



## Civil rights debate begins without Pence

Holdman, Long  
forge opening bill,  
Bosma skeptical,  
conservatives oppose

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The opening round of what could be the defining legislation in the 2016 Indiana General Assembly, SB100 on the civil rights extension, occurred during Organization Day and as expected, few stakeholders are happy.

State Sen. Travis Holdman's bill would extend civil rights to sexual orientation that includes public accommodations. It carves out an exemption for businesses with four employees or fewer. Sources say the current civil rights code has a five-employee carve-out. And it would prevent the state from taking "discriminatory action" against an "individual who declines or will decline to perform, solemnize or facilitate any



State Sen. Travis Holdman's SB100 kicks off the civil rights expansion chapter.

marriage based on the individual's sincerely held religious belief."

The most inconspicuous figure in this looming chapter, Gov. Mike Pence, is still weighing his options, with dangers coming with any position he eventually takes. On Tuesday the administration recast what has been a straddling position, telling Howey Politics Indiana through spokesman Matt Lloyd that the governor "will certainly give careful consideration to this and any other legislative proposal put forth by the Indiana General Assembly." While many stakeholders were poring through the bill on Wednesday, Pence was off to Las Vegas for a two-day Republican Governors Association meeting.

Multiple high ranking legislative sources tell HPI that

**Continued on page 3**

## Ending the meth carnage

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

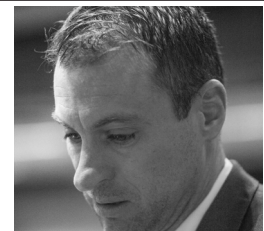
INDIANAPOLIS – When you listen to Republican locally elected public officials describing the mayhem



State Sen. Brent Steele will seek to address the meth issue two decades after his first attempt. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

here in Indiana – the Methamphetamine State! – you really have to wonder about the priorities at the Statehouse.

There was Senate Judiciary Chairman Brent Steele, relating wave after wave of mugshots appearing in the Bedford Times-Mail week after week of arrested meth cooks and the "smurfs"



**"The demands of serving in Indianapolis have severely limited my time at home. We are in the process of adding to our family through adoption, which has changed my priorities."**

*- State Sen. Carlin Yoder, in his decision not to run in 2016*



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

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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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who seek to circumvent pseudoephedrine tracking systems. "It's killing us," he said. "It's eating our county up and our state up."

**For State Rep. Ben Smaltz** of Auburn, it's the 82 homes in DeKalb County that are on the methamphetamine registry. "The cost of remediating these houses is thousands of dollars, so they abandon them," Smaltz said of homeowners and landlords, depriving the county of property tax revenue. There are foster parents who receive kids "at all hours of the day" often wrapped only in a sheet, because all of their clothes, including those off their backs, are contaminated.

"There were 362 children removed from meth houses last year," Smaltz said. "That's the number that sticks with me. We need to separate the use of methamphetamine from the production of methamphetamine. I'm doing it for the 362 kids."

Ken-dallville Police Chief Rob Wiley noted that while 362 children have been removed from meth manufacturing homes, "There are about 10 times that many," meaning that another 3,000 kids or so are living in squalid, dangerous and lethal conditions that authorities haven't reached. In Noble County, Wiley said, police there have dealt with 57 active labs and his department has received 160 calls of reports of meth cooking. Wiley described finding toddlers wearing the same diapers for days, with feces running down their legs. "We need to follow the lead of Oregon and Mississippi," he said.

**That was in reference** to the two states that have made pseudoephedrine, the prime ingredient in meth making, a prescription drug. Indiana State Police reported 1,488

meth lab incidents in 2014, down from 1,726 in 2012 and 1,808 labs in 2013. Since Oregon went to prescription-only pseudoephedrine in 2006, the number of meth labs discovered in the state fell from 192 in 2005 to nine in 2013, according to the Oregon Alliance for Drug Endangered Children.

Columbia City Mayor Ryan Daniel talked of a family where two teenagers manufactured meth, contaminating their home. After tens of thousands of dollars were spent remediating the home, police returned to find "the boys cooking meth again, with the help of their father, who was a smurf," the term used for people who go from pharmacy to pharmacy buying the PSE that is tracked by the NPLEX system established three years ago.

**The boys and** father were arrested and jailed, soon to be followed by cousins, along with an aunt and uncle. "That's the creeping effect



Vanderburgh County Prosecutor Nick Hermann describes the meth "cancer" on his community while State Rep. Ben Smaltz looks on. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

that it has," said Daniel, the president of the Indiana Conference of Mayors and a driving force behind the Indiana Coalition Against Meth. Daniel points to pleas from the Indiana State Police, police chiefs, fire chiefs and prosecutors who are calling for laws creating the PSE prescriptions. "Enough is enough," Daniel said, describing the NPLEX system as "three years of failure."

Vanderburgh County Prosecutor Nick Hermann describes it as "a cancer in our community" that siphons off police and fire department resources dealing with the impacts of

this savage drug, and the wake of blown up homes, with jails and courts filled with a growing list of offenders. He discussed a meth manufacturer whose home caught fire from his one-pot system in a Mountain Dew bottle, along with the jacket he was wearing, which he discarded into a nearby baby crib, all of which burned.

He notes that chronic cold sufferers have 140 other over-the-counter products available. The notion that those with allergies will suffer with a required prescription is "a cop out," Hermann said. "Why doesn't the legislature do something?" Hermann asked.

**All of these public officials** believe that the NPLEX system used to track the sale of PSE has "failed," something that House Speaker Brian Bosma acknowledged to Howey Politics Indiana earlier this month. "I am a fan of putting it on a prescription," Bosma said in an HPI Interview. "I know that it's controversial with many folks, but I would more than pleased to have pseudoephedrine as a prescription drug because even with our sophisticated tracking system in place, they are getting multiple purchasers to travel from spot to spot."

Pressed on the NPLEX system's effectiveness, Bosma repeated, "It's not working."

When I pressed Bosma about using his clout as

the most powerful legislator in the state, Bosma responded, "It might very well be. But it's a controversial solution. The state police think it's a great idea. The pharmaceutical people obviously do not."

**Martin County Prosecutor** Mike Steiner believes that the reason the General Assembly has settled on puny solutions like the NPLEX tracking system is because of the campaign money that flows from Consumer Healthcare Products Association related political action committees, which pump money into the campaigns of legislators and governors. "That's why nothing happens," Steiner said.

So here's a promise. While police, sheriffs, mayors and prosecutors follow the meth labs, the contaminated homes, the rural dumping sites that become mini-EPA remediation zones, the neglected foster children who arrive in the middle of the night wearing only sheets, and the extended families residing in county jails, this columnist and perhaps this newspaper will be following the campaign money.

Prosecutor Steiner speaks for all of these public officials, and the tens of thousands of Hoosiers tired of the meth carnage, in a riveting message to Gov. Mike Pence, Speaker Bosma and legislators of both parties: "You're either for us or against us." ❖

## Civil rights, from page 1

Pence, Senate President Pro Tem David Long and Speaker Brian Bosma have met multiple times on the issue. The governor's office was aware of the timing of the release on SB100 on Tuesday. While the Indiana Pastor's Alliance rallied just outside of Pence's office doors, with congregants praying for the first-term governor, Pence was out of the building, attending events in Anderson and Muncie. Informed and reliable Republican sources tell HPI that the governor has reached out for input beyond his extremely tight inner circle, but the prevailing opinion in these high-ranking circles is that Pence doesn't know what to do.

With a vacuum at the apex of power on the issue, legislative leaders and their Republican super majorities are twisting, twisting, twisting in what could become gale-force winds heading into what promises to be a chaotic election year. Without a Pence position until the General Assembly convenes on Jan. 5, as he suggested in Lebanon last week, legislative Republicans are beginning to take positions, and the inevitable heat, as they try to thread the needle between non-discrimination and religious freedom.

**Long teamed up with** Holdman and Senate lawyers to hammer out the 20-page bill. "I have no problem with granting protected status to the LGBT community," Holdman told the Evansville Courier &

Press. "My focus is really about the religious liberty issue here and I think that's what is important about this bill." Long said at Monday's Indiana Chamber preview luncheon, "It's not just 'four words and a comma,' and anyone who says that is short-changing the discussion here. We're trying to do our best to get a balanced piece of legislation."

That's exactly where Democratic gubernatorial



An LGBT supporter pickets outside the Indiana House on Tuesday. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

candidate John Gregg is. "As I have said throughout this campaign, I believe Indiana must adopt a zero-tolerance policy toward discrimination. Anything short of extending full civil rights protection to LGBT Hoosiers is a non-starter in my view," Gregg said in a statement to HPI. "I appreciate the Senate Republicans joining this conversation and wish Mike Pence would finally do the same."

**But the social**

conservative community immediately began teeing off on the carve-outs and the use of restrooms by transgender individuals, which is a miniscule part of the population. According to the Williams Institute at the UCLA School of Law, there are nearly 700,000 transgender individuals in the U.S., or 0.3% of the adult population. Translated per capita to Indiana's 6.5 million population, there are around 19,000 such individuals in the state. According to Indiana University, about 7% of adult women and 8% of men identify as gay, lesbian or bisexual. The proportion of individuals in the U.S. who have had same-gender sexual interactions at some point in their lives is higher.

"This bathroom issue is contentious," Long said. "It has people's heads exploding."

One of the exploding heads was Advance America's Eric Miller, who launched the "Sneak Attack 3" video in which he termed the legislation "disastrous" based on the restroom issue. "Your family goes to a restaurant and your young daughter goes to the restroom," Miller says in the video. "A man who claims to be a woman goes into the restroom with her. This is wrong and should never happen in Indiana." Miller extended those scenarios to young girls going to Interstate rest stops and locker rooms.

**Memo to Eric Miller:** Transgender people are already using these restrooms. You just don't know who they are.

Tea Party activist Monica Boyer blasted the proposed carve-outs for employers. "We all have individual rights," she told the IndyStar. "There is no need to protect a group of people based on what happens in the bedroom. If I'm a person of faith and I own a business and I have four employees and I want to add a fifth one, I have to choose government or God." Boyer told HPI she brought two busloads of protesters to the Statehouse on Tuesday and dropped off thousands of petitions. She said she was



Rev. Ron Johnson Sr. of Crown Point listens at the Indiana Pastors Alliance rally at the Statehouse Tuesday. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

"praying for the governor."

Other Republicans, speaking to HPI on background, questioned why there are any carve-outs at all, saying society has moved well beyond the pre-civil-rights era where African-Americans were refused services in restaurants and hotels. They question why anyone should be refused public accommodations.

Former Angie's List CEO Bill Oesterle is encouraged by the Holdman bill. "I was very impressed by the leadership the Senate is taking on this," Oesterle told HPI late Wednesday afternoon. "This is a serious effort. There's a lot of work that needs to be done. They are attempting to get it right, and that is no easy task in the Senate."

And Freedom Indiana sees it as a starting point. "Now that we've had a chance to review Senate Bill 100 in greater detail, we remain

encouraged that lawmakers have made this issue a priority and recognized the need to update our laws to provide much-needed protections from discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity," said Freedom Indiana's Chris Paulsen. "However, we have grave concerns about some aspects of the bill and will be actively working to come up with solutions to the troubling parts of the legislation that need improvement to before the bill can achieve its aim of addressing discrimination against gay and transgender people in Indiana. Some of those concerns include the fact that the legislation would prohibit cities and towns from enforcing existing or adding meaningful local civil rights protections to achieve fair treatment of their residents and as an economic development tool."

**Paulsen added, "We also** are particularly troubled by the limited protections offered for discrimination based on gender identity, as well as the implications of very broad religious and services exemptions that would authorize discrimination against gay and transgender people and either erode or eliminate many longstanding protections under Indiana civil rights law for discrimination based on other currently protected characteristics. For example, this bill could allow a homeless shelter that receives government funding to turn away a single mother or permit a religiously affiliated hospital to deny someone the ability to make medical decisions for a same-sex spouse."

House Speaker Brian Bosma gave it a frosty recep-

tion, saying, "There's no simple conclusion here. Doing nothing is always an option ... but I suspect we need to have a conversation, if nothing else."

This sets up a potential dynamic where a bill that passes out of the Senate might not even get a hearing in the House, where knowledgeable sources say there are only about 14 caucus members willing to support an expansion. House Minority Leader Scott Pelath said at the Chamber preview luncheon that he believes he can hold his 31-member caucus together, meaning that 20 Republicans would be needed to pass a bill.

State Sen. Mike Delph told the IndyStar something he told HPI last August, that the legislature should simply repeal the Religious Freedom Restoration Act. "My view remains that if it is a perception issue they're trying to address, that we should take a step back, look at what happened and repeal everything we did last year," Delph said. "Admit we made a mistake, apologize to the public and move on. Otherwise we're going to continue stirring up the out-house, stinking up the whole farm."

All of this came as a new Bellwether Research Poll conducted on behalf of Bill Oesterle shows that 55% favor adding adding sexual orientation to the state's civil rights law, while 33% oppose. The results are almost identical to an April Howey Politics Indiana Poll conducted by Bellwether (54% favored, 34% opposed), a second poll conducted by the firm in June, and the Ball State Hoosier Survey released last week that had numbers at 56/36%.

**On the latest Bellwether** survey, pollster Christine Matthews explained, "This consistency indicates stability of opinion, with intensity definitely on the side of those who support this change." The political consequences could be immense for Pence and the statewide ticket, while most legislative Republicans sit in safe House seats. The consensus among Republicans is that there is no way they can lose their majorities.

The poll of 600 voters statewide, with a separate oversample of likely Republican primary voters (n=433) occurred on Oct. 19 to 21, 2015. The margin of error on the 600 sample is + 4% and + 5% on the 433 likely Republican primary voters. Just 14% of voters statewide and 18% of likely Republican primary voters say LGBT residents don't face discrimination. In fact, the majority (52%) of all voters think they face a great deal (14%) or some (38%) discrimination rather than a little (24%) or none (14%). Voters would be more likely to vote for a



candidate for governor (47% more likely, 32% less likely) and for state legislature (46%-33%) who supports adding sexual orientation and gender identity to Indiana civil rights law. This represents a notch up from June when 45% of voters said they would be more likely to vote for a candidate for governor with this position.

**Indiana Democratic** Chairman John Zody reacted to the bill, saying, "Senate Republicans are trying to confound us by introducing a piece of legislation that's 20 pages long and more than 8,000 words. In reality, all it takes to end legal discrimination in Indiana is four words and a comma. Not only does SB 100 seem to uphold RFRA and pre-empt local communities' ordinances against discrimination, but it is also loaded with twists and turns that raise questions about intimidation and the provision of social and other services.

Zody added, "It also seems to perpetuate the notion that being LGBT is a choice and as such, these Hoosiers will be held to different standards than others. It is clear that SB 100 starts a conversation, but it raises so many questions that four simple words and a comma could solve with the stroke of a pen."

While legislative leaders have whistled past the graveyard, insisting that infrastructure and the teacher shortage will be the top issues, the reality is that the civil rights extension will dominate the headlines and much of the coming session unless a consensus develops and quick action is taken. With House and Senate leaders at different stances, with Democrats poised to exploit the issue in the 2016 elections, and Gov. Pence unsure of which position to take, this will be the early dominant story in the 2016 election year.

## Epilogue

Gov. Pence is looking very weak on this at a time that calls for emphatic leadership. He has often described himself as a "Christian, a conservative and a Republican in that order."

Knowing the governor for more than two decades, his heart is probably with his socially conservative base. But in siding with his base that got him into this mess in the first place, he is now at the precipice of badly damaging the Republican Party if he doesn't do what a good, pragmatic governor should do, which is to be there not for the base, but for all 6.5 million Hoosiers.

And saying nothing, doing nothing has the potential of compounding disastrous decisions, optics and the tin ears that have become the signatures of this fascinating episode. ❖

# Walorski conducts statewide defense tour

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Earlier this month U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski was one of five members of Congress to witness the launching of a Trident II D5 intercontinental missile off the coast of Southern California. As spectacular as this event was, the inner workings were just as fascinating.

“The reason it’s important for Hoosiers is that virtually all electronic works in that missile and virtually all of the electronic work for the U.S. Navy is being developed here in Southern Indiana,” Walorski said of the Crane Naval Surface Warfare Center. “Electronic warfare is where the nation is heading with China. The principle component development of national security is taking place in Indiana.”

Last week, Walorski conducted a statewide tour of defense manufacturing facilities, seeing her role as the lone Hoosier on the House Armed Services and Veterans Affairs Committees as leading proponent for defense contracting. It took her from AM General in Mishawaka, to Honeywell, BAE and the 122nd Fighter Wing in Fort Wayne, Rolls-Royce in Plainfield, and Crane. “The reason I did this was because just in the past couple of years since I’ve been involved in the Armed Services, it’s really grown in the defense posture,” she said. “We are a defense state and a credibility brand that I don’t think has always been the case in this state.”

**In 2008 at its peak**, Indiana ranked 17th nationally with \$7.8 billion in contracts. That has declined to \$2.3 billion this year, ranking Indiana 22nd, although that is an uptick from the \$2.2 billion in contracts in 2013 when the state ranked 26th.

Walorski said that a number of Indiana firms have gotten or are interested in getting into defense contract-

ing. “But the mountains are almost impossible to climb by yourself,” Walorski said, noting that most defense contracting comes with the 10 largest companies such as Raytheon and Lockheed-Martin. “They are heavy players in Indiana, but they are also team players. They work with a lot of smaller Indiana companies.”

**Walorski related a round-table** discussion she had last week in South Bend with manufacturers interested in getting into the game. “They said, ‘We’d like to get into this business, we have a product to sell. But we don’t have the money to hire a consulting firm to study this.’”

The Jimtown Republican explained, “I said to them, the first phone call they should make is to our office because I’m representing the state of Indiana’s interests. We get a lot of calls and we get them directed so they can get help. That’s one of the reasons I’m doing it. We are diversified economy in Indiana and we’ve done a good job of growing our defense sector. The vacancy sign is open to attract more companies here.”

The Indiana Economic Development Corporation sees a defense future in Indiana’s economy. The IEDC states on its website: By identifying areas where the public, private, military and civilian sectors have a common business interest, Indiana is able to maximize opportunities for everyone at the table. It all starts with combining our strengths in world-class university research with our unmatched manufac-



turing and logistics capabilities to provide products, testing and delivery of tactical services to help ensure full mission success for our nation’s security, all at the speed of business. By leveraging our balanced state budget, lower taxes and business-friendly regulatory environment, Indiana

offers the defense and national security industry an added tactical advantage of lower costs and higher long-term profits in a state that works for business.

The IEDC lays out the state's defense sector:

**The Indiana Office of Defense Development (IODD):** It serves as an advocate for the state to retain and attract new defense-related businesses. They will assist in the commercialization of the U.S. Department of Defense and other intellectual property and assets to create new products and companies in Indiana. IODD will build partnerships with several state agencies and associated organizations as well as industry and community groups to grow and enhance Indiana's defense and national security sector.

■ **Indiana Aerospace and Defense Council (IADC):** It serves as a structured forum for executives and thought leaders from Indiana companies, research institutions, and military installations to explore industry-specific issues and challenges, and ultimately identify workable solutions to better position the state to meet its long-term goals of fostering job growth and increasing state and local revenue.

■ **The Indiana State University Center for Unmanned Systems and Human Capital Development:** This is a consortium between academic, government, and industry partners that promote the use of unmanned systems, providing education, training, and development of human capital, including Notre Dame, Purdue and Indiana universities. The center is taking the initiative to help create economic growth within the state, by facilitating and ensuring Indiana has the workforce and technologies required for mobile robotics in the future.

■ **Atterbury-Muscatatuck:** It is a State of Indiana and Department of Defense collaborative enterprise under the umbrella of the Indiana National Guard. It comprises the Atterbury-Muscatatuck Center for Complex Operations, Camp Atterbury Joint Maneuver Training Center; its globally recognized training range, Muscatatuck and the Jefferson Air-Ground Range Complex. Together, they offer an unparalleled customer specific platform for highly realistic, value-added, contemporary training and developmental testing events and exercises for commercial entities, military, law enforcement and first responder organizations.

■ **Crane Naval Surface Warfare Center:** The largest part of this facility is the Naval Surface Warfare Center-Crane; with more than 3,000 highly skilled employees and 2,000 support contract personnel, NSWC Crane is recognized worldwide as a modern and sophis-



Rep. Walorski a member of the House Armed Services Committee, attended Speaker Ryan's bill signing of the National Defense Authorization Act. S. 1356, the FY16 National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA), passed the House and the Senate with overwhelming bipartisan support earlier this month, authorizing \$607 billion in funding for the military and requires the president to prepare a plan to defeat ISIS. The bill now heads to the president's desk.

ticated leader in diverse and highly technical product lines. NSWC's activities are guided by three focus areas, which align with some of the 21st century military's most pressing needs: Strategic Missions, Special Missions and Electronic Warfare/Information Operations. With over 60 years of Electronic Warfare involvement, NSWC holds the largest naval electronic warfare body of knowledge including expertise in multi-domain, cross-domain integration, full-spectrum, and full-life-cycle systems.

**Walorski says the greatest** challenge facing Indiana is the employment gap. "These are really specific high-end jobs. (Contractors) all said 'we're having a real hard time getting these people.'" The problem is that many top graduates can make more in the private sector than in the defense. "We can't produce the cyber security force we need when the private sector snatches all these young people up the moment they walk out the door. They can offer them six figures and incredible perks pack. The military has some amount of money and patriotism."

Walorski's interest in national defense goes back to Sept. 11, 2001, when she and her husband were working as missionaries in Bucharest, Romania. After the attacks on New York and Washington and the Flight 93 crash in Pennsylvania, she spent 36 hours glued to available media. "That just changed my worldview," she said. When she ran for the U.S. House, she told Speaker John Boehner she wanted to serve on Armed Services. "I told him I wanted to make sure that I can do my part in defending this country. I have never lost focus on that." ❖

# Coleman ponders Walorski challenge

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Lynn Coleman, former investigative division chief with South Bend police and mayoral assistant in the administration of Mayor Steve Luecke, is eying a race for Congress.



Coleman discussed logistics of a challenge to U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski, the Republican incumbent in Indiana's 2nd Congressional District, in a conference call Thursday with Democrats at the state and national levels. He isn't ready to formally announce but is expected to run and to be the favorite for the Democratic nomination in the primary election next May.

Democratic sources say that Coleman's candidacy is looked upon favorably by such influential Democrats as U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly, South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg and St. Joseph County Democratic Chairman Jason Critchlow. It's too early for them to make formal endorsements, but all of them have been anxious to find a formidable challenger to Walorski, and they think Coleman could be that candidate.

They know that without a serious candidate, the nomination could go by default to someone like Bob Kern, the very strange candidate from Indianapolis who files everywhere, including in the 2nd District last time.

Coleman, 61, an African-American with credentials in police work and in South Bend government, could help in building the Democratic plurality in St. Joseph County, largest county in the district. His biggest challenge would be to seek to hold down Walorski's strength in the other nine counties that are all or partly in the district.

**With a Republican-controlled** state legislature doing the redistricting after the 2010 census, the 2nd was made much more Republican, with Democratic portions of LaPorte County taken out, Republican portions of Elkhart County added and strong Republican areas to the south included.

Although Walorski won a first term narrowly in 2012, she won reelection by a landslide in 2014, coming close in

St. Joseph County and winning in all the other counties, in most by a margin of 2 to 1 or better. Her Democratic opponent last time, Joe Bock, received virtually no campaign funding or other help from Democrats at the national level. They wrote off the race and concentrated resources elsewhere.

If Coleman is to have any significant chance, he will need funding help at the national and state levels for the TV ads that are vital in a sprawling congressional district.

**So, his conference call**, involving John Zody, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC) and Indiana Democratic chairman, was important in letting him know what he needs to do with his own fundraising and campaigning in order to get eventual targeting for DCCC funding and help from other national and state Democratic sources of campaign money.

Coleman also has traveled to Washington to confer with DCCC strategists. They want him to run. They tried earlier to recruit state Rep. David Niezgodski of South Bend for the congressional race. He declined and will run instead for reelection to the Indiana House.

Walorski, according to her latest campaign finance report, had over \$700,000 in cash on hand on Sept. 30. Coleman starts with zilch.

Mike Schmuhl, vice president of 270 Strategies, Chicago-based consulting firm, insists that a Coleman race would not be a lost cause. Schmuhl was campaign manager for Donnelly, when Donnelly defeated Walorski for Congress in 2010, and then was campaign manager and chief of staff for Buttigieg.

In a competitive race, Schmuhl says, Walorski has a "clear ceiling," with support not likely to extend beyond her conservative base and into the key independent and moderate middle ground.

Coleman joined the South Bend police force in 1977, advancing through the ranks to investigative division chief. While still remaining on the force, he took on duties as administrative assistant to Mayor Luecke for youth issues in 1997. He retired from police and became a full-time assistant to the mayor in 2000. ❖



Lynn Coleman may emerge as the Democratic challenger to U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski.

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



# PoliticalBank poised for candidates, voters

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The political Facebook for locally elected officials has arrived on a computer screen near you.

That’s the concept behind the PoliticalBank, an emerging platform for politicians and public servants to reach the public without having to spend thousands of dollars to develop and maintain websites. More than 700,000 politicians need an affordable, efficient way to communicate with voters. And 150 million registered voters crave transparency about politicians’ views on policy issues. Plus, 75 other countries (45% of the world’s population) have a democratic society.

The PoliticalBank is the brainchild of Adam Berry, a former Department of Insurance general counsel in the Daniels administration, who played a similar role with Gov. Mike Pence, and Democratic Washington Township Trustee Frank Short. The two have co-founded PoliticalBank, raised \$400,000 in capital for the non-partisan website at [www.politicalbank.com](http://www.politicalbank.com).

The site will provide a searchable database for Hoosier voters. “Voters need to research candidates for public office and candidates need a platform to showcase what they believe,” said Berry, Gov. Pence’s former policy director. “By offering a platform that empowers voters and candidates, we hope to elevate the debate to reach more people who want to be engaged in the political process at the local, state or national level.”

**Berry told HPI that** “it struck me there wasn’t a platform for candidates to create a page and then use it as a website.” KSMConsulting did a market analysis “and validated the idea,” Berry said. “They told me the idea didn’t exist already.”

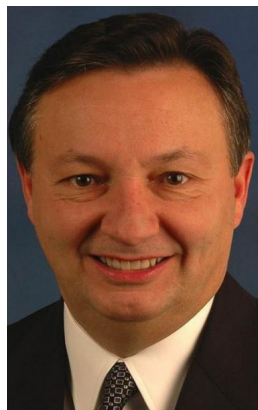
Since the site was to be non-partisan, Berry knew he needed a Democratic partner. He had worked with Short on some legislation while working for Gov. Pence. “The best idea was getting Frank to be a co-founder.”

Berry explained his idea to Pence last May, then left the governor’s office in Aug. 1. Pence was an entre-

preneur himself when he started the Mike Pence Show on radio and then TV in the mid-1990s. “He thought it was a great idea,” Berry said of the governor, who recently created an account.

“**With the approaching** municipal elections, 2015 is a perfect year to launch in Indiana,” said Short. “As we look to next year’s federal, state and local elections, voter and candidate engagement – especially when it comes to ‘down-ballot’ races – could not be more important as we determine who our future leaders will be.”

“The goal is to offer candidates an affordable and attractive online presence that, like traditional but often cumbersome campaign websites, allows them to raise money, convey their ideology, and otherwise improve their



**Adam Berry (left) and Frank Short are the co-founders of PoliticalBank**

chances of winning elections,” Berry said. “The result should be an easy-to-use resource for voters to learn who is on the ballot and where each candidate stands on the issues. And, equally important, the public can use PoliticalBank.com to hold elected officials accountable for positions they took as candidates.”

“**For 2016, we** aim to help voters in Indiana and our surrounding states,” Berry said. “But our ultimate goal is to scale nationally by 2020, the first presidential election cycle when all 90 million Millennials will be eligible to vote. This bloc, which will represent 40% of all voters, will naturally seek an

online arena to engage politicians on issues.”

There are tweaks coming, but Berry and Short believe that 2016 will be a watershed year for the project, as officials running for down-ballot offices, along with top-tier candidates, look for more exposure for voters. The cost to establish a page is free, the monthly fee is \$25, and the premium cost of maintaining a full profile page is \$50 a month on a site that can accept campaign contributions.

Backers of the project include Republicans like Anne Hathaway and John Hammond III, along with Democrats including Indianapolis Councilman Kip Tew and Democratic National Committeeman David Frye. ❖

# Yoder, Ubelhor latest to leave legislature

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - It's too early to declare the kind of exodus we witnessed in 2010 when more than 20 House members decided not to seek reelection, but there is a noticeable trend shaping up.

On Wednesday, State Sen. Carlin Yoder announced he would not seek reelection, joining fellow Republicans Scott Schneider in SD30, Brent Steele in SD44, and Brent Waltz in SD36. All had different reasons. Steele is retir-



ing, Schneider said he needed to focus on business, Yoder wants to spend more time with his young family, and Waltz is seeking the 9th CD nomination.

"This was not an easy decision to make," Yoder said.

"Representing our northern Indiana communities in the State Senate has been a great privilege. But my commitment to my family comes first, and unfortunately, the demands of serving in Indianapolis have severely limited my time at home. We are currently in the process of adding to our family through adoption, which has changed my priorities going forward. While I've decided not to seek reelection next year, I look forward to finding other ways to stay involved. I've been overwhelmed by the encouragement of others to reconsider, but I know this is the right decision."

Senate President Pro Tem David Long (R-Fort Wayne) praised Yoder's service. "Carlin possesses a rare combination of genuine compassion and great courage. He will be sorely missed by his friends and colleagues in the Senate."

Republican Joanna King, who serves on the Middlebury School Board and owns JoJo's Pretzels, announced her plans to run for the SD12 last September.

In the House, State Rep. Ubelhor announced he was resigning on Dec. 1, saying that his job with Peabody Coal was moving him further south, thus creating logistical issues. "I had a lot to consider, and at 56 years old I'm way too young to retire from the industry I've been in for 38 years," Ubelhor told the Bloomington Herald-Times, adding that he is likely to create more jobs as a mine executive than as a lawmaker. Ubelhor said he thought long and hard before realizing he could not hold down both jobs and do them well.



**State Sen. Carlin Yoder was the latest of four senators to announce he won't seek reelection in 2016. (HPI Photo by Mark Curry)**

Majority Leader Jud McMillin

abruptly resigned after a cellphone related sex scandal. He was replaced by Rep. Randy Lyness.

And State Rep. Tom Dermody of LaPorte announced he wouldn't run earlier this fall.

As for House Democrats, State Rep. Gail Riecken, coming off an unsuccessful run for mayor of Evansville, announced on election night she will not seek reelection.

## Governor: Pence suspends refugees

Gov. Mike Pence's decision to suspend the resettlement of Syrian refugees in Indiana, following reports that a Syrian refugee was among the suspects who carried out deadly attacks in Paris last Friday was resoundingly supported by the Indiana Congressional delegation, with the exception of U.S. Rep. Andre Carson, one of two Muslims in Congress.

Pence joined more than 25 governors, most Republican, saying on Monday, "In the wake of the horrific attacks in Paris, effective immediately, I am directing all state agencies to suspend the resettlement of additional Syrian refugees in the state of Indiana pending assurances from the federal government that proper security measures have been achieved. Indiana has a long tradition of opening our arms and homes to refugees from around the world but, as governor, my first responsibility is to ensure the safety and security of all Hoosiers. Unless and until the state of Indiana receives assurances that proper security measures are in place, this policy will remain in full force and effect."

Asked about the authority Pence has to make the move, his office pointed to the Refugee Resettlement Office in the Division of Family Resources in the Family and Social Services Administration (FSSA) administers the Syrian resettlement program. Indiana is not the first state to make this move, as similar moves are coming in Alabama, Texas, Arkansas and Louisiana. The IndyStar reported that Florida Gov. Rick Scott, a Republican, asked congressional leaders to stop federal funding for the relocation of refugees to his state, because he did not believe he had the power to do so.

The Pence administration pointed reporters to articles in the Wall Street Journal and the Daily Mail which reported that terrorists in Paris either came from Syria, or had either real or fake Syrian passports.

Aid groups such as Catholic Charities and Exodus maintained that the Syrian refugees are some of the most screened refugees. And President Obama mocked the GOP governors, saying "Apparently they're scared of widows and orphans coming into the United States of America, I cannot think of a more potent recruitment tool for ISIL than some of the rhetoric that's been coming out of here during the course of this debate."

The Pence move was not universally accepted. The conservative Fort Wayne News-Sentinel editorialized: Gov. Mike Pence has joined the growing list of governors telling President Obama their states want nothing to do with the resettlement of Syrian refugees. About 10,000

are scheduled to be processed in the next two years, and Indiana would get its fair share. Alas, the governor has neither the statutory nor constitutional authority to refuse refugees, so his actions probably should be filed in the "futile gesture" category.

IndyStar editorial page editor Tim Swarens defended Pence, saying, "Liberals' self-righteous overreaction to a common-sense decision — Gov. Mike Pence's request for a temporary halt in the relocation of Syrian refugees to Indiana in light of the Paris attacks — has been both frustrating and infuriating. Frustrating in how willing the left is to blindly follow the Obama administration's "trust us, we're with the government" approach to an issue of critical national importance. Infuriating in how quickly liberals slammed legitimate questions about rapid changes in the vetting process for refugees as evidence that skeptics are lacking in American and Christian values."

**Ballard website not authorized**

A Ballard for Governor website is on the Internet, but officials close the Indianapolis mayor didn't know about it when contacted by HPI. Neither did the mayor. Bill Oesterle brought the site to HPI's attention, but said he has nothing to do with it.

**U.S. Senate:**

**Holcomb wins the chili cookoff**

Republican Senate candidate Eric Holcomb won the chili cookoff between the three candidates Friday evening at the French Lick Springs Resort during the Congress of Counties. He was joined by U.S. Reps. Marlin Stutzman and Todd Young.

**3rd CD: Banks ads Jehl**

Fort Wayne Councilman Russ Jehl has joined State Sen. Jim Bank's 3rd CD campaign as political director.

**Superintendent: Ritz slams Pence**

Supt. Glenda Ritz took offense at remarks Gov. Pence made in Muncie. The Muncie Star Press reported: Pence visited a school to talk about ISTEP, where he suggested that the drop in scores should not be taken "personally." Ritz spokeswoman Annie Mansfield said, "Working with students every day is a calling, and any teacher who heard Gov. Pence's 'don't take it personal' suggestion would be offended, Teachers and schools do take it personally when they are told they are failures because of high-stakes testing. The fact that Gov. Pence doesn't understand his own policies only reiterates how out of touch

he is with the students, parents, teachers, and school administrators who spend countless hours on this test."






**Attorney General: Hill prepares to enter**

Elkhart County Prosecutor Curtis Hill will be joining the Republican attorney general field. He joins former attorney general Steve Carter, State Sen. Randy Head, and possibly U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita.

**Trump, Carson lead in new Bloomberg Poll**

A Bloomberg Politics poll of U.S. adults out Thursday found that billionaire Donald Trump tops all GOP candidates with 24 percent, Dr. Ben Carson follows with 20 percent and Florida Sen. Marco Rubio has 12 percent. Texas Sen. Ted Cruz comes in at 9 percent, former Florida Gov. Jeb Bush has 6 percent and New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie has 4 percent. All other candidates are at 3 percent or below.

Donald Trump is dominating in New Hampshire, and Bernie Sanders leads Hillary Clinton by a hair, according to a new Fox News poll out Wednesday. The poll found that the business mogul has a significant lead over the rest of the Republican field with 27 percent support, more than double his nearest rival, Florida Sen. Marco Rubio, who has 13 percent. Texas Sen. Ted Cruz comes in third with 11 percent, Jeb Bush and Carson are at 9%. ❖

<b>First Tier: The Yin and Yang Frontrunners</b>			
	<b>Candidate</b>	<b>Key Primary Advantages</b>	<b>Key Primary Disadvantages</b>
	<b>Donald Trump</b> Businessman and TV personality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Can command the stage, has freedom to say anything</li> <li>•Draws crowds &amp; media; high name ID; riveting figure</li> <li>•Billionaire, can self-fund if he wants</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•More novelty than plausible nominee</li> <li>•Produces many soundbites that can be used against him in ads</li> <li>•Strongly opposed by a near-unanimous GOP leadership</li> </ul>
	<b>Ben Carson</b> Neurosurgeon and activist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Polling well in Iowa, high favorability in party</li> <li>•Political outsider, no baggage from office</li> <li>•Strong support from evangelical Christian conservatives</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•No campaign experience, media scrutiny raising questions about his biography</li> <li>•Little chance of establishment backing and funding</li> </ul>
<b>Second Tier: The Most Plausible Nominees</b>			
	<b>Marco Rubio</b> Senator, FL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Dynamic speaker and politician</li> <li>•Generational contrast with Jeb... &amp; Hillary</li> <li>•Starting to win support from party leaders</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Went left on immigration, hurt him with base</li> <li>•Is he raising enough money and building a strong enough organization?</li> </ul>
	<b>Ted Cruz</b> Senator, TX	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Dynamic debater &amp; canny, often underestimated politician</li> <li>•Anti-establishment nature plays well with base</li> <li>•Strong early fundraising and solid understanding that race is marathon, not sprint</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Disliked on both sides of Senate aisle</li> <li>•Strong Tea Party support ensures establishment resistance to candidacy</li> <li>•Carson currently blocking him with evangelicals</li> </ul>
	<b>Jeb Bush</b> Ex-Governor, FL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Conservative gubernatorial resume</li> <li>•National BushWorld money and organization</li> <li>•Personifies establishment, which typically produces GOP nominees</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Bush fatigue is real and deep</li> <li>•Well-known but not well-liked</li> <li>•Personifies establishment, which grassroots loathes</li> <li>•Early ad blitz not moving needle</li> </ul>

University of Virginia Prof. Larry Sabato's Crystal Ball ranks the top GOP presidential contenders.

# Peyton Manning and Indiana history

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The Peyton Manning era in Indianapolis, for the most part, ended on Super Tuesday 2012, when Colts owner Jim Irsay cut him loose instead of paying a \$25 million bonus to a quarterback who had just completed his fourth neck surgery.



It was a painful moment for most Colts fans. For months we toyed with the options, of drafting Andrew Luck and keeping Manning, a sort of redux of the Brett Favre/Aaron Rodgers situation in Green Bay. More distressing was that Irsay just cut Manning loose, without so much as a fourth round draft pick in compensation.

Irsay was actually doing Manning a huge favor, with “circumstances” creating this unparalleled situation, with Manning now free to land in the best situation for himself. He chose the Denver Broncos, playing for General Manager John Elway, himself a Hall of Fame quarterback who won two consecutive Super Bowls in the final years of his career.

And Manning’s return to action in 2013 was fascinating. He finished with 55 TDs, shattering Tom Brady’s record of 50 set in 2007, and threw for 5,477 yards, one yard more than New Orleans QB Drew Brees threw in 2011, the previous record. There was a fifth MVP and a third Super Bowl, though Peyton lost that one.

The consolation for Colt fans was that Andrew Luck has mostly filled the void, even with an uneven and injury-filled season this year. In four head-to-head matchups with Manning, the Colts have won three, including a devastating playoff upset in Denver last January.

**Indiana has produced** an incredible pantheon of athletes and coaches, from Larry Bird and Bob Griese to Oscar Robertson, Johnny Wooden, Isaiah Thomas, Bobby Knight and Knute Rockne. But Manning created an emphatic paradigm shift in sports here in the Hoosier State, as the Colts played in two Super Bowls, winning one, while becoming a perennial playoff contender. The state is now a prime gridiron recruiting ground. The state landed and excelled

in hosting the 2012 Super Bowl that followed the year Manning never played a down, his final, idle year here.

Two weeks ago, Manning returned to Indianapolis for what many speculated would be the last time as a player.

The scenario was this: He would return to the stadium he helped build, in a state that has become as much a breeding ground for football players as it had been in basketball. Had the Colts drafted Ryan Leaf in 1998 instead of Manning, we’d probably be looking at the Los Angeles Colts. Lucas Oil Stadium probably wouldn’t have been built. Indianapolis would have lost considerable luster as a “major league city.” It was a sports illusion right out of “It’s a Wonderful Life.”

**With Denver 7-0 and the** Colts struggling at 3-5, there was little chance the two teams would meet here again in the playoffs (Playoffs? Plaaayoffs?). Whereas Luck had burst the Manning bubble in the divisional round last January, this time Luck was mired in self-doubt and inconsistency, and Manning’s team was on a roll, even though he was leading the league in interceptions. The two seemed to have switched roles.

And then they played the game. The result was historic, but not for the reasons we might have imagined



Peyton Manning lectures a Bronco receiver on the sideline at Lucas Oil Stadium on Nov. 8, while Colts QB Andrew Luck passes. Both would be injured in the 27-24 Colt upset. (HPI Photos by Brian A. Howey)

before kickoff. Luck was rejuvenated, leading the Colts to a 27-24 victory. Manning threw for two interceptions, Luck none. And both warrior quarterbacks would exit the game wounded, Luck with a lacerated kidney, Manning tearing his plantar fascia. Luck would be out two to six weeks.

And Manning, who needed 284 yards against the Colts to break the all-time quarterback passing yard record, and one win to become the winningest starting quarterback in NFL history, left with neither. He was three yards short of the yardage record and one win away from the other.

**The expectation was he** would achieve both last Sunday in Denver against the Chiefs. After an interception and a fumble, Manning completed a four-yard pass for the all-time passing record in the first quarter. But by the third quarter and trailing 22-0, he was benched for the first time in his career. It was a stunning sight for both Colt and Bronco fans, Manning standing on the sideline with his offense on the field. The man had for a decade and a



half been the poster boy for durability in the most harrowing position in all of sports. He ended that game with one of the worst performances in NFL history, 5 of 20 for 35 yards with zero touchdowns and four interceptions, becoming the first quarterback in over a decade to post a 0.0 passer rating.

Several years ago, the New York Times did an analysis of NFL quarterback durability and shelf life. The conclusion, backed up with an array of data, was that

at age 38, the typical NFL quarterback falls off a statistical cliff. Manning tailed off in 2014 at age 38 after a torrid start, and today it is unclear whether he will start another game. It is unlikely Denver will bring him back next year.

So on Nov. 8, with the 39-year-old war horse legend and the young Colt prodigy competing for the fourth time, what we witnessed was something we might not have fathomed just a few short weeks ago: Peyton Manning's last full game, a game he had a chance to win until the final eye-poking moments, which might have occurred in the stadium he built, a place where in a few short years a statue will be erected in his glorious honor. ❖

**Photography With Punch**  
 Contact photographer Mark Curry for a fresh look at Indiana politics  
[mark1tcphotography@gmail.com](mailto:mark1tcphotography@gmail.com) | <http://mark1tc.smugmug.com/Political/>

# Congress should stop two bad habits

By **LEE HAMILTON**

BLOOMINGTON – Congress should kick two bad habits: Stop debating about raising the debt ceiling; that's become a persistent game of "chicken" which consumes time better spent on other matters. And stop relying on continuing resolutions to fund the government.

You can understand why President Obama and congressional leaders on both sides of the aisle sought to cast their end-of-October budget deal in the best possible light. They avoided a potentially catastrophic national default. They reduced the possibility of a government shutdown. And they raised the debt ceiling until March, 2017, taking that bargaining chip off the table until the next president is in the White House.



For a last-minute, secret backroom deal, that's not too shabby. It was bipartisan and took modest steps in the direction of political stability and fiscal responsibility. And it was vastly

preferable to the alternative, which would likely have produced a government shutdown, the possibility of a default on the national debt, and certain fiscal chaos.

That's the good news. The bad news is that for all their hard work, our political leaders indulged in two bad habits that they really need to kick, because they wreak havoc with effective and efficient government and cost taxpayers a pile of money.

First, while they gave themselves some breathing room before the next time the debt ceiling has to be raised, they will nonetheless have to raise the debt ceiling eventually. They should have abolished it, or at least suspended it.

**The debt limit was** instituted during World War I, when Congress handed over to the Treasury the ability to sell bonds to fund government needs without getting permission every time. In essence, the debt ceiling was a way to keep tabs on the Treasury, while still allowing the government to pay its bills for spending that had already been approved.

It has outlived that reasonable goal. These days, the debt ceiling is a political pawn, used repeatedly as leverage by opposition parties to make demands of the President. It has driven the persistent national game of "chicken" that has so tarnished Congress's image in recent decades.

Most political leaders recognize that defaulting on the national debt – which is what failing to raise the debt ceiling would cause – is an inconceivable outcome for a

responsible nation. By destroying our creditworthiness, it would devastate consumers, taxpayers, businesses, retirees who invested in government bonds, the financial markets, and our ability to conduct normal relations with trading partners and foreign governments. Moreover, the legislative maneuvering surrounding each debt ceiling bill consumes huge amounts of legislative time that is better spent on other matters. The need to raise the debt ceiling, in other words, no longer reins in spending. Instead, it manufactures crises and exacerbates tensions within Congress.

**The second bad habit is** equally pernicious: The budget deal did little to shift Congress from its reliance on continuing resolutions. The CR, as it's known, was designed to keep government operating for a few days or weeks while congressional negotiators worked out the budget. In recent decades, though, it has become the way we fund the government. It's hard to find a member of Congress who defends this process, but most of them end up voting for it.

Continuing resolutions bypass the appropriations bills written by specialized committees and provide a favored few interests a bonanza. They also keep the federal government, and hence state and local agencies that rely on federal commitments, in "handcuffs," as a recent article in Politico put it. "Under the continuing resolution," the website noted after the most recent CR passed at the end of September, "multi-year projects...faced new delays. Hiring departments closed. Budget officials began to tally losses as their typically powerful purchasing power dwindled. For pretty much the rest of this year, and perhaps 2016, too, the U.S. government will effectively be in a state of suspended animation."

**The CR puts the government** on automatic pilot, avoids hundreds of difficult funding and policy decisions, and has become a substitute for working hard to pass a budget by the regular process. It lacks transparency, sidesteps good budgeting, puts all the power in the hands of a few congressional leaders, and invites Congress to act in a crisis mode.

Do you want the Congress to work better? If so, ask your favorite member to think big and not lock into a failing system. A good start would be to kick these two bad habits. ❖

**Lee Hamilton is a Distinguished Scholar, Indiana University School of Global and International Studies; and a Professor of Practice, IU School of Public and Environmental Affairs. He was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives for 34 years. On Nov. 30, President Obama will award him the Presidential Medal of Freedom.**

# Campus shenanigans

By MICHAEL HICKS

MUNCIE – Right now there are about 17.5 million college students attending some 4,100 schools across the U.S. They come from almost every country, speak most every language and come from every current culture, race, religion and ethnic group. Most of them understand that they are part of a very lucky global elite. They are the real 1 percent.

Fewer than half will graduate, so most work hard to succeed. The majority of these kids – and they are just that – want very much to meet new people and experience new things while they are here. From my perch at a large Midwestern school, I see mostly earnest young women and men making their way in the world as best they can.



If this description does not sound very much like the student shenanigans taking place at Yale, the University of Missouri, and now many other places, then you are right. That is largely not what is happening at American

universities, which remain places of scholarship, hard work and little coddling.

Now, this doesn't mean that my university or any other isn't susceptible to remarkable asininity. Ball State has a new 'Bias Response Team.' I can only suppose these public employees will be trained to rush to the scene of a supposed thought crime to dispense Kleenex and valium, while carefully torching any errant copies of the Constitution in sight. These groups won't survive their first, inevitable, public blunder. Still it is easy to figure out why they exist.

**Many university** presidents and boards are fearful, and even a lukewarm defense of free speech is sure to unleash a wave of aggrieved fury on social media. And besides, moral courage is no longer in fashion in the modern university, so let's just have a conference on the "intersectionality of identities."

The glorification of extreme identity group politics has run amok. In this world of micro-whining about micro-aggressions, nothing is too trivial to cause grievance. This atmosphere is shockingly disrespectful to the memory of real struggles for freedom. It is also deeply anti-intellectual. College must be about our ideas, passions and character; not our race, ethnic tribe or sexual preference.

Successful adulthood is not easy, and where young adults are abundant, boorish behavior abounds. That boorishness includes racial, sexual and religious slurs. Ironically, a resilient freedom of expression coupled with decent manners are the swiftest encouragement to change. Dr. Martin Luther King knew that, but freedom and expression

and good manners are in short supply in Mizzou or Yale.

**In a larger sense** the fringe mal-behavior on campuses should be entertaining. It is fight between the fascist left and the radical left. It is as entertaining as say, the Westboro Baptist Church protesting the KKK. It would be the stuff of a good chuckle, if it weren't happening on American campuses. This is where the world learns. If we, the faculty of America's universities, cannot teach and defend freedom of expression, model adult behavior and push our students into responsible adulthood then we fail. American universities mustn't fail. ❖

**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.**



# Abolishing small towns

By MORTON MARCUS

INDIANAPOLIS – In case you were not counting, Indiana has 545 cities and towns that existed in both 1970 and 2010. Four of the 1970 towns gave up that designation by 2010 as they either were absorbed by nearby municipalities or regressed into the county as unincorporated places. Merrillville and Winfield, McCordsville and Avon, Darmstadt and Santa Claus are among the new towns since 1970.



Of those 545 continuing cities and towns, 53 percent (291) lost population with 47 percent (254) gaining. I was presenting these facts to a group when Tommy Toomuch shouted, "Get rid of them."

"What?" I said. "You can't just get rid of cities and towns."

"What is made by man can be unmade by man," Tommy said. "Cities and towns are our

creations and we can unmake them, particularly if they are unsuccessful. If a place loses population over a 40-year period, would you call it successful? No! Get rid of it. Merge it, consolidate it, but don't let it just hang on, getting weaker, wasting resources."

"**That's bold, but not** practical," I said. "There are resources, infrastructure, roads, buildings, maybe sewers and water lines. You can't just abandon them and leave a ghost town. What about the people, the history, the memories?"

But Tommy wasn't listening. Instead he was pawing through my notes and grunting emphatically. "All right,"

he said. "Just get rid of the least successful places. For example, what would we lose if we closed down four so-called towns in Marion County that are under 500 people, towns surrounded by the City of Indianapolis with no business centers?"

"Gasp," I gasped. "Do you know what you are saying? You are talking about Crows Nest, North Crows Nest, Rocky Ripple, and Williams Creek." "So what?" Tommy asked. "What legitimate function do they serve today?"

**Before I could respond,** Tommy went on. "I say any place with less than 500 persons, with fewer people today than 40 years ago, is a failure and there is probably no reason to let it continue as anything more than a neighborhood or an unincorporated village."

Suddenly the audience was alert and asking Tommy, "What other towns would you abolish?" "I'm not proposing people not live there, but there's no need for a separate town government. Merge them into a nearby

place or let them revert to the county."

"What towns are you talking about?" The question now had an edge to it.

"Well," Tommy looked down at my spreadsheet, "I see 129 places under 500 people losing population between 1970 and 2010. That includes Schneider, Napoleon, Riley, Dune Acres, and Stinesville to name just a few."

**"Anarchist,"** shouted a woman in the back. "A heartless bully is what I'd call him," a man declared and began texting with great fervor.

"Maybe we could also cull the list of another 70 declining places between 500 and a 1,000 persons," Tommy suggested.

I grabbed my papers and left hurriedly. I don't go hunting sacred cows. ❖

**Mr. Marcus is an economist, writer, and speaker who may be reached at [atmortonjmarcus@yahoo.com](mailto:atmortonjmarcus@yahoo.com).**

## Chairman Buncich moves to center stage

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – John Buncich is taking center stage both as the Lake County sheriff and Democratic chairman. Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott is feeling the effect of Buncich's increased strength.



With the Nov. 3 election on the shelf, interest is turning to 2016, which promises to be a more exciting year on the campaign trail. Things got off to a rousing start this week when Buncich removed Kevin Smith from the county election board. The five members of the board are paid about \$15,000 per year for limited duty. McDermott, who preceded Buncich as county chairman, had appointed Smith to the board about six years

ago. In Lake County, the Democratic and Republican chairmen each appoints two members to the board. The county clerk is the fifth member.

**Why Smith was removed** from the board depends on whom you ask. McDermott said Buncich acted in retaliation to his comments that he is considering a run against U.S. Rep. Peter Visclosky, who represents Northwest Indiana in Congress. That challenge could come as early as next year.

Buncich, who is a long-time ally of Visclosky, denies that charge, saying he had promised Smith he could

continue on the board for 16 months after he took over as chairman. Buncich said it simply was a matter of wanting his own appointment on the board. Buncich named Justin Murphy to replace Smith. Murphy is a former election board attorney.

If McDermott decides to take on Visclosky, who will be seeking a 17th term next year, he likely doesn't want to be drawing the ire of Buncich. The heavy Gary Democratic vote will be key for election to Congress. And right now, Buncich is close to Gary Mayor Karen Freeman-Wilson.

**When homicides escalated** in Gary a few years ago, Freeman-Wilson asked Gov. Mike Pence to send the state police to help slow the carnage. Pence declined and instead sent a consultant to study the police department's operation and recommend steps for improvement. The governor's approach did little to help the situation in Gary.

Freeman-Wilson called on Buncich to assign some of his police officers to the Steel City. Buncich did so and there has been a dramatic decrease in the number of homicides. The sheriff and mayor both attribute the reduction to the increased police presence. The improvement speaks well for Buncich and Visclosky, who has secured federal crime-fighting money for Gary.

Additionally, McDermott didn't gain friends in Gary when he was county chairman because of the perception that he paid little attention to the Steel City. ❖

**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.**



# Pence's Syrian move a sign of desperation

By **SHAW FRIEDMAN**

LaPORTE — Many of us who disagreed with Gov. Pence's disastrous support of RFRA, which cratered his approval ratings and set up a very competitive race for governor, had to acknowledge his stand, while wrongheaded, was likely motivated by some sincere religious conviction.

But his joining the paranoid, political parade this past Monday morning of Republican governors mindlessly insisting on a halt to Syrian refugees seeking asylum in this country, was apparently made without any input or guidance from his department heads or law enforcement and smacks of raw political opportunism. It was a craven act of political desperation of an elected official in a tight race for reelection that insults the intelligence of all Hoosiers.



If the governor was sincerely concerned about the threat posed by these refugees, many of them widows and orphans escaping ISIS oppression, why not calmly and carefully convene his cabinet on Monday including his Superintendent of state police. Check with his director of Homeland Security. Nah. Forget that and breathlessly join up with Republican operatives hoping to score cheap debating points on the Monday morning news shows, rather than make good public policy.

Perhaps had he done his due diligence in a statesmanlike way, rather than behave as just another unprincipled pol, he would have found that the U.S. refugee clearance process is among the tightest anywhere in the world. Refugees are subjected to the highest level of security check of any traveler to the U.S. including the involvement of the National Counter-Terrorism Center, the FBI's Terrorist Center, the Department of Homeland Security, Department of State and Department of Defense.

**All refugees, including** Syrians, are admitted only after successful completion of a stringent security regime which includes biographic and biometric info vetted against a broad array of law enforcement and intelligence community databases.

The Economist magazine reports that of the 750,000 refugees who have taken up residence in the U.S. since 9/11, none have been arrested on charges of domestic terrorism. None, zero, zilch. As the Migration Policy Institute reported today, "the refugee re-settlement program is the least likely avenue for a terrorist to choose to enter the U.S...as the whole process typically takes 18-24 months with high hurdles for security clearance."

So far, the U.S. is admitting only the most vulnerable Syrians, particularly survivors of violence and torture, those with severe medical conditions and women and children, in a manner that is consistent with national security.

Governor, you really want to do something about terrorism rather than just "sticking your chest out wanting to take a little piece of a national issue" as House Leader Pelath criticized him so aptly?

**Why not talk about** asking tech companies in our state to join with tech companies elsewhere to help crack these new encrypted apps that apparently permitted the terrorists to communicate with each other and go undetected by the intelligence services. Let's see governors of the 50 states come together and summon the intellectual might of the tech industry and put it in service of our country.

The fact that apps designed by Silicon Valley are now being used by ISIS to communicate with their foreign operatives ought to scare the daylights out of anyone hoping that our intelligence services can once again break up an attack by one of these jihadist organizations in the future. Let Mike Pence do something constructive on that front rather than mindlessly inveigh against Syrian refugees.

**I know Mike Pence continues** to disappoint on so many levels, but one had to hope he would listen to the calm voices of Republicans like Sen. John McCain, former GOP nationally chairman Haley Barbour and others before signing onto a politically inspired petition just hours after the tragic events in Paris. Mike Pence showed on the expansion of Medicaid and the institution of HIP 2.0 that he could rise above raw, partisan politics but so many times after that, he's allowed himself to be pulled by hard-nosed partisan operatives into doing the wrong thing for Indiana.

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



## Gov. Malloy blasts Pence

NEW HAVEN, Conn. — Connecticut's governor took another swipe at Mike Pence as he talked about refugees diverted from Indiana (WIBC). Gov. Dan Malloy spoke to reporters about a family of three refugees from Syria who were sent to his state rather than their initial destination of the Indianapolis area. The diversion came days before they were to arrive after Governor Pence joined many other governors in declaring that Indiana would not accept any more refugees from Syria following last week's terrorist attacks in Paris.

"This is the same guy who signed a homophobic bill in the spring surrounded by homophobes and protested how proud he was that he had done it. So I'm not surprised by anything the governor does," Malloy said. ❖

**Timothy Egan, New York Times:** Before it slips away, let's try to pull some larger meaning from perhaps the most absurd moment of 2015: that professor at one of the nation's top journalism colleges who threatened to use force against a student journalist for doing the things taught in that school. The viral video, of Melissa Click, an assistant professor at the University of Missouri, shows her screaming "get this reporter out of here" — the "here" being a public space, at a public event, a protest circle during Mizzou's days of rage. "I need some muscle over here," she cries, in faculty-thug mode. It goes to a more troubling trend — the diminishment of a healthy, professionally trained free press. For some time now, it's been open season on this beaten-down trade, from the left and the right. Into that vacuum have emerged powerful partisan voices, injecting rumors and outright lies into the public arena, with no consequence. At the same time, it's become extremely difficult for reporters who adhere to higher standards to make a living. Poverty-level wages have become the norm at many a town's lone nonpartisan media outlet. More than 20,000 newsroom jobs have been lost in this country since 2001 — a work force drop of about 42 percent. The mean salary of reporters in 2013 was \$44,360; journalists now earn less than the national average for all United States workers, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The true media elites are in talk radio and right-wing television — multimillionaire gasbags from Rush Limbaugh to Sean Hannity. Every day, nearly every hour, they attack reporters, using verbal assaults more consequential than the muscle play by an amped-up academic. In that world, the "lamestream media," to use the term of the University of Idaho journalism graduate Sarah Palin, is evil incarnate. Real reporters have been replaced with fake reporters. No, not the "Daily Show" staff, which did a better job of fact-checking the Republican debate this week than did Fox News. I'm talking about stunt reporters, who do the dirty work of the partisan outlets. ❖



**Tim Ethridge, Evansville Courier & Press:** Taken as a whole, newspapers — and newspaper editors and their teams — are a competitive bunch. Whether online or in print, we want to do better than the others. We want to be first, we want to be right, and we want to be best. It's human nature. That's why it's not only surprising but borderline amazing that newspapers across Indiana are coming together in a common call to our state legislatures and Gov. Mike Pence. After all the damage inflicted on the state's reputation by the ill-conceived Religious Freedom Restoration Act in the 2015 General Assembly, we agree that it's past time to insist on #RightsForAll. From Bloomington to Kokomo, Lafayette to Louisville, Ky., Muncie to South Bend to Terre Haute, and from Evansville to Indianapolis, we're convinced that Indiana's best future is to be a welcoming place. There is no doubt that ours is a

conservative state. It also has always been a hospitable one. Even the most conservative Christians I count among friends were troubled by the backlash the state received over RFRA. ❖

**Bob Hammel, Bloomington Herald-Times:** The Herald-Times story comparing Indiana's 1969 football turmoil and 2015's at Missouri I think simplifies a wrenching and complex issue. Only in the broadest terms can I see Missouri 2015 and IU 1969 equated. One reached into football; one was football. Definitely different are the times, enormously so. The real world in the late-1960s was ugly, with intertwining exacerbations: assassinations and a rising drug culture, Vietnam and emerging black-community demands that, after far too long, the time for equality was now. Pressured by all those issues was African-American youth. And it all exploded within the IU football team in late-October 1969. Everyone lost. Certainly the 10 good kids-now-young men who chose to leave the program that figured to be their biggest boost into post-graduate life.

Certainly the four African-American teammates who made their own hard choice: not to leave. Certainly the non-African-Americans on that team, which had started the year with Rose Bowl dreams of its own but finished sub-.500, 0-3 without its departed teammates. And certainly John Pont, national Coach of the Year in 1967, not fired but pressured out in 1972, never again to know championships and honors and the respect his life of achievement deserved. And IU football? Draw your own conclusions. My ugliest memory of that sickening period was at the first game after the walkout, when the stunned remaining Hoosiers took the field against Iowa, and in the Memorial Stadium stands a banner unfurled: "Go Big White." Everyone lost. ❖

**Ken de la Bastide, Anderson Herald Bulletin:** With Republican Gov. Mike Pence concluding what can only be described as a less-than-stellar first term, the Democratic Party is uniting behind 2012 candidate John Gregg. Pence could probably have held onto the congressional seat for as long as he wished, and his name was bandied about as a presidential candidate. The problem for Pence was that it's exceedingly rare for a member of the U.S. House to be elected president. U.S. senators or one of the 50 governors have a much better chance. Pence opted not to run for the U.S. Senate against Evan Bayh in 2010, then decided to run for governor in 2012. A poll conducted by Ball State University/WISH-TV released earlier this month shows Pence's approval rating at 47 percent, down from 62 percent a year ago. The debacle that was the Religious Freedom Restoration Act placed Pence and the Hoosier state in a negative light at the national level, as did his plan to introduce the state's own news service. Compounding his slide in the polls is the ongoing feud with Superintendent of Public Instruction Glenda Ritz. ❖

## Refugee plan finds support

HAMMOND — Gov. Mike Pence's desire to close Hoosier borders to Syrian refugees received some unlikely support Wednesday from a Region Democrat who regularly criticizes the governor's policies (Chase, NWI Times). But Pence and dozens of other governors who made similar declarations this week are ignoring an already extensive federal vetting process for such refugees attempting to enter the United States, two Region immigration advocates said. Former Lake County Democratic Party chairman and frequent Pence critic, Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr., joined Pence's chorus Wednesday. "I understand where the governor is coming from on this one," McDermott said. "Nobody wants what happened in Paris to happen in America. "On one hand, you want to be sympathetic to the plight of the refugees. On the other hand, we need to protect America." From Washington, U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky, D-Merrillville, also acknowledged a balance is needed between offering refuge to persecuted people and vetting them for national security. "As the ranking member on the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, I am keenly aware of the serious threats facing our nation, and I strongly support efforts to properly vet all refugees admitted to our county for security reasons," Visclosky said in a written statement. "I also firmly believe that solely basing admission decisions on an individual's country of origin or their religion is unacceptable and inconsistent with our country's values."

## Bosma to back Smaltz meth bill

INDIANAPOLIS — Claiming current state measures are not enough, House Speaker Brian Bosma

has pledged to make pseudoephedrine more difficult to buy, in an attempt to curb methamphetamine production in Indiana (Osowski, Evansville Courier & Press). Bosma said he will vote for a bill to make pseudoephedrine medication available by prescription and charged Rep. Ben Smaltz, R-Auburn, with authoring the bill. Smaltz's bill will be relatively simple. "Right now, it's going to say a prescription is going to be required for the purchase of pseudoephedrine medication," he said. He is also debating adding a clause prohibiting anyone convicted of a meth-related felony, either production or distribu-



tion, from ever purchasing a pseudoephedrine product. "I feel there is going to be a way to get around that issue," Bosma said. "I don't think we're going to have 200,000 doctor appointments or people lined up at their doctors office for this. I think we're going to find a way where its a prescription without being unduly expensive or inconvenient."

## Paris terror mastermind killed

PARIS — French officials confirmed Thursday that the suspected ringleader of the Paris attacks was killed during a massive raid the previous day, formally closing one high-level manhunt but highlighting worries about how the militant apparently moved undetected from Syria to Europe (Washington Post). Meanwhile, French lawmakers gave their backing to extend state-of-emergency powers for three months. And in neighboring Belgium — an apparent hub for the Paris plot — the prime minister sought measures to deploy more troops and expand detention and surveillance.

## Supts. upset with ISTEP process

INDIANAPOLIS — As the state prepares to finally release ISTEP scores next month — ones expected

to represent the "lowest passage rates in state history" — after months of delays, Greater Clark County Schools Superintendent Andrew Melin condemned the state's ongoing testing turmoil at Tuesday's school board meeting (Louisville Courier-Journal). "We have people who work hard every day, busting their tail doing great things for kids, and then we have a state assessment system that puts everyone in a position where we have a tendency to lose faith and confidence in our state in terms of their expectations for our kids," he said during the meeting. And as it turns out, he's not the only one frustrated by this year's ISTEP scoring. "This year, without a doubt, has been one of the most frustrating years regarding standardized testing in the state (of) Indiana," Clarksville Community Schools Superintendent Kimberly Knott said in an emailed statement Wednesday.

## Rokita round table in Plainfield Friday

WASHINGTON — Rep. Todd Rokita, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Early Childhood, Elementary, and Secondary Education, announced a School Safety Facility Roundtable Discussion set for 10:30 a.m. Friday at 5402 Sugar Grove Road, Plainfield, IN 46168.

## Pence sends letter to transgenders

INDIANAPOLIS — Gov. Mike Pence sent a welcoming letter this week to an Indianapolis church that's preparing to remember transgender people who have died in violence (IndyStar). In the letter to Christ Church Cathedral, the Republican governor wrote the "taking of any human life through violence or in the name of prejudice is a grievous tragedy." Pence goes on to write, "As you gather at Christ Church Cathedral in prayer for the families and friends of those who were lost, let us always strive to live out Christ's admonition to love others as we would want to be loved."