



Political impacts of marriage ban lift

Senate President Long calls for U.S. Supreme Court to decide, end 'chaos'

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – When it comes to short-term political impact of the federal judge decision lifting Indiana's gay marriage ban, look no further than Marion County Clerk (and Democratic secretary of state nominee) Beth White.

Within minutes of Judge Richard Young's decision, White was announcing that her office would issue marriage licenses for anyone meeting residency requirements. By the end of the day, 186 same-sex couples had married and 230 licenses were issued. HPI counted 36 counties issuing same sex marriage licenses, 31 not, and 25 exploring.

In Young's long anticipated - and feared - ruling, the judge said, "The court has never witnessed a phenomenon throughout the federal court system as is presented with this issue," Young said in his decision. "In less than



Marion County Clerk Beth White applauds the marriage of Jake Miller and Craig Bowen. White, the Democratic nominee for secretary of state, will be one of the first to learn the political impact.

a year, every federal district court to consider the issue as reached the same conclusion in thoughtful and thorough opinions – laws prohibiting the celebration and recognition of same-sex marriages are unconstitutional. In time, Americans will look at the marriage of couples such as Plaintiffs, and refer to it simply as a marriage – not a same-sex marriage. These couples, when gender and sexual orientation are taken away, are in all respects like the family down the street. The Constitution demands that we treat them as

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Curse of the mayors

By **PETE SEAT**

INDIANAPOLIS – On the presidential level, Americans have shown a preference for executive experience in their candidates. After U.S. Senator Warren G. Harding ascended to our highest office in 1921, only two presidents, John F. Kennedy and Barack Obama, were elected directly out of Congress and with no executive credentials. In contrast, within the same time period, five of the 11 individuals who were elected president on their own had most recently been governor of their state.

In Indiana, however, Hoosiers have shown a deeper appreciation for legislators and less for local executives, name-



“That’s terrible. It doesn’t seem right for our state. Intact families with one man and one woman as a married couple provide a better foundation for our society.”

- State Sen. Dennis Kruse reacting to marriage order



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ly mayors, for statewide and federal office. Not a single elected governor in our state's history previously served as a mayor (Joe Kernan served, but was never elected) and neither of the two major political parties has nominated a former or sitting mayor as a first-time candidate for statewide office since Democrat John Fernandez's bid for secretary of state over a decade ago. At the federal level, a paltry 17 out of 349, or just under 5 percent, of U.S. House and Senate members from Indiana were once his- or her-honor.

That trend continued when Marion Mayor Wayne Seybold lost a three-way race to be the Republican Party's nominee for state treasurer. Going into the 2014 Indiana Republican Party State Convention he was the odds on favorite, yet delegates dispatched him, and perennial candidate Don Bates Jr. in favor of Kelly Mitchell, a former Cass County commissioner and current employee of the treasurer's office. A similar scenario played out when another incumbent mayor, Valparaiso's Jon Costas, lost his campaign for the attorney general nomination at the 2008 Republican confab to then-deputy attorney general Greg Zoeller.

Back at the federal level, though, our state's city leaders were slightly more successful until this century. A total of 11 candidates with mayor on their resume were elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in the 19th Century, but that relative stretch of luck all but evaporated 16 years after the turn of the 20th Century when Thomas Taggart, a former Indianapolis mayor, was appointed to fill a Senate vacancy and went on to lose a chance at his own term. That same year, former Connerville Mayor Finly Gray lost his House re-election campaign.

From that point forward, just four mayors earned a Congressional members pin. Lafayette's George Durgan (one term) and Bloomington's Frank McCloskey (six terms) both made it to the House. Evansville's Vance Hartke, and the man who would ultimately beat him, Indianapo-

lis' Dick Lugar, represented Indiana for a combined 54 years in the U.S. Senate.

Now, former Seymour mayor Bill Bailey, who is running against Congressman Todd Young in the 9th District, is vying to be the first former city executive elected to Congress in the 21st Century.

Other factors come into play during all campaigns, but this can't be merely coincidence. There's something about mayors, but what is it?

Is it because we have become more Indianapolis-centric, preventing out-state mayors from garnering attention, money and votes? Since Lugar made the jump from city hall to higher office, it's become more likely for the opposite to happen. Both Gary's Karen Freeman-Wilson and Indianapolis' Bill Hudnut served in statewide and federal office, respectively, before returning home to run for mayor.

Is it because they have records that are hard to distance themselves from? Legislators don't always have to own their votes the way executives have to own their decisions. But then, why do governors get elected president? How is that any different?

Is it because what they do as mayor can be portrayed as miniscule in comparison to the weighty challenges that would face them in the Statehouse or Congress? Parks and potholes may seem like small potatoes stacked against the national debt and Social Security.

Is it because many mayors ultimately decide not to run for higher office and thus the sample size isn't that large? Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott and former Evansville Mayor Jonathan Weinzapfel, both Democrats, and others, are frequently short-listed for statewide or federal positions but have yet to run (McDermott offered himself up for the U.S. Senate ballot vacancy in 2010 but quickly dropped out).

On that note, we political types like to prescribe motives to every move a politician makes. Perhaps

we're wrong and being mayor is more of a destination than just a stepping stone for many of our local public servants.

It's hard to pinpoint what's up, but one thing is for sure, if they do intend to seek a promotion, mayors in Indiana are cursed. ❖

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Marriage, from page 1

such."

"Chief Judge Richard Young's decision on marriage equality sets forth a clear course of action for this office to follow regarding same-sex marriage licenses," said White. "It is my responsibility to uphold court rulings that impact this office and that is what I will do."

So within the context of this election year, White's race against Republican Secretary of State Connie Lawson could become an immediate reference point for voters, for whom were almost evenly divided on the issue in an October 2012 Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll (48% for, 45% against the constitutional amendment) and the Howey Politics Indiana Poll in April 2013 (50 to 46%).

In 2007, then-State Sen. Lawson voted for HJR-7, which defined marriage as between one man and one woman. On Wednesday, White's name ID certainly edged up with potential voters around the state.

Indiana Attorney General Greg Zoeller, who has vowed to defend the marriage statute, told WIBC he will seek stay of the marriage ruling, and said he will advise clerks on how to handle marriage applications until stay is issued. Zoeller said he is seeking "to avoid chaos during the appeal."

"Nonetheless, marriages in violation of Indiana's existing law have taken place, are taking place, and will continue to take place pursuant to this court's order," Zoeller said. "Time is of the essence to stop these marriages by staying this court's final judgment and all related injunctions pending appeal in order to maintain the historic status quo of man-woman marriage that Indiana and its citizens have adopted."

But Indiana Supreme Court spokeswoman Kathryn Dolan said, "We're telling clerks to speak to their county attorneys. Clerks are independently elected officials. They need to decide how to move forward."

Kara Brooks, spokeswoman for Gov. Mike Pence, said in a statement, "Gov. Pence supports the attorney general's efforts to appeal the federal court's ruling and defend Indiana's right to define the institution of marriage for the residents of our state. Because the governor believes in the rule of law, the State of Indiana will comply with the federal court's order as this case moves through the appeals process."

Curt Smith of the Indiana Family Institute told HPI,

"This is a disappointing but not unexpected ruling. We believe action by the Indiana General Assembly to advance an amendment to the voters in 2014 could have prevented this ruling. Even one of the attorneys for the other side said they waited to see what the Legislature would do before filing. I am confident this will be appealed, and hope the 7th Circuit or U.S. Supreme Court stays the ruling while it is appealed, as happened in Utah."

Ironically, a federal judge overturned Utah's marriage ban on the same day.

Senate President Pro Tem David Long, who played an instrumental role in excising the controversial second sentence in HJR-3 last winter which would have prevented civil unions, called on the U.S. Supreme Court to make the ultimate decision.

"Today's ruling by Southern Indiana Federal Judge Richard Young reflects the recent national trend of same-sex marriage advocates seeking to use the federal courts to overturn state laws that recognize traditional marriage," said Long, a Fort Wayne attorney. "In a growing number of rulings in multiple states, federal judges have overturned either state constitutions or state laws similar to Indiana's law that holds that marriage is only recognized as between a man and a woman. It is clear that the U.S. Supreme Court is going to have to rule on this issue, and the sooner the better. The current chaos over state marriage laws that is being created by these lower federal court rulings needs to stop, and only the Supreme Court can make that happen, and bring clarity to this issue once and for all. Either the U.S. Constitution protects traditional marriage or it doesn't." The Supreme Court ruled a year ago today that the issue should be decided by states.

House Speaker Brian Bosma reacted, saying, "I consider it truly unfortunate that the federal court system is stepping in to make decisions in Indiana that are best left to Hoosier policymakers and ultimately to Hoosier voters. A wide bipartisan majority of Indiana lawmakers originally enacted the current statutory definition of marriage, and a wide margin of Hoosier lawmakers and citizens continue to support the statutory definition today."

In July of 2013, however, Bosma told HPI that internal House Republican Campaign Committee polling was similar to HPI polling.

Democrats called for lawmakers to move on to other issues. "For years now, the people of this state have been dragged through what is turning out to be a completely unnecessary debate on matters that should be

left to personal choice," said House Minority Leader Scott Pelath.. "The tide is changing across our country, as more judges and legislatures decide that we do not need to be involved with this issue. In Indiana, we need to take heed of this change. We need to stop this debate now. It is pointless to continue."

Reaction from Republicans was mixed. State Sen. Dennis Kruse, R-Auburn, called it a "terrible" decision. State Rep. Ed Clere, R-New Albany, "Maybe now we can put this needlessly divisive issue behind us."

Former Marion County GOP chairman Tom John, who attempted to get the issue removed from the party platform earlier this month, said, "We expected this outcome and no one should be shocked or surprised in light of recent court rulings. And for those of us in this fight we feel vindicated for standing by our principles."

When Republicans voted on the plank, an estimated 75 to 80% of the delegates stood to include the marriage plank. The Indiana Democrat platform backs gay marriage. ❖

Indiana will need a marriage conversation

By MAUREEN HAYDEN
CNHI Statehouse News Bureau

INDIANAPOLIS – Denise Moe spent Wednesday celebrating a federal judge's ruling striking down Indiana's same-sex marriage ban, but she says the real work in support of marriage equality has just begun.

Moe, a Republican activist from conservative Hendricks County, plans to spend the summer volunteering for a statewide public education campaign that aims to change the hearts and minds of same-sex marriage opponents. "We're thrilled with the court decision, but it's just one piece of the puzzle. We need to change the way people think and feel," said Moe.

Moe is part of a bipartisan coalition of individuals and groups called Hoosiers Unite for Marriage. They're collecting and sharing stories of same-sex couples through social media and community and church meetings. Such stories include that of an 87-year-old veteran whose partner of more than 50 years died without being able to leave him survivor's benefits.

For Moe, the sharing meant taking the case for same-sex marriage to last month's state Republican convention, where she told fellow delegates of her children's friends whose parents are same-sex couples. "I told them, 'These are people who love their children just like we do,'" said Moe, a married mother of two.

"Conversations make a difference," said Kyle Megrath, coordinator of the Hoosiers Unite group. "Like never before, Hoosiers are talking about what marriage means, and they're rapidly coming to the conclusion that it's just wrong to exclude same-sex couples, who are their neighbors and friends and family members, from marriage just because of who they are."

The new group sprang from the Freedom Indiana campaign that earlier this year derailed legislation to write a same-sex marriage ban into the state constitution.

Republican leaders who control the Statehouse pushed the amendment but found opposition from GOP

lawmakers who'd initially supported it but changed their minds. Several said their conversions were inspired by the personal stories of constituents and clergy.

Founders of Hoosiers Unite for Marriage hailed Wednesday's decision striking down an Indiana law banning same-sex marriage, but the bigger battle is still to be fought. Quickly after U.S. District Judge Richard Young issued his order, Attorney General Greg Zoeller vowed an appeal and asked for a stay, which if granted would ban same-sex marriages pending a higher court ruling. That could take months.

Zoeller initially cautioned county clerks about issuing marriage licenses to same-sex couples until his office issued "proper marriage license procedures" to avoid chaos during the appeal. Some clerks waited for his guidance, while others disregarded the warning and began issuing licenses shortly after the ruling came down.

Young's ruling acknowledged the fast-changing landscape of same-sex marriage.

"The court has never witnessed a phenomenon throughout the federal court system as is presented with this issue," Young wrote, referring to a wave of federal court opinions that have struck down bans on same-sex marriage as unconstitutional. In fact, on the same day Young handed down his decision, the 10th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals overturned Utah's same-sex marriage ban and seemed poised to do the same in Oklahoma.

"In time, Americans will look at the marriage of couples such as the Plaintiffs, and refer to it simply as a marriage – not a same-sex marriage," Young wrote. "These couples, when gender and sexual orientation are taken away, are in all respects like the family down the street. The Constitution demands that we treat them as such."

Jane Henegar, executive director of American Civil Liberties Union of Indiana, helped launch Hoosiers Unite for Marriage to get to that goal in a more personal way. "What we've found, in Indiana and across the country, is that the conversation between neighbor to neighbor and family member to family member has really been one of the principal driving forces behind the change in sentiment and the speed with which that change has come," Henegar said. ❖

No Labels Young and Delaney seeking social impact legislation

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

FORT WAYNE – The perceived intractable problems among us have prompted U.S. Rep. Todd Young to seek a new bipartisan avenue to prompt public-private partnerships that would harness investment and improve social safety net outcomes.

Last week, Young and Maryland Democrat U.S. Rep. John Delaney introduced H.R. 4885, the Social Impact Bond Act. The two representatives described the legislation that would establish desired outcomes to pressing social challenges that, if achieved, would improve lives and save government money. State and municipal govern-

ments could then submit proposals to work toward those outcomes, such as increasing adoption rates of teenagers in foster care, or improving the health and mortality rates of infants born into low-income families, by scaling up existing, scientifically proven interventions.

“Private sector investors would provide the capital needed to expand the existing programs, and, if an independent evaluator were able to validate that the desired outcomes were met and money was saved, the investors would be paid back their initial investment plus a small return from the realized government savings,” the two representatives said.

Both Young and Delaney are members of the No Labels organization that was formed by former Republican Utah Gov. Jon Huntsman and Democratic U.S. Sen. Joe Manchin of West Virginia. They have forged the “Problem Solvers Coalition” that includes 93 members (including U.S. Rep. Larry Bucshon), designed to work to develop

concrete policy solutions that could attract widespread support in Congress and begin rebuilding the American people’s trust in government.

In an interview with Howey Politics Indiana during the Indiana Republican Convention, Young noted the state’s high infant mortality rate and cited a South Carolina program that dispatched registered nurses and nursing assistants into low income areas. The upfront investment for the program comes from the private sector, but its success would ultimately save the state and federal government money from Medicaid funds, as well as other social safety net, education and potential incarceration problems that follow at-risk children and families. “In exchange, our investors would be paid back a portion of future government savings,” Young explained. “You would add up the federal, state and local savings. In the United Kingdom, it’s structured as a performance contract.” He said similar laws are already in “widespread use” in the United Kingdom.

Young said that many not-for-profit agencies don’t have what he called “performance pressure.” Many exist to address a problem, but once methods and protocols are established, there is little incentive to shift to achieve better outcomes.

Young listed three goals: To improve outcomes, reduce taxpayer burden, and produce investment capital with returns set on “evidence-based” statements.

“Social Impact Bonds have the potential to transform our nation’s social safety net by shifting the focus of such programs from inputs to outcomes,” said Young. “In



U.S. Rep. Todd Young (left) chats with State Rep. Woody Burton in Fort Wayne during the Indiana Republican Convention. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

other words, instead of arguing about how much or how little we are spending, policymakers should reward what works based on actual evidence. Whether you think government ought to do more to help our fellow Americans in need, or you think government needs to save money wherever possible, social impact bonds provide a solution on both counts. I've been honored to work on this idea with a bipartisan group of colleagues, chief among them Congressman John Delaney, and I look forward to our continued cooperation on these efforts."

"This bipartisan legislation harnesses the power of the private sector to improve government services while saving taxpayer dollars," said Delaney. "Best of all, it moves our government to be more evidence-focused, so we can pay for achieving desired outcomes rather than paying for services regardless of the outcome. This is a true win-win for our constituents and for our taxpayers. The Social Impact Bonds already being implemented in the states prove it can be done, and if we want federal savings, we need to get the federal government involved. I have been a strong supporter of Social Impact Bonds and the Pay For Success model, and I want to thank Congressman Todd Young for his leadership on this issue. He and his staff have been a pleasure to work with, and I look forward to continuing to work with him as we push to advance this legislation in Congress."

Young said the legislation would "create a market." He said that in the current mode, government press releases only talk about successes with various programs. "This shifts the risk from government on to the private investors" who would subsequently establish models that would achieve better outcomes. The legislation would "bring in a whole new class of people" to address issues, said Young's communications director, Trevor Foughty.

Young said that he is "engaged with Paul Ryan's budget committee staff" on the legislation.

The Bloomington Republican said that he interacts with at-risk populations in the 9th CD on a weekly basis. "I care about these people," he said. "I see them every day. It is sad to see so many failed efforts. I went to Washington to innovate, not just move deck chairs around."

Joining Young and Delaney in introducing the bill were Reps. Tim Griffin (R-AR2), John Larson (D-CT1), Tom Reed (R-NY23), Jared Polis (D-CO2), Dennis Ross (R-FL15), Joe Kennedy (D-MA4), and Aaron Schock (R-IL18).



How Article V ties into redistricting

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

NASHVILLE, Ind. – If you needed a poster to display the dysfunction in Congress, look no further than the "We Shall Overcome" photo op that took place with Congressional leaders on Tuesday. Boehner and Pelosi, Reid and McConnell linked hands and arms and swayed uncomfortably as they observed the 50th anniversary of the Civil Rights Act. The look in their eyes told a deeper story. The distrust was evident.



Congressional leaders had an awkward kum-ba-ya moment (top). Senate President David Long addresses the Assembly of State Legislatures. (HPI Photo by Matthew Butler)

That Congress is so polarized and unable to act on critical issues led to what is now called the Assembly of State Legislatures, which met for two days at the Indiana Statehouse earlier this month in an attempt to fire up an Article V Constitutional Convention. Indiana Senate President Pro Tempore David Long is a driving force behind a provision in the U.S. Constitution that allows states to call such a convention. His motivation is an end-around Congress to forge a constitutional balanced budget amendment.

About 100 legislators from 31 states gathered in the House chambers, but only six were Democrats. State Sen. Jim Arnold, D-LaPorte, observed, "This is something the Constitution has afforded us; it's never been taken advantage of. Let's think outside

the box and look at it. If it doesn't work out, no harm, no foul. At least the interest is there."

But one of the reasons Congress is so polarized is due to state legislatures, which in most states draw the Congressional maps. If you look at Indiana's nine districts, drawn by legislative mapmakers (with help from

partisan expert cartographers in Washington), you find why Congress is so polarized and unable to function. The Hoosier maps stuff an overwhelming number of Democrats into just two districts, the 1st and 7th in The Region and Indianapolis. In one district, the 2nd, you find it competitive with a +6 Republican rating on the Cook Partisan Index. The other six seats are overwhelmingly Republican, with CPI ratings of between +8 and +13.

The Indiana maps drawn in 2011 were based on a formula espoused by then Secretary of State Todd Rokita, to keep districts confined to existing boundaries such as county lines, and to preserve “communities of interest.” But the reality is that such “communities of interest” now means that you keep Democrats in a few districts and group Republicans in the rest. So a state that routinely had four or five competitive congressional races in the past two decades every other cycle or so, now has the potential for very few. And this is repeated in state after state. In 2010, Republicans took advantage of President Obama’s first mid-term and the political fallout from Obamacare to forge majorities, resulting in 25 states with Republicans in control of both chambers (as well as Nebraska’s unicameral legislature), Democrats in control of 18 and party splits in the other six.

In a Pew

Research survey released earlier this month, the fruits of such divisions are evident. It observed: Republicans and Democrats are more divided along ideological lines, and partisan antipathy is deeper and more extensive, than at any point in the last two decades. These trends manifest themselves in myriad ways, both in politics and in everyday life. And a new survey of 10,000 adults nationwide finds that these divisions are greatest among those who are the most engaged and active in the political process. The overall share of Americans who express consistently

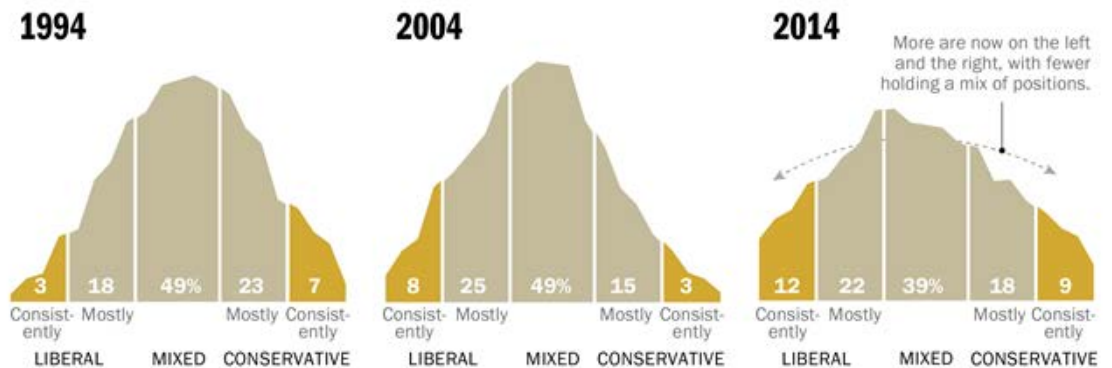
conservative or consistently liberal opinions has doubled over the past two decades from 10% to 21%. And ideological thinking is now much more closely aligned with partisanship than in the past. As a result, ideological overlap between the two parties has diminished. Today, 92% of Republicans are to the right of the median Democrat, and 94% of Democrats are to the left of the median Republican.

Pew continues: “Ideological silos” are now common on both the left and right. People with down-the-line ideological positions, especially conservatives, are more likely than others to say that most of their close friends share their political views. Liberals and conservatives disagree over where they want to live, the kind of people they want to live around and even whom they would welcome into their families. And at a time of increasing gridlock on Capitol Hill.

Indiana	1st	D+10	Democratic
Indiana	2nd	R+6	Republican
Indiana	3rd	R+13	Republican
Indiana	4th	R+11	Republican
Indiana	5th	R+9	Republican
Indiana	6th	R+12	Republican
Indiana	7th	D+13	Democratic
Indiana	8th	R+8	Republican
Indiana	9th	R+9	Republican

Growing Minority Holds Consistent Ideological Views

On a 10-item scale of political values, % who are...



Source: 2014 Political Polarization in the American Public
Notes: Ideological consistency based on a scale of 10 political values questions. (See Appendix A for details on how the scale is constructed and how scores are grouped.)

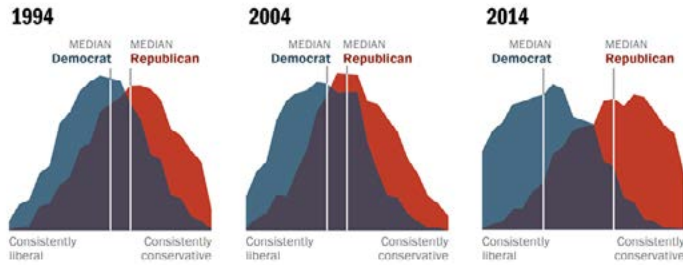
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many on both the left and the right think the outcome of political negotiations between Obama and Republican leaders should be that their side gets more of what it wants.

Long’s effort to forge an Article V convention remains a work in progress. It has gotten only a tepid tip of the hat from Gov. Mike Pence. Speaker Brian Bosma did not attend and the Republican Party had no acknowledgement. Beyond Sen. Arnold, Democrats HPI talked with expressed deep suspicion over the exercise, with many seeing it as a ruse to gut social safety net programs.

Democrats and Republicans More Ideologically Divided than in the Past

Distribution of Democrats and Republicans on a 10-Item scale of political values



Source: 2014 Political Polarization in the American Public
 Notes: Ideological consistency based on a scale of 10 political values questions (see Appendix A). The blue area in this chart represents the ideological distribution of Democrats; the red area of Republicans. The overlap of these two distributions is shaded purple. Republicans include Republican-leaning independents; Democrats include Democratic-leaning independents (see Appendix B).

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Democratic states such as New York, Massachusetts and California were not represented.

How could Sen. Long and other Republican leaders of the Assembly of State Legislatures draw the blue states in? By offering to set up non-partisan redistricting commissions to draw the maps in 2021.

This very issue confronts Sen. Long today. A redistricting commission bill backed by Speaker Bosma died in the Indiana Senate last winter. Senate Minority Leader Tim Lanane and Republican State Sen. Mike Delph pointed to Senate Republicans as the force that killed it.

In an April HPI Interview, Long said, "We are extremely proud of the maps we drew in the 2011 redistricting effort, where the process was fair, open, transparent, and totally compatible with the recommended guidelines set out by the U.S. Supreme Court."

"However," Long said, "we are also a state that embraces positive, common sense ideas, and we should be open to exploring the experiences and outcomes of states who handle redistricting differently than Indiana. To that end, we will support the creation of a blue ribbon commission in 2015 to analyze the state redistricting landscape across the nation to determine if there is truly a better way to draw Indiana's legislative districts."

The cynical among us are skeptical that Hoosier Republican leaders would ever relinquish such control. But if Long wanted to send a vivid message to blue states to draw them into the Assembly of State Legislatures, support of an independent redistricting commission would be one way to do it.

The idea that state legislatures will form a movement to create such redistricting commissions, which in turn would create more competitive districts and a more moderate, functioning Congress seems like a pipe dream today. And that's the way many people view the Assembly of State Legislatures and an Article V constitutional convention.

To achieve either or both, lawmakers at the state level are going to have to reach out, compromise and find ways to bring moderation into the process. It was there on Capitol Hill 50 years ago when key Republicans helped forge the Civil Rights Act. It's that moderation that no longer exists in Washington. ❖

Indiana facing a rural doctor shortage

**By MAUREEN HAYDEN
 CNHI Statehouse Bureau**

WASHINGTON, Ind. – It didn't take long for Dr. Rex Stroud to realize he had more patients than time to see them.

Two years ago, after working in emergency medicine, Stroud opened a primary care practice in this small southwestern Indiana town of 10,500 people. He was soon hit with a wave of people calling for appointments. Many were older with chronic health problems that required more of his time. Stroud brought in two part-time nurse practitioners and a physician's assistant to help manage the caseload.

Still, he routinely runs behind schedule.



"I make my office manager anxious," Stroud said during a hurried conversation in his modest office near the local hospital. "Spending longer time with patients isn't good from a business standpoint, but from a

patient relationship standpoint it is a good thing. I can't do it any other way."

He's not the only busy doctor. Some of his colleagues in neighboring towns are turning away new patients or making appointments several months out. Daviess County is among Indiana's least-served by primary care providers.

The strain is likely to get worse as Indiana increases access to health insurance through the Affordable Care Act. After initially resisting the federal government's call to expand the traditional Medicaid program, Gov. Mike Pence has proposed using the state's Healthy Indiana Plan to expand coverage by early next year. If approved, it would add more than 400,000 low-income Hoosiers to the rolls of the newly insured. Many, having put off seeing a doctor they couldn't afford, are expected come in with chronic, and time consuming, health problems.

"We're quickly going to be saturated with more patients than we can handle," said Stroud.

Demand will grow

Dr. Richard Feldman, Indiana's former health commissioner, has warned about the national shortage of primary care physicians. The dwindling supply of doctors who provide preventive care is what he calls a "looming crisis that's been smoldering for years." Estimates vary but Feldman cites national studies that show a shortage of 20,000 primary doctors in the United States, which is projected to more than double by the end of the decade.

Population growth is one reason. So is the aging of the nation. But the most pressing reason is the millions of

newly insured people that the Affordable Care Act is bringing into a health care system with little capacity. Indiana, which ranks 39th for its ratio of physicians to population, needs at least 2,000 new primary care physicians by the end of the decade to handle all of the newly insured.

Demand is uneven throughout the state. A 2012 inventory of the state's healthcare workforce found a disparity, with more than enough primary care providers in more affluent communities but a dearth in rural areas. The report, by the Indiana Center for Health Workforce Studies and the Bowen Research Center at Indiana University School of Medicine, found only 11 of 92 counties meet a commonly accepted standard of 10 primary care doctors for every 10,000 people.

The report noted another age-related concern: More than one-third of primary care doctors in rural counties are within a decade of retirement.

In response to the shortage, Indiana University's School of Medicine is increasing admissions by 30 percent and expanding classes on nine campuses around the state. But health experts say there's no quick way to close the gap since it typically takes a decade to train a doctor.

"If you only look to physicians for the answer, it's not going to be there," said Dr. Richard Kiovsky, director of the Indiana Area Health Education Centers, a statewide network of hospitals working to boost the number of healthcare workers in Indiana. "We can't produce enough physicians now to fill the need that is so great in our state and elsewhere."

Rural recruiting

Dr. Stroud's decision to set up practice in a small community is unusual. Researchers at George Washington University's School of Public Health and Health Services have found that only one of 10 new doctors enters the primary care field. Even fewer choose to practice in rural areas. There are myriad reasons, said Don Kelso, executive director of the Indiana Rural Health Association. Despite agreement about the value of primary care, the system rewards specialized and procedural services. Medical students carrying an average debt of \$170,000 are lured by specialties that pay them two to three times more.

"Just as we're needing more primary care doctors in underserved areas, it's getting harder to recruit and keep them," said Kelso. Among the initiatives he's helped

launch is one that enlists rural hospitals to help pay for medical school for local students who agree to come home to practice.

For Stroud, the decision to return home seemed natural. He grew up in the area and went to medical school at Indiana University on a Navy scholarship. After a six-month tour as an infantry battalion surgeon in Iraq, he spent the remainder of his service at Crane Warfare Naval Base, less than an hour from his hometown. He's since returned to the family farm, where he raises cattle. Few of his medical school friends took a similar route.

"If you don't grow up in a rural area and understand rural life, it can be very hard," said Stroud. "You have to love it to want to be here."

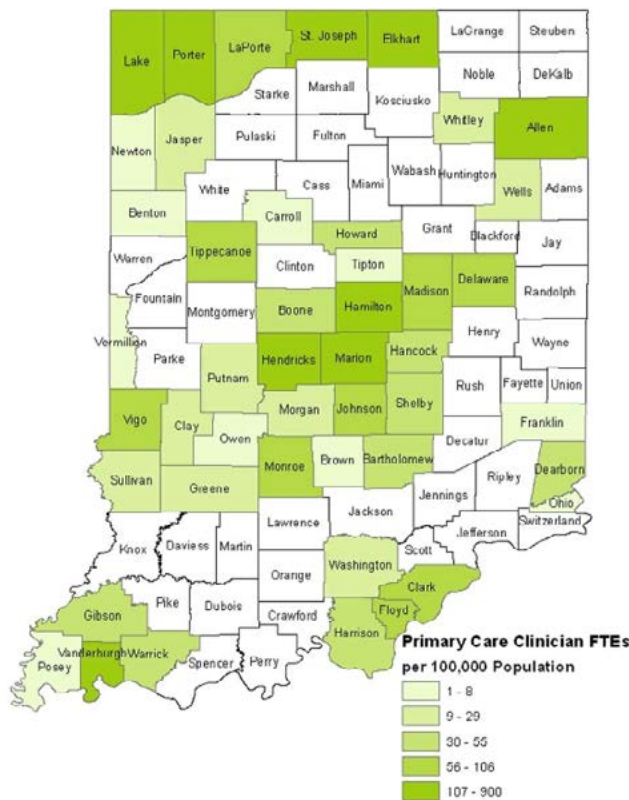
Rewarding calling

Healthcare educators are trying to recruit and train doctors in areas, including rural communities, where physician shortages are most acute. When IU Medical School opened a campus in Terre Haute, it created a curriculum focused on rural medicine. Hospitals that serve rural communities are working with IU's medical school and local doctors to set up clinical rotations for students. More young doctors are doing residencies in community-based health centers, instead of big city hospitals.

And both schools and hospitals are recruiting high school students who show an interest in medicine, offering to guide them through medical school. Kiovsky, of the Indiana Area Health Education Centers, said there's also increased emphasis on recruiting and training nurse practitioners and physician's assistants who can alleviate some of the increased demand for preventive care in areas that sorely need it.

Stroud is convinced that kind of intervention works. The first in his family to go to college, he never dreamed of becoming a doctor. "I thought, my family can't afford that," he said. "Really, my first response was, only doctors' kids become doctors." A college counselor told him otherwise, pushed him to take the medical school entrance exam, then helped him figure out a way to pay for medical school.

"Letting people know, 'We need physicians here and we're going to support you if you want to go into the medical field and we want you back here,' is important," he said. "It's not a life for everyone, but if you do it for the right reasons, it's rewarding." ❖



Dilemmas, taxes and pawns in Pence World

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - Indiana Gov. Mike Pence is now facing two daunting policy dilemmas. The No Child Left Behind waiver is in serious jeopardy of not being renewed by the Obama administration, informed and reliable sources are telling Howey Politics Indiana. And he faces perhaps

the most arduous test of his administration in the implementation of the Healthy Indiana Plan 2.0 in a timeline experts describe as virtually impossible.

So it was into this breach that Pence hosted his Indiana Tax Competitiveness and Simplification Conference. With

renowned economist Arthur Laffer and anti-tax crusader Grover Norquist looking on, Pence called for a simplified and streamlined tax code for Indiana, urging lawmakers to take up the subject in the upcoming 2015 General Assembly.

The event had all the markings of a pre-presidential race checkbox. The Pence tax cuts, budget surpluses, the Common Core repeal, and now the market-force driven HIP 2.0 are part of the narrative being fed to the national media.

He observed that "Indiana has one of the most complex tax codes in America," noting that it has increased from 48 to 60 pages in recent years. "Tax complexity forces real costs on families," saying that the average Indiana family spends 12 hours and \$210 to prepare their taxes.

"How much better off would we be if we could spend that time on our families?" Pence asked. "Everyone needs a great education, but millions of Americans should not need JDs, PhDs, or CPAs to do their own taxes."

Ball State Prof. Michael Hicks agrees with Pence on the complexity issue. "According to the Progressive Policy Institute our tax code is tied for 'most complex,'" Hicks said. I read the study a few weeks back and think it is a good piece of work. That piece is on the conference website, and my cursory examination of the number of pages of instruction for state income tax codes surely makes us look bad. I do think there's an important point to make about simplicity in a tax system, which the governor and

a few other folks mentioned yesterday. Tax simplicity is really about fundamental fairness or equity. Nearly all the complexity in a tax system is due to the enormous number of deductions, credits, exemptions, incentives, abatements and other carve-outs which are the result of a successful lobby effort by some constituency."

Pence called for tax reforms based on four things: That it be "simple, stable, transparent and fair."

"By simplifying our tax system, we can create a more level playing field for all businesses and all taxpayers," said Pence, who noted that since he took office in 2013, he has ushered in more than \$600 million in tax cuts. Pence urged Indiana lawmakers to "think fresh and think new about how to lessen tax burden on Hoosiers."

While Pence said that Indiana has one of the lowest tax rates in America he added, "I'm proud to say Indiana will be the lowest tax state in the Midwest. We will put that on signs facing Illinois, Ohio, Michigan and Kentucky."

"I think it's important that we think about the next step, the next chapter," Pence said, adding, "I think for us we simplify and streamline the Indiana tax code."

Pence added that "any tax system has to have stable funding for local government." During the 2014 session, his move to eliminate the business personal property tax stoked concerns with municipalities and counties about removing up to \$1 billion in revenue.

University of Chicago economist Arthur Laffer followed Pence, and asked, "You have a Republican House? And a Republican Senate? I am expecting you to carry out the agenda. I'm counting on you Gov. Pence, we're all counting on you. You are the blade of the axe."

With dozens of legislators in attendance, the message was not very subtle: All aboard!

Laffer said that states should look for "low rate, broad-based flat taxes" that eliminate loopholes. He said that the 1986 tax reforms passed in the U.S. Senate 97-3 that included support from Democrat Sens. Ted Kennedy and Al Gore and in the House, then Reps. Harry Reid and Barbara Boxer. He said that Gore told him that it was the "best vote I ever cast."

Laffer urged Pence to strive for a tax code that isn't simply pro growth, but "does the least amount of damage."

During his first two legislative sessions, Pence relied on tax issues as top priorities. So he appears to be setting the stage for another tax initiative in 2015.

He may need it. His efforts to repeal the Common Core standards have now jeopardized the federal waiver that, if not approved, could cost the state millions of dollars. Indiana is one of 42 states with a waiver from No



Gov. Mike Pence addresses the Indiana Tax Competitiveness and Simplification Conference on Tuesday.

Child Left Behind and was one of the first states, in February 2012, to receive a waiver (Indianapolis Star). States sought waivers to be released from stringent federal requirements of the 2001 law, such as passing scores for all students, including those with learning disabilities, and to have more control over how federal funds are spent in exchange for certain types of reforms. Former state Superintendent Tony Bennett championed the reforms, such as adoption of teacher evaluations and Common Core academic standards, that were instrumental to the waiver approval.

Indiana Democrats were skeptical about the conference. "This symposium is nothing more than a class club meeting of board room insiders, Wall Street apologists, and 19th Century economic theorists," said House Minority Leader Scott Pelath, D-Michigan City. "Notably absent from these proceedings is anyone representing working people or working families trying to get into the middle class. Looking at the roster of participants, I'm not sure anyone should be surprised that the middle class has been left out. It's far better for them to lecture others than to get out into neighborhoods and communities to see the impact of their policies."

Pence political team finger prints

In the art of politics, there are mirages that appear real on the convention floor. And then there is the reality of the superstructures deep behind the scenes. So this is a narrative about the treasurer's race at the Indiana Republican Convention earlier this month. The mirage is that as the Wayne Seybold and Don Bates Jr. campaigns pointed howitzers at each other, exacting big chunks of political flesh, it allowed for the inconspicuous Kelly Mitchell to sprint up the middle to take the nomination.

Deep behind the scenes were two powerful forces with completely different objectives, multiple sources tell HPI. The first was the mega law firm of Barnes & Thornburg, which viewed the treasurer's office as a revenue source. Sources say that the actual contracts with the treasurer's office are not big, but the various fees that come through the Indiana Bond Bank are lucrative, worth millions of dollars. So this was Bob Grand's political Hoosier



Former Pence chief of staff Bill Smith greets 2000 lieutenant governor and former state chairman Murray Clark on the Republican Convention floor earlier this month. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

swan song, to lead the floor charge for Marion Mayor Seybold before he takes the helm as managing partner of B&T.

The second was the political arm of Gov. Mike Pence.

The governor, matching his sunny public persona, was neutral in the treasurer's race. He personally interviewed the three candidates and asked them to behave. He made no endorsement.

But deep within the governor's political team, there was a bias, multiple sources tell HPI. First, there was the fallout from the Pence selection of Dwayne Sawyer as auditor in August 2013 after he chose the incumbent Tim Berry to head state

party. The Sawyer selection blew up in the governor's face when Sawyer resigned after just three months in office. There never was an explanation as to why, from either the governor or Sawyer, other than that he did it for "personal and family reasons." The fact that Sawyer was present as a delegate on the convention floor was living, wandering proof of the miscue.

There were growing concerns about Seybold's TIF story coming out of Marion. But more emphatically, Seybold made a critical error in May of 2012 during the Pence lieutenant governor search, publicly suggesting that he was on the short list. This rankled the Pence political team of Bill Smith and Chris Crabtree. There were signals sent out during this period that Seybold was on no LG short list.

And Bates had an array of problems, such as the lawsuit involving a church he was once affiliated that was coming to trial in Randolph County in August, as well as his late property taxes. Even though a treasurer's race will not draw a lot of money and will not generate more than a smidgen of gross ratings points, the recent Sawyer miscue and the resignation of the indicted and convicted Secretary of State Charlie White in 2011 were red flags for the presidentially ambitious Gov. Pence.

There was to be no controversy with the 2014 ticket.

And the best page from the political silver lining playbook was to forge the first all-female ticket, coming less than two years after Democrats had some success tagging the Republicans as waging a "war on women."

With the October 2012 implosion of Senate nominee Richard Mordock, the Pence political team saw firsthand what an erosion of female support could do to a candidate. Pence dodged an epic upset by just a few days as his female support plummeted between Mordock's



debate implosion and Election Day. In a September Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll, Pence led among women 46-33%, but that fell to a 42% tie in the October Howey/DePauw Poll taken three days after Mourdock's fiasco, and he ultimately lost women to John Gregg 52-47%.

Sources tell HPI that the Pence political apparatus was supporting Bates behind the scenes. "If Bates was low, Smith and Crabtree would call him" and buck him up, one knowledgeable source told me. Sources tell HPI that in 2011, the Pence team approached Bates about running for auditor, which Bates declined.

Now, on convention day, curious things were happening. With a platform debate on the marriage plank, Smith and Crabtree's presence on the floor was conspicuous. This would be followed by a birthday cake and speech by the governor.

And then came Kelly Mitchell's boss, Richard Mourdock, who was supposed get a brief sendoff with a Harley-Davidson gift certificate. Instead, sources say, party Vice Chair Misty Hollis (from Pence's old Congressional district) invited Mourdock to speak. While the news media was obsessed with Mourdock's comparison of unsustainable U.S. finances to Nazi Germany, the convention delegates moved well beyond Mourdock's loss of a U.S. Senate seat in the GOP column for 36 years, and gave him a rousing sendoff after he spoke for close to 10 minutes.

The message on the floor was subtle. The delegates were cheering Kelly Mitchell's boss. They were oblivious to the social media firestorm ginning up outside the Grand Wayne Center.

Curious, curious, cur-i-ous.

First ballot: Seybold has just a seven-vote lead over Mitchell, with Bates running a not-so-distant third. It was shocking to the Seybold team, who thought they had about 200 more delegates in the fold. What was setting up was the second ballot shift to Mitchell, who darted out to a 564-488 lead over Seybold, with Bates in the dustbin of history with 390. Third ballot, Mitchell wins. The all female ticket. Seybold is derailed.

How do we know the Pence political team preference? In the hours after the defeat, Bates received an email from Crabtree. The essence was, "at least we were



Treasurer Richard Mourdock greets Marion Mayor Wayne Seybold prior to the Republican Convention floor fight earlier this month. (HPI Photo by Matt

able to keep Seybold from winning." In Crabtree's eyes, Bates had taken one for the team.

The message became clear to Bates: He had been a pawn.

The reward is the all-female ticket and a mayor put in his place. The danger is that any Pence presidential bid will need money, and the Seybold campaign brain trust of Bob Grand and Dan Dumezich are the not-very-happy go-to guys on that front.

Bosma gearing up

Beyond the Pence team fingerprints on the treasurer's race, the between-the-lines message from Gov. Pence's tax conference on Tuesday was further evidence that a presidential run is being prepared. That is prompting at least two Republicans to begin positioning for a 2016 gubernatorial race.

Speaker Brian Bosma was quietly signaling at his Rathskeller fundraiser

earlier this month that he is preparing a gubernatorial run either in 2016 or 2020. Mike Gentry of the House Republican Campaign Committee told HPI, "The Speaker's political energy is focused on raising money to protect House seats in an increasingly tough environment for Republicans in Indiana."

State Sen. Jim Merritt is also approaching Republicans across the state with the topic a gubernatorial campaign, multiple sources tell Howey Politics.

Boland blasts Mourdock cocaine remark

Democratic treasurer nominee Mike Boland criticized current State Treasurer Richard Mourdock for his latest gaffe, comparing Indiana's local state governments' casino revenue to an addict's reliance on cocaine. Mourdock stated at the Mooresville Chamber of Commerce "Indiana's local and state governments rely on money from riverboat casinos like an addict relies on cocaine."

"This comment is another example of extremist comments insulting the leaders of our communities who are trying to fund our schools and preserve our roads," Boland stated. He went on to say, "This funding has been helpful to our cities and towns. Mourdock's comments not only insult our local leaders but all the hard working men and women that are able to have good jobs in Lake, Switzerland, Laporte, Orange, Dearborne, Madison, Harrison, Shelby, Ohio and Vandenburg counties." The casino industry has created 13,000 jobs. according to the Casino Association of Indiana. Boland criticized his opponent, Mourdock's hand picked successor for treasurer and current Mourdock assistant, for not strongly opposing her

mentor's latest statements. Boland stated, "We need to change the Treasurer's position into what it was intended: to manage our state's money wisely, rather than turning it into a bully pulpit for one's extremist beliefs, which is what Mourdock has done." **Horse Race Status:** Safe Mitchell

Claytor wants tax loopholes closed

Democratic auditor nominee Mike Claytor delivered a letter to Commissioner Michael Alley in response to the IDOR request for input on Gov. Mike Pence's tax conference on Tuesday. In his letter, Claytor submitted several ideas for a "fair and balanced tax code" including decouple state and federal income tax reporting in order to close tax loopholes that allow both corporations and individuals to shelter income from taxation; Balance the corporate v. individual tax burden so that small businesses that file on individual income tax returns are not paying more than corporations; Return Indiana's tax burden to an equal distribution of Property Tax, Income Tax, and Sales Tax; and Improve data collection so that the General Assembly can truly understand the impact of its tax policy decision-making. "A policy designed to help or impact investors could unintentionally burden small businesses in Indiana." **Horse Race Status:** Safe Crouch.

Correct Turner primary numbers

HPI had incorrect HD32 primary numbers in the June 19 edition. State Rep. Eric Turner defeated Parvin Gilim 3,337 to 2,787. "After going through an Ethics Committee review that was reported on for seven weeks before I was finally cleared on April 30, less than a week before the primary, I was very pleased to get 59% of the vote in the primary," Turner told HPI. He also pointed to how other Republicans had done in HD32 in recent years: Attorney General Greg Zoeller 71.06% (2012); Auditor Tim Berry 70.15% (2010); Mitt Romney 66.65%(2012); and Gov. Mike Pence 60.71% (2012). Turner faces former Statehouse reporter and Democratic nominee Bob Ashley in the general election. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Turner.

Lindsey to run against Bassler

SD39 Democrats have slated long-time Greene County Commissioner Steve Lindsey to run against Republican Eric Bassler (Greene County Daily World). "I want to represent Southern Indiana," Lindsey said shortly after receiving the nomination. "I really feel strongly about coal, public education and I'm pro-family."



Greene County Commissioner Steve Lindsey will run against Republican Eric Bassler in SD39

During his five minutes before those who selected him, Lindsey lightheartedly referred to many members of the current state senate as "bobbleheads" for current Indiana Governor Mike Pence. He admitted afterwards, however, that while his characterization was in jest, the message wasn't. "I said it in jest, but when I said I'm tired of the bobbleheads, I am," Lindsey emphasized. "I'm tired of the people that are supposed to represent us in Indianapolis that are just head-nodders for the Governor." Greene County Democratic Chairman Jeff Lehman said he believes the right man was elected Wednesday night. "I think he'll give us a good local representation," Lehman said. "I believe his experience as a county commissioner and he's been involved in government and he knows how things work. I think he'll be a good asset for us." **Horse Race Status:** Likely Bassler

Ford, Delph comment on marriage ruling

SD29 Democratic nominee J.D. Ford reacted the marriage ruling, saying, "June 25, 2014 will be a day to remember for Hoosiers. I spent the entire afternoon with loving and committed couples (now newlyweds) on this historic day and offering my congratulations. I even served as a witness for a few. The atmosphere at the City-County building was electric. As each couple emerged from the ceremony site, loud cheers and claps were had by all spectators. For me to be apart and witness this day was truly special. In the end, love prevailed." Ford, who is challenging State Sen. Mike Delph, added, " This is a huge victory for equality and for Hoosiers working to build a more inclusive Indiana! Our campaign is fighting every day to build stronger communities and today's ruling only adds momentum. From day one of the campaign, it has and always will be about getting our common sense message out to Hoosiers. Furthermore, I am working tirelessly to ensure that Indiana is a place where all families can call home. Although Team Ford is in celebratory mode today, tomorrow we roll our sleeves up and get back to work. I'm sure opponents will try to diligently fight the ruling, but we are moving FORWARD. We're going to continue to talk, as we have always done, about issues that matter most to voters in the 29th district. We simply do not have time to waste on playing politics with this issue. Not when there are so many more problems to tackle here in Indiana." Delph, who tried to get the second sentence of HJR-3 reinstated last winter, reacted on his Twitter accounting, saying, "Just got off a plane in NYC. Hope to put out a response after reading the opinion. Regardless, my support for traditional values remains." **Horse Race Status:** Likely Delph. ❖

No substitute for dogged reporting

By **LEE HAMILTON**

BLOOMINGTON - There is a place for entertainment that plays off the news, but there is no substitute for dogged reporting and the traditional values of accuracy, truth and fairness.

These days, the scandal involving long wait times at VA hospitals can feel like some made-in-Washington spectacle generated by politicians looking for headlines. But it isn't. It had its genesis in a late-April report on CNN that as many as 40 veterans may have died waiting for appointments at VA hospitals in Phoenix.



This investigative piece was notable for two reasons. It's been a while since a news story so quickly provoked such a storm of public indignation that a cabinet secretary — deservedly or not — had no choice but to resign. And it's a reminder of just how important old-fashioned shoe-leather reporting remains to our system of government,

especially when it uncovers official misdoing. One of the basic truths about our representative democracy is that it does not work without solid information. Public officials, both elected and appointed, need to know what's happening in the communities they serve, and the people who live in those communities need to know what the government they elect and fund is doing in their name.

A lot of forces try to distort that flow of information, or even block it altogether — from officials who aren't living up to our expectations to politicians counting on public ignorance to lobbyists and advocates hoping to sway public opinion. This is why the press — and by this I mean print, broadcast and online journalists — is so crucial to our country's health. It is, or ought to be, a steady, dispassionate, truth-seeking, skeptical and tough-minded force for public understanding.

In an ideal world, our media would focus on the serious side of the news. It would explore and highlight the substance of issues, not simply the politics of issues. It would detail the facts underlying a story, rather than dwelling on the personalities at play in the story. There is a place for entertainment that plays off the news — as people like Jon Stewart and Stephen Colbert have amply demonstrated — but in their search for an audience, news executives shouldn't let it become a substitute for dogged reporting and the traditional values of accuracy, truth and fairness.

These are not easy times for journalists, however. I don't pretend to understand all the forces that are

reshaping what we see, hear and read in the news media, and I know that news executives are struggling with a host of formidable economic and social challenges. Yet if the line between news and entertainment gets blurred, if loud opinion replaces accurate reporting, and if journalists take the easy road of covering politics and the horse race rather than the core of policy-making — substance, consensus-building, and the painstaking search for remedy — then representative democracy is in trouble.

New organizations and websites are trying to make up some of the ground that's been lost in the years of news-industry turmoil: Investigative outfits like ProPublica and the new wave of "explanatory" and data-driven sites like Vox and 538.com. But their very presence suggests that they see a void to be filled. These days, only a handful of news organizations in the country have the resources — both human and financial — to spend weeks or months chasing an investigation. Given the cuts that have stripped newsrooms of the expertise they once contained, I sometimes wonder whether the kind of reporting that brought us Watergate and uncovered the Enron scandal could still occur.

Because make no mistake: We need maximum oversight. You and I need it if we're to be certain that misdeeds cannot hide in the darker corners of government. And Congress needs it if it's to carry out one of its core responsibilities: overseeing the operations of government. All of us rely on the press to check abuses of power, see that laws are properly implemented, hold officials accountable, and tell those officials when their policies and operations are failing or going astray. Without a strong independent press, those in power could simply tell us what they want us to know and we'd be none the wiser. And that is no state of affairs for a democracy. ❖

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.



The HPI Phone App is FREE at the Apple Store.

Answers to Colwell's political history quiz

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – In the quest for mac & cheese, the prize offered in my quiz contest presented here last Sunday, not many readers picked correctly the city where the mayor, a Navy Reserve officer, was elected at age 28 in 2011. Most selected South Bend as the answer, no doubt thinking of Mayor Pete Buttigieg.



But Don Fitzgerald of Granger picked LaPorte, the correct answer. He was the first person to email all the correct answers. His perfect score on the 14 questions was received at 10:58 Sunday morning. Some earlier entries came close, but no mac & cheese.

Don says he and his nephews, apparently brilliant researchers, "enjoyed working on this together" when The Tribune arrived with the quiz and the promise that the winner gets a box of Kraft Macaroni & Cheese. Not just any box, but a collector's item with special political design from either the 1996 Democratic National Convention in Chicago or the 2000 Republican National Convention in Philadelphia.

Wait, some of you may say: Wasn't Buttigieg, a Navy Reserve officer now serving in Afghanistan, elected mayor of South Bend in 2011 at age 28? No. He was 29 when elected. Blair Milo, also a Navy Reserve officer, was elected mayor of LaPorte in 2011 when she was just 28 years old.

Well, I warned that answers to my quiz questions aren't always what may seem most likely. Here's a quick look at some other answers:

Which party's candidates got the most votes for the House of Representatives in 2012? The Democratic Party. Republicans, though not getting the most votes nationwide, won the most seats because of GOP control of redistricting in more states.

Nobody answered that Schuyler Colfax was named after a South Bend street. Most marked correctly that he was a speaker of the U.S. House.

Gerrymandering is named after one of the Founding Fathers, Elbridge

Gerry, who as governor of Massachusetts presented a re-districting plan with one district shaped like a salamander. Thus, it was called a Gerrymander.

Marlin Stutzman, 3rd District congressman, is the one not running in the 2nd. Chris Chocola is the one elected to Congress in a district in which he didn't reside.

Dead last in the Gallup poll on honesty and ethics were lobbyists. Members of Congress were second to last.

Which ranked highest among TV reporters, newspaper reporters and serial killers? Newspaper reporters. Otherwise, I wouldn't have included that question.

Highest rated of all once more were nurses.

The Crook elected to Congress? Thurman Crook, a Democrat who upset Republican incumbent Robert Grant in 1948. One reader tells of Crook, a teacher at Central High School, throwing a blackboard eraser at him.

Indiana Congressman Earl Landgrebe, denying truth about President Nixon's guilt in Watergate, said famously: "Don't confuse me with the facts. I've got a closed mind."

That study on whose viewers were best informed on political financing? Viewers of Stephen Colbert.

"You can put it on the board . . . Yes!" Not said by Karl Rove, thinking Romney won Ohio. It's what baseball announcer Hawk Harrelson says after a White Sox home run.

Who quipped, after a U.S. runner won the Boston Marathon, beating usual winners from Kenya, "It's only fair since a Kenyan has been president for the last six (years)"? It was President Obama in joking remarks at the White House correspondents' dinner.

Oh, did winner Don Fitzgerald pick the GOP or the Demo mac & cheese?

He "definitely" wants and gets the Kraft "limited convention edition" from the 2000 Republican National Convention. It features on the front a determined-looking elephant carrying a sign promoting "Republicans in 2000." On the back is a fun quiz about supposed macaroni quotes from Republican presidents.

Don and his nephews no doubt will want to save rather than eat their prize. I hope so. Stamped on the box is: "Best when purchased by Mar 28 01." ❖

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



The late U.S. Rep. Earl Landgrebe, showing off his Committee to Re-Elect the President button.

Matt Tully, Indianapolis Star: It would have seemed far-fetched not so long ago. But by the time the news broke today that U.S. District Judge Richard Young had struck down Indiana's prohibition on same-sex marriage, it hardly came as a surprise. Public opinion and recent court rulings had been guiding Indiana in this direction, clearly and methodically, for quite some time. So, now we have a new day in the Hoosier state. It's a great day. On this issue, the state legislature is irrelevant. All those years of fighting, all those months earlier this year spent debating a constitutional amendment to ban same-sex marriage — well, that was wasted time. Whether it is the current state law or a future constitutional amendment, Indiana statute doesn't matter when it comes to the federal courts that are deciding this issue. It's been said many times before, but let's say it again: Indiana legislature, please just move on. This ruling could be a gift to the Republican leaders at the Statehouse. The issue of same-sex marriage divided the party's caucuses during this year's legislative session, and during its recent annual convention, and it has distracted from the GOP's official agenda. With this ruling, House Speaker Brian Bosma and Senate boss David Long can tell those on the far right of their party during next year's session that the issue is for now out of their hands. Bottom line: They can spend the 2015 session focused on issues such as jobs and education as opposed to fighting among themselves about an increasingly unpopular push to put discrimination in the state constitution. They also have a chance to stop annoying the business community, a traditional ally that worked overtime this year to oppose the GOP's anti-gay push. ❖



Chelsea Schneider, Evansville Courier & Press: Debra Minott's departure as head of the Indiana Family and Social Services Administration begs the question of what happened, and the Hoosier public deserves more of an explanation. At the least, Indiana Gov. Mike Pence should be more transparent on what led to the transfer of leadership in this critical state agency that many of his constituents rely on to live. Minott came into the role in January 2013, early into Pence's administration. Seventeen months later, her departure comes at a critical time for Pence who is vying for federal Medicaid dollars made possible through Obamacare to expand health care coverage to more low-income Hoosiers. Last Monday, Minott announced she will leave her job as the agency's secretary in a month or so, with little to no explanation as to why she was stepping down. The agency arguably touches the most Hoosier lives, serving the most vulnerable in our state by administering Medicaid, child care vouchers and a number of other social programs. Pence's press office said Minott leaving the agency is a personnel decision. "Governor Pence made his decision about the change of direction at FSSA based on the best interest of the agency

going forward and he continues to hold Secretary Minott in the highest personal regard and wishes her every success," according to a statement released by the governor's office. Minott spent Monday morning at an Indianapolis hospital fielding questions on the administration's proposed expansion of the Healthy Indiana Plan. By Monday evening, her staff released a statement announcing she was leaving the agency. The timetable adds to the oddity of the announcement. Minott's departure featured none of the orchestration you'd expect if a major agency head decided to step down from office. Minott leaving the agency is the second high profile departure of a Pence appointment. Dwayne Sawyer, who Pence appointed as state auditor, announced his resignation after three months in office. In Sawyer's case, Pence released that his new appointment stepped down for personal and family reasons. Pence's statement on Minott was more elusive on detail: "Governor Pence holds Secretary Minott in the highest regard and believes she has served the people of Indiana with integrity and professionalism." The statement released by Minott's office also gave little detail: "I will be transitioning out of my role as Secretary over the next month or so and look forward to working with the governor's office to ensure an orderly transition to new leadership." Her departure came as a surprise to Senate President Pro Tem David Long, who told reporters last week he didn't see it coming. "I'm still not really clear on the reasoning," Long said, "but I have a lot of respect for her." ❖

Erick Erickson, Red State: Having been an elected Republican and someone who routinely takes the position of supporting conservatives in primaries and Republicans in general elections, the Mississippi race does crystalize for me the desires of many to start a third party. In essence, Tea Party activists are the RINOs. A Republican Party campaigning on making the Senate "conservative," used liberal Democrats to preserve an incumbent Republican and defeat a conservative. The actual conservatives are the outsiders with the GOP establishment doing all it could to preserve its power at the expense of its principles. The problem for those who call themselves Republicans is that it is harder and harder to say exactly what a Republican is these days. The great lesson from Mississippi is that Republican means, more or less, that if elected the party will reward its major donors, who are just different than the Democrats' major donors. Policy differences are about different donors, not an actual agenda to shift the country in a different direction. The Republicans have become the party of lobbyists, most of whom were on twitter celebrating their purchase. I continue to oppose a third party. I'm just not sure what the Republican Party really stands for any more other than telling Obama no and telling our own corporate interests yes. That's not much of a platform. ❖

Pence names Wernert, Gargano

INDIANAPOLIS - Governor Mike Pence named Dr. John. J. Wernert as Secretary of Indiana's Family & Social Services Administration (FSSA), the first medical doctor in the history of FSSA to serve in this role. In addition, Governor Pence named former FSSA Secretary Michael Gargano as Deputy Secretary for Operations and the Healthy Indiana Plan (HIP) 2.0. "With more than two decades in the medical field serving some of our most vulnerable Hoosiers, Dr. John J. Wernert has the expertise, character, and history of service to lead Indiana's Family & Social Services Administration," said Governor Pence. "With his extensive background in medical practice and administration, Dr. Wernert is uniquely qualified to lead the Family & Social Services Administration during this time of opportunity and transition." A practicing psychiatrist in central Indiana since 1989, Dr. John J. Wernert, of Carmel, currently serves as the Medical Director of Medical Management at Eskenazi Health in Indianapolis as well as the Medical Director for Behavioral Health Integration for the Franciscan Alliance system in Indiana. He is also the incoming President of the Indiana State Medical Association. Gargano will rejoin FSSA as Deputy Secretary for Operations and HIP 2.0. In this position, Gargano will lead preparations for the implementation of HIP 2.0, if approved by federal officials, at FSSA. As part of this effort, he will align agency priorities to ensure that HIP 2.0 is ready to accept enrollees in a timely and successful manner.



economy contracted in the first quarter by the biggest percentage since the depths of the last recession as consumer spending cooled during a bitter winter (Associated Press). Gross domestic product fell at a 2.9-percent annualized rate, more than forecast and the worst reading since the same three months in 2009, after a previously reported 1-percent drop, the Commerce Department said Wednesday in Washington, D.C. It marked the biggest downward revision from the agency's second GDP estimate since records began in 1976. The revision reflected a slowdown in health care spending.

Clerks react to marriage ruling

MUNCIE — At least one same-sex couple in East Central Indiana got a marriage license in their local clerk's office on Wednesday, after a federal judge's ruling striking down Indiana's ban on gay marriage was issued earlier in the day (Muncie Star Press). The Jay County clerk's office reported just after 4 p.m. that one couple had come in and gotten a license. Henry County Clerk Debra Walker answered, "Yes, we would," when asked around 2 p.m. whether her office would issue licenses Wednesday. Contacted later in the day, however, her office could not report whether any same-sex couples had come in seeking one. Delaware County Clerk Steven Craycraft said his office had gotten some inquiries, but that "until I get an actual order in hand" he would not know whether his office could or could not issue marriage licenses for gay couples. He emphasized that he needed an official, certified ruling rather than just media reports on the ruling before he could proceed either way. Jay County Clerk Ellen Coats said early Wednesday afternoon the county attorney had told her she needed to have "an order in hand" to issue a license to a gay couple; a caller had informed her one

or more couples would be coming in seeking licenses later in the afternoon, at which point she anticipated issuing them — if she had a copy of the order. The Blackford and Randolph county clerks both said they would hold off on issuing licenses until they heard from the state attorney general's office. Clerks in Brown, St. Joseph, Boone, Elkhart, Hamilton, Monroe, Vanderburgh and other counties also began issuing marriage licenses to same-sex couples.

Former Colt tells Senate about injury

WASHINGTON - Former Indianapolis Colt end Ben Utecht told a Senate hearing Wednesday that he fears where his history of brain injuries will leave him in the future (Associated Press). Utecht said he started experiencing memory loss at age 29, after a football career in which he sustained five documented concussions and innumerable dings to the head. "It took losing my mind to care about my mind," said Utecht, 32. His testimony came as brain injuries in sports, particularly contact sports like football, remain a concern for players and families. On Wednesday, the NFL agreed to remove a \$675 million cap on damages from thousands of concussion-related claims.

Indiana lacks parent support

BLOOMINGTON - A new report from an advocacy group shows Indiana is not doing a good enough job to support working parents. The National Partnership for Women and Families gives Indiana a D- for the support available to parents who are balancing children and jobs. With California getting the highest grade of an A-, the report indicates 29 other states are more supportive than Indiana in terms of the laws relating to family and medical leave.

U.S. economy contracts to 2.9%

WASHINGTON - The U.S.