



IN Senate race impacts trade vote

Club For Growth opposition may have prompted Young, Stutzman to oppose TAA

By **MARK SCHOEFF JR.**

WASHINGTON – Most of the blame for the demise of trade legislation last week fell and the limbo it remains in today on the shoulders of Democrats, but there's plenty of culpability for Republicans as well, including some from Indiana where the evolving U.S. Senate race played a role.

Democrats abandoned President Obama in droves to scuttle so-called fast-track trade authority, which would subject trade agreements to up-or-down votes in Congress but protect them from amendments.

The death blow, however, did not come on the fast-track bill itself, which narrowly passed the House, 219-211. Instead, it came on a related bill, trade adjustment assistance, which would provide income support and job training for people put out of work due to imports or companies relocating overseas.

The TAA bill fell, 302-126, as 144 Democrats voted



U.S. Reps. Todd Young (left) and Marlin Stutzman both took the Club For Growth position on TAA, which brought down the trade bill. Stutzman has declared a Senate bid and Young is strongly considering a candidacy. (HPI Photos by Brian A. Howey)

against the measure in order to kill the fast-track bill, which was linked to it. When that many Democrats oppose a program they normally support in order to send a message to their own president about what they believe are

Continued on page 3

Buttigieg crosses threshold

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**
 South Bend Tribune

INDIANAPOLIS – South Bend Mayor Peter Buttigieg crossed an important evolutionary political threshold on Tuesday with his South Bend Tribune op-ed explaining

he is gay. In doing so, he becomes the first elected "executive" in Indiana, and one of the first politicians, to make such a personal declaration after gaining office. There may have been other gay mayors, congressmen, legislators or governors, but that information was never publicized.

Hoosiers have elected a handful of openly gay and lesbian city officials. There



“The numbers from this Republican poll show Hoosiers are fed up and know that we can do better than Mike Pence.”

- Democratic Chairman John Zody, reacting to Bellwether Poll showing 54% want a new governor in 2016



is a non-partisan newsletter based in Indianapolis and Nashville, Ind. It was founded in 1994 in Fort Wayne.

It is published by
WWHHowey Media, LLC
405 Massachusetts Ave.,
Suite 300 Indianapolis, IN
46204

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

Subscriptions

HPI, HPI Daily Wire \$599
HPI Weekly, \$350
Ray Volpe, Account Manager
317.602.3620
email: HoweyInfo@gmail.com

Contact HPI

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

© 2015, Howey Politics Indiana. All rights reserved. Photocopying, Internet forwarding, faxing or reproducing in any form, whole or part, is a violation of federal law without permission from the publisher.

have been "rumors" and "innuendo" over past members of Congress and the Indiana General Assembly and their sexual orientation. But no one has taken the step that the first-term mayor did this week.

Most Hoosier journalists follow a code that I have, which is that a public servant's personal life is really none of our business, unless a status or performance inhibits that individual's ability to conduct official business. There are exceptions, such as blatant hypocrisy, which Americans are watching today with regard to a former Republican U.S. House speaker.

Buttigieg did a superb job in explaining this. "Being gay has had no bearing on my job performance in business, in the military, or in my current role as mayor," he said. "It makes me no better or worse at handling a spreadsheet, a rifle, a committee meeting, or a hiring decision. It doesn't change how residents can best judge my effectiveness in serving our city: By the progress of our neighborhoods, our economy, and our city services."

Essentially, he makes the case that many of us believe was stated by the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which states in Section 1: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

It is this amendment that many believe will influence the coming U.S. Supreme Court decision this month that will determine the nation's course on same-sex marriage. Mayor Buttigieg obviously timed his decision to come out prior to this upcoming ruling. "It comes at a time of growing public acceptance and support for equal rights," he writes. "But no matter what the court does, issues of equality are hardly settled across the country."

Buttigieg is correct when he

writes of "growing public acceptance" of gay citizens. Following the Religious Freedom Restoration Act controversy this spring, a Howey Politics Indiana Poll conducted in April by Republican pollster Christine Matthews of Bellwether Research asked this question: Indiana's civil rights law makes it illegal to discriminate on the basis of gender, race, religion or disability. Do you support or oppose adding sexual orientation and gender identity to the law?



The response was not subtle: 54 percent supported the expansion of civil rights and 34 percent opposed, with 12 percent undecided. In A Bellwether Poll released on Wednesday, the numbers were almost identical, 54% supporting and 32% opposing, creating a trendline. Put in political terms, that is essentially a landslide in the making on an issue that will almost certainly be debated by the General Assembly in the winter of 2016, an election year.

Past gay public servants may have feared the political consequences of coming out. The mayor of predominantly Democratic South Bend or other large cities should not expect political retribution. A legislator representing a rural, conservative district

might find a different outcome. Stress the word "might." When the Indiana House debated HRJ-3, the constitutional marriage amendment in 2014, the controversial second sentence that would have taken away the ability of future legislatures to create civil unions was opposed by several Republicans. They didn't represent university towns; they came from places like Lewisville, Hartford City, Huntington and Mount Vernon, conservative prairie and river towns.

Even in smaller communities, the fact that gay folks are more likely to come out when a generation ago they remained in the closet has crossed family and com-

munity thresholds. Many of us have gay nephews and nieces, aunts and uncles and even parents. These folks are not pariahs. They are kin.

Mayor Buttigieg is a rising political star in Indiana. Many expect him to run statewide, just as he did unsuccessfully in 2010, possibly as early as next year. The political implications of Peter Buttigieg's decision to take his sexual orientation in the public sphere may remain unclear until such an endeavor comes to pass. ❖

Brian Howey wrote this for the South Bend Tribune.

Trade, from page 1

weak worker trade protections, it shows that the Democrats are in disarray.

But the TAA vote would not have been a deal-killer if all 191 Republicans who supported fast-track also voted for TAA. Instead, only 86 Republicans backed TAA, a program that is anathema to many in the party who see it as wasteful government spending.

If more House Republicans had voted with Reps. Susan Brooks (5th CD), Todd Rokita (4th CD) and Luke Messer (6th CD) on TAA, there would have been a White House signing ceremony for fast track by now.

Instead, fast-track approval is uncertain, as Republican leaders try to devise complicated parliamentary maneuvers to get it through Congress with as little TAA pain as possible. The House has scheduled a vote on a stand-alone fast-track bill today. Even if that vote succeeds, the legislation faces more obstacles before it gets a presidential signature.

Fast-track, also known as trade promotion authority, gives the president leverage in a trade negotiation, such as the one that's underway now with 11 Pacific-rim countries called the Trans Pacific Partnership. Indiana Republicans support trade liberalization because it boosts the incomes of Hoosier farmers and manufacturers.

But some Hoosier Republicans, Reps. Marlin Stutzman (3rd CD), Todd Young (9th CD), Larry Bucshon

(8th CD) and Jackie Walorski (2nd CD), prioritized their antipathy for trade adjustment assistance over their support for fast-track last week.

Aides to a couple of the lawmakers who voted "no" on TAA said that although my math is accurate, I'm politically naïve. They said it is unreasonable to depend on the GOP to get TAA through Congress. Without most Democrats, including Reps. Pete Visclosky (1st CD) and Andre Carson (7th CD), voting for it, it's not going anywhere.

Conservative groups are watching Republican votes on TAA closely. The Club For Growth sent out a key-vote alert on TAA reauthorization, calling it "a wasteful welfare program that even some supporters have recognized as ineffective" and "a political special interest giveaway."

But that scrutiny didn't stop Rokita from supporting TAA for the good of fast-track.

"While voting against TAA would have helped my 'scores' with outside special interest groups, I knew that TAA had to pass in order for TPA to pass under the rules by which the measure was considered," Rokita said in a statement.

Rokita added: "Since I strongly believe that trade with other countries, where 96% of our potential customers reside, is essential for U.S. competitiveness across the globe, I voted for TAA as part of a larger trade package as the only intellectually honest choice, even though I am opposed to it as a standalone program. This vote demonstrates my commitment to free and fair trade." Messer supported TAA because it's the right policy,



U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita says voting against TAA would have helped his "scores" but he took the "intellectually honest" course.

said spokeswoman Liz Hill.

"Trade creates jobs and opportunity, but the benefits of trade don't always fall evenly across the board," Hill wrote in an email. "We've seen that in places like Muncie, Connersville and New Castle. Rep. Messer believes those who lose their jobs due to U.S. trade deals and the changing global economy should get help finding other employment."

Messer is part of House leadership, which might also have played a role in his decision to cast every vote necessary to get fast-track over the finish line.

Rokita serves in an air-tight GOP district, which separates him from Bucshon, whose district can be competitive, and Walorski, whose district is likely to be the only interesting race in Indiana this cycle.

In making his decision, Rokita also didn't have to consider a Senate primary. He recently took himself out of that running.

That makes Rokita's situation different from that of Stutzman, who is a declared Senate candidate, and Young, who is seriously mulling a run. Getting on the bad side of the Club For Growth can be dangerous for a Senate primary race in Indiana.

But another Senate candidate, Eric Holcomb, showed no reticence in answering a hypothetical question about whether he would support TAA in order to get fast-track to the president's desk.

"I'm for strengthening our American hand when it comes to diplomacy, defense and global trade deals," Holcomb said in a statement. "Fast track, and what it means for Hoosier jobs, is both a necessary and competitive tool in a massive market that will in large part define the 21st Century. It needs to pass, even if it takes TAA to do it."

Indicating that he supports a fast-track, TAA combination puts Holcomb in the same position as his former boss, Sen. Dan Coats, who was one of 48 Republicans who voted in favor of the fast-track/TAA package that passed the Senate on May 22.

Coats and his Republican colleagues were joined on the vote by 14 Democrats for a winning margin of 62-37.

The close vote in the Senate, which was only two more than the 60 needed to overcome a filibuster, demonstrates why the road ahead is perilous.

There's nothing most Republicans would like better than to pass a clean fast-track bill and leave TAA by the wayside. Or if the two must proceed in tandem, they

want Democrats to supply almost all of the muscle to pull through TAA.

But separating a fast-track vote and a TAA vote, as Republican leaders indicated they want to do, could drive Senate Democrats away from fast track. It might also turn off some Democrats in the House, where there's almost no margin for error on fast-track.

The House approved a resolution on Tuesday that gives the chamber until July 30 to reconsider TAA.

Late Wednesday afternoon, House Speaker John Boehner, R-Ohio, and Senate Majority Leader Mitch McCon-



Senate candidate Eric Holcomb took a stance similar to his former boss, U.S. Sen. Dan Coats, who supported the trade deal. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

nell, R-Ky., gave a hint of the direction that the trade issue would take over the next few days and weeks.

"We are committed to ensuring both TPA and TAA get votes in the House and Senate and are sent to the president for signature," Boehner and McConnell said in a statement. "And it is our intent to have a conference on the customs bill and complete that in a timely manner so that the president can sign it into law."

This means that Republicans and Democrats will likely have to take at least one more gut-check vote on TAA. Democrats can reiterate their support for a program that helps workers catch up with globalization. Republicans can support it either on its merits or as a necessary addendum to fast-track.

It's not an overstatement to say that the world is watching. Lawmakers will have another opportunity to reinforce U.S. global leadership and strengthen the country's ability to shape world markets, no matter how distasteful some of the votes may be for them. ❖

Schoeff is HPI's Washington correspondent.

New Bellwether Poll shows Pence reelect in precarious shape

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – A new Bellwether Research Poll conducted on behalf of former Angie’s List CEO Bill Oesterle shows Gov. Mike Pence in a precarious political position as he officially announces his reelection tonight.

In head to heads, Pence trails 2012 Democratic nominee John Gregg 41-40%, and he is tied with Supt. Glenda Ritz at 42%. In the April Howey Politics Indiana Poll conducted by Bellwether, Pence had a 43-37% lead over Gregg and a 42-39% lead over Ritz. The survey did not include the other announced Democrat, State Sen. Karen Tallian.

The real problem for Pence is that he is an incumbent governor who is mired in the lower 40th percentile. For historical perspective, in a March 2012 Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll in the U.S. Senate race conducted by Bellwether’s Christine Matthews and Garin-Hart-Yang’s Fred Yang, then-Sen. Dick Lugar had a 42-35% lead over Richard Mourdock, and ended up losing that primary in a landslide.

Pence’s job approval stands at 46/46% approve/disapprove. On favorable/unfavorables, Pence stands at 34/43%, Ritz at 29/13% and Gregg at 20/9%. Asked if Gov. Pence deserves reelection, 32% favored a second term for the Republican and 54% wanted a new person.

To show how Pence has lost standing, Bellwether asked: If the 2016 election for president were being held today, would you vote for, the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate? There were 43% who said the Republican, 31% said the Democrat and 26% were undecided. Essentially a Republican presidential nominee would have a 12% lead over the Democrat, while Pence is essentially in a dead heat with Gregg and Ritz.

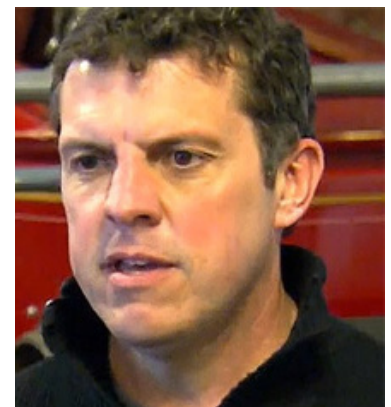
The poll was conducted May 29-June 3 of 800 registered

voters. It has a margin of error of +/-3.5%.

In the wake of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, Oesterle said he was prepared to enter the public arena, and there are persistent reports he is considering a primary challenge to Gov. Pence, as is auto dealer Bob Thomas. Oesterle explained, “When I announced my career change to pursue civic activities, my first step was to begin to understand the landscape in Indiana post-RFRA and post-education session. As part of that process, I asked Chris Matthews and Bellwether Research to conduct a very comprehensive poll and I wanted to share the results. My goal is to inform the discussion as we prepare for the 2015-2016 legislative session. It should come as no surprise that I care about a few of these issues.”

Matthews observed, “We have not seen any evidence of recovery for Gov. Pence since the poll we conducted in mid-April for Howey Politics. In fact, the numbers for him are worse, suggesting that even though RFRA is no longer making headlines, it has not been forgotten. This may be one of those situations where a sleeping giant has been kicked and is now wide awake. On this poll we see a decline in Mike Pence’s standing both in terms of personal image and ballot strength, resulting in a tied ballot with both Glenda Ritz and John Gregg. Because John Gregg retains little name ID from his previous run, his standing vis-à-vis Pence is not about Gregg, it’s about Pence. Glenda Ritz retains support from the passionate base of education-motivated parents and teachers who helped her defeat Tony Bennett.”

HPI attempted to contact Oesterle about talk of a potential primary challenge to Pence, but he did not return



Gov. Pence at his April press conference at the State Library when he tried to tamp down the RFRA controversy. Bill Oesterle (above) ran Gov. Mitch Daniels’ 2004 campaign.

emails.

As for direction of the state, 54% said they were satisfied and 44% said they were dissatisfied.

Asked about the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, 37% said the controversial law will have no impact, 40% said it would have a negative impact on Indiana's economy and 9% said it would have a positive impact. On Gov. Pence's handling of RFRA, 46% said it was an "embarrassment" and that he doesn't deserve a second term, while 41% said he deserves another term.

On the expansion of the Indiana civil rights code to include sexual orientation, 54% approve and 32% disapprove. That compares to the April Howey Politics Indiana Poll conducted by Bellwether that had 54% approving and 34% opposing.

The pollster asked: Would you be more likely or less likely to vote for a candidate for governor who supports adding sexual orientation and gender identity to Indiana civil rights law? Would you be more likely or less likely to vote for a candidate for governor who supports adding sexual orientation and gender identity to Indiana civil rights law? On those questions, 45% said more likely and 32% said less likely.

On the civil rights expansion, Pence has said that it is "not on my agenda" though he said he would listen to the coming debate, as Democrats have vowed to bring legislation in the 2016 General Assembly session. In her campaign kickoff, Ritz said, "We must respect the personal and civil rights of all of Indiana's citizens and bring forward legislation that respects the rights of all Hoosiers."

In his announcement video on April 30, Gregg said, "As Governor I will seek the full repeal of the divisive RFRA law and will work to extend full civil rights protections to LGBT citizens so they can enjoy the exact same rights, privileges and protections as everyone else – across the board. I'll also sign an executive order to outlaw discrimination of LGBT Hoosiers within state government and in any entity that wishes to do business with the state or receive funds from my administration."

On potential issues, Bellwether asked: What is the main reason you'd like to see a new person as governor? On this question, 17% disagreed with Pence on education issues, 15% over RFRA, 11% on not doing a good job, 11% on the need for change, 11% wanted a Democrat and 3% said he couldn't get along with Ritz.

Matthews said there is "ominous" news for Pence when it comes to both female and male voters. "One of the subgroups we are watching carefully is college-educated women," she said "This group decides elections and in Indiana, as nationally, can swing in either direction. On the Howey poll, Pence showed vulnerability with this group and on our June survey, we see even more of this. They rate him negatively by nearly a 2:1 margin both in terms of whether or not they like him and whether or not they approve of the job he is doing as governor."

Matthews continued, "College-educated women vote for Glenda Ritz over Mike Pence by nearly 20 points

and for John Gregg by 15 points. Based on their response to an open-ended question, their unhappiness with him stems from his handling of education policies, particularly relative to Glenda Ritz and with his handling of RFRA. Pence lost women by 5 points in 2012 and these numbers point to a worse performance in 2016, the extent of which will be determined by what happens in the next year.

"On this poll we see what may be an even more ominous finding for him which is a significant drop among college-educated men, a +20 Republican identifying group," Matthews explained. "With this base GOP group, Pence has a negative image rating and a 16-point net job disapproval rating. College men split their ballots evenly between Pence and Gregg and Pence and Ritz. This is a core Republican group who is supporting the generic GOP presidential candidate by 17 points over a Democrat.

Pence will announce his reelection bid tonight at Primo's in Indianapolis at the Indiana Republican Spring Dinner. Pence campaign communications director Robert Vane told the Evansville Courier & Press, "Gov. Pence is focused on his outstanding record of economic growth, education reform and providing health care for low-income Hoosiers. And while the insiders will focus on poll numbers, which will inevitably bounce around, he will not. The governor is focused on governing and getting results," Vane said.

Gregg keeping eye on Pence

Gregg told Putnam County Democrats Sunday afternoon at their Robe-Ann Park picnic, that Pence is "going to have to run on his own record: "I refer to it as a record of shame" (Bernsee, Greencastle Banner-Graphic). "Indiana's also about being inclusive and welcoming all peoples whether we agree with them, look like them, act like them or anything. That's Hoosier hospitality," Gregg added.

Indiana is not about the RFRA "that wasn't even necessary" or any like social initiatives, Gregg said. "What we're about is jobs, good-paying jobs," Gregg continued. "We're going to work to close that income gap. It's not just about jobs, it's about living-wage jobs. It's about taking advantage of our opportunities in technology."

Senate: Bayh reportedly won't run

The Hill, citing "a source familiar with Bayh's think-



ing" reported last Friday that former Sen. Evan Bayh will not enter the Senate race. But Bayh has not issued a statement and sources close to the former senator did not respond to Howey Politics Indiana inquiries on the veracity of

the report.

Bayh did an interview with The Hill's Molly Hooper on Monday and the Senate bid didn't come up. The Hill reported that Bayh had spent time recently with Hillary Clinton. Asked if he would say "yes" to being Clinton's running mate should she win the 2016 Democratic nomination, the former Indiana governor paused before saying, "of course," adding "there's only one answer to that. He then said he was not "sitting by the phone waiting for that phone call."

In other Senate race news, State Rep. Christina Hale was in Washington on Wednesday discussing a potential candidacy. She told HPI, "I'll be making a decision very soon." Currently only Baron Hill is a declared Democrat.

Mayors

Richmond: Republican Richmond mayoral nominee Kyle Ingram is saying that the city's finances are in precarious shape due to computer problems. In a letter to the editor of the Richmond Palladium-Item, Ingram explained, "When I entered the race for mayor of Richmond,



I did so on behalf of the citizens and taxpayers of our fine city. At the time, I was generally aware that there were problems with the management of the city. Now that I've thoroughly researched the inner workings of our city government, I'm shocked at

the depths to which we've fallen. Poor management from the existing administration, including lack of accountability and no viable growth plan or activity, has left Richmond in a state of decline we've not experienced in my memory, and I was born here." Ingram explained, "This week, we've learned that Umbaugh has been retained to assist our city's finance department, at a significant expense. We also learned that our information technology department's GEMS accounting service software has crashed and that the data may be lost forever. Apparently, there was no backup. This system is now in the hands of forensics experts to see what data, if any, may be salvaged. If the data is irretrievable, it will leave us without records from the past several weeks. This crash affects the general ledger, payables and purchasing databases. Sensitive data of this critical nature must be backed up daily! The current administration did not adhere to this policy." Ingram is facing Democrat Dave Snow. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Ingram.

Indianapolis: Republican nominee Chuck Brewer will unveil his "Envision Indy" policy plan this morning.

Former federal prosecutor Joe Hogsett's campaign began airing its second television commercial this morning.

The spot begins a series of ads that will feature Hogsett describing his upbringing in Indiana and his personal vision for a stronger, safer city (Howey Politics Indiana). This commercial focuses on Joe Hogsett's sixth birthday, when his father was seriously injured in a car accident while driving home from his job in Indianapolis. In the coming months, Hogsett will be talking with voters about how this experience taught him at a young age how quickly life can be taken away, and directed his main priorities during his four years as federal prosecutor: Fighting violent crime, protecting vulnerable families, and combating public corruption.

Brewer released a YouTube clip, which is apparently crafted as a Chamber of Commerce-like message encouraging out-of-state businesses to choose Indianapolis (Advance Indiana). It is not airing on Indianapolis TV stations. He says he was born in Connecticut, joined the military, has lived all around the world, thinks people don't



Indianapolis Democratic mayoral nominee Joe Hogsett's second TV ad has him at the scene of an accident that injured his father.

have to live with higher taxes (saying that's precisely what the current Republican occupant of the mayor's office has chosen to do repeatedly over the past seven and a half years) and that's why he chose Indianapolis to locate his business.

While the Hogsett campaign is on course to raise more than \$3 million, it is asking Democrats to pitch in supplies. In an email from Thomas Cook, the campaign said, "As we head into the busy summer months of the campaign, we're more thankful than ever for volunteers like you who continue to be so generous in your support for Joe and the campaign. Once again, we're in need of some supplies for our downtown headquarters. Would you be able to help us out with any of the items below?"

"Trash bags (33 gallon and 10 gallon); large bin for recycling; printer paper; folding chairs and card tables; clipboards; cardboard boxes; dry erase boards and markers; staplers, staples, rubber bands, paper clips, pens; Post-Its, and other basics; dish soap and sponges;

paper plates and plasticware; coffee, coffee filters, and ceramic cups; chips, soft drinks, and other snacks.

"If you're able to lend us any supplies from the list, feel free to drop them off at 445 N. Pennsylvania St., Suite 330." **Horse Race Status:** Safe Hogsett.

Evansville: Democratic candidate Gail Riecken laid out her public transportation goals, if she's elected Evansville mayor (WFIE-TV). The first priority she says is to fix damaged sidewalks and streets. She also wants to improve the METS bus system for working families. Riecken says bus schedules need to be reviewed and safety and communication about routes and rules must also get fixed. She is also in support for Interstate 69 and the bridges between Indiana and Kentucky at I-69. Rep. Riecken is challenging first term Republican incumbent Mayor Lloyd Winnecke. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Winnecke.

3rd CD

BANKS TOUTS SUPPORT: It would be difficult for U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman's successor to be more pro-gun than Stutzman is (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). Stutzman, R-3rd, has been chairman of a House Republican Study Committee gun rights working group called the Second Amendment Initiative, and he repeatedly has introduced legislation that would require states to honor one another's concealed-carry gun permits. But Jim Banks, a Republican state senator who seeks to replace Stutzman, has tried to show that he's an avid gun-rights advocate, too. A recent posting on Banks' Facebook page includes a photo of a handgun, with a trigger guard, on a copy of the U.S. Constitution and an American flag. "Jim Banks for Congress. Protecting Our Gun Rights," the overlaid text states. "When I am elected to Congress, I will continue to protect our gun rights as I have in the Indiana General Assembly where I have an 'A' rating with the NRA," Banks, of Columbia City, wrote in the post.

On the Democratic side, Tommy Schrader became the first candidate to declare. Schrader, 52, of Fort Wayne was a candidate in Democratic congressional primary elections in 2006, '10, '12 and '14. He also has run twice for the Fort Wayne City Council and twice for mayor as a Democrat, and he sought the Republican nomination for city clerk in 2007, according to the Fort Wayne Journal Gazette. Schrader won the Democratic primary for an at-large council seat in 2011, but he was removed from the ballot when it was revealed that he had voted in Wisconsin's primary. Schrader, who is unemployed, said Monday that he opposes abortion rights, favors a minimum hourly wage of \$10.10 and supports the Employment Non-Discrimination Act, which would outlaw workplace discrimination against people on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity. ❖

With presidential race off the table, Pence can be a better governor

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

FREMONT, Ind. – Will Mike Pence become a better governor without a presidential race hanging over his head?

This is a parlor game the Hoosier political class has played before, when Gov. Evan Bayh was viewed as a Democratic rising star in the 1990s. It was a topic that



would occasionally pop up on the Mike Pence Show. For four election cycles Bayh, including two as governor, the senator's son was a potential vice presi-

dential nominee and for a brief period in 2005 and 2006, a fledgling presidential candidate. Decisions Bayh made as governor, such as his almost dogmatic approach to never raise taxes, and a cautious agenda prompted Statehouse observers to view policy decisions through the prism of a potential spot on the presidential ticket.

There was a similar dynamic with Gov. Pence. Much of his first two years in office created sort of a checklist that appeared to be designed to position him for a presidential run or the 2016 veepstakes. He pushed a series of tax cuts and embraced Art Laffer. He took aim at regulations he believed kept businesses and industry from reaching greater employment levels. He rallied against EPA clean air standards, saying it was anti-coal, even though Indiana's coal employment sector had already dramatically eroded. There was the perennial GOP applause line of ending the death tax, even though its accelerated repeal benefitted the so-called 1 percent and bigger farms and ranches, as opposed to the middle class. He was the first governor to opt out of Common Core. And there was his inexplicable rejection of \$80 million in federal pre-school funding in 2014.

On that point, Pence explained, "It is important not to allow the lure of federal grant dollars to define our state's mission and programs. More federal dollars do not necessarily equal success, especially when those dollars come with requirements and conditions that will not help, and may even hinder, running a successful program of our own making." The "requirements and conditions" were

never fully explained.

IndyStar columnist Matt Tully observed: He hasn't explained such things because, in all likelihood, this was a political decision, one perhaps with a view toward Iowa, New Hampshire and the anti-federal sentiment that plays a huge role in GOP primaries. As one local political figure said Thursday, "The only one who benefits from this decision is Pence."

When the 2016 presidential buzz began to grow, Pence used these policy positions as talking points when he appeared on programs such as Fox News Sunday a year ago.

While legislative Republicans have backed and helped pass most of his legislative agenda over the first three years, leadership made several references to a potential Pence presidential race, particularly during the governor's push for a 10-percent income tax cut in 2013, expressing concerns for ending up holding the bag if the next recession creates deficits (See, Kansas, Gov. Sam Brownback and his "Roadmap").

The most compelling display of pragmatism from Pence came when he announced the Healthy Indiana Plan 2.0 in 2014, with the Obama administration signing off on a nuanced Medicaid expansion that is poised to bring more than 500,000 poorer Hoosiers into insurance coverage, all happening without a tax increase. But Pence did it his way, successfully advocating small monthly payments from enrollees, as well as bringing in employment resources to jobless Hoosiers.

In doing so, Pence took darts from the far right for working with the Obama administration. On the Common Core pullout and revamp, advocates against the federal education standards accused him of essentially creating Common Core Lite.

We've seen a similar dynamic with Pence's letter to IndyPride earlier this month, the LGBT coalition gathering for its annual festival. Pence's letter was generic in tone, but it's the Hoosier hospitality that counts, right?

IndyPride officials were gracious when asked, Indiana Democrats were critical, and Pence's base went into convulsions. Monica Boyer compared gay people to



Then Sen. Evan Bayh campaigns in Iowa in 2006 before he abruptly pulled out of the race that December as the race boiled down to Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama and John Edwards.

the Ku Klux Klan and "swingers."

What Pence has probably learned over the past three years, and this is speculation on my part, is that ideologues and radicals only succeed in times of crisis, when dire events call for drastic action, as was the case with Gov. Oliver P. Morton during the Civil War. For the other 49 governors in our history, the developing pragmatism pulls a governor to the center. It's easy to be against needle exchange programs as a congressman, for instance, until you're faced with an

HIV and Hep C epidemic that could spiral into a historic national crisis with Indiana as Ground Zero.

Pence insists the talk surrounding a potential spot on the 2016 national ticket was a compliment to hard-working Hoosier folks, that he was just listening, that it was always his intent to do what he will do tonight when he formally announces for reelection. That was always the plan.

My suspicions are that after the Religious Freedom Restoration Act controversy and his poor performance on ABC's "This Week," he realized a national ticket slot was pretty much off the table for 2016. With that reality sinking in, potential national candidates can take that deep breath and sigh, then concentrate on the next chapter.

For Mike Pence, potentially, over the next four years, that means being the best governor he can be. That means not wasting time and energy on lining up national support. If he wins reelection in 2016, he'll have four years where he can concentrate on his day job. He can learn, build a right/center coalition to achieve policy goals (and that absolutely has to include raising per capital personal income). If he's successful and pragmatic, if he is astute enough to avoid the divisive ruts that the family groups drew him into over the past two legislative sessions, in early 2019 his governorship could well be deemed a success.

And the axiom, "Good policy makes good politics," might create the national ticket opening for him in 2020. Call it 2020 foresight. ❖

Pence and Jindal, a tale of two governors

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – The governor, once seen as a strong possibility for the 2016 Republican presidential nomination, now faces a decline in popularity in his own state after his support for a controversial “religious freedom” bill.



The measure, attacked by critics as really condoning discrimination, brought threats of a boycott of the state and demeaning comments about the state on national television. Major corporations and other business interests in the state opposed the measure, fearing negative impact on economic development. The tourism industry warned that the divisive measure would

drive away important trade shows, conventions and sports events.

The governor also faces problems in education. He hoped to cite education achievement in his administration. But disputes over testing brought controversy instead. At one point, the state education superintendent rejected a key initiative by the governor, saying: “We are not willing to subject our children to last-minute changes to throw our system into educational chaos.”

Key Republican legislators differed with their governor. Some grumbled that he spent too much time courting national conservative leaders instead of dealing with concerns of the people in his own state. Still, the governor is set to announce that he will run. He plans to announce on June 24 for president.

President?

Yes, the governor described above is Bobby Jindal of Louisiana. Much of the description also fits Indiana Gov. Mike Pence. Similarities, yes. But differences, too.

Jindal, completing his second term as governor, cannot run for a third term. He is scheduled to announce as a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination on June 24. Pence is to announce officially this week that he will seek reelection as governor.

While Jindal is in terrible political shape in Louisiana, and doing poorly in national presidential polls as well,

Pence, though with approval ratings down, is in much better shape in Indiana.

The Washington Post, describing Jindal as “at the nadir of his political career,” notes that Jindal’s Louisiana approval rating “plunged to 32 percent in a recent poll, compared with 42 percent for President Obama, who lost the state by 17 percentage points in 2012.”

A New Orleans Times-Picayune columnist questions why Jindal decided to announce for president in New Orleans, a city in which he is so unpopular. Pence was shown in a mid-April Howey Politics Indiana poll at 45 percent approval, not great for an incumbent but not the disaster territory of Jindal’s rating.

The poll showed Indiana Superintendent of Public Instruction Glenda Ritz with surprising strength as a then-unannounced Democratic candidate for governor. But she still was 3 percentage points behind Pence in a test match-up. Pence faces a potentially tough race, whether his opponent is Ritz or John Gregg. With the Democratic challenger still uncertain, Pence would today be regarded as the favorite to win.

If Jindal were running for governor, he would be favored to lose to almost any opponent. While Pence tested the presidential waters, he didn’t do as Jindal has done: Travel incessantly for national political exposure instead of tending to matters at home. Also, Jindal was much more divisive in rhetoric in support of the Louisiana “religious freedom” bill.

The Indiana bill passed. But when controversy arose over the interpretation and Indiana faced boycott threats, Pence agreed to a compromise with wording that discrimination wasn’t the intent.

In Louisiana, the “religious freedom” version died in the legislature. An irate Jindal issued an executive order



directing the executive branch to follow the intent expressed in the defeated legislation. Jindal blustered defiance – no compromise. He denounced the Indiana compromise in a piece he wrote for the New York Times, saying that in Indiana and Arkansas, “large corporations recently joined left-wing activists to bully elected officials into backing away from strong protections for religious liberty.”

He sought national attention, not worrying about approval ratings in Louisiana.

Alas, Jindal also is down so low in national polls that he wouldn’t even qualify yet for the Republican debates. His chances for president now are about the same as those of Pence, who is no longer seeking that office. ❖

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

The Jeb, Hillary dynastic campaigns finally take shape

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

FREMONT, Ind. — We know them by their first names: Hillary and Jeb.

This past week, the two modern American dynasties, the Clintons and Bushes, formally jumped into the jumbled 2016 presidential race that may eventually draw 20 Republican and Democratic candidates.

It brings the potential for a redux of the 1992 race when Bill Clinton defeated President George H.W. Bush. Worth remembering is that both of those presidencies were successful, even if the latter ended in defeat and the former was mired in tabloid controversy of exploding cigar nature.

Hillary on Saturday and Jeb on Monday made their announcements in New York City and Miami, both focusing on their own stories, while stoking populist themes, and paying passing tribute to the kin who positioned them for this cycle.

"I'm running to make our economy work for you and every American," Hillary said. "I'm not running for some Americans, but for all Americans." And she addressed the classic "glass ceiling," saying, "America where a father can tell his daughter: Yes, you can be anything you want to be, even president of the United States. I will be the youngest woman president in the history of the United States. And the first grandmother as well."

For Jeb, it was accentuating his two terms as Florida governor. "We made Florida number one in job creation and number one in small business creation, 1.3 million new jobs, 4.4 percent growth, higher family income, eight balanced budgets, and tax cuts eight years in a row that saved our people and businesses 19 billion dollars," Jeb said at Miami-Dade Community College. "All this plus a bond upgrade to Triple-

A compared to the sorry downgrade of America's credit in these years. That was the commitment, and that is the record that turned this state around. I also used my veto power to protect our taxpayers from needless spending. And if I am elected president, I'll show Congress how that's done."

There were dynastic tributes. For Hillary, it was her husband who oversaw "the longest peacetime economic expansion in history and a balanced budget." For Jeb, it was, "In this country of ours, the most improbable things can happen. Take that from a guy who met his first president on the day he was born, and his second on the day he was brought home from the hospital."

It was Jeb who acknowledged the dynastic question that troubles so many Americans, just as it did in 1800 when Thomas Jefferson's republicans and Alexander Hamilton's federalists grappled with the potential of a reversion back to monarchy. "Campaigns aren't easy, and they're not supposed to be," Jeb said. "And I know that there are good people running for president. Quite a few, in fact. And not a one of us deserves the job by right of resume, party, seniority, family, or family narrative. It's nobody's turn. It's everybody's test, and it's wide open, exactly as a contest for president should be."

At this early stage, a bet on Hillary's nomination is an easier one than Jeb steering through what looks to be a GOP demolition derby that includes billionaire Donald Trump, who made a verbal broadside at the nationality of Jeb's own wife. Trump brings a Ross Perot dynamic to the race and will play by his own rules while lapping up celebrity-style media coverage, a dangerous prospect

to Bush and other prototypical candidates.

Hillary faces U.S. Sen. Bernie Sanders, a socialist, and former Maryland Gov. Martin O'Malley, who as mayor of Baltimore helped forged policy that has engulfed his city into today's maelstrom. Waiting in the wings, possibly, is



Hillary Clinton launches her campaign on Franklin D. Roosevelt Park in New York City on Saturday, while Jeb Bush did so Monday at Miami-Dade Community College.

former senator Jim Webb. Hillary has wide leads in the polls, a 47% advantage over Sanders in the current Real Clear Politics composite, but a recent CNN survey showed her negatives rising, and she hasn't quite shaken the 2008 front-running campaign that dissolved in Iowa, finishing third behind Barack Obama and John Edwards.

Jeb is mired in the pack of most polls, barely nudging single digits, with a Real Clear Politics composite lead of .2%. While he likely won't report the \$100 million that many speculated on earlier this year, \$80 million or so will position him to compete in every state. So there is a hearty kernel of truth when Jeb said, "The outcome is entirely up to you, the voters. It is entirely up to me to earn the nomination of my party and then to take our case all across this great and diverse nation."

Jeb is loathed by the evangelical right wing of the party. His support for Common Core has him sideways with other wings of the party, something he attempted to tamp down on Monday. "When a school is just another dead end, every parent should have the right to send their child to a better school, public, private, or charter," he said. "Every school should have high standards, and the federal government should have nothing to do with setting them. Nationwide, if I am president, we will take the power of choice away from the unions and bureaucrats and give it back to parents."

For Hillary, the reason to draw pause among Democrats are the Clintonian soap operas, and the penchant of the First Couple to leave a wide swath of personal destruction in their path. There was Whitewater, the Rose Law Firm (remember the records that showed up in the White House living quarters?), and Vince Foster, all events that were tied to the First Lady. And then there were Monica, Paula, Jennifer and others that led to only the second impeachment in U.S. history. There are continued worries that Bill won't keep his pants zipped up.

From an Indiana perspective, many Democrats express concerns about the Clintonian dramas, though almost all of them will come around if this becomes the



Purdue President Mitch Daniels (center, top photo) with Jeb and President Bush; Sens. Hillary Clinton and Evan Bayh in 2007. (HPI Photo by Mark Curry)

ultimate swing at the stained glass ceiling. There will be talk of Evan Bayh finally ascending to the vice presidency (unlikely, unless she needs Indiana's 11 Electoral College votes) or into Hillary's cabinet (a better bet).

For Jeb, many Hoosier Republicans are undecided. They had to await Gov. Pence's presidential race decision that essentially came to an end with the RFRA fiasco. There hasn't been any perceptible migration to any candidate, though Carly Fiorina was greeted with a standing O when she addressed the Lugar Series a couple of months ago.

The Daniels wing of the party might eventually gravitate to Jeb. Purdue President Mitch Daniels is close to Jeb, and it wouldn't be hard to see Our Man Mitch's signature on future greenbacks, or taking the helm of the suspected and reformable Department of Education.

Hillary v. Jeb?

There are all sorts of forces that can derail this one, and all you have to do is remember Barack Hussein Obama, but the betting money here at this point is a dynastic showdown. ❖

Trump's entry brings circus atmosphere to GOP prez race

By CHRIS SAUTTER

WASHINGTON - Former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and former Florida Governor Jeb Bush, the two candidates favored by their respective party establishments and traditional donors, kicked off their respective 2016 campaigns for president this past week. Clinton is



running as a "fighter for every day hard working Americans," a progressive message that should resonate with much of the Democratic base. Meanwhile, Bush is running as an innovative and competent leader with the experience to put the country back on the right track.

As much as establishment Republican leaders hoped to avoid the circus atmosphere of four years ago, Donald Trump's entry into the presidential race

Tuesday guarantees the opposite and underscores the difficult road Republicans face again in next year's race for the White House.

The mere presence of such outlandish characters as Trump, Texas Senator Ted Cruz, and Dr. Ben Carson demonstrates how far off the right-wing deep end the GOP has gone. As they did in 2012, the extreme candidates will pull the rest of the Republican candidates to the right and turn off voters.

What's worse for the GOP is that only Jeb Bush among the almost 20 Republicans running is deliberately staking out moderate territory. But, for all his advantages,

name recognition, money and establishment support, Bush is not catching on with rank and file Republicans.

Bush's centrist views, which make him most electable in a general election, render him unappealing in Iowa and other conservative states. Now Trump is directly attacking Bush, hoping that by picking a fight with the apparent frontrunner he overshadows the rest of the candidates. Trump recognizes that Bush is struggling and he would like to take credit for bringing him down.

Further, the unusually large number of "establishment" candidates works to Bush's disadvantage. Often the Republican presidential field pits one establishment candidate against a group of ultra-conservative candidates. This cycle, however, there are four other establishment candidates: Wisconsin Governor Scott Walker, New Jersey Governor Chris Christie, and Ohio Governor John Kasich. More worrisome is Florida Senator Marco Rubio whose youth and energy provide possibly the clearest contrast with Bush. An early showdown with Rubio in Florida awaits Bush and could decide whether Bush will be able to move on.

Bush would like to see the field thin out before the voting starts. But a shifting money landscape means he and the others are likely in for a long slog.

Like Jeb Bush, Hillary Clinton faces challenges within her parties. Clinton is the clear leader in a race that includes Vermont U.S. Sen. Bernie Sanders, former Gov. Martin O'Malley, former Rhode Island senator and governor Lincoln Chafee, and possibly former Virginia senator Jim Webb. But the activist base is restless. Sanders, who is inheriting Elizabeth Warren's national progressive network and Howard Dean's former supporters, is generating interest in Iowa and New Hampshire. Should Sanders win either or both, he could make life very uncomfortable for Clinton. As with Bush, the enthusiasm level for Clinton's candidacy is modest at best.

In the fall of 2016, Clinton is hoping the Obama coalition of minorities, young people, and single women holds together. There is little doubt that demographics increasingly favor Democrats. Obama won 96% of the Afri-

2016 Republican Presidential Nomination

National: GOP, Dem | Iowa: GOP, Dem | New Hampshire: GOP, Dem | South Carolina: GOP, Dem | General Election Match-Ups

Polling Data																	
Poll	Date	Bush	Walker	Rubio	Carson	Huckabee	Paul	Cruz	Christie	Trump	Perry	Santorum	Fiorina	Kasich	Graham	Jindal	Spread
RCP Average	5/19 - 6/14	10.8	10.6	10.0	9.4	8.6	8.2	7.0	4.6	3.6	3.2	2.2	1.8	1.8	1.4	1.0	Bush +0.2
Monmouth	6/11 - 6/14	9	10	9	11	8	6	5	4	2	4	3	2	1	2	1	Carson +1
FOX News	5/31 - 6/2	12	12	7	11	6	9	8	5	4	4	2	2	2	2	1	Tie
CNN/ORC	5/29 - 5/31	13	10	14	7	10	8	8	4	3	5	2	1	1	1	1	Rubio +1
ABC/Wash Post	5/28 - 5/31	10	11	10	8	9	11	8	6	4	2	4	2	3	1	1	Tie
Quinnipiac	5/19 - 5/26	10	10	10	10	10	7	6	4	5	1	0	2	2	1	1	Tie

All 2016 Republican Presidential Nomination Polling Data

2016 Democratic Presidential Nomination

National: Dem, GOP | Iowa: Dem, GOP | N.H.: Dem, GOP | S.C.: Dem, GOP | General Election Match-Ups

Polling Data									
Poll	Date	Sample	Clinton	Sanders	Biden	O'Malley	Webb	Chafee	Spread
RCP Average	5/19 - 6/14	-	58.6	11.6	11.4	2.0	1.6	0.6	Clinton +47.0
Monmouth	6/11 - 6/14	350 RV	57	12	12	1	2	0	Clinton +45
FOX News	5/31 - 6/2	395 RV	57	11	8	4	2	1	Clinton +46
CNN/Opinion Research	5/29 - 5/31	433 A	60	10	14	1	2	0	Clinton +46
ABC News/Wash Post	5/28 - 5/31	376 RV	62	10	14	3	1	1	Clinton +48
Quinnipiac	5/19 - 5/26	748 RV	57	15	9	1	1	1	Clinton +42

All 2016 Democratic Presidential Nomination Polling Data

can American vote in 2008 and 94% in 2012. He achieved these results with record black turnout. He also garnered nearly 70% of the Latino vote.

Whether or not Clinton can generate sufficient enthusiasm to reach similar numbers remains to be seen, but some drop off seems likely. Clinton is already pointing to the historical achievement of being America's first woman president to bolster female support. Clinton will also need to appeal to younger millennial voters who are not familiar with the unseemly drama of Bill Clinton's presidency.

America remains sharply divided politically, roughly 47% will vote for the Democratic candidate whomever it is with the same percentage going for the Republican candidate.

Once again this presidential election will be decided by turnout and unknown events that happen months from now. With court nominations and sharply differing social and economic policies at stake, both sides are expected to go all out raising and spending well over a billion dollars. It won't be pretty. ❖

ANTELOPE CLUB

615 N. DELAWARE ST. - DOWNTOWN INDY

antelopeclub@hotmail.com



- >> Lunch & dinner 6 days a week
- >> Cigar lounge
- >> Beautiful view of Downtown from our 2nd floor patio

YOUR FRIENDS ALL HANG OUT HERE... DO YOU?

Why run for office?

By **LEE HAMILTON**

BLOOMINGTON – I spend a fair amount of time talking to students and other young people about Congress and politics in general, and I’ve noticed something. It used to be that I’d regularly get asked how one runs for office. Nowadays, I rarely do.

This is a young generation that is famously leery of politics. Every year, the Harvard Institute of Politics surveys young Americans about their attitudes. In their most recent survey, only 21 percent of respondents considered themselves politically engaged. Last year, only a third counted running for office “an honorable thing to do,” compared to 70 percent who considered community service honorable.



A lot of young people are repelled by politics; they’ve lost faith in the system just as many other Americans have. And I fully understand that elected office is not for everybody. You can make wonderful contributions to our communities and to our society as a whole without holding office. But look. If you don’t have people who are willing to run for office, you don’t have a representative democracy. As the leading edge of the Millennial generation reaches the age where running for office is a realistic possibility, I hope they’ll consider a few things.

First, it’s hard to find a more challenging job. The number, complexity, and diversity of the problems we face are astounding. As a politician, your work is never done; your to-do list is always full. It’s intellectually as challenging an occupation as anything I can imagine. It’s the chief way we resolve, or at least manage, the problems we face. In a country as diverse as ours, building a consensus behind a solution, which is what accomplished politicians try to do, is difficult work. It can also be immensely satisfying.

The long and short of it is this: I’ve encountered plenty of accomplished people in other professions who told me that in the end, they’re a bit bored. I can’t ever recall hearing a politician say that he or she was bored. Second, I don’t know of another profession that puts you in touch with more people of more different types, ages, and views. You meet, and, if you’re serious, really engage with, liberals and conservatives, voters rich and poor, religious believers and secular humanists alike.

It’s often said that if you don’t like people, you should stay out of politics. This is true; politics isn’t for everyone. You have to enjoy all kinds of people and learn to get along with all kinds. Inevitably, you’ll encounter people who idolize you, others who demonize you, supporters who praise you, and critics who are more than happy to tell anyone who’ll listen that you should just drop dead.

Odd as this sounds, this is one of the great attractions of the job: The splendid array of individuals and convictions that you encounter in politics.

Finally, and perhaps most important, the work can be immensely satisfying. Whatever level you’re running at, whether it’s for the school board or for president, you’re doing it to try to make things work.

My first year in Congress, in 1965, I voted for Medicare. I’d had no role in drafting it. I played no substantive part in its passage. Yet I still remember that vote, and I still derive deep satisfaction from it. Because I know that I voted for legislation that has helped millions of people, and will continue to do so into the future. That’s the thing about holding public office; you have a chance to contribute to the direction and success of a free society. In the scheme of things, this chance isn’t given to all that many people.

I know a lot of people who’ve worked mainly in private sector but spent some time in public office, and they almost invariably speak of their time in the public sector as among the most rewarding and satisfying times of their professional lives.

That’s because I think they understand a simple formula: There’s no America without democracy, no democracy without politics, and no politics without elected politicians. There are a lot of exciting, challenging and satisfying professions out there, but here’s what I tell young people: I consider politics chief among them. ❖

Lee Hamilton is director of the Center on Congress at Indiana University.

Under utilized Hoosier workers

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – “There a whole bunch of people in Indiana who have given up looking for jobs,” Guy Matins declared over breakfast.



“Not as many as you may think,” I responded. “And you have to understand these figures come from sophisticated and elaborate models developed by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS). They’re not based simply on counting Hoosiers; a variety of statistical techniques are involved.”

“Involved, convoluted, confusing, whatever,” Guy rebuffed my caution. “Let’s just

have the number and not the lecture.”

“Around 16,600 workers in 2014 may have stopped searching for a job because they didn’t believe there were any jobs they could get,” I said.

“Around 16,600,” he repeated. “And you say that’s not much! I’d say that’s plenty; in fact, that’s too many.”

“Well,” I countered, ignoring the fact that he misstated what I had said, “these discouraged workers, if you include them into the process, account for just .4 percent of the 3.2 million labor force in the state. That’s only four in a thousand,” I explained.

“It’s 16,600 people who would be working if they hadn’t dropped out,” Guy persisted.

“Dropping out of the labor force is not necessarily something bad,” I said, recognizing that my words would be heretical in some circles. “Not everyone should have a job; some people are better off going to school or providing care to a family member.”

“But they’d take a job if they thought one was out there for them,” Guy insisted.

“Yes,” I agreed, “but that doesn’t prove they would be better off. It’s far different from the estimated 131,300 Hoosiers in 2014 holding part-time jobs while desiring full-time employment. That may be a far more serious problem.”

“Then the unemployment numbers don’t tell the

truth,” Guy proclaimed, attracting attention away from the screeching baby at the next table.

“You can’t say that,” I said. “These are the best estimates, made by honest, intelligent professionals working with inadequate data.”

“Blah, blah, blah,” he replied. “Standard cover-up by an economist for the bad data at the base of his dysfunctional profession.”

I was offended, but delayed for a moment putting jelly on my English muffin. “Come on,” he urged. “What the real unemployment rate in Indiana?”

“In 2014, unemployment averaged 6.1 percent in Indiana,” I said. “If you count in the part-timers who want full-time jobs, the discouraged workers and others who had not looked for work in the past four weeks, but say they wanted jobs, then Indiana’s unemployment rate soars from 6.1 to 11.3 percent for the year.”

“So the truth is out there,” Guy proclaimed. “The rate we hear all the time is about half the real rate.”

“What you call the real rate,” I said. “The official rate used everywhere was 6.1 percent. The numbers on underutilized workers are released by BLS, but no one pays attention, unless they have an ax to grind.”

I swallowed my coffee and left. ❖

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

Pence needs troops at Illinois border

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – If I were Gov. Mike Pence, I’d call out the National Guard and station the troops along the Indiana/Illinois state line. Illinois Gov. Bruce Rauner seems poised to attack. He said it before and he repeated the threat this week.

Rauner fired the first salvo last month as he talked about his agenda to get his state’s fiscal house in order.

And when he does that, Rauner said he would “rip the economic guts” out of Indiana.

Rauner attacked again this week when he spoke to a crowd of south suburban business people asking them to convince state legislators to support his fiscal positions. Rauner, speaking in Oak Forest, called the south suburbs the “heart of the state’s economic potential.”

And when Illinois’ economic

climate is right, Rauner promised to lure companies to the south suburbs that have seen residents, factories, warehouses move to less-taxed Indiana.

“When we get this turnaround agenda done, I’m going over to Indiana and I’m going to bring those jobs back that they’ve been stealing from us,” Rauner said.

Illinois businesses and residents have been moving to Indiana for more than a decade because of the advantageous fiscal climate in the Hoosier state. Gov. Mitch Daniels elevated the Indiana push to bring Illinois businesses to Indiana and Pence has continued the effort.

Rauner laid it on heavy when he said Illinois had the best location in the country and the south suburbs had the best location in Illinois. “This area should be booming,” Rauner said.

In terms of location, Northwest Indiana has long claimed that it has the best location in the Midwest because of its highway network, rail lines, the Gary/Chicago International Airport, a deep-water port on Lake Michigan and easy access to downtown Chicago. The crossroads of America runs through Northwest Indiana, local officials have said.

Rauner told the business crowd that his agenda includes revamping workers’ compensation and limiting civil lawsuits and jury awards. The governor also said he wants to lower property taxes, eliminate prevailing



construction wages and make Illinois a right-to-work state.

While Rauner was greeted by a roaring crowd inside, that wasn't the case on the other side of the door. Hundreds of union members protested outside the hall where Rauner spoke, essentially against the governor's plan to gut the workmen's compensation law and further attack unions by pressing for a right-to-work state.

In the meantime, Pence might be wise to keep the

troops at the border, although it doesn't sound like Rauner is going to win his fight with the Illinois Legislature any-time soon. ❖

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.

Businesses will locate close to customers

By MICHAEL HICKS

MUNCIE — Local governments in Indiana spend tax dollars on many goods and services that make our lives better. Police and fire protection, roadways and other infrastructure, parks and amenities comprise the bulk of this spending. As in most states, the single largest piece of spending is our local public schools. We may argue about the right size and scope of this spending, but the need for these things is not at issue.



Quietly hidden from the watchful gaze of most taxpayers is the second largest expenditure—traditional economic development.

In 2015 Hoosier cities and counties will spend about 1.5 billion dollars on tax abatements, TIF and direct economic development expenditures. That is more than they will spend on fire, police, and parks combined. While most of us would agree that we should be doing some traditional economic development, it is certainly time to ask serious questions about the effectiveness of these policies.

There is abundant technical research on traditional economic development policies, some of which I have authored. The results of this work are very mixed. Some policies work, while others do not. Instead of detailing that research here it might be better to simply look at the availability of 'footloose' businesses that we spend so much money trying to attract.

For a long time, Americans have been radically changing their buying habits. Today most household income is spent on locally-produced services. Businesses that provide these services must locate where their customer are, not where economic developers lure them. At the same time, we have become very good at manufacturing goods. This is due to huge capital investments. So, even when we adjust for inflation, a million dollars in

capital purchases in 1950 would have brought in 20 new jobs, while today it is four or fewer. The net result is that since 1970 the U.S. has created 90 million new jobs, but there are actually fewer 'footloose' jobs.

The simple fact is that today, maybe one out of 50 jobs could be lured from one place to another with abatements, tax credits or other economic development tools. Over the past decade, fewer than 150 factories with more than 500 workers opened or relocated in the U.S. Given the more than 3,100 counties in the country, that means that you might expect one of these factories every 22 years or so.

These are grim facts for those who feel that attracting new businesses offer a path to prosperity for Hoosier communities.

Fortunately there is another way, and the most thoughtful Indiana communities, along with hundreds more across the country, have already adopted them. What works for those communities is attracting people, for it is people that businesses increasingly seek out, either as workers or customers.

That is good news for Indiana, for it turns out that as businesses have become less mobile, households have become highly mobile.

To attract households all you need is good schools, safe, livable communities, and a nice mix of recreation. If communities really want to prosper, that is where they need to focus their spending. ❖

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

Mark Bennett, Terre Haute Tribune-Star:

Churches and temples look busier on Saturdays in June, the wedding month. Not as busy as in the past, though. The impact of that change may extend beyond individual people. As June 2015 arrived, so did an Associated Press report on the national "marriage gap." A few days earlier, the Tribune-Star published a report on the Indiana economy and the "puzzling" fact that the unemployment rate in the Terre Haute metro area has remained higher than the state level for at least the past decade. The marriage gap and the local economic situation may be connected. Among other things, the AP story explained that marriage remains common for college-educated, relatively affluent couples. But, "where education and income levels are lower, it's often a different story: Higher divorce rates, and far more children being born out of wedlock, including many to single mothers," the report stated. Young people have seen their job choices limited by the diminished number of long-term industrial jobs. They end up working in lower-pay, unstable positions, delay or bypass marriage and have kids as singles or cohabiting partners, a situation that statistically involves higher rates of poverty. Last year, perhaps for the first time, the majority of births in Vigo County were to unmarried mothers (1,154 out of 2,294, or 50.3 percent), according to Vigo County Health Department annual reports. That exceeds the percentages for the U.S. (40.6) and the state (43.0). This century, the yearly number of Vigo marriage licenses has topped 800 only twice (837 in 2000, and 827 last year). In 1992, despite a smaller total population, there were 1,030 local marriages. In 1999-2000, 35 percent of Vigo County school children received free or reduced lunches. Last year, it was 57 percent, eight points higher than the state level. There could be a link between those two trends, at least to some degree. ❖



Thomas Friedman, New York Times:

I don't recall a time when more people were running for president and fewer of them offered anything more than poll-tested generalities designed to rally their own bases. No one surprises you with any daring. If we could tax their clichés, we'd balance the budget. The defeat by House Democrats — with an assist from hard-right House Republicans and praise from Hillary Clinton — of President Obama's sensible plan to expand Pacific free trade and pair it with worker and environmental protections was a bad sign that many more Democrats are now polarizing toward the populist left. Since the Republicans have already purged their moderates, this trend does not bode well for the country. It means that the hybrid/centrist blends that on many issues can create the most resilient solutions are "off the table." As long as that's the case, there is little chance you will pass on the American dream to your kids. Just go down the list. With interest rates this low, Washington should be borrowing billions to invest in infrastructure — roads,

ports, airports and 21st-century connectivity and both medical and basic science research — to make us more productive and create jobs. And we should be pairing that with phased-in entitlement trims and means-testing to Social Security and Medicare to make sure that these safety nets, as well as discretionary spending on education and research, will be there for the next generation. Given the knowledge age we are in, it is crazy that we are educating the world's brightest kids in our colleges and then sending them home. We should be giving green cards to every high-I.Q. risk-taker who wants to work in America, as well as the energetic less-skilled immigrants. ❖

Peter Heck, WIBC:

Last Saturday on the streets of his city, Indianapolis Mayor Greg Ballard chose his defining moment. In an awkwardly fitting teal shirt, Ballard waved to the crowds while a short distance away nearly naked men performed pelvic thrusts and simulated sex acts. A refined choice indeed, Mr. Mayor. Not that Ballard's participation as the grand marshal over the display of hedonism known as the "Cadillac Barbie Indy Pride Parade" came as a surprise to anyone. Like most politicians these days, Ballard is simply riding the waves of pop culture and whatever seems likely to garner him good press. Ballard often speaks of lofty sounding ideals like "tolerance," "acceptance" and "Hoosier Hospitality." Yes, because nothing welcomes families to Downtown like subjecting them to city-sanctioned close encounters with men in dog collars and leather G-strings. No one else seems willing to say it, so I will. It's gross. And it in no way represents all people with same-sex attraction any more than a parade of pornographers would represent all with opposite-sex attraction. This isn't about homosexuality, although that is the over-arching theme of the parade and larger festival. ❖

Dave Bangert, Lafayette Journal & Courier:

This isn't a column about Rachel Dolezal. There are plenty of pencils being sharpened for doctoral dissertations on how Dolezal, leader of an NAACP chapter in Spokane, Washington, was called out — by her parents, no less — for trying to pass as black when she grew up white. It's probably what she believes. ("I identify as black," Dolezal said Tuesday on NBC's "Today" show. "I don't see why they are in such a rush to whitewash some of the work I have done and who I am and how I identify.") At the very least, it's what she wanted to project. How she got there, the Ph.D.'s can have. Dolezal is a more complicated character than I'm qualified to address. But she's not the first, and she won't be the last, when it comes to questions of not simply who we are, but also of who we want ourselves to be — who we say we are and the lengths we'll go to sell it all, so help us God. We're not all lying, exactly. We're just branding. ❖

Senator, 8 others killed at church

CHARLESTON, S.C. — Nine people have died in a shooting at a historic black church in Charleston, S.C., police said early Thursday morning (USA Today). "I do believe this was a hate crime," Police Chief Gregory Mullen said. Eight people died on the scene at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church and one person was pronounced dead at a hospital, Mullen said. The suspect, who remains on the loose, is a white male about 21 years old, officials said. Authorities are looking for a young white man in connection to the massacre at the historic Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, SC where a gunman opened fire, killing nine people. VPC The shooting took place at about 9 p.m. ET on Wednesday. Charleston Police released photos of the suspect during a news conference that started at 6 a.m. ET Thursday, and said he left the scene in a black four door sedan. He is described as "armed and dangerous." Dot Scott, president of the Charleston NAACP, said a female survivor told family members that the gunman initially sat down in the church for a while before opening fire, the Post and Courier reported. Scott added that the gunman reportedly told the woman he was letting her live so she could tell others what happened. Among the dead was the state senator who was pastor of the church, Democrat Clementa Pinckney, said South Carolina House Minority Leader Todd Rutherford, the Associated Press reported. Pinckney, 41, was married with two children and had served in the state Senate since 2000, according to online biographies.

Rokita takes aim at school lunches

WASHINGTON — Congressional Republicans are renewing their

fight to roll back first lady Michelle Obama's prized nutrition standards for school meal programs (The Hill). As Congress prepares to reauthorize the Healthy Hunger-free Kids Act of 2010, set to expire in September, lawmakers are pushing for more relaxed requirements when it comes to the servings of whole grains, sodium content and fruits and vegetables. Rep. Todd Rokita (R-Ind.) recalled how he was served a batch of mashed potatoes complying with the nutrition rules during a recent



visit to a school in his district. "They were god-awful," he said, during a House Education and the Workforce Committee hearing on federal child nutrition programs Tuesday. "Then they made me a batch of mashed potatoes under the regulations they have to get to in the next 10 years and they were just terrible."

NBC to retain Brian Williams

NEW YORK — NBC News plans to retain newsman Brian Williams as an employee but assign him to another position within the company, according to reports. NBC could announce the change as soon as Thursday, according to CNN, which first reported the development. NBC declined to comment. Williams' representative, Bob Barnett, also declined to comment. Williams is expected to move to a new role primarily at NBC's cable news network, MSNBC, according to The New York Times, which confirmed CNN's report. Lester Holt, who's filled in as the anchor of NBC Nightly News while Williams serves his six-month suspension, will be named to the position permanently, the Times reported.

Woman to appear on \$10 bill

WASHINGTON — A woman will appear on the \$10 bill beginning in 2020, the Treasury Department said Wednesday (Associated Press). Just

which woman is up to you. Legally, the decision belongs to Jack Lew, but the Treasury secretary said he's seeking public input on which female historical figure should appear on U.S. paper currency for the first time in 119 years. "We're going to spend a lot of time this summer listening to people," Lew said. A decision could come this fall.

Ritz campaign has debt

INDIANAPOLIS — Democratic Superintendent of Public Instruction Glenda Ritz updated her campaign finance paperwork this week for her run in the 2016 governor's race. But she still owes some cash to her husband, Gary Ritz (Kelly, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). Gary Ritz loaned \$57,500 to his wife's campaign during the waning days of the 2012 race against Republican Tony Bennett. The campaign has paid Gary Ritz back about \$20,000, but as Glenda Ritz' new gubernatorial run gets underway, there is still a \$37,500 debt. That is as of the end of 2014, which showed the campaign with \$132,000 in cash on hand. The next campaign finance period ends June 30 and new reports will be out in mid-July.

Donnelly seeks to extend import bank

WASHINGTON — Manufacturers like Sullivan-Palatek in Michigan City could see profits and jobs dwindle if a longstanding agency used to grow exports is allowed by Congress to die (NWI Times). That was the message of U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly during a Wednesday teleconference in Washington, D.C., to push legislation he's sponsoring that calls for the renewal of the country's Export-Import Bank. Donnelly said the bank providing export financial assistance to American businesses was created in the 1980s during the administration of President Ronald Reagan. He found it both puzzling and ironic that something the Republican hailed as "contributing in a significant way" to the U.S. economy.