



## Young's Senate focus on U.S. security

Congressman expands field; Delph decision comes in September

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

BLOOMINGTON – For Todd Young, his race for the U.S. Senate is all about protecting Americans. “That’s why I’m running,” he said in his bare-bones campaign headquarters just south of downtown. “I want to keep Americans safe and secure. That’s the most sacred mission of government.”

He enters the Republican Senate race with much peril facing his potential constituents. A week before, the FBI staved off several ISIS-conspired terror attacks on the homeland over the Fourth of July weekend. Americans learned last week that more than 20 million people had their files hacked by Chinese operatives in the Department of Personnel Management, opening them to blackmail. And he be-



came a Senate candidate less than a month after nine people were massacred at a church Bible study group in South Carolina.

What Rep. Young hopes sets him apart from the Senate field that includes U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman, Eric Holcomb and possibly State Sen. Mike Delph is his brand of “responsible” conservatism. To some, that’s code after Stutzman attempted to shut down the U.S. government a couple of years ago, and Delph has had several episodes on Twitter that brought him sanctions from his Republican Senate leadership. “We need a responsible conservative voice who can win a general election,” Young said, citing “my conviction on the need to focus on more job creation and increased wages.”

When he uses the phrase

**Continued on page 3**

## Gregg-Pence money war

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Raise your hand if you were forecasting that John Gregg would out-raise Gov. Mike Pence in the first half of the year.

That was territory that Howey Politics Indiana hadn’t ventured in, nor are we aware of any other punditry, foreign or domestic, that would have guessed that when it was all tallied up, Gregg would report \$1.76 million compared to Gov. Pence’s take of \$1.63 million for the first six months of 2015.

In a year that has already featured some surprising developments, Sen. Dan Coats’ retirement, the RFRA fiasco and



**“I’m in 100%. Hopefully it will be by more than 36 votes this time.”**

*- State Sen. Brent Waltz, who was the first to jump into the 9th CD race on Monday. Waltz upset Sen. Larry Borst by 36 votes in 2004.*





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**Brian A. Howey**, Publisher  
**Mark Schoeff Jr.**, Washington  
**Jack E. Howey**, Editor  
**Mary Lou Howey**, Editor  
**Maureen Hayden**, Statehouse  
**Matthew Butler**, Daily Wire  
**Mark Curry**, photography

**Subscriptions**

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Ray Volpe, Account Manager  
317.602.3620  
email: HoweyInfo@gmail.com

**Contact HPI**

www.howeypolitics.com  
bhowey2@gmail.com  
Howey's cell: 317.506.0883  
Washington: 202.256.5822  
Business Office: 317.602.3620

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the April Howey Politics Indiana poll that saw Pence's approval and job performance take a historic dive, this development is an important turn of events.

**Going into this** cycle, Gregg had a reputation as a poor fundraiser. So anemic, in fact, that his first quarter 2012 report of \$580,000 prompted many observers and fellow Democrats to believe he had no chance. When the dust settled after Pence eked out a 2.7% victory over Gregg, Pence out-raised the Democrat \$14.8 million to \$6.4 million.

The Richard Mourdock "God intends rape" blunder in the October 2012 debate against Joe Donnelly brought a mixed response from Pence, who first demanded an apology from the Senate nominee, and then a defense of his fellow ticket mate. It nearly cost Pence the election.

In order for Gregg to be viable in 2016, he had to shake the money monkey off his back. He spent much of May and June dialing for dollars and convinced big labor to invest early in this campaign. When the Mike Pence for Indiana campaign reported just \$1.63 million, Gregg was ecstatic. "This is a huge deal," Gregg said. "It's not often that a challenger outraises an incumbent governor, especially when they are in a tough primary with two strong opponents. It's a sign of the strength of our campaign and the depth of support we have earned. And, it's a reflection of the simple fact that Hoosiers' are tired of being embarrassed by Mike Pence's radical ideology and mismanagement of state government."

Gregg told HPI on Monday, "These figures show, once again, that Hoosiers are tired of being embar-

assed by Mike Pence. They want a leader. They want a governor who will bring us together to move Indiana forward. That's what I have done throughout my entire career and that's what I will do as Indiana's next chief executive. I am gratified by the support I've received from hard working Hoosiers all across the state and look forward to continuing to build a campaign to bring common sense back to the governor's office."

The Mike Pence for Indiana



campaign spokesman Robert Vane called Pence's money numbers "strong for us, both in money raised, and the fact that over 90% of our totals came from Indiana and over 90% was under \$100. That's widespread, grassroots support here in Indiana. There is no depression or disappointment here."

**Vane points to** Pence's \$4.2 million cash on hand, more than \$2.4 million than Gregg. "What's unexpected is for a governor candidate from Indiana raising over 70% of his money in Washington, D.C.," Vane said. "That's unexpected."

Just days after the Indiana Economic Development Corporation ended the \$2 million Porter Novelli contract that was supposed to help mitigate the damage from the RFRA debacle, the Pence administration's take was the solid job creation numbers essentially meant an end to the crisis. "I think that the IEDC made the right decision to discontinue the con-

tract," said Pence. "I supported the decision very strongly. What we're doing today to market the Hoosier state is working."

Speculation on the Porter Novelli contract centers on how the \$2 million expenditure would have improved Indiana's RFRA-damaged image on a national, let alone global stage. The contract seemed to come under the category of "don't just stand there, do something." The problem for the Pence administration is that anything associated with the Porter Novelli contract would have revived the RFRA story, and that's something the Pence reelect doesn't need. In a fish-or-cut-bait scenario, the decision was to cut.

**In mid-June, Bellwether** Pollster Christine Matthews did a second Indiana poll following a survey she did for Howey Politics Indiana in April. Asked about the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, 37% said the controversial law would have no impact, 40% said it would have a negative impact on Indiana's economy and 9% said it would have a positive impact. On Gov. Pence's handling of RFRA, 46% said it was an "embarrassment" and that he doesn't deserve a second term, while 41% said he deserves another term. Pence's job approval stood at 46/46% approve/disapprove. On favorable/unfavorables, Pence stands at 34/43%, while Democrat Glenda Ritz at

29/13% and Gregg at 20/9%.

Asked if Gov. Pence deserves reelection, 32% favored a second term for the Republican and 54% wanted a new person.

The mid-year financial numbers stand to revive the question of whether Pence is still feeling the fallout from RFRA and whether he can ultimately survive.

**So the spin is on.** The unions seem willing to invest in Gregg, believing he has a decent chance. Republicans will argue that Pence still maintains a big money lead, one that could grow significantly if the Republican Governors Association invests the reported \$5 million that Tennessee Gov. Bill Haslam was supposed to deliver on June 18 at the Indiana Republican spring dinner.

Add \$5 million to Pence's total and he essentially has a \$7 million advantage. Vane was asked about the \$5 million in RGA money and he said, "I can't speak for the RGA, but they have made it clear they are going to be very helpful as needed. But I can't confirm or deny it."

The flip side there is that the Democratic Governors Association, which reneged on late support for Gregg in the 2012 homestretch, will almost certainly be reassessing and coming to the conclusion that Indiana could be a pickup for the party. Either way, a competitive gubernatorial race is underway here in Indiana. ❖

## Young, from page 1

"responsible conservatism," is that code that sets him apart from Stutzman and Delph? "I'll let others decide that point of contrast," Young said. "I'll tell you what I mean. Responsible leadership means making unpopular decisions and then going back and explaining those decisions to constituents."

His working example brought him quickly back to the security realm. In the summer of 2014, ISIS began killing U.S. journalists and humanitarians such as Peter Abdul Kassig. "That made us feel very angry," Young explained. "The President failed to put together a policy to confront this broad threat."

President Obama's response was to train and arm 5,400 Syrians to confront ISIS in that civil war-torn nation. Last week, Defense Secretary Ashton Carter acknowledged the U.S. had spent \$250 million to train 60 Syrians. Young's initial opposition to the Obama plan brought "a fair amount of criticism here in the district," but insisted, "We needed a better strategy than embracing the administration's check-the-box plan."

How would a Sen. Young confront ISIS, which he

acknowledges is "evil"?

"I think it's outside the competence of any one country or any group of countries to put the Middle East back together again," he began. "But we can contain and start rolling it back incrementally. Roll back the real estate they control and reduce the franchises. It undermines the argument that they are a caliphate. If the U.S. is rolling ISIS back, that contrasts with Allah's will."



Young would increase the number of U.S. special forces in the region, have the U.S. Air Force fly more sorties, loosen the rules of engagement, and seek to "take out more high value targets" and arm the Kurds with heavier weaponry. In making these points, Young points to his background at the U.S. Naval Academy, his service in the U.S. Marine Corps, and his understanding that the "civilized world has only one hyper power, one super power, and it is the United States."

"In the end the United States is the convening power. We have the economic leverage, we certainly have the military might. We have a way to change the balance of power. But that is not to say we should do it alone."



We need to smartly and effectively stay engaged. If we pivot to Asia without filling forces, vacuums will occur” that will empower “dictators, autocrats and mad men.”

“I want to emphasize that’s why I’m running,” Young said. “I want to keep Americans safe and secure.”

What about the hacking sanctioned by the Chinese government? Young declined to go so far as to say the Chinese hacking of Anthem and DPM is an “act of war” but described it as “a new threat.”

“This is an impossible question to answer if you have a level of humility,” he said. He described the hacking as an action that “brings about not only the ability to steal property and steal one’s labor, but it can lead to access to security codes and information. It could allow the Chinese to manipulate our critical infrastructure and blackmail U.S. personnel.”

Is it too naive to say the U.S. should create a “Manhattan Project” to provide cyber security? Young pointed to the Naval Academy’s new cyber security center, which is charged with protecting U.S. military assets. “First you need to decide how much money is needed to keep America safe and secure. I don’t believe we’ve been doing that in recent years. That’s why I’m running.” And then, Young said, “You need to spend it.”

Young has called for the repeal and replacement of Obamacare. Reminded of Karl Rove’s call for Republicans running in 2016 to present a plan for replacement, Young says he backs refundable tax credits to allow consumers to buy their own plans, institute malpractice reform, allow small businesses to pool together to leverage more negotiation power with large insurance companies and hospitals, and allow consumers to purchase health plans across state lines. It is standard fare for congressional Republicans, who have joined Young in voting more than 50 times to repeal the law. He points to his own efforts to repeal the medical device tax, and restore the 40-hour work week.

Nearing the end of the conversation, the standard HPI question, “Anything you want to add that we didn’t ask?” brought out the response, “Did I tell you I’m pro life and pro gun?” he said, smiling.

On this very day and perhaps a few blocks from

Indiana's 9th Congressional District Election, 2010 <sup>[20]</sup>			
Party	Candidate	Votes	%
Republican	Todd Young	118,138	52.2
Democratic	Baron Hill	95,387	42.2
Libertarian	Greg Knott	12,377	5.4

Indiana's 9th Congressional District election, 2012			
Party	Candidate	Votes	%
Republican	Todd Young	165,332	55.4
Democratic	Shelli Yoder	132,848	44.6
Total votes		298,180	100.0

Indiana's 9th Congressional District election, 2014			
Party	Candidate	Votes	%
Republican	Todd Young	99,810	63.1
Democratic	Bill Bailey	52,659	33.3
Libertarian	Mike Frey	5,679	3.6
Total votes		158,148	100.0

his campaign headquarters, Paul Helmke, 1998 Republican Senate nominee and current Indiana University visiting lecturer, had written an op-ed piece for the Fort Wayne Journal Gazette citing a “moment of momentum” following the Charleston Mother Emanuel Church Bible study massacre to reform gun laws. The U.S. Constitution provides the 2nd Amendment, but it also calls for “domestic tranquility.” How would a Sen. Young address what are now becoming routine atrocities in U.S. movie theaters, schools,

shopping malls and churches?

“It starts by recognizing these situations, as a conservative,” Young began. “Criminals will get guns. We need to address mental illness and the sharing of sensitive mental health (records). I don’t know of any strong 2nd Amendment advocate who would disagree with that assessment. Any one with a mental illness should not be purchasing weapons. There needs to be more done on that issue. But that is not the primary message of my campaign.”

Young pointed out he has lived in dangerous cities such as Chicago and Washington. “Guns often keep neighborhoods safe,” he said.

### Winning the primary and general

Since 2010, Young has been a fundraising machine. He raised \$1 million to win a Republican primary against former congressman Mike Sodrel, then upset U.S. Rep. Baron Hill, reloading his campaign coffers with another million. He begins the Senate race with \$2 million cash on hand, more than the two other declared candidates combined.

What’s your money pitch, HPI asked. Could he walk us through the basic pitch when he’s dialing for dollars?

“My father is a salesman,” Young responded. “My father used to say, ‘Son, you have to sell a product people want to buy. That’s the first rule of sales.’ My responsible conservative leadership, based on safety and security appeals to people. Any successes we’ve had raising money, is what I’ve stood for.”

He cited his work in London with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. “My formulation is pretty simple. I’ve always had great respect for Margaret Thatcher, who said, ‘Win the argument, win the war.’”

In his 2010 race against Rep. Hill, who could be his opponent in the 2016 general election, Young said, "I won the argument and I won the vote. I earned their trust."

On a potential rematch with Hill, Young responded, "I've been told that Baron Hill is likely to be their nominee. I feel quite confident as we step into this primary race, I wouldn't be running, not just viable, but the most viable choice to be the nominee, to make sure Republicans hold on to this seat. Control of the U.S. Senate may hang in the balance. It's never been more important."

As for speculation that he will compete with Holcomb for the so-called "Daniels wing" of the party while Stutzman might have to fend off Sen. Delph for the Tea Party wing support, Young shook off such talk. He's running based on his own confidence and ability, and it doesn't really matter who's in, or who's out.

## Young enters via video

Young enters the race without a clear frontrunner, for one of the first modern Senate races in Indiana with no heir apparent, though the Bloomington Republican begins with a clear money advantage.

In an email and video released to supporters and constituents Sunday afternoon, the emerging candidate began with a bio: "Life in Indiana. It's about family, values, and hard work. This is where Todd Young grew up. The son of a small business owner and a nurse, they taught him that if you worked hard and dream big, anything is possible. From a very early age, Todd had this innate sense of right and wrong. He aimed for excellence in everything he attempted or did. He really is driven. That drive earned Todd Young an appointment to the Naval Academy and a commission as an officer in the Marines."

Daniel DeWitt, who served in the Marines with Young, said, "In the Marines, Todd set the standard for courage, judgment, and integrity. These are things you just can't teach."

Young says in the video, "Everything in my life I owe to God, my family, the Naval Academy, and the Marine Corps. And the best way I can think of to give back is to ensure that every Hoosier family enjoys a better future. That's why I'm running for U.S. Senate."

Young joins a field that includes fellow U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman and former Republican chairman Eric Holcomb. State Sens. Jim Merritt of Indianapolis and Mike Delph of Carmel are also weighing bids, though sources close to Merritt have told Howey Politics Indiana that if Young joins the field, he won't seek the nomination.

Young, R-Bloomington, has had a meteoric political career that has placed him on the influential House



Ways & Means Committee. In 2010, he won a razor-thin 9th CD nomination by defeating former congressman Mike Sodrel and Travis Hankins. That November, Young upset Hill 52-42%. Two years later, Young defeated Shelli Yoder 55-44%, and his margin grew to 63-33% when he defeated former Democratic Seymour mayor Bill Bailey.

With Hill the only declared Democratic Senate candidate, a rematch with Young is possible.

In addition to his Navy and Marine Corps service, Young earned an MBA from the University of Chicago's Graduate School of Business, and later attended the University of London's Institute of United States studies. He earned his law degree from Indiana University. He has worked at the Heritage Foundation and was later a legislative assistant to U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar on energy policy.

## Delph decision by September

State Sen. Mike Delph is planning to visit Northwest Indiana the weekend of Aug. 2, at the invitation of Pastor Ron Johnson of Living Stones Church in Crown Point (Doug Ross, NWI Times).

"They've invited me up there because of my strong stance on religious liberty and my strong support of family values," Delph said Thursday. Delph's support of family values is real, not just a talking point. When Delph was in Washington, D.C., to line up support for his potential Senate bid, he said, one of his daughters called every night and said, "Daddy, I miss you, I miss you."



That's got to tug at anyone's heartstrings. "You have the tension between the service and the sacrifice," Delph said.

He wants to run; that's obvious. Delph's reason for not declaring his candidacy, beyond his family's veto power, is that he has more freedom to line up financial support as an undeclared candidate. "This new era of super PACs makes traditional campaign financing thinking ... it turns them on their heads," Delph said. He's right. Declared candidates can't coordinate efforts with the super PACs. But undeclared candidates can start their own PAC or line up support right up until the moment they announce they're running for office.

So how long will Delph remain poised on that diving board? He promises a decision by the end of September. The later it gets, the colder that water is going to become. ❖



# Waltz in for 9th CD; Zoeller, Houchin, Mayfield mull runs

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Just hours after U.S. Rep. Todd Young jumped into the 2016 U.S. Senate race, State Sen.

Brent Waltz announced an expected bid for the 9th CD.

“I’m in 100%,” Waltz told Howey Politics Indiana. “There will be a formal announcement on Thursday.”

Waltz is one of a handful of Republicans looking to succeed Young, who declared for

the Senate race on Sunday. Attorney General Greg Zoeller, State Sen. Erin Houchin of Salem and State Rep. Peggy Mayfield of Martinsville have all expressed interest.

Zoeller told Howey Politics Indiana on Monday that he has been seriously weighing a bid. “Todd Young has been a very effective congressman for the people of Indiana’s 9th District where I was born and raised,” Zoeller said. “His decision to pursue the open United States Senate seat leaves an important role during a period of great economic development. It’s no secret that I have been discussing running for this seat with many supporters in the district and have received encouragement, but it’s more appropriate to allow Congressman Young to make his public announcement Saturday before announcing my own plan.”

Sen. Houchin, who was elected to her seat last November, has traveled to Washington to discuss the 9th CD, though she has not made any campaign plans public.

**Mayfield is “seriously considering”** the race, said Mike Gentry of the House Republican Campaign Committee. Gentry said that Mayfield is on vacation and out of the state this week.

As he did when he upset powerful Senate Finance Chairman Larry Borst in 2004, Waltz came equipped with an election scenario that he believes puts him in the drivers seat. It is a campaign he has spent the last three months planning, including trips to Washington. He has hired Mark Collins as a media and organizational consultant, noting that Collins played key roles in the upset defeats of Sens. Borst, Robert Garton in 2006 and Steve Johnson in 2002. Waltz’s 36-vote upset of Borst was one of the biggest upsets in modern General Assembly history.

Waltz observes that Zoeller has never run

in a Republican primary, having won two attorney general nominations via the Indiana Republican Convention. However, Zoeller won an upset convention nomination in 2008 after Gov. Mitch Daniels had endorsed Valparaiso Mayor Jon Costas. He is a popular attorney general.

Waltz breaks down the 9th CD in three tiers, noting that his home of Johnson County includes 23% of the district. The second tier includes Clark, Floyd, Morgan and Monroe with 7 to 9% of the district each. The third tier includes the other eight counties, including Lawrence and Jackson.

“**If I win Johnson and** one other in the second tier, the other person would have to run the table in the other eight in the third tier,” said Waltz, a former president of the Johnson County Council. Waltz believes he can run strongly in neighboring Morgan County (if Mayfield doesn’t run) and Lawrence, noting that his table at the Republican spring dinner included several of his Lawrence County allies. He also believes that while Zoeller will be strong in Floyd County, he has the ability to run close in Clark.

“If I can break even in Clark, I win the primary,” Waltz said.

As for Democrats, State Rep. Terry Goodin has been talking about potential races outside the Indiana House and former Seymour mayor Bill Bailey, who lost to Young last fall, may take a look, as could Monroe County Councilwoman Shelli Yoder, who lost to Young in 2012. ❖



State Sen. Brent Waltz, R-Greenwood, was the first to officially jump into the 9th CD race after U.S. Rep. Todd Young announced his U.S. Senate bid. (HPI Photo by Mark Curry)

# Governor, Senate campaign strategies vary in early stages

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

BLOOMINGTON – It's very, very early in the 2016 campaign cycle, but we're witnessing some significant contrasts in both the U.S. Senate and Indiana governor's races.

In the Senate race, U.S. Rep. Todd Young exhibited a trademark we've seen since 2010, when he won a three-way primary that included former congressman Mike Sodrel, then essentially reloaded and raised another \$1 million to upset U.S. Rep. Baron Hill. Young is a money-raising machine, preparing to post \$1,024,908 for the second quarter. His two main opponents, U.S. Rep.

Marlin Stutzman, will come in at \$600,000 for the quarter, and Eric Holcomb, will post \$200,000.

Holcomb is emphasizing what can be called coalition building. While Young and Stutzman are bound to Washington and their duties

in their districts, Holcomb has adopted several strategies similar to Gov. Mitch Daniels' 2003-04 initial campaign for governor. In that race, Daniels co-opted the Milan Miracle sports theme, formally opened his campaign outside of Butler University's Hinkle Fieldhouse, and took RV1 on a tour where he visited hundreds of cities and towns throughout the state. Many of these places hadn't seen a real gubernatorial candidate in decades. When HPI traveled on the final journey of RV1 late in Daniels' second term to a visit in Milan and a stop at the Reservation Restaurant, he wondered if any future candidate would adopt his strategy of a signature traveling symbol while reaching out to folks in small and large towns.

He can look no further than his former aide Holcomb, who has the freedom to criss-

cross the state in a Toyota Tundra pickup truck (made in Princeton, Ind.) and his signature of having locals escort him to the iconic basketball gyms across the state, where he duly sinks jumpers. Along the way, Holcomb is picking up endorsements of dozens of mayors, state legislators, party and community leaders. In the lead up to the release of his second-quarter financing report, he announced adding seven state legislators, eight mayors, nine local elected officials, nine Republican Party leaders and three community leaders.

He told Howey Politic Indiana that while his \$200,000 haul is lower than that of Stutzman and Young, once the latter entered the field, a number of Republicans he's had conversations with will make formal decisions on whom to support and he expects more money to flow in his direction. "Out of respect, they don't want to make that decision until the field is set," Holcomb said.

Young has emphasized the "historic perspective" in his unprecedented achievement of raising \$1 million in a quarter in the year before the actual cycle. Young's dialing for dollars acumen rates with two other prodigious Hoosier U.S. Senate fundraisers, Republican Sen. Dick Lugar and Democrat Sen. Evan Bayh. In other off-year cycles, Lugar ranked second with \$973,853 in the 2011 April quarterly and fourth with \$911,584 in the 2011 July quarterly. Bayh posted \$946,298 in the 2003 July quarterly, and \$863,704 in the 2003 April quarterly.

It's worth noting that for Senate races in Indiana, the most a non-incumbent reported raising in an off-year quarter was Joe Donnelly, who raised just \$453,122 on his 2011 July Quarterly report. Donnelly represented the 2nd CD at the time, but won the U.S. Senate race in 2012, defeating Republican Indiana Treasurer Richard Mourdock

in a U.S. Senate race that drew a combined \$50 million between the two nominees, Lugar, who lost to Mourdock in the primary, and more than \$30 million from super PACs. Of the \$1,024,908 raised by Young, \$722,558 (70.50%) came from individuals. Of that \$722,558, \$554,904 (76.80%) came from individual Hoosiers. Of that \$554,904, \$303,769 (54.74%) came from Hoosiers outside of Young's 9th Congressional District.

Stutzman ended the quarter almost exactly in the middle between Young and Holcomb. In doing so, he announced that Wesley Scott will join the campaign as finance director.

In the gubernatorial race, 2012 nominee John Gregg has emphasized fundraising in an attempt to shake the most



**U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman reported \$600,000 for the second quarter, coming in the middle of the \$1 million raised by U.S. Rep. Todd Young and \$200,000 raised by Eric Holcomb.**



conspicuous monkey off his back. His 2012 campaign was underfunded and once that observation became commonplace, the Democratic Governors Association did not contribute what had been expected. Gregg's loss to Gov. Mike Pence by less than 3% was one of the great missed opportunities of the 2012 cycle.

"Preliminary numbers are in: We raised more than \$1.7M with more than \$1.8M cash on hand!! Big numbers for our first 60 days," Gregg tweeted out to supporters on July 1. "Thanks to all who contributed."

Gregg began the cycle with \$130,000, well behind Gov. Mike Pence's \$3.5 million. But he raised \$440,000 in large donations in May and June. Democrat Supt. Glenda Ritz had no large donations and State Sen. Karen Tallian shifted \$20,000 from her state senate campaign to her gubernatorial. Gregg's unsuccessful campaign against Gov. Pence in 2012 was hamstrung by poor fundraising, particularly in the first quarter of the 2012 cycle, when he raised around \$580,000. "We have actually raised more in 60 days than in all of 2011," Gregg said Wednesday (IndyStar). "I think it shows the depth of our support across the state. I learned the last time around, when I got outspent 2 1/2 times to one, that you need to be on television to get your message out."

In contrast, Ritz and Tallian are taking what can be described as a laid-back approach on the money front. Neither has announced finance directors and other than Tallian's \$20,000 transfer from her Senate campaign, neither reported large donations. Neither candidate to date has announced other campaign staff, this after both announced their intentions more than six weeks ago.

Ritz seems to be banking on the network of teachers, educators, their families and friends in a grassroots campaign that ultimately allowed her to upset Republican Supt. Tony Bennett. The Ritz modus operandi seems to rely on that grassroots base that helped propel her to 1.5 million votes in 2012. There is some credence to this, as the Bellwether Poll released on behalf of Bill Oesterle in June had the superintendent tied with Gov. Pence at 42%, while the incumbent trailed Gregg by 1%.

## **Governor: Pence presses Gregg, Ritz on EPA**

The Indiana Republican Party is maneuvering to make proposed environmental regulations that would require the state to reduce greenhouse gas emissions from power plants a campaign issue in the 2016 governor's race (Schneider, Evansville Courier & Press). The day after Gov. Pence blasted the forthcoming federal regulations, state GOP Chairman Jeff Cardwell released a statement asking where Democratic candidates John Gregg and Glenda Ritz stood on the issue. Cardwell argued "hardworking Hoosiers deserve answers." It's one of the first issues out of the gate for the party following Pence announcing his reelection bid last month. "Energy policy should promote the safe, environmentally responsible stewardship of our

natural resources with the goal of reliable, affordable energy. Your approach to energy policy places environmental concerns above all others," Pence wrote to Obama.

Pence's Democratic opponents were critical of his response. In speaking with the Courier & Press last week, Gregg, who is making another bid for governor after narrowly losing to Pence in 2012, said the state needs to focus on clean coal technology. Gregg, who previously worked as a land agent for Peabody Coal and a governmental affairs representative for Amax Coal, spoke of his background in the industry. He recalled Hoosiers from his hometown of Sandborn who worked at mines. "We need to balance those good-paying jobs. We need to balance those concerns with that and the environment. We need to take a hard look at this," Gregg said. Gregg declined to comment on the emissions standards until they're released, which is expected in August. But he said more discussion needs to occur as the state waits to see how the proposed rules evolve and the final product comes out, rather than talk of lawsuits.

"It's that quick reaction that I think gets (Pence) into a lot of problems," Gregg said. Ritz couldn't be reached for comment through her campaign as of Thursday. State Sen. Karen Tallian, who also is running in the Democratic primary for governor, said the federal government is giving the state flexibility to develop its own plan. She said state leaders should get stakeholders at the table to draw one up. "There is a whole range of options and energy policy is something that needs a longterm, thoughtful solution with a lot of people," Tallian said, "and not just short term, 'I'm not going to cooperate with the Democratic administration.'"

## **U.S. Senate: Club For Growth begins endorsement process**

Club For Growth has begun the process of making an Indiana Senate endorsement. "The Club works through a rigorous process when considering an endorsement," Club President David McIntosh told Howey Politics Indiana's Mark Schoeff Jr. on Monday. "We have been in the midst of that process for the Indiana Senate race. We like what we've seen from Congressman Stutzman, and he is clearly a pro-growth Member of Congress. But, we want to complete our due diligence and we want to see if others officially enter the race."

U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman was endorsed by the national group Citizens United. "I urge all conservative Hoosier voters to rally around Marlin Stutzman for U.S. Senate," Citizens United President David N. Bossie said in a press release. "During his tenure in the U.S. House, Congressman Stutzman has refused to give into a Washington establishment that is all too eager to manage the failed status quo and ignore our nation's most pressing problems. I know Marlin Stutzman will continue his fight for common sense conservative reforms in the U.S. Senate and stay true to his values. Hoosiers deserve a conserva-



tive in the U.S Senate, and Marlin Stutzman is that leader.”

As for Holcomb, here is the endorsement list he released earlier this month: State Reps. Bob Cherry, Cindy Kirchhofer, Sharon Negele, John Price and Greg Steuerwald, and State Sens. Pete Miller and Mike Crider. Mayors include Andy Cook of Westfield, Steve Croyle of Winchester, John Ditslear of Noblesville, Chris McBarnes of Frankfort, Joe McGuinness of Franklin, Mark Myers of Greenwood, Jeff Papa of Zionsville and Wayne Seybold of Marion. Republican party endorsements came from Fountain County Chairman Daniel Askren, Putnam County Chairman Gerry Ensor, Johnson County Chairwoman Sandi Huddleston, Hendricks County Chairman Mike O’Brien, 5th CD Chairman Kyle Hupfer, 7th CD Chairman Tom John, former Indiana Vice Chairwoman Jean Ann Harcourt, former 6th CD Chairwoman Susie Lightle, and former Indiana Treasurer Marge O’Laughlin. Locally elected officials include Hancock Commissioner Brad Armstrong, Johnson Commissioner Brian Baird, Hendricks Sheriff Brett Clark, Johnson Sheriff Doug Cox, Indianapolis Councilman Jose Evans, Howard Commissioner Paul Wyman, Morgan Council President Ryan Goodwin, Monrovia Councilman Philip Fowler and Putnam Sheriff Scott Stockton. Community leaders endorsing Holcomb include Olgen Williams and Greg Wilson of Indianapolis, and Noblesville council candidate Chris Jensen. (Howey Politics Indiana)

### 3rd CD: Galloway loans her campaign \$50k

Pam Galloway has largely self-funded the start of her 3rd District congressional campaign, according to her second-quarter campaign finance report (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). Galloway, a former Wisconsin state senator and retired physician who lives in Warsaw, has raised \$51,424 in her bid to succeed GOP Rep. Marlin Stutzman in the U.S. House -- \$50,000 of it in the form of two \$25,000 loans she made to her campaign, and the remainder in contributions from other people. Her report, filed with the Federal Election Commission, shows she has spent nearly \$20,200 with Brand Innovation Group of Fort Wayne for campaign materials and digital advertising. She had about \$25,700 in cash on hand at the end of the quarter.

A poll released last week had State Sen. Liz Brown leading State Sen. Jim Banks 34-11%, while Scott Wise had 5% and Pam Galloway at 3%. The poll, conducted by Mark It Red’s Mike Gentry, noted that Brown had 65% awareness across the district and her fav/unfavs were 35/9%. In Allen County, the Fort Wayne Republican polled 51%, Banks had 6%, Wise 5% and Galloway at 2%. Brown campaign manager Joshua Kelley said, “This poll shows voters are pleased with Liz’s conservative track record in the Indiana Senate and on the Fort Wayne City Council. Washington needs strong voices willing to defend our family values and fight for jobs. Liz is ready to do that on day one.” The poll of 400 likely Republican primary election voters was conducted June 29 and 30. A pollster for Banks would not comment on the record about the

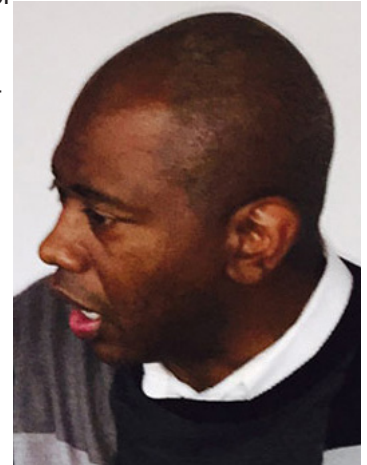
Mark It Red Poll.

## Mayors

### Harrison won’t run in Indianapolis

United Methodist Rev. Charles Harrison will not mount an independent mayor bid in Indianapolis, sources have told Howey Politics Indiana. A more detailed announcement is coming later this morning,

**Evansville:** Democratic Evansville mayoral candidate Gail Riecken has scotched plans to hold a fundraiser at Memorial Baptist Church Tuesday, leaving the event strictly a public forum (Evansville Courier & Press). The planned political fundraiser in a church facility would not have jeopardized Memorial Baptist or any church’s tax-exempt status under the circumstances outlined by Memorial and Riecken’s campaign, according to an expert at Notre Dame Law School. The day’s main event had been billed by Riecken’s campaign as a “forum on leadership in government and business” featuring Gary Mayor Karen Freeman-Wilson and Nan Whaley, mayor of Dayton, Ohio. The two Democratic mayors would also “headline a fundraiser for (Riecken’s) campaign” at Memorial Baptist, the campaign announced.



Rev. Charles Harrison has decided not to run as an independent in Indianapolis.

## General Assembly

### Steele won’t seek reelection

Retiring from the General Assembly after the 2016 session is the right decision, Sen. Brent Steele said Tuesday (Lewis, Bloomington Herald-Times). “There are only three ways to go (‘get beat, die in office or retire’), and the first two don’t appeal to me.” On Tuesday, the Bedford Republican referred several times to his family and his grandchildren, saying he wanted to devote more time to them during the next several years. “We sort of have a shelf life built into us,” said Steele, who will celebrate his 68th birthday next month. “I want to be able to practice law and enjoy my grandchildren while I will have time to play hard with them. ... You’ve got a window of opportunity to play with your grandchildren, and I’m going to take it.” For his part, State Rep. Eric Koch referred to Steele as “a mentor and a friend.” “If he makes a commitment, he follows through,” Koch said. “He’s well-liked and respected by members of both parties.” Koch would be one Republican poised to run for Steele’s Senate seat. ❖

# How not to change policy in Indiana

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

NASHVILLE, Ind. – For several weeks leading into July 1, it was the bright shiny object for the Indiana news media, this stagecraft known as the “First Church of Cannabis.”

The entertainer/journalist Abdul-Hakim Shabazz told us the “Cannabis church is no joke” and warned us to “underestimate” the church “at your own peril.” The cannabis church was Abdul’s blog brainchild that was adopted by serial punk promoter Bill Levin, who conducted his July 1 religious ceremony sans marijuana due to threats of arrest from Indianapolis law enforcement. So much for taking a stand in the best tradition of civil disobedience. The “church” instead opted for a lawsuit.

The joke was supposed to be on Gov. Mike Pence, who signed the Religious Freedom Restoration Act that ignited a national embarrassment last March. The opening was supposedly the RFRA law that would protect the sacramental use of the demon weed in a church setting.

Lost in all the hyperbole are the very real policy issues. Almost half of the United States have passed laws legalizing some form of marijuana use, including Michigan and Illinois (where the legislature voted for decriminalization in May). Cities like Chicago and Washington, D.C., have decriminalized use.

Here in Indiana, criminal code reforms just now kicking in have the potential of shifting incarceration costs from the state to 92 counties. Part of the equation is the 15,000 or so criminal marijuana charges filed annually and associated costs cited by researchers in the \$150 million range.

**While Hoosier legislators** are clinging to long-held positions on marijuana, the general public has emphatically shifted. In a 2012 Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll, we asked the question, “Do you favor or oppose making possession of a small amount of marijuana an infraction rather than a crime?” The response was 54 percent agreed and 37 percent opposed.

Last April in the Howey Politics Indiana Poll, we asked the question a different way: “Twenty-three states and the District of Columbia have legalized marijuana use in some form. In Indiana, it’s not legal for any use. Which of the following do you support?” The responses were: 24 percent, legalize for recreational and medicinal use; 31 percent, legalize for medicinal use only; 13 percent,

decriminalize marijuana possession of any amount to be a fine as opposed to jail time; and 28 percent said to keep Indiana laws the way they are.

Another way to look at it is that 68 percent approve of some type of marijuana law reform, 28 percent support the status quo and 4 percent had no opinion.

**So there is wide support** for a policy change in Indiana, just as there was for a lottery three decades ago. When legislators finally caught up in 1988 after a decade of opposition, the lottery passed a statewide referendum with 64 percent of the vote.

The response from marijuana proponents was essentially to mock the governor over the RFRA debacle, and create a “church” that a majority of the members of the Indiana General Assembly will find offensive to their own religious beliefs. It created a situation where Indianapolis authorities threatened a crackdown, and it alienated a wide swath of people in the neighborhood where the “church” is located.

If you want to create a textbook example of how not to bring about policy change, our entertainer/journalist, the “High Priest Levin,” and the Indiana NORML chapter (which described the new church as “very amazing, full of irony and wonder”) have probably set back any notion of reform by years.

Oh, wow, man.

Lacking in Indiana are the types of marijuana advocacy groups which approach the issue with an array of data, professional lobbyists to make their case in the Statehouse, gaining credibility with legislators, the governor and ultimately voters. The New Approach Oregon organization successfully raised more than \$1 million, launched a sophisticated campaign with videos and use of social media, forged endorsements from prominent Oregonians and won a statewide referendum with 56 percent (the same percentage in Washington and 55 percent in Colorado).

The policy opening here would have been an effort to decriminalize possession of small amounts of marijuana, with natural allies coming in from an overwhelming number of Republican county councilmen and women (about 80 percent of county officials in Indiana are Republican) who are grappling with ever-rising criminal justice, probation, jail overcrowding, HIV and Hep C outbreaks, treatment and law enforcement costs. These are the Hoosiers who forge county budgets, and transcend party ideology to the hard truths of social trend lines. Taxed legal marijuana is a potential revenue source to deal with an array of problems.

**With 20 medicinal states** and three, Colorado, Oregon and Washington, where recreational use is legal, legislators and public servants across the nation now have living laboratories on the impacts of legalization. Wise



Hoosier policy makers should be watching and learning what's working, and what isn't.

**The no-brainer is** decriminalization in Indiana, which should become a conservative cause that will save taxpayer dollars while keeping thousands of Hoosiers from having criminal records.

In places like Oregon and Washington, the face

of the movement was prominent citizens, professional lobbyists, sophisticated media, and a successful outreach to voters. In the Hoosier State, it's amateur hour with colorful and entertaining characters springing right out of "Alice in Wonderland." ❖

## Scott Co. Sheriff seeks addiction treatment protocols for jail

By MAUREEN HAYDEN  
CNHI Statehouse Bureau

INDIANAPOLIS – A drug-fueled outbreak of HIV convinced Scott County Sheriff Dan McClain of the need to take on addiction - even if it means the uncommon practice of medicating prisoners in his jail.



McClain is working with state and local officials to bring a costly medication called Vivitrol into the county jail in hopes of keeping offenders, particularly those already infected with HIV, from relapsing once they are released.

Vivitrol is an injectable form of the drug naltrexone. Addiction specialists say it blocks cravings for heroin and other opiates, such as those found in the prescription painkiller at the center of the Scott County outbreak.

Vivitrol is already used in court-ordered programs, as an alternative to locking up heroin users, in 27 of Indiana's 92 counties. Scott County would be first to administer it to prisoners before an addict is released.

"We have people who are serious about kicking their drug habit when they're in our jail, but they don't stay that way when they're back on the streets," McClain said. "This is the first step to helping them stay clean."

**An outbreak of HIV**, detected late last year in the small city of Austin, hit 170 cases by June. Almost all were tied to intravenous drug users sharing contaminated needles to inject the painkiller Opana.

Approved in injectable form in 2010 by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration, Vivitrol has won guarded praise from addiction specialists. Unlike the commonly used methadone, which mimics the effects of opiates, it blocks cravings for the opiate high.

But it's expensive, which has limited its use in

the criminal justice system. The drug retails for \$800 to \$1,200 per injection.

Some private insurers cover part of the cost. Many don't.

**A breakthrough for Scott** County came with the help of state Public Health Commissioner Jerome Adams, who helped convince the drug's manufacturer, Alkermes, to launch a pilot program in the jail, providing the first doses at little cost. The company has done the same in at least 40 jails around the nation.

A typical Vivitrol regimen, with the drug administered every four weeks, lasts 8 to 12 months. So state public health officials have agreed to let taxpayers pick up part of the cost.

They're working with McClain to enroll prisoners coming out of jail into the Healthy Indiana Plan 2.0, the state's Medicaid program. The plan will pick up the bulk of the cost, reducing prices for those enrolled in the program to just a few dollars.

Earlier this year, Rep. Wendy McNamara, R-Mount Vernon, pushed to give local judges more authority to use Vivitrol as part of court-ordered programs, but lawmakers balked at its cost.

McNamara sees it as long-term investment. "If they can stay out of jail, the state benefits because we're not having to pay to incarcerate someone," she said.

**Scott County prosecutor** Jason Mounts is cautiously hopeful. "Our goal isn't to lock up all the drug addicts in our county," he said. "It's to get more of them into treatment and back into society as productive citizens."

He is working with local judges to set up protocols for court-ordered use of Vivitrol as part of a larger treatment program that includes counseling and support. They're encouraged by other courts, such as Hamilton County's, that now use Vivitrol as a sentencing alternative.

"It's not a miracle drug, but it curbs the craving enough that they can focus on their counseling and treatment," said Hamilton County Deputy Prosecutor Amy Summerfield. "It gives them time to spend on underlying issues, rather than deal with cravings on front burner all the time."

The jail piece is seen as key. If McClain succeeds in resolving the cost issue, other counties may follow suit.



Penny Rader, a Boone County probation officer who oversees addicts in court-ordered drug treatment programs, said Vivitrol can only be given to someone who's gone through detoxification, which can take 5 to 10 days.

"That's been our biggest stumbling block," Rader said. "Going through detox is very, very difficult. Some people are just unwilling to go through it."

McClain agrees but says prisoners "detox in our jail whether they want to or not."

It may be September before the Vivitrol program gets underway in Scott County.

McClain said he knows it won't be a panacea for

the problem that has ravaged his community.

"We didn't get here overnight," he said. "And it will take a long time and a lot of work to get ourselves back to where we need to be." ❖

**Maureen Hayden covers the Indiana Statehouse for CNHI's newspapers and websites. Reach her at [mhayden@cnhi.com](mailto:mhayden@cnhi.com). Follow her on Twitter @MaureenHayden** ❖

## Mayor Copeland lands 500 jobs for E. Chicago

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – There was a time when East Chicago was one of the most industrialized towns in the nation. And, it certainly was one of the most political.

Throughout most of those glory years, Robert A. Pastrick was the city's mayor. In fact, Time magazine at the time called East Chicago one of the last political fiefdoms in America.

But life changed as Pastrick was defeated and his successor, George Pabey, ultimately was sent to prison. And during the middle of Pastrick's reign, the steel industry that was at the core of the city's industrialization, declined rapidly with



one of its major steel mills, Youngstown Sheet and Tube, actually closing for a while. Subsidiary industries across East Chicago either closed or moved to other parts of the country or to foreign nations.

Mayor Anthony Copeland, a former city firefighter, replaced Pabey and was renominated during the May primary after surviving a challenge from longtime city Clerk Mary Morris Leonard. The voters seemed to like what Copeland is doing as businesses were popping up around the town.

**Copeland pulled the** city out of debt, by eliminating scores of political jobs, and began developing the Lake Michigan shoreline with the help of the Northwest Indiana Regional Development Authority.

East Chicago, it seemed, was on the way back. And then came this week's announcement that the Copeland administration was on the verge of reaping a major

dividend.

Word is that a manufacturer in one of Chicago's western suburbs was planning to relocate to East Chicago.

**The firm, whose name** is being withheld until all agreements are reached, will employ about 510 workers at an average salary of \$55,000 a year. The jobs are skilled and Ivy Tech already is gearing up to provide the training. The unidentified company will invest about \$50 million in an existing building and land.

The building has a rich history as it once was used to produce tanks for wars. In more recent years it was used to building railroad cars. News of the industry comes at a time when things are difficult for the steel industry, which remains the heart of East Chicago.

ArcelorMittal took over Inland Steel Co., which is the largest in Indiana, and U.S. Steel acquired LTV Steel, a finishing company. Besides the daily impact of foreign steel being dumped in America, ArcelorMittal said a week ago that the possibility exists that it may close one of its hot strip rolling mills.

ArcelorMittal said its hot strip mills are operating at 70 percent of capacity and flat carbon product imports have increased 70 percent since 2013.

**The steel giant operates** hot strip mills in Riverdale, Ill., Burns Harbor, and two in East Chicago, as well as one in Cleveland. The company said it doesn't make sense to keep them all open, but didn't hint at which one may be closed.

Even if East Chicago should lose the employment of one of its hot strip mills, the arrival of 510 manufacturing jobs has Copeland smiling. ❖

**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.**

# Stark differences between Democrat, GOP prez candidates

By LEE HAMILTON

BLOOMINGTON – The stark differences in priorities between the Republicans and Democrats running for president suggests there will be a huge gulf between the parties, with no agreement on how to bridge it.



The presidential election is 16 months away, but already we're smack in the middle of the usual media scrum of campaign coverage, prognostication, and strategizing by many of us who have nothing much to do with the real campaigns. I've been following the rhetoric of both parties, and there are a few points that stand out enough to tell us something about what we have to look forward to.

To begin, the country is not in a sunny mood. The website Real Clear Politics keeps a running average of various polls, and its average of questions asking what Americans think of the country's direction shows some 62 percent believe we're headed in the wrong direction. That's not an all-time high — the figure was up in the 80s in the weeks before the 2008 election, and stood at 76.5 percent in October of 2011 — but it suggests that the electorate is in a wary mood. There is a sense that America is adrift, that we don't quite know how to deal with the forces of globalization, technological change, economic uncertainty, or terrorism. Americans are looking for a leader who can restore confidence.

**The economy in particular** weighs on ordinary Americans' minds. There's widespread agreement that the growing economy has done very little to help people of ordinary income, not just in recent years, but really for the past generation. Americans may feel better about the economy now than they did a few years ago, but that hasn't lessened their long-term anxiety that it's harder than ever to get ahead, and certainly harder than it was in their parents' generation.

Still, the improving economy may be responsible for one interesting aspect of the campaign: Republicans thus far have made national security a centerpiece issue, perhaps responding to polling that shows that Republican voters consider it a key factor in deciding among the plethora of GOP candidates. This emphasis could change with world events, but right now candidates are pressing the argument that President Obama is not tough enough when it comes to foreign policy; they don't think highly of

his leadership in the world, and in particular want to see more of a military buildup. It's a little less clear what they want to do with that military power.

**Of course, national security** and terrorism aren't the only issues that figure prominently in the Republicans' array of issues. So do the budget deficit, cutting taxes, and, as always, pulling back on the reach of government. They want to eliminate Obamacare as well as to cut Medicaid, move Medicare to a voucher system, repeal the estate tax, cut domestic programs, roll back financial reform and efforts to limit greenhouse gas emissions, and eliminate further consumer protections.

For the Democrats, meanwhile, addressing income inequality, maintaining Social Security and other entitlements, improving the country's decaying infrastructure, job creation, college costs, immigration and energy reform, and climate change all loom large. They want to preserve Obamacare, move forward on climate change, retain taxes on high-income earners, and preserve the financial reforms of the last decade.

The stark differences in priorities between Republicans and Democrats will probably be exacerbated by the primaries. Despite agreement on the general sense of unease among the population at large, just reciting the parties' rhetorical positions suggests there will be a huge gulf between the parties, with no agreement on how to bridge it. The campaign will be characterized by heavy emphasis on the impact of money on the process, and by record-breaking spending by the candidates.

**So with no incumbent** president, a large number of candidates, no clear favorite, and major differences in outlook on which issues to address and how to address them, this will be in the grand American political tradition a lively, contentious, long, expensive, maybe even pivotal election. Who gets to answer the biggest questions we face, the appropriate U.S. role in the world, what the reach and purpose of government should be, which path will best secure Americans' prosperity and world peace, is up for grabs. We've got an interesting election ahead as a nation. I'm looking forward to it. I hope you are, too. ❖

**Lee Hamilton is director of the Center on Congress at Indiana University; Distinguished Scholar, IU School of Global and International Studies; and Professor of Practice, IU School of Public and Environmental Affairs. He was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives for 34 years.**

# When a Republican ruled South Bend

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – The last Republican mayor of South Bend was Lloyd M. Allen, elected in 1963 and re-elected in 1967, both times by landslides. Allen won by close to 16,000 votes in '63, a record, after an accidental Democratic mayor wouldn't spend to fix chuckhole-infested streets and the Democratic Party was split, East Side vs. West Side.

In those days of powerful political organizations, Democratic leaders slated a mayoral candidate, Paul Krueper, the East Side favorite, in a mayoral nomination race with Eugene Pajakowski, supported in West Side precincts then with massive Polish-American voter strength. Krueper won the nomination. James Carroll, then The Tribune political writer, described the primary battle as "one of the meanest in Democratic history." Enter Allen. He won big in the Republican primary, where there was a large turnout.



Allen, an attorney, was elected four years earlier as city judge, a judgeship no longer in existence, defeating a Democratic incumbent accused of questionable conduct and opposed by prominent lawyers in his own party. Carroll wrote that Allen "looks like a combination of Ichabod Crane and Abraham Lincoln." He was a bit gangly, yet distinguished in appearance. He had a deep voice and way with words, though not quite Lincoln-esque. He was 44 when elected.

Allen went to the West Side, campaigning in places where Republican candidates had feared to tread. He hit the pavement, or what was left of the crumbling, chuckhole-filled pavement, denouncing the Democratic administration's neglect of streets and promising an extensive repaving program.

While Democrats have won 11 mayoral elections since Allen left office, and are virtually certain to continue that streak this fall to 12 elections and 48 years, Republicans put up more substantial opposition back then. A Republican won the office in 1951 and came very close in 1955.

The Democrat elected in 1955 and then reelected in 1959 was Edward "Babe" Voorde, father of present City Clerk John Voorde. Babe Voorde was a popular party leader. But Democrats lost their leader when the mayor was killed in an auto accident in 1960. Accidental Mayor Frank Bruggner, filling the vacancy left by Voorde's death,

didn't really want the job and sought to be a frugal caretaker, holding down costs and taxes but letting the streets crumble.

Allen lunched a street resealing program and other ambitious efforts, despite the demise of Studebaker automotive production coming just before he assumed office. He responded to complaints about spending and taxes, including criticism by Republican Council Member Janet Allen, by saying citizens were willing to pay for needed improvements when they could see the results.

Allen's approach was endorsed by the voters when he won another big victory for re-election in 1967, that time defeating Pajakowski. He was a driving force for a new county-city building and a self-described "passionate annexationist," once seeking annexation of Notre Dame.

He was personable, convivial. And he liked a drink, often more than one. He once jumped into a pond at a popular restaurant, the "Wooden Keg." But personal matters, so scrutinized now, were unreported then, if not interfering with official duties, whether engaged in by a mayor or a president.

As Allen left office after declining to seek a third term, a Tribune editorial observed: "When Lloyd M. Allen retires as mayor at the end of this month, South Bend will have a physical reminder of his eight-year term. Not a monument, or a statue, but nearly 400 miles of improved streets. Indeed, the Allen administration can claim fairly to have brought South Bend out of its monumental chuckhole."

Janet Allen was the Republican nominee in 1971, stressing the more conservative spending approach she sought in battles with the mayor over projects and budgets. In a talk shortly after leaving office, Lloyd Allen said of the other Allen: "Our relationship began eight years ago on a note of hostility and steadily deteriorated thereafter." Republicans were split, moderate vs. conservative, in 1971. Democrat Jerry Miller was elected mayor. A Democrat has been in the office ever since. ❖

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

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# Weakly weekly wages worries Hoosiers

By MORTON MARCUS

INDIANAPOLIS – There is a lot of talk about flat wages. It’s not just talk, it’s a fact. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Indiana Department of Workforce Development, average weekly wages in 42 of Indiana’s 92 counties were lower (after adjustment for inflation) in 2014 than in 2008.



Statewide the problem is much worse than in the nation. Indiana’s real average weekly wages rose only 0.7 percent in those six years; nationally the increase was 2.6 percent. It’s not that we fell from a great height; in 2008 our wages were 15.6 percent below those of the U.S. By 2014, we

had continued to slip downhill in a fog of self-deceit to 17.2 percent below the nation.

Who took the worst of the hit? You need look no further than your local government employees. Statewide, public safety workers, teachers, librarians, and others who work for us and live in our neighborhoods saw their real wages drop 2.8 percent. At the same time, local government workers across the nation realized a decline of 0.8 percent.

Within Indiana we had great differences in real gains and loss. I cannot explain many of them and will have to depend on your editor to fill-in the gaps in my knowledge.

Why did Sullivan County see an increase in average weekly earnings (after adjustment for inflation) of 22.9 percent to lead the state between 2008 and 2014? What high paying jobs were gained or low paying jobs lost?

**Was it a near** collapse of the local casino that caused Ohio County to have its real wages fall 24.3 percent?

How did it happen that Greene County had a decline of 10.9 percent, but its neighbor, Owen County, had a growth of 8.2 percent?

Over those six years, 2008 to 2014, the top three counties did

not change rank in wages paid to workers, but their experiences were quite different. Martin County (with the Crane research facility) had the highest weekly wages at \$1,256 in 2014, after enjoying a 4.1 percent real increase. Posey County (with the port and the GE plant) came in second with a \$994 average, despite realizing a 3.1 percent decline. Third place was occupied by highly diversified Marion County where the average weekly wage in 2014 was \$985, up a slight 0.7 percent.

**At the bottom in average** weekly wages paid in 2008 was trinket heaven Brown County, only to be replaced in 2014 by Ohio County. Crawford County was in the bottom three in each of those years, while Starke County moved up from 90th to 88th, leap frogging over Parke County.

What’s the difference between the top and the bottom of these counties? Martin, Posey and Marion counties are producing for a larger world. Brown, Ohio and Crawford, Starke and Parke sell commodities and not sufficiently differentiated services.

If you want to make more money, you have to do something others are willing to pay for .... handsomely. ❖

**Marcus is an economist and lecturer.**



The HPI Breaking News App  
is now available for iOS & Android!



**Paul Helmke, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette:** It is clear that the president and many others are frustrated by our failure to take action to reduce gun violence in this country. But I believe that something not only can, but will, be done. Who would have thought earlier this year that the South Carolina Legislature would vote to take down the Confederate battle flag? Who would have thought earlier this year that the Indiana legislature would add any language to any bill listing sexual orientation as something entitled to some specific protections? Yes, even slow-moving legislative bodies sometime recognize the need to make changes that once seemed impossible. Since the shock and anger over the news of the gun-riddled first-graders at Sandy Hook, six states have taken action to expand background checks to most gun sales. The state of Washington took this step through a referendum last year, and Oregon expanded its background checks to Internet gun sales this year. While the national Brady Law requiring federally licensed gun dealers to do background checks has stopped 2.4 million prohibited purchases since 1998, and takes only a few minutes for buyers with “clean” records, it does not apply to “private” sales which can take place at highly attended gun shows, swap meets, yard sales or in numerous other settings. It is estimated that 40 percent of all gun purchases are done without any background check. States requiring background checks on nearly all gun sales have seen that checks help reduce the level of gun violence. A bipartisan bill pending in the House (H.R.1217) would improve the existing Brady Law by requiring background checks for nearly all gun purchases. Such a law is clearly allowed by the Second Amendment and could make some difference in reducing gun violence. All candidates for office in the upcoming elections need to be asked where they stand on legislation like this. If they are opposed, they need to explain why and then be asked what their proposals are to reduce gun violence. We can’t allow our elected officials and candidates to get away with simplistic dodges like “I support the 2nd Amendment”. ❖



**John Krull, Evansville Courier & Press:** By coincidence, I was at a national convention of newspaper columnists just a few days before Gov. Mike Pence announced Indiana had canceled its deal with an out-of-state public relations firm hired to repair the state’s battered image. The state had hired Porter Novelli to clean up the mess left by Pence’s maladroitness handling of the needless debate over the Religious Freedom Restoration Act — a mean-spirited “solution” in desperate search of a problem if there ever was one. “Given the record-setting pace of job creation by businesses across Indiana, Gov. Pence supports the decision by the IEDC (Indiana Economic Development Commission) to conclude the contract with Porter Novelli and continue current efforts to promote the advantages of doing business and creating jobs in our state,”

said Kara Brooks, Pence’s press secretary. That statement demonstrates once again that denial isn’t just a river in Africa. The way to dump embarrassing news overboard is by releasing a statement just before the weekend starts — and it’s even better if you can throw garbage over the rail when people are racing away for a holiday weekend. The news that Indiana had severed ties with Porter Novelli came right as Americans prepared to celebrate the Fourth of July. Belated as it was, the governor made the right decision for the wrong reasons to get rid of Porter Novelli. The problem with agreeing to drop \$2 million on an out-of-state public relations firm was that it both was too much and too little. Spending that much money on damage control was bound to generate criticism of state officials — the governor included — who have preached austerity at different times to everyone from school teachers to police officers to victims of domestic violence. And the reality is that no amount of money was likely to do what Pence wanted done. Communications professionals can’t sell a message that doesn’t exist. ❖

**Lesley Weidenbener, Statehouse File:** The U.S. Supreme Court has cleared the way for states to use independent redistricting commissions to draw maps for legislative districts. That’s particularly timely in Indiana, where lawmakers are about to study whether to move the redistricting process to such a commission. It’s a move advocated by good-government type groups. The idea has even gained surprising support among Indiana lawmakers, even Republicans who currently have all the power they need to draw the lines in ways that benefit them. But House Speaker Brian Bosma, R-Indianapolis, has been pushing for an independent commission to take over the job and he advocated this summer’s study to learn more. “In my experience an independent redistricting has the potential to take the partisanship out of it,” he said. “I’m very interested in seeing whether that has been the experience in the state that has done them.” About a dozen states give “first and final authority” for legislative redistricting to a group other than the legislature, according to the National Conference of State Legislatures. That means lawmakers have no say in how the maps are drawn. Instead the job goes to a non-elected organization. The U.S. Supreme Court said a redistricting commission in Arizona is constitutional. In that case, the commission was created by voters through an initiative process. The court said disallowing the commission would “run up against the Constitution’s animating principle that the people themselves are the originating source of all the powers of government.” But that raises a question: In a state like Indiana, without a ballot initiative process, would an independent commission actually honor the idea that the “the people themselves are the originating source of all the powers of government?” ❖

## Iran nuke accord reached

VIENNA — Iran and a group of six nations led by the United States reached a historic accord on Tuesday to significantly limit Tehran's nuclear ability for more than a decade in return for lifting international oil and financial sanctions, Western diplomats said (New York Times). The deal culminates 20 months of negotiations on an agreement that President Obama had long sought as the biggest diplomatic achievement of his presidency. Whether it portends a new relationship between the United States and Iran — after decades of coups, hostage-taking, terrorism and sanctions — remains a bigger question. President Obama is essentially betting that once sanctions have been lifted, Iran's leaders will have no choice but to use much of the new money to better the lives of their citizens. In 18 consecutive days of talks here, American officials said, the United States secured major restrictions on the amount of nuclear fuel that Iran can keep in its stockpile for the next 15 years. It will require Iran to reduce its current stockpile of low enriched uranium by 98 percent, most likely by shipping much of it to Russia. That measure, combined with a two-thirds reduction in the number of centrifuges spinning at Iran's primary enrichment center at Natanz, would extend to a year the amount of time it would take Iran to make enough material for a bomb should it abandon the accord and race for a weapon — what officials call "breakout time."

## Coats skeptical of Iran deal

WASHINGTON — Senator Dan Coats (R-Ind.) is wary of the nuclear agreement between Iran and a group of six leading nations, including the United States today. "This deal intends to slow down Iran's march to

nuclear weapons capability, but even the White House concedes that this agreement will not permanently stop Iran's nuclear ambitions," Coats said. Congress must determine what this deal does buy us and at what cost. I will carefully review the details, but I admit profound skepticism. The intentions of the Iranian regime have been revealed by decades of murderous aggression and lying deceit. This violence is the proven record of our negotiating partner, and all of Iran's commitments must be evaluated in that light. If this proposed deal fails in any important respect, Congress must reject it. We then can enact more vigorous sanctions to persuade the Iranian leaders to reconsider their positions or persuade the Iranian people to reconsider their leaders."



## Detente settles in for Ritz, SBOE

INDIANAPOLIS — Six weeks after a reboot of the State Board of Education, a detente between board members and state school superintendent Glenda Ritz is holding (Berman, WIBC). Five of the board's 10 appointed members came aboard last month, under a law transferring two board appointments to legislative leaders, and allowing Governor Pence to decide whether to keep or jettison the rest. The first two meetings with the new lineup have had none of the acrimony that were a regular feature of the preceding two years, as Ritz, the only Democrat holding state office in Indiana, repeatedly clashed with a bipartisan board appointed by Republican governors. Ritz says she expects the good feeling to continue. She says she can't speculate on whether the newfound calm reflects the membership change, a desire to start over, or something else, but says turning over half the board's roster can't help but alter the dynamics. But Ritz says she still believes the superintendent should continue to automatically serve as board chairman. The same law

which shook up the board's membership also calls for the board to elect its chairman, starting in 2017.

## Walker kicks off prez campaign

WAUKESHA, Wis. — Scott Walker officially announced his bid for the presidency on Monday, launching his campaign from some of the most reliably Republican turf in America and the site of the Wisconsin governor's most unlikely victory (Politico). Suburban Milwaukee's Waukesha County is where Walker celebrated the 2012 recall victory that propelled him to national prominence. It was a bruising battle that added to an impressive streak over more than two decades in which Walker appeared on a ballot 14 times, and failed just twice. That record is at the heart of his pitch to Republican voters. "My record shows that I know how to fight and win. Now, more than ever, we need a president who will fight and win for America," Walker said, his sleeves rolled up. Walker emphasized he is not a creature of Washington.

## Indiana facing teacher shortage

INDIANAPOLIS — Indiana schools are coming up short on one very crucial part of the mix (StateImpact). We've reported before about shortages of substitute teachers around the state — and not surprisingly, the group of Hoosier educators as a whole is also on the decline. The number of licenses the state issued to first year teachers in 2013-14 dropped by more than 60 percent from the 2009-10 school year. According to the most recent data available from the Indiana Department of Education, the state issued 6,174 licenses to first-time teachers in the 2013-14 school year. In 2009-10, that number sat at 16,578. That means the number of initial licenses issued has dropped by 63 percent. It's important to note that teachers need separate licenses to teach individual subjects, so this doesn't mean the number of teachers has dropped by the same.