



Mild first gubernatorial showdown

Holcomb, Gregg agreed on many education issues

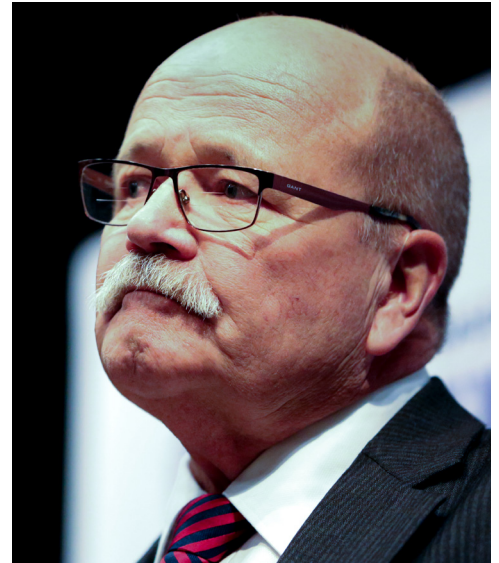
By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Just hours after Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump exited the national debate stage that had been the scene of taunts, zingers and political bedlam, Indiana's gubernatorial nominees went through the same exercise. And there was peace in the valley.

The topic was education and Democrat John Gregg, Republican Eric Holcomb and Libertarian Rex Bell appeared

before a theater of students and a statewide television audience meant as a civics class. For the most part during the

debate, Lt. Gov. Holcomb and Gregg had few policy disagreements, though during the discussion of the current teacher shortage, the former House speaker seemed to blame the changes made by Govs. Mitch Daniels and Mike Pence, as well as Supt. Tony Ben-



Gubernatorial nominees Eric Holcomb (left) and John Gregg agreed more than they didn't on key issues during the first debate on Monday. (HPI photos by Mark Curry)

nett by grading teachers and tying pay increases to job performance data generated by the now-discredited ISTEP exam.

"This problem has been created over the last 10

Continued on page 4

The quiet hero, MIA

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Pondering Monday night's epic debate between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton and grasping for its meaning, I kept coming back to what many of us have heard from the World War II guys. They

remember the loud-mouthed braggart in the unit, who was all talk until the heat of the battle, when he tended to cower and shift blame.

And then there was the quiet guy, the modest guy, maybe of slight build and homely looks, who at the apex of battle stands tall and comes through. Many times, after the war these guys never revealed what they endured. It often only came



“There's no question that the activities that take place in this country and in countries around the world have some impact on the environment and some impact on the climate.”

- Gov. Mike Pence, who was asked about climate change



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to life when the family would meet a wartime buddy, who filled in the missing features: Bravery, fortitude, resolution, compassion, preparedness, humor.

U.S. Sen. John McCain put it this way to National Public Radio: "In America, we celebrate the virtues of the quiet hero, the modest man who does his duty without complaint or expectation of praise; the man who listens closely for the call of his country, and when she calls, he answers without reservation, not for fame or reward, but for love."

The 2000 Republican

presidential nominee's example was William B. Ravel (pictured). "He was in Patton's tank corps that went across Europe," McCain wrote. "I knew him, though, as an English teacher and football coach in my school. He could make Shakespeare come alive and he had incredible leadership talents that made me idolize him. What he taught me more than anything else was to strictly adhere to our school's honor code. If we stuck to those standards of integrity and honor then we could be proud of ourselves. We could serve causes greater than our own self-interest."



In the context of Clinton v. Trump I, the contrast of this concept offers sharp relief. Going into the debate, Trump mocked Clinton for preparing for the encounter. His style, as we've seen from Westville to Terre Haute to Evansville, was one of winging it. Trump's rallies were streams of consciousness, which amused his angry crowds. He bragged about himself and belittled friend and foe alike. He hurled insults. He made fun of fat people. His opponents were liars and crooked, with no energy. A rival's father conspired to assassinate an American president.

He degraded everyone from disabled reporters, to an array of

ethnic groups, to Gold Star mothers, peoples of entire nations and creeds, and even McCain himself.

Trump's style worked in the tormented Republican sub-demographic. But on a general election stage, it would face new challenges. His recent rebound in an array of state and national polls confounded pundits and experts alike. He had a deeper coat of Teflon than Ronald Reagan. His grim portrait of America was the antithesis of Reagan's sunny "Morning in America" outlook, in times more troubled than these. The truth was of little consequence or bearing. There was no fealty to principled stances on issues; they would change to meet his instant desires, a character flaw that is now afflicting Gov. Mike Pence.

Watching Trump rise in the polls was prompting me to reassess. Was his rise simply because Hillary Clinton is truly an awful candidate? Her video last week where she looked panicked and asked, "Why am I not ahead by 50%?" was destined to be Exhibit A in the post mortem of why she lost.

What Monday

night revealed was the classic loud mouth. Trump's lack of preparation undressed him. He forgot to work in most of the staples that carried him to the nomination, or as NBC News put it, "He attacked her private email server only once, and didn't once mention Clinton's 'basket of deplorables' comment, the Clinton Foundation, the Benghazi attack, her ties to Wall Street, her comments about coal workers losing their jobs or her comments about the Veterans Administration scandal, all of which have been key Trump attack lines. Clinton gained the upper hand early as Trump grew defensive over personal attacks, dissembled or contradicted himself on key issues, and reopened old wounds on gender and race along the way. He sniffed and huffed his way through the debate, calling Clinton's treatment of him 'not nice' and insisting of her attacks, 'I don't deserve that.'"

And, in a turn of events that

had to have Jeb! Bush shaking his head, Trump's stamina waned.

That's what wingin' it gets ya.

As longtime presidential adviser David Gergen observed, "By all traditional standards of debate, Mrs. Clinton crushed. She carefully marshaled her arguments and facts and then sent them into battle with a smile. She rolled out a long list of indictments against Donald Trump, often damaging. By contrast, he came in unprepared, had nothing fresh to say, and increasingly gave way to rants."

And then there was "Miss Piggy," the 1996 Miss Universe winner Alicia Machado who gained weight after the crown, prompting Trump to call her the aforementioned insult and "Miss Housekeeping" (let's see how that plays with Latino voters). We saw the video of Trump parading the media down to her workouts in an attempt to have her lose weight, with Trump watching like a petulant master. "So this is somebody that likes to eat," Trump said at one point.

Inexplicably, as Americans learned of Machado's story in a classic Clintonian trap, Trump doubled down, telling "Fox and Friends" on Tuesday morning, "She was the worst we ever had. The worst. The absolute worst. She was impossible. She was the winner, and she gained a massive amount of weight, and it was a real problem. We had a real problem. Hillary went back into the years and she found this girl – this was many years ago – and found the girl and talked about her like she was Mother Teresa. And it wasn't quite that way. But that's OK. Hillary has to do what she has to do."

With two more debates to go, it's a virtual certainty that Clinton has a couple more Machados in her quiver.

Beyond the beauty queen, which has elbowed away real issues such as the staggering national debt and the imperative to deal with our great white shark entitlement dilemma, Trump did what exposed braggarts tend to do. They blame everyone but themselves.

The Associated Press put it this way: Donald Trump blamed the moderator, a bad microphone and anyone but himself Tuesday after he was forced onto defense by Hillary Clinton's cascade of criticism about his taxes, honesty and character in the first presidential debate. Though he insisted he'd done "very well," Trump accused moderator Lester Holt of a left-leaning performance and going harder on him than Clinton. He insisted he had "no sniffles" and no allergies despite the #snifflegate speculation that had exploded on social media. Still, Trump insisted he'd gotten the better of Clinton, awarding her a C-plus while declining to assign himself a grade. He also threatened to go harder after her in the next debate and said he'd planned to assail President Bill Clinton for his "many affairs" and stopped himself solely because daughter Chelsea Clinton had been in the room.

Got it. That's the right stuff for the presidency. He addressed the temperament issue for all to see.

Throughout the Trump odyssey, I've watched in fascination the Trump Teflon take a mysterious hold over many people I know and respect, and even initially skeptical Hoosier Republicans, who are willing to look way beyond his penis size, his bizarre admiration for Vladimir Putin even as Putin is trying to disrupt and influence this very election, and his lack of preparation. They are amused by the braggadocio. My advice to Hoosier Republicans had been, follow your initial instincts. The rise of Mike Pence cubed their quandary.

Watching Trump climb in the polls, I had a certain feeling of resignation that "President Trump" is a real possibility. I must prepare for IRS audits and a White House directed assault on the dwindling free press. I recounted my own admiration for a braggart, Bob Knight, who was a hero to me, then a source of consternation, then distrust, and finally outright embarrassment. That



Donald Trump during Monday's debate and Alicia Machado.

culminated at Welsh-Ryan Arena when I took my young sons to their first Big Ten basketball game, where they got to watch Knight hurl insults at the Northwestern band, then come close to fisticuffs with Coach Kevin O'Neill after the game. Bob Knight was infuriating, but as a journalist, I would say, "He makes good copy."

"President Trump" will be a journalist's content king, even as Gene Pulliam spins in his grave after the Arizona Republic endorsed its first Democrat for president in 120 years.

What should trouble Hoosiers and Americans, is a potential president who doesn't read, who doesn't study, whose inner circle is tiny and has little influence over his magnificent brain. What should keep you up at night is a man who looks in a mirror and sees the leader of the free world, but was taken advantage of in a debate by a rival almost as flawed as he is, and now an immigrant beauty queen. Putin must be salivating as he girds his pecs and nukes and ponders armored arrival in Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius.

I ponder my beloved America, and continue to ask the question that came up in a recent Ohio focus group: Out of 330 million Americans, is this the best we could come up with as candidates for the White House?

Our quiet hero is missing in action. ❖

Gubernatorial, from page 1

years by telling teachers how to teach," Gregg said. Holcomb noted that the U.S. faces a 60,000 teacher shortfall. "Indiana is not unique," Holcomb said. "It does start with how we treat teachers. We must insist on working with locals to make sure. Indiana invests 54 percent in K-12. We are second in the nation. We need to continue to invest in teachers. We need to make sure the money is getting into the classroom and I will lead this discussion."

Asked if he was blaming the Pence and Daniels administration, Gregg deflected. "I'm not hurling insults at Mr. Holcomb and getting into a 'he said/she said,'" Gregg said. "I'd rather fix the problem than affix blame."

Following the debate, Gregg was asked about the lack of rhetorical pyrotechnics. "The truth of the matter is, I think Hoosiers ought to take a deep sigh and breath and say, 'Wow, our candidates running for office practice what they preach,'" he responded. "They've been civil in this matter. There can be disagreements, but there is no need to get into an argument."

Gregg and Holcomb found common ground on standardized testing. "We have to talk about getting back to letting teachers teach," Gregg said. "Teaching to the test is what teachers are doing. I voted against ISTEP and it is flawed." Gregg said that ISTEP results don't reach teachers and students until the following school year.

Holcomb acknowledged there is "universal agreement" on replacing ISTEP, which was passed under Gov. Robert Orr in 1987. "It is going away," Holcomb said. "We need to replace it with a test that is fair and accurate, where the results come quicker. This is what the workforce of the 21st Century is counting on. It will move aside and we will replace it with something more efficient."

The committee to replace ISTEP is struggling to find a solution and both major party nominees were asked by Howey Politics Indiana if they envisioned a role for themselves after the Nov. 8 election if little progress has been made. "I'll think about that," Gregg responded, quickly adding, "I definitely think we will. I don't want to count my chickens before they're hatched. I do want to be involved. I'm mindful the Indiana General Assembly is a different branch of government. I want to be respectful to them as an independent branch. I'll have a dialogue. We're not about politicizing education. It will be about ideas, not ideology."

Gregg added, "I'm anxious to see their final product; people have seen it second hand."

Holcomb, too, envisions a role after the elec-

tion and prior to taking the oath of office if elected. "I'm looking forward to what the committee puts together, especially after the election." He noted that "as of late" the process of replacement has "not been effective."

HPI also asked Gregg and Holcomb about whether the superintendent should be elected or appointed, having seen Gov. Pence and Supt. Glenda Ritz constantly sparring over the past three and a half years. At one point in 2014, Pence and Ritz could be seen walking together and chatting, with the governor vowing to work with her, only to blindsides the Democrat by announcing the creation of Center for Education and Career Innovation the next day, essentially an end-around. So controversial was CECI that Pence abruptly pulled the plug on the parallel agency to the traditional Department of Education a year later. It came after House Speaker Brian Bosma and Senate President David Long threatened to intervene.

The Pence/Ritz showdowns ignited talk of the position being a gubernatorial appointment. Prior to the election of Ritz and Pence in 2012, governors and superintendents from different parties worked well. Republican Supt. Suellen Reed had good working relationships with Democratic Govs. Evan Bayh, Frank O'Bannon and Joe Kernan for more than a decade. That all changed in 2012.

Holcomb believes it should be appointed, though he was careful to say it is not a potential end-around if both he and Ritz are elected on Nov. 8. "I'm open to that," he said of an appointed superintendent. He noted that when he served as Republican state chairman, "I stood on a stage with Democratic Chairman Dan Parker and we both agreed that position should be appointed. It's not part of my agenda for 2017. We shouldn't change the rules during someone's term."

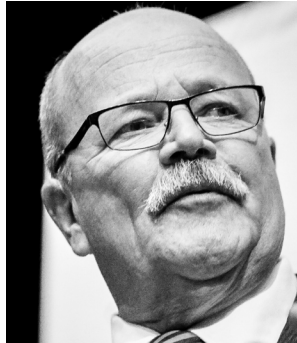
Gregg took an opposite stance, though he acknowledged his position has evolved. "I think it needs to continue to be elected," Gregg said. "To change that now sends a really, really bad signal."

Ritz is seeking reelection, facing Yorktown Supt. Jennifer McCormick. Both Holcomb and Gregg vowed they could work with whoever wins. "I will work with Supt. Ritz or McCormick, whomever it is," said Gregg, who has actively campaigned with Ritz this year. "I'll trust the judgment of the voters."

Holcomb explained, "I can work with anybody. I'll look forward to working with whomever is the next superintendent."

Holcomb was asked if he had a policy differences with McCormick, who has suggested in her "Lesson Plan" platform last week that she will advocate revising school grades so they are more multifaceted and will seek a review of the current performance pay system that is tied to the flawed ISTEP exam. McCormick said "one test does not tell all" about an educator, student, school or district.

Holcomb said, "I look forward to working with Dr.



McCormick," adding that "I believe a single grade is the way to go. We have to factor multiple issues on that grade. If you have two or three or five factors, you can end up with a GPA. Going away from having a grade is a disservice to the state. How we arrive at that, I'm open for discussion."

The nominees were asked by a student about in-state tuition for children who don't have legal immigration status but have lived in the state for most of their lives. Bell said, "All students deserve an education. Our tax plan will collect tax money from all people, not just certain property owners."




Holcomb said he was "happy to entertain this topic. It's not received traction in Indiana General Assembly in recent years. It has not moved beyond the committee process." Gregg believes the issue is a federal one, but with the gridlock in Washington, "It falls back on the states." He said that as a former president of Vincennes University he's had students who "spend their lives in Indiana but they are not legal citizens. I think we have to look at it on a case-by-case basis," saying that for some students, "it's very unfair" to no fault of their own.

During the Lincoln/Douglass portion of the debate, the candidates stepped beyond the day's topical education issues and sought to burnish their campaign themes. Gregg zeroed in on the decline in per-capita income, a staple of his speeches and TV ads. "Hoosiers are working hard and harder and seeing less. It's slid in the last few years to 38th nationally. That means a family of four is making \$7,000 less. That's \$600 a month. That affects your family, the clothes you wear and the food you eat."


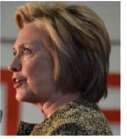

Holcomb noted that when he joined the Daniels administration in 2005, "We were hovering around \$17 an hour" in average pay. "Today it's \$21 an hour. We're headed in the right direction." He said the Great Recession of 2008-09 ticked it down 17 cents, but note that Indiana is now attracting high-paying companies like Salesforce and Genesis.

Holcomb introduces education plan

"Whether a superintendent, a school board member, or the state's lieutenant governor," Holcomb said Monday morning as he appeared before the 67th Annual Indiana School Boards Association/Indiana Association of Public School Superintendents Fall Conference to announce his education and workforce plan, "we all have an obligation to future generations to prepare them for life in a global economy that gets more and more competitive and interconnected by the day."

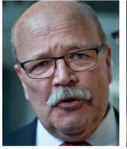






President




HPI Status: Leans Trump/Pence

Governor

HPI Status: Leans Gregg

U.S. Senate

HPI Status: Tossup

Holcomb said the aim of his plan would be to ensure every Hoosier child "has access to exceptional early education and a safe, student-driven learning environment, is ready to enter the workforce or pursue higher education; and every out-of-work adult can retrain and develop the skills necessary in our 21st Century economy." Holcomb said he supports the responsible expansion of state-funded pre-kindergarten, offers specific ideas to put Indiana on the path to having the nation's very best K-12 education system, pledges to attract and retain the very best to the teaching profession, pledges to ensure a clear and affordable path to college completion, and ensures we provide every Hoosier the career preparation, education and skills needed to succeed in the 21st Century Economy.

Indiana Democrats reacted, with Chairman John Zody saying, "Mike Pence and his political agenda have tried to set our schools and kids behind the rest of the nation. Eric Holcomb will remain 'quite proud' of Mike Pence's record on education if he doesn't denounce the governor's failed record."

Holcomb, Gregg on civil rights

The IndyStar's Tony Cook and Chelsea Schneider asked Gregg and Holcomb on their stances on LGBT civil rights expansion. Holcomb first described his faith. "I try to live my faith, but I don't need to – and I'm not comparing myself to anyone, please – I don't need to tell you what my faith is. I try to live it. I understand the power of witness, but I am just a very personal person when it comes to my faith," Holcomb said. He said he "respects the law of the land" after the U.S. Supreme Court legalized gay marriage in 2015. As for statewide civil rights expansion, Holcomb explained, "The people of our state have amply displayed the fact that there isn't agreement. Now there are local ordinances that take into account that disagreement and there is the state constitution. While folks on both sides of this issue may agree or disagree, right now that balance seems to be as good as it can get, because I don't see both sides convincing the other to come their way." Asked how he'd handle LGBT legislation, Holcomb said he'd have to wait and see what comes. One thing he does know: He wished the state could have avoided the uproar over RFRA. "But what's done is done, and here we are, and I'm looking forward. And I can tell you, the state of Indiana is moving forward."

Gregg said his evolution is no different from similar changes in opinion by other Democratic leaders, including Hillary Clinton and President Barack Obama. He said his stepdaughter, Stevie Kelly, helped him see the social policy as a civil right. Gregg said. "Stevie is an attorney, and a legal scholar. She's really a sharp individual." She told him: "I want to talk about the arguments on this

based on the Constitution and based on civil rights." Gregg said he's running to be governor, not a faith leader. "I'm not running to be the adviser on faith matters," he said, "because I'm running to be governor of all of Indiana, people of all faiths and people of no faiths."

Gregg, Holcomb agree on needle exchange

When it comes to state-funded syringe exchange programs, both Holcomb and Gregg lean toward reforming the current system, though one more emphatically than the other (Costello, Indiana Public Media). Even though state-approved syringe exchange programs were made legal last year in an effort to curb the spread of drug-related disease, the state doesn't offer assistance to those programs. And the law explicitly bans using state money to purchase the needles themselves. Without state appropriations, the operations are left to be run through small not-for-profits and donations. Gregg says he'd make state money available. "I'm a realist," said Gregg. "It's always good to do the 'just say no, don't do drugs,' but right now we've got people who are spreading HIV through drugs, needles, through prostitution. We've got people dealing with a real drug epidemic." Holcomb said addressing the drug problem would probably mean the state would need to step in and provide fiscal assistance. "...And it probably means changing the law to be able to address this in a quicker way," says Holcomb. "Now, we're handcuffed in what we can do and in the speed at which we can act."

Big donations flow into race

Holcomb picked up the following large donations reported on the Indiana secretary of state website, including \$500,000 from the Republican Governors Association. Here is the latest list: Alliance Coal LLC, Tulsa, OK, \$50,000; Indiana Realtors PAC, Indianapolis, \$50,000; Robert Bowen, Indianapolis, \$10,000; RGA Right Direction PAC, Washington, \$500,000; Dave Lindsey, Indianapolis, \$25,000; Martin Ozinga III, Mokena, Ill., \$10,000; HNTB Holdings Ltd. PAC, Kansas City, Mo., \$15,000; Andre Lacy, Indianapolis, \$10,000; Dan Coats for Indiana, Indianapolis, \$25,000; Joseph Lee Crannell, Carmel, \$10,000; and McMillan Partnership LLC, Valparaiso, \$50,000, CHA Consulting PAC, Indianapolis, \$10,000 and B&L Furrer Farms, Reynolds, \$10,000, William J. Wilkinson, Granger, \$25,000 and Michael Parin, Mishawaka, \$25,000.

Gregg picked up the following large donations: \$10,000 from Corradino LLC, Indianapolis, \$10,000; IN KY OH Regional Council of Carpenters Indiana COPE, Greenwood, \$10,000; Mark Holden, West Lafayette, \$10,000; Frost Brown Todd PAC, Indianapolis, \$20,000; Sikhs Political Action Committee, Fishers, \$10,000; Committee to Elect Christina Hale, Indianapolis, \$200,000; NEA Fund for Children and Public Education PAC, Washington, \$300,000, Stephen Simon, Indianapolis, \$25,000, Lacy Johnson, Indianapolis, \$25,000, Community Health Network PAC, Indianapolis, \$10,000, and Ironworkers Local 395 Political Action League, \$24,000. ❖



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Students give governor candidates Cs and F

By MAUREEN HAYDEN
CNHI State Reporter

INDIANAPOLIS – Two C’s and an F were the marks given by a group of high school debate students to three candidates for governor who met on a school stage Tuesday and were given the assignment of hashing out education issues.

The candidates, Republican Eric Holcomb, Democrat John Gregg and Libertarian Rex Bell, left few distinctions among them. Political rhetoric and a lack of detailed

answers to tough questions, including one about jobs for teens and another about college tuition for immigrants living illegally in the United States, left students saying they felt “cheated” by their choices to lead the state.

“I feel like I was robbed of the opportunity to see an actual debate because everybody was agreeing with each other,” said Caleb Jones, 18.

All three candidates backed the notion of getting rid of ISTEP, the state’s standardized test which has experienced multiple problems in recent years, including months-long delays in getting results to students and teachers.

But none offered a detailed plan of what should replace it, other than a test that is shorter and quicker.

All three candidates backed the idea of rewarding teachers more, but none offered details of how to pay for it. “No one really spoke their mind,” said senior Robert Holland. “Yeah, their answers were designed to evade,” said sophomore Julia Stone.

Jones, Holland and Stone were among a group of about 600 students, mostly seniors, drawn from seven high schools to watch the first of three scheduled exchanges hosted by the Indiana Debate Commission.

Gathered in the auditorium of Curry

Lawrence North High School in Indianapolis, the students asked most of the questions. Some left deeply disappointed.

Among them was Jones and fellow members of a Lawrence North debate class that sat in the front rows. Students at other high schools around the state were watching the debate live-streamed online.

“If that was me up on the stage, my teacher would have given me an F,” said sophomore Liz Sheldon,

critiquing the Libertarian Bell’s answers – or “non-answers,” as she described them – to questions ranging from school funding to standardized tests.

Holcomb and Gregg fared better in their grades, though not by much. Both earned C’s from the debate class.

All candidates were marked down for failing to provide what the students thought should be substantive answers that illustrate their differences. They also failed to counter their opponents when given the chance to rebut.

A question that left students wanting more was posed by a student from Arsenal Tech High School, where 80 percent of the students qualify for the federal free- and reduced-lunch program, double the state’s average.

The Arsenal Tech student wanted to know what the candidates would do to create more jobs for teenagers in economically distressed areas. None offered a concrete solution, though each acknowledged the general value of work.

That left debate class student Tyrae’ Smith wanting more from Holcomb, the current lieutenant governor, and Gregg, the former speaker of the Indiana House. “They’ve been in politics a long time. They should have better answers,” Smith said.

There was little heat generated during the debate,



The students who posed questions to the gubernatorial candidates came from Lawrence North, Shortridge, Arsenal Tech and Columbus East high schools. (HPI photo by Mark

in part due to the lack of follow-up by candidates, despite the chances the candidates were given to rebut one another.

Gregg and Holcomb disagree on some key education issues, among them being Indiana’s fast-growing school choice programs that include the use of taxpayer-funded vouchers for students to attend private schools. But little of that difference emerged during the tepid

debate.

Another question that left the debate students feeling empty addressed in-state college tuition for students who are living in the country illegally but are longtime residents of the state. The General Assembly banned giving them in-state tuition, a practice once widely used by the state's public universities, in 2011.

Holcomb dodged the question, saying there was little interest from lawmakers in changing the law.

Gregg, while expressing sympathy for those students, said such a decision might require a "case by case" evaluation. He didn't say what the criteria would be. Debate class teacher Sylvania Hernandez said the question was important to her students. "They have classmates who are undocumented, so it's a concern for them," she said.

Hernandez graded the candidates on a tough scale, as well. Of the three, she thought Gregg offered more direct answers, such as when he talked about funding options for expanding pre-school programs for 4-year-

Date: Monday, October 3
 Broadcast time: 7 p.m. EDT
 City: Indianapolis, Ind.
 Venue: Ransburg Auditorium
 Esch Hall, University of Indianapolis
 (live audience – seating up to 780)

Date: Tuesday, Oct. 25
 Broadcast time: 7 p.m. EDT
 City: Evansville, Ind.
 Venue: USI Performance Center
 University of Southern Indiana
 (live audience – seating nearly 300)

Number of free tickets remaining for University of Indianapolis debate: approximately 400

olds.

But like her students, Hernandez felt the candidates failed to engage in a vigorous debate because of their audience. Perhaps they worried the students couldn't grasp the nuances of education policy.

After the debate, Gregg admitted to holding back out of courtesy, wanting to model civility for the students.

That left students like Smith, who's registered to vote, unhappy. "If I'm old enough to vote, I'm old enough to hear their real opinions," he said.

Undecided on whom to support, Smith said he's waiting for the next debate, scheduled for Oct. 3 at the University of Indianapolis, which will be televised.

"I'm going to watch the next debate to hear what their real opinions are since they won't be in front of kids," he said. ❖

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Young steps into the East Chicago void; Bayh calls it 'cynical'

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – With the Pence administration missing in action concerning the 1,100 East Chicago residents forced from their Calumet Housing Complex due to lead and arsenic contamination, city leaders were looking for help.



They found it from an unlikely source: U.S. Rep. Todd Young, the Bloomington Republican running for the U.S. Senate against a favorite son, Democrat Evan Bayh. Young, who sits on

the House Ways & Means Committee, introduced legislation on Monday to address the affordable housing shortage in East Chicago by targeting additional low-income housing tax credits to the impacted area.

His legislation would give dislocated families who cannot find housing the opportunity to return to their community in the near future. "Entire lives are being uprooted by this disaster," said Young. "It is bad enough having families forced from their homes, but it is a tragedy to learn so many will end up leaving the community altogether in search of an affordable place to live. Hundreds of children are implicated here, and as such, there is more we should be doing at all levels of government to find a workable solution. Whether it be to extended family, schools, churches, or neighbors, many of these families have deep ties to East Chicago. Making sure they have the ability to return to their community is an important prospect, and I look forward to continuing to work with Senator Randolph on this legislative effort to see the community made whole."

East Chicago Mayor Anthony Copeland and State Sen. Lonnie Randolph, D-East Chicago, found in Young a willing partner to help.

"Too many of the Hoosiers I represent from the

West Calumet Housing Complex will be forced to leave the area because of a lack of affordable housing," said Sen. Randolph, who represents the impacted areas. "Congressman Young and I met earlier this month to discuss the federal government's response and I am pleased those conversations gave rise to this legislation. It will provide housing for so many displaced residents here in East Chicago, and I would strongly encourage the Indiana delegation to join Todd and support this important bill."

The NWI Times reported that U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky, D-Merrillville, who represents East Chicago and has worked with Mayor Copeland to coordinate the federal response, said he'll take help from anyone who wants to give it. "I appreciate Rep. Young's concern and will continue to work with all stakeholders to address the immediate health concerns of residents and resolve the underlying environmental issues," Visclosky said.

But the legislation brought criticism from the Bayh campaign. Peter Luster, Bayh's political director, blasted Young's proposal as "politically expedient" and said it "reeks of cynicism and opportunism."

"Let's be clear: East Chicago is our Flint and Todd Young is exploiting people that need help to try and get ahead," Luster said. "Sen. Bayh will work to support the efforts already underway by Sen. (Joe) Donnelly and Rep. Visclosky to fight for these forgotten residents of East Chicago when he returns to the Senate."

Young's campaign manager, Trevor Foughty, told Howey Politics Indiana that it was Mayor Copeland and Sen. Randolph who reached out. "They asked if there were things Todd could do. Lonnie said it would be great to get something done. Todd found an avenue to address it." Foughty found irony that Bayh's campaign is basing his comeback on finding bipartisan support to get things done.

Young's campaign emailed a release Tuesday that linked to a video highlighting questions about Democrat Bayh's links to the Hoosier State in the years since he left the senate. "It's no surprise Evan Bayh does not want to face the media. Three months into his campaign, he still doesn't have a good answer on the questions of where he lives, who he

works for, and what he has become," said Young campaign spokesman Jay Kenworthy.

Senate Democrats pouring more money in

Politico reported on Wednesday that the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee is pumping \$2.5



East Chicago lead contamination scene, and U.S. Rep. Todd Young and Mayor Anthony Copeland. (NWI Times photos)

million into the campaign and will spend at least \$5 million for Bayh. That comes on top of the \$9 million that Bayh brought into the race. It comes after the Sept. 6-8 WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll showed Bayh leading Young by just 44-40%.

"We expanded the map this year into states like Indiana where we can pick up an open Republican-held seat and further put the GOP on defense as they struggle to keep their hold on their majority," a Democratic official said. Meanwhile, Senate Majority PAC – the super PAC dedicated to electing Democrats to the Senate – is adding an additional \$1 million to their initial spending, bringing its total ad reservation to \$1.7 million in Indiana, a spokesman said.

Foughty said the Democratic money pouring in confirms a tightening race. "That's a sign they know they are in trouble," Foughty said. "He burned through that \$9 million pretty quickly and has nothing to show for it. We always knew Bayh's support was soft, a mile wide and an inch deep. That was our operating assumption from beginning. He's not answering questions well about the residency."

Bayh the lobbyist

Evan Bayh has pushed back hard against Republican attacks on his post-Senate career as he attempts a comeback in Indiana. "My opponent is attacking me as a lobbyist," Bayh says in a recent campaign ad. "That's just a lie." The truth is somewhere in between (Politico). Bayh never registered as a lobbyist while working in Washington between leaving the Senate in 2011 and trying to come back in 2016. But he did carve out a lucrative niche in public advocacy, speaking and corporate board positions that allowed him to wield influence as a former lawmaker with decades of policy experience. Bayh sought to sway public policy to favor clients of McGuireWoods, the law and lobbying firm where he has worked since 2011, as well as other groups he affiliated with while out of office. A few months before announcing his comeback Senate bid, Bayh flew to Connecticut, in his capacity as co-chairman of a nuclear industry group, to press officials there on issues affecting a power company that retains McGuireWoods. Years earlier, Bayh leveraged his well-known name in a public campaign against the medical



device tax in Obamacare, soon after his firm took on a device manufacturer as a client. The Indiana-based medical device manufacturer Cook Group hired McGuireWoods to represent its interests in Washington in April 2012, a year after Bayh joined the firm. Soon after, Bayh started speaking publicly against the medical device tax in Obamacare, the specific issue Cook Group signed up McGuireWoods lobbyists to address with members of Congress, according to federal lobbying disclosure filings. "In my state of Indiana alone, Cook Medical has canceled plans to build one new U.S. facility annually in each of the next several years," Bayh wrote in a Wall Street Journal op-ed article. Bayh's op-ed disclosed McGuireWoods' work with medical device manufacturers, but his Fox News appearances did not make that distinction.

Politico also reported: In another role, according to a source, he advised colleagues on how to message issues to members of Congress. And Bayh served as an adviser to advocacy groups that spent millions on ads opposing the Iran nuclear deal, a contentious issue that divided Democrats and has sparked campaign attacks on some of Bayh's would-be Senate colleagues this year. Bayh also sits on the boards of Fifth Third Bank, Marathon Petroleum Corporation, RLJ Lodging Trust, Berry Plastics and McGraw Hill Education, an education company with a troubled record in Indiana stemming from faulty standardized tests. The total amount Bayh has been paid for his various roles is not publicly available, though his corporate board work alone brought in more than \$900,000 in 2015, according to SEC filings.



Congress

Coleman gets FOP endorsement in 2nd CD

The Indiana Fraternal Order of Police PAC on Tuesday endorsed Lynn Coleman in the race for the state's 2nd Congressional District seat (South Bend Tribune). Coleman, a Democrat who served 23 years as a South Bend police officer, is running against incumbent U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski, a Republican from Jimtown. "He clearly has a life of public service behind him and ahead of him, and I don't think anybody appreciates public service any better than a police officer







2nd CD




HPI Status: Leans Walorski (R)

8th CD

HPI Status: Likely Bucshon (R)

9th CD

HPI Status: Leans Hollingsworth (R)

does," Indiana FOP President William Owensby said about Coleman. The FOP represents 14,000 officers in Indiana, Owensby said.

9th CD heating up

On the heels of debate season, 9th Congressional District candidates Trey Hollingsworth and Shelli Yoder are dialing up the volume on their campaigns (Beilman, News & Tribune). Before the town hall at Jeffersonville High School, Yoder was joined by several organized labor members to call out Hollingsworth's campaign regarding comments on the working class. Hollingsworth's campaign manager told the Indiana Daily Student that he understands blue collar workers because he employs them. The Republican candidate is a business owner who reported owning assets exceeding \$58 million. "Since when does [being] a millionaire put you on the same playing field as the working class?" Dean Tharp, member of the Iron Workers Local No. 70, asked during a press conference. "Trey Hollingsworth was born with a silver spoon in his mouth. He doesn't understand the daily struggles of working people, let alone working Hoosiers." Yoder believes the statement made by her opponent's campaign manager shows he is out of touch with Indiana residents. "Employing the middle class doesn't mean you understand our values," she said. "You've shown Hoosiers you will have zero empathy to the hard work and struggles we face every day." In his response, Hollingsworth made it clear that he did not personally make the statement. But he added that he believes he shares many values with the middle class. "We share the same concerns that we are less prosperous, we feel less safe, we feel less free as Americans, all of us," he said, "because of the failed policies of the Obama administration, because of the tax-and-spend politicians like Shelli Yoder, like Hillary Clinton, like Barack Obama, who continue to smother job creation and genuine growth in this country."

Statewides

McCormick outlines vision

Dr. Jennifer McCormick, the Republican candidate for state superintendent of public Instruction, today outlined her vision to provide students, educators and school systems with the timely and meaningful resources and tools they need to access high quality education. Speaking to hundreds of participants

at the annual Indiana School Boards Association/Indiana Association of Public School Superintendents conference, McCormick said she understands the struggles currently before educators. "Our Department of Education deserves to be the best in the nation. We lack the vision and leadership at the department right now. When you have that, you have a department that is disorganized and disconnected from all of us. That is not a good place for us to be," said McCormick.

Right to Life endorses Hill

Republican attorney general nominee Curtis Hill, Republican nominee for attorney general of Indiana, received the endorsement of the Indiana Right to Life PAC and the Allen County Right to Life PAC at an event in Fort Wayne. In his endorsement, Mike Fitcher, chairman, Indiana Right to Life PAC, stated, "I am pleased to inform you that Indiana Right to Life PAC is officially endorsing your candidacy. Our endorsement is based on a variety of factors including your completed candidate survey and strong support for life. ...Thank you for your support for the sanctity of life, and please accept my best wishes for a successful campaign." Cathie Humbarger, communications director with the Allen County Right to Life PAC, emphasized their confidence in Hill. "We enthusiastically support Curtis Hill for Indiana attorney general. Hill understands the important role the attorney general's office plays in protecting women's health and safety. We are confident he will enforce the laws so that abortion doctors know if they operate in the State of Indiana, they must abide by Indiana's rules."

Indiana House

Pierce, Ash debate in HD61

Matt Pierce and Drew Ash, candidates for the Indiana State Representative District 61, debated income inequality, education, civil rights, the economy and the environment in a forum Tuesday night at the Monroe County Public Library (Metzman, Indiana Daily Student). Rep. Matt Pierce, D-Bloomington, is running for re-election after first being elected to the Indiana House of Representatives in 2002. Drew Ash, an Independent, is a 21-year-old IU senior running for office because he said he believes the political system is broken. He said the two-party system does not work and should be replaced with a government system that represents all people, not just the wealthy and powerful. ❖

Attorney General



HPI Status: Leans Hill (R)

Superintendent



HPI Status: Leans Ritz (D)

Do debate disasters really matter?

By MARK SOUDER

FORT WAYNE – In 2004 I had the unique distinction of participating in what was certainly among the most disastrous debates ever for a federal level candidate.

The Democrats had nominated Maria Parra. She was a Michael Moore-style liberal but certainly an otherwise qualified candidate. Parra had an MBA from IU-Bloomington and had a successful business career in the health care field. Our debate was to be held in the studio at WPTA-TV in Fort Wayne taped "as live" with no audience. This was different than all other debates that I'd ever agreed to participate in, but her campaign insisted on the conditions.



The Democrats wanted Andy Downs of IPFW as sole host as opposed to the normal panel we had at debates. When I arrived at the station, it became clear that her campaign had invited all the local media to observe. Whatever my weaknesses are, one of them was not an unwillingness to talk to media, so I didn't care, but the constant changing of conditions without consultation was getting irritating. However, she didn't make it through her opening statement. She took off her microphone, got up and went to her staging room. Andy and I sat there stunned.

I remember Andy saying, "What should we do?" as did the producer through our earphones. I immediately said, "Keep your voices down, the media can hear us." So I softly said I was willing to do whatever was necessary because the entire nation was likely to see this tonight if we didn't fix this immediately. Our area would be the laughing stock of the country.

Her campaign manager coaxed her back out after I agreed to let her choose whether to go first or second on statements, questions and closing. Even more importantly, I agreed to let her have notes and that Andy Downs would give her the questions in advance. Whatever she wanted, she received.

The local media – three other television stations, multiple radio representatives including WOWO, both Fort Wayne daily newspapers and representatives of other daily regional papers plus some early social media people –

were now much more focused than before.

As the media reported, we both "made it through our opening statements." The first question was on health care. It went to me, per agreement, so she could respond. I could see all her notes ready for the question that was about, after all, her occupation at the time. My answer was unmemorable, other than it included lots of detail which was a good "tactic," but anybody who ever listened to me talk or reads this column knows that including lots of detail is built into my DNA.

I will never forget looking at her as I was concluding and seeing the panic in her eyes as I was talking. She wasn't ready for this. After my answer, Downs turned to Parra who paused, and then said "I can't do this. I just can't do this. I'm sorry."

And again walked off.

After she then rapidly departed, the first logical question from the media present was: "Have you ever heard of this happening before in a congressional debate?"

I realized at that moment, in the seconds before answering, that whether or not I won the election (which was obviously then cinched; I won with just over 69% of the vote) my response was likely to stick with me in people's minds long past this election. What type of person is Mark Souder? Is he vindictive? Does he just care about winning? Or is he a decent person?

I responded that this was "not a commentary on her knowledge of the issues in particular. She was just very nervous." What I told Sylvia Smith of the Journal-Gazette, off the record, was how I had wanted to respond: "Do you mean even in a high school debate?" – but had resisted. The quip would have been an instant media sensation because the story was in fact on ABC News with Peter Jennings a very short time later.



I continue to oppose Donald Trump even though Hillary Clinton's issue positions are so repulsive I want to scream at the television set. Any of the other Republican candidates could have demolished her because of her incredibly uninformed understanding of how the economy works, insensitivity to how upset people are about the murders in this

country (his "law and order" point), superficial apologies concerning her email erasures, and seeming callousness about jobs lost.

To me, issues have mattered since I became a conservative activist in junior high school, but I believe Trump is a con man on the issues as well because he's a person wrapped in a self-centered marketing brand, not someone who has ever cared how government actually works. He didn't even have the respect to prepare for a debate, let alone governing.

Trump's campaign clearly understood that his temperament is his biggest problem. Kellyanne Conway is

a brilliant tactician. Gov. Pence, as Conway said in recommending him as the Trump choice for vice president, stays on message and massages his words well.

It was no accident that Trump in the debate asserted that he has the better temperament to be president. Or that Pence came out stressing that same pre-planned talking point, even after Trump's incredibly disastrous debate performance which had illustrated precisely why he doesn't have an acceptable temperament.

It is unclear that it will hurt Trump much. Those who support him don't seem to care. But for me and other holdouts, Trump's unacceptability as the leader of our

country has become critical. I have no intention of voting for Hillary. But nor do I intend to abandon my respect for the institution of the presidency, the process, and common human decency to vote for somebody – who represents our side, which I support because we are not like the Clintons – who shows even less respect for the incredible importance of the presidency and common decency than they do.

I just can't believe this is happening to our nation.



Souder is a former Republican member of Congress.

Uneven economic recovery in metros

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – A few days ago, the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis released the 2015 Gross Domestic Product (GDP) figures for all 382 metropolitan areas of the nation. Of these, 10 are exclusively within Indiana and five others (Chicago, South Bend, Cincinnati, Louisville and Evansville) include one or more Indiana counties.



How are these 15 metro areas doing since the Great Recession ended in 2010? In a word: Poorly. What kind of recovery have they had compared to the rest of America? Weak.

Hoosier politicians of both parties love to celebrate urban areas as the engines of economic growth while declaring that our rural communities protect something called "Hoosier values." Collectively, our 15 metro areas grew at a slower rate than American metros as a group every year for the past five years. Does being "business-friendly" mean Indiana retards business growth?

The average annual rate of growth in real GDP for Indiana metros from 2011 through 2015 was 1.56 percent compared with a national metro growth rate of 1.90 percent.

"Hey, Morton," I hear Myrtle, my muse, calling from the void, "what's the big deal about growing 1.90 percent vs. 1.56 percent over five years?"

"Don't they teach you any math at Muse School?" I reply. "Those are averages of annual growth rates. Let's put it in dollars since percentages seem to puzzle you.

"Real GDP for the 15 Indiana metros grew by \$72 billion from 2010 to 2015. If our metro areas had grown at the national rate, which itself was pathetically low, we would

have added \$88 billion to the economies of metro areas from Chicago and South Bend to Cincinnati and Louisville, and from Fort Wayne to Evansville. That would have been an improvement of \$16 billion (22 percent) in our GDP for just being average or mediocre.

"I'll tell you the story in still a different way," I say. "Of our 15 metro areas, only four beat the national growth rate. Those were Elkhart-Goshen, Columbus, Kokomo and Cincinnati. The other 11 were even slower growing than the national average. In fact, of those 382 metros, only 107 (or 28 percent) managed to beat the national average. This suggests that growing income inequality among metro areas may be as important as the income inequality among households."

"Okay," Myrtle mutters, "so who's at the bottom of the growth heap?"

"This may surprise you," I say. "Terre Haute, Bloomington, Michigan City-LaPorte and Evansville all had negative average annual growth rates. All four ranked in the bottom 16 percent of U.S. metro areas.

"While Columbus ranked third in the whole country by moving from 305th largest metro economy to 274th, a climb of 31 steps, Terre Haute fell from 236th to 248th and Bloomington from 240th to 250th. Changes in rank like those are rare and dramatic."

"What happened to Bloomington?" Myrtle whispers. "Something get caught in their flutes?"

"A smart-mouthed muse," I tell her, "doesn't keep her job for long." ❖

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

Awaiting the post debate polls

By **LARRY SABATO, KYLE KONDIK**
and **GEOFFREY SKELLEY**

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. – The first debate is over! At least everyone survived.

If you're confused about who's up and who's down in this crazy presidential contest, you've got plenty of company. Almost hourly now, the political community is being bombarded with new national and swing state polls, and few of them agree with one another. More than ever before, the assumptions pollsters make about the composition of the likely voter pool helps to determine the trial-heat numbers we see. As always, we urge you to avoid the temptation to cherry pick the surveys that give good news for your candidate. Instead, go to RealClearPolitics and HuffPost Pollster and check out the ever-evolving poll averages for the national race and especially all the swing states.

It is dangerous to offer confident predictions of how the public will react to a debate immediately after it is concluded. The instant polls you may see (or may have already seen) after the debate declaring one of the candidates the winner may or may not be meaningful, and in order to fully assess the impact we're probably going to have to wait until the end of the week, when new national and state polls will assess how the two candidates' performances changed the race. It's no fun to urge patience, but we think that's better than making sweeping pronouncements in the aftermath of a widely-watched national event that voters may interpret quite differently than experts may expect.

The pundit consensus seems to be that Hillary Clinton "won," but we all know how many times Donald Trump has been counted out, only for him to endure. We also know that Clinton and Trump are talking to two very different countries, and political analysts and reporters are generally in the country Clinton, not Trump, inhabits. However, Trump faces many questions about his qualifications for the job and his temperament, and we don't believe he did much to provide satisfactory answers to those concerns. Perhaps enough voters want change so much that they are willing to overlook their reservations.

Keep in mind that people can judge X as the de-

bating winner, yet stick with candidate Y. Most people tune into debates to cheer for their side; win or lose, they've made their choice. According to the NBC News/Wall Street Journal poll, only about 11% of those watching were "debate persuadables," voters who might really switch sides (perhaps from a third-party contender to Clinton or Trump). We'd bet even most of that group will end up where their partisan identification leads them naturally.

Before the debate, there was much reporting about Clinton's preparation versus Trump's: Clinton spent much more time on it while Trump stayed out on the trail. Trump's lack of preparation showed, and here's an example: During a discussion on cybersecurity, Trump failed

to bring up Clinton's use of private emails as a potential cybersecurity issue. That was the equivalent of "missing the biggest, easiest soft-ball lobbed right down the heart of the plate," as our Twitter pal @EsotericCD put it.

It seemed to us that Trump spoke for a bit longer than Clinton, though as we're publishing this we did not see an official breakdown of the amount of speaking time. Typically, talking more might be good for a candidate, but in this campaign we're not so sure. We recently wrote that there's at least some indication that the candidate who gets more attention in this campaign tends to suffer in the polls.

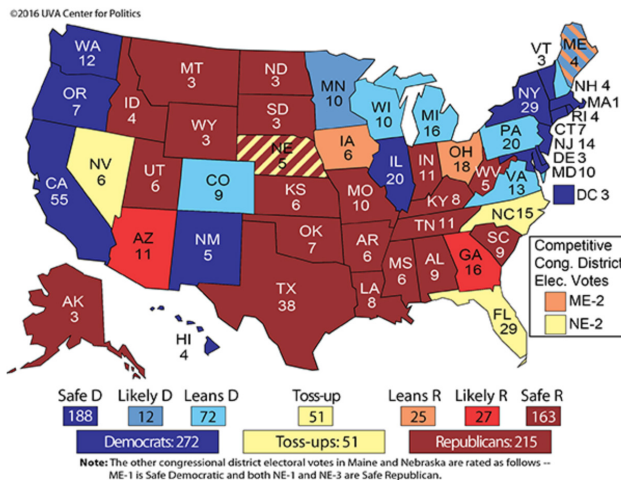
What this debate and the ones upcoming can do is excite the party base, especially if party voters believe their candidate had a particularly good night. Money can be raised and volunteer activity can intensify. Often, however, the polling bump registered for a "winning" candidate disappears within a week or 10 days. Then the race is pretty much back to where it was.

Heading into the debate, the race was getting very competitive. New polls released over the weekend and on Monday were generally good for Trump as he tries to catch up to Clinton, whose big post-convention lead has virtually evaporated. Several polls of Colorado now show the Centennial State to be close to tied, and Trump got some of his best polls in Pennsylvania the last couple of days, although Clinton was generally still leading by a couple of points. National polling averages point to a Clinton lead of just about two or three points, if that. Clinton's floodgates are creaking. This debate might not ultimately make much difference, but if it re-energizes Democrats after weeks of sagging enthusiasm, that will be a victory for her campaign. If it does not, she might be in quite a bit of trouble.

Some Democrats are increasingly arguing that

SABATO'S CRYSTAL BALL

Map 1: Crystal Ball Electoral College ratings



the polls are showing too Republican of an electorate and that samples are too white or not showing enough Democratic-leaning nonwhite voters. That may be true, but poll complaints often don't amount to much (although we do think many pollsters have a lot of trouble getting accurate numbers for Hispanics, a critical voting bloc in many key states). And the high number of undecideds and third-party supporters - about 15%-18% in polling averages nationally, combined - leads to more uncertainty.

One trend worth watching is whether Libertarian Gary Johnson could be fading, as is often the case for third-party candidates. Johnson was at about 9% in the RealClearPolitics average as of mid-September, but he's down to 7% now (the HuffPost Pollster average, which is less sensitive to the most recent polls, also showed him dropping a little over a point in the same timeframe). This may also be the result of a near-complete shift to likely voter polls, which may be removing some registered voters who are backing a third-party candidate as a none-of-the-above choice. A third-party swoon could boost both candidates -- Johnson's decline in a recent ABC News/Washington Post poll seemed to benefit Trump almost entirely, boosting him from 41% two weeks ago to 44% over the weekend while Clinton stayed at 46% and Johnson fell from 9% to 5% -- but, overall, Clinton seems to do better in two-way polls rather than four-way ones, so she appears to have more to gain from the third-party voters coming home. While polls tend to indicate both Clinton and Trump voters have largely made up their minds, third-party voters seem far less certain of their choice. As the stakes rise and Republicans increasingly fear a Clinton presidency and Democrats increasingly fear a Trump one, we may see even greater party unity and more defections from the third parties.

So where is this presidential death match? Much closer than anticipated, for sure, but with Clinton maintaining a slight lead in both the popular vote and the Electoral College. Yet she has little room for error, quite a change from the multiple pathways to 270 that she had just a month ago. Clinton cannot afford to lose any of the Democratic base states (such as Pennsylvania), and she needs to hold on to Colorado and other leaning Democratic states (or win one or more of the current toss-ups: Florida, Nevada, and North Carolina). We have her uncomfortably close to the minimum (she's got 272 now), while Trump may be leading in states or districts that would give him 266.

Will the Clinton fade continue, or has she arrested that with a solid debate performance Monday night? Can she move clearly ahead in a big state or two that Trump needs to win, like Florida, North Carolina, or Ohio? We wait for the answers.



Pence coming to Fort Wayne Friday

Indiana Gov. Mike Pence, the Republican candidate for vice president, is appearing at a rally at noon Friday at Memorial Coliseum in Fort Wayne, the Trump-Pence campaign announced this afternoon (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). Doors open for the event at 10 a.m., the campaign's website said. Those wanting to attend can get two tickets per mobile phone number, which are subject to first-come, first-serve basis, the website said. A confirmation will be sent to the phone number, it said, and attendees are not considered registered until they verify.

Clinton wins NBC/Survey Monkey debate

It's just about 48 hours after a hugely-watched and action-packed debate, so it's prime time for new empirical evidence about what real voters thought about the debate's impact on the race. (And no, those insta-polls that came out moments after the debate ended are not methodologically sound, folks.) We've got our own first look out today, with a new NBC News|SurveyMonkey poll showing that 52 percent of likely voters said Clinton won the debate, while only 21 percent said Trump won.

Clinton may benefit from heavy early vote

WASHINGTON — More people are seeking or casting early ballots in the critical states of North Carolina and Florida than at this point in 2012, with Hillary Clinton the likely benefactor, as early voting shows signs of surging nationwide. Clinton may also benefit from an increase in ballot requests in Georgia, a traditionally Republican state where Democrats have made inroads. But Donald Trump is showing signs of strength in Iowa and parts of Maine, states won by Barack Obama in the last two presidential elections. The latest snapshot of ballot data offers a glimpse into a key question: How much of a vote advantage can Clinton run up before Nov. 8, when more Republicans tend to vote? Traditionally Republicans have done better initially with early mail-in ballots, before Democrats surpass them once in-person early voting begins. While the ballot sample to date remains small, Clinton so far is hitting guideposts in several battleground states compared to 2008 and 2012. Though preliminary, data compiled by The Associated Press suggest that advance voting could

reach 40% of all votes cast nationally — up from 35% in 2012. It may also indicate a higher overall turnout in an election that has generated enormous public interest despite — or because of — the unpopularity of both major party candidates. In Ohio, nearly 806,000 voters had submitted absentee ballot applications. That's up from nearly 723,000 during a similar period in 2012, when a record 1.87 million early ballots ultimately were cast by mail and in person. ❖

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

Don't lament Indiana's manufacturing base

By **RANDALL T. SHEPARD**

INDIANAPOLIS – Conversations about Indiana's economic future still tend to feature a theme about where we're falling behind, as the state's tendency toward an inferiority complex sticks with us. People often lament Indiana's "dependence on manufacturing."



You've heard these lamentations: "We were a powerhouse back when tens of thousands worked in the steel mills, and more than that were doing vehicle assembly. Those jobs have gone away in the modern economy, and Indiana should move on from those comfortable days."

In preparing to moderate the recent gubernatorial forum sponsored by I.U.'s Public Policy Institute,

I spent some time looking at data to see if it bears out these assertions.

The modern reality is that Indiana continues to lead the nation in the percentage of our workforce who are employed in manufacturing. And the level of employment in such jobs has risen continually since the Great Recession began.

Of Indiana's 3.2 million jobs, manufacturing employs 516,000 people, led only by the number of people working in the closely allied field of trade, transportation, and utilities at 600,000. This places us well ahead of states thought to be bustling scenes, like New York, Washington, or Georgia. More important, we've been advancing quickly in the number of people working in what the labor statisticians call "advanced manufacturing." This term describes operations like high performance computing, advanced robotics, sustainable and green processes and products, and new industrial platforms. These are America's jobs of the future.

Our growing share of these industries is one reason why the actual buying power of typical wages in Indiana has advanced over the last two decades. That fact is far more important to the typical family than where we stand when salaries are compared just in nominal dollars. Would you rather earn \$50,000 in South Bend, or \$50,000 in San Francisco?

Conexus and Ball State's Center for Business and Economic Research have recently reported on state of our manufacturing prowess. Almost 53 percent of Indiana's manufacturing jobs are in advanced manu-

facturing. It reflects our position as the leading state in the nation in such employment, and our lead is growing.

Is Indiana's economy "dependent" on manufacturing? Yes, indeed, and I say "Hallelujah!" Plenty of states aspire to be where we are. One can say this and also believe that fields like agriculture and medical services add real value to our state.

Our continued success in manufacturing depends in part on decisions to be made in state and local government and in secondary and higher education. The recent initiative Regional Cities is a prime example of recognizing the power of collective action and ingenuity in the regional economies shared by urban counties and their surrounding suburban and rural areas. Leaders in the three regions chosen to receive state financial assistance in this project believe that it has the capacity to lift the arc of progress in those areas. There are surely other regional economies that could benefit from similar initiatives by state government during the next gubernatorial administration.

Leadership with the moxie to launch those sorts of inventive actions can also build Indiana's attractiveness to the talented Millennials who will carry us through the century. Their attraction – and migration – to core of our largest cities is a heartening development. When you build more market-rate housing and quality-of-place amenities in Indianapolis, Fort Wayne, or Evansville, they come.

If our progress toward a stronger, new economy is to continue, it can only happen if we renew our determination to foster the best secondary schools we know how, and to advance the proportion of Indiana residents who earn college degrees or recognized certificates.

There's reason for optimism that this state can do that. ❖

Shepard is a former Indiana Supreme Court chief justice.



Steep climb for Lake convention center

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – Judging by the initial comments from Lake County government officials, it’s going to be a long time before a substantial convention center is built. Talk of the convention center has escalated since it was announced that the Radisson Hotel and Star Plaza Theater will be razed later this year and early next year. A new hotel is planned, but there won’t be any convention facilities to replace those that will be eliminated.



Speros Batistatos, the president and CEO of the South Shore Convention and Visitors Authority, has proposed the imposition of a 3-percent food and beverage tax to help pay for the new facility. Such a tax would have to be approved by the Lake County Council and Commissioners.

The large convention centers around the state, including one in Indianapolis, are funded in part with food and beverage taxes. Lake County government officials essentially said they want it all but don’t want to pay for it.

County Councilman Eldon Strong, a Crown Point Republican, said he supports a convention center but not a tax. “We can’t tax food vendors out of business,” Strong said. Strong’s logic is skewed in that the patrons, not the restaurant owners, pay the tax.

Strong went on, “I have no problem with a center as long as it doesn’t get into my pocketbook.” Fellow Republican Councilman Dan Dernulc had the same lack of vision, saying, “I don’t think the public should be paying for something like this.”

Both councilmen are wrong. A 3-percent tax on a \$20 restaurant bill is 60 cents. On a \$100 bill, it is \$3. If you can’t afford that, you ought to stay home.

Lake County Commissioner Gerry Scheub, D-Merrillville, who has a tough reelection race this fall, is opposed, saying, “I just don’t want us to go into something that will cost the taxpayers a lot of money.” It wouldn’t be fair to say that 60 cents on a \$20 dinner bill is a lot of money.

Batistatos responded to the naysayers, saying, “All a Lake County resident has to do is look at the successes of the places we admire in this state and how they paid for it. Fifty percent of the food and beverage tax is ultimately paid by visitor who you are building the facilities for.”

Batistatos is right, but he has a big hill to climb. Lake County officials over the years have seemed to think voting for a tax was a death knell. They have rarely had

the vision to talk about the benefits from what a tax would pay for. With a convention center, we are talking about jobs at the facility and at restaurants, hotels and retail outlets in the area.

Batistatos is right, but he has a steep hill to climb.



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Uphill battle for pre-K bill

INDIANAPOLIS — Supporters of expanding state-funded prekindergarten for low-income children, beyond Lake and four other pilot counties, face an uphill battle to convince lawmakers to spend more than the current appropriation of \$10 million a year (Carden, NWI Times).



A business coalition promoting an unspecified, limited funding increase for high-quality prekindergarten programs ran into a buzzsaw of skepticism on Wednesday from key legislators about the need for greater preschool

access and whether limited state funds might be better spent elsewhere. State Rep. Tim Brown, R-Crawfordsville, chairman of the budget-writing House Ways and Means Committee, said he appreciated the “effort, intensity and passion” of pre-K expansion supporters, led by the United Way of Central Indiana. But he’s not convinced state pre-K funding is sustainable and suggested Indiana could get a bigger bang for its bucks, in the two-year, \$30 billion state budget set to be crafted starting in January, by focusing on improving the high school graduation rate of at-risk teenagers.

Head bill aims at food deserts

INDIANAPOLIS — State Sen. Randy Head, R-Logansport, is worried about the lack of availability of fresh fruits and vegetables in parts of Indiana (Mullis, Statehouse File). “People who live here and work here should be buying food from Indiana,” he said. “We want to make more fresh food available to people who don’t have the option or people who live in areas where all they can get are chips or other processed foods.” Head will propose giving a grant or loan to businesses that want to sell healthier foods in areas where fresh food is difficult to find. Businesses could use the money to invest in a produce cooler or building a new grocery store. This will be the third time Head has proposed legislation to tackle food deserts. He took his ideas before the Interim Study Committee on Fiscal Policy Wednesday. ❖

James Hohmann, Washington Post: It might be Hillary Clinton's most cunning move since the start of the general election. The Democratic nominee set a trap for Donald Trump in the final minutes of the first debate, and he walked right into it. The GOP nominee's decision to take the bait and rehash his past attacks on a former Miss Universe for gaining too much weight is now dominating the conversation. And the controversy is helping the Clinton campaign galvanize Latinos and prevent undecided women from moving toward Trump. Even as Trump proclaimed victory in New York, he allowed during a Fox News interview yesterday that he let himself get a little too irritated "at the end, maybe" when Clinton brought up Alicia Machado. Machado alleges that Trump called her names such as "Miss Piggy" and "Miss Housekeeping" when she gained weight after winning the Miss Universe crown in 1996. Trump could have brushed off the question and moved on the next morning, but instead he engaged. "She was the worst we ever had. The worst. The absolute worst. She was impossible," Trump said of Machado on Fox. "She was the winner, and she gained a massive amount of weight, and it was a real problem. We had a real problem." Operatives in Brooklyn had been working with Machado since the summer. They had a video featuring her story ready to go. Cosmopolitan had a photo spread of her draped in an American flag – to go with a profile – in the can. Machado had also conducted an interview with The Guardian that was "apparently embargoed for post-debate release," according to Vox. And the Clinton super PAC Priorities USA turned a digital ad to highlight the insults by early afternoon. The Clinton press shop then set up a conference call for Machado to respond to what Trump said on "Fox and Friends." Megyn Kelly, who Trump leveled gendered attacks against last year after she moderated a debate, then interviewed Machado in primetime on Fox News last night. Importantly, this story has also broken through across non-traditional outlets: It was the second story on Telemundo's evening newscast and the third story on Univision's. This feud helps Clinton with two crucial constituencies: Galvanizing Latinos: Beauty pageants are as big as the Super Bowl is for us in Latin America, and it was no coincidence that Machado emerged as a surrogate on National Voter Registration Day. ❖



Fred Barnes, Weekly Standard: Donald Trump must have neglected to watch the video of Ronald Reagan in his 1980 debate with President Carter. Had he copied the restrained and imperturbable approach of Reagan—or at least tried to—Trump could have benefitted enormously from last night's debate with Hillary Clinton. But he didn't. And that was his biggest mistake. Instead, he resurrected the rowdy Trump of the Republican primary debates. He talked too long, interrupted Clinton, touted himself, and took her bait time after time to respond to her charges. It

was the wrong approach at the wrong time at the wrong debate. Trump had an opportunity to appear "presidential" and he blew it. Since Clinton has sought to make the race a referendum on his fitness to be president, it was important for Trump to look and act like someone equipped to step into the Oval Office and take control of the nuclear button. His performance fell short of that. And it was obvious that he hadn't boned up on the issues and armed himself with fresh ways to exploit Clinton's many vulnerabilities. Practically everything he said was a repeat of what he has said many times before in the GOP primaries or rallies over the past summer. Gaffes? I don't think Trump made any. His problem was not one of commission but omission. Trump has said he can be presidential whenever he wants to. It was surprising he didn't think his first nationally televised confrontation with Clinton was an event calling for a presidential presence. ❖

George Will, Washington Post: "Charismatic authority," wrote Max Weber in 1915, seven years before Mussolini's march on Rome, causes the governed to submit "because of their belief in the extraordinary quality of the specific person . . . Charismatic rule thus rests upon the belief in magical powers, revelations and hero worship." A demagogue's success requires a receptive demos, and Trump's ascendancy reflects progressivism's success in changing America's social norms and national character by de-stigmatizing dependency. Under his presidency, Trump says, government will have all the answers: "I am your voice. . . . I alone can fix it." The pronoun has unlimited antecedents: "I will give you everything. I will give you what you've been looking for for 50 years. I'm the only one." Urban without a trace of urbanity, Trump has surrounded himself with star-struck acolytes (Mike Pence marvels at Trump's anatomical — "broad-shouldered" — foreign policy) and hysterics (Rudy Giuliani: "There is no next election! This is it!"). When Ferdinand VII regained Spain's throne in 1813, he vowed to end "the disastrous mania of thinking." Trump is America's Ferdinand. ❖

Michael Goodwin, New York Post: Hillary Clinton got only one obligatory question on the email scandal, and not a single one about the Clinton Foundation, her Wall Street speaking fees or her health — all of which have figured far more prominently in the campaign than Iraq or the birther issue. It was outrageous — but no surprise. After all, Lester Holt is part of the Big Media establishment that has uniformly protected President Obama and broken all its own standards to trash Trump and elect Clinton. A second warning shot came just last weekend, when Clinton's Praetorian Guard carried out a synchronized assault against Trump. The New York Times, the Washington Post, Politico and the Los Angeles Times all carried very similar stories accusing Trump of repeated lies. ❖

Obama veto overridden

INDIANAPOLIS — Congress on Wednesday voted overwhelmingly to override President Obama's veto of legislation that would allow 9/11 victims' families to sue the Saudi Arabian government over its alleged support for the terrorists who carried out the attacks (Washington Post). It is the first override of Obama's presidency. The votes

in the House and Senate amounted to a sweeping, bipartisan rejection of pleas from the White House to back the president, with administration officials arguing the legislation poses a national security threat by exposing U.S. officials to similar lawsuits abroad. "Overriding a presidential veto is something we don't take lightly, but it was important in this case that the families of the victims of 9/11 be allowed to pursue justice, even if that pursuit causes some diplomatic discomforts," Sen. Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.), who co-authored the bill with Sen. John Cornyn (R-Tex.), said in a statement.

Hoosier delegation votes to override

WASHINGTON — The Justice Against Sponsors of Terrorism Act allows foreign governments believed to be involved in terror attacks on U.S. soil to be sued in U.S. courts (Howey Politics Indiana). The legislation has been long-sought by families of 9/11 victims. President Obama angrily denounced the outcome, saying lawmakers had been swayed to cast a political vote for legislation that set a "dangerous precedent" with implications they did not understand and never debated (New York Times). Indiana's two Democratic House members, Reps. Andre Carson of Indianapolis and Pete Visclosky of Merrillville, were the only Hoosier lawmakers to vote



against the override (USA Today). U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly (D-IN): "I voted to override President Obama's veto of this bill because I believe the victims of terrorism on U.S. soil should have the right to pursue justice and their day in court." Rep. Todd Rokita (R-IN): "The House and Senate took a historic step towards restoring the checks and balances of our government by taking a hard line against President Obama's senseless veto. Fifteen years after the 9/11 terrorist attacks killed nearly 3,000 Americans, this bill allows the families of the victims to pursue justice and finally present their case in our nation's courts."

Rokita votes against debt deal

WASHINGTON — U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita (R-IN) voted against the continuing resolution. The bill passed the House by a vote of 342 to 85. "Given that our national debt is already over \$19 trillion, I cannot support this bill because several of the provisions are not even paid-for, including Zika funding, and therefore add to the national debt," Rokita stated. "To solve this problem, I introduced a fully paid-for Zika bill, which was not considered."

Exodus to settle 60 Syrian refugees

BLOOMINGTON — The State Department approved Indianapolis-based Exodus Refugee Immigration's request to start resettling refugees in Bloomington (Brosher, Indiana Public Media). Additional resettlement sites are needed as the country prepares to take in more refugees. President Obama announced earlier this year he wants to increase the number of refugees coming into the United States from 85,000 during the current fiscal year to 110,000 for fiscal year 2017, which starts Oct. 1. In addition to resettling families in Indianapolis, Exodus says it will send some refugees to Bloomington. Those

refugees will likely come from Syria or the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Former mayor gets 4 years in jail

HAMMOND — Federal judges had strong words for a former Lake Station mayor and his wife Wednesday, particularly about the money they used from the Lake Station food pantry (Jacobs, Post-Tribune). In a full day of parties shuffling between courtrooms, medical documents and court transcripts, Keith and Deborah Soderquist were sentenced Wednesday in U.S. District Court in Hammond. Keith Soderquist was ordered to spend four years in prison - 42 months for his crimes with his wife followed by 6 months for aiding his stepdaughter - while Deborah Soderquist was sentenced to two years in prison.

Comey warns to Russ election hacks

WASHINGTON — The FBI has discovered attempted hacks of voter registration sites in more than a dozen states according to two law enforcement officials. US investigators believe that Russia is behind those attempted hacks the officials said. Earlier Wednesday, FBI Director James Comey spoke of additional attempted hacks at a House Judiciary Committee hearing in Washington, but did not specify a number. "There have been a variety of scanning activities which is a preamble for potential intrusion activities as well as some attempted intrusions at voter database registrations beyond those we knew about in July and August. We are urging the states just to make sure that their deadbolts are thrown and their locks are on and to get the best information they can from DHS just to make sure their systems are secure," he said. Without commenting on Russia's specific activity, Comey said the takeaway is for states to make sure they are secure. On Tuesday, Homeland Security Secretary Jeh Johnson said 18 states have requested cyberassistance.