

Henry faces a new challenge in Smith

Mayor seeks unprecedented 4th term while Smith seeks a city run on 'business principles'

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

FORT WAYNE – Democrats have controlled Fort Wayne City Hall for five elections following Mayor Paul Helmke's exit in 1999, with incumbent Mayor Tom Henry seeking an unprecedented fourth term. But Henry faces a new

breed of Republican in businessman Tim Smith, who won the nomination by defeating long-time Councilman John Crawford in the GOP primary last May. Smith used social issues such as abortion to separate



Fort Wayne Mayor Tom Henry (left) and Republican challenger Tim Smith.

himself from establishment Republicanism, relying on the conservative Indiana Policy Review network while bringing along a new breed of voter. His campaign appears to be

Continued on page 3

Of cephalopods & CEOs

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

MICHIGAN CITY – In the wake of the new terror afflicting our schools, our Walmarts, our malls, our night-clubs, it appears we no longer have members of Congress and senators.

In the House, we have cephalopods, elected every two years. In the Senate, squids, elected every six.

The cephalopod is of the political molluscan class, characterized by bilateral body symmetry and a prominent head known to quip "I approve of this message" and "I have an A rating from the NRA" and a set of muscular hydrostats, modified from the primitive molluscan foot. These creatures that haunt the U.S. Capitol,



"I had no involvement, other than it's a great place. It wasn't my idea for Mike to go there."

- President Trump, denying he wanted Vice President Pence to stay at his Doonbeg resort in Ireland. COS Marc Short had said Trump 'suggested' the veep's stay.



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46204
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Jack E. Howey
 editor emeritus
 1926-2019

a variety of K Street salons and a very occasional Hoosier town hall do have abilities. They can open containers with screw caps or, like the Hawaiian bobtail squid, can bury themselves in the sand, leaving only their eyes exposed.

Our congressional cephalopods need to grow spines.

U.S. Rep. Jim Banks reacted to our American Bloody August (53 murdered by AR-15s in Texas and Ohio) by suggesting that the appropriate response to this ongoing domestic terror is to enforce the laws we already have. Somehow that seems not to be working, thoughts and prayers notwithstanding.

U.S. Rep. Larry Bucshon suggested that background checks – even expanded background checks that 90% of Americans want – wouldn't have prevented the mayhem in El Paso, Odessa, Midland and Dayton. Our Midland/Odessa mass shooter did flunk a background check, but then went on to acquire his weapon through a private-party sale.

U.S. Rep.

Greg Pence called himself a "staunch 2nd Amendment defendant," but said in Muncie he is open to compromise. "I'm open to any conversation that prevents – OK – let's talk about how we prevent harm with weapons," Pence said without really saying anything until adding, "If you read the second part of the 2nd Amendment, it's to protect us from the government."

Both Bucshon and Pence conjured images of Democrats going door to door, rounding up weapons in a clear breach of the 2nd Amendment. These congressman also suggest that it's the mentally ill that are wreaking our havoc, though many other nations also have mentally ill people but do not suffer these frequent atrocities. Perhaps it has something to do with the number of guns on the streets,

and the firepower and magazine capacity these weapons have.

The newcomer to the squid tank in Washington is U.S. Sen. Mike Braun, who acknowledged what WIBC's Nigel and Hammer describes as "Americans' sense of exasperation with the ongoing dysfunction of Washington politics."

"Everyone there that's been in Washington for a long time doesn't think that anything is wrong, and they've become nestled into a system that frustrates most Americans, most Hoosiers when they'd just like to see a few things done well," said Braun.

Squid Majority Leader

Mitch McConnell appears to be open to some kind of gun reforms, but only if President Trump gets on board. "I said several weeks ago that if the



president took a position on a bill so that we knew we would actually be making a law and not just having serial votes, I'd be happy to put it on the floor," McConnell told Hugh Hewitt. "If the president is in favor of a number of things that he has discussed openly and publicly, and I know that if we pass it it'll become law, I'll put it on the floor."

The problem with that is that every time Trump takes a phone call from the disgraced NRA chief Wayne LaPierre, he reneges on everything he tells bereaved parents from Parkland, El Paso and Dayton. Our president is not particularly aerodynamic, but can achieve impressive issue ranges by jet-propulsion; water continues to be expelled from the funnel while the organism is in the air. He can spread his fins and tentacles to form wings

and actively control lift force with body posture.

When Wayne LaPierre speaks, President Trump propels and expels.

Vice President Mike Pence, a former congressional cephalopod, and Attorney General William Barr have had their own "Aha!" moment, preparing a national death penalty for mass shooters who can already reasonably expect a swiftly delivered mortal sentence from a Dayton cop or a Texas Ranger, should one appear on a massacre scene within 30 or 40 seconds.

The problem in a spineless Washington is that when foreign terrorists flew airliners into our skyscrapers and the Pentagon, they acted not as mollusks but as patriots with both dispatch and fortitude. But when the terror comes from home-grown white supremacists, nihilists and anarchists previously loosely affiliated on the world wide web but gaining more cohesion with each atrocity, there is nothing but inertia.

Until there is another election where enough angry moms show up to say "Enough!" of arming teachers and preachers, of making our kids go through "active shooter drills" in the places (schools and churches) that were once thought to be safe havens, the solutions will come from men and women with brains connected to spines, connected to wallets.

The State of Indiana began handing out \$19 million this week to pay for the hardening of our schools and the funding of more resource officers. Gov. Eric Holcomb called this an "evolution," funded by taxpayers.

"Indiana remains fully committed to ensuring the safety of Hoosier schools," Holcomb said. "I'm proud this critical grant program can meet the top safety needs of school districts across the state. This is the latest

evolution of how our state partners with local schools to address this issue and help parents, students and staff feel safe and secure each day."

Walmart, after enduring an atrocity at its store in El Paso that killed 22 and another shooting in Indiana's very own Hobart (wounding one), announced this week it was ending the sale of handguns in Alaska and certain kinds of short-barreled rifle ammunition nationwide, including .223 caliber and 5.56 mm caliber cartridges, which can be used in military-style weapons.

"It's clear to us that the status quo is unacceptable," Walmart CEO Doug McMillon said in a memo to employees on Tuesday. "We know these decisions will inconvenience some of our customers, and we hope they will understand."

And you can no longer go Krogering while openly carrying a weapon. "Kroger has demonstrated with our actions that we recognize the growing chorus of Americans who are no longer comfortable with the status quo and who are advocating for concrete and common sense gun reforms," the company said in a statement.

The corporations are getting it; they know a thing or two about markets. Our elected cephalopods and squids, not so much, though at least Braun appears to realize there's a real problem. Or, as they might say on K Street, "Some squids have been shown to detect sound using their statocysts."

So, there may be hope on Capitol Hill. But as America bleeds on its streets and in malls, nightclubs and store aisles, evolution can be slow.

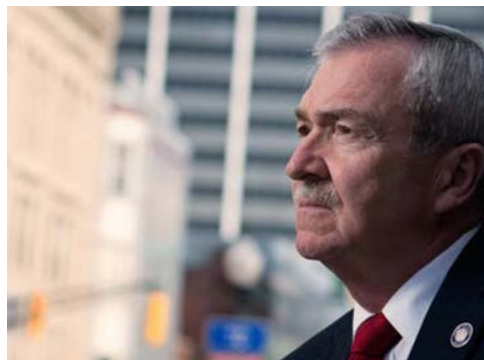
American corporate citizens – and voters – are likely to react much faster in the coming year, an election year. ❖

Fort Wayne, from page 1

feeding on a large network of smaller donors.

Henry is relying on his own brand, an extensive family network embedded in many Summit City institutions, and a thriving downtown. Both Henry and Smith are using modern data and digital campaign techniques, though Henry has been up on broadcast and cable TV for much of August.

Thus, Smith is a very different challenger than past Henry foes who have included Matt Kelty, Paula Hughes and Mitch Harper. His biggest challenge may lie in whether his social media campaign can make up for the decline of established media (i.e., newspapers, local network TV affiliates and WOWO) which are all in decline, particularly with the death of conservative radio host Charlie Butcher a



year ago. Butcher was a galvanizing force for Fort Wayne conservatives, and has not been replaced with anyone approaching his stature.

Another hurdle for Smith comes from Washington, where President Trump dominates all things political, particularly in GOP circles. One Fort Wayne observer told HPI that even a conversation about Fort Wayne politics struggles to keep off the Trump topic just minutes in. Smith does have a common component in Indianapolis-based Prosper Group, which is handling his digital campaign, as it did for Donald Trump in 2016.

Henry acknowledges he is facing a different kind of challenge. "This is going to be a lot more difficult in many ways," Henry told HPI at the IDEA convention in French Lick in late August. "I'm running for a fourth term. I don't think it's ever been done in Fort Wayne. It's going to be an interesting challenge. My opponent is well-funded and very aggressive, although he has

never held a public office.”

Henry believes his role in the renaissance of downtown Fort Wayne that includes the new Promenade Park and plans to extensively develop the three rivers network will carry him to victory in November.

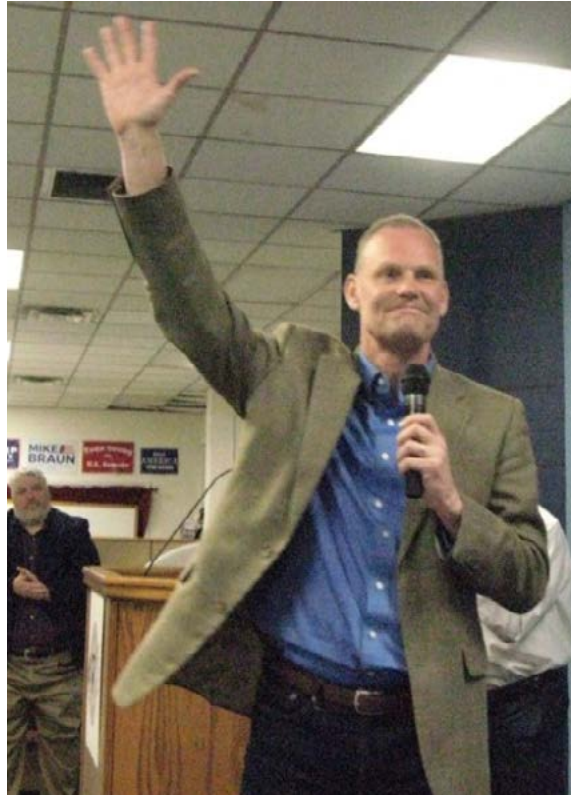
“His biggest challenge is right now Fort Wayne is hitting on all cylinders,” Henry said of Smith. “Our unemployment is down, our crime is down. We’re taking care of the infrastructure and there’s significant investment. Homes are selling in 48 hours. The city is doing very well and it’s going to be hard for him to get his head around an issue to defeat me. So, he’s going to be looking for things that may not be an issue now, but he’s going to try to make it an issue.”

Smith believes he has some openings. Violent crime is a nightly news staple. There is also a dysfunctional trash pickup contract (backed by the Republican council majority) that has forced the city to use its own employees on some routes that were routinely missed.

Smith, who managed Mayor Paul Helmke’s 1991 reelection bid and was a finalist for the state auditor vacancy when it opened up under Gov. Mike Pence, told HPI Wednesday afternoon that he is “in the same position I was in the primary at this time, which is the underdog. And I’d say many in Fort Wayne think Tom Henry is going to win, just like John Crawford was going to win the primary.” Smith defeated Crawford by 14%. “I feel incredibly positive about where I stand.”

Henry believes that when the dust settles, more than \$2.5 million will be spent on this campaign. “We’ve been concentrating on social media over the past several months,” Henry said. “That has helped with fundraising and put us into position to use television and other components of the media in the next 70 days. It takes a lot of money. We’re up on TV now, he has not gone up. Our thinking is he’s going to wait until the last five or six weeks and then pour money in.”

Nick Lauritsen, Smith’s campaign manager who has worked for U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman, Florida Sen. Marco Rubio and Virginia’s Ed Gillespie, told HPI the campaign is currently introducing the GOP nominee to voters. “Crawford was up on TV the night after November election,” Lauritsen said of the primary sequence. “We didn’t go up on TV until March 30. We’re talking to voters about Tim’s experience and how he plans to leverage his business experience. As we go up with contrast messages,



that message will echo on digital.”

Henry’s vision

The thrust of Henry’s campaign is downtown development. “I’m looking to invest heavily in our downtown. I think the downtown is the heart of every city. If you don’t have a captivating, exciting downtown area which is hospitable and entertaining, people are not going to come to your city. They’re not going to come and live in a neighborhood if there’s nowhere to go. You’ve got to have a downtown that is inviting. That’s what we’ve invested so much in the last 10 years and it is beginning to pay off. I would be foolish not to continue that.”

It was announced Wednesday that Ruoff Home Mortgage is moving its headquarters to downtown Fort Wayne. However, John Perlich, spokesman for Mayor Henry, told the Journal Gazette the city still does

not have a formal economic development agreement with Ruoff, and “no plans are final.”

Henry also believes that the city is poised to weather a recession. “A lot of us feel the economy is going to slow down,” Henry said. “I’m going to make sure we have good access to capital and have a cash balance to sustain ourselves through a period that might put a lot of other communities in jeopardy.”

Henry won the Democratic mayoral primary on May 8, 2007, with 82.4% of the vote against token opposition. He defeated the Republican Matt Kelty in the November election, with 60% of the vote after the Kelty campaign imploded on ethics issues. Henry won a second term in 2011, defeating Republican Paula Hughes 49.9% to 46%. In 2015, Henry won a third term, defeating former Republican legislator Mitch Harper 56.8% to 43.1%.

Smith’s issues

Smith believes Henry is vulnerable on the crime issue. “It wasn’t more than a generation ago that annual homicide rates in the Summit City were in single digits. A five year stretch in the mid-1980’s saw an average of 14 homicides a year,” the Smith campaign website says. “By the 1990s, Fort Wayne’s homicide rate climbed to average 24 homicides a year. The most recent five years, from 2016 through 2018? An average of over 40 homicides every year!”

The campaign website adds: “The increase in violence is not simply a product of contemporary culture. But our culture, the culture of family, businesses, and non-profits in Fort Wayne can either ignore the statistics and

accept the status quo or we can rise up as a community to re-claim the joy of public safety and of our family's security.'

Smith uses FBI statistics to paint a challenged picture for the city. "Violent crime is up 17% since he took office," he told HPI Wednesday. "We have 46 murders per capita, which puts us in a very bad spot. You'll learn we have 360 unsolved murders. The mayor is on TV saying 'Fort Wayne is a safe city.' I've knocked on over 10,000 doors and that's not what I hear. We've had murders on every side of town. We've had live gunshots at our Krogers and Walmarts. We had a shooting at the end of a high speed chase at the Children's Zoo."

Smith said he will put in place community-oriented policing. "We have so many unsolved murders, though we have witnesses, we know who the shooters are. Witnesses don't come forward due to a lack of trust. You rebuild trust the old-fashioned way. You have those relationships, officers working smaller territories, parking their cars and getting out into the communities."

Smith is also planning to move 50 police officers from desk jobs to the streets, saying that will bring a \$4 million "optimization" of public safety resources.

The Republican nominee is also advocating "zero-based budgeting," explaining that in his corporate experience, "Starting at zero is what we do in private business where every dollar spent must be justified (not just new dollars). This confirms that every dollar budgeted is actually necessary; it challenges bureaucratic inertia."

The campaign adds: "Zero-based budgeting is not enough by itself. If zero-based budgeting is joined by zero-based regulation, then private sector employers gain a measurable advantage in the market because every regulation – like every dollar – is reevaluated, and those deemed unnecessary are eliminated. An advantage in the market leads to additional sales, additional employees, more pay, and more opportunities. Let's start over with city ordinances – eliminate the unnecessary regulations that are onerous to our residents and choking to our employers."

Smith said he will run a government with "business principles" and not the standard "run government like a business" because government lacks a profit motive. He leads more than 1,000 employees and contractors. "Every year, I have to start from ground zero," he told HPI. "I have to justify every expenditure. You find new ways to save, more efficient ways to spend, find better partners."

He noted that Henry recently renegotiated the city employee health contract, saving \$4.5 million. "In business, we do this every year," Smith said. "It's one of the most expensive line items. Tom Henry didn't do it until his 11th year in office. If Tom Henry makes that change in his



first year, taxpayers would have had \$50 million to re-deploy."

Smith plans to paint Henry as a career politician, noting that he first ran for the Fort Wayne City Council in 1983. "That's 10 consecutive elections," Smith explained. "This is a race for a person running for his 40th year, to an outsider who wants to provide business principles."

The Republican said that debt under Henry had doubled to \$1.2 billion.

Smith said the city has lost 40,000 jobs in the last four decades, though he notes, "I don't lay those all at the feet of Tom Henry." He says he's running because his children and their friends "are moving to greener pastures" in Indianapolis, Dayton, Cleveland and Chicago.

Working in the "specialty insurance space," there are 7,000 such employees in northeastern Indiana and northwestern Ohio with a \$7 billion value. "Here's how a mayor attracts business," Smith said. "It's data, IT and analytics. If we don't have those three things, we are dead in the next 10 years. The mayor of Fort Wayne should be talking to small- to mid-sized IT, data and analytic firms and saying, 'Do you want access to 7,000 employees and \$7 billion? They will come. They will move to Fort Wayne.'" He said that defense and aerospace contractors and the auto-parts suppliers can be lured to the region.

"We need a mayor to sell Fort Wayne as a value proposition," Smith said.

Henry fatigue?

Asked about seeking a fourth term and whether there is "Henry fatigue," the incumbent responds, "I think there is a certain portion of the city that feels that way, but interestingly enough, because our city is doing so well, they hear about these wonderful projects like Promenade Park and we've got a few more coming up, I think there's a lot of excitement over the next thing to come along. We've spent years pulling this together and now it's coming to fruition."

Henry is a Democrat who has been able to pull support from businessmen who tend to vote Republican

for Congress, governor or president.

While Smith is adding new voters, stressing social issues like abortion in his primary victory, he may have alienated Crawford's supporters. The councilman has not endorsed either candidate at this point. When HPI asked Henry if the abortion issue ever comes up with voters, he responded, "Never."

Smith defeated Crawford 56.39% to 42.15% in the May primary. He said that through his fall campaign, he believes he can bring Crawford's supporters back into the GOP fold.

So, Smith's challenge will be whether he can unite the GOP, including the Crawford wing, and change the dynamic from what's going well in Indiana's second largest city to what isn't, and open up an era of "business principles" in government. HPI starts this race leaning toward the Democrat, but most observers we've talked to believe this could easily move into the tossup zone and beyond once Smith's homestretch media kicks in. **HPI Horse Race Status:** Leans Henry.

Indianapolis: Merritt issues crime plan

Republican mayoral nominee Jim Merritt unveiled

his anti-crime proposal on Wednesday, vowing to flood neighborhoods with police units in the wake of homicides. Mayor Hogsett's campaign called it a "stop and frisk" plan.

Merritt explained, "A Merritt Administration will create a Metro Homicide Unit that brings together experienced homicide investigators from the seven surrounding law enforcement agencies, ATF, the FBI and the prosecutor to assist in solving homicides. We will bring the specialties of the police department to bear on the homicide problem, including the vice unit, the gang unit, the narcotics unit, the violent crimes unit, and the officers who work where the murders occurred. We will empower our officers to stop and question everyone moving about in the neighborhood where the crime occurred. We will also include the prosecutor's office and the marshal's office in the process to ensure a full view of the crime and the criminals. We will implement targeted and unannounced warrant sweeps to gather and collect wanted criminals within a two-mile radius of any murder that takes place. We will conduct immediate interviews of those arrested and share information gathered with the Metro Homicide Unit," Merritt explained.

Hogsett campaign spokesman Heather Slager re-

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sponded, saying, "Over the last four years, Mayor Hogsett has returned IMPD to neighborhood-based beat policing, invested in grassroots organizations tackling the root causes of violent crime, and worked to build community trust. We know these strategies are working, as overall violent crime was down in 2018 and many indicators, including criminal homicides, are trending down in 2019. It is incredibly disappointing to see Sen. Merritt stand up today and pay lip service to police-community relations while promoting a 'stop and frisk'-like strategy. These plans would turn back the clock on years of progress and create a culture of fear harmful to neighborhoods and officers alike."

Merritt began his proposal by calling Mayor Hogsett's response to the city's homicide rate by saying, "The silence coming from the mayor's office has been deafening. This is unacceptable."

Merritt acknowledged that African-American residents are disproportionately affected by violent crime. "During the campaign, I have learned about the disparity within our city," he said. "While I am creating a plan to get our city on the right track, failing to address this specific issue is a disservice to our city. Out of the 159 homicides in 2018, 118 of them were African-Americans – and 83 cases are still unsolved. When he ran for mayor, Joe Hogsett touted his law enforcement background and told us he would keep our city safe, and yet his record is one of abject failure."

According to Merritt, the only people who currently feel safe in our city are the criminals. "People's homes have been violated. A score of teen lives cut short. Fear prevails in many of our neighbors' eyes. This isn't acceptable," Merritt said. "My administration will make it clear: If you are a criminal, you have no place in our city."

Merritt's plan to combat violent crime includes using proven law enforcement practices previously abandoned and getting back to grassroots crime prevention programs that work. "The communities most affected by this violence have a distrust of law enforcement. This is a systemic issue that needs to be addressed," he said. "People should not be in fear when officers are called to help in any situation. We need members of our community to connect with our officers and engage with them outside of a law enforcement capacity through community events."

Slager of the Hogsett campaign added, "While chest-pounding and battle plans to invade neighborhoods with swarms of traffic stops may make Sen. Merritt feel like he's tough on crime, Indianapolis residents know that empty talk and half-baked ideas won't address the systemic issues affecting too many in our city."

New Hogsett ad

Indianapolis Mayor Joe Hogsett's reelection campaign is airing a TV ad touting the administration's capital

improvement programs. The ad highlights the repairing of streets as well as adding 27,000 new LED street lights. "Building a better city with more work to do," Hogsett said in the ad's tagline. Hogsett's campaign has spent at least \$1 million in TV ads thus far this cycle.

Merritt, Hogsett debate

Mayor Hogsett and Sen. Merritt debated last week. The candidates disagreed strongly on a topic of upmost importance to voters: How to pay for fixing and maintaining the city's 8,000 miles of roads. Hogsett earlier this year introduced a regional plan that pools future income tax revenue from a nine-county area to pay for infrastructure improvements throughout the region. Mayors in cities surrounding Indianapolis, particularly those in Hamilton County, have balked at the idea, saying the plan unfairly creates winners and losers. Hogsett defended his plan, saying he believes his idea is a compelling one and provides a solution without creating a new tax, such as a commuter tax, which also has been an unpopular proposal. He wants to see his plan "fully vetted" but said he's open to discussing other ideas. "The truth is every day nearly 200,000 people get up and drive into Indianapolis from outside of our county," Hogsett said. "They go to work, and when they drive home that night, they take their income tax home with them. That is fundamentally unfair to the residents of Marion County."



Merritt has proposed adding optional toll lanes on commuter-heavy roads such Binford Boulevard and Fall Creek Parkway. The toll lanes would give drivers traveling downtown from the suburbs an express lane if they are willing to pay for it. Thursday night, he said the toll lanes could create new funding to help address the city's infrastructure problems. "I see that as a real possibility for the future of our infrastructure," he said. Both candidates agreed poverty is an issue facing the city, where 20% of the population is affected by it. Sen. Merritt said it's important to discuss food deserts and food insecurity when talking about poverty (IBJ). He was critical of Mayor Hogsett's plan to combat food insecurity in Indianapolis, which involves using public funds to transport people to grocery stores via Lyft.

Merritt called for a "robust" program in which food is delivered to people's homes, saying "Lyft is decaying neighborhoods." He also proposed the idea of creating a food tax increment financing district to help those who are struggling. Meanwhile, Hogsett said quality education is the ticket to pulling people from poverty. He touted his Indy Achieves Promise Scholarship, a new program sponsored by the city that provides financial aid to low-income students from Marion County who attend IUPUI or Ivy Tech.

Horse Race Status: Likely Hogsett ❖

Holcomb's reelect now faces personnel issues

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Gov. Eric Holcomb begins a four-nation Asian trade tour this week, heading to Japan and South Korea, and then China and India Sept. 22 to Oct. 5. “Markets are more connected now than ever before, and we’re proud to support a growing global dynamic economy in Indiana,” Holcomb told the NWI Times. “That growth



is evident in our business sector, with 1,000 foreign-owned companies throughout Indiana employing 21st Century talent in communities all across our state.”

His campaign announced the return of senior leadership, with Joe Elsener returning as deputy campaign manager and political director, Mindy Colbert as finance director and Matt Huckleby as deputy campaign manager. “After witnessing what Joe, Mindy and Matt could do in 2016, I can’t wait to see the unstoppable fundraising and political operation they’re going to lead going into 2020,” said Kyle Hupfer, campaign manager of the Eric Holcomb for Indiana campaign.

The wildcard for Gov. Holcomb’s reelection comes on the personnel side of the administration following news of the real reason Department of Child Services Associate Director Todd Meyer resigned following what was described as “creepy” emails he sent to an intern.

This comes in the wake of Jim Brown’s resignation at Veterans Affairs and Adj. Gen. Courtney Carr’s sudden exit at the Indiana National Guard. The Holcomb administration had been remarkably stable during its first three years. It’s too early to tell if this is a trend, or an aberration. Whether it becomes a staple of Holcomb’s 2020 reelection bid is too early to tell, though Democrats appear ready to take it on.

Indiana Democratic Party Chairman John Zody flagged it as a trend. “Another week, another disgraced Holcomb administration official accused of inappropriate conduct and betraying the public trust,” Zody said. “Holcomb’s hand-picked hire to turn around the agency resigned in disgrace just one year later. Did the administration fail to vet Meyer or was his hiring just a political favor? Either way, the governor looks like a lightweight after staking DCS’s turnaround on Meyer’s hire. It’s just the latest example of a culture of cronyism fueled by little to no accountability and where the governor allows perpetrators to quietly slink away without facing consequences for their actions. All while the number of child deaths is on the rise in Indiana.”

Dr. Woody Myer did not talk about the Todd Meyer case this past week as he campaigned in Vigo County on Labor Day, though he mentioned the Brown and Meyer cases during the HPI Interview in August. “Todd Meyer was brought in to clean up the legal components of DCS, to hire lawyers, to use his prosecutorial background to fix those entities, to fix the component of what wasn’t working,” Myers said. “He seems to have been asked to leave suddenly with no explanation from the state as to what that was all about. The position was created for him to do that job, so we know there was something going on, and we have an obligation to find out.”

When HPI pressed the Department of Personnel on the Meyer resignation (after being referred there by the governor’s office), Deputy Director Mikka Jackson said in a statement, “Todd Meyer was not suspended, demoted, or discharged; he resigned, and there are no formal charges pending. The statute does not require a public employer to create and publish a statement about the reason for another person’s decision. The individual may or may not choose to speak for himself.”

Holcomb did publicly address the Meyer situation, saying that he is “not welcomed in state government.” Holcomb told WTHR-TV’s Sandra Chapman, “Disgusted by



WRTV’s Kara Kenney interviews Gov. Holcomb on the abrupt resignation of Indiana National Guard Adj. Gen. Courtney Carr in August after a lawsuit alleged the commander was involved in an extramarital affair.



DCS Associate Director Todd Meyer with DCS Director Terry Stigdon.

what I read, beyond disappointed. It was, in fact, handled appropriately. This was brought to the attention of the agency on one day and was followed up all the way up the chain and he resigned the very next day as the investigation was starting.

When it went to the state personnel (department) it was deemed that the communication was inappropriate, and therefore he would be ineligible to work as a state employee."

In the wake of Attorney General Curtis Hill's sine die party actions, Holcomb had called for a "zero tolerance" policy of sexual harassment and assaults in state government. He also called for Hill to resign, which the attorney general conspicuously has refused to do and is indicating he will seek reelection.

Meyer, the former Boone County prosecutor, told WTHR-TV, "I should not have communicated in the manner I did. I am sorry for doing so and I apologize. I have learned from this mistake such that it will never happen again. These messages were intended to be received in a positive and friendly manner, but I now recognize they were not, and I understand. As soon as this matter was brought to my attention I spoke with my wife and children, we discussed the situation in its entirety, and we are learning and moving on from it."

Holcomb also addressed the Carr resignation coming in the wake of a lawsuit filed in Marion County, telling WRTV's Kara Kenney, "After reviewing the lawsuit and being briefed by my team, I felt it was in the best interest of the state and for himself that he resign and I am grateful that he took that recommendation to heart and made the decision to do so," Holcomb said. "We are going to take our time and get it right. We want to make sure that any and all matters at the Indiana National Guard are addressed. We are under no timeline."

Carr is facing a lawsuit from a former Indiana National Guard contractor Shari McLaughlin alleging Carr had an affair with a subordinate, and when McLaughlin spoke out, she was subjected to intimidation and retaliation. According to WRTV, McLaughlin said she reached out to Holcomb's office starting in October 2017 via phone and through the website but was never able to get a meeting. McLaughlin's attorney said they sent a letter to the governor's office in April 2019 asking the office to preserve any records in the Carr matter.

The Meyer case actually developed on the day HPI traveled with Holcomb to Clark County on July 16, calling his administration the "Dream Team." The Holcomb administration and DCS did not explain why Meyer left.

Asked about the low turnover, Holcomb said, "A lot

of people said when we started, a lot of people thought, first executive order, Jim McClelland, he'll give it a year. Or Earl Goode, tail end of his career. They are staying involved because they are part of not just making history, but they are seeing the state transformed." (That was in reference to Drug Czar McClelland, who is in his third year with the administration, and the governor's chief of staff, Earl Goode.)

Is this a significant political problem for the governor? At this point, no. Every administration has had personnel issues and controversies. It all comes down to how such cases are handled. Is it a potential opening for Myers? Possibly, particularly if more such cases arise.

Myers campaigns in Terre Haute

Walking in Terre Haute's Labor Day Parade on Monday was like a homecoming for Myers, a Democratic candidate for Indiana governor in 2020 (Trigg, Terre Haute Tribune-Star). An Indianapolis native, Myers said he has deep family roots in Vigo County, and spent many sum-



mers in Terre Haute as a child. His relatives include members of the Tyler, Ross and Redmon families in the Lost Creek community. "We made a lot of new connections today," Myers said as he prepare to ladle ham and

beans to the crowd gathered in Fairbanks Park for the annual Labor Day celebration. Myers' platform has focused on education, jobs and healthcare. "Education is hugely important in our state and we're not doing anywhere near as well as we should," Myers said. Teacher salaries have not increased at the same rate as in other states, he said, and legislators need to direct more funding to teachers and the education system. "We got to make sure that the kids that are in public education — which is 93% of Indiana's children — are getting 93% of the attention, 93% of the money, 93% of the effort, and that's not true today," he said.

Congress

5th CD: Ruckelshaus passes on run

The open 5th CD race continued to take shape on Thursday with State Sen. John Ruckelshaus announcing he will seek reelection rather than mount a congressional race, while Indiana Treasurer Kelly Mitchell is in, filing FEC paperwork earlier this week. It brings the Republican field looking to replace the retiring U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks to three. Mitchell is joining Noblesville pastor Micah

Beckwith and former legislator Steve Braun in the race. Ruckelshaus said in a statement, "I've had occasion this summer to reflect on my relationship to Indiana and how I can best serve the community I love so dearly. I was humbled to receive encouragement to run for Congress from across the district, and indeed, across the aisle, as many Democrats and Republicans alike thought I should give it a shot. It was gratifying to hear that the brand of politics that is my DNA – committing to bipartisan solutions and giving everyone a seat at the table – is endorsed by so many of my constituents." But Ruckelshaus said, "It soon became clear that a run for Congress would be more about politics rather than focusing on the substance of the issues that I believe we need to address. Therefore, we have ultimately decided that the best way to continue serving my community is to stay in the State Senate." Mitchell and Braun did not release statements after filing FEC documents. The field is likely to grow, as former state senator Mike Delph told HPI on Monday that he continues to travel the district,



but a decision won't come until after the November municipal elections. Delph said he did not want to detract from mayoral campaigns. Hamilton County businessman Terry Henderson is also looking at a bid.

DCCC reacts to Mitchell candidacy

The IJB reported that Indiana Treasurer Mitchell has released a campaign kickoff video, but it was not posted on YouTube, nor was it covered in her hometown newspaper or any other media, which is a strange way to begin a congressional campaign. She filed paperwork with the FEC in late August. DCCC did, with spokesperson Mike Gwin saying, "Job Killing Kelly Mitchell worked to threaten over 100,000 good-paying Hoosier jobs, and now she thinks she deserves a promotion to Congress. Hoosier middle-class families are already struggling as the cost of their health care and daily lives keep rising. The last person they need representing them in Congress is a politician like Mitchell who fought in court to kill good-paying jobs in Indiana and who would go to Washington and back the Republicans' disastrous health care repeal plan that would raise health insurance costs and jeopardize protections for people with pre-existing conditions."

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8th CD: Bucshon on town hall threats

U.S. Rep. Larry Bucshon told the TriState Homepage that he holds town halls in non-election years on the advice of Capitol Police due to security risks. "I do these town halls in off-election years because in election years it turns into more of a security risk and the Capitol Police have said because of the intensity in the last couple of years, during an election year – last year – they recommended we don't do these large events," Bucshon said. "I like to do these, I thought we had a good discussion. I expect people to agree and disagree and I heard a lot from my constituents, which is the intent for me to hear what they have to say." Bucshon is the only delegation member who has conducted a series of town halls during the August recess this year. Several members have participated in agriculture roundtables and U.S. Rep. Greg Pence has also had several public appearances.



General Assembly

HD39: Hinton seeks rematch with Torr

Mark Hinton announced his candidacy for the Democrat nomination for HD39 representing Carmel. The seat is held by Republican Rep. Jerry Torr, who defeated Hinton 57-43% in 2018.

Presidential 2020

Tensions mount between Trump, Pence

Tom LoBianco in Political Wire: "On the surface, Trump and Pence insist they have a great relationship and are working closer than ever to win reelection in 2020. (They've consistently beaten back rumors that former U.N. Ambassador Nikki Haley is in the running to replace Pence on the 2020 ticket.)" "But behind the scenes, tensions have been mounting among Trump, Pence and their top advisers ever since the GOP's resounding losses in the 2018 midterms. In the weeks afterward, Trump asked aides about replacing Pence on the ticket, and he asked again for their thoughts on Pence during his August vacation at his golf course in Bedminster, N.J., according to Trump advisers who spoke on condition of anonymity to talk about private discussions with the president." LoBianco is author of the forthcoming biography of Pence, "Piety & Power: Mike Pence and the Taking of the White House."

Pence's Doonbeg fiasco

Vice President Pence's chief of staff Marc Short said the veep is staying at President Trump's Doonbeg Irish resort on a "suggestion" from POTUS even though its 180 miles away from Dublin. But Wednesday, Trump said, "I had no involvement, other than it's a great place. It wasn't my idea for Mike to go there." ❖

Buttigieg's last hope is if Biden falters

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

MICHIGAN CITY – Ted Kennedy whiffed on the question of why he was running for president way back in 1980. Hillary Clinton could never sum up the overall rationale for her candidacies in 2008 and 2016, beyond it was her turn and it was time for a female president.

And Joe Biden this past week? He was asked the question in Iowa and responded, "I think it's really, really, really important that Donald Trump not be reelected. Could I die happily not having heard 'Hail to the Chief' play for me? Yeah, I could."

Out on the campaign trail, the rationale goes something like this: He's running to save the soul of America, as he said during his campaign kickoff video. He seeks to restore the middle class in an era where artificial intelligence and off-shoring jobs has crimped its vision of an expansive American dream. And, Biden wants to unite the country.

New York Times reporter Mark Leibovitz puts the rationale into this context: "Remarkably, after all this time, Mr. Biden stumbles to come up with a clear answer."

So, there is an emerging sense that Biden's frontrunner status is built on name recognition and the perception that he can defeat President Trump without the frilly free-stuff-for-the-masses trappings that has tended to describe the leftward Democratic presidential field. The Quinnipiac Poll last week had Biden defeating Trump 54-38%. But even on this front, there is data that Trump is at Hooveresque historic vulnerability. That same Quinnipiac Poll had Trump confined to 40% support or lower, and South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg led 49-40% in a head-to-head with the president.

Last night, Biden appeared to have a blood vessel burst in his left eye while participating in CNN's town hall on climate change. A broken blood vessel in the eye, also known as a subconjunctival hemorrhage, can be caused by several things, including high blood pressure, bleeding disorders, blood thinners, or even excessive straining. But it brings on the specter of health problems dogging the 76-year-old candidate's campaign.



Thus, at the Labor Day milepost, the opening for Pete Buttigieg is tied to the fate of the frontrunning Biden. If the former vice president and current gaffe-machine loses his grip on the rationale as the logical challenger to embattled President Trump, then a nomination lane that seems obscure and extremely narrow now opens up

for the other four top-tier candidates, including Indiana's Mayor Pete.

Buttigieg has one huge attribute at this stage of the race: He raised a whopping \$25 million from a significantly gay donor base in the second quarter FEC report. That's the proverbial double-edged sword. He went from a mayor who just happened to be gay, to a gay candidate who kissed his husband on stage at the April South Bend campaign kickoff. And then husband Chasten became a social media star in his own right. The problem is that this show didn't play well in South Carolina, where 61% of that critical state's electorate is African-American. Given their evangelical backgrounds, many of those voters take a dim view of gay candidates.



Mayor Pete has a race problem. The Charleston Courier and Post polling has seen Buttigieg go from zero support with black voters, to then 6%, and back to 2% this summer.

Buttigieg became the so-called "flavor of the month" in May when he began registering in double digits in several state and national polls. But after the June police-action shooting in South Bend, he has faded into the mid-single digits. It's enough to station him at the tail end of the so-called "top tier" of candidates that includes Biden, Bernie Sanders, Elizabeth Warren and Kamala Harris. It's qualified him for the single-stage Sept. 12 debate in Houston. But Sanders and Warren are drawing big, enthusiastic crowds, and Warren seems to be best positioned to take advantage of an opening if the perception of a weakened, drift-and-gaffe Biden becomes prevalent.

Buttigieg's race problem goes beyond South Carolina. On Aug. 21 on the south side of Chicago, Buttigieg drew an overwhelmingly white audience in a historically black African-American neighborhood. At one point during the rally, he acknowledged the disparity: "Find the people who don't look like most of you in this room and let them know they have the chance, not just to support this campaign, but to shape it."

Buttigieg's race dilemma finds its roots in Indiana, where he has yet to pick up a significant endorsement. He fired the black South Bend police chief in his first year in office, saw his police force fall into single digits on the minority-hiring front when the city is 26% black, then came the June police-action shooting of a black man by a white officer, triggering a couple weeks of protests and emotional meetings that played out on the national stage. Any chance of appealing to black voters appeared to be in jeopardy following that sequence. During the first presidential debate, Buttigieg when pressed on the disparity between his city's police force and the population confessed, "Because I couldn't get it done."

"If he couldn't corral a 100-member police depart-

ment, how will he corral the Defense and State Departments," said Len Gleich, who heard the mayor in Hanover, N.H., to the New York Times.

The mayor hasn't been endorsed by an African-American South Bend councilman or woman, or anyone in the Indiana General Assembly's Black Caucus, or anyone from the NAACP or the Urban League. It is a gaping hole in a traditional Democratic resume. Buttigieg leapfrogged over the creation of an Indiana base, going from mayor to DNC chair candidate, and now a presidential contender without the normal ribs of traditional home-state support.

Buttigieg responded to the police-action shooting by meeting with the Rev. Al Sharpton, with black parishioners in Charleston, and came up with the "Douglass Plan" to address what he calls "historic and ingrained" racial divisions afflicting the nation.

The mayor has resources to try and position for the proverbial lightning strike if Biden falters. He's opening up 20 Iowa field offices in 20 days with 100 staffers, and another 14 in New Hampshire. "Labor Day for us is really going to be a turning point," said Buttigieg campaign manager Mike Schmuhl. "It's when we'll flip the switch."

Buttigieg noted on MSNBC's "Morning Joe" today that a field office opening in Iowa City drew 800 people.

So, the switch has been flipped and Buttigieg will attempt to position for an opening. The odds are against him, but this is the era of Trump, when anything is possible and anything can happen. But without a tide of African-American support, the Buttigieg campaign looks more like a cabinet post audition than a presidency in the making.

Buttigieg's climate plan

Mayor Buttigieg's presidential campaign released an innovative plan to bring Americans together behind urgent action to address the threat of climate change and meet the greatest challenge of our time. Buttigieg's plan channels all of our energies into a national project—one that unifies every American, from big cities to rural communities, around this urgent threat and seizes the tremendous opportunity of a new era of climate action. "For too long Washington has chosen denial and obstruction as we're faced with the imminent catastrophic effects of climate change," said Buttigieg. "But the timeline that compels us to act isn't set by Congress, it's being dictated by science. Climate change impacts not only our coasts, but also farmers, small businesses, homes, and communities across our country. My plan ensures that no community is left behind as we meet the challenge of our time with the urgency and unity it demands." The Buttigieg campaign puts the climate plan's price tag between \$1.5 trillion and \$2 trillion. The mayor's plan tackles the climate change crisis head on: Build a clean electricity system with zero emissions and require zero emissions for all new passenger vehicles by 2035; transition all new trucks, buses, ships, and planes by 2040, and all industrial, manufacturing, and agriculture by 2050, to net-zero emissions. Buttigieg touted his plan at a CNN town hall Wednesday night. ❖

Questions as Mayor Pete heads to his 3rd debate

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Let’s look at some questions about the top 10 candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination and their competition for the first time all together on the same debate stage.

Q. How did it get down to a top 10 appearing on one night?

A. After those first two rounds of debates, in which a field of 20 qualifiers was split for two nights of debating in Miami and then Detroit, the Democratic National Committee made qualification harder, including needing to reach at least 2% in four major polls conducted nationwide or in early primary states.



Q. Good decision?

A. Of course. It’s time to get down to serious competition among candidates with the most realistic chances for the presidential nomination so that voters can focus on them without distraction from some

others with no chance at all.

Q. Did Mayor Pete have any difficulty qualifying?

A. No. South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg qualified long ago through both the required number of donors and rankings in many polls.

Q. Will Buttigieg have a chance to shine in this debate with all the other top contenders on Sept. 12 in Houston?

A. A chance. Probably a limited chance.

Q. Why limited?

A. The ABC-TV moderators and questioners, just like representatives of the networks presenting the first debates, will direct more questions and allow more time for the frontrunners.

Q. So, who will get the most time?

A. The three in the top tier in just about all the polls, clear frontrunner Joe Biden and top challengers Elizabeth Warren and Bernie Sanders.

Q. Why?

A. News judgment and desire to keep viewers watching will dictate that how the two progressive challengers compete with each other and compete with Biden will get the most attention.

Q. Will Buttigieg be almost forgotten?

A. No. He is fifth, in the tier just behind the top three, in most of the polls and will have significant opportunities, just not as many as the top three.

Q. What will be Buttigieg’s best opportunity?

A. Hard to say specifically, since we don’t know the questions. But he could have an opportunity to show thoughtful and reasoned responses contrasting with any nasty bickering or stumbling or wild promising among the top three.

Q. Will some who didn’t qualify for this debate continue as candidates?

A. Yes. There’s no rule that they can’t file as candidates in Iowa and New Hampshire and elsewhere if they don’t make the debates. It’s possible, although highly unlikely, that one of the candidates who didn’t make it for the debate could go on to pull startling primary upsets and win the nomination.

Q. But will the field of announced contenders be cut as a result of the qualifiers for this debate?

A. Yes. Sen. Kristen Gillibrand of New York, who got nowhere in the polls, quickly dropped out when she didn’t qualify. Some other low performers already had given up. Will billionaire Tom Steyer, who spent millions of his own money to buy a spot on the debate stage and failed to register 2% in a fourth poll, continue to run and spend? He could. How about New York City Mayor Bill de Blasio, getting nowhere and looking like a small timer in comparison with South Bend’s mayor?

Q. Will there be a lot more debates?

A. Yes. Six rounds of debates were scheduled for this year and six more are planned for 2020.


Q. Are all these debates good for Democratic prospects of defeating President Trump?

A. Yes and no. Yes, if they help Democratic voters decide on a strong nominee who emerges with unified party support. Bad, if they bring about pouting by losers and a lack of party unity that developed after the Hillary vs. Bernie scrap in 2016. ❖

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

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

Andrew Luck's courage and an Indiana future

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS — For many Hoosiers, last weekend presented a gut punch when we learned that Colts quarterback Andrew Luck was retiring at the tender age of 29.

The emotions of fans run the gamut, from incredulity, to anger, sadness, wist and then when you put it into the proper context, appreciation and thanks for what Andrew Luck brought to Indiana. He became a Hoosier, invested in our community while playing with great heart, soul and distinction.

One of Luck's most courageous displays occurred in November 2015 in a game against Peyton Manning and the 7-1 Denver Broncos at Lucas Oil Stadium. Luck led the 4-5 Colts to a thrilling 27-24 victory, throwing two touchdown passes and 252 yards (Manning threw for 281 yards, two TDs and two picks and finished the game a mere three yards from becoming the NFL's all-time leading passer). But it was a brutal second half hit on Luck that would lacerate one of his kidneys and tear an abdominal muscle. It forced him to miss several games.

After the game, Luck said, "That's who we need to be, consistently. Probably a little bit of soul searching, trying to figure out what we want to be."

Luck's dilemma was that the hits kept coming, coast-to-coast, from a shoulder injury that kept him out for an entire season, to this spring and summer when he suffered nagging leg and ankle injuries. "For the last four years or so, I've been in this cycle of injury, pain, rehab, injury, pain, rehab, and it's been unceasing, unrelenting, both in-season and off-season, and I felt stuck in it," Luck explained in an emotional post-game press conference. "The only way I see out is to no longer play football. I've come to the proverbial fork in the road, and I made a vow to myself that if I ever did again, I'd choose me, in a sense."

At my alma mater, Peru High School, there used to be a Grantland Rice "Alumnus Football" quote high on

the wall at TigArena that provided inspiration for many who played or watched: "For when the One Great Scorer comes to write against your name; He marks — not that you won or lost — but how you played the Game."

Andrew Luck personified the spirit of that.

Author John Feinstein (who wrote the book, "Season on the Brink" about Indiana University Coach Bob Knight), noted in a Washington Post column this week that he once asked Luck what he would do after his football career. Luck responded, "Honestly, I think I could be very happy teaching high school history."

Which brought to mind another Hoosier legend who crossed my path. That would be Marvin Wood, the coach of the 1954 Milan miracle team that inspired the movie "Hoosiers." I got to know Wood when he coached the girls basketball team at Mishawaka High School late in his career. The teacher/coach decided to run for the

Indiana House. He lost, but what I found was a man with a kind intellect who decided he wanted to give something else to his state.

There have been others who have gone from the field of battle in sports and into public policy. The late Gov. Frank O'Bannon played basketball at IU, former congressmen Lee Hamilton and Baron Hill played basketball collegiately, as well as Republican Chairman Kyle Hupfer (who played on Coach Steve Alford's Manchester College champs), Democratic Elkhart mayoral nominee Rod Roberson, and State Rep. Bob Heaton.

Luck certainly has the intellect and curios-

ity that would translate into the public policy arena. He has the courage as we witnessed countless times over the past seven years. Our state and nation need such courage. We face issues such as the mass shooting and opioid epidemics, climate change, widening income disparity, immigration that will shape the future of our melting pot culture, and, perhaps, the most intellectually challenging dynamic, the coming artificial intelligence that will impact our workforce in the coming generations.

In all of these issues, there is a need for courage that seems to be lacking these days. We all are at a fork in the road.

Luck studied architecture at Stanford University



and spent time exploring Indiana's considerable contributions in that field. When he gave the Ubben lecture at DePauw University six months before his kidney laceration, he toured the campus checking out its unique architecture.

"I love reading," Luck said, telling the audience he had just finished "Endurance: Shackleton's Incredible Voyage," a book about the ill-fated Antarctic expedition headed by Sir Ernest Shackleton in 1914. "He survives, and every crew member survives with him."



Luck called the book a lesson of "incredible fortitude and survival instincts. Can you imagine a year in the dark with no food, with 30 people — rough sailors — and managing the egos and the personalities to survive, just so you don't kill each other? Fantastic read."

You could make the case that the notion of Shackleton's adventure has Luck poised for a stint of public service.

Luck has one other key ingredient applicable in politics: Fame.

Yes, I hope Andrew Luck remains a Hoosier. ❖

Jobs of the future

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS — As the leaves begin to fall, young people are heading back to school. For many, this is the senior year of high school. For others, this is the first year at college, in the military, or working at a full-time job. For each, it means answering the question: "So, whatcha gonna do wit ya life?"



Little do they know they will spend the next 60 years trying to answer that question.

Whereas, at some distant date, schooling meant education; today it means occupation. Some policy-makers want to stress maximizing the future earnings of students as the goal of schooling. But all

students, it is believed, should be "job ready" when they graduate from high school and/or college. They should be "trained" for the workforce, ready to meet the expectations of today's employers, as well as prepared for an uncertain future.

Go back a generation to the late 1990s. Few then anticipated manufacturing would lose 4.8 million jobs in the next 20 years. But at that time, who could have suspected 6.7 million jobs would be added to old, dull FIRE (Finance, Insurance and Real Estate)?

"Certainly," you will say, "automation in the U.S. and cheaper labor abroad foretold a diminishing need for workers in manufacturing." And we would all shake our heads knowingly in agreement.

But could we have predicted the same result in FIRE? Aren't those jobs mainly shuffling paper, rubber-stamping, initialing, and triple-checking the obvious? Clearly, automation could eliminate much of that tedium.

Why didn't FIRE jobs decline? What's the difference?

Service to people. Manufacturing is making or processing millions of things with little personalization. FIRE, however, like health care and food services and drinking places, involves direct, semi-immediate, seemingly personal attention to individuals.

What are we seeing today? Slow growth, even contractions, in retail trade jobs, but rapid growth in warehousing and ground transportation jobs. Why? Because shoppers have found they really don't care what the salesperson thinks or recommends. They'll use their computers to judge a product, get it delivered to the doorstep, and send it back if it does not meet their expectations.

That's service to people. Impersonal? Sure, but face-to-face relationships with poorly trained, inexperienced sales clerks in a store as welcoming as a mausoleum is no longer acceptable.

For the next generation of workers, those now or soon entering the labor market, computer interactions are as natural as telephone calls were to their parents. Personal services, but not necessarily face-to-face, are on the rise. That's where the jobs are growing and will be growing.

It's not just assisted living for the elderly or infirm. It's personal services by people who know what they are doing and why they are doing it. That's where the higher incomes will be in the future.

Artificial intelligence will advance the machine age, but genuine intelligence and sensitivity will prosper. ❖

Mr. Marcus is an economist. Reach him at mortonj-marcus@yahoo.com. Follow his views and those of John Guy on "Who gets what?" wherever podcasts are available or at mortonjohn.libsyn.com.

Cause for optimism and concern on democracy

By LEE HAMILTON

BLOOMINGTON – Sometimes, you wonder if the world is doomed to descend into autocracy. Certainly, that's what the coverage of the past few years suggests. We read about the nations that are already there, like China and Russia, of course, and Saudi Arabia and Iran. Or about

countries like Hungary, Turkey, and Poland that are nominally democratic but have been trending less so.

What strikes me most about this discussion of a global decline in democratic norms and values, however, is how little coverage has gone to places where democracy remains robust. How much do you read about countries that are performing well on this front, places like Norway, Iceland, Sweden, New Zealand, Denmark,

Canada, Ireland, Switzerland, Finland, or Australia? Asking the question pretty much answers it.

These are strong, stable democracies. They have a healthy electoral process, their governments function admirably, political participation is robust, and civil liberties remain core to their identity. Amid concerns about democracy's future, they're shining examples of its staying power.

There's no question that there's reason for concern. Plenty of countries, including some of those above, are home to anti-democratic movements that reject the basic freedoms, civil liberties, and pluralism that we associate with democracy. Moreover, unhappiness with the way democracy is working appears to be rising; a Pew poll last year found dissatisfaction rose between 2017 and 2018, sometimes markedly, in such countries as Germany, India, the Netherlands, Sweden, Japan, Canada, and the U.S.

One key to what's going on in this country may lie in another Pew poll from earlier this summer: Americans see declining trust in both the federal government and in one another. They cite poor government performance, fear about the corruption of the political process by monied interests, and a general rise in disrespect for others and their beliefs.

Moreover, I'm struck over and over by the extent to which people I encounter lack confidence in elected leaders today. I was in a discussion group recently in which pretty much every participant attacked the country's political leaders, regardless of ideology and party. You can find their arguments echoed wherever you turn. They don't think elected leaders act in the public interest, instead putting their own promotion and well-being first. And people

believe that our political leaders, both in Washington and in the state capitals, are failing to confront the big problems that concern people: drugs, health care, affordability, education, good jobs, ethical conduct, and the like.

Yet here's the thing: Over the course of countless public meetings over the years, I don't ever recall anyone rejecting the Constitution or representative democracy itself. They may be distressed at government, our institutions, and our political leaders, but people seem to support the democracy we inhabit.

What may be most interesting about the polls I cite above is that even as Americans express their dissatisfaction, they also recognize the stakes and want to see things turned around. They believe that low trust in government and in one another makes it more difficult to govern effectively, and by a hefty margin believe it's possible to improve on both fronts. Greater transparency, more effective restrictions on the role of money in politics, and more "honesty and cooperation" among political leaders, they told pollsters, would boost confidence. Similarly, they believe more cooperation among ordinary citizens would help rebuild trust in one another. These are, of course, among the bedrock values of representative democracy.

There's one other point from which I take great hope; younger people, on the whole, seem to be more inclusive and tolerant in their views than their elders, and they have a more positive view of the role of government. On the whole, the older people I meet tend to be more cynical and pessimistic; younger voters, on issues from immigration to social inclusiveness, tend to be more expansive. Time, in other words, is on the side of democratic values.

So while I would never urge complacency in the face of the assaults we're seeing on democratic norms, both here and elsewhere, I'm not pessimistic. Democracies have great internal strength, and they give cause for optimism that the core democratic processes of deliberation, compromise, negotiation, and cooperation will, in the end, endure. ❖

Lee Hamilton is a Senior Advisor for the Indiana University Center on Representative Government; a Distinguished Scholar at the IU Hamilton Lugar School of Global and International Studies; and a Professor of Practice at the IU O'Neill School of Public and Environmental Affairs. He was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives for 34 years.



Ideas, not labor or capital, made our modern economy

By **MICHAEL HICKS**

MUNCIE — Labor Day weekend is always a popular time to talk about work and worker issues. I wish to add a twist on it and talk about some popular misconceptions about work and capital and the meaning of both. If you've been fed a steady diet of anti-capitalist nonsense, or are a diehard capitalist, this story is going to scramble many of your misconceptions.

I begin by noting that most American adults are actually laborers. Among those of working age, very few Americans subsist upon the accumulated capital of their ancestors. This is even though a higher share of Americans today own capital than at any other time in history. With some 60% of households owning some sort of retirement fund, it is fair to say that now we are all both capitalists and laborers. Ironically, labor force participation is higher among workers who possess capital than those who do not, though the direction of causation surely works both ways.



Many decades ago, economists spoke and wrote about economic growth as primarily caused by combining labor and capital. The profession acknowledged, but thought little about, the role of technology change.

That way of thinking continues to animate public policy, resulting in numerous policies designed to attract capital. For the last four decades, the focus of research and popular writing about economic growth has been almost wholly about human capital and the power of ideas. Insofar as economists write about labor and capital, it is mostly to put into perspective the much more powerful force of ideas in causing economic growth.

One startling way to think about this is through the observation that everything in the world that is required to make a Tesla, iPhone or GPS satellite has always been on Earth. The only thing missing was the ideas needed to create them. Human capital, not merely the combination of labor and capital, brought us economic growth.

This simple revelation should spawn many fundamental questions about our world, and rethinking of public policies designed to generate economic growth. Sadly, it hardly ever does. Nationally, we remain transfixed by ideas from the 1970s about the role of capital taxation and

growth. Here in Indiana, our education and labor market policies have shifted towards filling jobs on the factory floor rather than investing in the growth of human capital.

The 20th Century was an American century precisely because of our stunning improvements in education and science. From 1950 through 2000, the average years of schooling for an American rose by 3.7 years, or almost 40%. Productivity of the average worker rose by 268% over the same 50-year period. In 1950, it took 27 workers to produce \$1 million of value in today's dollars. However, in 2000, 10 workers could produce \$1 million worth of goods.

A simple empirical study that decomposes growth resulting from capital, labor and human capital inevitably finds that human capital, more than anything else, caused this growth. There are two broad policies available to extrapolate that growth into the 21st Century. Both involve people.

The first and most obvious thing is to promote educational attainment. Indiana's workforce has suffered a profound reversal. In the 12 years from third quarter 2007 (the height of the last recovery) through third quarter 2018, the quality of our workforce has actually declined. The share of adult workers with a bachelor's degree dropped by 0.3%, while the share without a high school diploma rose by 2.4%. In stunning contrast, the share of workers nationally with a bachelor's degree rose by 6.8% over the same time, while the share with less than a high school diploma dropped by 1.8%. This tragedy is due primarily to failure of Indiana's educational and workforce policies.

The second thing we can do is to import (attract) more people. Nationally, this necessarily means more, rather than less, immigration. For states, especially those struggling to keep people, this also means more, rather than less immigration. Here in Indiana, as with much of the Midwest, international immigrants saved many communities. Last year, 32 counties lost population and saw net outmigration of native-born Americans. Of those counties, 29 saw international in-migration. Statewide, those immigrants were better educated than us native-born Hoosiers.

These sound like simple matters. They are critical, but not simple. In particular, improving educational outcomes will be expensive and will require undoing a number of recent policies. It necessitates some very tough conversations. This begins by acknowledging a problem that, when unaddressed, risks serious long-term damage to our state's economy. ❖

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Conor Orr, Sports Illustrated: An audience of a few hundred filled the Egyptian Room of Indianapolis's Old National Centre. It was May 2018, and renowned contemporary author John Green was appearing on a local NPR affiliate's book podcast. Green, lanky and bespectacled, clad in blazer and jeans, looked every bit the part of an author as he took the stage and settled into his red velvet tub chair. He has written best sellers "The Fault in Our Stars" and "Paper Towns", and the host prodded him over character development and the "act of observing, not participating in language." But Green was primarily there to discuss his newest work, "Turtles All the Way Down", a recent addition to the show's book club. It's a story about a young girl named Aza Holmes, who suffers from crippling anxiety and obsessive-compulsive disorder. Her mind would pin her into dark places and persuade her to keep prying open a wound on her hand. The host related Aza to his own life. "Through my injury and process over the last two or three years, I felt a little bit of the same anxiety and stress," he said. "You mentioned pain, and that was interesting. For me, it's very difficult to communicate pain to anyone else." With that, the show's host, Andrew Luck, moved on to the next topic. That was just a few months before Luck, after missing the entirety of the 2017 season while recovering from surgery on his throwing shoulder, returned to the field. He rallied the Colts to the playoffs despite a 1-5 start, then earned Comeback Player of the Year honors. It was all thought to be a prelude to the second act of his career, in which he would claim the Super Bowl wins and MVP trophies expected of him when the Colts drafted him No. 1 seven years ago. Instead, on Aug. 24, 19 days shy of his 30th birthday and 15 months after the night he shared the stage with Green, Luck announced his retirement in a stunning, impromptu press conference following a preseason game. An ad nauseam cycle of injuries — among the many there were the shoulder, a lacerated kidney and a torn abdominal muscle that he played through in 2015, a concussion in '16 and, most recently, a left calf injury this summer — and recovery had become too much, he said. He wanted to exit football with his love for the game still intact. Those who criticize Luck's decision don't believe he could have truly appreciated his teammates and the game as much as he had professed. Yet for years he also told interviewers that the sport wouldn't define him, that he would be fine teaching history or using his architecture degree from Stanford. This is where he has now arrived. People who have crossed Luck's path outside football describe a man who genuinely loves to try everything, which is what makes him capable of doing anything. ❖



a door without feeling pain, he knew he had to have surgery. He expected to be ready for training camp because that's what the doctors had told him in January. He ended up missing the entire season. And it was a terrible experience. He talked about how guilty he felt standing on the sideline, helpless to keep his team from losing; about how depressed he became when every time he thought he was making progress, the pain would return; about how he had to flee to Europe for two months to rehab there because being under the media microscope in Indianapolis was impossible as weeks passed with no sign of improvement. "I love being a football player," he said to me after he'd finally started to feel better. "But it isn't my identity, never has been. I love being around my teammates, being part of a team and competing. But I had to make peace with the idea that I might NOT come back before I could make progress toward coming back. That was the hardest part." Luck returned last season to lead a team that had won four games without him in 2017 to 11 wins and a spot in the second round of the playoffs. He was voted the league's comeback player of the year. No one can say he didn't give the team everything he had. It's no mere coincidence that no active NFL player has criticized or questioned his decision. Those who do don't understand how painful it is to play football at the highest level. I'm not talking about injuries, I'm talking about just playing. If you have ever stood on an NFL sideline and watched the way huge men hit one another, it is amazing that anyone ever gets up, even after a routine play. Those who booed Luck on Saturday or have criticized him can't understand this. It doesn't look that painful from a distance. There is something of a Roman Colosseum feel to football: If one gladiator falls, cart him off and bring on the next one. Because NFL players are paid so well, many fans feel they are owed a willingness to sacrifice body and soul. ❖

Michael Serazio, New York Times: Athletes' retirements are fundamentally unusual. The delusions of invincibility that help players climb to spectacular sporting heights are often the same delusions that find them hanging around for too long. Few of them ever actually choose to walk away. More often, a livelihood is cut short, unceremoniously, by injury or by the posting of a preseason roster. "I have never met an athlete who willingly retired from sports," the agent Leigh Steinberg, a four-decade veteran in the business, told me. Instead, he said, players get pushed out because "they're too old; no one wants them; they're too injured." This partly explains the collective gasp you heard from the sports world when the superstar quarterback Andrew Luck announced last weekend that he was retiring from the Indianapolis Colts. What really shocked those booing fans and the dumbstruck media, though, was that Luck had violated the cardinal norm of sports culture — playing through the pain — after a career of fidelity to it. ❖

John Feinstein, Washington Post: When I first sat down with Luck before the start of the 2017 season, he was recovering from shoulder surgery. He had spent the entire 2016 season in considerable pain but played well. When he got to the point where he couldn't pull open

Learn tests scores unexpectedly low

INDIANAPOLIS – Fewer than half of Indiana students tested proficient in the state’s new model of standardized testing (Lanich, [NWI Times](#)). That’s according to new data made available today by the Indiana Department of Education as it rolls out the scores of its first ILEARN exam. While educators have anecdotally reported their testing experiences and the Indiana Department of Education has confirmed low scores this year, the public is getting its first comparative look today at student performance across the state on the exam designed to realign assessment with educational goals for college and career readiness. Initiated by a state panel tasked with providing recommendations for a replacement to Indiana’s repealed ISTEP exam, Indiana lawmakers passed legislation in 2017 establishing the creation of a new assessment.

The test was built over several phases with input from more than 100 educators and a team of national experts, Superintendent of Public Instruction Jennifer McCormick said in a news conference last week, and cost about \$10 million for its first year of implementation and deployment. “We’ve tried to ensure that in Indiana we’re truly building a system of assessments,” IDOE Director of Assessment Charity Flores said. “Historically over time several of our assessments have been built in isolation and the data as a result does not inform the other components.”

McCormick said while frustrating, these declines were to be expected given the implementation of a new assessment and testing platform. She pointed to similar declines following the state’s implementation of ISTEP+ in 2014-15 school year where the IDOE reported drops from a 81.2% passing rate in English/language arts and 84.1% mathematics in the 2013-14 school year to just 67.8%



in English/language arts and 61.6% in mathematics the following year. “It is not uncommon to see those kind of dips,” McCormick said. “We are still feeling the impact of the last performance declines that we were digging ourselves out of and moving in the right direction.”

2 Indiana military projects lose funds

WASHINGTON — Two Indiana military projects are losing funding so President Trump can divert \$3.6 billion to build the border wall he long insisted Mexico would pay for. Crane Naval and Hulman Regional Airport will lose funding for projects for a radar holding area and a small arms range. Trump’s decision comes after a Republican-controlled Congress refused to pass border wall funding.

Holcomb begins Asian trip

INDIANAPOLIS — Indiana’s governor has started a weeklong overseas trip by meeting with business and government leaders in South Korea. Gov. Eric Holcomb on Wednesday began the trip that will continue onto Japan before ending Sept. 10. The Indiana Economic Development Corp. says Holcomb and state business leaders met with South Korean Prime Minister Lee Nak-yeon in Seoul, discussing how the state can support Korean companies that have operations in Indiana. Other activities by the group included a stop at Panmunjom in the Korean Demilitarized Zone, where he visited American troops. Holcomb has more foreign travel plans coming up with a trip to China and India that’s scheduled for Sept. 22 to Oct. 5, concluding with the governor joining the Indiana Pacers in Mumbai for the NBA’s first games in India.

Pence feels wrath from Euro leaders

REYKJAVIK, Iceland – Vice

President Mike Pence is receiving a tongue-lashing from European allies as he plays understudy to the president on the world stage ([AP](#)). From the Taoiseach of Ireland to the mayor of Reykjavik, leaders have been publicly confronting Pence on issues such as the U.K.’s exit from the EU, nuclear disarmament and climate change. The appeals appear part of a desperate effort to try to get through to a Trump administration that follows its own norms and rules, and find someone – anyone – who might be able to change the president’s mind. But again and again, Pence has appeared to brush off the efforts, which spilled into public view before he’d even left the airport in Shannon, Ireland. There, Simon Coveney, the country’s foreign minister, confronted Pence with an urgent message about the potential impact of Brexit. He warned a return to hard borders between Ireland and Northern Ireland would not only disrupt commerce but also threaten a fragile peace. Pence, appearing less than amused by the public confrontation, said he was “grateful” for Coveney’s “candor” and quickly pivoted. But the pleas continued in Pence’s meetings with other Irish leaders, including Taoiseach Leo Varadkar. “All I ask is that you bring that message back to Washington with you,” Varadkar said.

China to resume U.S. trade talks

BEIJING — China said Thursday its trade representatives will fly to Washington in early October to resume negotiations with the United States, raising the possibility that both sides might arrest a recent deterioration in the bilateral relationship that has cast a shadow over the world economy ([Washington Post](#)). China’s top trade negotiator, Vice Premier Liu He, agreed to the October visit in a phone call with Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin and U.S. Trade Representative Robert E. Lighthizer, China’s Commerce Ministry said in a statement.