



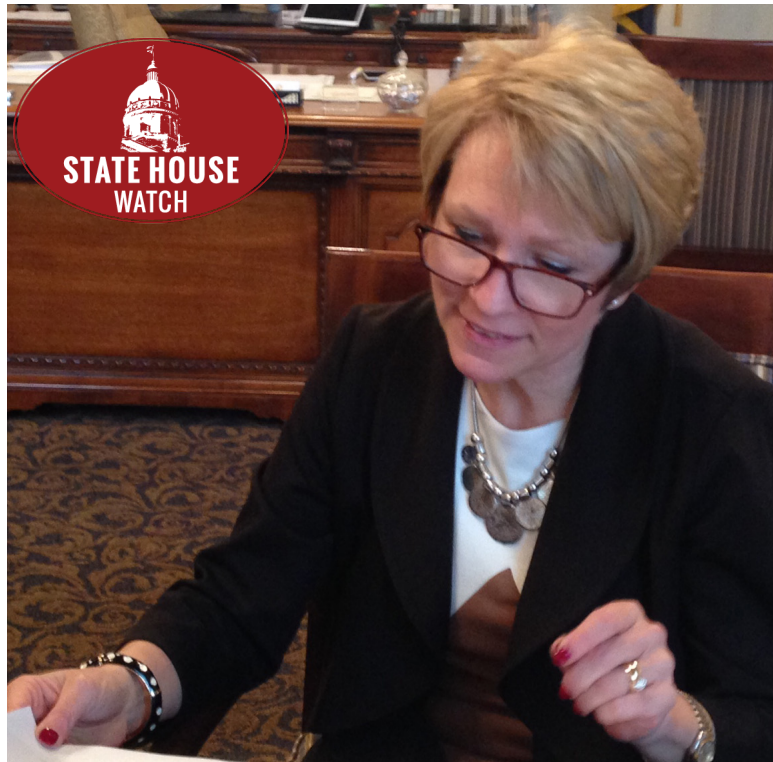
Advancing broadband (under the radar)

Ellspermann and IEDC forge a new way to connectivity

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - Lt. Gov. Sue Ellspermann "grew up rural" near Ferdinand. She set off for a good part of her professional life in Evansville where she had her own consulting firm and was a founding director for the University of Southern Indiana's Center for Applied Research, then moved back to her roots.

This was possible, because about five years ago, Ferdinand "brought fiber to the door," which meant she had high speed internet. "Anything I could do at the university I could do from home," Ellspermann said. The town hoped it would have 300 people sign up and it ended up



Lt. Gov. Sue Ellspermann became a facilitator in extending broadband across Indiana. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

600 people signing up just like that. "If you want to have progressive communities that can attract talent and attract business and can meet the needs of agriculture for that matter, you've got to have bandwidth. To go to a place that doesn't have bandwidth is hard to imagine."

Indiana's problem is that wide swathes of the state are without high speed internet. And the ar-

Continued on page 3

Civil vs. religious rights

By **CRAIG DUNN**

KOKOMO - As I listen intently to the various stakeholders in the Hoosier State's deliberation on the issue of extending protections to its LGBT citizens, it has dawned on me that people opposing the extension of those rights

to employment, housing and public accommodations don't really see the issue as one of civil rights. They see the issue as one of religious freedom.

Therein lies the ultimate problem. The issue is irreconcilable and non-negotiable to the true believers on both sides of the issue. Both sides have those who have drawn lines in the sand and the lines intersect nowhere.



"Mayor-elect, you sort of ignored the fact that last year the amount of city business that went to minority owned businesses was just 6%. The city's goal is 15%. That's a 60% drop."

- Amos Brown, in his final Indianapolis Recorder column



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The no man's land resting between the two lines in the sand is inhabited by a hodge-podge of well-meaning business people, civic leaders and politicians wanting to permanently put the issue of LGBT civil rights to bed. Also occupying no man's land are the usual assortment of opportunists looking to exploit the turmoil over the issue for their own political and/or financial benefit.

Just like many other people in Indiana, I have personally struggled with the issue of full extension of LGBT civil rights. Although I don't consider myself a devout Christian, I do cherish religious rights and the role that religion and the church have played in the formation and history of our great nation. Our country was founded by people of faith and I believe that it was the full intent of our founding fathers to keep God close to the bosom of a growing nation.

Initially, my view of LGBT rights was to look upon the issue as just another liberal assault on the critical social fiber of our nation. To me, it was a political issue, pure and simple.

My attitude has changed as I've aged. I've become more libertarian as I've grown older. I'm far more "live and let live" and "what goes on between consenting adults is their business" than I used to be. Having four Millennial children who are economic conservatives but socially open-minded contributed to the process.

Today, I see the issue of LGBT rights as one of basic civil rights. Nothing more and nothing less. And when it comes to civil rights, there is little ground for compromise.

Taking a stroll down history lane, even though slaves were emancipated, empowered to own property, vote and attempt to live the American dream, some basic rights were still denied to blacks. Can you imagine a country where we asked, in some cases drafted and demanded, young black men go off to war and fight and die for the ideal of "freedom" and then watched them coming home to be told that they could not marry a white woman because it was against our beliefs? I sure can't, but until 1965, it

made perfect sense to the majority of Democrats and Republicans in Indiana to deny the basic human right of marriage.

We look back today upon those dark times and shake our heads at the cold-hearted thoughtlessness of anti-miscegenation laws, separate but equal schools, separate water fountains, poll taxes and red-lined neighborhoods and smugly think to ourselves that we would never have propagated that system if we had been in positions of authority. But I think we might have. Our revulsion to racial discrimination has only grown with time.

Today, the average Hoosier would not countenance the failure to provide equal educational, employment, housing and civil rights protections for disabled people. Sidewalk cut-outs, wheel chair ramps, special education and other key protections for disabled people are now taken for granted by most of us. We perceive the principle of equality as perfectly acceptable when it comes to people with intellectual and physical challenges. We would all bake a cake for two disabled people, take it to the wedding and smile as the two lovers exchanged vows. But there was a time when we ignored the inherent rights of disabled people. Who hasn't, in their lifetime, seen someone struggling in a wheel chair to cross a street or deal with stairs?

Who among you would publicly deny civil rights to a Jewish person? In a post-holocaust world, it seems almost unthinkable that anyone but the most extreme bigot would tread on the rights of Jewish people. Yet, it wasn't that long ago that discrimination against Jews was not just tolerated but propagated by government.

Religion-based prohibitions against Jews voting existed for many decades after the passage of the Bill of Rights. In fact, New Hampshire did not grant Jews the right to vote until 1877. When Gen. Ulysses S. Grant moved into Kentucky, Tennessee and Mississippi during the Civil War, anti-Jewish sentiment moved with him. He ordered the forced expulsion of Jews

from the areas occupied by his army. A U.S. Army manual published during World War I advised recruits that, "The foreign born, and especially Jews, are more apt to malingering than native-born." Even a liberal bastion like Harvard instituted a quota in 1922 on the number of Jewish students who could be admitted. President Franklin Roosevelt blocked the admittance of German-Jewish refugees attempting to escape Nazi Germany because of strident opposition from Southern Democrats.

All of this seems surreal and unbelievable to those of us who were taught a sugar-coated version of American history. While it is true that the United States has been exceptional among the nations of the world, we have, at times, displayed exceptionally bad behavior.

Those looking to find some great compromise such as the three-fifths compromise in our Constitution, the Missouri Compromise or the Compromise of 1850 are merely struggling to swim upstream against the inexorable tide of history. What we should have learned over our tumultuous history is that, in the area of civil rights, there is no acceptable compromise. People either have civil rights or they don't. It is as simple as that.

Patrick Henry would surely be unknown to history if he had demanded, "I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me a politically

acceptable compromise that will give me some liberties but still deny me basic rights." It sounds silly, but we are heading down that path.

Very few of us would ever accept any compromise today that would tell black persons that they can vote, work where they are qualified, live where they want, receive an education but that they can't marry that nice white person in their church because of religious objections. And yet, this will be the type of compromise that will be sought by those trying to juggle civil rights and religious freedom.

In the year 2016, the State of Indiana will decide the supremacy of rights. Will civil rights for all triumph over the religious rights of some? The issue will either be decided once and for all by a welcoming and accepting Hoosier State or merely postponed until it is decided by time. We have the opportunity to set a shining example in the history of civil rights. We can go marching hand in hand with our fellow Hoosiers or go kicking and screaming, dragged by history.

The choice is ours. ❖

Dunn is chairman of the Howard County Republican Party.

Broadband, from page 1

areas that don't have it fall behind. They lose jobs, young people, population. Poverty, drug abuse and crises like the Scott County heroin, hepatitis C and HIV epidemics have the potential to fester. While 70 percent of Hoosiers live in a city or small town, that leaves the rest in places that are now falling behind. It was fueled a generation ago when the best and brightest students in small town and rural high schools were told to head off to the university and then go conquer the world. Many who didn't either farmed, took part in a family business or just coped.

The cost of festering neglect can be huge. Sen. Joe Donnelly noted that the 180 HIV cases in Scott County could have an eventual price tag to taxpayers of \$150 million. "That's \$150 million; in one town, the health care cost will be \$150 million," Donnelly said last August, citing Center for Disease Control data. "That is the challenge we're looking at across the state as well" as some 20 counties, mostly rural, are now seeking needle exchange programs

Ellspermann had a meteoric rise in Hoosier politics, upsetting House Majority Leader Russ Stilwell in 2010 before Gov. Mike Pence chose her for the 2012 ticket. In 2013, she embarked on a 92-county tour and one thing

she heard "over and over" was the need to high speed internet, via either broadband or the now rapidly accelerating wireless. It may be the last lifeline for many small communities who have dwindling and aging populations. The prairies still have soil that Kurt Vonnegut called "as rich as chocolate cake," and river valleys and hollers are places many folks dream of eventually going back to their



roots, but the inhibitor is a lack of connectivity.

I wrote about the need for universal broadband across Indiana a few weeks ago, nudged by a Thriving Communities/Thriving State presentation I witnessed with the Indiana University Policy Institute. It is as essential as rural electrification, telephones and paved road were eight decades ago.

Little did I know that Lt. Gov. Ellspermann and

Indiana Economic Development Corporation President Victor Smith were already on it. "But honestly I like working under the radar," Ellspermann said in her cavernous Statehouse office.

In 2013, she formed the Indiana Rural Broadband Working Group. It included AT&T, Comcast, Frontier Communications, Smithville Communications, Verizon, the Union Station Technology Center, Indiana Farm Bureau, Indiana Office of Community and Rural Affairs, the departments of Agriculture, Transportation and Commerce, the Indiana Economic Development Corporation, Indiana and Ball State universities. There were legislators involved, along with electric cooperatives, fiber groups, regional partnerships and an alphabet soup of various federations, networks and associations.

"My background is facilitating problem solving," Ellspermann said. "I brought a professional facilitator in. I used a very thoughtful factfinding formulation and developed solutions in just under a year. With these groups, I wanted them to come together, learn from one another, build relationships, look for private sector solutions and government help where we can help," Ellspermann said. "At the time, we didn't have a bucket of money. We worked together to identify the challenges that we could solve together."

The initial reaction to this disparate working group? "They all got nervous," Ellspermann said. What was her hidden agenda? What was she going to make them do?

The lieutenant governor had questions of her own: "What can we do? How do we move this needle for Indiana? How do we identify the challenges that we might be able to work on together and move them forward? That was the premise."

In December 2014 came an eight-page report. It outlined the challenges:

1. How might we streamline permits, zoning and approval processes?
2. How might we ensure return on investment for build out and maintenance? How might we reduce the cost of investment?
3. How might we match up service with needs in rural Indiana?
4. How might we find common access points in rural areas?

The working group broke into four teams, diverged on a "multitude of ideas" and made recommendations on five.

They include:

1. Streamlining permit, zoning and the approval process: One of the obstacles facing service carriers and providers is the variation and vast differences of permitting, zoning and approval processes across local counties and communities. The example was a town that was located on a county line. One county had an easy permitting process, the other had "many obstacles."

"This difference amongst local units of government creates roadblocks for providers to deploy broadband infrastructure quickly and efficiently," the report stated. "The goal is not to remove home rule and the decision of local officials, but to simply ask them to make those decisions within certain parameters. Additionally, forms and documentation requirements could be standardized across the state." Right of ways, fee structures were examined.

2. Increasing rural broadband adoption:

Many providers believe communities and residential users are not fully aware of the need and possibilities of being "online" with broadband connection. Health care, educa-



Lt. Gov. Ellspermann with former Indiana Farm Bureau chief Don Villwock.

tion and employment opportunities are just three examples of changing online opportunities. The working group recommended the development of a Rural Broadband Center in conjunction with a university to collect data and build the appropriate messaging to deploy to the current non-user base.

3. Return on investment of the last mile:

Over the last five years, the Indiana Geographic Information Office and Office of Technology have worked together with more than 150 internet providers to map high-speed services available to Hoosiers. It demonstrated that more than 96% of the state has access to one or several services. However, there remains the "last mile" which are unserved or underserved. The working group recommended the Indiana Office of Community and Rural Affairs (OCRA) work with local officials and broadband providers to develop comprehensive data regarding the "last mile" blocks.

4. The working group discussed a "carrier neutral point of presence." Ellspermann notes that reaching some of those "last miles" can be cost prohibitive to providers. "If you could create a pod in the middle of this unserved area, and it might be owned by the county or an economic development identity, then you have this carrier neutral point that brings fiber to the point for a small investment, and then you change the business model for others who want to hook up from that point," Ellspermann explained. "So that's a novel approach. We have it in there. We're going to see if it catches legs. We

have at least one county looking at it. I want private sector to come up first and take a look at it."

5. The need for an organization dedicated to rural broadband and related issues has developed.

A Rural Broadband Center has been proposed to help serve as a neutral party for gathering and disseminating information related to broadband access, adoption and speeds." The RBC would ideally be housed within a state university where it could maintain its neutral position and provide unbiased advice to providers and communities. Funding for the RBC could be provided from interested stakeholders such as providers, local economic developers, local community officials and state grant dollars.

Ellspermann had one initial goal of not relying on the General Assembly. "My thought going in was no legislation. You know, I'm a small government person," she said. "I really think most things can be solved by people putting their heads together."

But there were two pieces of legislation that passed in 2015, the first was Broadband Ready Communities. House Enrolled Act 1101 establishes a center within the Indiana Economic Development Corporation, known as the Broadband Ready Communities Development Center, to facilitate certain communications projects. Once a local unit of government establishes a procedure to review applications and issue permits for the communications projects, the center will be able to designate them as a broadband ready community. The procedure must include the following items: A single point of contact for all matters related to a project, a guarantee that all applications will be reviewed and either approved or rejected within 10 business days, an assurance that all inspections will occur in a timely manner and an authorization for all forms, applications and documentation to be filed and signed by electronic means.

"**One of the things the** providers said, if you can create some consistency in permitting we would pick Indiana to invest in over other states," Ellspermann said.

The second was HEA1318, which addresses the exploding wireless technology. "This bill is about streamlining and expediting the process of deploying," said Indiana AT&T President Bill Soards. "It shortens the time frame. Applications can't be pending for months and months. The difference is that HEA1101 is permissive, and 1308 is prescriptive."

Soards lauded Ellspermann, the IEDC's Victor Smith and the entire working group. "HEA1101 is a concept no other state has adopted. Broadband ready communities are the single most important thing local leaders can do to become more attractive for additional broadband

investment."

And Soards, who served on both the Indianapolis City Council and the Boone County Council, said that governments need to be pushing "adoption" of services to their constituents. In the past, governments have used broadband technologies to work internally. "We need more customer interfacing," Soards said. "Customers are tired of having to drive to the courthouse and pay \$3 for a photo-copied document when they could go on line and get it by pushing a button."

He said that while Indiana ranks 12th nationally in broadband availability, it is 40th in broadband connection. "Indiana is a leader in broadband deployment, but a lagger in adoption," Soards said.

Nashville became the first community to receive the Broadband Ready Community designation and Rushville the second. Nashville Town Manager Scott Rudd became aware of the Broadband Communities legislation through IEDC and IACT, as well as State Rep. Eric Koch, who represents Brown

County. "Rep. Koch encouraged us to apply and we quickly took advantage of it," Rudd said.

The results have amazed him. "I am surprised by the response of the telecommunications industry," Rudd said. Since Nashville received the designation, it has attracted interest from large, medium and small providers, and a high tech firm is setting up shop in the former Muddy Boots Cafe on the city's main street.

"**Our town council and** our community are very interested in improving high speed internet in town. We've received a lot of input from businesses, residents and Realtors, who said it was becoming more and more of a priority of people looking to relocate," Rudd said. "We want to stand out as a community. As soon as we heard the program was available, we moved to enact the necessary ordinances and regulations to be broadband ready."

That included vows to not discriminate against any provider, setting up a process to approve permits within 10 days, and establishing a single point of contact, in this case Rudd himself. "We want as many providers in town as possible because we think it will encourage competition. And the prices are already coming down."

The town views itself as a great place to live and do business. "Since our designation, we have been inundated with private investors, small, medium and larger providers. I couldn't have asked for more. This is a progressive community, it's a cool place to live and we have so much more to offer," said Rudd of his town located next to Brown County State Park and less than half an hour from the Indiana University campus in Bloomington. ❖



AT&T President Bill Soards (left) and Nashville Town Manager Scott Rudd)

Pence continues to mull civil rights as speculation grows

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The biggest parlor game in the Indiana Statehouse community and Hoosier political circles is guessing what Gov. Mike Pence will do with regard to the civil rights extension issue. For now, the governor isn't showing his hand.



Asked by IndyStar reporter Chelsea Schneider where he stood on the issue Tuesday in Lebanon, Pence said, "There will come a time either before or after the outset of the (legislative) session that Hoosiers know precisely where I stand on these issues. I really do believe it's just important that we listen respectfully to all sides. I've been meeting with people across the state of Indiana who represent a broad spectrum of views on this, and we'll continue to do that. The most important thing I think is that as this debate goes forward that we demonstrate the kind of respect and civility for which the people of this state is so widely known. I'm confident that we will."

So the governor is taking a deliberative approach to the issue that could go a long way in deciding his political fate. The impact is that the suspense is now growing, as well as the speculation. And it has the potential to suck the oxygen away from the issues legislative Republican leaders want to emphasize, namely infrastructure and the teacher shortage.

There are several schools of thought on this:

1. Pence really doesn't know what to do. This is a dangerous place to be for a leader with sagging reelection numbers. It makes him seem indecisive, and it gives fuel to the 24/7 social media culture to speculate. We all know what his dilemma is: Opt for the simple "four words and a comma" approach and he angers his social conservative base. Opt to do nothing and he has the potential to lose moderate Republicans and independents, the GOP business wing and female voters,

along with media opinion leaders and makers. Not one dollar has been spent on the inevitable ads at this point. Opt for what Speaker Brian Bosma described in last week's HPI interview, which is a blend of non-discrimination and religious protections, and there is the potential that no one will be happy. On that blend, it is one thing for a church which doesn't want to perform gay marriages in its sanctuary, and another to deny services in the public space, which includes businesses. The notion that cake bakers won't serve gay couples is akin to drugstore lunch counters denying service to blacks or Jews. That was a battle fought half a century ago.

2. Pence has made a decision, but he is choosing the time and place to announce. Both Pence and Speaker Bosma have said that the coming General Assembly short session will be fast and focused on just a few issues. This would fuel speculation that the governor could bow to his base and punt, perhaps appointing a blue ribbon commission to come up with a recommendation for the 2017 session. There has been other speculation that no decision will come until after the mid-February filing deadline to protect Republicans from possible primary challenges. But that deadline collides with the bill crossover process.

3. Pence could charge the General Assembly to bring him a piece of legislation. Late last summer, key Pence allies were putting feelers out on the depth and charge of the issue. Some counseled that the governor get "out in front" of the issue. While Democratic legislative leaders beat him to that, their tiny caucuses don't give them much clout. So at noon next Monday, all eyes will be on Bosma and Senate President David Long at the Indiana Chamber's Legislative Preview Luncheon. Taking this approach could fuel charges of weak leadership. But another way to view it is that it was legislative Republicans who initiated the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (though Pence endorsed the legislation late in the process) and the ensuing debacle, and it will be up to them to clean up the mess.

Bosma told HPI last week that efforts were being made to find a balance between non-discrimination and freedom of conscience, explaining, "That's the delicate spot to find. It's my hope that the House and Senate leaders and the governor can end up the same page. It may not be possible."

Informed and reliable sources tell Howey Politics Indiana that as of now there are only about 13 or 14 votes in the House Republican caucus who would support the "four words and a comma" approach or the blend of non-discrimination and religious freedom. That leaves more than 50 members of the caucus who don't want to



Gov. Mike Pence during his April press conference at the Indiana State Library at the height of the RFRA controversy. (HPI Photo by Mark Curry)

support the "four words and a comma" approach or the blend of non-discrimination and religious freedom. That leaves more than 50 members of the caucus who don't want to

do anything. Sources are saying the process is likely to start in the Senate and is likely to be assigned to the Public Policy Committee.

The Pence administration and legislative Republicans are in a precarious position of ceding the moral high ground to Democrats, Freedom Indiana and the business wing of the GOP which will be developing a website and advertising, not to mention into the teeth of public opinion.

The consequences of this could be catastrophic for even a House Republican majority. Since April, polling by Howey Politics Indiana and Bellwether Research, a second by Bellwether for Bill Oesterle, internal polls for business organizations and Ball State's Hoosier Survey all put support for a civil rights extension in the 55-35% range, which is landslide territory. Independents who will decide the election are siding with Democrats. A damaged governor digging a deeper hole on this issue, the GOP divided between the social and business wings, and the very real possibility of the emergence of a controversial presidential nominee running against Hillary Clinton has the potential - which is impossible to gauge at this point - of overwhelming an even super majority caucus.

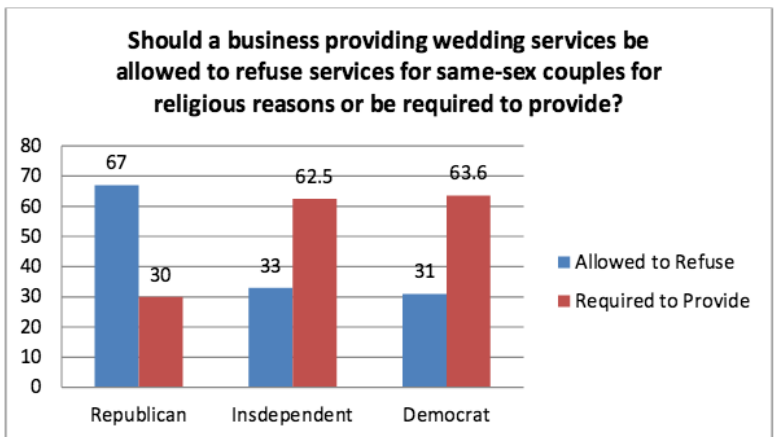
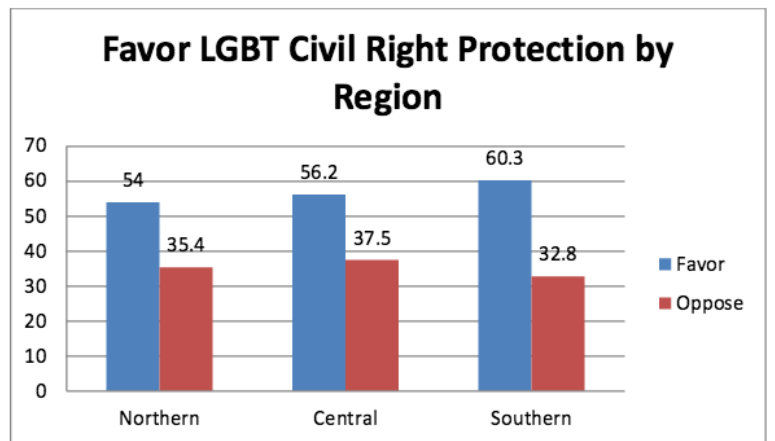
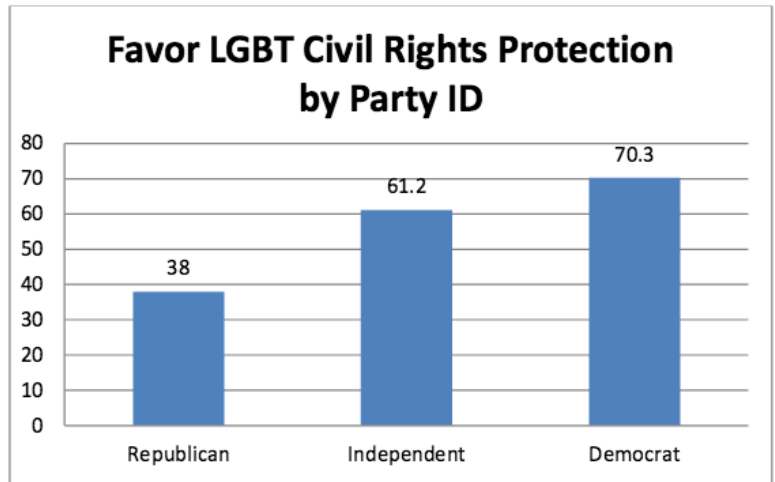
The civil rights extension is playing out in one of the most unpredictable and chaotic political sequences in modern Indiana history.

4. The sneak attack won't happen. If there is one conclusion, it is that Advance America's hyper "sneak attack" won't happen next Tuesday during Organization Day. Senate Majority Leader Brandt Hershman has \$10,000 bet on this. Howey Politics Indiana and Indiana Legislative Insight reported in mid-September that key Statehouse players were exploring that and an array of options, but that kind of chatter quickly evaporated. Memo to Eric Miller: That's called a "trial balloon." Often these balloons get shot down, or they end up in Roswell, NM. So the sneak attack exists only in the mind of Eric Miller, whose credibility on this and in general has taken an emphatic beating.

The issue is opening up some interesting tangents, early indicators of how this sequence has the potential of going off rails and with hard to fathom political consequences. The NWI Times and reporter Marc Chase's series on campaign finance this week raised the notion that the scathing reaction to RFRA prompted Pence's business base to pressure for the "fix." Former Angie's List CEO Bill Oesterle and firms like Cummins (where Pence's brother and close adviser works), Eli Lilly and Sales Force are the conspicuous players on that front.

Mute is hotel mogul Dean White, who has pumped \$4 million into various Pence and Republican campaign organizations.

Chase reported: "From the campaign fund of



The 2015 Hoosier Survey by Ball State University's Bowen Center for Public Affairs measured the civil rights expansion issue. The survey was conducted for WISH TV/Ball State University by Princeton Survey Research International during the period October 8-13, 2015. Results are based on 602 completed interviews with 362 landline respondents and 240 cell phone (including 137 adults with no landline) respondents. The margin of error is ±5.2%.

Indiana Gov. Mike Pence to the massive Indiana House Republican Campaign Committee war chest, billionaire hotel and hospitality mogul Dean White, of Crown Point, ranked at or near the top of contributors to Republican campaign leadership. Between 2011 and 2014, White alone pumped

\$4 million into five of the Indiana GOP's six largest campaign funds, The Times probe shows. The state's hotel, convention and tourism sector were among the industries most threatened by event cancellations in the wake of RFRA. White, who never publicly spoke out against RFRA, wasn't available for comment on the matter. And some perennial donors to the Hoosier Republican cause, including former Angie's List CEO William Oesterle, were among RFRA's most vocal critics. Oesterle contributed \$220,000 to various Republican campaign funds between 2011 and 2014, including \$150,000 to Pence's political war chest, The Times probe found."

Chase also took HPI's take: But Howey said he sees other potential influence having played a role. "You had to think him (Dean White) being in the hospitality industry maybe convinced the governor to go along with the fix," Howey said. Pence campaign spokesman Robert Vane dismissed claims that a campaign finance fix was in where RFRA was concerned. "The governor called for the fix because it was the best thing to do for Indiana and all Hoosiers," Vane said.

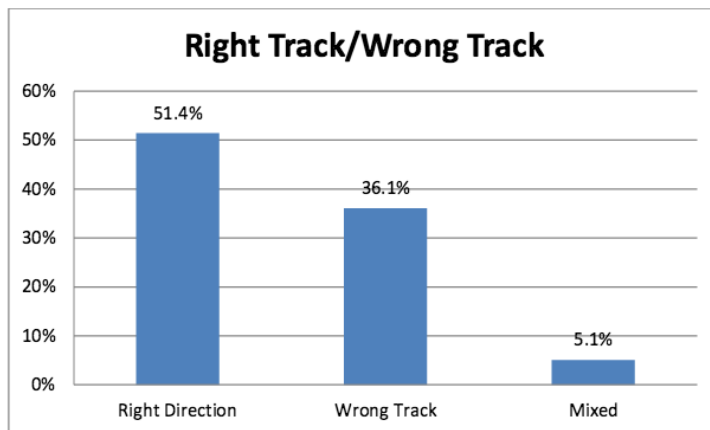
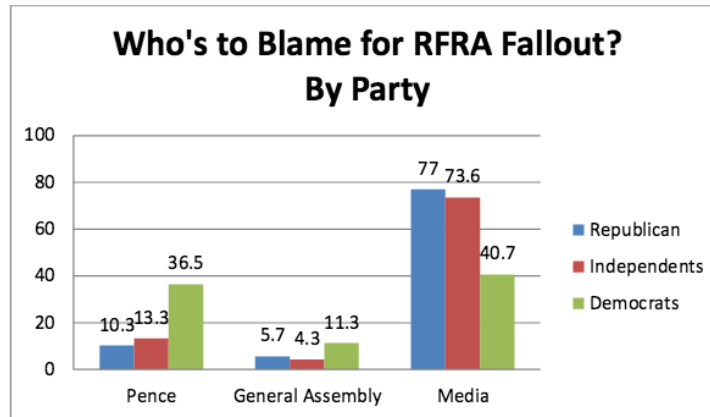
Interestingly, White has not made a large contribution into the Mike Pence for Indiana campaign in 2015. Neither has Oesterle.

The Indiana Chamber of Commerce endorsed the civil rights expansion by what has been described to HPI as a "unanimous vote" by its board, announcing it just hours after Pence appeared at the organization's annual awards dinner. This was followed by eight newspapers urging for the expansion this week.

So the pressure grows, and all eyes are on the governor.

Another business group to push civil rights

Another business group has formed to lobby for extending Indiana's civil rights protections to members of the LGBT communities (Associated Press). The group calling itself Indiana Competes includes the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce and will lobby the General As-



sembly to adopt protections on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity in housing, employment and public accommodations. It will focus on showing how the change could affect economic development efforts. "It's very important that we understand the ramifications - long-term ramifications - when we deal with restricting rights or not affording everybody equal rights that it does hamper our ability to attract talent," said Mark Fisher, vice president of government relations and policy development for the Indianapolis Chamber. The Indiana Chamber of Commerce last week called for extending the civil rights law to bar discrimination against people based on their LGBT status.

October, November large donations

Here are the large donations for the Mike Pence for Indiana campaign: J. Peter Ricketts of Omaha \$10,000; Andre Lacy \$12,000; RGA Right Direction PAC \$66,000; Stanley Herzog of Missouri \$20,000; Jonathan Hage of Florida \$10,000; Van Smith of Muncie \$10,000; Richard Johnson of Columbus \$20,000; John Schnatter of Carmel \$25,000; REI Real Estate of Carmel \$25,000; and Northeast Indiana PAC for Better Government \$21,000. Total: \$219,500.

John Gregg Campaign: Sprinklers Filter Local 281 of Illinois \$10,000; Lacy Johnson of Indianapolis \$25,000; United Food and Commercial Workers \$25,000; Iron Workers Local 395 of Portage \$50,000; and Steelworkers PAC of Pittsburg \$50,000. Total: \$160,000.

NWI Times on Pence, Gregg fundraising

Nearly \$1 of every \$3 augmenting Gov. Mike Pence's \$19.8 million campaign fund in the past four years has come from out-of-state contributors, a Times probe of Indiana campaign finance shows (Chase, NWI Times). The political fortune of his Democratic nemesis, gubernatorial challenger John Gregg, also has been fed by out-of-state interests, with more than \$1 out of every \$4 given by donors with non-Hoosier addresses. A national campaign finance think-tank expert and at least two Indiana political experts conclude it's all part of a growing trend in which national political lines extend into states and vice versa. But the trend of out-of-state interests with monetary skin in the state-level political game appears to

be heightened in Indiana. Out of 47 nationwide gubernatorial candidates in the most recent election cycles, Pence ranked seventh highest in percentage of out-of-state campaign contributions, an analysis by the National Institute on Money in State Politics concluded.

Gregg ranked ninth highest, according to the same study. On paper, neither the size of the opposing Indiana gubernatorial candidates' campaign funds nor their top contributors appear to have much in common. Among the top contributions to Pence's \$19.8 million campaign fund between 2011 and 2014 were a \$1.1 million infusion from a national conservative political action committee and \$200,000 from one of the Koch brothers, the politically charged family operating a massive oil and gas empire, The Times probe shows. Gregg's campaign war chest, though much smaller at \$6.6 million over the same four years, enjoyed nearly half a million dollars in support from an equivalent national Democratic political action com-

mittee and hundreds of thousands of dollars from labor unions.

But what seem to be polar opposites on the campaign finance spectrum have one important characteristic in common: Disproportionately large out-of-state funding compared to gubernatorial candidates in most other states. Nearly 30 percent, or \$5.6 million, of Pence's overall war chest came from campaign contributors with out-of-state addresses, The Times analysis shows. By comparison, the median out-of-state funding amount for gubernatorial candidates nationwide is about 11 percent, according to the National Institute on Money in State Politics.

On the Democratic side of the Hoosier gubernatorial race, Gregg garnered nearly 27 percent, or \$1.8 million, of his war chest from out-of-state sources, the Times reported. ❖

McDermott didn't rule out Visclosky challenge

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – Democratic Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr. made a couple of things perfectly clear a week ago. And he left one other thing pretty much up in the air.



McDermott, who has a fine record as mayor, just won a fourth term, making him the longest serving mayor in city history. And, based on the 2010 Census, Hammond is now the largest city in Lake County. Gary, which has lost more than half of its high-water mark of 176,000 residents, is now second in population.

But McDermott has greater aspirations than being mayor. He has visions of much higher office. And he hasn't been shy about saying so. For a couple of years, McDermott has been talking about running for governor or the U.S. Senate. In fact, McDermott might be running for governor today if John Gregg hadn't changed his mind about taking on Gov. Mike Pence for a second time. And with Republican Sen. Dan Coats not seeking reelection, it appeared that Democrats have a chance to win that Senate seat. But, former U.S. Rep. Baron Hill beat McDermott to the punch and hit the campaign trail.

Unfortunately for McDermott, he was in the midst of a campaign for mayor at the time and couldn't

announce that he was running for the Senate while asking voters to reelect him as mayor.

McDermott made it clear last week that he wouldn't be running for governor or senator. The mayor said such a campaign would demand too much time and take him away from his family. The reality is that he couldn't win either race, given the leads that Gregg and Hill have run up. That family thing always tends to help candidates save face.

However, McDermott didn't rule out one other possibility for higher office, 1st District Congress. That office is another one he has long coveted. Even though McDermott won't rule out running for Congress, he likely knows that he can't beat incumbent U.S. Rep. Peter Visclosky, who may be the most entrenched elected official in Northwest Indiana. Not only can McDermott not beat Visclosky, it would be a shame if he did.

Visclosky will be starting his 31st year in the House of Representatives beginning in January. He sits high on the House Appropriations Committee that doles out millions in federal dollars. And he has brought an impressive amount of money back to Northwest Indiana. Out of the 435 members of the House, Visclosky is tied for 10th in seniority. Anyone with that level of seniority generally gets almost everything he wants, as opposed to the crumbs that are thrown to a rookie congressman.

While McDermott likely knows he can't beat Visclosky, he may simply be building name recognition for when Visclosky retires. But Visclosky, 66, hasn't hinted that he is even thinking about retiring. ❖

Rich James has been writing about state and local government and politics for more than 30 years.



In GOP presidential race, anything can happen

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – When you run into a Republican National Committeeman at the Slippery Noodle Inn these days, there is one topic that will almost certainly come up. What’s your take on the Republican presidential race?

John Hammond III observed that he was a long-time “Bush guy” but his eyebrows arched in troubled fashion. “We thought Trump would’ve bottomed out by now,” he said. He hasn’t.



My take, as a pundit?
Anything can happen.
Anything.

The previous 24 hours were instructive. Donald Trump was in Springfield, Ill., the very city where I watched Barack Obama kick off his presidential campaign on a frigid day in February, 2007, with the Old State Capitol behind him. If there was a strange presence on that day,

it was Gov. Rod Blagojevich, who didn’t look or act like a governor, but I digress.

Trump drew a record crowd at Prairie Capitol Arena, where he noted, “We have stupid people leading us, we have incompetent people leading us. The American dream is largely dead.”

And then he got into the real issue of the day, the fact that Starbucks would not have Christmas-themed cups this year. “I have one of the most successful Starbucks, in Trump Tower. Maybe we should boycott Starbucks? I don’t know. Seriously, I don’t care. That’s the end of that lease, but who cares?” Trump said. “If I become president, we’re all going to be saying ‘Merry Christmas’ again, that I can tell you. That I can tell you.”

And there was the Ben Carson story, where the

media was trying to unravel his life’s story where he stabbed a friend as a teenager and clubbed his mother with a hammer.

“This is the only election in history where you’re better off if you stabbed somebody,” Trump said. “What are we coming to?”

Good question.

Carson was complaining about unfair media treatment from CNN and awaited an apology. Jeb Bush and Sen. Marco Rubio are trailing badly in polls in their home state of Florida, although Rubio is the current national media darling. The Washington Post reported that the GOP field had become serial fibbers. “Word is,” Trump said last month on Twitter, “that Ford Motor, because of my constant badgering at packed events, is going to cancel their deal to go to Mexico and stay in U.S.” It didn’t. “Watch a fully formed fetus on the table, its heart beating, its legs kicking while someone says, ‘We have to keep it alive to harvest its brain,’ ” said former tech executive Carly Fiorina during the second GOP debate, suggesting that she had seen such a video. She hadn’t.

And then there is Jeb!

Jeb! went down a rabbit hole no one, not even P.J. O’Rourke in the glory days of National Lampoon could’ve conjured. Bush recounted the email where he was asked that if he would go back in time, if it were possible (it isn’t), would he kill the baby Adolf Hitler?

Speaking to Huffington Post’s Scott Conroy, Jeb answered, “Hell, yeah, I would. Look, you gotta step up man...The problem with going back in history and doing that is, as we know from the series, what was the name of the Michael Fox movies?” (Conroy, off-camera: “Back to the Future?”) “Back to the Future” – It could have a dangerous effect on everything else, but I’d do it – I mean, Hitler.”

This is National Lampoon meeting MAD magazine

with Rod Serling stepping out of the Twilight Zone fog and, perhaps, a fleeting cameo by Alfred Hitchcock. To run for the Republican presidential nomination is to lose significant IQ points.

Hoosier Republicans may be following a national trend, as HPI is getting wind of a new poll showing both Carson and Trump polling at similar national levels. There are pockets of support for Marco Rubio (including Speaker Bosma's wife), and some support for Carson in a recent Indiana Republican online poll. Most Republicans I talk with are keeping an eye on Ohio Gov. John Kasich, who seems to be a plausible second choice for many.

But should this freak show arrive in Indiana after Super Tuesday without a nominee next March, I could



see many of our 10,000-seat high school gyms filling up for Trump and Carson, who are getting a combined 50% in most polls. Rubio and Bush are on their way to get enough signatures for the primary, with Trump and Kasich lining up as sets to do the same. And this from the very people who complained

that President Obama didn't have enough experience for the job (though Marco Rubio and Ted Cruz do?).

So, my take? On Twitter Tuesday morning, I reported: "Donald Trump in Springfield last night beginning the vetting process for a potential Trump-Simpson ticket." To be clear, I'm not talking about Alan Simpson, but Homer.

In this Trump-inspired reality freak show gone political, anything can happen.

Anything. ❖

Holcomb PAC launch, Stutzman regroup

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – When Howey Politics Indiana sat down with Republican Senate candidate Eric Holcomb following the third quarter FEC reports in mid-October, his attitude was quite sanguine for a candidate who posted a mere \$110,000, significantly below U.S. Reps. Todd Young (\$750,000) and Marlin Stutzman (\$618,000).

"My focus has been on organization," Holcomb calmly said. "The width and breadth of our support is deep. It comes in layers that I've developed as chairman, and with Gov. Daniels and Sen. Coats. I'm very comfortable that we'll have the organization and when the time is right, will have the funds necessary to get our message out. We're playing to my strength

early on. We have the messaging. We're turning on the Mitch Daniels network."

At the time, Holcomb hinted that he would have the resources. On Tuesday, it became clearer on what he meant, as the IndyStar reported that former Angie's List CEO Bill Oesterle had formed the Frugal Hoosiers PAC that will support the Holcomb campaign. So this is a union of the two Mitch Daniels campaign managers, with Oesterle running the 2004 effort followed by Holcomb in 2008.

"Primarily, we're going to look to fund media that articulates the very stark differences in the candidates," Oesterle said. "We want to make sure people under-

stand that two of these candidates want to shut down the government; one of them has said he won't do that. Two of these candidates are not supportive of the LGBT community; one of them is. Two of these candidates are very xenophobic on immigration policy; one of them isn't."

Holcomb told Howey Politics Indiana Wednesday afternoon, "Everyone knows what I've always tried to do which is to grow the party. Everyone has a seat at the table. We have zero tolerance for discrimination

So Oesterle has positioned Holcomb in the moderate wing of the party. Stutzman is soundly in the social conservative/Tea Party wing, and Young has been painted as both too conservative and too moderate (by Stutzman), placing him in what campaign sources call a "sweet spot."

Holcomb told the IndyStar he has a zero tolerance policy on discrimination. "Anyone that's worked for me or with me will say I can work with people who come from very diverse perspectives. I've always tried to approach these hard issues that need to be solved with consensus. I am not for the shut-it-down approach." But he declined to take a position on whether civil rights protections for LGBT people should extend to public accommodations.

And Holcomb sought some distance, saying that Frugal Hoosiers is "separate from my campaign completely."

Much of the statewide newspaper and TV coverage centered coverage on the headline the Columbus Republican used: "Pence critic starts PAC for Indiana GOP Senate candidate."

Holcomb also generated news, announcing on Tuesday he had qualified for the primary ballot. "This is an important milestone for Eric and the Holcomb for U.S. Senate campaign," said campaign manager Justin Garrett. "It shows what we have been saying all along: Eric has



the most robust and dedicated volunteer network in the state, a network that has worked tirelessly to make this milestone happen long before the February 2016 deadline. Rest assured, we are not stopping here. Although we have secured the signatures needed to get Eric on the May 2016 primary ballot, we're going to continue gathering signatures in every corner of Indiana until January. This campaign never stops."

Stutzman campaign transitions

The Stutzman campaign is reorganizing with Josh Kelly coming on as campaign manager. He's from Monroe County, worked on Auditor Suzanne Crouch's campaign in 2012, and joined the House Republican Campaign Committee via Mark It Red in 2010.

After Stutzman's campaign manager, political director and pollster left the campaign in mid-October, it's taken several weeks to transition to Mark It Red, which had to get past several mayoral races it was working on up through the first week of November.

"We have completed the transition from the last to the new team," Kelly told HPI Wednesday afternoon. "Most of our vendors are in place. We really haven't missed a beat."

Kelly said the campaign has complied enough ballot petition signatures in a couple of Congressional districts, and will have all completed well before the end of the year. He said county coordinators are in place in more than half of the counties. "We're feeling really good about things. Marlin has a great support around the state."

Young hires Humm

After leading Evansville Mayor Lloyd Winnecke's successful re-election effort, campaign manager Matt Humm is named political director for Todd Young's U.S. Senate bid (Tristatehomepage.com). The Hamilton County native most recently served as campaign manger to the Evansville mayor's landslide reelection effort, helping Winnecke become the first Republican in 40 years to win reelection as mayor. It's a reunion of sorts for the two; Humm was campaign manager in Young's 2014 U.S. House bid. "Matt did an amazing job in Evansville and we're excited to have him join our team," Young said in a statement. "Nobody in Indiana is better at organizing and executing a top-notch grassroots program, and Matt will play a critical role as we continue to build the strongest ground game in the state."

Battle of French Lick

With the Republican Congress of Counties meeting at the French Lick Springs Resort on Friday and Saturday,

Holcomb, Stutzman and Young will compete in a chili cookoff Friday evening. Young spokesman Trevor Foughty believes his candidate will win. "Just like our Senate campaign, we've got the right recipe to win," he said.

Democratic view of GOP primary

Here's how the Democratic blog Daily Kos is viewing the Indiana Senate race: Ex-Democratic Rep. Baron Hill brought in just \$269,000 over the last three months, a pretty poor sum indeed. Democratic donors may be holding off to see what happens in the GOP primary, where establishment candidate Todd Young faces Tea Partier Marlin Stutzman, a fellow congressman. If Stutzman gets the nod, it would give Team Blue an opening here, while Young would likely take this seat off the table. We saw something similar happen during Indiana's 2012 Senate race. A Democratic victory depended on Richard Mourdock beating incumbent Richard Lugar in the GOP primary, and Joe Donnelly only raised \$355,000 during the third quarter of 2011. Mourdock gave Democrats what they wanted, and Donnelly's fundraising improved afterward. But Hill may not get so lucky; Stutzman's campaign recently went through a major shakeup, which is not a sign that things are going well for him. Former non-profit executive John Dickerson is also running for Team Blue, and he has not yet released his fundraising totals.

3rd CD: Banks appoints veterans council

In honor of Veterans Day, candidate for 3rd CD State Senator Jim Banks announced the creation of his Veterans Advisory Council. The council will meet regularly to advise Banks on veterans' issues and will work to organize and rally veterans throughout the 3rd District in support of Banks' campaign for Congress. Leadership of the council will consist of six co-chairmen: Col. (Ret.)

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Perry Collins, USAF; Robert Newman, USN (1965-69); Jeremy Sorenson, USAF (1999-present); Darrick Hoopingarner, USAF, (2000-present); Aaron Garofola, USA (2001-07); and Chad Banks, USAF (2002-10). "With the decline of veterans serving in Congress, I am proud to support and advise Jim Banks in his campaign for Congress and beyond," said Aaron Garofola, a northeast Indiana health care executive and Afghanistan War veteran. "We need more veterans like Jim Banks in Congress who understand the issues facing our nation's vets and service members. In particular, Jim is uniquely qualified to serve our generation of post 9/11 veterans who face unique challenges when returning from war."



State Sen. Brent Waltz is using the immigration issue and a video clip from an October debate in Bloomington as a wedge issue between him and Attorney General Greg Zoeller. A Waltz fundraising email is using the video.

United States. A nation that ceases to control its borders will cease to remain a nation. I recently debated my opponent, Greg Zoeller, on this important issue. He publicly advocates amnesty for illegal immigrants and believes the United States should continue to authorize anchor babies."

It included a link for video from the Bloomington debate, where Waltz challenged Zoeller on the issue. Waltz said, "I support case law. I would deny sanctuary cities. And I would also not do something the gentleman to my left did a year ago. On Dec. 5, 2014, you signed a letter with, I believe, 16 other state attorneys general congratulating Barack Obama on supporting the Dream Act; now this is amnesty legislation and it says one of the priorities we need in the federal government is keeping families together. That means anchor babies, as a nine-month pregnant woman will come over and give birth, and now we have an American citizen. Then she needs to come over, and the father, and the grandparents and the brothers and sisters." Waltz said that there had been a 500% increase in unaccompanied minors since the Dream Act passed. "You need to take some responsibility for that." The Dream Act, however, has not been signed into law.

Waltz accused Zoeller of having a "disconnect" on the issue. Waltz added, "As your congressman, I will vote to eliminate federal funding of the more than 300 sanctuary cities across the country, end birthright citizenship, and fight to make certain that illegal immigrants who commit additional crimes are punished to the fullest extent of the law."

Zoeller responded, "Talk about immigration, unfortunately the rhetoric about building a wall and rounding up 11 and a half million people and deporting them, is playing to people's anger and fear. That is patently being done as openly as anything I've ever seen. The rounding up of people; we've got to think about this, or stopping someone because they look like they're foreign. There is no way this country would ever stand for people being deported because they look like they come from another country." Zoeller called Mexico the third largest trading partner for the U.S. "This is a critical country for us to develop good relationships with." ❖

9th CD: Waltz on Zoeller and Dream Act

State Sen. Brent Waltz is seeking to differentiate himself from Attorney General Greg Zoeller on immigration. The Waltz campaign on Tuesday said, "Illegal immigration is perhaps the greatest threat to the security of the



Indianapolis Councilman Jefferson Shreve kicked off his SD36 campaign at the Slippery Noodle Inn Tuesday night. He is seeking the seat being vacated by State Sen. Brent Waltz, who is seeking the 9th CD nomination. Shreve faces Indianapolis Councilman Jack Sandlin in the GOP primary. Shreve is shown here with his wife and parents. Also attending was Republican National Committeeman John Hammond III and Indiana Chamber President Kevin Brinegar.

Takeaways from the mayoral elections

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – What are the key takeaways from Tuesday’s elections in cities and towns where 70 percent of Hoosiers live?

1.) Indiana’s antiquated voting system is not serving Hoosiers well, with dismal turnout where competitive mayoral or city council races were taking place. After one of the worst turnouts in the nation in 2014, the coming figures are likely to show this trend extending to last Tuesday. Memo to Gov. Mike Pence and state legislators who are supposed to be stewards of the process: Our out-dated election system is broken and needs to be address in time for next November.

2. A good bench is developing for both Republicans and Democrats with some of Tuesday’s victors likely to appear on statewide ballots in the next couple of election cycles. Democrat Joe Hogsett brought his party back to power in Indianapolis, Republican Evansville Mayor Lloyd Winnecke won an impressive 64 percent victory for a second term and had long coattails that brought several Republicans into council seats. Democratic South Bend Mayor Peter Buttigieg won 78 percent of the vote just months after announcing he is gay. Republican LaPorte Mayor Blair Milo polled 80 percent to become the first city executive to be reelected there in two decades. And in Hammond, Democratic Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr., won a fourth term with only 851 votes against him in a city of 81,000.

Joshua Claybourn, a key ally to Mayor Winnecke, said just hours after he dispatched State Rep. Gail Riecken in this traditionally Democratic city, “He’s sort of the perfect GOP candidate for the next generation. Likable, fiscally conservative and pro-life, but also pro gay rights. He will appeal to a growing segment of the GOP.”

McDermott had been pondering a U.S. Senate bid, but told me on Wednesday, “I will not be on the statewide

ballot in 2016. I have a 10-year-old son and I do not want to do a statewide campaign.” Key words and numbers there are “statewide” and “2016.”

3. Mayors will pay a steep political price if they lose support in their police and fire departments. Peru Mayor Jim Walker lost to Democrat Gabe Greer after police controversies there. But in Terre Haute, despite tough headlines about dire budget deficits, Republican Mayor Duke Bennett won an unprecedented third term in a Democratic city where voters discard mayors like sticky ice cream wrappers. Bennett was endorsed by both his police and firefighter unions and pulled out a 52-48 percent victory.

4. There is an emerging independent streak. Bedford Mayor Shawna Girgis won her third term as an independent, and she was joined by Delphi Mayor-elect Shane Evans, a 25-year-old Wabash College and IU Law School grad. Democratic Delphi Mayor Randy Strasser was defeated by a handful of votes in his primary as his opponent, Jack Wilson, portrayed him as a big spender at a time when cities are being urged to created amenities to attract younger residents. Voters ended up rejecting both major party nominees. Independents were also elected in Greendale, Mitchell and Southport.

5. Voters are likely to turn away from 80-year-old candidates. Elkhart voters opted for Republican Tim Neese over 81-year-old two-term Mayor Dick Moore, just as Republicans rejected U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar in 2012, though Lugar bristles as the notion, presenting me with a recent schedule that would have worn me out.

6. It’s important for a mayor to get off to a good start. A bad one sticks with them. Republican Columbus Mayor Kristin Brown lost in the primary after a rocky start with her city council. In Logansport, Republican Mayor Ted Franklin stirred up early controversy over parking his Corvette in a handicap zone and lost to Democrat Dave Kitchell in a landslide.

7. City voters are pragmatic. In addition to Republicans Winnecke and Bennett who have won multiple terms in in heavily Democratic cities, Democratic Fort Wayne

Mayor Tom Henry won an unprecedented third term in his heavily Republican city. Drive through his downtown these days and you’ll see why. Ditto for three-term Democratic Kokomo Mayor Greg Goodnight, who has been rebuilding



Evansville Mayor Lloyd Winnecke with an obviously impressed University of Evansville Purple Ace mascot.

his downtown while creating policy innovations such as a free-to-user public transportation system. This is not an ironclad scenario, however. Republican Anderson Mayor Kevin Smith lost to Democrat Thomas Broderick Jr., despite several recent key economic development successes. Broderick did something that Riecken in Evansville and Mark Bird in Terre Haute failed to do, which was to unite his party. Mayoral nominees have to unite their party.

Finally, we end in Jasper, where first-term Republican Mayor Terry Seitz ended up in a tie with Democrat Wayne Schuetter at 1,856 votes. Unless a recount changes

things, the current 4-3 Democratic majority city council will decide this election, even though the new council to be sworn in on Jan. 1 is 4-3 Republican. Seitz told me, "I've had a good relationship with a majority of the council. We've disagreed with on some issues, but we've also had a number of 7-0 votes." And he told the DuBois County Herald, "I have a feeling there is a life lesson in this. It is interesting to be part of history."

Schuetter adds the perfect coda: "This is another good indicator as to why everybody needs to get out and vote." To which I say, see point No. 1. ❖

Plans for Regional Cities are revealing

By **MICHAEL HICKS**

MUNCIE – The selection committee last week announced three finalists for the first round of the Regional Cities Initiative. There is a lot to be gleaned from the way Hoosier regions approached the process. There were seven applicants and almost one more. Here's my brief analysis of these plans.



The one project that didn't make the deadline was an effort to pull together the Indiana suburbs of Louisville. This laid the groundwork for a future regional plan. Though this region didn't get the votes needed to make the formal application, it is worth noting that this is one of the more difficult regions to pull together

because the prospects of Floyd and Clark counties are so different. Still, running 25 miles of a 26-mile marathon is a real achievement, and all the residents of southern Indiana need this process to continue.

The two regional proposals surrounding Muncie and Terre Haute were clearly the most hastily prepared plans. This need not have been the case. The IEDC president publicly urged community and elected leaders to begin the process in the fall of 2013 and the extra year and a half would've benefited both groups. Both places struggled to get the minimum votes to participate, and, in one region, the largest employer played no meaningful role.

Financing details for both are hazy, making this look more like a grant request than a strategic plan. To be fair, the other regions have been doing these things for 15 years and both of these plans were pieced together in 15 weeks. That in itself is why the economic prospects of

these places remain among the poorest in the state.

The Indy and Northwest Indiana proposals feature really fabulous transportation plans. Places that attract lots of people have congestion problems, which much of the rest of the state would like to have. The Regional Cities Initiative isn't the right place to fix public transportation.

The most astonishing plan was organized around South Bend and Elkhart/Goshen. Leaders there heeded wise counsel and put together a highly meritorious effort that built on more than a decade of quality of place improvements. This region is very heterogeneous and has tens of thousands of workers crossing county borders each day, yet suffers too little collaboration. This effort is rightfully one of the three finalists.

I think it clear the best two plans are from the greater Fort Wayne and Evansville areas, the other two finalists. Both places are building on more than a decade of successful regional development and quality of place improvements. Today, Fort Wayne is a widely recognized national leader in these efforts. The only reasonable criticism for these projects may be that Fort Wayne was too cautious in projecting private investment and Evansville too bold.

In the end, the final selection process isn't simply about leveraging investment or generating ROI. Instead the goal is to help the place that will attract the most households to Indiana over the next generation. That is what the state desperately needs. We also need future iterations of this Regional Cities Initiative. ❖

Michael J. Hicks, PhD, is the director of the Center for Business and Economic Research and the George and Frances Ball distinguished professor of economics in the Miller College of Business at Ball State University.

Nosy pharmacists asking meth questions

By MAUREEN HAYDEN
CNHI State Reporter

INDIANAPOLIS – Cold medicine sales were on the rise in the small town of Rochester a year ago. So were discoveries of illicit meth labs.

Now, pharmacists are asking more nosy questions of sniffing customers who come looking for products that contain pseudoephedrine, the essential ingredient in homemade methamphetamine.



"The people who wanted it for meth would just walk away when we'd start questioning them," said pharmacist Harry Webb. "They knew we were on to them."

Webb, owner of two independent pharmacies in Rochester, hopes to convince lawmakers to give pharmacists throughout the state enough legal cover to refuse people whom they suspect of wanting pseudoephedrine for the wrong reasons.

He and other community leaders are working with Sen. Randy Head, R-Logansport, who as chairman of the Indiana Abuse and Child Safety Task Force has held hearings on the issue.

"They've been looking to us for relief from the misery caused by these meth labs," said Head. "And when they didn't get it, they took action themselves."

In Rochester, the push to squeeze supplies of pseudoephedrine came as local leaders realized that lawmakers weren't ready to take a tougher, more controversial step of requiring prescriptions for cold remedies. Only two states, Oregon and Mississippi, have done that.

Facing tough opposition from drug lobbyists, prescription proposals have failed at the Statehouse every year for at least the past five years. Legislative leaders predict a similar stalemate for the new session that begins in January.

Even short of that, Rochester's approach goes significantly beyond a law now in place that requires pharmacies to track pseudoephedrine sales and cut off customers once they've hit a state-set limit.

Those rules aim to identify "smurfers" – straw buyers paid by meth-makers hoping to cloak their purchases.

Webb said the strategy doesn't work. Indiana still looks to rank in the top five states for meth lab seizures, according to state police, despite an overall drop from almost 1,800 in 2013 to 1,400 in 2014.

Leading the effort in Rochester, a town of 6,100 people, was 90-year-old Val Pemberton. He's a retired manufacturing manager and former president of the Chamber of Commerce.

Pemberton said he was alarmed by stories in the local newspaper about meth lab seizures – 27 last year – and the fallout from homemade meth-making practices discovered by police.

More than 80 properties, damaged by exploding labs or contaminated with toxic residue, are now off the property tax rolls, he said. They're uninhabitable and too expensive for the town or county to clean up.

Worse, said Pemberton, are stories about children taken from meth-making parents and placed in foster care. "I just got tired of reading about it and wondered why somebody didn't do something about it," he said.

In putting their foot down in Rochester, Pemberton and Wells were inspired by an Arkansas law that pharmacists helped craft. The 2011 law allows pharmacists to question customers about their medical histories and encourages them to offer other cold remedies.

It doesn't explicitly forbid pharmacists from selling pseudoephedrine to people without a legitimate need. But it does set up a process for the state pharmacy board to review pharmacists' decisions. And it gives Arkansas' pharmacists legal immunity from customers turned away or from being fired for refusing a sale. "It gives pharmacists the cover they need," Webb said.

The results are promising. According to the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration, Arkansas saw a nearly 50 percent drop in meth lab seizures after the law passed, from 95 labs in 2010 to 43 in 2014. Scott Pace, who heads the Arkansas Pharmacy Association, said the measure was a compromise that came after a proposal for cold medicine by prescription ran into the kind of steep opposition now seen in Indiana. It's not a cure-all, he said, but it's made a dent. "Methamphetamine addiction still exists here," Pace said. "But what doesn't exist at the same level are the meth labs that were blowing up homes and leaching toxic chemicals."

Pemberton and Wells, who worked with community leaders to recruit the area's chain drug stores to their cause, are hoping for the same kind of results from restrictions they put in place in August.

Monthly sales of pseudoephedrine in their community have dropped by 50 percent.

But they're worried that they may have just shifted a problem, with meth-makers traveling to neighboring communities to buy their cold medicines. That's why they're now asking pharmacists in adjoining counties to adopt more restrictive practices, too. And it's why, with Head's help, they're asking lawmakers to adopt the restrictions statewide.

"We're just one county," Pemberton said. "But we've got a bloody mess on our hands that affects the whole state." ❖

Maureen Hayden covers the Indiana Statehouse for CNHI's newspapers and websites.

A vote of confidence for Mayor Buttigieg

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – South Bend’s city council will have a different flavor soon, still 8-1 Democratic, but with four new members in a chamber that Mayor Pete Buttigieg will find more flavorful, less bitter. At least at the start.



Buttigieg won a vote of confidence throughout the city Tuesday, carrying every precinct in reelection to a second term. His vote percentage, 80.4, was even higher than in his landslide victory four years ago. Council members old and new now know the mayor’s approach is very popular.

And there was a no-confidence vote for Council Member Henry Davis Jr., the mayor’s most severe critic and

the most controversial figure on the council. He lost big, running as an independent this time in his 2nd District.

Three other changes in council membership already were certain because incumbents didn’t seek reelection. Council Member Derek Dieter will be gone. He didn’t seek council reelection but instead tried for the Democratic nomination for city clerk in the May primary election. Dieter never stirred up a fuss with conduct like Davis, but the mayor saw him as obstructionist and worked to defeat Dieter in the clerk primary, spending heavily on a TV ad blitz that helped Clerk-elect Kareemah Fowler win.

Gone also is Council Member Valerie Schey, who didn’t seek reelection.

She also often had differences with the mayor. The other council member who won’t be back is Fred Ferlic. He was a supporter rather than obstructionist with mayoral initiatives, but he didn’t seek reelection.

With all the changes, the replacements are likely to start off anxious to cooperate with rather than to oppose the mayor. But don’t get the idea that the four new members or the five incumbents who were reelected, four

Democrats and a lone Republican, will now be just rubber stamps for the mayor. They all will have their own ideas, their own concerns about the area of the city in which they reside.

For example, Regina Williams-Preston, the Democrat who defeated Davis in the 2nd District, has made clear that she will be an outspoken advocate for her district. In the campaign, she mentioned some areas of disagreement with the Buttigieg. But Williams-Preston also calls for cooperation to solve the problems. She offers a different approach than Davis.

While Buttigieg spent no funds for a TV blitz or other efforts to elect Williams-Preston, he clearly was delighted with her win over Davis. Davis often accused the mayor of racial bias, especially in connection with the police department and the controversy over tapes of police conversations. It was important for Buttigieg to show support in black precincts in an effort to discourage any racial discord on the council.

The mayor had lost only five precincts when Davis ran against him in the Democratic mayoral primary. But those losses were in precincts with large numbers of African-American voters. Buttigieg carried them all in defeating Republican challenger Kelly Jones on Tuesday. He carried all 83 voting precincts in the city, no matter the composition, including all of them in the 5th District, the only strongly Republican district in the city.

Even the low voter turnout was a sign of popularity for the mayor. If there had been throngs of angry



constituents, they would have made it to the polls. People with no strong desire to vote against somebody or something just stay home. Lack of contests, with Republicans basically surrendering everything but the 5th District, diminished interest. ❖

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

Forget Kentucky, it was a good night for Dems

By **SHAW FRIEDMAN**

LaPORTE – If you watched national cable channels on Tuesday and Wednesday, you’d think that the Tea Party Republican win in Kentucky foretold major problems for Democrats leading into 2016. But closer examination shows that Democrats around the country who campaigned as “stand up Democrats” and stood tall for Democratic values won.



We need look no farther than Indianapolis where Joe Hogsett’s win as mayor of the country’s 14th largest city presages good things for us next year. Let’s face it, Republicans have skillfully used the mayor’s office to launch candidates and operatives with statewide agendas and that tremendous tool is now gone from their arsenal. Hogsett ran hard on the notion of doing something for the city’s neighborhoods and actually making a difference on youth unemployment, and that message

clearly resonated.

Contrast that with a Democratic governor candidate in Kentucky who couldn’t have run farther and faster from fundamental tenets of the Democratic party and paid for it with lack of support from the Democratic base. As Donna Brazile said pretty cogently on CNN Election night, “When you run away from the President of your party, you lose. Period.”

Look what Jack Conway did down there. Not only did he pledge eternal allegiance to the coal industry and opposition toward regulations designed to lower emissions, he actually released a pro-coal ad boasting he stood up against President Obama when he sued the EPA over the coal regulations. Come on! It’s one thing to express concerns over the impact of the regs without trying to lead the parade against the President. Simply put, he tried to outflank Republicans on the right on an issue like that.

Voters tend to view that as unprincipled campaign similar to Allison Lundergren two years ago in Kentucky not even admitting she voted for the President. Again, contrast that with Pennsylvania Democrats who skillfully used the President to help motivate their base as they flipped the Pennsylvania Supreme Court on Tuesday. They swept the three open

Supreme Court seats up for election on a statewide partisan ballot.

The result is a 5-to-2 majority and that’s critical as the state takes a step toward progressive legislative redistricting in the coming decade. By winning all three seats for 10-year terms, Democrats will have the upper hand on redistricting maps and will undo the Republican gerrymanders that have given the GOP a lock on both houses of the Pennsylvania legislature.

Want other good signs? Mississippi, of all places, where Attorney General Jim Hood, the last Democrat holding statewide office in the deep South, won his toughest election to date for a fourth term. Again, he’s been a “stand up” Democrat, winning elections in some of the reddest territory around because he was willing to take on the insurance companies who fought Hurricane Katrina victims. He’s won millions in compensation for average Joe’s down there and they reward him at the ballot box.

Want further evidence that populist, stand-up politics wins for Democrats? Take a look no farther than a second big win in the Magnolia State, where Democrats took two of three seats on Mississippi’s Public Service Commission. The PSC down there is little known but cuts a big swath with long-suffering ratepayers who fear getting saddled with bills from cost overruns on Mississippi Power Company’s new \$6.4 billion dollar power plant.

Another good piece of evidence that Democrats standing tall can make a difference comes from Jefferson County, Col., where a coalition of teachers, parents and working families helped oust so-called “education reformers” on the school board who sought to push a privatized, anti-public-schools agenda. Similar to the grassroots awakening that elected Glenda Ritz four years ago in Indiana, in a backlash to the privatized and anti-public-schools agenda of Tony Bennett, this grassroots coalition in Colorado showed you can beat the Koch-backed privatizing education lobby at their own ground game.

Again, there’s plenty of good evidence when going through the map around the country that when Democrats stand tall on core values, rather than running away from

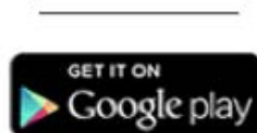
our programs or policies or trying to apologize for programs like the Affordable Care Act, we do well.

Simply put, Jack Conway and his ill-fated campaign to be governor of Kentucky is no predictor of how we Democrats will fare going forward as long as we stand tall on populist, pocketbook issues that matter for working families. ❖

Shaw Friedman is former legal counsel for the Indiana Democratic Party and a longtime HPI columnist.



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Amos Brown, Indianapolis Recorder: Well, after a long, somewhat boring mayoral campaign, we have a Mayor-elect — Joe Hogsett. Let me offer my congratulations and some words of advice and warning for India-



napolis' 49th mayor. My advice, from an elder community servant/leader, was contained in some of the issues I brought up to you last Friday during that final mayor's debate on our "Afternoons with Amos" program. You danced around the issues I raised, but they aren't going away, because they strike at the heart of the major problems facing India-

napolis — problems my friends at Indy's mainstream media continue to ignore. But they and you do so at their and our city/county's peril. It's amazing in a campaign that talked about lots of issues, the problem of affordable housing was ignored. As I mentioned to you during the debate, Indianapolis ranks eighth of America's 20 largest cities in the percentage of renters who're spending over 30 percent of their annual income on rent and utilities. The 2014 Census American Community Survey (ACS) reported 57.1 percent of Indianapolis renters spend 30 percent or more of their income on utilities and rent. That's higher than cities like Houston, Chicago, Phoenix and Dallas. Median rent in this city is \$788. Add in the growing utility bills from IPL and Citizens Energy, and that percentage is only going to increase. Mayor-elect, you sort of ignored the fact that last year the amount of city business that went to minority-owned businesses was just 6 percent. The city's goal is 15 percent. That's a 60 percent drop, a stunning reversal of something Mayor Ballard and his Boyz had bragged about — how well they were treating minority business. The question, Mr. Mayor-elect, is whether you buy the snake oil your predecessor and the Chamber's been selling or you follow common sense. During this campaign many times you said if you became mayor you would lead. Well, sir, the 277,168 African-American residents of this city/county and the remaining 657,075 residents are waiting for you to be true to your word. We want to follow you. It's time you lead! ❖



Dave Bangert, Lafayette Journal & Courier:

Eric Miller continues to make the threat sound so real, so plausible, that his Advance America cause — blocking equal rights for gays and lesbians on every front — is surely about to get blown up by what he calls an imminent sneak attack at the Statehouse. In his second video in recent weeks Miller doesn't mince his brand of fear factor, delivered with the knowing confidence of secondhand, anonymous speculation: "The children of Indiana are in danger!" But was he willing to wager \$10,000 to back his claim that top lawmakers are conspiring on their annual

Organization Day to sweep through surprise civil rights legislation that would finally give gays and lesbians equal protection in Indiana? That was state Sen. Brandt Hershman's put-up-or-shut-up challenge. Maybe it'll go down as the clearest indication, yet, that Miller — a man whose presence in a governor's office bill signing photo helped inspire a revolt against last spring's Religious Freedom Restoration Act — is losing his grip at the Statehouse. When the top brass in the General Assembly start going on Facebook to mock you, well ... "He's a piece of work," Hershman, the Senate majority floor leader, said Friday. "I despise self-serving special interest group misrepresentation, regardless of the political flavor of the source." So here's the short course on how Hershman came to put \$10,000 on the line to prove Miller is out of touch. Sneak Attack: Episode II came Thursday. In another four-minute video, Miller cited weeks-old speculation and buzz in a pair of inside-baseball political sheets: Howey Politics Indiana and Indiana Legislative Insight. "Now," Miller told his backers, "is not the time to let down your guard." Bosma reaction: "Wow. How could I be more clear?" ❖

Bob Zaltsberg, Bloomington Herald-Times:

The newest game in presidential politics is a variation on an old one. It's called "Shoot the Messenger." The mess in Denver, otherwise described as the third Republican presidential debate, showed how it's played. The questioners weren't as mean and nasty as those being questioned wanted to make them out to be. Having said that, the TV debates (forums, more precisely), are woefully unproductive for offering the public a chance to learn much about the presidential candidates. Here's a way to make the whole system of narrowing the field better. Structure these debates like the NCAA Sweet 16. Seed the candidates. Have them go one-on-one in one-hour debates. Let a panel of national survey companies pick the winners that move on to the quarterfinals, then semifinals, then the final debate. Voters don't have to pick the winner, but they'll have a much better feel for the front-runners. Here's how this could look with the 14 Republicans who still have support in a variety of polls. The top two clearly are Ben Carson and Donald Trump, and they would draw byes to the second round. Real Clear Politics, which has averaged five polls over the past two weeks, have suggested this seeding for the first round. Think of a Sweet 16 bracket. Top bracket: No. 1 Carson has a bye. No. 8 Rand Paul vs. No. 9 Mike Huckabee. Next bracket: No. 5 Jeb Bush vs. No. 12 Bobby Jindal. No. 4 Ted Cruz vs. No. 13 Lindsey Graham. Next bracket: No. 3 Marco Rubio vs. No. 14 George Pataki. No. 6 Carly Fiorina vs. No. 11 Rick Santorum. Bottom Bracket: No. 7 John Kasich vs. No. 10 Chris Christie. No. 2 Donald Trump has a bye. As in the NCAA, there can be upsets. But if the higher seeds prevail, the quarterfinals would be: Carson vs. Paul; Cruz vs. Bush; Rubio vs. Fiorina; Trump vs. Kasich. And so on. ❖

Fiorina raises cash in Carmel

CARMEL – Presidential contender Carly Fiorina will be in Carmel tonight for a fundraiser at the upscale Lucas Estate (IndyStar). The former Hewlett Packard chief executive is expecting about 100 attendees. A minimum donation of \$1,000 is required to attend the fundraiser, where Fiorina will speak and pose for photos with guests before a private dinner. The event is closed to the media. A handful of high-profile Hoosiers are kicking in at least \$10,000 each to host the event. They include Lt. Gov. Sue Ellspermann; Lucas Oil founder Forrest Lucas and his wife Charlotte; former Eli Lilly & Co. CEO Randall Tobias and his wife Deborah; DePauw University Trustee Kathy Hubbard, whose husband is businessman and former George W. Bush economic adviser Al Hubbard; former Berry Plastics chairman Ira Boots and his wife Theresa; Midwest Constructors president Neal Burnett; Sunrise Coal executive Suzie Jaworowski; and Ice Miller partner Melissa Proffitt.



Big Clinton lead in NYT/CBS Poll

NEW YORK – Despite a month of sharpened attacks, Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont has failed to significantly dent Hillary Rodham Clinton's lead in the Democratic presidential race, according to a New York Times/CBS News survey released on Thursday. Mrs. Clinton has support from 52 percent of Democratic primary voters, while Mr. Sanders has backing from 33 percent, the poll found. In an early October CBS News poll, she led Mr. Sanders 56 percent to 32 percent. Mr. Sanders, whose overarching challenge is to transform his left-wing, lesser-known candidacy into a formidable national campaign with broad appeal, will face his greatest

test yet on Saturday night at the second Democratic debate, which will be televised nationally from Des Moines. Mrs. Clinton will take the stage after a run of positive developments since their Oct. 13 debate, including strong reviews of her performance there, Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s decision not to enter the race, and a steely, well-received face-off with congressional Republicans investigating the 2012 attack on the United States diplomatic compound in Benghazi, Libya.

Stoops calls for quick ISTEP fix

INDIANAPOLIS – A Senate Democrat is calling on lawmakers to expedite the process of reducing the influence a drop in ISTEP test scores is anticipated to have on school quality ratings and teacher pay (IndyStar). State Sen. Mark Stoops, a Bloomington Democrat, on Wednesday rolled out a plan for lawmakers to consider and pass legislation on Organization Day. Lawmakers will return to Indianapolis on Tuesday, which is the ceremonial start to the 2016 legislative session that will begin in earnest in January. But Republicans, who have a supermajority hold on the Indiana General Assembly, are saying not so fast. A top Senate Republican said it's important for lawmakers to do their due diligence. "I am very mindful of the time frame for making changes," Senate President Pro Tem David Long said in a statement. "If the legislature, the Department of Education and the State Board of Education work together, I believe we can find the flexibility necessary to adjust our systems in a timely fashion without passing legislation on Organization Day."

Walorski continues state defense tour

INDIANAPOLIS – Rep. Jackie Walorski (IN-02), member of the House Armed Services Committee, today finished the second day of her

multi-city defense tour around Indiana. In honor of Veterans Day, Walorski's tour began at the Indianapolis War Memorial where she spoke at city's annual Veterans Day Ceremony. Walorski then led a defense roundtable with industry leaders including Col. Schwartz, commander of the 434th Air Refueling Wing at Grissom Air Reserve Base, and Adjutant General of Indiana Maj. Gen. Courtney P. Carr. She concluded the second day of the tour with a visit to the Rolls-Royce LiftFan factory, which manufactures jet engines for F-35B's. "From the jet engine assembly line in Indianapolis to partnering with defense industry leaders from around the state, Hoosiers are vital to our national security and deserve our recognition and gratitude. I think Hoosiers need to know that when we talk about defense in the state of Indiana, we're talking about thousands of jobs, and today on Veterans Day, we honor our brave men and women and their families who sacrifice so much for the sake of our freedoms," Walorski said. "I want to thank everyone in Indianapolis who participated in today's events, including those who attended the defense roundtable to highlight Indiana's defense industry and how we can continue to grow our assets and become a national model for the rest of the country to follow."

Pence honored for HIP 2.0

INDIANAPOLIS – the Indiana Hospital Association (IHA) presented Gov. Mike Pence with the 2015 John C. Render Award for Health Policy for his work securing the Healthy Indiana Plan 2.0, or HIP 2.0. The award was presented at IHA's annual meeting in Carmel (Howey Politics Indiana). "I'm honored to receive the John C. Render Award for Health Policy today as a reaffirmation of the broad success and support the Healthy Indiana Plan has garnered since its rollout last January," said Pence.