95 percent of the energy and 50 percent of the coverage," Bosma said, but added that it won't be "so over-arching" that other priority items won't get done.

"Opinions have changed and evolved," he acknowledged, observing that when the Indiana law passed in 1997 it occurred under Democratic Gov. Evan Bayh and a Democratic Indiana



Speaker Bosma during his swearing in ceremony in 2010. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)



House.

"The move to protect the statute in the constitution is a reaction to those states that have had the non-elected judiciary make the decision on what marriage is," Bosma said. "I'm a firm believer that decision should be in the hands of the elected representatives, the legislative branch, and ultimately, in the hands of the people. That's what the discussion is. Thirty other states have decided the same thing and have a constitutional amendment which protects their statute."

Bosma said internal HRCC polling "is not that different" than the HPI Poll in April that showed that 50 percent support the amendment and 46 percent oppose.

Bosma said his legal staff has studied the recent Supreme Court decision. "We've looked at it, we continue to look at it. The short answer is that everything points to the court reaffirming the rights of the state to determine what constitutes a legal marriage. Indiana made that decision in 1997 with a Democratic administration and a Democratic House."

He noted that the Indiana Senate has voted for the measure a handful of times, and the House at least twice. HJR6 states: "Marriage. Provides that only marriage between one man and one woman shall be valid or recognized as a marriage in Indiana. Provides that a legal status identical or substantially similar to that of marriage for unmarried individuals shall not be valid or recognized."

Asked about Part B, which would prevent domestic union rights for gay couples and potentially collide with the 14th Amendment of the U.S Constitution that says a U.S. citizen cannot be deprived of "equal protection of the laws," Bosma said, "I think if Part B of the resolution wasn't there, there would be more certainty with this regard. It is the part that addresses the civil union language."

"If I had my druthers, Part B would not be there. I think the first part is very clear. Part B raises a question. But virtually every statute raises some question."

Bosma also noted that because of the Supreme Court's DOMA ruling in June, the IRS must allow gay couples to file joint federal tax returns, and the Indiana Department of Revenue will almost certainly follow in order to comply with federal standards.

The Speaker was asked whether passage of this amendment wouldn't collide with the goals he expressed in the first part of the story – the need to create more opportunities for highly talented and degreed workers.

"I'll point to the advocates of the measure that 30 other states in high growth areas have this same or similar provisions in their constitutions," Bosma responded. "All but two handfuls don't. I understand their point and I get it. Every once in awhile, someone says if you do this, we'll move. They have to be careful where they move." ❖

C'mon, Governor, how about help for our cities?

By **SHAW FRIEDMAN**

LaPORTE – C'mon Governor Pence, how 'bout revenue-sharing for cash-strapped cities and counties?

Please tell me that this governor has the ability to see that huge swaths of this state are mired in misery and mediocrity rather than deluding himself into thinking that all's well in the Hoosier state.



Last week's press conference, where the governor and Auditor Tim Berry offered up self-congratulatory messages about the state's surplus once again, seemed to miss the boat about what it took to reach those surpluses under former Gov. Mitch Daniels.

Remember, it was Mitch Daniels who demanded cuts from child care agencies, schools, mental health services and other agencies, citing a budget crisis. When the crisis passed, rather than trying to make up lost revenue to local schools, child protective services and mental health centers, outgoing Gov. Daniels left us with automatic tax refunds that spit out about \$50 bucks a person, rather than plowing that money back into services that Hoosiers really need.

We all have hopes that Mike Pence is better able to see reality than his politically charged predecessor who routinely bent reality and rhetoric to match his political needs and purposes.

The recent report issued by the Indiana Institute for Working Families ought to send shudders down the backs of anyone thinking that the surpluses cited by Pence and Auditor Berry mean this is now a prosperous state or that we are "the envy of the nation." According to the report, there are 2.24 million Hoosiers earning less than 200 percent of the poverty level.

Our state's median family income dropped to \$57,148 in 2011 from \$78,599 in 2000 – the second largest decrease in the nation. Remember when Mitch Daniels was sworn in at the start of 2005, he said the real gauge of whether his governorship was effective was whether he could boost family incomes. Said Daniels, "And so the organizing objective of our administration will be higher personal incomes for Hoosiers. Every department is already



tasked with identifying the actions and improvements it will make to contribute to that goal.”

With that being the measuring stick of success, Daniels’ reign as governor will surely go down in history as one of marked failure.

The report from the Indiana Institute for Working Families says that Hoosier adults are less likely to find jobs that can support their families, with nearly 70 percent of new jobs paying full-time wages that don’t advance workers out of the low-income category. Sure, Mitch attracted service sector jobs like restaurant and retail that paid minimum wage, but he fought any efforts to try to raise wage rates beyond subsistence level. In the meantime, he’s left a legacy of trumped-up surpluses while local governmental services and K-12 education suffer.

With a surplus of nearly \$2 billion, Gov. Pence at least had the good sense of trying to pay down prison debt rather than trigger the automatic tax refunds put in place by Daniels. But what about designating some of that newfound largesse that has contributed to such a fat surplus to local revenue sharing, Governor? In your travels, take a look at how local roads and streets are crumbling because of declining state support. See how parks in many communities are going to seed. Check out how many communities are desperately trying to keep basic services like

senior centers, street repair or even parks.

Governor, you’ve got to get out beyond the gated communities that Mitch called his base. There’s an entire state out there beyond the well-to-do Indianapolis suburbs. For instance, Mitch Daniels’ IEDC under that wheelin’ dealin’ Mitch Roob was notorious for steering incentives and tax breaks to certain Republican communities while neglecting Democratic strongholds. There’s no indication of that kind of ruthless political calculation with your appointees.

While Mitch took care of a small, select slice of Indiana, you seem to have more of a common feel. Governor, there are a lot of Hurtin’ Hoosiers who need your help. Is there not some bipartisan revenue-sharing plan for cash-starved cities and counties we can agree on?

The discussion needs to start now. ❖

Shaw R. Friedman, former counsel to the Indiana Democratic Party, practices law in LaPorte.



Friends,

Next week, the new [Howey Politics Indiana](#) website will debut along with a new [HPI Daily Wire](#).

Here are some of the changes we’ll be making:

- HPI’s exclusive content will be posted as it is produced.
- The HPI Daily Wire is designed to save you time, providing headlines, briefs and links.
- A new political calendar will guide you to events throughout Indiana.
- Photo galleries will provide compelling images from campaigns, Congress and the Statehouse.
- HPI’s Twitter and Facebook feeds will provide the latest news.

Heading into our 19th year, Howey Politics Indiana is the hub of Hoosier politics.

Thank You,
Brian Howey



Indiana families after the Zimmerman/Martin trial

By **CRAIG DUNN**

KOKOMO – My mother told me time and time again as I was growing up, “There’s nothing you can do after 10 at night except get in trouble.” I started fighting her on that point in my freshman year of high school all the way through college. Part of the wisdom that comes with maturity is when you realize that your parents were right. Mom was right! There is nothing you can do after 10 at night except get in trouble.

Which begs the question: Where are the parents of the young people being gunned down in the street in the middle of the night?



Of course, you could ask the same question phrased differently in a hundred different ways. Where are the parents of the children who are failing in school? Where are the parents of young girls and young boys who create new children before they are even teens? Where are the parents of the children who begin abusing alcohol and drugs before puberty? Where are the parents?

You and I know the answer to these questions. The parents of these children are absent due to the breakdown of the family unit. Far too many children are being raised in single-parent homes. In Indiana, the number of children raised in single-parent homes has grown from 472,000, in 2007 to 534,000 in 2011, according to the Kids Count Data Center. This represents a nearly 10-percent increase in just four short years. For those of you seeking correlation, 70 percent of all prison inmates were raised in single-parent homes. A United Kingdom study found children from single-parent homes nine times more likely to commit violent crimes.

As I think back to my childhood, I can’t count the number of times that my mother would try to coerce me to straighten up and fly right with the veiled threat of, “Wait until your father gets home!” That usually did the trick. Although my father never yelled at me nor spanked me, just the thought of his sanction could whip me into shape.

What does a single mother do for backup? My thoughts turn to the Championship Wrestling TV programs of the ‘60s. How many times did an evil tag team wrestler have Cowboy Bob Ellis’ head in the turnbuckle when Cowboy Bob would reach out and touch Dick the Bruiser? The

table would turn as the Bruiser rushed to the rescue. In a single-parent home, mom has no one to touch for rescue.

What is the single biggest mistake a parent can make? Being a single parent! I’m sure that I will be labeled an anti-feminist misogynist but the empirical data belies the fundamental truth that children from single parent homes will suffer from a vast array of social maladies, the worst being the propensity to commit violent crimes. Children from single family homes begin life with a disadvantage that only the strongest maybe can overcome.

In strong two-parent families children are expected to behave from an early age. They are expected to respect their elders and authority. They do not view police officers, teachers and counselors as the enemy. They eat dinner with their families. They talk about their days. They have their homework reviewed by a parent. They get help with their studies. Their parents talk about the future and motivate the children to try to do their best. Their parents know where their children are at all times.

During the school year, the children are at home in the evening unless they are at a school activity. Strong families discipline their children and don’t care that the Jones child gets to smoke crack in his bedroom. Strong families talk to teachers, preachers and other parents to compare notes and plot strategies. Strong parents don’t particularly care if their children like them as long as they are respected. They know that being loved will come with the maturity of their child.

At the risk of sounding like an angry old white guy, I believe that almost all of us know that the cause of so many of our societal problems is the breakdown of the family. The data might only be coincidental, but you can tie the demise of the American family to the simultaneous waging of the Vietnam War and the War on Poverty.

The resultant inflation that came from the joint emphasis on these wars and the burgeoning debt caused most single-earner homes to become dual-earner homes in an effort to merely survive. Federal programs created since 1964 have many times served to perpetuate poverty and dependency and further the demise of the family. I’m sure that professional sociologists will argue with me, but I know what I see and what I read. Families are not getting stronger and our children are paying the price.

Every time a young person is gunned down in the streets, the litany of civic experts steps forward to cast the stone of blame. It is almost always the fault of someone else. No parent is ever trotted out in front of the local television camera to say, “I let my child run wild. I didn’t know where he was. Ever since I let him drop out of school, he’s been using and dealing drugs and I guess this is what can happens. I hope that one of my other six children will graduate from high school and amount to something.”

It never happens and it never will. The closest to



this I have seen is when the mother of a child murdered recently said, "I never expected this day to come so soon." Normal families don't ever expect a day like that to come!

It's time to have a serious dialogue with parents, government, the police, school officials, sociologists, the clergy and community activists about the plight of our chil-

dren. Inaction will only lead to more dead children on our city streets. ❖

Dunn is chairman of the Howard County Republican Party.

A new test to measure a student's true grit

**By MAUREEN HAYDEN
CNHI Statehouse Bureau**

KOKOMO – If you have a child in an Indiana school, you may think the last thing we need is another standardized test, given the anxiety the state's multiple assessment tests already create for students and the noisy political debate they generate in the Statehouse. But high school principal Jegga Rent thinks there may be some

value to adding a new kind of assessment, one that measures a student's grit.

Rent heads the Monument Lighthouse College Prep Academy, a charter high school in Indianapolis that serves low-income students at high risk for failure. His big goal is to get those kids into college and out of poverty. Rent is an avid proponent of an arts-infused curriculum –using music to help teach math, for example – which makes learning

more fun and gratifying for students. But he also knows learning can be daunting and discouraging, especially for chronically low-performing students.

This coming school year, in addition to taking their required academic assessment tests, the students at Monument will also be taking the Grit Scale test. It's a 12-question test developed by Angela Lee Duckworth, a former math teacher and now charter school consultant who argues that educators and parents need to be as concerned about a student's character development as their academic achievement.

Duckworth developed the Grit Scale while doing research on student success. She found, for example, that measures of self-control were more reliable predictors of students' grade-point averages than their IQs.

The test has been described as "deceptively

simple," since it only takes a few minutes to complete. Test-takers are asked to rate themselves on just 12 questions, ranging from "I finish whatever I begin" to "I often set a goal but later choose to pursue a different one."

One of the places where Duckworth tested the exam was the United States Military Academy at West Point, where 1,200 freshman cadets took it. Of all the tests the cadets took that year, including grueling physical tests, it was the Grit Scale test that was the most accurate predictor of which cadets persisted and which ones dropped out. In still another study of Ivy League students, Duckworth found the grittiest students, not the smartest ones, had the highest GPAs.

Rent wants to use the Grit Scale test in the way that all good assessment tests should be used: As a way to measure where students are, so you can help them get to where they need to be. It means tutoring a kid in perseverance becomes as important as tutoring a kid in math.

Here's another measure Rent wants to add this year at his school. In addition to tracking a student's GPA, Rent wants to start tracking a student's CPA: Character point average.

The CPA is still a work in progress, Rent said, but initially it will be based on a student's attendance and tardiness record, the number of disciplinary referrals from teachers, and the student's GPA.

These aren't novel ideas. They're already being implemented by some charter high schools in other states, tracking progress of their graduates who are at risk for dropping out of college. Guess what they found? The students who stayed in college were not necessarily the ones who had excelled academically in high school; they were the ones who had persistence, optimism and social intelligence. They may have failed a test or even a course, but they knew how to bounce back.

They had character and grit. ❖

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





Board of Education votes to delay remediation law

By MAUREEN HAYDEN
CNHI Statehouse Bureau

INDIANAPOLIS — The Indiana State Board of Education has voted to delay full implementation of a new law that requires high schools to provide remediation to students to who aren't college-ready before they graduate.

The law, House Enrolled Act 1005, would have required schools to start identifying 11th graders this coming school year who are at risk of failing their senior-year graduation exams or need remedial classes before beginning college work for credit. The law would have also required high schools to start providing extra help to those students in their senior year.

But the board voted to narrow the scope of the law to a small group of students this coming school year to give the state Department of Education more time to come up with a plan to implement the law in full.

"I think schools will welcome the extra time," said Superintendent of Public Instruction Glenda Ritz.

The law was prompted by research that shows a significant number of Indiana high school graduates, including those with academic honors, have to take basic remediation courses in math and English when they go to college.

Every year, more than 10,000 college freshmen who've graduated from Indiana high schools are required to take remedial classes that give them no college credits but cost the same as a for-credit course, according to the Indiana Commission on

Higher Education.

In 2011, the latest year available, the commission found that more 40 percent of Indiana high school students who graduated with a college-preparatory Core 40 degree had to take remedial classes in college. For students who graduated with a general degree, it was 83%. Seven percent of high school students with an academic honors degree had to take remedial classes in college.

Ritz said she recognized the "disconnect" on college readiness, but said the DOE needed more time to decide what kind of assessment test to put into place and what kind of remedial curriculum would be appropriate.

Indiana Gov. Mike Pence has been a supporter of the new remediation law and proponent of doing more to boost the college-readiness of Indiana students. His new education policy adviser, Claire Fiddian-Green, was at the board meeting but declined to comment on the board's decision. She said she wasn't authorized to speak to the media.

Sixteen Indiana high schools are involved in a pilot project using Accuplacer, the standard assessment test used by the state's universities to determine if students are ready for college-level math and English. But Ritz said she's not sure if Accuplacer is the best tool for the state's high schools to use.

For the coming school year, schools will only need to provide remediation for students who fail twice to pass the end-course assessment test in algebra. Ritz said the DOE will have a plan by next April for how to implement the law for other students.

Ritz also expressed concerns about the lack of funding to implement the new remediation law and said the DOE needed more time to help schools figure out its fiscal impact. In passing the legislation, the General Assembly provided no additional dollars to schools for the testing and remediation of students. Legislators who supported the law said they expected schools would be able to use their existing resources. ❖



Supt. Glenda Ritz at a recent State Board of Education hearing.



New law takes aim at ‘pill mill’ doctors

By MAUREEN HAYDEN
CNHI Statehouse Bureau

INDIANAPOLIS – A new law targeting “pill mills” may change the way doctors throughout Indiana treat patients with chronic pain by putting new protocols in place for prescribing opiod-based drugs.

The state’s Medical Licensing Board is considering an emergency set of rules, triggered by the new law, that calls for drug testing of pain-medication patients and more screening and monitoring of patients by doctors to detect drug addiction and abuse.



If adopted, Indiana would be among the first in the nation to require doctors to follow certain protocols for prescribing and monitoring the opiod-based pain killers that experts say are both addictive and over-prescribed.

“This would be a sea change for providers who are used to writing out ‘scrips and just walking out the door,” said Dr. Amy LaHood, an Indianapolis family physician and a member the Prescription Drug Abuse Task Force, which supports the proposed new rules.

The board has until November to adopt the emergency rules, which would go into effect into December and likely form the basis of more permanent rules.

In April, the Indiana General Assembly passed a new law, dubbed the “pill mill bill”, that gives Indiana Attorney General Greg Zoeller new authority to crack down on what he’s called the thinly regulated pain-management clinics around the state.

It gives the attorney general’s office more access to medical records maintained by pain clinics and requires every pain management clinic in Indiana be owned and operated by someone who holds a valid registration to prescribe controlled substances.

But the law goes much further, potentially impacting every doctor who prescribes addictive narcotics such as Oxycontin, Percocet, and Vicodin to patients with chronic pain.

The law mandates that the Medical Licensing Board adopt a set of emergency rules for how doctors prescribe morphine and opiod-based drugs and how they monitor those patients.

The board got a look at a draft of the proposed rules Wednesday and heard from task force members that called them “sweeping” in scope but critical to reducing the number of drug overdoses in Indiana from prescription

painkillers.

Dr. Deborah McMahan, the Allen County Health Commissioner and task force chair, said the proposed rules will require doctors to take a “more thoughtful and intentional approach” to prescribing pain drugs.

“Doses (of pain drugs) are being escalated without any real thought,” McMahan told the board.

The proposed rules are aimed at curbing dependence on pain-killing drugs and their illegal sale to drug abusers. They would only apply, for example, when a doctor writes a prescription for more than 60 opiod-containing pills in a month or a morphine-equivalent dose of 15 milligrams a day for three months.

The proposed rules would require doctors to do more screening of patients before prescribing the drugs, including the use of the state’s online database that tracks prescriptions for controlled substances.

It also requires patients undergo a urine or saliva drug-monitoring test before they get a prescription and additional drug tests while they’re on the pain killers, to determine the presence of other prescription or illicit drugs.

Other states have laws aimed at cracking down on the over-prescription of addictive painkillers, but Indiana would be among the first to have mandatory prescribing practices for physicians treating patients for chronic pain with controlled substances.

During the board hearing, LaHood said a similar drug-monitoring test is already in place at a family practice clinic in Indianapolis, run by St. Vincent Health, for patients prescribed pain-killing drugs. The test results showed about half of those screened either had an additional pain-killing drug in their system, or showed that they weren’t taking their prescribed pain medications at all.

McMahon and other task force members said the proposed rules intentionally exclude patients who are suffering from a terminal illness and receiving large doses of pain-killing medicine.

Some representatives of the state’s nursing home industry asked that adoption of the prescribing rules be delayed, to give them time to figure out how they’d impact their patients. A representative from Indiana Academy of Family Physicians also asked for a delay, until March, to give doctors time to understand the new rules.

But Steve Huddleston, chairman of the Medical Licensing Board, indicated that a delay was unlikely.

“The legislature said this was an emergency,” Huddleston said. “I don’t see how we can duck that obligation.”





A 2014 free pass for Walorski could give her a long career in the House

By **JACK COLWELL**

SOUTH BEND – If Jackie Walorski runs with a free pass in 2014, she could run successfully for a long time, right on through the 2020 election.



That's why Democrats in the 2nd Congressional District want to find a strong challenger for Walorski, the Republican incumbent elected to a first term in Congress in a close race in 2012. There will of course be a challenger – some Democratic nominee – but formidable or sacrificial?

District Democrats and the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee on the national level thought they had a strong challenger in Brendan Mullen, who lost to Walorski by just 1.4 percent

of the vote last fall. But Mullen decided not to run.

A spokesperson for the National Republican Congressional Committee was gleeful that Mullen, touted by national Democrats as a top recruit, wasn't going to run. As a result of that and other decisions not to run, said the NRCC: "Democrats reclaiming the House becomes further out of reach every day."

There was no guarantee that Mullen would win this time or even come as close as he did before.

Indeed, Mullen could have had a more difficult time. Walorski seems to be doing the right things as an incumbent in developing a more favorable image. Indiana Republican nominees won't have the drag of Richard Mourdock's disastrous Senate candidacy this time. And members of a re-elected president's party traditionally face a tough time in the mid-term congressional elections.

Also, Walorski already has raised a half million dollars for this election cycle. Money was pouring in from PACs at the June 30 close of the last campaign finance reporting period, an indication that Walorski, if seriously challenged, will have ample funding to respond.

And she again will have the favorable Republican-designed redistricting that enabled her to survive the challenge last time.

Mullen no doubt would have been the best challenger, already well known and with proven campaign skill

from the last race. Instead of campaigning full-time in this situation for more than a year, Mullen will spend more time with his family, with developing his small business and with pursuit of a master's degree. Understandable.

So where do Democrats turn now for a congressional nominee? Lots of names are mentioned by Democrats looking for a formidable nominee, somebody with a chance. But somebody like South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg, who has a bright political future, isn't going to run. He needs to push continued city development and win a second mayoral term. And Congress does not seem to be his goal.

Others who are mentioned on "wish lists" may not regard going to war in stalemated Washington as something they would like to do. And even if they did, would this be the time to run?

Possible nominees already express interest. How interested? And could they get the support for an all-out, expensive campaign? One bad poll and support nationally could disappear. Mullen suffered one harmful DCCC cutback at a crucial time.

When a race against a congressional incumbent looks very difficult, it's hard to attract a top-notch challenger. That happened in 2008, when Democrat Joe Donnelly, then 2nd District congressman, was seeking a second term and was regarded accurately in '08 as very tough to beat.

Republicans tried to recruit Walorski that year. She declined. Finally, party leaders recruited a little known Goshen businessman named Luke Puckett. He was clobbered. Had no financing. No chance. But he at least didn't disgrace the GOP or drag down county tickets.

Democrats want at least to find a challenger now who wouldn't drag down county tickets and embarrass the party. Even that will be no sure thing, if there is a multiple-candidate scramble for the nomination, with alphabet voting perhaps decisive.

Democrats of course want more than just a token challenge.

If they field a Democratic version of Luke Puckett, somebody with no funding and no chance, giving Walorski a free pass, she could become entrenched in a district drawn to be "safe" Republican through the 2020 election. Having to spend less to win, she could fill campaign coffers to scare off or knock off future challengers.

The 2014 election, officially for a two-year term, could be for a much longer run. ❖

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



Hillary faces generational headwinds in 2016

By **PETE SEAT**
Politico

INDIANAPOLIS — Can baby boomers beat the clock and claim the presidency for their generation one last time? If history is any guide, probably not. Generational headwinds will soon face any boomer candidate in his — or, ahem, her — quest for the Oval Office.



I'm talking, of course, about Hillary Clinton, the former secretary of state and presumed 2016 presidential favorite. She hasn't declared her candidacy — yet. But here's why Hillary might want to think long and hard before jumping in.

Let me first be transparent here: I'm a Republican, and I'd like nothing more than to see Clinton go down in flames. And, as a recent front-page story in *The New York Times* noted, many in my party are already seeking to label the former first lady a "has-been" by virtue of her decades on the political stage.

Their case is as follows: Clinton has been in the spotlight in one form or another since the late 1970s when her husband, Bill, first became attorney general in their home state of Arkansas at the age of 30. Ironically, as *Times* reporter Jonathan Martin pointed out, it was Bill's youthfulness that propelled him to the Arkansas governorship and later the presidency. Now, it could be the inverse that puts the brakes on the Hillary freight train.

There is undoubtedly a lot of spin in this new anti-Clinton narrative. But there are indeed signs that the baby boomers are going to have a tough time winning another presidential race.

Let's take a look at some history.

First, depending on how you define the term, there have been anywhere between 11 and 14 generations since the

time of George Washington's birth. Each has produced, on average, three presidents. The "Greatest Generation," most commonly associated with those who served in World War II, boasts the most, with seven presidents spanning from John F. Kennedy to George H. W. Bush. The baby-boomer generation, having already had three presidents — Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, and, just barely, Barack Obama — is on the verge of what boomers may view as a premature passing of the torch to Generation X.

Then there's the number 19. That's the average number of years served in office by each generation's presidents. Again, the Greatest Generation served the longest time, 32 years, which might have been even longer if not for the truncated terms of Kennedy and Richard Nixon, and the one-termers, Jimmy Carter and Bush Senior. By the time Obama leaves office in January 2017, the boomers will have collectively served an above-average 24 years in office. Should another boomer win the White House and serve two terms, it would tie the Greatest Generation's 32-year tenure.

Of course, each generation's luck eventually runs out. For boomers who came of age during a time of street protests and marches on Washington, it could be the way in which the intense, and at times violent, political climate of their youth has morphed into perpetual dysfunction in adulthood that finally does them in.

The news gets worse if you are Vice President Joe Biden, the only other Democratic candidate getting serious consideration as a possible contender for the 2016 Democratic nomination. The number best associated with his

chances has nothing to do with his age (he would be 73 come election time), but the number zero. Literally.

Biden's chances are historically worse than Clinton's. No member of Biden's Silent Generation, those born between 1925 and 1945, has ever been deemed of presidential timber: Walter Mondale, Michael Dukakis, John Kerry, and John McCain got the closest as nominees of their respective parties, only to come up short. Silents like Biden are cursed by a birth-date sandwiched between two heralded generations — the heroes of WWII and the peace, love, and happiness boomers — they have



Hillary Clinton (with Huma Weiner) during the 2008 Indiana primary at the Allison Transmission plant in Speedway. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)



been unable to forge an identity of their own.

Making a generational argument against the Democratic slate is, of course, hypothetical at this point. We don't know if Clinton can, or wants to, withstand the rigors of another presidential campaign odyssey or even to shoulder the burdens of the office itself. Or if Biden is willing to trade his weekly Amtrak trips to Delaware in exchange for helicopter flights to Camp David. And who knows what sort of Republican candidate will emerge and how he or she will choose to campaign.

Imagine, though, a race pitting Clinton or Biden against a Gen. X Republican like Marco Rubio (age 42), Scott Walker (45), Paul Ryan (43) or Bobby Jindal (42). At that point, Republicans could easily tag either Democrat as a purveyor of deficits and debt, an architect of decline and

defender of the status quo, while the fresh-faced Republican nominee is touted as the leader of a party full of new ideas.

The generational angle becomes a nonstarter, however, if Republicans nominate someone like Chris Christie, Rand Paul or Susana Martinez. They are on the younger end of the boomer scale, but clearly still identify with the era of the British Invasion and Neil Armstrong's giant leap for mankind, so their nomination would effectively render the age debate moot.

Choose wisely, Republicans! ❖

Seat is communications director of the Indiana Republican Party and former deputy assistant press secretary to President George W. Bush.

Ivy Tech is our hope and our failure

By **MORTON J. MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS — Several years ago, I asked the chancellor of Ivy Tech in Gary, "Why does your institution exist?" The response was clear and definitive, "We are a second chance school where those who seek additional education experiences can turn after high school."

He did not say, "We are here to grant degrees and certificates."

Ivy Tech is Indiana's legislative answer for the poor quality work done by our high schools. A significant portion of Ivy Tech's resources are used for remediation in English and math. What was not learned in the primary or secondary grades is

offered to young adults to enlarge their opportunities in life as well as in the job market.

As we have lowered standards in "academic studies" and decreased vocational training in high schools, the burden on Ivy Tech and our traditional colleges and universities has increased.

Some high school students are ready by their senior year to take college credit courses. But these are the few, the academic elite. Many who have not dropped out of high school by their senior year are deficient in English and math, in history and government, to say nothing of civility.

Whiners in state government believe that students should graduate in a given period of time. They forget that

most of these students are not well-prepared for learning.

The mission of education, in the minds of state government officials, has changed from imparting the wisdom of civilization to preparing youth for that first pay check. A college student without a confirmed career orientation is considered a wastrel, squandering the resources of his/her family and of the state (to the extent that the state provides any resources).

Ivy Tech bears the burden of impossible expectations. It is supposed to prepare young people for jobs by certifying they have completed certain requirements satisfactorily. The appropriate metric for such an institution is not a graduation rate, but a placement rate.

What portion of Ivy Tech students find employment within what period of time? Adjusting for the general rate of unemployment, it is success in employment that counts, not some piece of paper stamped with the institution's logo.

A student may be in Ivy Tech for a short period of time and still counted as a success, if we drop the expectation of certification. The issue is not for the students to meet the demands of the college, but for the college to meet the needs of the students.

Over the years, Ivy Tech has made serious errors. It became an employment center for members of the General Assembly. It over-reached and built an excessive number of campuses. It built an empire of administrators to exchange memos with other administrators. Meanwhile, many of its students left without necessary job-related skills.

These problems can be addressed with time. What cannot be recovered are the lost opportunities of students who have been denied the education/job preparation they sought and did not receive. ❖

Marcus is an independent economist, writer and speaker. Contact him at mortonjmarcus@yahoo.com





Gary Sheraton may face the wrecking ball

By **RICH JAMES**

GARY – When it was first built in downtown Gary, it was a beacon of hope. It was to be the anchor for the future of downtown Gary.

Mayor Richard Gordon Hatcher in 1967 had just been elected one of the two first black mayors of a major U.S. city. Hatcher, who served five terms as mayor, just celebrated his 80th birthday.



Those were difficult times for Gary. Before Hatcher was elected, the white flight had started. And some of the downtown businesses were closing.

Not long after Hatcher took office, the 14-story Holiday Inn was built in downtown Gary adjacent to City Hall. The hotel was to be the magnet to stabilize downtown, as well as serve as a convenient facility for those visiting U.S.

Steel – just two blocks to the north.

The hotel, which eventually was acquired by the Sheraton Hotel chain, never really made it.

Over the years, the hotel was the subject of minor scandals and a lack of use. One such black mark involved the funneling of federal job-training money into the facility to keep it operating. Ron Sullivan, who directed the misuse of the funds, later went to prison.

When the Genesis Convention Center opened in the early 1980s, there was new hope for the Sheraton. Many felt those using the Genesis Center would fill the rooms at the Sheraton across the street.

The Rev. Jesse Jackson, who was close to Hatcher, spoke at the dedication of the Genesis Center.

“The Merrillville rip-off is over,” Jackson said. His reference was to the Holiday Star Theater that had opened a few years before.

But the Genesis Center never really made it. For starters, it was ill-equipped to serve as a convention center. It was little more than a glorified basketball stadium.

In 1985, a couple years before Thomas Barnes defeated Hatcher, the Sheraton closed for good.

There has been plenty of talk since

about reopening the Sheraton or converting it into housing.

The late-Rudy Clay, when he was mayor, had the asbestos removed with plans to convert the building into senior citizen housing – a project that Clay thought would revitalize downtown. It never happened.

The Sheraton, apparently, is close to a date with the wrecking ball.

Mayor Karen Freeman-Wilson, with a host of federal agency officials at her side, a week ago announced a program to revitalize the northern part of the city, including downtown. Included in the project is a \$350,000 grant from a revolving fund to be used to clear brownfields and essentially launch the redevelopment.

Freeman-Wilson said some of the money will be paired with the \$1 million the city already has lined up to raze the Sheraton.

The three federal agencies involved in the north-Gary projects are the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency and the U.S. Department of Transportation.

At the announcement, Freeman-Wilson said, “Some people think that things are not happening, but nothing could be further from the truth. We’re taking the time to plan so we can create a more sustainable Gary.”

Bringing down the Sheraton would be a major step in proving the mayor right. ❖

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





Eric Bradner, Evansville Courier & Press: Underneath that humble, Harley-riding cloak that Mitch Daniels donned as Indiana's two-term governor was a master manipulator who used all the leverage the state's highest office afforded him to achieve his political goals. Relying on emails from Daniels' time as governor, The Associated Press reported last week that the current Purdue University president learned in 2010 that liberal author Howard Zinn's works were being used in college teacher preparation courses in the state and ordered an overhaul of teacher licensing programs at least in part because he'd discovered that. Much has already been made of those emails, but what was also disheartening and, many of Daniels' long-time political foes said, was how he and Purdue's board of trustees reacted. Their argument was that Daniels was only talking about keeping Zinn's books out of K-12 education. "What we see is a complete misrepresentation of President Daniels' views and concerns. The exchange had nothing to do with academic freedom or censorship. Rather, it had to do with concerns over what is being taught in Indiana's K-12 public schools," the board of trustees said in a statement.

Unfortunately for Daniels and Purdue, the AP also published his emails in full. Those emails make plain that he wanted to be sure those who attended college teacher preparation courses in which a Zinn book was used didn't get credit toward their teaching license requirements. That Purdue's board of trustees was so willing to misrepresent the content of Daniels' emails an attempt to redirect the conversation gave fuel to critics who have said it was inappropriate for a board appointed mostly by Daniels to pick him as its president, anyway.

The tactic, though, was nothing new. Another email chain, this one especially disappointing, that was reported by The Associated Press last week showed Daniels and the Indiana Department of Education chief of staff planning to discredit and defund a political opponent. They were angry with Chuck Little, the head of the Indiana Urban Schools Association. His sin: He thought Republicans should better fund the state's urban schools. Little made his case as the General Assembly debated major changes to the state's formula for funding schools. Huston wrote that all Little's group does is complain about "how bad it is for them. Never, ever enough money for them. Unbelievable." (The "them" here, by the way, would be the public schools that serve some of the state's poorest and most densely populated areas.) Rather than answer Little's criticism on the merits, Huston immediately said schools spend too much money lobbying the legislature for funding formulas they find beneficial and on association memberships. Daniels immediately hopped on board, writing of the lobbying data: "Let's see it!!!" He also suggested penalizing Little by

cutting Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis, where he works, out of the state's Woodrow Wilson Teaching Fellows program, or "at least the 'surge' we are planning for next couple yrs." Daniels and Huston found what Little was saying to be inconvenient, and they decided to silence and punish him by blocking his school from taking part in a state-operated program and by looking for unrelated ways to diminish his credibility. It was ruthless and manipulative. Magicians would call it a sleight of hand trick. Daniels dominated Indiana politics for a decade. The public knew him as plain-spoken, accessible and extraordinarily ambitious. Opponents saw him as a master politician and Teflon governor who would do anything it took to win. The emails suggest that both perceptions were right. ❖

Matthew Nash, New Albany News & Tribune:

A couple of weeks ago the United States Supreme Court handed down a couple of significant decisions that changed the course of gay marriage in America. The first decision struck down key elements of the Defense of Marriage Act, the 1996 law blocking the federal recognition of gay marriage. By declining to render a decision in a California case they allowed gay marriage to resume in that state. Across the country gay Americans saw this as a turning point in their battle for equal rights. Back home in Indiana, our governor took his message to Facebook to issue his official statement on the matter and to announce his displeasure of the Supreme Court's decision. He also called on the Indiana Legislature to place a constitutional amendment on the ballot for voters to consider next year. The governor's Facebook page was quickly inundated with comments both pro and con concerning his position on gay marriage. Soon some of the comments that disagreed with the governor's position were removed. At first they were said to be removed due to abusive language or inflammatory comments, this was quickly proven to be untrue. Members of his staff were found to have removed comments that essentially just disagreed with the governor. He later apologized for his staff and offered to review the policy concerning the standard of conduct as it relates to social media. He concluded his comments by announcing: "Hoosiers expect our public debate to be open and respectful and we will ever seek to live up to that standard. In agreement or disagreement, I respect the opinions and the freedoms of all the people of Indiana." For someone that respects the freedoms of all of the people of Indiana he has an interesting way of showing it. The Indiana Constitution should be used to preserve the rights of all the citizens of our state, not to limit those rights. Considering adding an amendment to our constitution that eliminates the rights of any citizen of our state is repugnant. ❖





Indiana connection to Weiner scandal

INDIANAPOLIS - Anthony Weiner, the New York mayoral candidate who is trying to recover from one online sex scandal only to have to admit to a second, went looking for love in all the wrong places — possibly including Indiana. BuzzFeed.com has reported that a woman described in social media profiles as a partisan Democrat from Princeton, Ind., was the latest object of Weiner's affections. BuzzFeed said she is the woman who released a series of X-rated online chats with Weiner to The Dirty, a racy gossip blog that first reported on the latest scandal. The report forced Weiner to have his second mea culpa news conference in just two years. Weiner resigned his congressional seat in June 2011 after admitting he sent racy text messages, emails and photos to women, in a memorable news conference where someone could be heard yelling: "Goodbye pervert."



Obamacare will boost Wellpoint

INDIANAPOLIS - Obamacare, long perceived as a huge threat to WellPoint Inc., is now being embraced inside the health insurer as a huge growth opportunity (Indianapolis Business Journal). WellPoint CEO Joe Swedish predicted Wednesday that the Indianapolis-based company's operating revenue will soar nearly 27 percent over the next three years, to a whopping \$90 billion, up from about \$71 billion this year. "This potential for top-line growth far outpaces anything we have seen in recent years," Swed-

ish told Wall Street analysts during a conference call Wednesday morning after the company announced better-than-expected quarterly results.

Berm would halt asian carp

FORT WAYNE – The Obama administration's plan to halt the spread of invasive Asian carp to the Great Lakes includes rebuilding an earthen berm in Eagle Marsh (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). It is among a dozen projects and programs announced Wednesday that "will strengthen our defenses against Asian carp and move innovative carp control projects from research to field trials to implementation," John Goss, Asian carp director for the White House Council on Environmental Quality, said in a written statement.

Gary appeals to Pence for cops

GARY -- Mayor Karen Freeman-Wilson wrote a second, more detailed appeal to Gov. Mike Pence on Tuesday, asking him to send Indiana State Police into the city to boost police presence for three months (Post-Tribune). Since the July 11 letter, "several more homicides occurred claiming the lives of young African-American males. The situation in our community is now beyond urgent," the mayor wrote.

Senate passes student loan bill

WASHINGTON - Borrowing for tuition, housing and books would be less expensive for college students and their parents this fall but the costs could soon start climbing under

a bill the Senate passed overwhelmingly Wednesday. Sens. Joe Donnelly and Dan Coats voted for the bill. The bipartisan proposal would link interest rates on federal student loans to the financial markets, providing lower interest rates right away but higher ones if the economy improves as expected. The measure was similar to one that already had passed the Republican-led House and leaders from both chambers said they predicted the differences to be resolved before students start signing loan documents for fall term. Liberal members of the Democratic caucus were vocal in their opposition over the potentially shifting rates included in the Senate measure, which passed with support from both parties, 81-18.

Pence to speak with governors

INDIANAPOLIS — Gov. Mike Pence and a group of other Republican governors are planning to talk together about what's working in their states. Pence, Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker, Louisiana Gov. Bobby Jindal and New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie will participate in an Aspen Institute discussion moderated by biographer Walter Isaacson. The Thursday talk is also being coordinated by the Republican Governors Association. The Aspen Institute says on its website the group will talk about "important social issues affecting their communities," but does not specify an issue.

Former senator Costas dies

VALPARAISO - Former state senator William Costas died at his home Wednesday at the age of 84. Costas is survived by his wife Diane and six children, one of which is Valparaiso Mayor Jon Costas.