



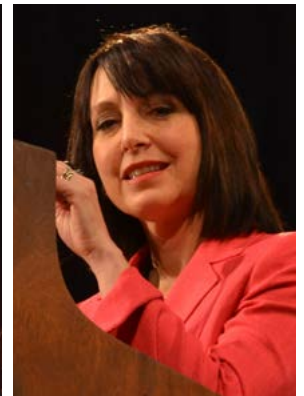
Inside Mitchell's dark horse victory

Virtual 3-way first ballot tie set up GOP's first female ticket

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

FORT WAYNE – The Republican keynote headliners on Friday night, RNC Chairman Reince Priebus and Mike Huckabee, lived up to all expectations from delegates. But the three minutes Kelly Mitchell took to introduce herself to delegates ultimately had a dramatic impact on what was to take place about 18 hours later, when she was nominated for state treasurer.

With Secretary of State Connie Lawson and Auditor Suzanne Crouch's uncontested nominations, Mitch-



Treasurer nominee Kelly Mitchell (above) forged the Indiana Republican Party's first all-female ticket in history with Secretary of State Lawson and Auditor Crouch, coming just two years after women voters fled Mike Pence and Richard Mourdock in late 2012.

Continued on page 3

Convention takeaways

By **MATTHEW BUTLER**

FORT WAYNE – On Monday I wrote the key takeaways for the average Hoosier political observer from the 2014 Indiana Republican State Convention could be boiled down to three elements. I suggested that how one might rank them in importance and interpret their implications probably reflects one's own political slant and priorities.



Offering them in no particular order, I listed them roughly as follows: 1.) Despite Democratic Party and national media claims that the GOP is "waging a war on women," the Indiana Republican statewide slate of candidates for 2014 comprises only women, all of whom are more than qualified for the respective offices they seek, and, if they win, would join the



"I know there's a lot of long faces here tonight. It's disappointing, sure, but I believe in this country. I believe there's opportunity around the next corner for all of us."

- Majority Leader Eric Cantor after his stunning upset



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second consecutive Republican female lieutenant governor already in office; 2.) The Indiana Republican base has spoken on the issue of marriage by successfully primarying two representatives (Kathy Heuer and Rebecca Kubacki) over their opposition to the constitutional marriage amendment HJR-3 and, in Fort Wayne, roundly rejecting an attempt to remove the traditional marriage plank from the 2014 party platform; and, 3.) Once again Richard Mourdock stepped into national controversy with remarks that argued the U.S. was on a path similar to that of the Weimar Republic, the precursor government to Nazi Germany, unless drastic fiscal reforms were enacted.

In retrospect, I think only one of these three elements is important. Undoubtedly, almost everyone will have other narratives they think are more compelling. First, the Mourdock flap can be waved off. So much of our political discourse is in reaction to the outrage of the day (or week). Mourdock's remarks didn't take me aback too much probably because I've been hearing that same fiscal doom history stump speech since he was running for Senate starting in 2011. Already blown over, the "Nazi Germany" remarks will not likely give any boost to Illinois transplant and Democratic treasurer candidate Michael Boland come November.

Though I think the next element is very noteworthy, it is not the most important story line from the 2014 GOP State Convention and that is the all-female statewide ticket. Suzanne Crouch, Connie Lawson, and Kelly Mitchell are more than qualified for the respective statewide offices they seek and will have the powerful campaign machinery and party apparatus of the Indiana GOP behind them. Five months out, it is easily safe to say all three are favorites. Moreover, none of us should be surprised the ticket is female or that Indiana is close to having all statewide offices being held by women in 2015 except for attorney general and governor. This inclusion and leadership needs to

be (and hopefully is) the new normal. But that is it; it's normalizing and that's a good thing.

This leaves me with what I think is the key takeaway from Saturday and what will most likely be a pervasive issue for the next several election cycles and general assembly sessions: The Indiana Republican Party's stance on how to define marriage. Like this year, in 2012 the Republican Party held statewide listening sessions and transparent platform committee hearings when it removed by unanimous consensus language clearly defining traditional marriage and instead replaced it with a statement on 'strong family structures': "We believe that strong families are the foundation of virtue and that such families bring forth citizens capable of self-government as well as properly motivated public servants so essential for a successful republic."

Just as conservative activists within the party's base mobilized behind HJR-3 this past winter and against opponents of HJR-3 during May's primaries, Reps. Heuer and Kubacki were successfully challenged, they were also able to reinsert a plank defining marriage into the 2014 party platform. Again, under the heading 'strong family structures,' this plank instead reads: "We believe that strong families, based on marriage between a man and a woman, are the foundation of society. We also recognize that some families are much more diverse and we support the blended families, grandparents, guardians and loving adults who successfully raise and nurture children to reach their full potential every day."

It was the only plank not adopted by consensus; the Rules Committee was deadlocked 4-4 on the change, which resulted in a convention floor vote. However, that wasn't even close; only a fifth to a fourth supported a return to the 2012 language.

It stood in stark contrast to the Democrat's convention and platform the weekend before in Indianapolis. The Democrats were fueled by

HJR-3 when it was before the Statehouse and are making political hay of the marriage issue this election cycle, and will undoubtedly beyond. "We support full marriage equality," declares their 2014 platform, "oppose amending the Indiana Constitution to define marriage and support repeal of statutes like the Defense of Marriage Act that define marriage by gender."

Democrats are emphatic on the issue and feel comfortable taking the exact opposite stance of Republicans before Hoosier voters. As the convention floor vote failed in Fort Wayne, Democratic State Chairman John Zody quickly got out in front of the story, releasing a statement that read, "Gov. Mike Pence's party just spent the morning fighting over the same old divisive and out-of-touch social issues that stalled the 2014 legislative session. The party just passed a platform that sends the debate over marriage equality in reverse. Despite the efforts of some delegates to grow their party, they just couldn't surpass the divisive and ugly tones of Gov. Pence, Speaker Bosma and Senate Pro Tem David Long."

A bit over the top, but Democrats see this issue as a winner, at least eventually. They recognize the growth of the GOP brand, or put another way, its longevity, depends upon appealing to young voters and activists. Like it or not, that will increasingly hinge on marriage equality. Megan Robertson et al made this case in Fort Wayne; she

will likely continue to make the case in coming years. No one I spoke with on and off the record Saturday could really explain (or wanted to explain) how the 2012 platform dropped the strictly defined marriage language and replaced it with broadly defined terms for 'strong family structures.'

However, before HJR-3 enlivened passions in both directions and deepened this fractious social policy rift within the Indiana Republican Party, one of the 2012 Platform Committee members appreciated the symbolism in the revision. Kathy Saris referred to the change as "a big step" forward, especially since the previous three platforms had each called for a constitutional amendment strictly defining marriage. Telling the Indianapolis Star at the time, Saris felt it would appeal to younger voters: "They view marriage as something that should be open to everybody."

In 2014's case of the grassroots base striking back on marriage at the primaries and convention, it will have extremely important implications and repercussions for the Indiana Republican Party for years to come. They are confident younger voters will not flee to Democrats on the issue and will, as the saying goes, grow more conservative with age. Perhaps they will. If not, the Fort Wayne platform fight might be remembered as a key moment of contingency in Hoosier political history. ❖

Mitchell, from page 1

ell's ascension created the Indiana GOP's first all-female ticket in history just two years after the party had to fight back the "war on women" attack from Democrats.

Mitchell was the dark horse in the race where the signature was the showdown between Marion Mayor Wayne Seybold and perennial candidate Don Bates Jr. In their three minutes, the pair underscored the themes they had spent the last six months presenting to the party. For Bates, it was his Tea Party pedigree and in a seismic overreach, vowed to take on President Obama by "walking through fire." For Seybold, it was his mayoral and Olympic skating careers intertwined, with his fate held in the hands of skating judges and now Republican delegates.

But Mitchell poked fun at the Democratic nominee, Mike Boland, who moved to Indiana from Illinois just two years ago. "The Democrats



Mayor Seybold reached out for support after the first ballot yielded a mere 7-vote lead over Mitchell and a virtual 3-way tie. (HPI Photo by Margaret Wilson)

chose a state treasurer candidate right out of Illinois," she said. "Perhaps he hasn't unpacked his bags. Perhaps they don't understand what we think of Illinois politics. I can't wait to take the fight to them in November."

Mitchell said her name "Kelly" means "warrior," as she pitched her Save Indiana Plan to "empower students, adults and educators. The least we can do is fight for them," she said. "Vote for the candidate who can do the job."

The Seybold campaign believed going into Friday they had commitments of upward of 700 delegates. But multiple sources were telling HPI that the Friday night speeches were important. The Seybold and Bates support was soft. There were, perhaps, a good 30 percent of the delegates undecided prior to the speech. So the "warrior" made a distinct impression.

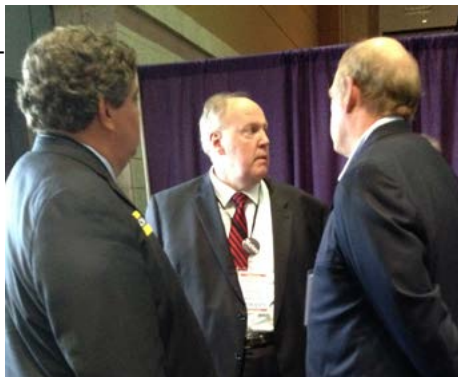
Mitchell's floor team had a Mitch Daniels pedigree. It was run by Whitney Foughty and Megan Umlauf, who both started at State GOP to help Gov. Mitch Daniels' 2008 reelection campaign. Both ran field operations in 2010 for State Party (Foughty

in charge of state legislative races, Umlauf in charge of the operation that supported Congressional candidates). Foughty would go on to run the ground game for U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks in 2010 primary race when she eked out a win against David McIntosh, former congressman and 2000 gubernatorial nominee. Umlauf ran a similar operation for Indianapolis Mayor Greg Ballard during his 2011 reelect.

When it came to the dark horse "warrior," the Mitchell campaign ran a strong campaign in the mold of Mitch Daniels. It didn't go negative against the opposition, but focused on a strong ground game and a positive candidate's message. The Mitchell team had 13 people on the floor and a communications operation that connected them all.

Going into this convention, Seybold was supposed to have the vaunted ground game. The team that pulled Todd Rokita to victory after finishing fourth on the first ballot in the 2002 secretary of state race included uber power attorneys and financiers Bob Grand, Brian Burdick and Dan Dumezich. Grand had expressed confidence of a first-ballot victory heading into this three-way showdown. The Seybold team was innovative, with the candidate featured on the Embassy Theater marquee, the hotel room keys had his logos, there was a texting operation that kept the delegates in the loop, and the candidate had a phone charging station in the convention hall lobby that brought dozens of delegates into contact with the campaign as they juiced up their phones. It sat on the largest war chest of the trio.

Both Bates and Seybold had exposed liabilities:



While Dunn huddled with a shocked Bates in the back of the hall (top) and Seybold strategized with Grand and Dumezich, the two teams finally came together to explore a deal, while Mitchell worked the polling line. (HPI Photos by Matthew Butler and Brian A. Howey)



Bates had a history of late taxes and a lawsuit coming to trial; Seybold had to bat back a TIF story.

But with so many undecideds, and the soft support for Seybold and Bates, the first ballot had Seybold emerging with just a seven-vote lead over Mitchell, 519 to 512, and Bates a close third with 467, obliterating all of the conventional wisdom scenarios (Indiana Week in Review largely dismissed Mitchell's chances Friday night); Abdul's Cheat Sheet had her a distant third). The CW had it that either Seybold or Bates would emerge as a clear front runner, and then a deal would be cut with Mitchell to secure a nomination on the second ballot. The Seybold camp had dangled the notion of making Mitchell chief of staff. HPI, lacking any credible data to base a forecast, called it a "pure tossup."

Instead, the three-way tie "blew up all contingencies," as Marion County Republican Chairman Kyle Walker told HPI out in the lobby, as he guarded the main entrance to keep delegates from leaving. Seybold and his team quickly realized how soft their

support really was. They had lost about 200 committed delegates.

The Bates and Seybold captains quickly converged in the back of the east side of the Grand Wayne Center hall. "He's in shock right now," Howard County Republican Chairman Craig Dunn, who directed Bates floor team, said to Dumezich. As the Bates and Seybold brain trusts hud-

dled, Kelly Mitchell worked the lines that reformed for a second ballot that was conducted much quicker than the first.

Dunn asked Dumezich, "What's your pitch?" Dumezich responded by saying "What's good for the party." Seybold, a three-term mayor would, he said, be able to raise money and that "he's an easy sell" to voters.

The Bates and Seybold teams had antagonized each other for months, and ultimately there was no common ground that could be found between them. And tellingly, there was no pitch to the Mitchell camp. Emissaries from Bates and Seybold didn't even try. It was clear that Mitchell had emerged with critical momentum. They knew she would brush off any notion of a deal.

The other bizarre element to this moment was Treasurer Richard Mourdock's farewell address, one where he would compare the rise of Adolph Hitler and Nazi Germany to the decline of America and its descension into "bankruptcy." The delegates loved it to the point that Mourdock, Kelly Mitchell's boss, received a standing ovation. The affection for Mourdock, despite his blundering loss of a U.S. Senate seat that had been in the Republican column for 36 years, was obvious. In a twist few could have predicted, this late love for Richard probably helped Mitchell.

But Indianapolis Star reporter Tony Cook, on the political beat less than two years and unfamiliar with Mourdock's penchant for history lessons to anyone who would listen, found fresh ears and editors looking for a dra-



Mayor Seybold and his wife wait in the background to congratulate treasurer nominee Mitchell, and then meet following the press scrum. (HPI Photos by Brian A. Howey and Margaret Wilson)

matic headline. The Star's headline was posted this way: "Richard Mourdock says nation going way of Hitler's Nazi Germany."

So as the second ballot was getting underway, the Seybold and Bates teams realized that the Mourdock Nazi quotes were going viral on social media, not unlike that fateful night in New Albany in October 2012 when his remarks on rape and abortion would destroy his Senate campaign. The Bates and Seybold brain trusts only briefly wondered if Mourdock might taint his lieutenant and risk the loss of a treasurer's seat that had been in

the GOP column for more than four decades.

Mitchell, working the delegates waiting to vote, was oblivious, as were most of the delegates. "I don't think she even knows about it," said her communications director, Jay Kenworthy, when pressed by reporters.

So quick was the second vote that it deprived any oxygen to cut a deal between two candidates and two campaigns that had come to loath each other.

Alas, no deal.

And about a half hour later, everyone would learn that it didn't matter. Mitchell had jetted out to a 564-488 lead over Seybold. Bates, at just 390 votes, was vanquished and eliminated from the third ballot. It became obvious that Mitchell's nomination was essentially a fait accompli.

Bates gathered up his large family and quickly left the hall. "I've

released them," he said of his delegates. As the two voting lines snaked across the hall in opposite directions, many former Bates supporters held Bates and Mitchell signs together. There was no such display for Seybold.

Seybold and Bates had squared off at the line of scrimmage, and Mitchell streaked through the resulting hole and into victory. By around 5 p.m., she emerged with the nomination with an 860-to-497 victory. Mitchell told delegates, "It's overwhelming. I thank you for the trust you put in me. I promise you every single day I will do my best. I am deeply honored. I am so proud to represent you as your Republican nominee for state treasurer."

It was the capstone of a historic day for Indiana Republicans. Less than two years earlier, the party had been labeled as one waging a "war on women." Female voters were fleeing Gov. Mike Pence and Mourdock in the final days of the 2012 campaign, to the point that Pence was barely able to eke out a win over Democrat John Gregg while becoming the first governor in 50 years to win with less than 50 percent.

Now the GOP had its first all-female ticket, potentially joining Lt. Gov. Sue Ellspermann in a gender takeover of statewide offices. It was as subtly dramatic as we witnessed in 2006 when, in the wake of Senate President Robert Garton's primary defeat, female Republican senators coalesced around David Long as Garton's successor, and turned Senate leadership from a good old boys network to an obliterated glass ceiling in the upper chamber.

Here was Mitchell, a Mourdock lieutenant and a Lugar Series graduate, beaming from the convention podium as Lawson and Crouch smiled broadly in the wings. Mayor Seybold and his wife waited at the edge of the press scrum and he would offer his congratulations and support.

And finally, there came that dramatic shot of the all-female Republican ticket, broad smiles creasing faces, wings spread wide to the muted applause of an emptying convention hall. ❖



Don Bates Jr. is consoled by a supporter after losing a third political race in three cycles. He released his delegates after the second ballot, and most went over to Mitchell, as his delegates carried both signs on the final ballot. (HPI Photos by Brian A. Howey)

GOP grapples with a marriage compromise

By **MATTHEW BUTLER**

FORT WAYNE – An attempt to remove language defining marriage as between one man and one woman in the 2014 Indiana Republican Party platform was unsuccessful on the state convention floor Saturday morning.

The plank reads in part that the party believes "strong families, based on marriage between a man and a woman, are the foundation of society." An amendment filed to remove and replace it with language adopted in 2012 failed by a wide margin between delegates standing separately for and against.

Before the convention convened there was a definite air of uncertainty as delegates girded for a floor showdown over marriage and a three-way treasurer race. The only real floor battle that materialized, however, was for the contested statewide office nod.

Early Saturday, Hendricks County Chairman Mike O'Brien said, "Do you think there are many people who want to stand up on this issue? I don't even know where my delegation stands on it. People are passionate on both sides and there are a lot of people in the middle who don't want to deal with it."

Outside the convention center supporters of traditional marriage stood holding signs and a long banner that read "1 Man + 1 Women = Marriage." Among them was Rhonda Richards, of Citizens for Community Values of Indiana based in South Bend. She said the state's Republican Party should have staunch support for strictly defined marriage in their platform, citing numbers indicating 82% of Republicans support traditionally defined marriage. Monica Boyer and other activists of the more conserva-



Jim Bopp Jr. confers (left) with Bill Smith, the former chief of staff to Gov. Mike Pence, on the Republican Convention floor Saturday morning shortly before a showdown over marriage in the GOP platform. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

tive wings of the party were seen wearing buttons saying, "Pro-Pence, Pro-Marriage."

Before and after the vote, HPI spoke with Terre Haute attorney Jim Bopp, Jr., who was one of the leading voices behind HJR-3 before the General Assembly earlier this year and who spearheaded reinserting the 2014 marriage plank during platform committee meetings. Bopp was optimistic a floor vote would pass the platform as proposed.

Those against the marriage plank passed out stickers, placards, and noisemakers which read "Grow Our Party." Megan Robertson, of Freedom Indiana, was leading this group, joined by Marion County GOP leaders Kyle Walker and Tom John. Republican National Committeeman John Hammond III was also seen wearing such a sticker and conferring with platform opponents, as were State Reps. Ed Clere and Jerry Torr. Clere told HPI he felt the plank was "needlessly divisive" and a distraction.

Walker told HPI, "For every person you see with a sticker on the issue, there's another against it." The overwhelming majority of delegates, however, were not wearing any stickers or buttons on the issue, one way or the other.

The amendment stripping the marriage plank was filed by John. It read, "We believe that strong families are the strong foundation of virtue and that such families bring forth citizens capable of self government as well as properly motivated public servants so essential to a successful republic."

Convention Chairman Ed Simcox explained the rules and procedures thoroughly. They allowed little time for floor debate. The amendment was introduced, discussed, and debated in a quick and orderly manner. The plank showdown was not drawn out and likely had little or no impact on the subsequent balloting for state treasurer.

Introducing his amendment, John told the convention floor, "This is about growing our party, not dividing our party. This amendment is not about whether we support gay marriage or don't support gay marriage. What this is about is party unity. This is one thing that divides us. Can we all step away from those things that divide us?" He added, "This language that's proposed passed unanimously out of this convention in 2012."

After John, the only delegate to speak was Rush County Chairman Michael Dora in opposition. "Vote yes on the platform," he said, "no on the amendment." There was little hesitation from delegates when it came time to stand for either position. A rough estimate of the convention floor suggests a fifth to a fourth supported the amendment. Perhaps support for the amendment would have been slightly stronger had it been a secret ballot.

Both Bopp and Dora criticized the campaign tactics behind John's amendment. "There is a faction out there that very much wants to confuse this delegation," Dora told the convention floor. Their main objection was over a flyer circulated Friday night after RNC Chairman Reince Priebus spoke.



The flyer, which said it was paid for by Indiana Republicans for Freedom, quoted Priebus when he commented on marriage during the party's 2013 Growth and Opportunity Project. "For the GOP to appeal to younger voters, we do not have to agree on

Lt. Gov. Ellspermann and Councilman McQuillen present the platform (top), Tom John offers an amendment from the floor and Michael Dora counters, while an unamused Speaker Bosma and President Long look on (HPI Photos by Brian A. Howe)

every issue, but we do need to make sure young people do not see the party as totally intolerant of alternative points of view," the flyer quoted Priebus. "Already, there is a generational difference within the conservative movement about issues involving the treatment and the rights of gays, and for many younger voters, these issues are a gateway into whether the party is a place they want to be. If our party is not welcoming and inclusive, young people and increasingly other voters will continue to tune us out. The party should be proud of its conservative principles, but just because someone disagrees with us on 20 percent of the issues, that does not mean we cannot come together on the rest of the issues where we do agree."

On its other side, the flyer urged delegates to "Wear a 'Grow Our Party' sticker everywhere you go," lobby their fellow Republicans, and vote for the 2012 marriage amendment. It matched the logos and color schemes of materials passed out by Robertson and amendment proponents Saturday.

"Everyone I talked to thought it came from him (Priebus)," said Bopp. Knowing it did not, he contacted the national chairman earlier that morning. Bopp shared his exchange of emails with HPI: "Well the pro-gay marriage folks passed out a flyer after your speech quoting you as opposing our compromise (marriage plank) language," Bopp wrote Priebus. "The way it was prepared, a lot of people thought it was actually directly from you. It would be great if I could get a statement from you addressing this to end the confusion."

During his floor remarks Dora cited the flyer and quoted Priebus's reply email disavowing any involvement and declaring his support for the platform as proposed. "That is not a flyer from me or the RNC," Priebus replied to Bopp. "And I find it frustrating that someone would put together a flyer in an attempt to confuse people on this issue. I support the compromise language along with Gov. Pence. As we know, we should always treat people's grace, love and dignity, but that doesn't mean abandoning our principles."

The entire flap partially stems from the 2012 platform removing any reference or support for traditionally defined marriage. The fact that it was in neither the Republican nor Democratic platform was constantly brought up when the Indiana General Assembly debated HJR-3 this past winter.

The marriage plank was, however, the only ele-



Tea Party activist Monica Boyer lobbied for the amendment in the Grand Wayne Center lobby. Earlier in the week, she warned that a rejection of the GOP marriage plank could prompt social conservatives to leave the party. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

ment of the platform not adopted by consensus. "Compromise language," as Lt. Gov. Sue Ellspermann put it, was added. That moderating clause read, "We also recognize that some families are much more diverse and we support the blended families, grandparents, guardians and loving adults who successfully raise and nurture children to reach their full potential every day." Conservatives were convinced this should assuage any concerns over the one man, one woman language as being too strict.

Asked by HPI how the earlier and stronger language on marriage was removed from the platform in 2012, Bopp was not absolutely sure. "You'll have to find somebody who can answer that," said Bopp, who worked on that platform. "It disappeared after my involvement." Others on the convention floor said they didn't know or that marriage simply was not on the radar during the platform hearings and committee sessions that year.

Both Bopp and Boyer were emphatic that the wider marriage issue was behind the successful primary challenges to State Reps. Kathy Heuer and Rebecca Kubacki. Richards also touched on this theme, saying she and her fellow activists wanted the legislators who voted to amend and thus remove HJR-3 from this November's ballot to know that outcome was not what the Republican base wanted. She also wanted to send a clear message to General Assembly hopefuls this fall and upcoming cycles. "If the platform stays the same," she said before the floor vote on Saturday, "and our legislators see that and stand on that, then they will get it (HJR-3) back to us so it can be our vote and then it can be settled in this state."

"It was especially exciting for me to get to vote," Boyer said after the platform was ratified, "because we were robbed of that in the General Assembly."

Those advocating the amendment voiced concerns the platform will increasingly drive away potential voters and party members. Robertson told The Statehouse File that marriage rights were becoming a "litmus test" for young voters. "If we're trying to appeal to the people in this room, OK, that might have worked out all right," Robertson said. "But we're a political organization. Our job is to win elections and I don't think this helps us do that."

O'Brien also echoed these political motivations to The Statehouse File, stating the party should be "about addition, not subtraction. We know that the next generation of voters are supportive of marriage equality and we shouldn't be pushing them out of the party because of it."

Shortly after the failed floor vote, John said, "Obvi-



Not lost on the delegates was shortly before the marriage plank showdown, Chairman Berry presented Gov. Pence with a cake for his 55th birthday. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

ously we would have liked to have won and we feel that would have been the right thing for the party. We feel heartened we got to have the discussion today and from reports that I've heard, a third of the room were in favor of our amendment. It shows there is a significant divide on this issue and the party welcomes people with diverse viewpoints on it." He stressed, like Robertson, that the party's platform was out of step with young voters.

Unlike John, Bopp felt the vote was far more lopsided: "The estimates I've heard from people up on the stage were that it was 75 or 80 percent against. Only in Marion County was there substantial support and just a smattering of support anywhere else." Boyer wasn't surprised by the floor vote either. "When you judged the clapping and sound in the room, it just matched the polling that we had done in House District 22." Boyer was referring to the primary race in which she was instrumental in ousting Rep. Kubacki over her votes against HJR-3.

What is evident from this off-year convention was that some key conservative operatives of the Indiana Republican Party saw returning the marriage plank to their platform as a crucial step toward revisiting HJR-3 and getting it before voters as soon as possible. Ideally, for them, that would be in November 2016.

"I think our grassroots has spoken as loud as it can on this by putting this back in the platform," Bopp told HPI. As for his Republican opponents on this issue, he said, "Their goal is recognition of gay marriage." If the plank had been stripped out, he believes, "It would be interpreted as an endorsement of gay marriage and that's what they want." Commenting in the other direction, John remarked, "There were some people this year who were pushing very hard to get it in for their own personal purposes. They won this particular battle." He stressed none of this was over yet.

What should also be clearly evident from 2014 is that a growing minority of determined Republican leaders are not afraid to vocally challenge the party line on the marriage issue, whether speaking on the floor and in hallways of the Statehouse or state conventions.

It should not escape anyone, however, that a federal court decision could make all of this state-level activity a moot point. ❖

Priebus describes GOP recovery heading into 2016 cycle

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

FORT WAYNE — Republican National Chairman Reince Priebus vowed to remake his party "more like the Indiana GOP" in a fashion he described as "big and bold," speaking to delegates at the state Republican convention.

That means remaking the party mechanics and infrastructure, and scaling back an "insane" presidential primary and debate system while moving up the national convention to prevent what happened to nominee Mitt Romney in 2012, whom Priebus described as a "duck on the pond."

He paid homage to Indiana Republicans for the party's "continuity" under past and present chairs Murray Clark, Eric Holcomb and Tim Berry for helping to establish 12 years of gubernatorial power, as well as super majorities in the General Assembly and a wide lead in the Congressional delegation. "This continuity that you have here, don't take it for granted. State parties can come and grow and wither on the vine."



RNC Chairman Reince Priebus speaks to Indiana delegates about refashioning the national GOP into one functioning like the Hoosier party. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

He then turned to the GOP's national dilemma. "We have to have a national party that understands you can't be successful being a national party that shows up once

every four years, five hours before an election," Priebus told Indiana Republican Convention delegates on Friday night. Priebus described his party as one that performs well in mid-term elections, pointing to 2010 and what he believes will be a November election this year where the GOP has a shot at retaking the U.S. Senate, but under performs in presidential years. President Obama's data driven campaigns are widely seen as out-flanking the Republicans in his breakthrough 2008 campaign where he carried Indiana, and his reelection in 2012 despite a high jobless rate.



Chairman Priebus makes a point before delegates, while Murray Clark, Eric Holcomb, Misty Hollis, John Hammond III and Chairman Tim Berry look on. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howe)

"You know what the other side does?" Priebus asked. "They walk into a room like this and say, 'Here's what we're going to do. We're going to identify and register 25,000 Democrats a month between now and 2016. You get that? 25,000 Democrats a month between now and 2016. It's going to cost us about \$5 million. I'm going to hire these 50 people to do it. I need you to write me a check.'"

Priebus went further in the facsimile Democratic conversation: "Well, who's the candidate?" "I don't care."

"What's the message?" "It doesn't matter, because if we raise 25,000 Democrats a month between now and 2016 we're going to have these guys by the throat," the chairman from Wisconsin continued. "And while we're busy showing up five months before an election, they showed up in Cleveland three and a half years ago, 10 people on every block paid. And they say, 'Here's your 800 names. Here's the people who vote. Here are the people who don't vote. Here are the people who would vote if you get to them, but you're going to get to know these people. They don't have just an election day. They have an election month. So every one of those 10 people every 10 blocks gets 800 names and they're getting like this all over the country. The mechanics of this party is the difference between winning and losing."

In the March 2013 "Growth and Opportunity Project" – his autopsy of the 2012 election and the party's

road map – the report noted: "Despite reaching more voters than ever before through traditional forms of voter contact, we lost. Our conversion rates from contact to votes are a serious challenge for future campaigns and the 2016 presidential race. Democrats had the clear edge on new media and ground game, in terms of both reach and effectiveness. Obama's campaign knocked on twice as many doors as the Romney campaign, and Obama's campaign had a ballot edge among those contacted by both campaigns. In addition, the president's campaign significantly changed the makeup of the national electorate and identified, persuaded, and turned out low-propensity voters by unleashing a barrage of human and technological resources previously unseen in a presidential contest. Marrying grassroots politics with technology and analytics, they successfully contacted, persuaded and turned out their margin of victory. There are many lessons to be learned from their efforts, particularly with respect to voter contact."

Priebus vowed to make a \$35 million data upgrade. "You have to have a national party that's competent in digital and data, because we are only ones who can hand it off to the federal candidate," he said. "You can't take soft money and improve voter data and hand the product off to Sen. Coats. He can't take it. He would be committing a crime. So you have to have a national party that understands that you have to get your act together slicing and dicing the electorate and know what the data is and having the messages catered to the right people, depending on who you're communicating to. Consumer data sets. What does the census data say? Who's turning in an absentee ballot in every day? Who's requested a ballot but didn't turn it in so I can knock on their door? These are the things a competent party does." The report urged the creation of a "data analytics institute."

Priebus described the U.S. and Republican presidential nomination process as a "total disaster."

In the Growth and Opportunity Project, it was reported: "It has reached the point where in the past six presidential elections, four have gone to the Democratic nominee, at an average yield of 327 electoral votes to 211 for the Republican. During the preceding two decades, from 1968 to 1988, Republicans won five out of six elections, averaging 417 electoral votes to Democrats' 113. Public perception of the party is at record lows. Young voters are increasingly rolling their eyes at what the



Listening to Chairman Priebus's speech were former chairs Rex Early, Mike McDaniel, U.S. Reps. Todd Young, Larry Bucshon and Susan Brooks and Lt. Gov. Sue Ellspermann. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

party represents, and many minorities wrongly think that Republicans do not like them or want them in the country. When someone rolls their eyes at us, they are not likely to open their ears to us."

"This idea of us slicing and dicing each other apart for six months for an Iowa caucus that doesn't award a single delegate is insane," he said. "So here's what we're doing. We're going to have about a 60- to 70-day primary system. We're going to take our convention which was at the end of August and we're going to move it to the end of June or mid-July."

Romney became the "duck on the pond" because he couldn't access funds from the "general bucket" (as opposed to the "primary bucket") until after the Republican National Convention until September of 2012. "Under the law Mitt Romney was broke at the end of the primary," Priebus said. "If there's nothing in the primary bucket, you get \$200 million in that presidential budget and you're broke in May, you can't spend a nickel of that money until you get nominated at the convention at the end of August. So you are a duck on the pond. This is not an establishment takeover. This is using your brain."

Priebus then turned to the debate system that many observers blamed for damaging the Romney brand from other Republican hopefuls. "How many people here think we need to have 23 debates?" There was ample stirring from the delegates at this question. He scribed it as a "traveling circus in our party in front of George Stephanopoulos and Chris Matthews."

"We took control of that process here," Priebus said. "Now we're going to have a reasonable number of debates and we're going to pick the moderators in the

debate process." The delegates responded with robust applause.

Left unsaid in Fort Wayne was the party showdown over the marriage plank on Saturday morning, with the convention by a wide "standing" vote margin opting to include a marriage plank that stated that marriage is "between one man and one woman" while including "compromise" language citing the need to recognize diverse family structures. It is a prelude to General Assembly showdowns in 2015 and 2016 over the constitutional marriage amendment.

The Growth and Opportunity Project observed, "Younger voters are increasingly put off by the GOP. A post-election survey of voters ages 18-29 in the battleground states of Virginia, Ohio, Florida, and Colorado found that Republicans have an almost 1:2 favorable/unfavorable rating. Democrats

have an almost 2:1 favorable rating. For the GOP to appeal to younger voters, we do not have to agree on every issue, but we do need to make sure young people do not see the party as totally intolerant of alternative points of view. Already, there is a generational difference within the conservative movement about issues involving the treatment and the rights of gays, and for many younger voters, these issues are a gateway into whether the party is a place they want to be. If our party is not welcoming and inclusive, young people and increasingly other voters will continue to tune us out. The party should be proud of its conservative principles, but just because someone disagrees with us on 20 percent of the issues, that does not mean we cannot come together on the rest of the issues where we do agree."

Priebus invoked the legendary Green Bay Packer Coach Vince Lombardi, "who used to say the only place where success comes before work is in the dictionary."

"If you don't get the mechanics straight in this party, the infrastructure straight in this party, we can't win," he said. He recounted a conversation with a GOP donor, who said he would hire the chairman "tomorrow" but when it came to the party, "if you're not going to be big and bold, then don't waste my time."

"I've never stopped thinking about that conversation," the chairman said, adding that the GOP can't simply be a "mid-term party. We have to be a presidential party. We have to grow. We have to get 60 million people to come to the polls in 2016 so we cannot just save our party, we're going to be big and bold to save this country." ❖

The Treasurer's speech

By **CRAIG DUNN**

KOKOMO – The 2014 Indiana Republican State Convention was a great event featuring a mix of business, fun, fellowship, politics and inspiration. Of course, you wouldn't know it based on the limited press coverage. Perhaps it is because recent conventions of both political parties have been deemed not to be newsworthy by assignment editors and news directors.



Indiana Republicans passed a platform that is meaningful and broadly addresses the critical issues facing Hoosiers today. That focus on Indiana Hoosiers has led to the tremendous success of the Indiana Legislature and Govs. Mitch Daniels and Mike Pence in improving the lives, health, education and financial status of our citizens. However, there was no press mention about our platform planks reaffirming our passionate defense of the 1st and 2nd Amendments. There was no mention of our championing individual liberty and freedom, personal responsibility, fiscal responsibility and limited government. The Republican platform emphasized international business and free trade, the importance of agriculture, diversification of the Indiana economy, promotion of small business and immigration reform.

The Republican platform addressed an educated workforce, school choice, affordable and attainable post-secondary education, supported career and technical education and the retention and attracting of young talent. Balanced budgets, focus on the taxpayer, energy independence, clean coal technology and free market solutions for health care were prominently promoted in the blueprint of the Indiana Republican Party.

All of these incredibly significant platform planks were largely ignored, as were the nomination of exceptionally talented secretary of state, auditor and treasurer candidates because of a press fixation on the vilification and destruction of former Republican Senate candidate Richard Mourdock.

The newspapers started screaming about Mourdock comparing the United States to Nazi Germany almost before he finished speaking. I understand that many in the press don't like Richard Mourdock, his friends nor his supporters. After all, he had the audacity to challenge a Hoosier icon, Richard Lugar, and upset the senior senator. He was backed in his campaign by common Hoosiers who are generally expected to shut up, sit down and vote the way we tell you. When these common Hoosiers rose up

in revolt they were derisively dismissed as Tea Partiers, a term still hurled as an insult by the press today.

My problem with the press coverage of the Indianapolis Star was that the reporter just didn't listen to Richard Mourdock's speech. Mourdock did not say that our nation had gone the way of Nazi Germany, the Indianapolis Star did. Mourdock is a student of history and I have always found him to be precise in his use of analogies, metaphors and illustrative stories. If he had wanted to say that the nation had gone the way of Nazi Germany, he would have said it. Instead, Mourdock was talking about the risks of unbridled debt to a nation.

I'm pretty sure that Democrat State Chairman John Zody was not present for Mourdock's speech. I'm also pretty sure that the other folks who the reporter giggered for their shocked and appalled comments were not present. I, on the other hand, was present and I had a pretty darn good seat on the podium to hear Mourdock's speech.

What I heard Richard Mourdock say was that World War II did not start on Dec. 7, 1941, or Sept. 1, 1939. He said that World War II began with the democratic election of Adolph Hitler as reich chancellor in 1933. He detailed how the Weimar Republic had amassed huge governmental deficits and in the process debased its currency to a point where citizens traded in their wallets for suitcases and wheelbarrows to carry their money. This destruction of the German economy led the German people to willfully elect Adolph Hitler chancellor. Mourdock then stated that Hitler moved to persecute the aristocracy, trade unions and the Jews.

All of what Mourdock said is history. They hide information like this in things called books! I interpreted what Mourdock said as a cautionary message that if we don't do something to control our national debt, then the disastrous economic problems caused by that debt could give rise to unconscionable government. It is the exact message that Lt. General Martin Dempsey gave recently when he referred to our national debt as the biggest threat to our national security.

I thought prior to the convention that the press would sit like vultures ready to pounce on each word uttered by former Arkansas Gov. Mike Huckabee, who addressed the delegates on Friday evening. When Huckabee told of visiting China and being amazed at how the Chinese were becoming more like the United States at the same time as the United States was becoming more like China, I thought that would be the message pounded on by the press. I envisaged headlines of, "Huckabee says U.S. becoming Communist China!" Of course, Saturday's headlines had already been reserved for abusing Republicans over the wording of our platform regarding marriage.

From my vantage point sitting on the platform during Mourdock's speech, I saw an audience who widely approved of his message and gave him a rousing standing ovation at its conclusion. I spoke with one delegate,



a Jewish woman, who told me that Mourdock's speech brought tears to her eyes. She was shocked at the controversy dredged up by the media over his comments. Her feelings reflect those of Allen County Republican Chairman Steve Shine, who also was not offended by the Mourdock speech.

History cannot erase the fact that Richard Mourdock defeated Hoosier icon Sen. Richard Lugar in a Republican primary in 2012. History cannot erase that

Mourdock gave an ill-advised response to a question in a televised Senate debate that autumn. History will not erase Mourdock's cautionary call for fiscal responsibility, regardless of how it is twisted by the press.

Perhaps it's time to stop shooting the messenger and start listening to the message. ❖

Dunn is chairman of the Howard County Republicans.

Gregg sticks to his mustache guns

By MAUREEN HAYDEN

INDIANAPOLIS – John Gregg made his handle-bar moustache an iconic image in his failed 2012 race for governor, turning it into a campaign logo and telling tales of how he stuck to his Yosemite Sam guns when advisers pressed him to shave it.



Gregg's humor was on display again at the Democratic Party's recent state convention, which warmly welcomed him during his speech.

Poking fun at frequent out-of-state trips taken by Gov. Mike Pence, which have prompted speculation that Pence wants a 2016 presidential bid, Gregg waved around a prop suitcase with the Republican governor's

name on it.

"It seems the governor has been everywhere of late but Indiana," said Gregg, setting off raucous cheers.

Back in October 2013, the 59-year-old lawyer from the small town of Sandborn seemed to signal that he was done with politics when he issued a statement he was no longer "actively campaigning" for another gubernatorial run.

The 2012 race was grueling and he'd already spent 16 years in the Indiana House, six of those years as speaker, before leaving in 2002 to resume a law practice and become a university president. As he says, on the rare occasion when he likens himself to Pence, "Neither of us is wealthy enough not to have to work."

But Gregg, with that famous 'stache still in place, was also sending a counter-signal: Though it's not official, he's ready to run.

"Just because I had dialed things back, doesn't mean I stopped," he said in a conversation I had with him this week. Since that 2012 defeat, he noted, he's appeared

at scores of county-level Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinners and a slew of other Democratic fundraisers. He's even walked in a couple of parades.

It helps to remember that Gregg came within sight of victory in 2012. Though he'd started in the deep double digits behind the six-term congressman Pence, he ended up losing by less than 3 percentage points. Polling showed the gap narrowing quickly in the last days of the race.

Along with the Libertarian candidate, "Survivor" reality TV star Rupert Boneham, Gregg robbed Pence of a majority victory. Pence won only 49% of the vote, the first time in modern history that an Indiana governor didn't take more than half the vote.

With a few more days, Gregg is convinced he would have won. "Just four or five more days," he said. "The momentum was going our way."

Some veteran observers blamed Pence's narrow win on a disastrous stumble made by fellow Republican candidate Richard Mourdock late in his race for U.S. Senate. Mourdock's Democratic opponent, now U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly, surged when Mourdock commented during a debate that God intends pregnancies that occur after rape.

"I don't think the Mourdock thing had anything to do with it," Gregg said of his own surge. "We ran a great campaign."

How great was a matter for debate. Critics questioned Gregg's advertising emphasis on his downhome style – what Indiana political analyst Brian Howe called "folksy cornpone."

That "just folks" style is still on display, though a bit misleading. When I talked to Gregg, he was on his way to see Eddie Izzard, a British stand-up comic with a wickedly irreverent, and not very Hoosier, sense of humor.

But, then, humor is in Gregg's DNA. So you can expect to see it on display as he gears up for another shot at the governor's office. "Most politicians are pretty stuffy and I don't think I am," he said. "With me, what you see is what you get." ❖

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Bye, Bayh

By PETE SEAT

INDIANAPOLIS – On the same weekend Indiana Democrats gathered in the Circle City for their biennial convention, Evan Bayh sat snugly behind a glass topped table on the set of Fox News Sunday in Washington, D.C. As he opined on topics such as Hillary Clinton’s forthcoming book and the Sgt. Bowe Bergdahl prisoner exchange, John Gregg shook the hands of adoring crowds of the party faithful, many wearing stickers declaring their support for repeat Gregg gubernatorial run in 2016.



It wasn’t supposed to be this way. Democrats were supposed to be in a state of permanent suspension awaiting word from Washington, or Muncie, or wherever Bayh is at any given moment, about his own potential return to the Statehouse.

After 20 years of Republican control of the governor’s office, Bayh’s election to the post in 1988 was a sign of Democratic resurgence. But Indiana Democrats, with Bayh’s implicit endorsement, got caught up in a cult of personality. Everything was about Evan ... that is until now, in what might be the world’s first truly mutual breakup since a famous episode of Seinfeld pioneered the idea that two parties could amicably part ways.

According to reports, delegates were more interested in glad-handing with Gregg and flirting with Hammond Mayor Tom McDermott, another aspiring candidate for governor, than engaging in what had been one of the most intriguing political parlor games: Whether or not Bayh, the former governor and former U.S. Senator, would mount another campaign for his old job.

He certainly has the cash to give it another go. Campaign filings show a whopping \$9.84 million resting comfortably in the Bayh for Senate federal campaign account which, as law allows, could be transferred in a one-time payment to a state-based campaign for governor.

The Center for Public Integrity recently called on Bayh to divest himself of that money and donate it to charity. He refused saying, “Because the future is difficult to predict, I don’t want to foreclose any possibilities at this time.”

Of course, \$9.84 million can keep a lot of futures open to Bayh, but the tea leaves show those futures have little to do with Indiana.

For years, he would swoop into airports around the state to vocalize his support for candidates in person. Once the cameras turned off though, he was back on the plane and off to the next stop.

In 2010, he was set to embark on a campaign of his own, his re-election to the U.S. Senate seat he recaptured on behalf of the Bayh name in 1998. It should have been a cake-walk for someone who never did anything to upset anyone or, frankly, anything to make them cheer either.

But then, at the 11th hour, just days after news broke that former U.S. Senator and ambassador to Germany Dan Coats planned a clash of the titans comeback, Bayh bowed out leaving Democrats in a lurch to quickly regroup and anoint a candidate who could mount a credible statewide campaign in a matter of weeks. They found Brad Ellsworth, the 8th district congressman and former Vanderburgh County sheriff, who was quickly crowned the nominee by 38 members of the Indiana Democratic Party State Central Committee.

Maybe Bayh felt slightly guilty that year as he dipped into his then-\$10-plus million campaign fund to donate \$500,000 to the Indiana Democratic Party to help soften the blow of Ellsworth’s impending 15-point defeat.

Bayh was even less of a help in 2012. Sure, Democrats had a few successes of their own with Joe Donnelly and Glenda Ritz’s respective elections as U.S. Senator and superintendent of public instruction, but if he had chosen to be, Bayh could have been kingmaker. He could have thrown a few million towards either – or both – of them and been given credit for the victories.

Instead, he gave the state party \$300,000 over two donations in the final month of the race, and peppered smaller contributions around the country to former colleagues who needed a little Bayh-boost of their own. This cycle, his only donation has gone to a place about as far away from Indiana as you can get and still be in the United States – Alaska’s Mark Begich.

So rather than visit his home state to audition to be governor yet again, Bayh spent convention weekend articulating the least incoherent case for why Hillary Clinton should be president.

In effect, it was as if he was auditioning for the role of Clinton’s surrogate-in-chief right there on national TV. Of course, it was the job that eluded him in 2008 when Barack Obama overcame the foregone conclusion that was a Clinton nomination.

The question is, if Hillary Clinton does in fact run, will \$9.84 million be enough to get the job he covets this time? Or will Hillary, like Indiana Democrats, break up with him too? ❖

Pete Seat is senior project manager at the Indianapolis-based Hathaway Strategies and author of the recently published book *The War on Millennials*. He was previously a spokesman for President George W. Bush, U.S. Sen. Dan Coats and the Indiana Republican Party.

Veteran's issues put Walorski into spotlight

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Jackie Walorski is now a national figure on a big national issue, the Veterans Administration.

The VA scandal has become the signature issue for the Republican congresswoman from Indiana's 2nd District due to a key committee assignment, a passion beyond politics on the issue and a return to pit-bull tenacity in pursuit of answers.

She drew attention as one of the first members of Congress to call for the resignation of VA Secretary



Eric Shinseki and as a House Veterans Affairs Committee member demanding answers. Walorski has appeared in extensive interviews on CNN and Fox News, has delivered her party's weekly radio address on VA problems and was the subject of a front-page article in the Washington publication Roll Call. Her passion showed during questioning of witnesses before the Veterans Affairs Committee, going beyond political talking points in emotionally citing the cancer death of her father, an Air Force veteran.

Roll Call reported how Walorski teared up while questioning Barry Coates, an Army veteran victimized by a VA delay that will be fatal. His potentially life-saving colonoscopy was delayed for more than a year before doctors finally found terminal cancer.

The Roll Call account: "If I could change your circumstance, I would. I would do it in a heartbeat," she said, sniffing. "My dad," she hesitated, her voice trembling, "was a veteran." The Indiana Republican paused again, sputtering, "that died of colon cancer." She collected herself, shaking her head.

Her heated questioning of three VA representatives was tenacious as she demanded answers on responsibility for scandals and delays. "May I finish?" one witness asked after Walorski interrupted what she found to be an unsatisfactory answer. "No," Walorski said. She had only five minutes for questioning.

This was more the Walorski of her days in the Indiana General Assembly, when she tenaciously went after Democrats in House leadership. But that was an old image, one contributing to negative poll percentages. After losing a first race for

Congress in 2010 to Democrat Joe Donnelly, also a strong advocate for veterans, Walorski softened her rhetoric, softened her image (though not abandoning her conservative views) and won in 2012 over Democrat Brendan Mullen, a veteran. She went to Washington preaching "working together" and "bipartisanship."

Walorski didn't immediately get much attention, usually the case with a freshman representative. She voted for House Republican efforts time after time in the impossible political dream of repealing the Affordable Care Act, alias Obamacare. She joined in a demand for defunding the Affordable Care Act in continuing government funding and voted against a bipartisan compromise to reopen government and stave off U.S. financial default. She spoke softly but wielded a partisan conservative stick.

Now, on the VA scandal, no more softer rhetoric. More pit-bull tenacity. And why not? Her outrage is shared by most Americans, Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives.

But Walorski refrained from flagrant politicization of the Shinseki resignation. On a live CNN interview right after the resignation, Walorski was asked about "blasts" from Republican colleagues "celebrating what's happened today." They celebrated a slap at Obama, not a slap at VA neglect by presidents of both parties and Congress.

Celebration? "We don't take this as a day of victory," Walorski responded. "This is a day of tragedy for America." She expressed sadness that Shinseki, a decorated veteran, had to walk the plank.

Walorski said in a phone call from Washington that Republicans and Democrats now need to work together to fix the problems and "root out these bad actors" who faked waiting times to collect bonuses.



She said she takes it personally, and not just when seeing a Barry Coates and recalling what her father suffered after a similar diagnosis. She said it affects her personally every day as she hears more stories from Hoosier veterans about unacceptable delays in VA service.

The VA problem has been around for a long time, through Republican as well as Democratic administrations, with Congress sometimes failing to fund computer modernization and additional staff to curtail delays.

What now? Walorski, a national figure on this national issue, will have a voice in deciding. ❖

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

How does Gregg convince voters?

By **DAVE KITCHELL**

LOGANSPOUT – John has to be more Gregarious to win. In politics, there are two things that matter to voters: How much they like you as a person and how much they like what you stand for or want to do if you're elected.



In 2012, former Indiana House Speaker John Gregg scored heavily with voters on likability. If you didn't know John Gregg before he ran for governor, you either knew him as "the man with two first names" or the man associated with mustaches on bumper stickers or folksy television commercials. In short, there simply wasn't anything not to like about John Gregg, unless you were voting for Mike Pence.

If the recent Indiana Democratic State Convention left any impression on delegates, it was that Gregg is ready for a second run, even if that appeared unlikely in the months following Pence's narrow win.

Gregg's candidacy presumes first that there won't be an Evan Bayh redux in the governor's race, and that will throw things wide open. It presumes that polling will indicate Gregg is still strong in a head-to-head with Pence, who now has incumbency on his side. And it assumes that Democrats don't have any other fish in the barrel who might prove to be Pence antidotes for the party. It's extremely doubtful that Pence will be a serious presidential candidate in 2016, but if he isn't serious about being a candidate for governor, that could be an opening for Gregg, who is battle-tested in a statewide race.

Assuming that all those questions add up to John Gregg as the best chance the Democrats have, then the big question is this: How does he convince voters to like him more than Pence?

If Pence has an Achilles heel exposed, it's in the area of education. Problems behind the scenes with State School Supt. Glenda Ritz have been so strong that speculation has led to her name being mentioned as the party's standard-bearer in 2016. That probably won't happen, but if Ritz's election in 2012 proved anything it was that money and incumbency didn't matter in a key statewide race. That's a harbinger for an underdog Gregg, and his campaign staff ought to remember it every day. Even in a state where Republicans have had their way with Democrats the past three general election cycles, with the exception of Barack Obama's 2008 win, voters simply liked what Ritz stood for and represented more than Tony Bennett. In fact, they may have liked her simply because she wasn't

Tony Bennett.

That is simply where Gregg has to score, and score well to defeat Pence because so much of the state tax dollar is spent on education. There are a bevy of issues out there on the table. Let's take a stab at a few:

1. Common Core revisited. Indiana's new state-wide standards will either put Indiana out ahead of the pack or on an island behind it. The 2016 race may be too soon to assess the impact, but it's a step Pence has taken that will likely be open to debate.

2. Gubernatorial authority over the education process. State school superintendent is an elected position, yet there is concern that some of the responsibility of the office in setting policy for the state has been usurped by Pence. The issue here is not just whether Pence can but should do this, since there is a statewide officeholder elected to do what Pence has taken on himself.

3. The school funding formula. This has been an issue considered more in the 1980s and 1990s than the 21st century, but as charter schools collect funds that could be in public school coffers, the debate will continue. Unfortunately, it is overshadowing the real debate on whether underperforming schools should receive more money or be punished and receive less.

4. Compensation. Indiana is not a strong union state, but reviewing entry level pay for starting teachers regardless of their credentials is an issue. If Indiana sets prevailing wages for construction projects, why can't it set a prevailing wage minimum for teacher salaries as well?

5. Consolidation. Indiana went through this transformational process in the 1960s, but there are plenty of examples of schools that could be consolidated to better serve students and taxpayers. Anderson and Kokomo have fewer schools now than 25 years ago, and there are examples such as Crawford County and White River Valley that could serve as an example to other communities.

6. Course offerings. If Indiana is going to offer the academic honors diploma and encourage students to pursue it, offering summer school for students at small high schools where there are limited math, science and foreign language offerings can only open the doors for more students who really want to excel at the highest level.

7. Gifted education. Educators may call these students high ability learners, but regardless of the label, Indiana has strayed from the days when H. Dean Evans came up with the A+ education plan and a summer institute where the state's brightest young minds can spend with their peers from across the state, a period of enrichment they won't likely get in their own communities. Instead, parents invest in summer camps for cheerleading, music and athletics.

8. Year-round education. This would give students, particularly those in the Indianapolis area, more chances to succeed if they've flunked a class, dropped out because of illness or pregnancy, or simply can't keep up with their peer group. Offering more opportunities would

likely raise the state's graduation rate and keep more students on a glidepath to finish their high school education with a degree.

9. Administrator training. This was one of the components of Evans' plan, and it allowed principals in particular to receive the best training the state can provide based on an application process.

10. Student-teacher ratios. Since the implementation of PrimeTime, this hasn't been much of an issue. But a reinvigoration of it could find some real disparity in the number of students that teachers in one corporation are leading compared with others. Higher ratios gener-

ally mean lower achievement for students and schools and set them and their teachers up to fail or fall behind other schools.

These issues may not be on Gregg's radar right now, but if voters want to get a handle on Gregg or if Gregg wants to put a handlebar on that mustache so that voters can get a handle on what he might be like as governor, it's a way to start a serious discussion about improving education in Indiana. ❖

Kitchell is an award-winning columnist based in Logansport.

Ivy Tech's crucial role in Indiana

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – Now that Ivy Tech's physical empire has been built, with a branch in almost every county, it's time to determine what role that institution will play in providing education for Hoosiers.

Once upon a time, Ivy Tech was a vocational extension of high school and a second chance for those who required remediation of reading, writing and arithmetic skills. But that has changed. Today, Ivy Tech also offers more advanced technical training as well as a pathway to higher education.

There is, however, a trend across the nation (as reported in USA Today, June 5) for community colleges to become four-year, bachelor-degree-granting institutions. Does this mean, over time, Ivy Tech's many locations will augment their offerings to include sports and other studies comparable with those now available at Ball State, Indiana, Indiana State, IPFW, IUE, IUK, IUN, IUPUI, IUPUI-C, IUSB, IUSE, Purdue, PUC, PUNC and Southern Indiana?



Academic offerings may start small, but as with children, they often grow in size and complexity without adding depth. Thus, programs move from certificates to degrees, and degrees to higher degrees, until we have doctorates in the legal and anthropological aspects of 16th century medical management of mites.

It's easy to see how this can happen. More areas of study (and who is to say that sports are not an entire universe of study?) mean more faculty, support staff, and facilities. Ah, facilities: Construction contracts for friends of legislators.

Four year programs need students. Why not out-

of-state students, even foreign students? They can pay higher tuition fees to support the programs and occupy student housing. This works for our major campuses and already has been emulated at smaller locations.

The lust for learning by students is not as great as the lust for living large by administrators.

Some will defend this extension of education empires as necessary to the times. We will be told how important education is to the future of our workforce and the state's competitive position in the world economy. This undeniable truth will not necessarily mean that our educational offerings will be up to the task. Again, construction may trump content.

Ivy Tech, just like other schools, has to balance the market with an education-based curriculum. Schools once had ideas of what should be taught to prepare a student for work and life beyond work. The educator set the course of study. Today, the school's admissions and development (fundraising) offices often drive the curriculum. The eternal issue is how to satisfy short-term demand in schools built on long-term capital of teachers and knowledge.

Will Ivy Tech be a market-driven school? If businesses dictate what is taught, there would be less need for a permanent faculty and fixed facilities. Flexibility becomes the mantra. But does that sort of education benefit our society? Shouldn't it be paid for by business? Does that work in a state that is eliminating business taxes? ❖

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Matt Tully, Indianapolis Star: Two years ago, Richard Mourdock didn't get the memo. You know, the one that tells politicians talking about rape to stick to the basics: How heartbreakingly cruel, horrible, violent and devastating the act is. Nope, he either didn't get that memo or he ignored it. And, so, he waxed on during a campaign debate about how "even when life begins in that horrible situation of rape, that it is something God intended to happen." In that moment and with that comment, he sacrificed a very good shot at a U.S. Senate seat. Two years have passed, and Mourdock has been pretty much out of the public eye since his disastrous Senate campaign. He returned to his job as state treasurer, which he's wrapping up this year. And although time has passed, Mourdock proved over the weekend that he still cannot be trusted with a microphone. Once again, he didn't get a memo: This one being the one that tells politicians to tread very carefully when comparing anything to Nazis, or anyone to Adolf Hitler. Why? Because nothing compares to a man and a government that systematically murdered millions of innocent people. Nothing. No, Mr. Mourdock, not even a federal health law you don't like. Singlehandedly, Mourdock, the man who cost his party a prized Senate seat in 2012, stole the messaging away from the GOP's annual state convention this weekend. How? By suggesting that the United States in the Obama era was headed toward the fate of Germany of the 1930s. "The people of Germany in a free election selected the Nazi Party because they made great promises that appealed to them because they were desperate and destitute," he told the GOP delegates, according to a story in *The Star*. "And why is that? Because Germany was bankrupt." How could one man — a man who holds an office as bland as state treasurer — do so much damage to a party? ❖



Dave Bangert, Lafayette Journal & Courier: Before Jerad Miller went to Cliven Bundy's Nevada ranch to help stand up to federal agents in Nevada — he was so radical that the Bundy family asked him to leave — and before he and wife, Amanda, went to a strip mall in north Las Vegas with aims of committing the next Columbine, he was a guy in trouble in Lafayette. Quite a bit, apparently, according to court records. And one of those times he was in trouble, he picked up a video camera and laid out his problems with the system, with drug laws, with the way the house arrest bracelet cut into his foot, with government drones and with phone taps he suspected were already listening in. At one point in roughly five minutes of video posted to YouTube, Miller opens a curtain to his front window and to a world he wasn't able to go out into, thanks to an arrest for selling marijuana. From his house on Weaver Street, the frame comes in and out of focus against a gray horizon, eventually pulling the Tippecanoe County Courthouse into view. "It is a beautiful building,

even though it is a monument to authoritarianism," Miller tells the camera, the thin hum of a ceiling fan in the background. "It's a just a big concrete building. A thing," Miller says, getting worked up. "You have to go get marriage licenses. You have to get a gun permit. Whatever it is, you have to go down to that big stone structure monument to tyranny and submit, crawling, groveling on your hands and knees. 'Oh give me permission to do this, give me permission to do that.'" "I don't know. Sounds a little like Nazi Germany to me. Or maybe communist Russia." A little like Nazi Germany. On Saturday, a day before the country learned the names of Jerad and Amanda Miller, Richard Mourdock stood before fellow Republicans at the state convention and told his own cautionary tale about this nation and how close it is to Nazi Germany. ❖

Chris Cillizza, Washington Post: Eric Cantor just lost. The defeat of the second-ranking Republican in the House by an ill-funded, little-known tea party-backed candidate ranks as the biggest Congressional upset in modern memory and will immediately generate a series of political and policy-related shockwaves in Washington and the Richmond-area 7th district. "People don't know how to respond because it's never been contemplated," said one Virginia Republican strategist, granted anonymity to speak candidly about Cantor's loss. (Worth noting: Cantor didn't just lose. He got walloped; David Brat, his challenger, won 56 percent to 44 percent.) In conversations with a handful of GOP operatives in the aftermath of Cantor's loss -- a loss blamed largely on an inept campaign consulting team that misread the level of vitriol directed at the candidate due to his place in Republican leadership and the perception he supported so-called "amnesty" for illegal immigrants -- there were several common threads about what it means for politics inside and outside the House.

1. Immigration reform is dead. I'm not sure it was ever really alive in the House, but Cantor's loss ensures that even chatter about making minor changes will disappear.
2. House legislative activity will cease.
3. The "establishment strike back" storyline will disappear.... In the space of the last week, the narrative that the establishment has finally figured out how to beat the tea party has exploded. First, state Sen. Chris McDaniel finished ahead of Mississippi Sen. Thad Cochran in the state's GOP primary. Now, the Cantor loss.
4. Tea party challenges will surge. David Brat -- and McDaniel if he wins -- will become the newest tea party heroes, taking their places alongside the likes of Sens. Ted Cruz (Texas) and Mike Lee (Utah). In the near term, that will embolden tea partiers who seemed dead in the water in their own attempts to take out incumbents.
5. The race to replace John Boehner as Speaker is now wide open. We've written before about how difficult it will be for Boehner to hold on to his Speakership -- assuming Republicans keep the majority this fall. But now the heir apparent has been dragged under by a conservative uprising. ❖

Stunning upset of Eric Cantor

WASHINGTON — In one of the most stunning primary election upsets in congressional history, the House majority leader, Eric Cantor, was soundly defeated on Tuesday by a Tea Party-backed economics professor who had hammered him for being insufficiently conservative (New York Times). The result delivered a major jolt to the Republican Party — Mr. Cantor had widely been considered the top candidate to succeed Speaker John A. Boehner — and it has the potential to change both the debate in Washington on immigration and, possibly, the midterm elections. With just over \$200,000, David Brat, a professor at Randolph-Macon College in Ashland, Va., toppled Mr. Cantor, repeatedly criticizing him for being soft on immigration and contending that he supported what critics call amnesty for immigrants in the country illegally. During a short concession speech late Tuesday, Mr. Cantor did not try to analyze his defeat or cast blame, saying only

that he knew he had disappointed his supporters. In victory, Mr. Brat said that his candidacy had resonated with voters who believed that politics had been dumbed down by partisan infighting. "The American people want to pay attention to serious ideas again," Mr. Brat said, speaking on Fox News. "Our founding was built by people who were political philosophers, and we need to get back to that, away from this kind of cheap political rhetoric of right and left." He will face Jack Trammell, a Democrat who is also a professor at Randolph-Macon,



this fall in the heavily Republican district. Republicans were so sure that Mr. Cantor would win that most party leaders had been watching for how broad his victory would be. His defeat will reverberate in the capital and could have major implications for any chance of an immigration overhaul. With significant help from conservative talk radio hosts like Laura Ingraham, Mr. Brat was able to galvanize opposition to Mr. Cantor in one of Virginia's most conservative congressional districts. "He really just didn't have very much money, but what he did have was a lot of heart," she said of Mr. Brat. "I think there will be a lot of people out there saying this could be the beginning of something really big for the Republican Party."

Fort Wayne ends collective bargaining

FORT WAYNE — Once again, City Council members voted along party lines to end collective bargaining for all city workers except police and firefighters and, once again, Mayor Tom Henry vowed to veto the measure (Fort Wayne

Journal Gazette). The council approved the measure along party lines two weeks ago, but a parliamentary move brought it up again for reconsideration Tuesday. The motion to reconsider — which would have had the council vote a second time on the proposal — failed 5-3. Democrats John Shoaff, Geoff Paddock and Glynn Hines voted in favor of reconsidering. Republicans Mitch Harper, Marty Bender, Tom Didier, Tom Smith and Russ Jehl voted no. John Crawford, R-at large, co-authored the ordinance but was absent Tuesday. Shoaff op-

poses the measure but voted in favor of it two weeks ago, enabling him to make the motion to reconsider.

Former Pence aide to join Koch Industries

WASHINGTON - Matt Lloyd will join Koch Industries at the end of the month as communications director, based in D.C. (Politico). He'll report to Steve Lombardo, Koch's chief communications and marketing officer. Lloyd served previously as communications director for Mike Pence for 10 years when he was in Congress.

Libertarians fill out ticket

INDIANAPOLIS — The Indiana Libertarian Party has filled out its statewide slate of candidates (Associated Press). The party announced Tuesday that Indianapolis accountant and financial adviser Mike Jasper will seek the treasurer's office. Chesterton management consultant John Schick is running as the party's pick for auditor.

Court rules schools must provide busing

INDIANAPOLIS - Franklin Township Schools violated the Indiana Constitution when it stopped busing for students and then contracted with a private group to provide the service for a fee, the Indiana Appeals Court ruled Tuesday (Statehouse File). The Indiana General Assembly has already passed legislation that bans schools from charging fees to transport students to school. In its decision Tuesday, a three-judge panel relied on a previous Indiana Supreme Court ruling that says "absent specific statutory authority, fees or charges for what are otherwise public education cost items cannot be levied directly or indirectly against students or their parents."

WHAT'S AT STEAK?
VIRGINIA 7TH DISTRICT GOP PRIMARY

Cantor Campaign Spending at steakhouses
Bobby Van's (\$69,849 + \$54,328): 124,177
BLT Steak: \$44,460 **TOTAL: \$168,637**

Brat Campaign Finances as of May 21
Raised: \$206,663 **Spent: \$122,793**

SOURCE: FEC