

Myers enters; Holcomb has \$7.2M

Gubernatorial race begins to form this week; Holcomb job approval at 61%

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Four days before Gov. Eric Holcomb kicks off his reelection campaign in Knight-



stown, he now has a challenger, after Dr. Woody Myers announced

he will seek the Democratic nomination. It is the latest launch of a major party gubernatorial campaign in modern Indiana history and it comes as Holcomb is exhibiting historic strength.

Myers staked his candidacy on the notion that the state has



Dr. Woody Myers with wife Stacy and former congressman Baron Hill Wednesday outside Wishard Hospital. He becomes the first Democrat to enter the 2020 gubernatorial race. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)



had “one party rule” for the past 15 years. “I’m running for governor because Indiana has too many preexisting conditions that typical politicians just can’t treat. And treating tough problems is what I do,” Myers said in front of the

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Recalling the moon shot

By **CRAIG DUNN**

KOKOMO – The poet Robert Browning once wrote, “Ah, but a man’s reach should exceed his grasp, or what’s a heaven for?” The same could be said about a nation’s reach.



The 50th anniversary of mankind’s first steps on the moon on July 20, 1969 is fast approaching. Let’s hope that our nation will not use the occasion to focus on how great an achievement it was, but rather to reflect on the many great things that we might be able to achieve in the future.

The year 1969 was a time not terribly unlike that of today. There was massive domestic turmoil, bordering on open revolt and



“He’s a bad man and he needs to be put away.”

- U.S. Labor Sec. Alex Acosta at a Wednesday presser where he defended a plea deal he made with convicted pedophile Jeffrey Epstein, who now faces similar charges in New York.



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numerous conflicts around the world. There seemed to be nothing which could stop all Americans in their tracks and provide us a moment of inspiration, pride and absolute awe. Since the first humanoid could tilt their head upwards, we have marveled at the existence of the faraway moon. Poets, composers and philosophers have pondered eloquently about the moon for centuries. But then on that amazing early morning in 1969, the moon ceased to be the distant mysterious celestial rock and came tantalizingly into our grasp. What seemed an impossibility at one time, was now a reality.

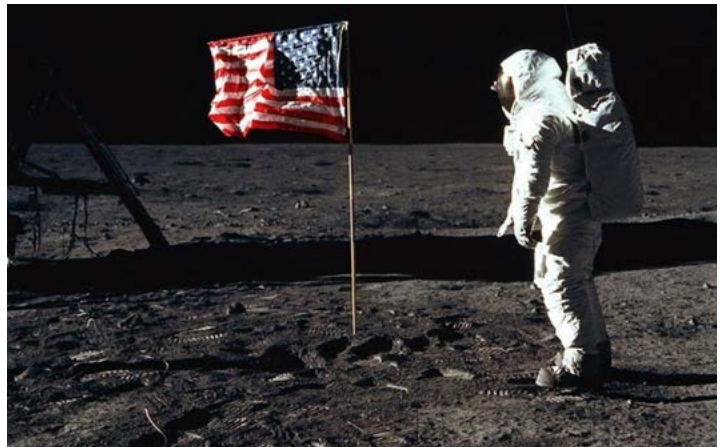
Some memories of events in your life are burned into your mind forever. My parents and I sat glued to the television screen throughout the evening of July 19 and into the wee hours of July 20 to soak in one of the greatest accomplishments of man in recorded history. The drama of the lunar descent, the touchdown and Neil Armstrong's first small steps on

the surface of the moon are impossible to convey to those who did not experience it. Not many things can reduce a boy of 14 to tears, but the tears welled up in me from the pride that America put the first man on the moon. We cheered and celebrated as if we had each had a hand in mankind's and America's success. There were no talks of riots, no talk of Vietnam and no discussion of tax rates or the economy. In the wee hours of July 20, there was only pride.

The United States space program fostered more technological innovations than could ever have been conceived at the time President John F. Kennedy challenged our nation to put a man on the moon. NASA-developed technologies provided advances in science, medicine, engineering and other disciplines. From unique uses

for Teflon, communication satellites, breathing apparatuses for firefighters, heart pumps, software, circuitry and alloys, NASA has pioneered a wealth of significant technologies that has made life better and increased our productivity.

Just about any person in any part of the world can put a round peg in a round hole. Every place in the world can do that cheaper than we can in the United States. Our continued superiority as an economic powerhouse relies on our technological edge over the competition. We won't keep that edge by following the Kardashians or by pumping out a plethora of liberal art majors/baristas in training. We will find our competitive edge maintained by engineering



and technology. The space program offered us this edge in the sixties and seventies and it could do it again.

There are cynics who believe that everything worth discovering has been discovered. There are fiscal conservatives who challenge any expenditures on space exploration. There are liberals who want money given to the poor instead of blasted into outer space. Add to the financial challenges, the significant social upheavals and political discord of today and uniting as a nation to accomplish some great feat seems quaintly impossible. Why even try?

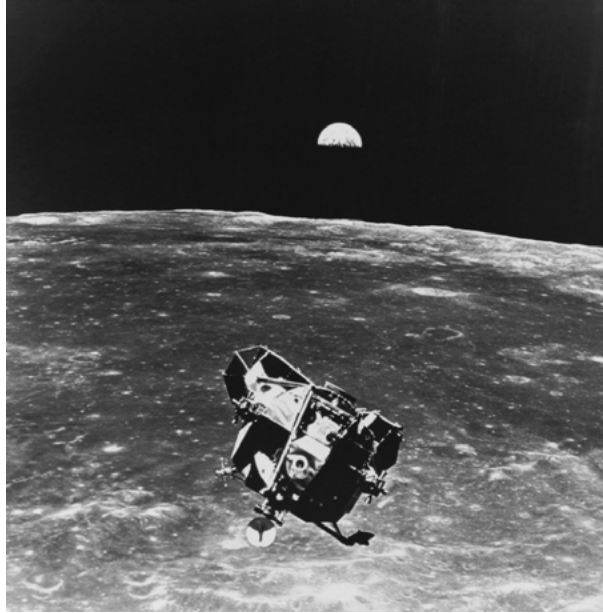
The greatest minds in the United States used to aspire to careers in science, medicine and engineering. Today, our best minds struggle to find algorithms that will fatten the wallets of Goldman Sachs, Facebook, Google

and Amazon. Making money and becoming market dominant are wonderful goals, but what do they do for the long march of society?

Why can't Don, Nancy, Chuck and Mitch sit down over a good pizza and brainstorm a few ideas for challenges that just might unite us as a nation and achieve great things. Leave the K Street lobbyists out of the room. Keep the political handlers away. And, for God's sake, keep the media as far from the meeting as possible. What might we achieve from such a meeting as this? Can we make it to Mars? Can we cure cancer, Alzheimer's or heart disease? Can we achieve the lowest infant mortality, the highest levels of education or the lowest poverty rates?

Who knows what we might achieve if we would make our reach exceed our grasp as a nation?

When I think of the unique American experience, I think of two words, freedom and dreams. This great nation of ours has been so successful because of the dreams of its people and the freedom to pursue those dreams.



Just as Rev. Martin Luther King knew, any goal worth achieving starts with a dream, a shared dream. The United States needs a dream that achieves some great dream, unites us as a people and benefits mankind.

My personal dream is that sometime during my lifetime the United States put humans on the planet Mars. I would be willing to pay more in taxes to achieve that dream. Everyone would benefit from the technological advances of a renewed space program and a united dream just might result in a more united United States.

As July 20 rolls around and we remember the daring deeds of Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin, let's not just commemorate, but let's dedicate ourselves to a new American dream. History tells us not only how great we were, but rather how great we can be.

Dunn is the former Howard County Republican chairman. ❖

Governor, from page 1

old Wishard Hospital Emergency Room where he treated patients and taught.

The former Indiana and New York City health commissioner vowed to focus on education, health care and job creation. "I learned very early in my career that the people with the best health were the people who got the best health care. The people with the best insurance are the people with the best jobs. And the people with the best jobs are the people with the best education. All Hoosiers deserve the best schools, the best health care and a state that is creating jobs and opportunities for workers and their families faster than wages are rising.

"I think it's time for a change. It's been 15 years of one-party rule," he said told the Journal Gazette. "It's time for an overhaul in the leadership of our state and time for new ideas to be given a shot. What we're doing now isn't working like it should."

Myers' career has taken him from Shortridge HS, to Stanford and Harvard universities, Ford Motor Company



where he was chief health officer, and then as an investment manager with Myers Ventures LLC. He has been CEO of Corizon Health and was chief health care strategist for Blue Cross Blue Shield of Arizona. He was also chairman of quality assurance at San Francisco General Hospital.

Knowing that residency issues have risen in an array of campaigns, Myers was asked about his connections to the state. "I never disconnected with Hoosiers," he said. "Home base is here. My family is still here. I was born and raised here."

Indiana Republican spokesman Pete Seat reacted, saying, "I know Woody has spent a limited amount of time in Indiana over most of the last two decades, and it showed in remarks today. Coming off of back-to-back years of record job commitments, \$1 billion in new investment in K-12 education and the only fully funded infrastructure program in the country, Indiana is on a roll. On

the ground, Hoosiers see that Gov. Holcomb is positively impacting lives every day. It may be hard to see from his \$4.5 million penthouse in the Conrad, but it's what Woody will find as he travels across Indiana."

Republican Gov. Robert D. Orr named Myers the youngest health commissioner and he was reappointed by Democrat Gov. Evan Bayh. He said he oversaw 3,000 employees and a quarter billion dollar budget. His tenure came during the beginning of the AIDS epidemic, and Myers carved a national reputation when he stepped in during the Ryan White controversy in Howard County. With White, Myers said, "We didn't play politics" adding that he worked to "educate" a frightened public and make way for White to join a new school.



Dr. Myers greets former congressman Baron Hill at Wednesday campaign kickoff. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

Myers said he will not be a self-funding candidate, saying he intends to raise between \$15 million and \$20 million. He has been a member of the Indiana Democratic Party's Victory Fund for a number of years.

"I want to be your governor," Myers said. "For too long, we've been satisfied with being good enough. Well, being just good enough is not good enough. Together, you and I can lead Indiana into a new era of prosperity."

Myers will be facing an incumbent who via Eric Holcomb for Indiana, Friends of Suzanne Crouch, and the Indiana Republican Party has access to a combined \$7.230 million cash-on-hand at the close of the June 30 reporting period. This is \$2.223 million above the June 2007 record established by Gov. Mitch Daniels enroute to a 58% landslide win in 2008. Lt. Gov. Crouch transferred a record \$1 million from her campaign account into the Eric Holcomb for Indiana account, the first time in Indiana history a lieutenant governor has both raised and transferred that much. Team Holcomb with the Indiana Republican Party raised \$1.2 million in a single night before the June 30 deadline.

By comparison, Mike Pence for Indiana had \$4.227 million in June 2015, Sue Ellspermann for Lt. Gov. posted \$155,697 and the Indiana Republican Party \$153,532 for a total \$4.536 million. In June 2007, Mitch for Governor posted \$4.146 million, Skillman for Indiana, \$153,705 and the Indiana Republican Party \$707,829 for a total \$5.007 million.

Holcomb approval at 61%

Internal polling for the Holcomb campaign obtained by Howey Politics Indiana gave Holcomb a 61/23% approve/disapprove in surveys from Brice Korengay of BK Strategies. Holcomb's approval was 68% in Marion County, 67% in the doughnut counties, 61% in the Chicago DMA and 45% among self-identified Democrats. The poll, conducted June 16-18, 2019, surveyed 600 likely 2020

general election voters with a margin of error of +/- 4 percent.

The state's right/wrong track stood at 54/34%. "In this polarized political environment, the strength and consistency of the governor's job approval rating, and the right direction numbers, are truly astounding and reflective of a deep appreciation Hoosiers have for the people-centered results Gov. Holcomb and Indiana Republicans are delivering on their behalf," said Indiana Republican Chairman Kyle Hupfer, who

along with his staff is expected to play a major role in the Holcomb reelect. Hupfer told HPI, "We'll end up at \$7.23 million, which is \$2.23 million more than Pence and Mitch."

Holcomb holds wide double-digit leads in hypothetical match-ups against a generic Democrat and two-time Democrat nominee John Gregg, who lost by 5% to Pence in 2012 and by 7% to Holcomb in 2016. Holcomb had a 15% lead over Gregg and a 14% lead over a generic Democrat. Gregg is not expected to seek a third nomination.

Hupfer also left no doubt that Holcomb and Crouch will run as team once again. "No doubt. Suzanne is an unbelievable partner," he said.

"The governor as you've said before is in as strong



a position as he can possibly be heading into 2020," Hupfer said. "The one fact that is key is how well the state is doing. We've had back-to-back record years of job creation, infant mortality is going down, opioid issues are being reduced,

workforce development issues are running on all cylinders, and people across the state are skilling up and finding new opportunities. Recidivism for prison inmates is going down, so there are positive impacts in the corrections sector for getting those folks back in the workforce.

"The state is firing on all cylinders," Hupfer continued, "and it's happening everywhere. You saw the numbers in the Chicago DMA; he's in The Region making an impact: He's talking about double-tracking the South Shore

and ensuring the dollars are there moving forward; he's dealt with the East Chicago issues head-on and he spends tremendous amounts of time in Northwest Indiana. At the same time, all across the state he is focused on rural development. He's found dollars to ensure they're there to bring broadband to places that have been unserved and vitally need that service. Arguably, when you get past electricity and water, the most necessary service is broadband.

"He's looking across the state and making sure that all Hoosiers are being impacted by his policies," Huffer said.

"He's strong and getting stronger," said GOP Communications Director Pete Seat. "He's consistent and growing stronger by the day."

Will there be a Democratic race?

While Myers has officially entered the race, State Rep. Karlee Macer and State Sen. Eddie Melton are still weighing bids. Macer appears to be waiting on a final decision until the second of her children is married in August. Melton is doing a multi-city education listening tour with Republican Supt. Jennifer McCormick, but his exploratory committee is coy when talking about timelines for an official candidacy. As Melton "listens," Gov. Holcomb is adding to his unprecedented \$7 million fundraising advantage.

Don't be surprised if Myers is the only Democrat in the race by the time of the IDEA confab at French Lick in late August.

Why? First, Myers could self-fund to an extent (his Conrad Hotel condo is worth a reported \$4.5 million), though he told the Fort Wayne Journal Gazette that he will actively be raising funds. Myers put \$1 million of his own money into a 2008 congressional caucus race that was ultimately won by U.S. Rep. Andre Carson. At Wednesday's campaign kickoff, Myers said, "I'm not worried about the money." His initial goal is raising \$15 million, with an eye toward \$20 million. "I'm going to do my best to convince the people in the state and the people I have known for years and years to invest in this campaign," Myers told the Journal Gazette.

Second, Hoosier Democrats have a historic aversion to contested gubernatorial primaries. Since governors could run for two terms beginning in 1972, Matt Welsh, Larry Conrad, John Hillenbrand III, Wayne Townsend, Evan Bayh, Frank O'Bannon and John Gregg were all nomination shoo-ins.



Secretary of State Evan Bayh and State Sen. Frank O'Bannon. Both would be shoo-in nominees, as have been most modern Democratic gubernatorial nominees.

There were two notable exceptions. The first came in the 2004 cycle when Lt. Gov. Joe Kernan announced in 2002 that he wouldn't run, assumed the governorship in September 2003 after the death of Gov. O'Bannon, then announced he would seek the nomination after a donnybrook race between State Sen. Vi Simpson and former state and DNC Chairman Joe Andrew. Once Kernan re-entered, Simpson and Andrew withdrew.

The other was the 2008 slugfest between former congresswoman Jill Long Thompson and Jim Schellinger. JLT won the primary by less than 1%, but then lost in a landslide to Gov. Mitch Daniels without much funding.

Third, both Macer and Melton would have to give up their General Assembly seats to run. Melton is a lock for his Gary seat and the Dems would retain it if he runs for governor. Macer has defended her Speedway seat, but if it opens up, Republicans would have a shot. Super-minority Dems can't afford to lose any more legislative seats.

For Melton and Macer, floating a bid this cycle is good politics. One or both still could get in, but neither has any statewide name ID and Myers will almost certainly have a big money advantage after spending years on the party's fundraising Victory Committee. Flirting with a run this cycle puts their names out in the gubernatorial context, setting up potential runs in 2024 when the seat will likely be open.

Indiana Democratic Chairman John Zody told HPI on Wednesday that the party is content to let a multi-candidate race take shape. "I'm here today to support a Democratic candidate for governor," Zody said. "We're going to let this play out."

It's tough to beat an incumbent governor

The other dynamic in play is how hard it is to defeat an incumbent governor. Kernan was defeated for two reasons: He lost almost 18 months when he decided he'd rather return to South Bend than run. And Mitch Daniels was the most gifted and transformative politician of the era, whether it was fundraising, orchestrating his own media, writing his own speeches, executing asset management issues, unleashing innovative policy and easily interacting with everyone from nuclear physicists to organized labor officials, mayors, evangelicals, farmers and Joe Sixpacks.

Holcomb conveys an affable, happy warrior persona. He's had the benefit of General Assembly super majorities during his entire first term (something no other modern governor has experienced), coming at a time when the Indiana Democratic Party has retreated to the state's major metropolitan areas and college towns. He sits on a huge war chest, gets to name his own superintendent of public instruction, and has Vice

President Mike Pence and President Donald Trump in place to help rally the GOP base next year.

If there are ointment flies, it has been his falling out with Attorney General Curtis Hill over sexual harassment allegations, and Supt. McCormick bolting the fold. Holcomb called for Hill to resign after the allegations surfaced in July 2018. Hill has resisted and is seeking a second term, though he remains ostracized by the institutional wing of the party. Team Holcomb is not actively opposing Hill for the nomination, learning from Gov. Daniels 2008 convention when he backed Valparaiso Mayor Jon Costas over Greg Zoeller, who easily won the nomination.

As for Supt. McCormick, Hupfer said that both he and Gov. Holcomb were unaware of her plans not to seek reelection last fall. "Nobody did," he said. Her teaming up with Sen. Melton is an overt political act which contradicts her reason for not seeking reelection, which was that education was becoming too political.

"Jennifer has, perhaps, mischaracterized exactly what the activities she's involved in," Hupfer said. "I ran the Department of Natural Resources. I traveled the state



because I knew what the people think in Gary may not be what folks are thinking in New Albany or Boonville. So I encourage all of our elected officials to travel and listen across the state. No one exemplifies this better than our own governor. If this was an official action, if she was out with Sen. Melton or with any other Republican or Democrat in a bipartisan nature, I would be all for it. But this is not

an official listening tour. These are campaign-funded and campaign-organized, and campaign-related functions, so they are political. They are not official actions. So, some of the statements she's put out have sort of characterized these as official actions of her office and I just think that's an inaccuracy."

Has Hupfer talked with McCormick? "I've left her a message," he said. "My phone call was not returned."

For the record, HPI asked DOE spokesman Adam Baker if McCormick was still a Republican. Baker responded, "She hasn't said otherwise." Is she open to a Melton/McCormick ticket? "That's premature," Baker said. "That's not even in the discussion." ❖

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AG Hill raises \$220k; Hackett running in 2nd

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS — Facing a Republican convention challenge from John Westercamp, Attorney General Curtis Hill's reelection campaign announced he has raised \$220,000 in the past two months. That includes \$100,000 from the Republican Attorney Generals Association, according to informed and reliable sources.



The Hill campaign believes that is a record for an Indiana attorney general. "From challenging the constitutionality of Obamacare to fighting illegal immigration to



defending the right to life, I have taken on the tough fights as attorney general," Hill said "It's been one of the highest honors of my life to serve and I am just getting started," Hill said. "I look

forward to continuing to work to defend the rule of law, our conservative values and our way of life.

The campaign added, "This fundraising success is a testament to Attorney General Hill's record of delivering results and following through on the campaign promises made in 2016."

Mayors

Independent to run in Richmond

Thomas Owens will run as an independent against Democrat incumbent Dave Snow and Republican challenger Jamie Lopeman in November (Richmond Palladium-Item).

Schmitz may not qualify for Indy ballot

John Schmitz, an independent candidate running for mayor of Indianapolis, has more than enough signatures to be allowed on the ballot. But many of those have not counted as signatures for him by the Marion County Board of Voter Registration, putting his candidacy in jeop-

ardy (WRTV). An independent or minor party candidate must get a number of signatures equal to 2% of the votes cast for secretary of state in the 2018 general election, so Schmitz needs 6,106. He said he has more than enough — more than 8,000. But as he's presented them to the Marion County Board of Voter Registration for verification, many have been thrown out. He calls it an "unwinnable situation." "I feel like we've done the work," Schmitz said. "I feel like the people we've talked to want us on the ballot."

Congress

2nd CD: Hackett announces

South Bend attorney and Notre Dame adjunct law professor Pat Hackett announced her candidacy against Rep. Jackie Walorski. Hackett brings decades of experience in the district as an attorney, teacher and small business owner and is running to reclaim the people's voice in Congress. "I will always fight for dignity and justice for all, and I believe we deserve a representative who listens and represents our interests. Jackie Walorski is a career politician who refuses to hold town-halls, caters to the special interests who give millions of dollars to her campaigns, and is out of touch with the people in this district," Hackett said. "I will be an advocate for health care for all, the workers who live paycheck-to-paycheck, the seniors who depend on Social Security and Medicare, and the farmers who are struggling with the growing catastrophe of climate change and challenge of reckless tariffs. We deserve an advocate and leader who will represent the people of this district and not engage in pay-to-play politics in Congress."



5th CD

Hale to seek Democrat nomination

Democratic Party insiders have been tossing former state Rep. Christina Hale's name around for different elected positions since her failed bid for lieutenant governor in 2016. Now she's officially in: She'll be running in an attempt to replace retiring U.S Rep. Susan Brooks. "I think people are ready for someone who really cares about these practical issues, someone who really cares about Hoosier families, and will be focused on things that make the difference to everyday people, like healthcare, like education opportunity," Hale told IndyStar on Wednesday.

Beckwith files for GOP nod

Only one person who has filed for the Republican

nomination for this open seat. Rep. Micah Beckwith has set up an FEC campaign committee. "No one else has said they are definitively running," said Indiana Republican Chairman Kyle Hupfer, who has ruled a bid out. Names we continue to hear making moves to run include Fishers Deputy Mayor Leah McGrath, former State Rep. Steve Braun, Treasurer Kelly Mitchell, former U.S. Senate candidate Terry Henderson, State Sens. John Ruckelshaus and Victoria Spartz, and former state senator Mike Delph. Other names that have surfaced include former Indianapolis mayor Greg Ballard.

Presidential 2020

Trump/Pence MAGA rally in Cincy

Donald J. Trump for President, Inc. announced that President Trump and Vice President Pence will host a Keep America Great rally at 7 p.m. Thursday, Aug. 1 at U.S. Bank Arena in Cincinnati. This is the 29th rally that President Trump has held in Ohio and the fourth rally in Cincinnati since he first began his race for president in June, 2015. "President Trump looks forward to celebrating his achievements with the great men and women of Ohio," said Michael Glassner, Chief Operating Officer of Donald J. Trump for President, Inc. "With a stunning 224,000 jobs created in June, 3.1% wage growth over the last year, and unemployment at its lowest point since 1969, President Trump continues to reach new economic heights and create opportunity for Americans across the nation."

Buttigieg unveils 'Douglass Plan'

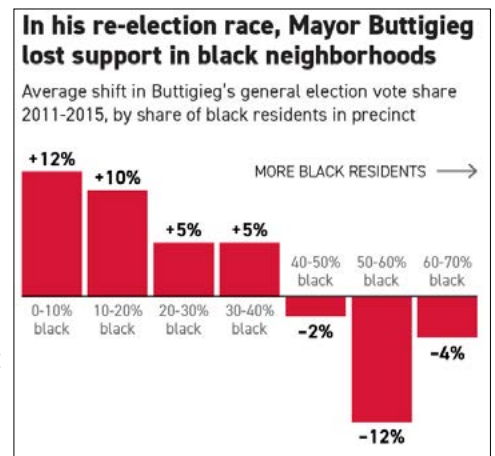
Mayor Pete Buttigieg's attempt to attract black voters takes shape today with his unveiling of the "Douglass Plan." Buttigieg explains, "Black Americans continue to live in the shadow of systemic racism. This is a fact, and one that requires bold action to reverse. To see equity in our time, it will not be enough to simply replace centuries of racism with non-racist policies. We must intentionally put anti-racist policies in place to close the gaps those centuries of policy created. Today, I'm proud to share with you The Douglass Plan, named after American hero Frederick Douglass, and comparable in scale to the Marshall Plan that rebuilt Europe after World War II." Buttigieg describes it as a "comprehensive and intentional effort to dismantle racist structures and systems, combined with an investment of unprecedented scale in the freedom and self-determination of Black



Americans. Our generation can and must right the wrongs. By reforming broken health, education, and criminal justice systems; strengthening access to credit, and injecting capital into Black enterprises and neighborhoods, we can take aggressive steps toward fulfilling long-broken promises of true equality. I believe this is our last, best chance at a more perfect union for all. The ultimate well-being of millions of people — not distant descendants but children alive today — depends on whether we can resolve these inequalities in our time.

Mayor Pete's black support fell in 2015

As Mayor Pete Buttigieg contends with the fallout from the shooting of a black man by a white police officer in his city, a POLITICO analysis of data from his earlier mayoral elections shows he struggled to win the confidence of the city's black voters following a series of controversies in his first term (Politico). Detailed precinct results from



South Bend's 2011 and 2015 mayoral races show Buttigieg repeatedly lagging behind black primary challengers in many of western South Bend's predominantly black neighborhoods. And while Buttigieg still managed to win those precincts in two general elections against white Republican opponents, his support in these areas fell after his first term. In the 2011 general election, Buttigieg had some of his highest margins of victory in these neighborhoods, a typical result for a Democrat facing a Republican opponent in South Bend. But by 2015, western South Bend gave him

his weakest results after his support plunged by more than 20 points in some precincts.

Buttigieg faces homophobia in SC

Mayor Pete Buttigieg remains a top-five candidate, buoyed by prodigious fundraising, crisp communication, and a desire for generational change. But a question hangs over the campaign: Will his momentum stop at the doors of the socially conservative black churches of South Carolina? (Vice.com). Buttigieg is already starting at a disadvantage: 17% of Democrats said they would not back a gay candidate for president, according to a Gallup survey released in April. Nationally, support for the LG-BTQ community among African-American Democrats lags behind their white counterparts, with just 68% favoring laws protecting LGBTQ people from discrimination in jobs, public accommodations and housing, compared to eight in 10 white Democrats, according to poll results released earlier this year by the Public Religion Research Institute. An ongoing Pew Research Center poll registered similar findings: Just four in 10 black Protestants — a group that includes roughly 70% of all black South Carolinians — support same-sex marriage.

Buttigieg ramping up in Iowa, NH

Buttigieg is now rapidly expanding his campaign's footprint to try and build on his financial gains in the first half of the year (Politico). In Iowa, Buttigieg's campaign added 30 organizers at the end of June, filling out what had previously been a four-person skeleton crew. A dozen staffers are now on board in New Hampshire. And by the end of the summer, there will be many more. The campaign plans to swell its staff to 300 people by Labor Day, according to multiple people briefed on its plans. "The whole point of all that fundraising is making sure we have the organization we need to win," Buttigieg continued. "Obviously, we've got great news on that front. Now we've got to get to work."

Warren raises \$19M

Elizabeth Warren's presidential campaign announced Monday she raised \$19.1 million in the second quarter of the year, more than tripling her first-quarter total despite holding no fundraisers (Politico). The haul far exceeded expectations, as Warren surpassed both Bernie Sanders (\$18 million) and Kamala Harris (\$12 million) and came close to Joe Biden (\$21.5 million). Her outpacing of Sanders is particularly notable, given the army of small-dollar donors he amassed in 2016 and their similarly progressive stances.

Biden has 15% lead in Emerson Poll

The first Democratic debate has shaken up the race for the Democratic nomination. Compared to June's national poll, former Vice President Joe Biden extended his lead, Sen. Bernie Sanders lost ground, Sen. Kamala Harris doubled her support, and Sen. Elizabeth Warren held steady. Despite Biden losing four points of his support from 34% to 30%, he extended his lead in the Democratic primary from seven points in June to 15 points, as his main rival, Sanders dropped 12 points to 15% from his June number of 27%. Harris saw her numbers improve eight points to 15%, and Warren ticked up one point from June to 15% of the vote, creating a three-way tie for second.

Biden earned \$15 million

Democratic presidential candidate Joe Biden earned \$15.6 million in the two years after he left the Obama administration, according to newly released financial documents (Wall Street Journal). The former vice president, who has built his nearly five-decade political career as an advocate for middle-class families, made millions of dollars through paid speaking engagements, sales of his 2017 book and his role as a professor at the University of Pennsylvania.

Biden to lay out foreign policy plan

Biden will lay out his foreign-policy vision in a Thursday speech in which he will vow to hold a summit of the world's leading democracies during his first year in office (Wall Street Journal). In his foreign-policy address at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, the former vice president will assert that President Trump's "America first" policies have isolated the U.S., and he will stress the need to restore U.S. leadership around the globe, a senior Biden campaign official said. Mr. Biden plans to say that, if elected, he would convene a summit of world leaders to "refocus on our common purpose, to strengthen our common resilience and to work more effectively together." ❖



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Time will tell if Pete survives his ‘mess’

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Mayor Pete, though on the defensive over what he called “a mess” in his own city, survived the first round of Democratic presidential debates. He suffered a dip in the polls, a significant dip, but not a disastrous one for someone who started as a long, long longshot.



Others fared worse under the pressure. Look at Beto O’Rourke, falling toward the point of elimination, and Joe Biden, plummeting from a huge lead to his new position as a shaky front-runner.

South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg will continue as a significant contender at least through the first series of primaries next year. That’s guaranteed by his amazing

fundraising success, with over 400,000 donors big and small, and \$24.8 million raised in the past three months. He has funding to go on with a national campaign as others drop out with nothing left to finance a realistic effort.

OK, Mayor Pete stays significant and is sure to continue as a contender.

How significant? How far?

If he is seen in the role of a humble piñata, with political activists taking swings at him as the national news media conclude that he really isn’t that popular or effective as a mayor, his significance and the length of his race as a serious contender will lessen.

But he also needs to be transparent about what did or didn’t happen in a controversial shooting in South Bend as he seeks to increase paltry support from African-Americans in those national polls.

It’s a difficult path.

Buttigieg could prove to be one of the sharpest debaters if he can get off the defensive. You don’t win debates or nominations playing defense.

He won praise from many commentators for his quick, direct answer – no excuses or distractions – for why the number of blacks on the South Bend police department dropped to just 6%. Why no improvement? “Because I couldn’t get it done,” he said.

The mayor was attacked during the debate by Rep. Eric Swalwell of California, who at age 38 was seeking to knock out another young contender, Buttigieg, 37.

“Why didn’t you fire the chief?” Swalwell demanded. “You’re the mayor.”

Buttigieg wisely avoided wrangling with Swalwell over police policies on body cameras and recruiting. He just stared at Swalwell with what Chris Cillizza of CNN described as a “death stare.”

Swalwell and others among the cast of 20 debate candidates with little or no chance have nothing to lose by attacking contenders ahead of them in the polls.

Unfortunately, the Democratic rules for the next round of debates July 30-31 in Detroit provide again for 20 candidates. After that, tougher criteria for participation will give more time for candidates seriously seeking the White House and cut those just seeking attention or book sales.

Most of the national polls after the Miami debates show Buttigieg at 4%, in fifth place. All showed Biden really slipping and Kamala Harris surging. The respected Quinnipiac College poll showed these percentages: Biden, 22, down eight points. Harris, 20, up 13 points. Then came Elizabeth Warren, 14; Bernie Sanders, 13; Buttigieg, 4.

Buttigieg likely could have hit a higher percentage if he had been able still to talk of his city as in resurgence rather than defending how he was handling “a mess.”


Still, at the start of the year, how many pundits would have predicted that the mayor of South Bend, then unknown nationally, would rank higher in the polls than the mayor of New York? Higher than the much-hyped O’Rourke? Higher than senators such as Amy Klobuchar of Minnesota? Way higher than Sen. Kirsten Gillibrand of New York?

It’s too early. Also, too late. Too early to predict a presidential nominee. Too late already for some who can’t sustain 1%. ❖

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?

Trump learned from Ross Perot's bids

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS — Ross Perot famously said, "Eagles don't flock. You have to find them one at a time."

It was a prescient comment from the first billionaire to run for president, coming a few years before Steve Forbes and some 34 years before Donald J. Trump. In late spring 1992, Perot actually led President George H.W. Bush and Democrat Bill Clinton in the polls, giving us a glimpse of a populist movement with widespread traction.

Writing then for the Fort Wayne Journal Gazette, I got a ground floor view of this movement. The Perotistas had set up an office in a Fort Wayne strip mall. It was an utter beehive, with volunteers buzzing about, breaking Allen County into "zippies" (i.e., zip-codes) to organize a political movement.

Aided by the fledgling radio talk star Rush Limbaugh, the Perotistas were pissed off about what they perceived to be bad trade deals like NAFTA, with Perot saying in his Texas nasal twang that the "giant sucking sound" we'd be hearing were jobs headed to Mexico. Perot favored term limits for Congress. He loathed the special interest money that Donald Trump would later define as "the swamp." He once said, "The budget should be balanced, the Treasury should be refilled, the public debt should be reduced and the arrogance of public officials should be controlled."

Perot took on both the Clintons and Bushes three decades before Trump. This came in an era prior to the World Wide Web, but Perot communicated with his peeps in his own way. He appeared on CNN's "Larry King Live," vowing to run for president if the people would qualify him for the ballot in all 50 states. Working class folks from Fort Wayne to the coasts rose to the challenge, achieving his goal in the ultimate political draft movement.

And three decades before Trump declared health reform and trade wars would be "simple" to win, Perot had his own boasts: "I can solve the problem of the national debt without working up a sweat. It's just that simple."

If there was an enemy at hand, Perot's approach was curt and concise: "If you see a snake, just kill it. Don't appoint a committee on snakes."

There are many comparisons between Perot and Trump, but the former provided a crucial lesson to

the latter. Perot tried to win the presidency as a populist independent. But as the rockers say, "paranoia will destroy ya" and the media got inside Perot's head. He declared midsummer that the news media was conspiring to ruin his daughter's wedding, and the whole thing began to unravel. He exited the race, then stormed back. But the window to victory had closed.

When the votes were counted, Perot carried 18.9% of the vote nationally, including 19.77% in Vice President Dan Quayle's Indiana. He paved the way for Clinton to defeat Bush. From this showing, Perot created the Reform Party, used it to run again in 1996, and the party was a presidential campaign platform that Trump briefly dallied with in 2000.

But as Steve Earle's folk hero John Lee Pettimore down on Copperhead Road might put it, Donald J. Trump came up "with a brand new plan." Trump would speak the populist code to the regular folks and take over an entire party, the Grand Old Party. While the Hoosier Republican establishment stuck with John Kasich and Ted Cruz in the 2016 primary, Trump invoked the coaching trinity (Bobby Knight,

Gene Keady and Lou Holtz), deemed the state "Importantville" and like another populist (socialist Bernie Sanders) won the Hoosier primary with 53% of the vote.

Gov. Mike Pence would see the light and a golden opportunity, and today Hoosier Republicans have enjoined the Trumpian cult of personality. They now eschew balanced budgets and free trade, embrace tariffs and farm bailouts, and don't sweat a bead if Harley-Davidson is demonized.

"Ross Perot was certainly the most influential political force in the late 20th century from outside the regular party system," Allan Lichtman, a distinguished professor of history at American University, told CNBC. "I think what explains it is people's dissatisfaction — this is absolutely relevant to the appeal of Donald Trump — people's dissatisfaction with business as usual in Washington."

Perot once said, "Most people give up just when they're about to achieve success. They quit on the one-yard line. They give up at the last minute of the game one foot from a winning touchdown."

Donald J. Trump took that ball and rammed it up the gut, then spiked the ball into the punch bowl. He took over a party, beat the Bushes and Clintons, and as Frank Sinatra might put it, he's doing it "my way."

I couldn't find any Ross Perot quotes explicitly about Donald Trump, but he did say, "War has rules, mud wrestling has rules, politics has no rules."

Perot also said, "In this country, if you're eccentric and a billionaire you either kill a wrestler or run for president." ❖



Vonnegut's epic anti-war book resonates

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

NASHVILLE, Ind. — "All this happened, more or less."

That was Kurt Vonnegut's first sentence in his epic book "Slaughterhouse-Five or The Children's Crusade" published 50 years ago at the height of one of America's stupid wars, this one in Vietnam.

There's been much reflection on this 50th anniversary. It came as President Trump, a vociferous critic of the last stupid American war (this one in Iraq) put the brakes on the bombing of Iran for having the temerity to attack oil tankers in the Strait of Hormuz. With missiles ready to cruise in 10 minutes, Trump asked about the expected corpse harvest. His military commanders told him 150. Fox News analyst Tucker Carlson had the foresight to tell him about the lost 2020 Electoral College votes, further proof that God works in strange, strange ways.

"Not proportionate to shooting down an unmanned drone," Trump wrote. "I am in no hurry." For the latter day Billy Pilgrim, the body counts could wait. And so it goes. Whether Donald J. Trump has read "Slaughterhouse-Five" or realizes the existence of the planet Tralfamadore is beside the point. Here is an American leader who has an aversion to war, as Kim Jong-Un can attest. They write lovely letters and conduct a very public bromance (so what if Kim feeds his envoys to piranhas?)

Vonnegut, the Indianapolis native, was captured during the Battle of the Bulge, transported via boxcar to Dresden and imprisoned in the city's underground slaughterhouses. In February 1945, according to military records, 722 heavy bombers of the British Royal Air Force and 527 of the United States Army Air Corps dropped an estimated 3,900 tons of incendiary devices on the city. The ensuing firestorm killed an estimated 25,000 people. Vonnegut resurfaced to find this medieval city destroyed and reeking of corpses, with Nazi authorities resorting to "flamethrowers" to dispatch the suffocated.

Vonnegut told NPR's Renee Montagne in 2003 that years after World War II he looked up a comrade, Bernard O'Hare, to help him recreate his "famous Dresden

book." As the two consumed a bottle of Irish whiskey, he was upbraided by O'Hare's wife, Mary. "She blew her top," Vonnegut said, relating, "Why don't you tell the truth for a change?"

"We were trying to think up nifty war movie stuff. She said, 'You were nothing but babies then.' That was the key," Vonnegut said. "Wars were fought by children and not Frank Sinatra or Duke Wayne."

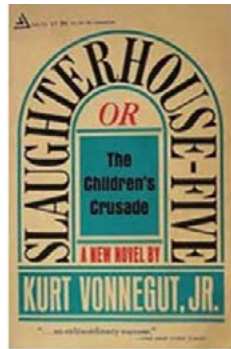
Vonnegut acknowledged that, "The most impressive way to tell a war story is to not tell it."

Thus, Vonnegut headed up the literary "war is hell" Hoosier vanguard depictions with battlefield participants sometimes escaping into fantasy. Legendary war correspondent Ernie Pyle's description of a Normandy battlefield after the combatants had moved over the horizon included finding a British pilot hanging upside down in his plane surrounded by craters. He told his rescuers that he had gone elsewhere before returning to his predicament.

The late Congressman Andy Jacobs Jr., who graduated from Shortridge HS nine years after Vonnegut and experienced the Korean War horrors, would indict the post-World War II presidents in his book "1600 Killers." He told me, "Have you ever seen two grown men in a bare-knuckle fist fight on a sidewalk? If so, your reaction would be shock? Disgust? Insecurity? Probably all three. Yet, multiply those two men by tens of thousands and intensify the violence by tons of dynamite, steel and gunpowder with the resultant quantum of blood, viscera, stone-cold rigor mortis and corresponding broken hearts back home."

Writing "Slaughterhouse-Five" while CBS correspondent Morley Safer was reporting on American GIs using Zippo lighters to burn down Vietnamese hamlets in order to "save them," Vonnegut said that the American stupidity in Indochina "not only freed me, but it freed writers. The Vietnam war was so scruffy and stupid. What I had to report made war look so ugly. The truth can be powerful stuff if you're not expecting it."

Author Salman Rushdie, writing in The New Yorker, observes, "His predominant tone of voice is melancholy, the tone of voice of a man who has been present for a great horror and lived to tell the tale. To read Vonnegut is to know that he was repeatedly drawn to the investigation of free will, of what it might be and how it might or might not function, and that he came at the subject from many different angles. Many of his ruminations were presented in the form of works by his fictional alter ego,



Kilgore Trout. The truth is that 'Slaughterhouse-Five' is a great realist novel" with Vonnegut reporting, "One guy I knew really was shot in Dresden for taking a teapot that wasn't his."

That we have a president who has decided not to match nuclear buttons with a Korean despot or slam an AGM-114 Hellfire up the ayatollah's ass could be seen as progress. Fred Fleitz, a former advisor to resident White House war hawk John Bolton (who was dispatched

to Mongolia while Trump cavorted with Kim in the DMZ) told Foreign Policy magazine that he believes that by holding off on strikes for now President Trump is "creating every opportunity for a peaceful resolution."

"This is a president who was elected to get us out of war," Fleitz said. "He doesn't want war with Iran."

The POW and author Kurt Vonnegut would approve.

And so it goes. ❖

Lugar, Bayh will be rare Hoosier pols buried at Arlington

By **TREVOR FOUGHTY**

INDIANAPOLIS — On July 24, the late Sen. Richard Lugar will be interred at Arlington National Cemetery, and at some point in the future Sen. Birch Bayh will be, as well.



To many Hoosiers, this makes sense. Both men were giants in the U.S. Senate who gave much to the nation and world through their leadership. It makes sense that they should be accorded the honor of burial in a national cemetery. It also begs the question: What other prominent Hoosier politicians are buried at Arlington?

But before I answer that question, it's worth considering what makes one eligible to be laid to rest in that particular cemetery. Most people probably assume that Lugar and Bayh earned the honor as a result of their widespread recognition as statesmen. But that assumption is false. Consider: The markers for each man will note not the final resting place of a U.S. senator, but rather that of Lieutenant Lugar and Private Bayh.

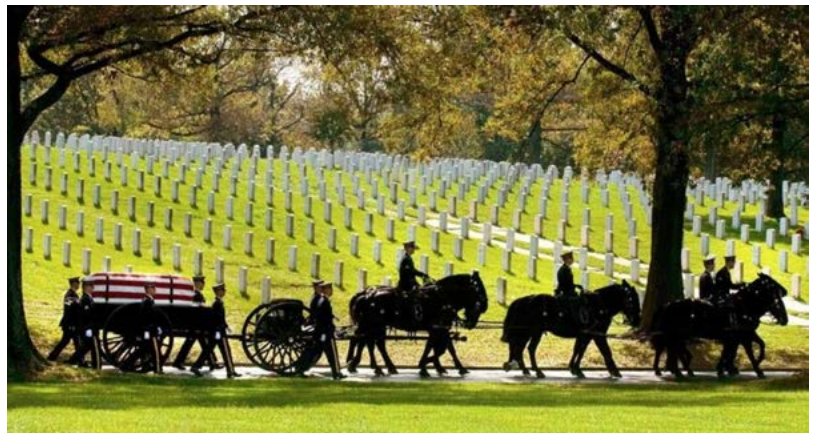
That's because Arlington is a veterans cemetery, and burial in such cemeteries is reserved for active duty veterans who were discharged honorably, their spouses, and their minor children. But of all our national veterans cemeteries, Arlington has the strictest eligibility requirements. In addition to having served active duty, burial there also typically requires that the deceased died while on active duty (often killed in action); earned one of a handful of specific decorations, such as a Medal of Honor, Distinguished Service Cross, or a Purple Heart; served long enough to earn career retirement benefits; or, for those who died after

1993, been a prisoner of war.

Of the more than 400,000 people buried there, the vast majority meet one of those requirements. It's true that many prominent political figures are buried within its gates, but with one exception they all still meet the active duty military service requirement. That exception is William Howard Taft, because U.S. presidents are eligible regardless of military service (though it's worth noting they do serve as commander in chief). All other federal elected officials, certain federal appointed officials, and Supreme Court justices are eligible only if they meet the active duty requirement.

So Lugar and Bayh qualify by virtue of having served on active duty, and later holding office in the U.S. Senate; their long list of achievements has no significance, and even holding the office only meets the secondary requirement so that their markers will bear only their military rank.

But we still aren't quite ready to answer the question. That's because Arlington didn't necessarily reach its current level of prominence until after President John F. Kennedy was assassinated in 1963. A few months prior, Kennedy took a trip to Arlington House, the former home of Robert E. Lee on whose ground the cemetery sits. After admiring the serenity of the cemetery and the view of Washington, D.C., he remarked to Jackie that he could



stay there forever.

After his fateful trip to Dallas later that year, the assumption was that the Kennedys would follow tradition and have JFK buried in his home state of Massachusetts.

But Jackie, recalling his remark, decided to have him buried at Arlington instead. It's worth noting that Taft, while a proud son of Ohio, spent most of his adult life in service to the federal government in Washington. His burial at Arlington fit that tradition, and he and Kennedy are the only presidents buried there.

When announcing her decision, Jackie Kennedy famously proclaimed her reasoning that "he belongs to the people." This statement, along with increased tourism-related visits of those wishing to pay their respects to the slain president, began to change the prominence and perception of Arlington. As a result, requests for burial there began to increase, which has occasionally led to a tightening on the requirements (which, in turn, helped raise its prominence even more).

A decade later, President Nixon ended the draft. This has directly led to fewer Americans serving in the military, and indirectly to fewer veterans serving in federal elected office. So at the same time that burial at Arlington became seen as one of the highest honors our country could bestow on the deceased, the number of politicians who are eligible has been decreasing. That makes the burials of Lugar and Bayh stand out all the more, and perhaps continuing to feed the misconception.

All of that is to say, then, that the list of prominent politicians buried at Arlington is not as large as one might guess. The list of Hoosier politicians is even smaller: Gov. Paul McNutt. But there is no provision for service as governor, and McNutt wouldn't even qualify because he served as the national commander of the American Legion. Instead,



he qualifies because he served in the Army during World War I, and later as U.S. ambassador to the Philippines.

Beyond McNutt, I can find no record of any other prominent Hoosiers buried in Arlington. But there are plenty of stories to be found about unknown Hoosier heroes to be found, such as that of Carl Mann of Evansville, who was buried at Arlington last month on the 75th Anniversary of D-Day. Mann not only stormed Omaha Beach, but he was also present at the other four major battle sites in the European Theater. He served as one of only 28 forward observers doing advanced scouting for General Patton, and was one of only three to come home. He was one of the first to arrive at the

Battle of the Bulge, and was the first American to reach the gates of two different Nazi concentration camps and begin to liberate its prisoners. For those interested in who is buried at Arlington, I encourage you to look up his story, and those of the other less-prominent Hoosiers who lie in rest there.

And if you're curious about the final resting place of other Hoosier politicians? Look no further than Crown Hill in Indianapolis. While it contains a national veterans cemetery with less strict requirements, it's also where you can also find 25% (11 of 44) of deceased Indiana governors, 75% (3 of 4) of our deceased Hoosier vice presidents, and 100% (Benjamin Harrison) of Hoosier presidents. In addition, there are dozens of other U.S. senators, U.S. representatives, and state legislators buried there.

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Economic research points to different education outcomes

By **MICHAEL HICKS**

MUNCIE – The past decade has seen a blossoming of research on the geography of employment and the effect of automation on the demand for workers and skills. These studies benefitted from significantly richer data sets on



people and skills that enabled substantially more sophisticated labor market analysis. I especially admire work done by David Autor and Enrico Moretti, whose work is rich and easily accessible to non-economists. Their research was promoted by real world happenings that could ultimately inform public policy. But, I have become frustrated at how few insights from the past quarter century are understood and applied

to education and tax policies.

In many states, and certainly here in Indiana, public policy towards education, tax incentives and the role of workforce training seem very focused on applying lessons from the 1960s and 1970s, while ignoring nearly everything important from the 1980s through the present. This column is part of my effort to draw out two or three critical lessons from the last two or three decades and tie them to state policies.

The first lesson learned is the primacy of human capital in the success of regions. Nearly the only thing that differs among cities, counties or metro areas is the educational attainment of workers. Capital investment, which for much of the 19th and early 20th century helped determine economic differences between regions, matters very little today. Sadly, Indiana seems wedded to a 1960s model of capital investment. Adjusting for inflation, since 2010, Indiana increased tax incentives for capital by \$5.025 million.

Over the same time, our cumulative increase in education funding to universities and K-12 education was only \$17 million. Indiana's leaders pay a lot of lip service to educating and attracting talented workers, but pay a whole lot of money to attract capital.

The second lesson of this new research is the growing polarization of labor markets. This means there has been growth at both the high and low ends of the pay scale. This has come at the expense of middle-skilled jobs that pay mid-level wages. The proximal cause of this is technological change. The skills most susceptible to automation and digitization have been those clustered within the middle class. Foreign trade also influenced these jobs, but mostly because trade pressure simply hastened the speed

with which American firms adopted new technologies and automation.

State-level policies appear oblivious to the polarization of jobs. It is hard to overstate how unmindful Indiana's policies are to three decades of evidence. As labor markets polarized, wages rose sharply at the top and stagnated at the bottom. One very likely reason is that displaced workers flooded low-skilled labor markets, while the supply of highly skilled workers remained low. In response to polarized labor markets and low levels of college attendance, Indiana cut funding to colleges and universities. This quickly reduced the share of Hoosier children heading to college at a time when the college wage premiums continues to rise. This is puzzling in light of abundant evidence that more cognitive skills are in greater demand.

The third great lesson of labor market research is uncertainty about the composition of future jobs and labor market skills. We know with much certainty that automation will replace many skills now prized by labor markets. History tells us there will be plenty of new jobs, but they will require different, typically more cognitive skills, and will appear in different places. This uncertainty combined with labor market turbulence makes clear a need for greater focus on durable, transferable, highly cognitive skills. In short, we need more of the skills taught almost exclusively in elementary, middle and high schools, than in colleges and universities.

In response to labor market turbulence and a greater demand for durable cognitive skills, Indiana has moved in precisely the wrong direction. The state weakened high school graduation requirements and now obliges children to substitute academic learning for career familiarization as early as middle school.

We have shifted funding from schools to workforce training, substituting learning in durable cognitive skills with inherently transient, job-focused training. Good schools are probably working around these obstacles, but taxpayers should ask tough questions of state leaders who send this message to send to students and families.

These critiques of Indiana's human capital policies are not new. The evidence of labor market polarization and the importance of human capital in local prosperity is not new. Concern over Indiana's poor levels of educational attainment are not new. Perhaps the only novelty here is that since 2010, Indiana has cut spending on K-12 from 2.59% to 2.29% of our state's GDP. We have made even deeper cuts to the share of GDP supporting higher education.

I admire fiscal restraint, but that is not what we are observing. State and local incentives to businesses have grown by more than \$5 billion since 2010. The shift of tax dollars from investment in human capital to subsidies for business equipment is most assuredly not a conservative principle. More to the point, we hear a great deal of political talk about the need for talent, but it is difficult to reconcile that rhetoric with spending priorities. If

today we spent the same share of GDP on education as we did in 2010, we would have more than \$1.56 billion extra this year alone.

I am not advocating for a large tax increase, but it is essential that we be honest with ourselves. We are spending far less of our income on human capital, and more on physical capital, than we did a decade ago. I suspect there are good political reasons for this shift, but it is deeply misguided economic policy. It is now time for

taxpayers and voters to help align successful politics with smarter economic policy. ❖

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

Not all boats rise in Indiana counties

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – It’s been a while since we looked at state and county labor market changes. So, I pulled up the number of persons employed and the number unemployed as reported by the Indiana Department of Workforce Development and the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.



The latest month I found was May 2019 for counties, June for states. But I dare not use unmatched months for fear some partisan critic would say I was cherry-picking the data by not using the same month. Of course, I’ve been doing this long enough to realize it doesn’t matter. Critics will carp regardless of the starting and ending points of any analysis.

Anyway, from May 2017 to the same month in 2019, the number of persons employed

rose by 3.7 million (2.4%) in the U.S. During the same time, the number unemployed fell by 1.1 million (a healthy decline of 16.7%).

That means the labor force, which is the sum of the employed and the unemployed looking for work, rose by 2.7 million. (Don’t panic; the numbers are rounded, not incorrect.) This is what most folks think is how things should be. More people working reduces the number looking for work and also draws into the labor force people who previously did not have jobs nor were job-hunting.

Indiana was one of the 34 states in this happy condition. Job holders increased by 33,000 while job-seekers declined by 9,000, with the labor force growing by 24,000. But we trailed the nation in all three measures as our job holders grew by 1.0% (US = 2.4%), our number unemployed declined by 8.0% (US = -16.7%) and our labor force rose by 0.7% (US=1.7%).

If any one of the happy-talk Hoosiers noticed this

deficiency, it would be surprising. However, it would be astonishing if they also recognized that 44 (not half of Indiana’s 92 counties) were in this benighted condition with the numbers employed and the numbers in the labor market rising while the numbers unemployed fell.

In total, 53 counties did see increases in the number employed. But this left 39 of our counties with a decrease in the number of employed persons. Hardly the kind of news that makes it into press releases.

In a simplistic world, growth of employment would wipe out unemployment. However, many other factors can intervene. Strong increases in employment opportunities can provide jobs for the unemployed and attract workers back into the labor force. Simultaneously, people often move to where jobs are increasing and away from less attractive areas.

The case of New Jersey is instructive. That state gained 38,500 employed persons and cut the number unemployed down by 64,500. The net effect: NJ saw its labor force decline by 26,000. Did they retire and/or move? Probably the latter since Jersey is rarely cited as a retirement mecca. ❖

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 atmortonjohn.libsyn.com. ❖

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

Getting Congress back on track

By **LEE HAMILTON**

BLOOMINGTON – The other day, someone I've known for years offered a pointed bit of criticism. "It's easy for people like you to make long lists of things Congress should do to improve," he said. "But you know good and well most of them won't happen. So if you're really serious, what's the one most important thing it could do? What does Congress absolutely need to start getting itself back on track?"



He was right. "People like me" — that is, people who comment publicly about all the things Congress gets wrong — often have long laundry lists of fixes, from wringing the influence of special-interest money out of the system to members of different parties spending more time

together. But the most important fix? That takes some thinking.

I've spent some time on it and have my answer. But you're not going to like it. What's critically important for Congress to do? Return to the regular order.

I know, even a lot of wonks don't know what that means. That's because it's a little hard to define precisely. Drawing on the work of congressional scholars Tom Mann and Norm Ornstein, you could think of the regular order as the rules, precedents and norms that have evolved over congressional history to make sure that it treats its members fairly in the course of its work and that it plays its proper role in our scheme of government.

In part, this is about process. You may think of committee hearings, expert testimony, and a fair debate and amendments process as eye-glazing details, but they evolved for a reason: They're how Congress ensured that a diversity of voices got heard, members got the benefit of the best thinking in the country on difficult issues, and even rank-and-file members had a chance to shape policy.

I put those in the past tense because, of course, mostly they no longer happen. Instead, Congress has gotten into some distressing habits — omnibus bills, weakened committees (especially in the budget process), amendment-free legislating — which all add up to a curtailed process dominated by the leadership. It has limited floor debate, tends to bypass ordinary members, and gives disproportionate influence to big donors and lobbyists. It often sidesteps dealing with tough issues. And it's not unusual for important legislative provisions to be added at the last minute by powerful members without discussion or debate.

The result is the diminished, unproductive Congress we now see. Deliberation, openness, the give-and-take of a free society, the process of consulting with experts and those who might be affected by legislation, a Congress that squarely addresses the tough questions that need to be answered if we're to move forward as a society — all have fallen victim to Congress's abandonment of the regular order.

And largely because of this, Congress no longer plays the role that our founders envisioned and our diverse, complex society needs.

Now, I don't want to give the impression that the regular order is flawless. Any process will have its problems, and even when it was observed, the regular order still put too much power in the hands of too few people.

But it was far better than the ad hoc, unpredictable, and often dysfunctional process we see now. Because once the regular order breaks down, democracy-defying habits like omnibus bills, sleight-of-hand legislating, and powerful leadership teams take hold.

And the result isn't just an institution that no longer represents the American people. It's also a bad product: legislation that isn't vetted, doesn't reflect a consensus among members, and often reveals itself to be unsustainable once it meets the real world.

In short, if you've got a bad process, you're likely to create a bad result. A good process doesn't ensure good results, but it definitely boosts the chances of getting to one.

We have two centuries of experience on Capitol Hill that have taught us how to run a legislature so that the voices of the American people can be reflected in the halls of power, multiple viewpoints get fair and respectful consideration, and ordinary legislators have a fair shot at influencing the results. Until we get back to that, no amount of tinkering with Congress will add up to much. ❖

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Supt. Jennifer McCormick, NWI Times:

Leadership requires courage to not play politics. Leadership requires courage to reach across the aisle with genuine intent. Leadership requires courage to ask, to listen, and to take action. I am proud to work with State Sen. Eddie Melton to display this type of leadership. Washington's partisan posturing and reluctance to collaborate and cooperate exhausts many Hoosiers. I, too, have become disenchanted and find this type of representation less than desirable. However, I am newly optimistic and encouraged. Eddie Melton, a Democrat from Gary, asked me to join his statewide summer Hoosier Community Conversations, starting in Indianapolis on July 11. As a mother, educator and Indiana's top education official, I understand the importance and responsibility associated with these opportunities to hear directly from Hoosiers. The chance to engage with community voices is critical to better serve Indiana students, families, schools, and communities. Sen. Melton understands the value in these conversations, and I commend his approach. Although our backgrounds are different, we share the same commitment to serving Indiana's students. Our students deserve a quality education and courageous leaders who will provide them with just that. When the Hoosier Community Conversations were announced, many people met the idea of a Democrat from Northern Indiana and a Republican from East Central Indiana working together to better serve students with great excitement, intrigue and optimism. Overwhelmingly, we have received supportive statements which expressed welcome, congratulations, appreciation and long-overdue themes. This bipartisan approach positions Indiana to become a national leader in opposition to an unflattering hyperpartisan environment. The Hoosier Community Conversations model is a purposeful and positive collaboration in the spirit of student success. Sen. Melton understands our state's educational landscape and the inefficient, expensive governance structure. Thus, he is eager to build on successes and find solutions to the concerns of Hoosiers. He appreciates the Indiana Department of Education's aggressive strategic plan, which explains much of the state's impressive results and national attention. Yet, Sen. Melton is also aware of the challenges our students, educators, schools and employers continue to face. I am eager to join Sen. Melton at his Hoosier Community Conversations to hear directly from Indiana communities. After all, leadership requires courage to lead with a moral compass believing a quality education is not about political parties. It is about kids. ❖



posal to see if it's as terrifying as she found it to be in that video she posted awhile back. In this completely made-up scenario, I am simply in her home illegally. She knows this as she comes in. On my blue blazer I've pinned a name tag that says, "Hello my name is John. Hate Has No Home Here" It doesn't have to be AOC's home. You might fashion your own nightmare dream sequence and put yourself in Bernie Sanders' home, or Joe Biden's or Kamala Harris'. Or the home of any of the other Democratic presidential candidates who raised their hands promising taxpayer-subsidized health care to those who crossed the border illegally, and also raised their hands supporting the decriminalization of illegal crossing, thus endorsing de facto open borders. So, no criminal penalty for crossing. And if you make it here, you get free stuff at taxpayer expense. Sounds like a great deal to me. Does it apply to the kitchen table? "Who ARE you," asks AOC. "WHY are you HERE? Do you belong in my house?" These are simple, reasonable questions any homeowner might ask of a stranger at her or his kitchen table. So why can't Americans ask it of people in our country? Why can't we ask people in this country — on the 2020 census — if they are citizens of the United States? ❖

James Pinkerton, American Conservative:

The legal proceedings against financier Jeffrey Epstein are going to be spectacular. The sober-minded New York Times is already running headlines such as "Raid on Epstein's Mansion Uncovered Nude Photos of Girls," describing the victims as "minors, some as young as 14." So, yes, this story is going to be, well, lit. Epstein is the pluperfect "Great White Defendant," to borrow the phrase from Tom Wolfe's 1987 novel *The Bonfire of the Vanities*. In Epstein's case, even the left, normally indulgent on crime, is going to be chanting: lock him up. In fact, the case against Epstein seems so overwhelming that it's already been reported, albeit not confirmed, that his lawyers are seeking a plea bargain. Yet even if Epstein doesn't "flip," it's a cinch that many luminaries—in politics, business, and entertainment—will at least be named, if not outright inculpated. Which is to say, the Epstein case is shaping up as yet another lurid look at the lifestyles of the rich, famous, and powerful, sure to boil the blood of populists on the right and class warriors on the left.

Conrad Black, American Greatness: It is easier to notice the drift of American political public opinion after being away from it in England for six weeks. It is obvious that President Trump is steadily gaining ground. The human wave of kooks and retreads seeking the Democratic nomination have been shooting furiously inside their 360-degree firing squad and some of the 1 percent group will have to be carried out soon to make it a tighter circle. The Democrats' major problems are that almost all the president's policies are working. The collapse of the Russian collusion fraud has created an eerie silence. ❖

John Kass, Chicago Tribune: After a long day at the resistance, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez comes home to find me sitting completely alone and uninvited at her kitchen table. While I wait, I do not raid her fridge for a sustainable snack of a few celery sticks with spicy hummus. And I suppress the urge to turn on her garbage dis-

SBOE to seek \$40M from virtual schools

INDIANAPOLIS — Two virtual charter schools and the district overseeing them have to pay back millions of dollars in state funding, after the Indiana State Board of Education voted to get money back from the schools at its meeting Wednesday (Lindsay, [Indiana Public Media](#)).

Indiana Virtual Pathways Academy, Indiana Virtual School, and Daleville Community Schools are on the hook to pay back about \$40 million. A state audit found the two virtual charter schools reported twice as many students to the state than were actually taking courses, and the board voted to retroactively cut the virtual schools' enrollment counts, meaning they have to pay back half the state funding they received. State examiner Paul Joyce says once the audit is done, criminal charges could be filed if the findings support it. "We will turn it over to the Attorney General for civil collection and involve local prosecutors or federal prosecutors for anything that was criminal," he says.

Crouch forges letter of intent in Mexico

PACHUCA, Mexico — Business roundtables, meetings with senior government officials and the signing of a letter of intent have netted a productive first three days in Mexico, as part of Lt. Gov. Suzanne Crouch's second agricultural, economic and tourism development trip. The agriculture delegation spent Monday and Tuesday in Mexico City, with today's business being conducted in the state of Hidalgo. "The Mexican government has shown their support for USMCA and it is now up to Congress to seal the deal," Crouch said. "But in Indiana, we're not waiting around. We want Mexico to know that Indiana is open for business and that we're committed to developing and enhancing

our relationship with them." In Mexico City, the Crouch and members of the delegation met with representatives within the Foreign Affairs, Economy, and Tourism ministries. There, they discussed opportunities to enhance cooperation in the areas of agriculture, economic development and tourism. Crouch also met with the Mexican Undersecretary of North America Jesús Seade, who spoke about the importance of the Indiana-Mexico trade relationship, valued at just under \$10 billion. "Mexico is relationship-driven," said Bruce

Kettler, Indiana State Department of Agriculture Director. "As connected as we are today, there's still no substitute for face-to-face conversation, so these meetings were invaluable to growing our, already strong, agricultural and economic ties."

Senate confirms Judge Leichty

INDIANAPOLIS — The U.S. Senate Wednesday confirmed Damon Leichty, a South Bend lawyer, to be the newest judge on the U.S. District Court for northern Indiana (AP). The Senate voted 85-10 to confirm Leichty, who was nominated by President Donald Trump in July 2018. U.S. Sens. Todd Young and Mike Braun voted for confirmation. Leichty will take the place of retired Judge Robert L. Miller Jr., for whom he clerked early in his career. A graduate of Wabash College and Indiana University Maurer School of Law, Leichty has been a partner at the law firm Barnes & Thornburg and an adjunct professor at Notre Dame Law School.

Knight moving back to Bloomington

BLOOMINGTON — In March of 2018, embattled former Indiana University basketball coach Bob Knight spoke before an adoring crowd at Bloomington High School South. A year later, he returned to Bloomington and joined former Herald-Times

sports editor Bob Hammel in the press box at Bart Kaufman Field to watch IU's baseball team play Penn State. Now the Bloomington Herald-Times is reporting that Knight is preparing to move back to Bloomington.

Danks quits as Vanderburgh chair

EVANSVILLE — A caucus to elect new leaders of the Vanderburgh County Democratic Party is set for later this month (WFIE-TV). Scott Danks announced in a press release that he is leaving his position as the Party Chair, and he hopes the current vice chair will take his place. Danks says he asked Edie Hardcastle to take the position in January, but she wanted more time to learn the job. "Edie is extremely intelligent, energetic, politically savvy, and is genuinely a very nice person who gets along with everyone she encounters," said Danks. Hardcastle has her PhD in biology and teaches at USI. She ran for a State Senate seat in 2018. "Although I absolutely love Democratic politics, I simply cannot devote the time the position of Chair deserves," said Danks.

ICE mass arrests to begin on Sunday

WASHINGTON — Nationwide raids to arrest thousands of members of undocumented families have been scheduled to begin Sunday, according to two current and one former homeland security officials, moving forward with a rapidly changing operation, the final details of which remain in flux. The operation, backed by President Trump, had been postponed, partly because of resistance among officials at his own immigration agency. The raids, which will be conducted by Immigration and Customs Enforcement over multiple days, will include "collateral" deportations, according to the officials, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because of the preliminary stage of the operation.

