



2015 mayoral races begin to set up

Key battleground cities include Indy, Anderson, Columbus, Terre Haute, Logansport and Elkhart

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Joe Hogsett’s emergence this week with his intention of forming a 2015 mayoral campaign exploratory committee, and Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott’s decision to seek reelection in lieu of an active gubernatorial bid set in motion the second stage of

the municipal election cycle.

Across Indiana, races are beginning to take shape, while speculation is beginning to build in other cities. The cycle will be thrust into full throttle following the mid-term



Joe Hogsett formed an Indianapolis mayoral exploratory committee this week. Mayoral races are already underway in many Hoosier cities.

congressional and legislative elections in November.

Incumbent mayors Tom Henry of Fort Wayne, Lloyd Winnecke of Evansville, Karen Freeman-Wilson of Gary and Carmel’s six-term wonder Jim Brainard are already gearing up reelection bids.

Incumbents Duke Bennett of Terre Haute, Kristen Brown of Columbus, Ted Franklin of Logansport, James Snyder of Portage and Kevin Smith of Anderson may face tough reelection bids. In Elkhart, three-term Mayor Dick Moore will be challenged by State Rep. Tim Neese. Marion Mayor Wayne Seybold is said to be keeping his options open for a fourth term after losing the Republi-

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Is Evan going to run?

By **JACK COLWELL**

SOUTH BEND – People keep asking me: “So, is Evan Bayh going to run for governor again?” I won’t tell them.



It’s not that I object to questions like that if I’m, say, having coffee and reading my three newspapers in the morning at Panera’s. I’m honored when somebody recognizes me as that nut who writes about politics.

But I won’t tell them if Evan Bayh is going to run for governor again in 2016. The reason? I don’t know. It may well be that Bayh doesn’t



“I think we work well together, the five of us. We work on tough cases, there is a lot of administration work we all have done. So I appreciate the vote of confidence.”

- Supreme Court Chief Justice Loretta Rush



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know either.

Here are some questions we can ponder, even if we don't know the answer to what Bayh will do - or what Gov. Mike Pence will do in 2016.

Q. Do you think Bayh is seriously thinking of running for governor?

A. Yes.

Q. But didn't he turn down almost sure reelection as senator four years ago because he was fed up with politics?

A. Bayh said he found the divisive partisanship and resulting stalemate in Congress to be disheartening and that serving longer there offered little chance for a centrist like him to be productive. But he always said he enjoyed most his two terms as governor because as chief executive he could get things done, unlike being in a do-nothing congressional quagmire.

Q. Why all the speculation now that he'll run for governor?

A. Bayh encouraged it. When Joe Hogsett, his long-time political ally, resigned as U.S. attorney, presumably to run for mayor of Indianapolis in 2015, Bayh held a news conference on Monument Circle in Indianapolis, praising Hogsett, who could help a statewide candidate as Indianapolis mayor, and ratcheting up speculation that Bayh would run for governor in 2016.

Q. Didn't say he would run. Right?

A. Right. It's too early to announce that. The important thing is that he didn't say "no" to end speculation. "The election (for governor) is two and a half years from now," Bayh said, making clear that he didn't have to announce yet.

Q. Could Bayh win the Democratic nomination for governor?

A. Yes. Of course.

Q. Well, some Democrats were miffed at him for pulling out of the Senate race at the last minute, sending the party on without a ticket leader to election disaster. Would they forgive that and want him back as governor?

A. I like the analogy in "the saga of LeBron Bayh" written by Brian Howey, publisher of Howey Politics Indiana. He noted that Bayh left Hoosier Democrats without their star four years ago, "the same year basketball king LeBron James broke Buckeye hearts by talking his talents to South Beach." The fortunes of the Cleveland Cavaliers and Indiana Democrats both plummeted. Just as Cleveland fans welcome James back, hoping to win again, Hoosier Democrats would welcome Bayh back, hoping to win again.

Q. Would Bayh win for governor again?

A. That's the big question. If Bayh is convinced he could win, I suspect he will run. After his long and successful political career, he wouldn't want to go out a loser.

Q. Could he be sure of winning?

A. No. It's impossible to know what the issues or odds of winning would be in 2016 or against whom he would run. Would it be Pence? Or would Pence instead go for the Republican presidential nomination? Bayh, however, knows Indiana politics, knows the key players and knows how to take and interpret polls.

Q. Would Bayh run only if it appears that Pence will be campaigning in Iowa and New Hampshire?

A. Bayh must decide before it's known if Pence has emerged as an all-out presidential contender. He must decide on the basis that Pence will be running for reelection. He wouldn't fear a race with Pence. He might evaluate Pence as a vulnerable incumbent. But, like LeBron James, Bayh would want to be sure his team would be competitive. LeBron didn't come back to the Cavaliers with any concern that they will continue to lose. Bayh won't come back if he is concerned that Democrats, even with Evan, would continue to lose. ❖

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

HPI's 20th Anniversary celebration Oct. 16

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – For 20 years now there's been "The Howey."

On Aug. 11, 1994, what began as "The Howey Political Report" before morphing into "Howey Politics Indiana" has become a much-anticipated weekly Hoosier political magazine delivering original topical news, analysis and commentary. Over 16 campaign cycles, operatives have gathered around the fax machine and now the email inbox for the latest political news.



On a daily basis, our HPI Daily Wire has proven to be the best executive style summary of Indiana political and policy news in the state.

Twenty years later, it's time to celebrate. I could never have imagined Howey Politics would endure two decades, with at least another – God willing – over the horizon.

First, save the evening of Oct. 16 for a reception for the 3,000 subscribers who have found HPI an integral part of their daily read. It will take place from 5 to 8 p.m. at the Antelope Club, 615 N. Delaware St. Second, we're asking HPI readers to help compile a special Power List that encompasses Indiana's modern political era, begin-



ning with the Bowen administration. While HPI enters its 20th year, I began my paid journalism career during Gov. Doc Bowen's administration, so the pre-HPI portion of my career was ensconced deep within the Bowen-Orr days.

Here's where HPI readers come in.

We'll be compiling the 20th Anniversary Power 50 list going back to the Bowen days. And we'll

break it down into the top 10 figures in these categories:

- Rating the Indiana governors
- Rating Indiana members of Congress
- Rating top legislators
- Rating top mayors
- Rating top party officials
- Rating top lobbyists
- Rating top political operatives

Within the next month, you'll receive an email seeking your input on the 20th Anniversary Power 50, and the top 10 in each of the aforementioned categories. The lists will be published on Oct. 16 and provide gist for the 20th anniversary reception that evening.

I hope you can join us. ❖

Mayors 2015, from page 1

can convention floor fight for treasurer.

Potential gubernatorial and lieutenant governor candidates – Hammond's McDermott, Kokomo's Greg Goodnight and South Bend's Peter Buttigieg – all look to be in good shape for reelection in 2015.

Hogsett's potential challenge to two-term incumbent Mayor Greg Ballard will obviously be the marquee race of the cycle. Democrats see regaining control of city hall a huge step toward reclaiming the Indiana governorship in 2016. There has been considerable speculation that Hogsett's reemergence as a candidate after disavowing interest earlier this year is a precursor toward a potential Evan Bayh gubernatorial bid in 2016. Bayh fueled the speculation of a Hogsett gubernatorial bid on the day his friend resigned as district attorney, and did little to tamp down similar rumors that he might come back and challenge Gov. Mike Pence.

Here is a roundup of various mayoral races around the state in our first 2015 cycle roundup:

Indianapolis: Hogsett is the third Indianapolis Democrat to move toward a candidacy, joining State Rep. Ed DeLaney and Washington Township Trustee Frank Short, while Mayor Greg Ballard is expected to seek a third term, though he has yet to firmly declare his intention. Hogsett recently stepped down as Southern District attorney after he had disavowed interest in the mayoral nomination. With Indianapolis in the grips of a homicide binge and facing budget pressures, Ballard's decision to give a \$750,000 contract to Bose Public Affairs is raising eyebrows. "What we experience in the city of Indianapolis right now is nothing less than a violent crime epidemic," Hogsett told WTHR-TV. "And while I think I was a vital partner in attempting to resolve those issues as the United States attorney, you are limited to identifying and prosecuting criminal activity in this community, which we did very successfully. But the United States attorney, the

federal prosecutor, has no role to play in our educational system, has no role to play in preschool education for our kids, has no role play for job creation for middle class families in and around Indianapolis. Those are fundamental parts of resolving this issue as well." WTHR-TV analyst Peter Rusthoven said of Hogsett, "He will be well-funded. He is their great hope for winning this race so, yes, there will be money in this." Ballard campaign strategist Jennifer Hollowell told HPI that the mayor will make a final reelection decision in the next few months. "Hogsett's emergence doesn't change anything at all," Hollowell said. "He beat Mayor Bart Peterson when everyone said that Peterson was unbeatable." Ballard has put an indelible stamp on the city, creating an emerging bicycling culture, converting the city fleet to green energy, pouring money into neighborhoods and is in the process of building a new criminal justice center. That decision includes a Community Workforce Agreement that states under Article 3 on "union recognition and employment" that "each employer agrees to recognize the respective union, signatory to this agreement, as the sole and exclusive bargaining agent of all craft employees working on the project within the scope of the agreement." Some view this as a move to pry some union support away from the Democratic

nominee, but it also has the potential of angering Ballard's Republican base, particularly with project and cost overruns at projects like Lucas Oil Stadium and the downtown library. Indianapolis is trending Democratic, but Ballard won a second term in 2011 with a 92,525 to 84,993 victory over Democrat Melina Kennedy. A key question is whether DeLaney and Short will remain as candidates until the slating process or coalesce around Hogsett. DeLaney had said he would run if Hogsett declined, then entered the race in midsummer before Hogsett changed his mind. Hogsett has been a giant killer, defeating Indianapolis Mayor Bill Hudnut for secretary of state in 1990, but has since lost races for the U.S. Senate, the U.S. House and attorney general. Hogsett and Ballard will both be prolific fundraisers. If Ballard seeks a third term, this could be a memorable, hard-fought campaign.

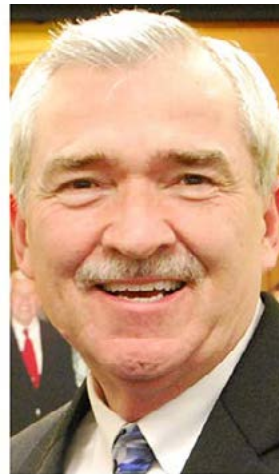
Fort Wayne: Republican City Councilman

Mitch Harper declared he would challenge two-term Democrat Mayor Tom Henry almost two years ago. Henry has told HPI he will probably seek a third term. But Harper's campaign has kept a low profile lately as he has clashed with Henry over collective bargaining rights for city employees that have resulted in two vetoes. Harper did not return HPI emails and other Republicans say he is keeping a low profile. Other potential challengers to Henry include City Council President Tom Didier, Councilman John Crawford, Councilman Marty Bender, a former city police chief, and IEDC Commissioner Eric Doden, though he lives just outside the Fort Wayne city limits. Henry is seen as a fairly popular mayor and the city has made significant strides during his tenure, remaking downtown with a new

baseball stadium and housing. Republicans counter that the 6-3 GOP council majority gives the party a base to claim some of the credit. "The mayor gets to cut the ribbon, but Council Republicans can claim credit for every bit of the rejuvenation working with the mayor," said Allen County Republican Chairman Steve Shine. Henry won a relatively close second term, defeating Republican Paula Hughes 23,149 to 21,515, but the widespread perception heading into 2015 is that Henry will be tough to defeat.

Evansville: First-term Republican Mayor Lloyd Winnecke is expected to seek reelection. Sources close to the mayor say that internal polling shows the mayor with high popularity and he has a

robust warchest even while he works with an 8-1 Democratic council majority. There are no declared opponents, although plenty of rumors abound. Former congressman and Senate candidate Brad Ellsworth recently moved inside the city limits which stoked rumors he would run, but both Ellsworth and others close to him are adamant that he is not interested. Some current city council members and Winnecke's previous opponent, Rick Davis, have mused about running, but as yet nothing is certain. Winnecke defeated Davis in heavily Democratic Evansville in 2011 by a 11,664 to 10,009 tally as party divisions hurt Davis. One local observer told HPI, "It would probably take Brad Ellsworth or Eric Williams (both popular former Democrat sheriffs), or someone like them, to unify the party. But since both are avoiding public office for now, they're suffering a crises in leadership."



Incumbent big city mayors include Indianapolis Mayor Greg Ballard, Fort Wayne Mayor Tom Henry and Evansville Mayor Lloyd Winnecke.

Hammond: Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr. will seek a fourth term in 2015 instead of actively pursuing a gubernatorial bid. McDermott, who had been planning a 2016 gubernatorial run, said that the indecision of Evan Bayh makes a reelection bid a better option for the time being. "I'm running for reelection," McDermott told Howey Politics Indiana late Tuesday afternoon. "Until Evan Bayh clears up what his intentions are, it's hard for anyone to risk their careers." Bayh told CNHI's Maureen Hayden in early July that he was undecided, saying, "I think it's less likely than more likely. I haven't ruled it out." In meeting with the press on the day that Hogsett resigned, Bayh deflected questions on a gubernatorial bid. "Today is about Joe Hogsett and not about me," he said. "My boys are going to be going to college on Aug. 24 and Susan and I will get together after that and talk about the next chapter in our lives. That election is two and a half years from now. We've got important races this fall that are going to be important to the state of Indiana, we've got mayoral races next year, so first things first." As Bayh equivocated, McDermott and 2012 nominee John Gregg were left in a political polar vortex with their fundraising frozen. "It sucks all the air out of the room," McDermott said in July. "Why would someone donate \$10,000 when there's a possibility that Evan Bayh may run. I'm an up and comer. Evan Bayh is an institution. He's got huge name ID and I'm virtually unknown. If daddy comes home, that changes everything. That would change my plans. I'm not going to run in a primary against Evan Bayh." On Tuesday, McDermott said that he is in good shape for reelection. But he said that if Bayh were to opt out of a gubernatorial race, "That obviously changes everything."



Kokomo Mayor Greg Goodnight (left) and South Bend's Peter Buttigieg are seen as Democratic rising stars and potential 2016 ticket fodder. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

Terre Haute: Mayor Duke Bennett is expected to seek an unprecedented third term for a Republican in a city that has had a penchant for upsetting incumbents. He has not made a formal announcement. Terre Haute has been hammered by the constitutional tax caps, with Bennett and his city council grappling with cash flow issues this year. The Tribune-Star reported in March that the gen-

eral fund was about \$5 million in the red, according to a monthly financial report provided to members of the Terre Haute City Council. Bennett told the newspaper that the city had \$34 million in the bank. No Democrat has emerged, but at least two city council members are weighing runs, local sources tell HPI. Bennett pounded Fred Nation, a former aide to Gov. Evan Bayh, by more than 4,100 votes during his first 2011 reelection campaign.

South Bend: First-term Democratic Mayor Peter Buttigieg is serving on a U.S. Navy Reserve deployment to Afghanistan and has not announced his 2015 political intentions. Buttigieg is expected to seek reelection and is seen as a Democratic rising star. He lost a state treasurer race in 2010 to Richard Mourdock before winning a multi-candidate primary in heavily Democratic South Bend in 2011. Buttigieg will be viewed as a potential lieutenant governor candidate in 2016.

Kokomo: Two-term Mayor Greg Goodnight has told HPI he plans to seek reelection. Goodnight is in the middle of a remake of downtown just a few years after the near collapse of the domestic auto industry that could have gutted the city's economy. He has overseen the elimination of nearly a third of the city's streetlights, has built trails, established a public transit system, a \$9 million parking garage, and is building a downtown baseball stadium as part of a flood control project. Goodnight has reduced city employees from 521 to 418 and annexation has brought in 25,000 people.

"We are providing services to 25,000 more people with 20 percent less workforce," Goodnight said. A Republican challenger has yet to emerge. Goodnight defeated Republican Eric Kern 5,598 to 2,363 in his 2011 reelection bid. Goodnight will make lieutenant governor short lists in 2016.

Anderson: Republican Mayor Kevin Smith regained the office he lost in 2007, defeating Democrat Mayor Kris Ockomon 6,030 to 5,626. Ockomon faced a number of controversies but was cleared of any criminal violations. Smith is expected to seek a third term and could face a third race against Ocko-

mon, according to the Anderson Herald-Bulletin's Ken de la Bastide. Smith could face a GOP primary challenge from Doug Zook, who worked in the first Smith administration. Democrats eyeing a potential run include former City Council President David Ericks and Councilman Rodney Chamberlain.

Columbus: First-term Republican Mayor Kristen Brown has not announced anything officially, and local speculation is that she may seek reelection as an independent. Republican Councilman Jim Lienhoop appears to be emerging as a candidate. Local sources tell HPI that several potential GOP challengers to Brown met and Lienhoop emerged as the consensus candidate. Lienhoop has been described as the "primary thorn" in Brown's first term, opposing funding for a number of her programs. She has also clashed with the city's park board.

Carmel: Mayor Jim Brainard is making no secret of his plans to seek a record sixth term. "I'd like to see the development and the good things that have happened here continue, and we've got a lot of people in Carmel that like the direction the city's headed in," Brainard told WISH-TV. He was featured in the New York Times last month, cited for creating a community with a European feel. "It's about creating cities that people want to be in," he said. "Cities that people want to work in, cities that people want to raise their families in."

Muncie: First-term Democrat Mayor Dennis Tyler is expected to run. Former Republican mayor Sharon McShurley has moved to Syracuse and there is no obvious GOP opponent at this writing.

Bloomington: Three-term Democrat Mayor Mark Kruzan has not announced his intentions for 2015, and there is some local speculation he may not seek another term. If Kruzan runs, he will be a heavy favorite.

Richmond: Long-time Democratic Mayor Sally

Hutton has announced she will not seek another term. A Democrat has not surfaced. There is speculation that Richmond City Councilwoman Misty Hollis, who is also state Republican vice chair, is pondering a run.

Mishawaka: Republican Mayor Dave Wood is expected to seek a second term after embarrassing former state representative Craig Fry in 2011 by a 6,618 to 2,053 margin.



Elkhart: Two-term Democrat Mayor Dick Moore announced in 2013 he would seek a third term. He is expected to face State Rep. Tim Neese, a former member of the city council. Moore defeated Republican David Ashe 3,195 to 1,960 in 2011.

Goshen: Democratic Mayor Alan Kauffman will step down in 2015 after more than 18 years in office. "I announced prior to this last election that it would be my last term; 18-2/3 years will be enough," Kauffman told HPI. "I still enjoy the job, and know I'll miss it when I'm done. Still have the energy and drive, and will not coast to the end. But I don't want to commit to another four years, and want to have good health as I consider retirement." Democratic City Councilman Jeremy Stutsman is expected to announce his candidacy soon. In his two elections for the at-large seat, he led both tickets. "He's the one I've been grooming and promoting, using as acting mayor in my absence," Kauffman said. "Like me, he draws a lot of Republican support. I honestly don't think Jeremy is beatable, unless he runs a bad campaign,

which I don't see happening." Goshen Republicans are searching for a candidate, with a couple of city councilmen and one former member pondering a run.

LaPorte: Rising star Republican Mayor Blair Milo is not revealing whether she will seek a second term after she upset Mayor Kathleen Chrobak 2,285 to 1,444 in 2011. Milo told WCOE in May that she will make a decision by the end of the year. She told HPI on Wednesday, "We are in the coordination phase of multiple, large scale infrastructure projects to keep pace with the economic development opportunities we're seeing, as well as drafting the 2015 budget and a myriad of other exciting projects. We're focusing on ensuring that we're advancing a heavy workload of great initiatives right now, and it's still early

for any election decisions, so any announcements about my plans will be made at the appropriate time." Milo has been cited by the Washington Post as a political figure to watch. She nominated Mayor Wayne Seybold as treasurer at the Indiana Republican Convention in June and has traveled statewide to emphasize physical fitness. She has also taken part in a national No Labels panel in efforts to break the partisan gridlock in Washington. Milo was briefly considered as a state auditor replacement for Tim Berry last year. A potential Democratic candidate has not surfaced.

Lafayette: Two-term Mayor Tony Roswarski ran unopposed in 2011. He has not declared his intentions for 2015, but local observers don't see his popularity diminished and expect him to run. Former Republican mayor Dave Heath, who lost the GOP Tippecanoe County sheriff nomination to Barry Richard last year, is worth watching.

Logansport: Republican Mayor Ted Franklin upset incumbent Mike Fincher 2,023 to 1,338 in 2011. Since taking office, Franklin has had several spates of bad publicity ranging from legal troubles for family members to where he parked his car. The local sentiment is that Franklin is extremely vulnerable. Dave Kitchell, former Pharos-Tribune editor and current HPI columnist, is weighing a run as a Democrat.

Marion: Three-term Republican Mayor Wayne Seybold is keeping his options open. He lost a Republican convention floor fight for the state treasurer nomination in June. No Democrat has emerged as a potential challenger.

New Castle: Democrat Greg York is seeking reelection and raising money with the help of 2012 gubernatorial nominee John Gregg. York defeated Republican John Nipp in 2011 by more than 2,000 votes and is favored.

Crown Point: Two-term Mayor Dave Uran is expected to seek reelection and no Republicans are lining up at this point.

East Chicago: Democratic Mayor Anthony Copeland is expected to seek a second term but will face a primary challenge from City Clerk Mary Morris Leonard. Copeland has gotten good marks for his anti-crime initiatives. Copeland also had the city join the Shared Ethics Advisory Commission. East Chicago has rivaled Gary as the epicenter of political corruption in Lake County, so things are progressing in East Chicago.

Gary: While there are grumblings about first-term Mayor Karen Freeman-Wilson, she appears to have enough support to fend off serious primary challengers. A Republican doesn't stand a chance winning in the Steel City.

Portage: First term Mayor James Snyder is under an FBI investigation involving city spending, according to the NWI Times. Sources tell HPI that Snyder reimbursed the city from his campaign for a trip he took. While a challenger has yet to emerge, Snyder appears to be vulnerable, as most

Portage incumbent mayors have been in recent history. He defeated Democrat Olga Velazquez by under 300 votes in 2011.

Valparaiso: Local observers and Republican sources believe Republican Mayor Jon Costas will seek a fourth term in 2011. A challenger has yet to emerge.

Michigan City: First-term Democrat Ron Meer told the LaPorte CountyLife.com website that he will "absolutely" seek reelection in 2015. "One of the things (about being mayor) is that things don't move as fast as you'd like," said Meer, who won his first term by defeat-



Rising star LaPorte Mayor Blair Milo (top photo) will announce her intentions for 2015 later this year, while East Chicago Mayor Anthony Copeland will face a Democratic primary opponent.

ing LaPorte County Republican Chairman Keith Harris by a little over 1,000 votes. "It takes time to accomplish things, so I plan on at least one more term. I would like to see a lot of the things we started come to completion and keep the momentum going." Meer has been developing the Lake Michigan Gateway Implementation Strategy and has also overseen \$7 million in sewer improvements mandated by IDEM and the EPA.

Elwood: Republican Mayor Ron Arnold voted in a recent Democratic primary and will face a tough time getting the GOP nomination for breaking party rules. He could run as an independent.

Noblesville: Incumbent Republican John Ditslear is expected to seek reelection, as evidenced by his campaign Facebook page.

Fishers: Scott Fadness won the first Republican primary in May, will take office in January and will then file for a full term in February. At this point, no potential Republican primary opponent has surfaced.

Jasper: Republican Terry Seitz won a decisive victory in this traditionally Democratic city over John Burger, 3,328 to 1,577, and has announced plans to seek a second term. He told the DuBois County Free Press in July, "Unfinished business. I understand the natural flow of government is at a very tempered pace especially anything involving major policy shifts, ordinances, public projects or funding. While some of the ideas I had three years ago have been put into action, many are only just under way with others still in the conceptual stage. In less than three years we have accomplished so much, including significant public projects as well as many day-to-day ones improving processes."

Bluffton: Long time Mayor Ted Ellis announced he will seek a fifth term. In making the announcement, Ellis was joined by Democratic City Council members Bette Erxleben, Michael Morrissey, James Phillabaum and Melanie Durr, who also announced their candidacies, according to the Wells County Voice. "Much has changed since the last city election," Ellis said. "The country's economic



Michigan City Mayor Ron Meer (top) Bluffton's Ted Ellis and Jasper's Terry Seitz are all seeking reelection.

climate has dramatically affected every aspect of our community including how we provide essential city services. We believe that our stewardship of Bluffton's resources merits another term at the helm of your city government." Ellis is the first vice president of the National League of Cities and the elected treasurer of United Cities and Local Governments, the international association representing local and regional governments and their national associations.

Jeffersonville: Republican Mayor Mike Moore will be challenged by Democratic City Councilman Dennis Julius. Another Democrat could also enter the race. Moore upset Mayor Tom Galligan 5,396 to 4,675 in 2011.

New Albany: Democratic Mayor Jeff Gahan easily won a first term in 2011 by defeating Republican Dale Bagshaw by more than 2,500 votes. Gahan's campaign Facebook page has been dormant since his victory.

Vincennes: Democratic Mayor Terry Mooney has not announced his political plans for 2015.

West Lafayette: Democratic Mayor John Dennis won a decisive victory over former Republican legislative candidate John Polles in 2011 by 1,500 votes. Dennis will be favored for reelection in 2015. A Republican challenger has yet to surface.

Warsaw: Republican Mayor Joe Thallemer outlined six strategic goals in 2013 and he is expected to seek a second term next year. There is speculation that Monica Boyer's Tea Party cell may attempt to run a primary challenger.

2011 Unopposed mayors: Larry Thompson of Nappanee (retiring), Huck Lewis of Lebanon, Noel Harty of Loogootee, John Wilkes of Linton, W.S. Handshoe of Kendallville, Tony Roswarski of Lafayette, Rick Chambers of Knox, Brian Snedecor of Hobart, Sue Murray of Greencastle, Larry Leach of Gas City, Norman Yoder of Auburn, Robert Shepherd of Attica, Mark Kurzan of Bloomington, Kevin Hickman of Austin, John Schultz of Decatur, Ted Ellis of Bluffton, Jack Woods of Alexandria, Terry McDonald of New Haven, Jonathan Craig of Petersburg, Craig Luedeman of Seymour, Barbara Ewing of Tell City, and Joe Stahura of Whiting. ❖

Ballard's crime plan invests in education

By **MATTHEW BUTLER**

INDIANAPOLIS – Rarely do innovation and progress come about accidentally. Whether they are businesses, countries, states, or cities, entities must make conscious and dedicated investments in two kinds of capital: Physical and human. This idea, which is well substantiated, is known as Endogenous Growth Theory. Put crudely, you will only realize long-term improvements if you invest toward them today.

We saw this thinking and planning on display last week when Indianapolis Mayor Greg Ballard outlined his multipronged proposal to combat the city's worsening violent crime problem.

But first, some context: The recent loss of an IMPD officer in a gun battle, murders seemingly every weekend, and shootings in crowded public spaces have dominated the local news. Facing reelection next year against what looks to be the Democrats' ideal law-and-order candidate, former U.S. Attorney Joe Hogsett, Ballard is getting out in front of public safety now.

Some elements of his plan were predictable. He is pushing for mandatory gun crime sentencing, a teen curfew, a full-time SWAT team, and 280 new police officers by 2018. But none of these were the centerpiece of Ballard's proposal. Indeed, weeks before he announced his anti-crime plan, Ballard argued simply getting tougher on crime was not a solution.

Asked about hiring hundreds more police officers, Ballard retorted to reporters in mid-July, "None of this is the issue. You cannot keep going back to default options ... and think that's going to solve the problem." Reaching at-risk youth early and keeping them in school was the crux of his argument: "We have young men who are dropping out [of school] at 13, 14, 15. They're dropping out of the system, they're completely lost to everybody, and then they manifest themselves later in violent crime. That's the issue."

It hinted at what would be the keystone and most ambitious aspect of Ballard's crime plan: A \$50 million Pre-K program for at-risk children. Through public-private investment, Ballard wants to expand quality Pre-K to 1,400 Indianapolis children in families making up to 187 percent of the poverty line over the next five years. The mechanism will be scholarships and grants.

Ballard's rationale was simple on its face, but sophisticated in its long-term vision and sociological analysis. The city will tackle crime by making investments on the

frontend — early childhood education — which will rebound with benefits in the future that include lower crime, less crime-related spending, and greater societal harmony.

"In order to have a safer society, we need to address root causes of crime," Ballard said during his announcement. "Too many young children from low income families aren't adequately prepared to start school, never fully catch up and end up dropping off society's radar only to reemerge in handcuffs years down the road," Ballard has remarked on the necessity of Pre-K. "By helping young people to a better start in school, we reduce the likelihood they will later turn to a life of crime and give them a greater chance at a healthy, productive life."

Ballard touched not only the policy and fiscal aspects of effort, but the moral imperatives. "We need to start doing right by our children," he said during his plan's announcement, "especially those living in poverty, or at-risk children." It was both an admission and indictment of Indiana education policy specifically and our priorities generally. "We have failed many children in our society for at least 40 years," he concluded.

Ballard is far from alone within his party or across the aisle on this issue. After much political wrangling the state approved its first ever Pre-K funding: a late-session compromise, \$10-million pilot program and study. Last month Marion was named one of the five counties in the program. Ballard welcomed

the assistance but was nonplussed: "The fact that we're an education reform-minded state and we don't have Pre-K around the state is shocking and embarrassing," he told *Indiana Week in Review*. Barring the pilot program, Indiana is one of only ten states without state funding for Pre-K.

Ballard's impatience and frustration was obvious, saying, "It's a good start, but let's get to it."

Observers noted Ballard was venting against members of his own party. "Remember, this pilot program died twice during the [2014] legislature," former Indiana Republican Party Chairman Mike McDaniel commented. "The governor revived it both times. This isn't a poke at the him, but it is a poke at the legislature, quite frankly, from the mayor, who is frustrated and who thinks we ought to have it and ought to have it before now."

McDaniel crediting Pence's intervention in saving the Pre-K Pilot Program was in reference to his extensive lobbying efforts with his fellow Republicans in the State Senate. The House Republican caucus, on the other hand, has made Pre-K a policy priority for several sessions; the very bill was authored by House Education Committee Chairman Bob Behning of, no surprises, Indianapolis. The key reservations came from two key Senate committee chairs, Sen. Luke Kenley of Appropriations and Sen. Dennis



Kruse of Education. The latter stripped the pilot program leaving only a summer study committee.

Before it was resolved it was a key schism between Republicans and chambers during the 2014 Session. Skeptical senators voiced reservations ranging from financial to a belief that public support for Pre-K was either not worth the cost or that parents and the private sector should look to early childhood education.

"We have a number of people in our caucus who, frankly, they're not convinced that we need to disrupt the family or that the state needs to take these things over yet," Sen. Kenley told Indiana Public Media in the middle of this past session. "We think in most families that it's more important for the family to be engaged with the young child, do the reading to the child, participate in all those things, and participate when they go to school as well."

Based on his rhetoric, it appears Mayor Ballard wholeheartedly disagrees: "The institutions that support the family have not kept up with changes in family structure and the culture. And the crime that cities across America are experiencing today is a direct result of it," he noted when introducing his plan.

Funding the Pre-K Pilot Program was a huge sticking point. During the last budget year, there was no willingness to reallocate resources or raise dedicated taxes for Pre-K proposals. This past session, there was reluctance to reopen the budget. Sen. Kenley referred to Rep. Behning's original bill as "a potential budget buster," citing an estimate of \$272 million in order to serve the 40,000 eligible at-risk pupils. Ultimately reversion funds from FSSA, some \$10 million, were allocated toward a pared down pilot program to serve an estimated ceiling of 5,000 children.

Conversely, Mayor Ballard is making a different case. He has identified a problem, proposed a solution, and is now arguing it is a priority worthy of a dedicated tax increase, in this case, elimination of the Homestead Property Tax Credit. Indianapolis Democrats are skeptical not only of his plan but especially the funding mechanism. With an election looming their talking points will have a hard time targeting Ballard on education, particularly as the their control of the City-County Council appears almost as miserly on this funding issues as some Republicans in the Indiana legislature. The role reversal between city and state, for the moment, is fascinating.

As mayor of the state's capital and largest city, Ballard has a bully pulpit of sorts to champion policies. His call for Pre-K should be heard and seriously considered. Where there is child poverty there is a need for public action for early education. One of the latest studies authored by Dartmouth and Northwestern professors for the Hamilton Project concludes, "By the time they reach kindergarten, disadvantaged children already show an achievement gap relative to their higher-income peers...[R]esearch has shown that expanding access to high-quality preschool programs can be a cost-effective way to narrow the achievement gap and help low-income children build skills." They found this was especially the case when the

other options for at-risk children were nothing or low-quality preschools and/or daycares. There is ample evidence the latter is all too common in Indiana. In successfully championing his daycare reforms (HB 1036) last session, Republican Rep. Kevin Mahan said he found children at daycares who still did not know how to properly hold a book and leaf through it. That's scary.

This is not just an urban problem localized to Democratic constituencies; the need is across the state. Child poverty is rife across Indiana's rural counties. According to the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, the percentage of Hoosier children enrolled in public schools that qualify for free lunch is 39%. Marion County led with 56%, but close behind at 53% was Fayette County (pop. 24,000). Indeed, there are sixty-seven additional counties with at least 33% of children qualifying. Last year the Annie E. Casey Foundation found Switzerland County (pop. 10,000) had the highest percentage of children living in poverty (33.4%); Marion had 32.2%. All told, this garnered the state a national ranking of 30th in child poverty. Moreover, the cost of childcare is outrageous and another inflationary pressure squeezing stagnant incomes: single mothers in Indiana spend 27% of their income on childcare, a rate that is the second highest in the nation.

That Ballard and many other (mostly urban) Republicans are so at variance on Pre-K with Indiana Senate Republicans is striking. However, more and more the latter group appears to be the ones out of step not only with the rest of the country, but their fellow Republicans.

As the National Journal wrote last month, "Republicans running for elected office would do well to adopt an aggressive position promoting early childhood education, political operatives say. It will win them swing voters and won't hurt them one bit with their ultra-conservative base." They cited a July poll conducted jointly between Democratic and Republican polling firms for the First Five Years Funds which advocates greater investments in early childhood education. 85% of Americans responded that placing children on a strong path early in life is a top national priority, ranking slightly behind increasing jobs and economic growth (85%), but ahead of reducing taxes (63%). 55% of Republicans and 64% of Independents say the country should do more to ensure children are adequately prepared for kindergarten. That first number might seem a bit low but other poll questions revealed strong Republican support for dedicated spending in early childhood education: 71% of voters and 60% of Republicans were willing to spend \$10 billion more over ten years—one should read that as 'invest' when discussing this topic—on early childhood education, even if it increased the deficit but paid for itself down the road by alleviating societal problems.

Our state legislators like to talk about how cutting-edge policy is now found in statehouses rather than Washington, D.C. Increasingly, it appears Indiana's city halls could level the same charge against the capitol much closer at 200 East Washington Street. That at least appears the case as far as early education is concerned. ❖

Nisly won't debate

WARSAW – In response to an invitation to debate his contenders, HD22 Curt Nisly declared to StaceyPageOnline.com, "This campaign is going to be won at the doorsteps."

Early this week, Democratic candidate for House District 22, David Kolbe of Warsaw, invited his opponents



— Nisly and Independent candidate Michael Stinfer — to a debate. Stinfer accepted the invitation immediately, but Nisly's campaign team say, "Nisly did not commit to debate other candidates in the House District 22 contest have been proposing." Nisly added,

"I prefer to take my message directly to voters and to hear their concerns directly as well. This is why my campaign plan has me reaching out to individual voters every single week from now until Nov. 4 ... This is the single best way to hear constituent concerns, and to share my views with them."

Chamber endorses 4 in U.S. House

Wednesday afternoon the Indiana Chamber of Commerce and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce officially announced their endorsement of U.S. Reps. Todd Rokita, Susan Brooks, Luke Messer, and Todd Young. Two weeks ago the Indiana Chamber already endorsed U.S. Rep. Larry Bucshon.

Indiana Chamber President and CEO Kevin Brinegar said, "These four members of Congress have demonstrated in their voting record on key jobs and economic growth issues they support the free enterprise system." He said all four members had achieved at least an 85% vote score according to the U.S. Chamber's 'Legislative Vote Analysis.'

All four members spoke briefly to thank both Chambers for their support. During her remarks, Rep. Brooks stressed how well the delegation works together for the state and that each member present focused their "passions" on specific areas to help advance economic growth. Citing her own emphasis on workforce development, Brooks mentioned Rep. Rokita's efforts on regulatory reform, Rep. Young's tax simplification and reform proposals, and Rep. Messer's interest in pro-growth policies. "I'm somebody who deeply believes that the best anti-poverty program ever invented by man is a job," Messer told the gathering. "The best way to create a healthy economy is to get government out of the way, to keep tax rates low, and not have regulatory burdens that make it difficult for new businesses to start." Messer noted he had been holding job fairs in his district. On the regulatory front, Rep. Rokita touted his three-year effort

known as 'Red Tape Rollback' which takes input from the Chamber and businesses in order to address what they feel are overly burdensome or nonsensical regulations. He said the effort had successfully passed through the House 37 targeted reforms. Brinegar also alluded to a tax code simplification survey Rep. Young had circulated with Hoosier businesses and how important that ongoing policy priority was. "I regard political endorsements as a means to an end," Young said, "and the end is to affect better policy."

Lawson, Crouch de minimus policy

Two state officeholders seeking election in November insist they are not using government-owned equipment for campaign purposes, even though the State Ethics Commission recently concluded they could (Carden, NWI Times). Spokeswomen for Secretary of State Connie Lawson and State Auditor Suzanne Crouch, both Republicans, said the offices each have a "de minimus" use policy authorizing Lawson, Crouch and their staffers to use state property, such as computers or telephones, on a limited basis for personal matters, such as making a doctor's appointment or talking to a spouse.

2014: COOK MOVES 2ND CD TO LIKELY: The Cook Political Report has moved the 2nd CD race between U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski and Democrat Joe Bock from "Leans" Republican to "Likely" Republican.

FARM BUREAU ENDORSES SMITH, GROOMS: The Indiana Farm Bureau has endorsed State Sens. Jim Smith and Ron Grooms. Both are in tough reelection bids.

NBC/WSJ POLL SHOWS PEOPLE ARE 'FED UP': Two words sum up the mood of the nation: Fed up. Six in 10 Americans are dissatisfied with the state of the U.S. economy, more than 70 percent believe the country is headed in the wrong direction, and nearly 80 percent are down on the country's political system, according to the latest NBC News / Wall Street Journal poll. The frustration carries over to the nation's political leaders, with President Barack Obama's overall approval rating hitting a new low at 40 percent, and a mere 14 percent of the public giving Congress a thumbs up. "We're in the summer of our discontent," said Democratic pollster Peter Hart, who conducted this survey with Republican pollster Bill McInturff. "Americans are cranky, unhappy... It is with everything going on the world." Obama's favorable/unfavorable rating remains upside down at 40 percent positive, 47 percent negative. Only 14 percent approve of the job Congress is doing, the seventh straight NBC/WSJ poll dating back to 2011 when this rating has been below 15 percent. In addition, Americans hold congressional Republicans in lower regard (19 percent favorable, 54 percent unfavorable) than congressional Democrats (31 percent favorable, 46 percent unfavorable). ❖

Hoosier state's end run a poor metaphor

By **DAVE KITCHELL**

LOGANSPOUR – Think for a minute what would happen if it was announced a week before school started this fall that all state funding for school buses was gone and there would be no more.

Think of the public outcry from parents who depend on the most successful mass transit program the United States has ever had, and how they would lobby their local school boards, county and city councils, demanding that local government pay to keep the buses going.

At some point, school buses became the norm for the American society because they are simply the best way to collect students safely and cheaply and return them home.

Of course, Mike Pence and 49 other sitting governors would never cancel school funding because it would be political suicide.



But the same logic and common sense that applies to iconic yellow buses isn't the same kind of logic that's being applied in Indiana. The Hoosier State, Indiana's lone Amtrak train that connects Indianapolis with Chicago, is about to go the way of the caboose unless the state comes up with funding to maintain the line that averages 120 passengers.

If this story were simply just about a state picking up some of the tab for a federal program, it would be just like thousands of other stories written over the years. What makes this one different is that Indiana severely lacks a mass transit plan that includes rail. The only mass transit plan the state has involves building more interstates, adding more lanes and ignoring the fact that traffic counts are going up and energy efficiency is radically compromised because state officials ignore the concept of mass transit.

Connecting the Hoosier State with a mass transit system in greater Indianapolis would make plenty of sense because it would enhance the employment opportunities for everyone who could potentially commute to Indianapolis daily. It would ease the burden for college students going to and from home. It would provide transportation to people who don't have it or can't drive because of a disability.

The irony of Indiana's opposition to state funding for Amtrak and a mass transit plan came into focus for me two weeks ago. I spent the afternoon in Fishers, visiting a relative at a hospital. The room had a bird's eye view of I-69 on a day when congested lanes sporadically backed

up traffic for miles. An accident, a little road construction or just plain traffic volume makes for clogged arteries, even with multiple lanes and well-designed interchanges and exits. This is where Indiana is growing, but Indiana has fewer passenger trains now than when Ind. 100 was the only bypass in Indianapolis 50 years ago.

The Hoosier State is a defining metaphor for Pence and for his potential opponent in 2016, former House Speaker John Gregg. For Pence, this is another opportunity to exhibit at a national level how he handles problems differently in Indiana; how Indiana is poisoning itself for growth, energy efficiency and economic development with a transportation plan that includes mass transit. For Gregg, this is an opportunity to step up his game and frame what could be a key issue in 2016.

For Pence, thinking ahead to running in the GOP field of presidential hopefuls means gussying up his resume to look like the last three former Republican governors who became presidential nominees, Reagan, George W. Bush and Mitt Romney. Each had a defining resume that set him apart from other Republicans, and some would say Gov. Chris Christie of New Jersey was attempting to get on the same track before Bridgegate last year. If Pence wants to eclipse the likes of Christie and Kentucky Sen. Rand Paul, he's going to have to define himself as something other than a status quo governor. To date, this issue won't help him at all.

For Gregg, or for that matter Evan Bayh or a host of other Indiana Democrats who are in the hunt for the governor's office, this is a wide open opportunity for them to say, "Let's connect the thriving Region of Northwest Indiana with the burgeoning growth of Indianapolis and fill in the gaps on both sides of Tippecanoe County. Let's show the nation that we can take the Indianapolis-to-Chicago corridor and really make it a sterling example of what can happen by leveraging state and federal funds to make Indiana the mass transportation crossroads of America in the 21st century."

That may sound a bit melodramatic, but check out the South Shore in northern Indiana counties and you see new life along the Indiana dunes and the counties within miles of Lake Michigan.

But Indiana officials, particularly Pence who may aspire to be president, have never had state-supported rail transit on the fast track. Instead, they're putting our iron horses out to pasture in October when reimbursements for the Hoosier State run out. They are living on 20th century policy that doesn't recognize 21st century realities for energy use and economic development in rural areas in particular.

For years, the Wabash Cannonball rumbled through Fort Wayne, Huntington, Wabash, Peru, Logansport, Delphi and Lafayette as a storied passenger train connecting St. Louis with Detroit and one of the most populated corridors in Indiana. For now, those in charge of transportation policy in this state or who are in a position to question it could literally shoot a cannon down many of

the main streets of these communities and not hit a soul on a Saturday night. Their only transportation plan for counties north of Indianapolis is to add more Indianapolis street signs that only indicate that downtown Indianapolis is hundreds of blocks away.

That's really the best Indiana can do?
The red flashers will illuminate again on Indiana

school buses this fall, but the idiot light on Indiana's transportation dashboard is flashing as red as it can be and nobody's paying attention. ❖

Kitchell is an award-winning columnist based on Logansport.

Tax commission needs to assess big business

By SHAW FRIEDMAN

LaPORTE – In the immortal words of the late President Ronald Reagan, "There you go again!"



Predictably, Bill Waltz of the Indiana Chamber of Commerce recently sent a letter to the editor to papers around the state this past week warning that talk of big business "paying its fair share" is all wet and that hard-pressed middle class homeowners need to pick up a greater share of the tax burden.

Really, Bill?

The legislature's upcoming Special Commission on Tax

Restructuring needs to take a hard look at how many big businesses are skating on their obligations to help fund state government and passing that obligation on to already hard-pressed Hoosiers.

It's not enough that under policies pushed by the Indiana Chamber of Commerce, quality of life indexes show us dead last or nearly so for things like child protection, public schools, or our quality of infrastructure like roads and bridges. Nah, let's see if we can't achieve levels of infant mortality, stunted learning and decaying roads and bridges more likely to be found in a third world country.

All the while the Indiana Chamber has pushed through relief for the most wealthy and powerful among us which means less state revenue to provide basic services. Only the richest families were affected by the inheritance tax but the Indiana Chamber pushed elimination costing state coffers \$100 million annually. Not enough that our richest banks and financial institutions received billions in taxpayer support to get back on their feet. Nah, the Indiana Chamber pushed reduction of the Financial Transactions Tax – key for many counties' budgets – costing another \$100 million annually for cash-starved local government.

Add insult to injury and our esteemed friends at

the Indiana Chamber wanted to completely eliminate the business personal property tax – which really only hits the largest manufacturing firms like steel mills and utilities – and whose complete elimination would have cost local government \$1 billion. Thankfully a bipartisan group of mayors and county commissioners around the state rose up with a campaign heard in the halls of our state capitol and stopped this billion dollar money grab by big business. Mayors and commissioners know that to do economic development and grow new jobs, you have to have vibrant communities with enough money to pay police, firefighters and teachers and keep basic services moving.

I understand the State Chamber's goals are the same every year – privatize, de-regulate and cut taxes for the wealthiest and most powerful among us. But let's be clear that their agenda has little to do with the needs of ordinary Hoosiers, particularly when it comes to repealing the homestead exemption or urging further increases in our already burdensome sales tax or worse yet, advocating local income tax hikes.

We will see in the upcoming meetings of the blue-ribbon special commission on taxes whether there aren't a few members willing to think outside of the box and explore ways to make sure that scofflaw multi-state and multi-national corporations pay their "fair share" of Indiana taxes rather than rely on tax dodges and offshore tax havens to escape their obligations. Why not call in expertise from Center on Budget and Policy Priorities or the non-partisan Multi-State Tax Commission in Washington, D.C., (which Indiana re-joined a few years ago) which estimates that Indiana loses a half a billion dollars every year to these tax dodges that can and should be fixed in our tax code?

Yes, Mr. Walz, it is time that the biggest and most powerful corporations doing business in our state pay their "fair share." It's time the Indiana Chamber stop the war on our middle class and Main Street and stop calling for higher property taxes on the little guy while urging new local income taxes and sales taxes as a way to pay for public services. The game is rigged and more and more Hoosiers know which side the Indiana Chamber of Commerce is playing on. ❖

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

Where is vision and leadership today?

By **CRAIG DUNN**

KOKOMO – This summer I experienced one of those brain fades that human beings occasionally have during the planning of a vacation.

It seemed perfectly reasonable to me to fly into Seattle, Wash., rent a car, spend a few days there and then drive to my second destination at Cannon Beach, Ore., and finally fly home out of Portland. After all, it was only a little over two inches on the map I was using for planning purposes. Alas, as my family informed me, it was four long hours of driving through a seemingly endless series of winding turns that pierced the heart of logging country, including dodging the omnipresent logging trucks.



The complaints finally stopped when we reached the Columbia River and crossed from Washington into Oregon. The scenery improved and a sense arose in my unruly passengers that our vacation brain fade was soon to end.

Shortly after crossing the Columbia River into Oregon, I saw a directional sign for Fort

Clatsop. There was no way that I was going to risk the wrath of my passengers to stop to visit a fort. I've found over the years that my family does not share my intense interest in forts, cannons and battlefields. Fort Clatsop would have to wait for another day.

Over the next few days it seemed as if I could not escape the numerous signs for the Lewis and Clark Trail, Lewis and Clark Burgers, Lewis and Clark Bicycle Rentals. I came to the natural conclusion that Lewis and Clark must have spent a few nights vacationing in the vicinity themselves.

On a side trip to Portland we visited Powell's Books, certainly one of the largest bookstores in the world and a destination recommended by every Tom, Dick and Harry Oregonian that we talked with on our trip. While my wife and adult children looked for a book on how to stage a vacation intervention, I headed off to the history section to look for something on the Lewis and Clark Expedition. I chose Stephen Ambrose's best-selling history, "Undaunted Courage."

I spent the next few days devouring the book during the day and then dropping off to sleep at night with visions of what it must have been like to make the almost impossible journey from Clarksville, Ind., where Lewis and Clark joined together in 1804 and kicked off their nearly 8,000-mile expedition of discovery to the Pacific coast and back. I don't believe we can begin to fathom the

magnitude of a journey that braved wild uncharted rivers, hostile Indians, mountains, hunger, heat, cold, rain, snow and illness to open up what became our national Manifest Destiny of a country that stretches from sea to shining sea. Their geographical, scientific, botanical, geological and biological discoveries during their journey, captured by the meticulous journals of Captain Lewis, advanced our country by decades.

And yes, I learned that Fort Clatsop was the location of the small 50-foot-square log fort where Meriwether Lewis and William Clark spent a hungry and freezing winter with some of the bravest men in the history of the United States.

The Lewis and Clark Expedition did not come about by accident nor on a lark. It was the vision and commitment of President Thomas Jefferson, battling his political opponents at every step, to ensure that Lewis and Clark had both a clearly defined mission and the resources to be successful.

Although Jefferson's political beliefs advocated smaller government and a fear of allowing government to take too large a role in the lives of its citizens, he knew that the purchase of the Louisiana Territory and the development of a trade route to the Pacific, to the exclusion and detriment of Great Britain, would guarantee the greatness of the United States. Jefferson possessed the rare gifts of vision, determination and leadership and our country has benefitted from these gifts for over 200 years.

Recently, we celebrated the anniversary of the first manned landing on the moon. The Apollo 11 mission of Neil Armstrong, Buzz Aldrin and Michael Collins that culminated in the first steps by man on the lunar surface marked the completion of the vision, determination and leadership of President John F. Kennedy. By his vision and strength of personality alone, President Kennedy challenged America to reach the moon within 10 years. We accomplished this in July, 1969, and although President Kennedy did not live to see his dream fulfilled, the entire world has benefitted from the tremendous advances in science and industry that our quest for the moon enabled.

Where are the visions, the determination and the leadership today?

Sadly, they appear to have escaped us. One wonders, given our current political leadership, a hysterical press and a nation grown soft, whether we could ever duplicate the exploratory achievements of men such as Lewis and Clark or Armstrong, Aldrin and Collins. I'm not sure that we would have made it west of the Mississippi, let alone to the moon. We have become a nation with a president who cannot even roll out a healthcare website, let alone dream big dreams. Our space program has been reduced to hitching a ride with the Russians in order to reach a space station that circles the earth in a monotonous cycle. We fear any death, any harm and any hurt feelings by Americans or anyone else inhabiting our planet. We have a president who is unsure, afraid, wandering, visionless and uncertain of anything but his next tee time.

President Obama entered office with a \$10.626 trillion deficit. We now have a national debt of \$17.599 trillion. What do we have to show for our \$7 trillion? We have a broken healthcare system, a seriously diminished defense, chronically unemployed, a record low workforce participation rate, skyrocketing numbers on disability and Medicaid and Obamaphones! NASA has spent only \$820 billion over its entire 50-year history. Which has been the better investment?

I **believe that there** are Americans in our great country who still possess the drive and determination to go where no man has gone, to reach for new planets and

to risk everything to fulfill their own intellectual and scientific curiosity. They wait only to be led by a man of vision, dreams, determination and leadership. Let us all hope that in 2016 that man will step forward to join Jefferson, Kennedy and Reagan as presidents of greatness. There are still vast frontiers to explore. ❖

Dunn is chairman of the Howard County Republicans.

The higher education funding mess

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – Public higher education financing is unsustainable as currently configured. This conclusion was reached by two important groups over the past two years. The National Association of State Budget Officers and the State Higher Education Executive Officers Association both report the current fiscal crunch for public colleges and universities will not go away.



Indiana, like all other states, claims more students need certification or degrees beyond high school. However, states are hard pressed to increase funding for post-secondary institutions from community colleges to research-based universities. Part of this pressure comes

from the concurrent demands for increased state spending for Medicaid, prisons and other public services. Another part is rooted in the reluctance of legislators and voters to raise taxes.

Increased enrollment, with little growth (if any) in state support, leads to higher tuition for students and their families. Parents and students then complain about the high sticker prices on education. To cover these expenses, students and families have borrowed large sums of money over the years.

Legislators and others then respond with demands for (a) cost containment and (b) better performance by schools. What does this mean?

Cost containment usually comes down to suggestions or demands that faculty pay, pensions, and benefits be cut. In response, the institutions hire less costly

instructors and move to on-line degrees serving anyone anywhere who will pay the required fee. No one argues upgrading athletic facilities should be postponed.

Better performance is measured by degree or certificate completion rates and the number of years to completion. Few persons bother to question whether the content of the curriculum is being watered down.

One result of all this is an increase in the posturing and lobbying by colleges and universities for more funding while they profess allegiance to the goals of public officials. Thus, every public college and university forms an economic development committee to bring curriculum into line with poorly perceived skill needs of the private sector.

Hence, business people tell educators what they imagine employment requirements will be five and ten years from yesterday. We also divert students from learning to be members of a civil society so they can be become pawns in the labor force.

There are solutions most of us don't want to examine. One would be full privatization of job training. This means large corporations or trade associations assume responsibility for the post-secondary schooling of their labor force. It's an old idea that could be revived.

Then companies would have to forecast their labor force requirements well in advance. They would have to identify future workers long before the investment in education (training) would pay off. That shifts more of the risk already present in education from students to their future employers.

Of course, the greatest increase in the benefits of education comes from a broad, rigorous high school curriculum combined with a universally higher completion rate at that level. But that's not as appealing a topic as decrying the state of higher education. ❖

Mr. Marcus is an economist, writer, and speaker who may be reached at mortonjmarcus@yahoo.com.

Corporations should have say in laws that govern them

By MICHAEL HICKS

MUNCIE – Corporations are among our oldest institutions. Something like a joint stock company probably triggered the earliest formal written communication, the accounting ledger. It should be unsurprising that the early traders of Mesopotamia used a corporation. Trade was risky outside the walled city, and spreading that risk over many households allowed for the collection of enough financial capital to pay for prime trade goods, fast mounts and armed guards.



This risky trade had to pay better than baking bread, and so profits to these traders were higher than those to other merchants. Some folks who are sweetly innocent of the work-

ings of the world think these profits are a nuisance and distraction to the workings of an economy. They should be quietly ignored until human nature changes.

Over the past few years we hear a great deal about the evilness of corporations, and how they should not be treated, in law, as people. The latter idea deserves some modest discussion. There is symmetry in the law. If we wish to hold corporations liable for infractions of a law, we must also permit them to speak out against laws they judge wrong, or support those they judge right. It is a simple matter really.

Corporations are easy to demagogue, as is now happening as one political party suffers a summer of discontent. In the coming weeks we will hear how evil and unpatriotic it is for American corporations to merge with foreign firms and so dodge U.S. taxes. This is called 'inversion' and according to White House sources will be the target of Mr. Obama's much anticipated spate of executive actions he will undertake just before the election.

The problem is that this administration has long ignored real corporate tax reform, which could have raised more tax dollars and kept more corporations at home. Here's how that might have worked.

There are so many tax loopholes that a fine team of lawyers and accountants can reduce tax liability of many corporations to zero. As I have mentioned before in this space, GE paid less federal income tax last year than did Ball State. That is not a problem with GE's patriotism. It is a problem with political courage and leadership.

U.S. corporate tax rates are the highest in the

developed world, but many businesses can find effective loopholes and pay almost nothing. The tax is complicated and unfair, and that is why corporations who cannot find loopholes are moving overseas. Calling them unpatriotic won't work. They can hire patriotic French lawyers to help them move to Paris, where corporate tax rates are lower.

Corporate taxes are viewed by economists as among the least efficient way to collect revenue. To pay these taxes, corporations reduce their payments not only to stockholders but also workers. Some studies suggest 70 percent of corporate taxes come from wages.

What we need nationally is the type of tax simplification effort that Indiana is now trying. That'll take a bit more political courage and leadership than the current administration can muster. ❖

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



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Why Members keep getting reelected

By **LEE HAMILTON**

BLOOMINGTON – Incumbents are masters at posing as outsiders, when in fact they are insiders who produce the Congress they disdain.

It's no news that Congress is unpopular. In fact, at times it seems like the only real novelty on Capitol Hill would be a jump in its approval rating. In June, a Gallup poll found members' standing with the American people at a historic low for a midterm-election year. Which might have been notable except, as The Washington Post pointed out, that "Congress's approval rating has reached historic lows at least 12 times since 2010."



Here's the interesting thing: Nearly three-quarters of Americans want to throw out most members of Congress, including their own representative, yet the vast majority of incumbents will be returning to Capitol

Hill in January. In other words, Americans scorn Congress but keep re-electing its members.

How could this be?

The first thing to remember is that members of Congress didn't get there by being lousy politicians. They know as well as you and I that Congress is unpopular, and they're masters at separating themselves from it and running against it, appearing to be outsiders trying to get in, rather than insiders who produce the Congress they pretend to disdain. They're also adept at talking up their own bipartisanship, which is what most general-election voters want. when, in fact, they almost always vote with their own party's leadership, especially on the obscure procedural votes that can decide an issue before the actual up-or-down vote is taken.

Just as important, incumbents enjoy an overwhelming advantage in elections: A large staff, both in Washington and at home, whose jobs focus on helping constituents. They find lost Social Security checks, help get funding for economic development projects, cut through red tape to secure veterans' benefits. At election time, voters remember this.

That's not the only help members can expect. They're buttressed in ways challengers can only dream about. They're paid a good salary, so they don't have to worry about supporting their families while they campaign. They get to spend their terms effectively campaigning year-round, not just at election time, and they are able to saturate their state or district with mass mailings. The nature of their work allows them to build ties to various

interest groups back home, which quite naturally seek out the incumbents and ignore challengers.

Incumbents receive invitations to more events than they can possibly attend; challengers have trouble finding a meeting interested in having them. Incumbents get the honored place in the parade, the prime speaking position, the upper hand when it comes to raising money; challengers have to fight for visibility and money. And the news media seek out incumbents, often ignoring the challengers.

In fact, challengers are at a disadvantage at almost every point in a campaign. From building name recognition to arranging meetings to building credibility with editorial boards, donors, and opinion leaders, they're trudging uphill. They do get one leg up; they're in the district all the time, while the incumbent has to be in Washington regularly, but that's a small advantage compared to the obstacles arrayed against them. Especially when districts are gerrymandered, as they often are, to protect incumbents. This means that in primaries, incumbents generally need to focus just on the most active voters, while in general elections the vast majority can consider themselves on safe ground.

But there's another reason incumbents keep getting reelected that's also worth considering: Voters – that's you and me. Most Americans don't vote, which means that a U.S. senator or representative might be elected by only 20 percent of the eligible voters. And those who do vote often cast their ballots for narrow or unusual reasons. They like the way they got treated by the incumbent's staff, or they shook his or her hand at a county fair, or they like his or her stand on a particular social or economic issue, or perhaps they just recognize the name. Whatever the case, they don't look at an incumbent's entire record: Votes on a cross-section of vital issues; willingness to work with members of different ideologies and backgrounds; ability to explain Washington back home and represent home in Washington; skill at forging consensus on tough policy challenges.

It's really no mystery that incumbent members get re-elected. Their advantages are baked into the system. ❖

Lee Hamilton is director of the Center on Congress at Indiana University. He was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives for 34 years.

A frank discussion about franking

By **RICH JAMES**

MERRILLVILLE – Can we have a frank discussion?

Frankly speaking, I think it would be a good thing for the taxpayers of Indiana. We are talking about the franking privileges enjoyed by legislators in the Indiana General Assembly. And a recent column about the reality of franking and the abuse of the system has created a firestorm of sorts.



The column was about a slick brochure sent by House District 15 State Rep. Hal Slager, R-Schererville, to constituents in the greater St. John Township area of Lake County.

Like most mindless franking mail, the brochure talked about job creation and how wonderful things are in Indiana. It talked about how Slager voted

to appropriate an additional \$400 million – above the usual highway budget – for road work in Indiana and how that would result in the creation of additional jobs.

What the brochure failed to mention was that none of the \$400 million was going to be spent on additional highways in Lake County.

The column went on to talk about how legislators enjoy franking privileges because they voted to have the taxpayers pay for someone to write the brochures, even though people were led to think that Slager had written it himself. And, taxpayers also paid for the printing and mailing of the brochures.

Well, the brochures are little more than campaign literature for Slager and the others who send the literature to their constituents. Although the column mentioned that virtually all legislators exercise their franking privileges, some Republicans in Lake County complained that Slager was singled out while others do the same thing. You know, it is kind of like two wrongs make a right.

One writer said she had received several brochures from State Rep. Mara Candelaria Reardon, a Munster Democrat, and that they contained less useful information than the one sent by Slager. And so, the thinking went that Reardon ought to be called on the carpet as well.

The column pointed out that there is nothing wrong with the franking privilege as long as it isn't abused. For instance, sending a questionnaire about key legislation at the start of a legislative session is fine. So, too, is sending one at the end of a session wrapping up what was and wasn't accomplished. But sending out mindless brochures

at taxpayer expense during the summer is little more than telling constituents that their state representative is still around.

Interestingly, a couple weeks after the column about Slager's brochure, another one from him arrived in the mail.

If the legislators really wanted to endear themselves to the people of Indiana, they certainly could do so by cutting back on the taxpayer dollars that allow legislators to use their constituents' money to help them get re-elected.

Now, that is something to be frank about. ❖

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.



Political parties plummet in CBS poll

WASHINGTON — Political parties are no cause for celebration, according to a new poll. In a CBS News survey released Wednesday evening, the pollsters found that the favorability rating of both the Democratic and Republican parties is just one percentage point higher than the parties' all-time lows in the poll (Politico).

Twenty-nine percent of Americans view the Republican Party favorably, compared to 28 percent in June 2008, the record low for this poll. That's also down 4 percentage points from May. Democrats are viewed more favorably than Republicans, with 41 percent approval. Still, this is only 1 percentage point higher than the party's lowest favorability rating, 40 percent in 1994, and it is down 2 percentage points from May.

Along with the disapproval of political parties, independents polled for the CBS survey also disapproved of House Speaker John Boehner's lawsuit against President Barack Obama for alleged misuse of the president's executive powers.

More than half of independents — 53 percent — disapprove of the lawsuit against the president. Eighty percent of Democrats and only 24 percent of Republicans disapproved of the legal action.

The poll surveyed 1,344 Americans between July 29 and Aug. 4 and has a margin of error of 6 percentage points for Hispanics and 4 percentage points for non-Hispanics. ❖

Dave Bangert, Lafayette Journal & Courier:

How many more Troy Woodruff cases can Indiana government afford? Last week, Woodruff became the latest public official to barely toe the line, obliterating the spirit, but not the letter, of state ethics laws. No charges were filed against the INDOT chief of staff, who resigned Thursday, despite having a hand in questionable land sales to the state and an Interstate 69 bridge deal that went in his family's favor. (Not in play here was persistent speculation that Woodruff landed his job with INDOT because of his vote for daylight saving time when he was a state representative. Once an adamant DST foe, his reversal helped turn the tide — and wound up getting him voted out of office.) Perhaps the most damning part of Inspector General David Thomas' report: An INDOT ethics officer at one point suggested to Woodruff that he disclose his sale of 3 acres to INDOT. Woodruff's excuse not to? It would have drawn more attention by self-reporting it. So basically, Woodruff knew it was a problem. An INDOT official knew it was a problem. Neither did enough to let light cleanse the situation. Thomas said he couldn't recommend prosecution, but he had to admit that Woodruff's actions "sure looked bad." No kidding. ❖

Ezra Klein, vox: One way the system survives congressional action is that power flows to non-congressional branches. When Congress does less the executive branch, the courts, and the Federal Reserve do more. Presidential overreach is partly a response to congressional dysfunction. This is not the problem. We miss this basic fact of American politics in part because we've chosen a poor metaphor to describe congressional dysfunction: Gridlock. As anyone who has tried to drive the Beltway at rush hour knows, gridlock is what happens when nothing moves. You just sit on the highway cursing your fate. But that's not what happens when Congress collapses into inaction. Instead, action takes the city streets. That's in part because a big chunk of Congress wants it to take the city streets. Just as Congress is too divided to do anything; it's also too divided to stop the other parts of government from doing something. Congress can't pass a law solving the immigration crisis but it also can't pass a law stopping Obama from trying to solve it. It can't pass a law regulating carbon emissions but it also can't pass a law stopping the Environmental Protection Agency from regulating carbon emissions. And that's because big portions of Congress want these actions to be taken; they happen because they have enough congressional support to survive. A point made by skeptics of Obama's executive actions is that inaction is a congressional choice that needs to be respected. But if Congress is making a choice when it doesn't pass a bill to do something, it's also making a choice when it doesn't pass a bill to stop another branch of government from doing something. Inaction cuts both ways as an expression of congressional will. Which is not to say it's good when

power flows away from Congress. The legislative branch is more democratic, more accountable, and more powerful than the other branches of government. The Supreme Court can strike down laws but it typically can't fix them. The Federal Reserve can make money cheap but it can't use that cheap money to build roads. The EPA can regulate carbon emissions but it can't price them. The president can lift the threat of deportations — or even pardon unauthorized immigrants — but he can't create a real legal status. When Congress falls into dysfunction the federal government's actions become more convoluted, more bureaucratic, and less efficient. There's a reason people prefer highways to city streets. ❖

David Long, Lafayette Journal & Courier: There is a growing national awareness, and corresponding excitement, over a state-led effort to propose amendments to the U.S. Constitution. As someone who believes in this effort, which is authorized under Article V of the Constitution, I wanted to offer my own perspective and explain

why I have played a role in organizing the states to pursue it. To this point in our nation's history, all constitutional amendments have been proposed by Congress. However, the authors of the Constitution included the state-led amendment option for a reason. It is on equal footing with the Congress-led amendment option and was meant to serve as a check on the

central government. The Founders feared that without this provision, states could never be assured of protection from the threat to their sovereign rights by an over-reaching federal government. In fact, the Constitution would not have passed had this critical state power not been inserted into the final draft. Today, there is a sense shared by millions of Americans that we are at a moment in the life of our nation unlike any we've experienced before. Many believe Washington is broken, with Congress either unable or unwilling to control and reform itself, regardless which party is in power. States' rights have been trampled almost to the point of extinction. And federal spending continues to grow, unabated, creating an unsustainable level of debt that threatens the livelihood and future of our children and grandchildren. No generation of Americans has ever dumped such a mountain of debt upon the next generation. Yet no solutions are coming from Washington anytime soon. This is exactly the environment that calls for the states to exercise their right under Article V to call an amendment convention in order to deal with the root cause of these problems. I have no illusions that it will be easy for states to successfully put together the first Article V amendment convention in history. But when I consider the gridlock and dysfunction that seem to grip Washington these days, I remain firm in my belief that the states must make every effort to use this constitutional tool they've been given. If the states don't do something now, when will they? And who will? ❖



Rush named chief justice

INDIANAPOLIS – Loretta Rush, a longtime juvenile court judge who joined the Indiana Supreme Court in 2012, was unanimously chosen as the state's first female chief justice Wednesday, setting the stage for what could be a long run at the court's helm (LoBianco, Associated Press). The seven-member Judicial Nominating Commission chose Rush to succeed Justice Brent Dickson as the high court's leader. Gov. Mike Pence praised Rush's appointment in a statement Wednesday afternoon, noting that the nominating commission "has made history and ensured that Indiana's Supreme Court will continue to have outstanding leadership in the years ahead." Indiana justices are appointed to five-year terms before facing a retention vote. Rush's appointment also drew praise from legal experts, who noted that although she is the court's newest member, she has proved herself by writing opinions in a series of contentious cases. Those include one involving the free-speech rights of an Indiana blogger and another involving an Evansville smoking ban. "She has written unanimous opinions for the court in some of the most important and complicated cases," said Joel Schumm, a professor at Indiana University's Robert H. McKinney School of Law and an expert on Indiana's courts. Rush, 56, thanked the panel for its support and said she was ready to work closely with the four other justices. "I think we work well together, the five of us," she said. "We work on tough cases, there is a lot of administrative work we all have done. So I appreciate the vote of confidence." During public interviews before her selection, Rush fielded questions about her judicial philosophy, her view of the role of chief justice and how she would balance her home life and the responsibilities of the job.



She likened her philosophy to U.S. Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia, because of his narrow reading of the Constitution and the founders' intentions, and said a chief justice must be a role model and build consensus. Purdue President Mitch Daniels, who as governor appointed Rush, said, "With four stellar candidates to consider, the committee could not have gone wrong, but they also could not have done better. Every Hoosier has reason to celebrate this outstanding choice; I know I am."

Indiana seeking Fort Wayne rail line

FORT WAYNE — Indiana officials have announced another push for the construction of a passenger rail line in Fort Wayne. WOWO reports that nine mayors of towns in Indiana and Ohio signed a memorandum of agreement proposing the development of a passenger rail that would connect Chicago, Fort Wayne and Columbus, Ohio. The proposed Chicago-Fort Wayne-Columbus passenger rail corridor would be 300 miles long. Express services would connect travel from downtown Chicago to Columbus in less than four hours. The nine cities plan to work together to secure funding for a study to examine engineering, technical analysis and servicing planning. Fort Wayne Mayor Tom Henry says all of the local economy and residents will benefit from the passenger rail. He says it will increase transportation alternatives and tourism.

New Carlisle mourns firefighter

NEW CARLISLE — He perished doing what he loved, but Assistant Fire Chief Jamie Middlebrook's line-of-duty death came as a devastating blow to New Carlisle, a town of

just over 1,800 people that at once mourned its son and hailed him as a hero (South Ben Tribune). Middlebrook, a 22-year veteran of New Carlisle's volunteer fire department, died late Tuesday night after a roof collapsed while he was battling an industrial barn fire just west of town in LaPorte County. "He loved his job, and I do think he died doing what he loved best," said Middlebrook's aunt, Joyce Gard.

State gets \$1.1M for at risk kids

INDIANAPOLIS — The U.S. Labor Department is awarding a \$1.1 million grant to Indiana for academic and job skills training for at-risk youths. The federal agency said it's awarding the so-called YouthBuild grant to the Indianapolis Private Industry Council, which does business as EmployIndy. The grant is one of 71 awarded Wednesday to YouthBuild programs in 31 states (Associated Press). YouthBuild is a non-residential, community-based program that provides classroom instruction and job skills training to youths between the ages of 16 to 24 who have been in the juvenile justice system, are aging out of foster care, have dropped out of high school or are otherwise at-risk of not reaching key education and career milestones. The job training can lead to certifications in construction, health care, information technology and other in-demand fields.

Ritz reaches \$3M ISTEP settlement

INDIANAPOLIS — Indiana's state schools superintendent says she has reached a \$3 million settlement with testing company CTB/McGraw-Hill after last year's widespread ISTEP disruptions. Superintendent Glenda Ritz surprised State Board of Education members on Wednesday with the announcement.