



## Rep. Brooks surveys ‘tipping points’

Out-going congresswoman discusses possible gun reforms, and an emerging coarse political culture

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

CARMEL – Having term-limited herself after seven years in Congress, U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks told Howey Politics Indiana there will be no more campaigns for public office.

“My political career is over,” Brooks said. This from a woman who

came within a single Republican Central Committee vote of landing the 2016 gubernatorial nomination. She’s just the third Republican woman to be in Congress from the Hoosier State (along with Cecil Harden and Jackie Walorski). She’s had a long career with stints as deputy mayor and a U.S. attorney. Once



U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks in her Carmel office on Tuesday. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

her congressional term concludes in 2020, she plans to be a “coach and mentor” for a new generation of Republican leaders.

But this upcoming generation could very well be different from those that came before. There are now two generations who have gone through “active shooter” drills in their schools. She believes America is at or near a tipping point on “common sense” gun reforms such as the Jake Laird Law in Indiana, one of the most successful “red flag” laws in the nation.

Brooks is on the NRCC’s recruiting committee, but as she winds

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## Huddling with Ken, Emma

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – “Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, The wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me, I lift my lamp beside the golden door!”

These were the epic words of the Emma Lazarus poem “The New Colossus” adorning the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty. These words cut to the crux of the American experiment and spoke to our epic, melting-pot heritage.

Ken Cuccinelli is acting director of the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services and he made an astounding assertion on Tuesday. As the Trump



**“The president thinks we’re all suckers. We’ve got a country where GDP is going up and life expectancy is going down, and his biggest solution is to pass a tax cut for corporations.”**

*- Mayor Pete Buttigieg, speaking at the Iowa State Fair on Wednesday..*



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**Jack E. Howey**  
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1926-2019

administration seeks to dramatically limit legal immigration to America, Cuccinelli tweaked the Lazarus poem after a question from the press.

**"Would you** also agree that Emma Lazarus's words etched on the Statue of Liberty, 'Give me your tired, give me your poor,' are also a part of the American ethos?" NPR's Rachel Martin asked Cuccinelli during a "Morning Edition" interview. Cuccinelli responded, "They certainly are: 'Give me your tired and your poor who can stand on their own two feet and who will not become a public charge.' That plaque was put on the Statue of Liberty at almost the same time as the first public charge was passed – very interesting timing."

Thus we see the aberration of a basic American ethos, replaced by President Trump and top aide Stephen Miller's attempt to stir ethnic, racial, urban and rural divides in the country they govern. They want only white Europeans, with degrees, and some wealth. Thus, we are watching in real time a perversion of an American ideal.

I remembered in-laws of my family, who lived in Richmond. They immigrated to the U.S. from Poland after World War I. They didn't make it. While the current Great Society welfare system was not in place in the 1920s, it would be safe to assume that at some point they had help, whether it was from a church, a soup kitchen, the Salvation Army or a haven like the Hull House on Chicago's near west side or even a "public charge." They had to return to their homeland with considerable disappointment, if not shame.

**A few years** later, they came to America for a second time. This time they made it. He worked in a Toledo foundry, raising a family that would yield nurses, university professors and a Baptist minister.

I suspect many of you reading

this very post have similar family histories. Certainly, the Trump and Pence families did.

Cuccinelli not only doesn't understand this basic American tenet, he had a number of other facts wrong. NPR reports that the first "public charge" rule for immigration, which he called "very interesting timing" was codified in 1882. Lazarus's poem was written in 1883 and was not placed on Lady Liberty until 1903.

**Immigrants make up** 13.7% of the current U.S. population, according to the Brookings Institute, which is well within historic norms. More than 44.5 million immigrants resided in the United States in 2017, the



historical high since census records have been kept. One in seven U.S. residents is foreign-born, according to 2017 American Community Survey data. While immigrants' current share of the overall U.S. population (325.7 million people) has been increasing since the record low marked in 1970, it remains below the historical record of 14.8% in 1890.

Here in President Trump's America, not only do we have record employment (which he deserves some of the credit), we have a need for more labor. There are currently 77,000 unfilled jobs in Indiana and 7.3 million across the U.S., according to Bureau of Labor Statistics. There are many jobs that current Americans don't want to do, such as farm labor or those in chicken processing plants like

the ones that ICE raided in Mississippi last week.

The anti-immigrant sentiments stoked by Trump and Miller are based on faulty perceptions. Trump began his presidential campaign in 2015 claiming that Mexicans coming to the U.S. were “rapists” and criminals. The Migrant Policy Institute (MPI) reports that reasons for deportation include 83% immigration violation, 7% for aggravated felony, 6% for other crimes, 4% other. So only a small fraction of immigrants are criminals.

**According to the** George W. Bush Center, 72.5% of immigrants “believe hard work is how you succeed in America” and are responsible for half of the total U.S. labor force growth over the last decade. Immigrant-owned businesses with employees have an average of 11 workers, as some of you have witnessed if you hire a lawn care company or have had your home reroofed. Some 7.6% of immigrants were self-employed compared to 5.6% of native-born Americans. Immigrants have founded more than 40% of Fortune 500 companies. Precisely 42 slots on the Forbes 400 belong to naturalized citizens who immigrated to America, or 10.5% of the list. The Bush Center reports that 62.2% of immigrants age 16 and older were employed, compared to 58.1% of native-born Americans.

**Immigrants are more** likely to have college degrees than native-born Americans and are more likely to have advanced degrees. According to MPI, in 2017, 31% (12 million) of the 39 million immigrants ages 25 and older had a bachelor’s degree or higher, compared to 32% of U.S.-born adults. Notably, the share of college-educated immigrants was much higher, 47%, among those who entered the country in the previous five years (between 2012 and 2017).

So many of these yearning Americans are far from wretched, huddled masses. Some are and they may have gotten some public assistance along the way. So what?



It’s part of what we call pulling yourself up by your bootstraps. Sometimes you need a helping hand, not a permanent handout.

Forbes Magazine’s Monte Burke cited Thomas Peterffy, who was born in the basement of a Budapest hospital on Sept. 30, 1944. Peterffy landed at John F. Kennedy International Airport in December 1965. “He had no money and spoke no English. He had a single suitcase, which contained a change of clothes, a surveying handbook, a slide rule and a painting of an ancestor,” Burke writes. Peterffy founded Interactive Brokers Group and at age 72 is now worth an estimated \$12.6 billion.

“Thomas Peterffy embodies the American Dream,” explained Burke. So does Google founder Sergey Brin (\$37.5 billion), eBay founder Pierre Omidyar (\$8.1 billion), Tesla and SpaceX founder Elon Musk (\$11.6 billion). And Rupert Murdoch, George Soros, Jerry Yang, Micky Arison, Patrick Soon-Shiong, Jan Koum, Jeff Skoll, Jorge Perez, and Peter Thiel.

**In the Hoosier context,** notable immigrants included Clemens Vonnegut, Sarkes Tarzian, Kanwal Prakash Singh, Josef Gingold, Elias Esau Daniels (grandfather of a governor), Rajan Gajaria, Riccardo Giacconi, Nickoliss Shaheen, Salvador Luria, Michael McRobbie, Akira Suzuki, Rolando A. DeCastro, J. Hans Jensen, Christel DeHaan, Ei-ichi Negishi, Juana Watson and Eva Mozes Kor. All of these Hoosiers made our state more learned, artistic, communicative and prosperous.

President Trump’s anti-immigration stance, his stoking fears of caravans and invasions, may be good politics – it helped Mike Braun defeat Sen. Joe Donnelly in 2018 – though it backfired across much of the rest of America.

Legal immigration has brought America new vitality, wave after wave. It is a renewal. And it is under unwarranted attack. ❖

## Rep. Brooks, from page 1

down her political career, the Republican House caucus is overwhelmingly full of white guys; she is one of only 13 women in the caucus. The lone African-American, Rep. Will Hurd of Texas, is joining Brooks in retirement.

In 2013, Republican National Chairman Reince Priebus’s 100-page “Growth and Opportunity Project,” also known as the 2012 “autopsy report” following Mitt Romney’s loss to President Obama, called for a more inclusive GOP. It proposed an outreach to Latinos, other minorities and women. It proposed that Republicans “embrace and champion” immi-



gration reform. Priebus would say, “The Republican Party needs to stop talking to itself. We have become expert in how to provide ideological reinforcement to like-minded people, but devastatingly we have lost the ability to be persuasive with, or welcoming to, those who do not agree with us on every issue.”

Priebus, who served a brief stint as President Trump’s chief of staff in 2017, added, “I think it’s about being decent. I think it’s about dignity and respect that nobody deserves to have their dignity diminished or people don’t deserve to be disrespected.”

Three years later, the GOP retook the White House, but on very, very different terms. Donald Trump launched his campaign citing

Mexican rapists and killers, proposed a Muslim travel ban, offended an array of minorities, and have been accused by at least two dozen women of sexual harassment or assault. President Trump has essentially wadded up, tossed away and stomped on the autopsy report both as a candidate and while serving in the Oval Office.

The America Brooks finds herself in as she prepares to exit Congress is a jittery nation. Trump's rhetoric has been racially divisive, pitting rural American against urban American. Brooks' 5th CD spans from bright red Grant County, to purple in southern Hamilton County and blue to bright blue in Indianapolis, a literal microcosm of the nation. It is the kind of district Democrats believe they can pick off as early as 2020.

She said polling in the 5th CD had her poised for a fifth term and believes the district will remain in the GOP column in November 2020 without her. Most of the Republicans who will seek her seat – former senator Mike Delph, Rev. Micah Beckwith, businessman Terry Henderson, former state legislator Steve Braun, State Sen. John Ruckelshaus and Treasurer Kelly Mitchell – have reached out and have sought her advice and imprimatur.

However, there is no doubt that Trump's disdain for the Growth and Opportunity Project and the dozens of massacres have had an impact in the 5th CD and beyond. Brooks has denounced the cruder rhetoric from Trump and members of the Democrat House "Squad."

We conducted this HPI Interview in her district office in Carmel late Tuesday afternoon:

**HPI:** Is your political career over, or is this just the end of this current chapter?

**Brooks:** I decided when we made this announcement, and had been thinking about it for quite some time, my political career is over. I'm not planning on running for office again. I plan on being much more of a coach and mentor for others. I'll still be involved in many ways, like I am right now in this recruitment role for the NRCC. I want to coach and mentor more than anything else. I want to bring new talent into the party and encourage, particularly girls and young women that are running for office. It's something I will stay involved with. I will still be political. I have loved what I've done. I've loved serving the 5th District and Indiana and the country, but I think it's time to pass the baton.

**HPI:** So where will you be a couple of years from now? Working with the Lugar Series, or creating your own organization to encourage up-and-coming Republicans to get involved?

**Brooks:** I really haven't decided yet how to stay involved in that way. Members of Congress often have

leadership PACs that we fundraise for and that is to support other candidates. In the last cycle, I probably supported with a couple of hundred thousand dollars that we raised and I pushed out to other candidates and so I want to try and find a way to engage and support people, but not just at the federal level. What is giving me such joy is that two of the newest members of the Statehouse are close friends of mine, Dollyne Sherman and Ann Vermillion.

**HPI:** I haven't met Ann Vermillion yet, but having Dollyne in the General Assembly is a wonderful development.



State Reps. Dollyne Sherman (left) and Ann Vermillion were sworn in on Wednesday. (WIBC Photo by Eric Berman)

**Brooks:** It still gives me a chill thinking about Dollyne, who has always been behind the scenes, supporting in a communications and policy role for so many people, going back to Gov. Orr. When she called and told me she was seriously thinking about this and let's talk through this, she had been on my kitchen cabinet since I've gotten started. I was beyond excited knowing she was running. But knowing it was a caucus, that's a very different kind of way to get in office than running in a primary and putting your name on the ballot. It's a different political process. I've introduced Dollyne to Ann Vermillion. I've gotten to know Ann in my time

in office. She was a leader at Marion General Hospital and really focused on the opioid crisis. So early on in my time in Congress, I've gotten to know Ann and I think she's a rock star from Grant County. So I mentored her along the way and when (State Rep.) Kevin (Mahan) surprised us all when he decided to step down, she called me. I want to be helpful for people who consider running. That's what I see myself doing. I'm not going to step away. I'm not going to focus just on women. I will stay involved in recruiting and coaching people.

**HPI:** In 2013, Republican National Chairman Reince Priebus issued a 100-page Growth and Opportunity Project report or the "Republican autopsy." It seems to me, despite your efforts, the party under President Trump is doing the exact opposite.

**Brooks:** Can you share with me a little bit about what the report said?

**HPI:** It encouraged the party to be more tolerant and appeal to young people, Latinos, women and urged immigration reform. It seems to me that under President Trump, the party is doing the exact opposite of that. He kicked off his campaign by calling Mexicans "rapists" and then he followed that up with a proposed Muslim ban. The Republican House caucus just has 13 female members and you and Martha Robey are retiring and the lone African-American, Will Hurd, is also leaving. It's becoming the

party of old white guys.

**Brooks:** This last election cycle was very, very difficult for us. One statistic I love bringing up is in 2018, we had 52 females on the general election ballot (for Congress). It's not that women didn't run, it's that we were not successful in those races. Thirteen of us won and that included only one new member, Carol Miller from West Virginia. The Democrats did an amazing job of bringing in a lot of women to the point where we have a historic number of women serving in the House. There was no question Democrats targeted a number of our women that were running because we had 52 on the ballot. (Rep.) Elise Stefanik of upstate New York ... helped recruit those 52 women and there were more who ran in the primaries. Fifty-two made it out and she decided to focus exclusively on recruiting women. This year we are recruiting everybody, men, women. She decided in this Congress to put much more focus on women. The thing I'm pretty thrilled about is right now we have 450 people who have reached out to the RNCC, saying "I'm considering running for office." That's much higher than in previous cycles. The last numbers I saw were 204 of those were women. A hundred of those folks are people of color.

**HPI:** That's a bit of a change.

**Brooks:** We also have recruited 10 or 20 who are veterans. The Democrats also put a focus on veterans. We always have, but we're doing it in a more concentrated way. So right now, I lead an effort with the NRCC where we divide the country up in different regions and members are helping me. Some are veterans, some are former mayors. Larry Bucshon is helping our team with people with medical backgrounds. We're connecting recruits with people with similar backgrounds. We're educating them about putting together teams, consultants, how to run grassroots operations, identifying potential voters, and turnout models. We're trying to do a lot more coaching. We need to pick up 18 seats before the retirements, but we have to hold the seats we have like the 5th, like Will Hurd's seat and a number of Texas members who have retired.

**HPI:** Why are so many Republican Texans retiring?

**Brooks:** House Republicans and Democrats are very different. We put term limits on chairmanships. Democrats don't. We have had a lot more churn within the Republican Party for decades now. We have more turnover now intentionally. When I came in 2012, I said, "I'm going to term limit myself" and I'm honoring that. A lot more of our members are doing that.

**HPI:** Do you think that's a good thing?

**Brooks:** I do think that's a very good thing. It gives people an opportunity to move up and lead. There's so much talent. We give people more opportunities and I think that's part of the reason we see more retirements. Once you reach the top level of the committee you're on, they say, "I'm done." Being in public office like this is com-

pletely consuming in your life.

**HPI:** I ran into John Hiler a couple years after he was defeated and he said something like, "What was I thinking?" He was having a great time with his family and business after Congress. There's definitely life after Congress.

**Brooks:** There is. I think a lot of people realize that they go there for several terms. I admire people who go for decades. We need them for the institution. They really help us protecting and strengthening the House. But some of my colleagues who have been there 20 or 30



years, who run every two years, it can really take a toll on your life, your health and so many things. I just decided eight years was enough. Our kids live across the globe. My son moved to Alaska; he's a teacher there. It took me nine months to get up there to see him. Our daughter is living up in Minnesota. I just want to have more flexibility in my life to be much more engaged with my family. That is the reason I decided to step away.

**HPI:** This past summer we're seeing some of most inflammatory rhetoric from President Trump. Was there any reticence about running on a ticket with him? Did that play in role in your decision?

**Brooks:** It didn't. It wasn't about the president. That wasn't it. From the very beginning I made a conscious decision each off year to ask, "Am I going to continue to do this?" I did it during President Obama and I did it last cycle as well. Did I want to continue to serve in this way?" I decided, "Yes, let's finish out four years with this Republican president and see what we can get done." I thought we got a lot done in the last Congress. Obviously serving in the minority, I thought we'd get less done. But even though we were in the minority, one of my bills was the first bill to pass out of the House. It was the Pandemic All Hazard Preparedness Act. We got it out of the House and signed it into law this June. It doesn't have to do with being in the minority, it doesn't have anything to do with the president. It was all about personal life situation.

**HPI:** Are you concerned about the general level

of rhetoric, whether it be from the president or one of your Democratic House colleagues like Rep. Omar?

**Brooks:** Yes. Obviously, I'm one of the few Republicans who have spoken out about it.

**HPI:** Because you're not running does that give you more license to speak out?

**Brooks:** Sure it does, but I do believe there are other instances where I have run in the past and spoken out as well. When candidate Trump made disparaging remarks about Judge Curiel from California, I'm like, "This Hoosier ... the president should not be disparaging this Hoosier." (Judge Gonzalo Curiel was a native of East Chicago). So I have spoken out, particularly when it comes to racially divisive comments that I think are discriminatory. I have a pattern with that. I think that's very important. I'm on the Modernization Committee in Congress and I'm trying to focus on civility. I'm trying to remind and get the country to be more focused on that responsibility, including our president.

**HPI:** It seems like the proponents of that kind of civility, Sens. Bob Corker and Jeff Flake, are the ones leaving Congress.

**Brooks:** I hope there will continue to be leaders in both the House and Senate who continue to raise the issue

and remind our leader about the importance of civility and not making racially charged comments. I'm sure there will be. With my departure and Corker's departure and others there are still people who will be speaking out. It's not just about the president. I've spoken out when members of Congress have done racially or ethnically charged comments.

**HPI:** Rep. Ilhan Omar?

**Brooks:** Rep. Omar. Exactly. There have been a number of anti-Semitic comments made by my colleagues in Congress. I've spoken out against those. Even though I voted with the Democrats and only a handful of Republicans to condemn what the president said about my colleagues, I also said the Democrats should have put in a resolution condemning those anti-Semitic comments. This isn't just about the president. This is about members of Congress also.

**HPI:** You mentioned Rep. Ted Deutch before we began the interview. You two have an unfortunate bond, representing districts where there has been a school shooting, though, obviously, the Parkland massacre was far worse than Noblesville West Middle School. Now we're in a freaky, jittery scenario where a motorcycle backfiring on Times Square sets off a stampede, or a sign falling at

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a Utah mall sets off a panic. People are now anticipating massacres and this is an unfortunate change. What's your message on this? After that terrible weekend, you tweeted that now is the time to act. Are we at the proverbial tipping point?

**Brooks:** I certainly hope so. I plan on continuing to go back after recess and work on it even harder. But I have been working on it in many ways since I got here. Just remember, I came to Congress after Sandy Hook in December 2012. I formed a School Safety Caucus with Rick Larsen from the state of Washington. We tried a couple of congresses ago to get much more attention and focus on school safety issues. Indiana has actually been a leader because of our School Safety Academies that we have here. I was U.S. attorney when Virginia Tech happened. We were doing a lot back in those days. I've also been involved in gun violence issue when I was in the mayor's office in the 1990s. That's how the majority of homicides occur in Indianapolis. But again, we always focus on the cause of those homicides. It's the drug trafficking primarily and domestic violence. That's typically the genesis of violence in our community.

At some point after Parkland, Ted and I ... talked a lot about "red flag" laws. It might have prevented Parkland. I really studied our red flag law and I called Sgt. Tammy Koontz with the Indianapolis Metropolitan Police Department. She had done an amazing job of keeping statistics on Indiana's red flag law. Sadly, I was U.S. attorney when Jake Laird was killed. I spoke at his funeral. I got to know his parents. Indiana passed the Jake Laird Law in 2005, a year after Jake was killed by a mentally ill man who shot five police officers. Law enforcement had taken him into custody a year before on an emergency detention order based on his mental challenges. When he got out, they had no legal way to keep his guns, so they had to return his weapons. A month later, he shot his mother who he lived with and was shooting up his neighborhood on the south side when IMPD rolled in. He shot Jake instantly and shot five officers during that shoot-out. The police department went to the General Assembly and said, "We have to have a legal means to take and hold guns of people with mental health challenges." Our General Assembly, I think, unanimously passed the Jake Laird Law, which is one of the strongest red flag laws in the country.

**HPI:** My understanding is that it's preventing more suicides than the mass shootings.

**Brooks:** Absolutely. It's prevented hundreds of suicides. In fact, (researchers) studied it from 2006 to

2013 ... and I believe during that period of time it had been used over 450 times in Indianapolis. From the time I got engaged, from 2006-2014, it had been used 700 times in Indianapolis, and never legally challenged. Meaning it had never gone up to our Court of Appeals or Indiana Supreme Court to be overturned. That's because our police departments and courts have done it in a constitutionally protected way. Even though law enforcement has been given the ability to remove guns prior to going to court, that's what makes this effective.

**HPI:** I've seen polling this week showing 70% of Americans would support an assault weapon ban and 90% favor universal background checks. So there's considerable public support, yet they all seem to be DOA in Congress. After Sandy Hook, after Parkland there's been speculation ... is this the tipping point? Is something going to change? Have we reached a tipping point? And if there is so much support, why is it so hard to get something passed? Why does anyone need an assault rifle and 100 rounds of ammo?

**Brooks:** I'd like to think we're at the tipping point because of the hundreds of mass shootings we've had this past year. It's my understanding there has been a couple hundred. I introduced the Jake Laird Law (in Congress)

a month before Noblesville happened. It wasn't a result of Noblesville. I introduced it with Ted in the last Congress. We reintroduced it again this year and Judiciary Committee is in a bipartisan way at least looking at red flag laws. I have a lot of hope we're going to move something, whether it is the Jake Laird bill or a version of it. I think people will be willing to compromise.

**HPI:** When your colleagues see the panic we saw in Times Square, is it registering that we've crossed a crucible? There's something different going on now.

**Brooks:** I talk to a lot of young people and they share with me growing up with the active shooter drills.

**HPI:** We did tornado and fire drills. Our kids and grandkids are doing active shooter drills.

**Brooks:** I'm glad they do the drills, but they are growing up with a very different point of view and an inherent fear of being shot. I think that is what is different. Young people are demanding it, are demanding we change some of our laws relative to guns. I think there will be some changes. I believe Leader (Mitch) McConnell and I actually believe the president wants to see changes. And the vice president. It's my understanding over the past month the vice president has been leading in some ways for red flag laws. This might be the time. Of course, I thought it might be after Parkland. I talk with a lot of people across the district who say it's time to make some changes. ❖

**HPD 200** HOWEY POLITICS INDIANA Thursday, June 7, 2018

**HPI Interview: Brooks weighs safe schools**  
She experienced Parkland shooting with Rep. Deutch and then it happened in her district  
By BRIAN A. HOWEY  
NOBLESVILLE — The May 25 shooting at West Middle School brought a déjà vu feeling to U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks. The ranking Democrat on the House Ethics Committee she chairs is U.S. Rep. Ted Deutch, who represents Parkland, Fla.  
"Two weeks prior, Brooks and Deutch had introduced HRES15, the Jake Laird Act, named after the Indianapolis police officer who was shot and killed in 2004 in the line of duty by a man who struggled with mental illness. They introduced it a little less than three months after the Margory Stoneman Douglas HS atrocity.  
"We've worked together for six years," Brooks said of Deutch in a Howey Politics Indiana interview Tuesday morning. "So, I kind of went through Parkland with him. We were scheduled to have a meeting that week and  
U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks greets West Middle School teacher Jason Seaman, so I have talked with him extensively since Parkland."  
Sandwiched between Parkland on Feb. 14 and West on May 25 was the Santa Fe HS massacre that  
Continued on page 3

**Welcome to Evansville**  
By JOSHUA CLAYBOURN  
EVANSVILLE — As 1,500 delegates and their hands descend on Knoxville for this year's Indiana Republican Convention, it will mark only the second time in modern history that the GOP convention will take place outside of Indianapolis. Here's what you need to know about the state's third largest city.  
Pardon our mess  
Just as Indianapolis emerged in the 1980s from its negative reputation as "Indiana no place" or "Hoosierland," Evansville is now undergoing its own renaissance. The downtown alone has over \$500 million in  
600 x 725

**QUOTE OF THE WEEK**  
"The Indiana Republican Party is big and diverse with many different perspectives on issues we all care about. The debate over the past week regarding this year's party platform only reinforces that fact."  
- Gov. Eric Holcomb saying delegates will decide family plank

# Macer out of gov race; Holcomb faces some ethical tests

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – We may be about a month away from having the Indiana gubernatorial field set, with the most likely outcome being a Democratic challenge from Dr. Woody Myers to Gov. Eric Holcomb, who is now facing some administration ethics issues.

The potential Democratic field of three winnowed to two on Tuesday, when Indianapolis State Rep. Karlee Macer said she would not run. "The support I've seen from communities all across our state and the work Democrats are doing is nothing short of inspiring," she said Tuesday morning.

"While I stand ready to roll my sleeves up, and show our state what it means to be a Democrat, I will not be doing so in a bid for governor."

That leaves Myers as the only declared Democrat. Myers reacted, saying, "Rep. Macer continues to serve her district well and her strong voice remains vital to our state. I've admired her work speaking out for labor rights and working families, especially during the Carrier and Rexnord layoffs. I know from experience that running for governor is a very personal decision that must take many factors into account. I know she'll continue to be a great leader for Indiana."

The lone wild card is Democratic State Sen. Eddie Melton, who is conducting town halls with Republican Supt. Jennifer McCormick, but has yet to form an exploratory committee. His advisory team told HPI that a candidacy decision would likely come after Labor Day. We'd be shocked if Melton gets in. By the time he makes a decision, Myers will have a huge leg up in fundraising. He's a potential self-funder, though he has said he will seek most of his funding from traditional Democratic sources.

Neither Melton or Myers has much name ID statewide. But the biggest obstacle Melton faces is having to give up a safe Gary-based Senate seat to run in a primary where he will be at a distinct disadvantage. As we've surmised in recent posts, Melton's move is a good way to get himself on the statewide radar for a potential 2024 race. If

he runs in 2020 and gives up his Senate seat to then lose the primary to Myers, he'll be an absolute non-factor five years from now.

Melton reacted to Macer's decision, saying, "Rep. Macer is a tremendous leader in our party. I have always enjoyed working with her in the legislature and have further enjoyed getting to know her better as we have travelled the state this summer. As a member of the Democratic Party, I look forward to continuing to work with Rep. Macer as we fight to improve the lives of Hoosier families."

As for Macer, like Myers and Melton, she has virtually no statewide name recognition and would have had to give up her seat. If she did that, Republicans might have a shot at increasing their House super majority. Her future is clearly in the House.

## Holcomb's personnel issues percolating

As for Gov. Holcomb, he was cleared of a potential ethics violation involving flights to Colorado and Arizona for a Republican Governors Association meeting that totaled about \$50,000 paid for by Spectacle Entertainment, which had just purchased a Gary casino with the intent of moving it to Terre Haute. Inspector General Lori Torres said in a statement, "Although it is likely that the governor's attendance at the RGA meetings, and therefore the flights, had some benefit to the governor and/or first lady, the OIG found no evidence to dispute the claim that the flights primarily benefited the RGA."

Holcomb has several personnel issues percolating. The Department of Personnel finally released a statement to HPI late last week on Department of Child Services Associate Director Todd Meyer's July resignation. "Todd Meyer was not suspended, demoted, or discharged; he resigned, and there are no formal charges pending," said Mikka Jackson of state personnel. "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."

That doesn't clear up why Meyer resigned. The DCS reforms are a critical component of Holcomb's first term policy legacy, coming after former Director Mary Bonaventura resigned in 2018, citing a culture of neglect at the agency. Holcomb moved swiftly after that, convening a study of the agency which released 20 recommendations. Meyer was brought on to implement a number of those reforms.

Normally when such a key staffer resigns, it's to take another job and usually laudatory sentiments are expressed about the departing person; Meyer's decision to leave remains shrouded in mystery.

In the Aug. 8 HPI Interview with Dr. Myers, the former Indiana health commissioner, he said of Meyer, "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. I'm afraid we may be sitting on an abscess, on a set of problems on the surface that go far deeper."

Holcomb himself said in a July 18 HPI Interview that he was satisfied with the pace of reforms at DCS. "I am very proud of DCS personnel and leadership," Holcomb said. "They are executing and implementing those recommendations with courage. It's making a difference. Kudos for Terry Stigdon and her whole crew. They know I've got their back. It's one of the toughest jobs one could imagine."

**The success of those** reforms will be a key component to the governor's reelection campaign and Myers can be expected to bring up the Meyer resignation and other aspects which he views as shortcomings of the reforms.

There is the upheaval at the Department of Veterans Affairs where Director James Brown resigned in December after reports that money was steered to agency employees rather than struggling veterans. It was reported that former senator Allen Paul may have violated state lobbying laws when he accepted more than \$150,000 in a contract with the agency. The IndyStar reported that lawmakers have to wait a year after leaving office before

they can become lobbyists and Paul failed to register as a lobbyist. Again, Myers mentioned this controversy during his HPI Interview.

**Then there was this** Monday's resignation of Adj. Gen. Courtney Carr following a lawsuit filed in Marion County Superior Court by contractor Shari McLaughlin. She told WRTV that there is a culture in the Guard where "everybody was sleeping with somebody that wasn't their spouse."

"There's no way to trust if things are being done for the right reasons, in the right way, because everybody has blackmail on somebody else," she said. McLaughlin claims she was subjected to retaliation, unwarranted write-ups, false accusations, and intimidation. "It just got worse and worse," said McLaughlin. "I disclosed information that didn't look good." McLaughlin told WRTV she was surprised Carr quit. "I was shocked," said McLaughlin. "It also struck me as odd that he's retiring with full benefits." McLaughlin called his retirement not even a "slap on the wrist."

This comes after Holcomb had announced "zero tolerance" of sexual harassment, intimidation and assault in state government. If McLaughlin is to be believed, there may be more news coming from the Indiana National Guard.

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Holcomb also has Attorney General Curtis Hill in office, despite his calls for Hill to resign following 2018 sexual harassment allegations made by State Rep. Mara Candelaria Reardon and three General Assembly staffers.

After a relatively surprise-free three years in office, Holcomb is now facing some potential ethical challenges.

## Congress

### 5TH CD: Ruckelshaus nearing a decision`

State Sen. John Ruckelshaus told HPI late Wednesday that he is doing his "due diligence" about entering the Republican 5th CD race. "We are very seriously weighing a bid. It just takes time," Ruckelshaus said before he headed out on a nightly door-to-door excursion in SD30. He noted that his Senate district comprises a little under 20% of the 5th CD population.

"The reason it's taking so long is my Senate term expires at the same time. It's one or the other. I don't get one of those free passes," Ruckelshaus said. "Congress has always been a dream of my with our family history. Hopefully around Labor Day we'll come to some kind of conclusion." He said he is in weekly consultation with his uncle, William Ruckelshaus, the former EPA director and state senator who lost a U.S. Senate race to Sen. Birch Bayh in 1968. "When I talk to people in Washington, they are looking for someone who can win in difficult circumstances," Ruckelshaus said. He said that he won his 2016 race by 5% in a district Donald Trump lost by 19%. "There is a lot of interest out of Washington in that," he said.



Two months in, so far only Rev. Micah Beckwith has filed FEC paperwork. Others including former state senator Mike Delph, Treasurer Kelly Mitchell (who has put her house up for sale to move into the district), former BMV commissioner Ken Abernathy, businessman Terry Henderson and former state rep and DWD director Steve Braun are acting like future candidates.

Delph has the support of former congressman Todd Rokita, returning the favor from 2016 when the former senator backed Rokita in the U.S. Senate race won by Todd Young.

Former Indianapolis mayor Greg Ballard took a pass, as has Fishers Deputy Mayor Leah McGrath (she had some potentially powerful supporters in the wings). "I am grateful and humbled by the encouragement I received and for the people who shared their time and advice with us," McGrath said. "After much discernment, however, we concluded it is not the right time for our family. There is more I can do to serve my community here at home." Sen. Victoria Spartz has reportedly signaled to supporters she

won't run.

### 2nd CD: Walorski posts \$299k

Rep. Jackie Walorski, R-2nd, raised more than \$299,000 in the second quarter and nearly \$638,000 for the election cycle. Her finance report showed she had almost \$581,000 in cash on hand (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). South Bend attorney Pat Hackett seeks the Democratic nomination in the 2nd District, filing her candidacy in February. Hackett, who finished second to Mel Hall in the 2018 Democratic primary, lent her campaign \$750 in the second quarter and \$2,250 for the cycle to date.

### 3rd CD: Banks posts \$130k

Rep. Jim Banks, R-3rd, raised more than \$130,000 in the second quarter, bringing his total to more than \$294,000 for the 2019-20 election cycle. He ended the quarter with nearly \$111,000 in cash on hand, according to the campaign finance report he filed with the Federal Election Commission (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). Dr. Chris Magiera announced last month that he will challenge Banks in the Republican primary election next May. Magiera has not filed a campaign finance report with the FEC. Magiera is the husband of Pam Galloway, who ran against Banks and four other candidates in the 2016 primary, lending her campaign \$250,000 along the way.

### U.S. Senate: Young raises \$345k

Sen. Todd Young, R-Ind., raised \$345,000 in the second quarter and \$1.7 million for the cycle, and he had \$680,000 in cash. Young next faces re-election in 2022 (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). Sen. Mike Braun, R-Ind., raised more than \$60,000 in the quarter and more than \$6.8 million for the cycle, including \$6.4 million of his own money, and he had nearly \$100,000 in cash on hand. Braun faces reelection in 2024.

## Mayors

### Indianapolis: Hogsett's \$1.2B budget

Indianapolis Mayor Joe Hogsett on Monday evening unveiled his \$1.2 billion spending proposal for the city's 2020 budget, most of which is dedicated to public safety, the criminal justice system and public works spending on roads and bridges (Colombo, IBJ). But there's at least one big change: Starting next year, the city of Indianapolis will no longer fund a preschool program that launched five years ago under former Mayor Greg Ballard. Starting next school year, the 4-year-olds that were served by the city's program will be absorbed into the state's On My Way Pre-K program, eliminating the need for city funding. However, the state did not provide funding for 3-year-olds and the city will not provide funding either. The Indianapolis preschool program, launched as a five-year program by former Mayor Greg Ballard, cost the city \$4 million annually and is administered by the mayor's Office

of Education Innovation. Hogsett's chief of staff, Thomas Cook, said the mayor's office sought corporate and philanthropic support to keep the preschool program for 3-year-olds running. But, he said, "Ultimately, neither the corporate or philanthropic [communities] expressed an interest in continuing to fund just 3-year-olds." Without outside support, Cook said, "There wasn't a particularly compelling financial argument to just fund the 3-year-old program."

Republican nominee Jim Merritt said that Hogsett is ignoring the council. "Once again, Mayor Hogsett has proposed a budget unilaterally, with little to no input from many members of the City County Council," Merritt said. "Last year's budget was inadequate from the beginning. Over the course of the past eight months, the mayor has gone back to the council no less than eight times for additional appropriations. This raises serious questions about transparency and an honestly balanced budget proposal. We deserve better."

### **Decatur: Dem off ballot**

The Adams County Election Board voted 2-1 on Tuesday to disqualify Daniel Rickord as the Democratic nominee for mayor of Decatur (Francisco, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). The board sustained a challenge by the county Republican Party, which contended that Rickord had failed to declare his candidacy in writing before a state-imposed June 30 deadline. The election board's decision means that Republican Mayor Kenneth Meyer will be unopposed in the Nov. 5 municipal election. "I'm stumped right now. I'm amazed," Rickord said after the board hearing in the courthouse. "I feel bad for the citizens of Decatur. I believe (the board) should have done what was right for the citizens and let them vote." Rickord and Democratic Party Chairwoman Barb Engle argued that an oral declaration of candidacy Rickord made to Engle on June 27 satisfied the state requirement and that they filed necessary paperwork with the county clerk ahead of a July 3 deadline.

### **Anderson: Candidates talk development**

The No. 1 issue since the 1980s when it comes to electing a mayor of Anderson has been job creation. Every mayor since the administration of Republican Tom McMahon has had as a primary focus encouraging investment by companies and the creation of new employment opportunities (de la Bastide, Anderson Herald-Bulletin). Incumbent Democrat Thomas Broderick Jr. is seeking a second term in November and is being challenged by Republican Rick Gardner, the current Madison County auditor, and Libertarian Rob Jozwiak, a local business owner. "We will continue to be aggressive in seeking economic development growth in the future," Broderick said. "We will continue to hold the incentives down more than was done in the past." He said 50% of the investments over the past six years have come since he took office in 2016. "We want to open new areas to future development," Broderick said. "We're looking for

new sites for investment." Gardner said he is continuing to work on the details of an economic development strategy. "There will be some changes when it comes to economic development," Gardner said. "I'm still working to put a plan together."

### **Presidential**

#### **Buttigieg rolls out rural health plan**

Democratic presidential candidate Pete Buttigieg on Friday rolled out a sweeping plan to expand access to health services in rural communities, while addressing drug addiction and tackling rising maternal mortality rates across the country (Politico). "We need to lift rural communities up as places of opportunity, both for this generation and future ones. That work begins with securing the health of all rural residents," Buttigieg, the mayor of South Bend, Ind., said in a statement. Buttigieg proposes to expand access to health care in rural areas by implementing a "Medicare for All Who Want It" approach and increasing federal subsidies for plans sold through the Obamacare exchanges. He aims to beef up the health workforce through loan forgiveness programs and proposes increasing Medicare reimbursement rates specifically for providers in underserved communities.

#### **Mayor Pete on gun safety**

Buttigieg discussed gun safety in Iowa over the weekend. "We in power, we in office, we in charge, just adults in general, are supposed to worry about this so that you don't have to; getting through middle school is hard enough without worrying about your physical safety," Buttigieg said. "And the other thing that ... I would like to believe happens in the heart of even the most hard-bitten, cynical politician, is that when they are face to face with a young person saying, 'You've got to do a better job keeping me safe,' there is a voice inside that says, 'Do not let this person down, do not let this child down.'"

#### **Trump disapproval soars in Fox News poll**

Donald Trump's disapproval rating soared to 56% in a Fox News poll released this week, just one percent off the network's record high for the president. The poll, published on Wednesday, showed a 5% increase in the president's disapproval rating from last month's figures. According to Fox News, Trump's disapproval rating has only been higher once before, in October 2017, when it was at 57 percent. Trump's approval rating also dropped from 46 percent last month to 43 percent.

#### **Biden leads in Iowa, Warren second**

Joe Biden leads the field in the Monmouth poll in Iowa, the first DNC-approved poll in the key early state taken since the second round of debates last month. He has 28% to Warren's 19% (Politico). Harris is in third with 11%, Sanders has 9% and Buttigieg has 8%. ❖

# A non-partisan data perspective on Indy's impact on Indiana

By **DREW KLACIK**  
and **CHRIS WATTS**

INDIANAPOLIS — We're writing in response to Craig Dunn's column in last week's *Howey Politics Indiana* ("Indianapolis is in a state of decline"), not to question Mr. Dunn's political commentary or his choice of mayoral candidate. Rather, we offer a different, non-partisan perspective on the state of our state capital and the structural challenges as well as regional opportunities that will define its future.



Dunn's take on Indianapolis comes from the gut – literally, as he writes, "You can feel [the decline] in the depths of your stomach."



Indianapolis is a city of nearly one million Hoosiers, anchoring a metropolitan area approaching two million that is Indiana's dominant regional economy. As in any major metro, some places are struggling against difficult economic and demographic trends. Others are winning the fight and reversing decades of

disinvestment and depopulation. Facts tell a more complicated story than gut feelings, and a more promising one about the potential for a thriving Indianapolis and Central Indiana.

Indianapolis is 1% of Indiana's land, home to 15% of its population and 20% of its employment. The nine-county Indy region accounts for more than two-thirds of the state's recent population growth. Looking forward, only 14 Indiana counties are projected to grow in working-age population through 2014; Marion County is one, with five neighboring counties among the remaining 13.

**In a talent-driven economy**, Indianapolis isn't declining, it's driving regional growth. According to the Brookings Institution, Indy ranks among the upper third of the top 100 U.S. metros in job creation over the last decade.

And while Dunn sees "urban decay," success hasn't come despite the urban core, but in large part because of it. Another recent Brookings study highlights

impressive metropolitan gains in employment density, boosting jobs-per-square-mile 42% from 2004 to 2015. The clustering of technology, hospitality and healthcare jobs in and around downtown shaped this trend, making up for uneven progress in other parts of the region.

A 2019 retail market analysis by Hunden Strategic Partners for the Indy Chamber also shows the number of downtown homeowners and renters jumping from 60,000 in 2000 to more than 90,000 today. Downtown's population outgrew the metro by 10%, the rest of Indiana by nearly 300%.

More people and employers moving closer to downtown doesn't suggest a state of decline.

**Dunn points out the pothole** epidemic, the stubborn persistence of poverty and crime, neighborhood blight and homelessness. Promising urban redevelopment is tempered by township neighborhoods caught between resurgent areas of the central city and booming suburbs.

Communities across Indiana and the U.S. have faced the consequences of decades of manufacturing job losses, employment at risk from automation, and lagging educational attainment leaving workers unprepared to compete in a changing economy. Indianapolis isn't immune to national economic trends ... or state fiscal policy.

More urbanized areas of Indiana lose more of their tax levy under the state's property tax caps. Marion County lost \$160 million in potential revenue last year; looking across the state, our 20 most urbanized counties lost nearly three times more tax collections under the caps than their rural and suburban peers.

Localities are forced to rely more on income taxes, a less predictable revenue source – and a less productive one, given Indiana's sluggish population and personal income growth. From filling potholes to hiring police, the local revenue system isn't keeping up with service demands in our centers of population and commerce.

Solutions can't come only from the mayor of Indianapolis. Indeed, they never have: The decades of progress that turned 'Indy-a-no-place' into a Super Bowl host city and high-tech boomtown came from not only forward-thinking elected officials, but also engaged civic and corporate leaders and public-private partnerships.

**The same spirit has produced** a community blueprint to end homelessness, a business-led commitment to more inclusive economic growth, and private support for raising teacher salaries in the state's largest school district (IPS). Elections matter, but so does continuing these efforts beyond Nov. 5.

And as challenges become more complex, cooperation has to extend across city and county lines. Central Indiana boasts a strong regional economic development campaign and collaboration among mayors, town council presidents and county commissioners to build a competitive business climate and appealing quality of life.

This includes a healthy debate over the best way to collect and invest local taxes to support regional infrastructure and transformative projects to keep Indy on the

map as a destination for talent. Ultimately, these discussions will be settled at the Statehouse, as regional revenue reform requires legislative action.

**We agree with Mr. Dunn that,** "The success of Indiana begins and ends with Indianapolis." But while we acknowledge the challenges facing the state's capital and largest region, evidence doesn't lead us to share his conclusion of chronic decline.

Instead of a glass half empty, we see opportunities to keep filling the glass toward a dynamic future for Indianapolis and Central Indiana – if we continue to work together across partisan divides and political boundaries. ❖

**Drew Klacik is senior policy analyst at the IU Public Policy Institute, and Chris Watts is president of the Indiana Fiscal Policy Institute.**

## Why is Social Security running out of funds?

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS — We've all heard the Social Security Trust Fund will no longer be able to finance Social Security payments in full after 20xx. We say "xx" because the date keeps changing.

When folks think about Social Security, what mostly comes to mind is the Old Age Insurance aspect of the program. But there's also a vital role played by Survivors' Insurance for spouses and children and important Disability Insurance for those unable to work.



Why is this safety net, this trust fund, running out of money? For several reasons:

We are living longer than expected. People are retiring too early. Congress gave an increase in benefits that was too generous. Too many people are claiming disability benefits for which they do not qualify. There are more disabled people than we ever anticipated.

It goes on. What are we to do? There is a partial solution, known for decades, which Congress does not yet support: Eliminate the cap on eligible earnings.

Yes, there is a limit on how much wages and salaries can be taxed for Social Security, but not for Medicare. We don't have much data for 2019 yet, but we can look at 2017 for detail.

**In 2017, the cap stood** at \$127,200, up from \$51,300 in 1990. That put the cap \$76,900 higher than the average wage in '17, well more than double the difference of \$30,300 in '90.

I said the average wage. And this is the reason folks hate statistics. The average wage is not the wage of the average worker. The average worker is more likely the median one who stands in the middle of the pack, with half of the wage earners to one side and the other half on the other side. The average wage is strongly influenced

by the few, but very high wages paid to the most favored employees.

Average Anne can be very different from Median Mike. In 1990, Average Anne earned more than 63% of all workers. By 2017, Average Anne's income was higher than 67% of all workers. At the same time, Median Mike's wages, which were 72% of Anne's wages, had fallen to 65% of hers.

These two little-known, related statistics have persistently reflected the widening income gap.

Meanwhile, the maximum eligible income taxed for Social Security has advanced at an average annual rate of 3.4%, almost tied to the average wage which has grown by 3.3% annually. But the median wage, a much more meaningful number, has risen only 2.9 annually.

How much money will be raised annually if the cap is removed? Roughly, it would exceed \$75 billion, a relatively small amount of the \$1 trillion estimated Social Security revenues for 2018.

Why hasn't the cap been removed? Ask that Congressional representative you keep reelecting.

### Calculating the added revenue

The aggregate amount of wages for 2017 was \$8 trillion dollars. The cap of \$127,200 applied to 7.7 million wage earners, which exempted \$1.2 trillion from a 6.2% tax rate. The resulting uncollected revenue was \$74.6 billion.

This result is based on un-rounded numbers and minimizing assumptions. Readers who contest these figures are invited to submit their own procedures and resulting estimates. ❖

**Mr. Marcus is an economist. Reach him at [mortonj-marcus@yahoo.com](mailto: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](http://mortonjohn.libsyn.com).**

# Who really cares about the massacres?

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Bullets don't care. Nor do military-style weapons from which they fly.

Assault rifles don't care whether they are used to kill little kids in a school, teens in their high school, worshippers in synagogues and churches, shoppers at that El Paso Walmart or people enjoying a weekend in Dayton's entertainment district.



The shooters care. They want to bring death, grief, terror. They plan for this, hope for this, seek recognition for this.

How many elected officials – those who could act to restrict use of uncaring assault weapons spewing uncaring bullets – care enough to act? Care at all? The answer to that is what happened in El Paso and Dayton.

We become numb to news of mass shootings. There have been more mass shootings than days of the year so far in 2019. As of Aug. 5, the 217th day of the year, there were 255 mass shootings, incidents with at least four people shot.

The Dayton carnage was especially shocking for me. Nine were killed, dozens injured in 32 seconds of rapid fire of uncaring bullets from an uncaring military-style weapon used by a shooter seeking mayhem and martyrdom. This occurred in Dayton's Oregon District, the city's entertainment district, with fine restaurants, trendy bars, interesting shops and historic structures.

Just the night before in that popular area, my son, Steve, executive producer in TV news there, my daughter-in-law, Jennifer, and my granddaughter, Claire, walked by Ned Peppers, the bar the shooter tried to enter to kill so many more. Police downed him at the door to greater infamy.

**My family members could** have crossed paths with the killer. He reportedly was also in the district that night before the massacre. Was he deciding whether to go back to his car and bring out his short-barreled assault rifle then or wait until the next night?

I've walked by Ned Peppers, 419 E. 5th St., going to "Roost," my favorite restaurant there, 524 E. 5th St., across the street and a block away. Uncaring bullets easily fly that far.

While the Dayton massacre was shocking, it can't really be viewed as surprising. Mass shootings like this can happen anywhere in this country, with

weapons of war easily obtained by anyone anywhere with hate, desire to inflict widespread death and suffering and willingness to die a martyr to some cause.

After each mass shooting, we hear the same words: "Our thoughts and prayers are with the victims and their families." Offering this same refrain afterward does nothing to prevent the next massacre. Think about, pray for and act on banning assault weapons.

**"We are better than this."** Are we? If so, why does it get worse? Why don't we do better with background checks, closing the big loopholes, and halting the free flow of assault rifles to terrorists?

"Well, shootings happen in Chicago all the time." Shootings in Chicago and so many other cities – with handguns rather than assault rifles often used and with individual gang members rather than crowds of innocent people targeted – don't mean mass killings in El Paso and Dayton are less significant, not worthy of such national attention.

Sure, more is needed to close loopholes letting Chicago gangs get guns, often from Indiana, and to lessen gun violence throughout the nation. But massacres with assault rifles can be addressed promptly. Ban weapons used in war in Afghanistan from use in El Paso and Dayton.

If the Dayton murderer, with body armor and lots of additional ammunition, had made it into the crowded Peppers bar, where so many fled, the death toll could have climbed from nine to 100.

Another 200 bullets fired into that crowd? The bullets wouldn't have cared about all that carnage. Bullets don't care. Assault rifles don't care.

Who does? ❖

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

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# 3 trade war words: incoherence, blink and whine

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

CARMEL – Three words sum up President Trump’s protracted trade war this week: Incoherence, blink and whine.

Let’s move through these in reverse order. U.S. Agriculture Sec. Sonny Perdue showed up in Minnesota and was tone-deaf. As farmers complained about the collapse of their long-developed Chinese markets, Perdue decided to crack a joke. “What do you call two farmers in a basement?” he asked. “A whine cellar.”

He was met with nervous laughs and catcalls. Farmers had gone from being American heroes, to whiners.

“It was definitely not an appropriate thing to say,” Minnesota Farmers Union President Gary Wertish told HuffPost. “It was very insensitive. It took everyone by surprise. He doesn’t understand what farmers are dealing with, and he’s the head of the Department of Agriculture. He’s supposed to be working for farmers.”

That was last week. On Tuesday came the blink. President Trump decided to postpone 25% tariffs on \$300 billion worth of Chinese goods scheduled to begin on Sept. 1. Now they’re slated for Dec. 15, after the bulk of Christmas and holiday buying has passed.

“We’re doing this for Christmas season, just in case some of the tariffs would have an impact on U.S. customers,” Trump explained. He appears to be the last person on the planet to realize that the Chinese aren’t paying for the tariffs, just as Mexico isn’t paying for his border wall. In both cases, it’s U.S. consumers footing the bill.

**The overlapping element** here is the incoherence. New York Times columnist Thomas Friedman observed of Presidents Trump and Xi on Wednesday, “Both have overplayed their hands. Xi basically believes that nothing has to change — and all can be made to stay the same by the force of his will. Trump basically believes that everything has to change — and all can be made to change by the force of his will. The rest of us are just along for the ride.”

And this is going to be a rollicking, fitful ride. On Monday, Hoosier agriculture economists forecast a 20% drop in revenue for corn and soybean crops this year. Purdue Prof. Chris Hurt blamed it on the wet spring and early summer, the current dry spell, and Trump’s incoher-

ent trade war. All these factors will lead to a \$1.3 billion revenue drop for Indiana’s corn and soybean crops from last year’s \$6.8 billion.

“Corn prices last year, U.S. farm prices for the ‘18 crop, are going to average about \$3.60 a bushel,” Hurt explained. “For the 2019 crop, given where we are with the production reported by NASS today – \$3.60 for the ‘19 crop; no change in price. So, it’s going to be very discouraging to our Indiana farmers who think they have, and many will have, lower yields and to have basically no help from the price side.”

**This came as China** officially cancelled all U.S. agriculture purchases on Monday. China is one of our biggest customers. Zippy Duvall, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, told CNBC that China’s exit is a “body blow to thousands of farmers and ranchers who are already struggling to get by.”

North Dakota farmer Bob Kuylen told CNBC, “Trump is ruining our markets. No one is buying our product no more, and we have no markets no more. A lot of farmers are in love with Trump. People say the problems have nothing to do with Trump. Don’t complain to me how badly you’re doing, and support the person that put you there. It’s terribly frustrating.”

Despite all this, there were stories in the Washington Post and Des Moines Register that farmers remain committed to Trump. According to a July Farm Pulse survey, Trump’s approval stood at 79%. And in a Purdue Center for Commercial Agriculture study, 78% believe the trade war will ultimately benefit American farmers.

Mike Knipper, a grain farmer from Iowa who likes some of Trump’s policies and dislikes others, told CNBC that most farmers in his community are Trump supporters who will continue to support him through the trade war. “It doesn’t matter who is president. People like Trump and will support him, and few will change their ideas. Everyone’s willing to see this through, and those government subsidy checks might help them get by for another year.”

**We consistently hear** similar sentiments in Indiana and we’ve seen this phenomenon before when African-Americans overwhelmingly voted Democratic despite segregationist members of Congress from the deep South a generation ago. Legendary Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley had a cadre of black aldermen who were allies even while he worked to segregate south-side neighborhoods and thwart Dr. Martin Luther King’s efforts to address housing discrimination in the city.

The ultimate curve ball here is the yield curve inversion. On Wednesday, the yield on the benchmark 10-year Treasury note was at 1.623%, below the 2-year yield at 1.634%. CNBC reported the last inversion of this part of the yield curve was in December 2005, two years



before a recession brought on by the financial crisis hit. A recession occurs, on average, 22 months following such an inversion, according to Credit Suisse.

Arthur Bass, managing director of fixed income financing, futures, and rates at Wedbush Securities explained, "It's a very unusual time period. We haven't had tariff issues like we're dealing with currently in about 80 years."

**This put the Dow in** an 800-point tailspin at this writing on Wednesday afternoon. So a recession, on top of a China-focused trade war, sagging U.S. agriculture markets, record federal spending and budget deficits, and China in a showdown with American-flag carrying protesters in Hong Kong point to an extremely volatile mix. And just for fun, throw in Kim Jong-Un firing off five missiles in recent weeks, Japan and South Korea severing preferred

trade ties, an apparent nuclear accident in Russia amid an escalating nuclear arms race between Trump and Putin, and you find a combustible planet.

**People voted for Trump** to burn the house down. It's becoming a conflagration.

The one thing we haven't seen since President Trump took office is a true international or economic crisis. The makings of one, or both, surround us. Worth remembering is that key Trump economic advisors like Gary Cohn were ardently opposed to the president's tariff war with China. Now it will be hard, blink-blink, to get out of this box without losing face. And Trump's reelection depends largely on a thriving economy.

Perhaps it's time to invoke Colin Powell's infamous "Pottery Barn rule": If you break it, you buy it. The bill will be due in November 2020. ❖

## How should Americans engage globally?

By LEE HAMILTON

BLOOMINGTON – I've been struck recently by news coverage of climate change and humans' degradation of the planet. Two opposing themes keep appearing. One is the sense that, as individuals, there's little we can do; the forces are too large. The other – and I think many Americans would agree with this – is that as citizens of the planet we have a responsibility to protect it and to pass it on in good shape to those who follow us.



So how do we reconcile those warring impulses – not just on the environment, but on many global and international issues? How, in other words, do we engage with the world?

Because make no mistake, as Americans we are global citizens. It's not just that the

world has deep-seated, unavoidable problems that, if ignored, will bite us where we live. It's that we inhabit a preeminent world power that bears a responsibility to lead.

**If you pay attention to** international meetings, you can't help but notice that other countries have for many years turned to us to take the lead. That's diminishing under our current administration, but not because other countries (with the exception of China and Russia) are eager to take our place. Shaping the global order has been a central feature of our identity and our history. Lincoln spoke of American freedom as "the last best hope of earth." JFK promised to "pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship to assure the survival and the success

of liberty." Ronald Reagan spoke of this country as a "shining city upon a hill."

I don't actually agree with the boundless sense of American power and responsibility suggested by Kennedy's promise. The truth is, we couldn't "pay any price" or "bear any burden" back then, and we can't now. Our obligation in its broadest terms is to try to make our nation and the world safer, freer, and more prosperous when and where we can. But we can't do it all.

**What does this mean for** us as citizens? It means we have an obligation to inform ourselves about the world we live in. It means we should learn about international affairs, visit other countries if we're able, learn a foreign language, read what foreign leaders have to say. We should engage with people from other countries, both here and abroad, and work hard to understand the challenges that other countries and their citizens confront. In short, we should try to see problems not just from an American perspective, but more broadly.

Beyond that, I think that as Americans, we ought to be first in line to respond to humanitarian disasters and to raise our voices in support of innocent people who have been mistreated. Where we can, we should try to lessen tensions between nations and groups, reduce conflict, and improve the quality of life for all. We should be perceived to be a benign power.

Yet we have to do all this with keen awareness of our limitations. We can't solve all the world's problems. We can't pour our resources into every challenging place and problem. We need the help of others and should welcome it. We have to be smart about how we use our power. We have to reserve the right to use force as a last resort, but diplomacy and development should be our preferred tools of engagement.

**I'm uneasy talking about** "American exceptionalism," even though I really do believe we have a responsibility to the world. I'm far more comfortable when we show we're exceptional. If we really are exceptional,

others will notice. We don't need to flaunt it.

**In the end, we have to** look at our responsibilities as global citizens quietly and confidently, with humility, and try to contribute to a safer, more prosperous world. That's something we can all do, and a goal we should push our leaders to pursue. ❖

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## Comparing Foxconn and Muncie debacles

By **MICHAEL HICKS**

**MUNCIE** — Over the past week, I attended a Muncie City Council meeting on very contentious issues and travelled to Wisconsin to speak to a group of economic developers about the Foxconn debacle. Both events have eerily similar aspects that should anger and frustrate voters.



In 2017, Wisconsin hastily put together the world's largest tax incentive package to lure some 13,000 jobs to the state. This deal would have cost each Wisconsin family about \$1,700 over the life of the project. This is more than \$170,000 per job. The deal happened at break-neck speed, behind closed doors, and without benefit of any serious

economic analysis. From beginning to end, this arrangement illustrated raw contempt for open government and the interests of citizens.

Once the dust settled, along came several economic and fiscal studies. All present some version of the same story; the Foxconn deal will never provide taxpayers a positive return, and as initially structured will damage the economy. This damning assessment is equally true in the matters before the Muncie City Council meeting I attended.

**On a pleasant August evening,** roughly a thousand local residents swamped a Muncie City Council meeting. The frustration of the crowd was palpable. At issue was the continued lack of transparency and concern for residents of the region. Two issues involving tax incentives warrant special scrutiny.

The Muncie meeting opened with the city's two largest employers asking the City Council to support tax incentives to construct high-end apartments. These apartments will subsidize the housing costs of some of the most affluent members of the community. As everyone knows, tax incentives come at the expense of local taxpayers and taxing units. In this instance, the lost revenues to Muncie

Community Schools alone is more than \$2 million over the life of the project.

At best, this is callous indifference to the citizens of Muncie. At its worst, it is nothing but contemptuous disregard for their interests. As bad as this process and outcome was, it was not what brought out the crowd.

**The thousand or so local** residents came to the Muncie City Council meeting mostly to express their concern over a proposed recycling facility located 1.5 miles upwind from Muncie. However, the facility is not just locating there; it is being paid by taxpayers to locate there. Like the apartment project, this recycling facility is to receive a tax subsidy. Unbelievably, Muncie has agreed to pay more than \$175,000 per job for this plant. This subsidy will result in significantly more debt for a city that imports 5,000 workers each day to fill the jobs it already has.

These facts alone should result in deep voter outrage, but that is hardly the worst part. As the local media now report, many months ago this company applied for a permit to release mercury and other toxic pollutants into the air and water. My four semesters of college chemistry and physics do not qualify me to speak to the science of mercury emissions. However, I do understand the economic development effects of even a hint of mercury contamination. It would be catastrophic to the future of Muncie. Even small mercury emissions reduce home values and cause residents to move. The best studies I have seen estimate the effect of small discharges at just under 10% of property value. This would cause widespread and nearly permanent fiscal damage to schools, libraries, and public safety.

The Muncie Redevelopment Commission did not do their homework. They negotiated this deal and presented it to the Muncie City Council months after the filing of state permits to release mercury and other toxins. At best, this is callous indifference to the citizens of Muncie. At its worst, it is nothing but contemptuous disregard for their interests and wellbeing.

**The factors that tie together** all these projects are simple. It is a raw and unfettered disdain for citizens and an informed political process. The Foxconn project proceeded to the Wisconsin legislature with only a cursory economic analysis. The Muncie housing project relied on a series of studies in which the authors simply invented fictional data to make the project look necessary. The recycling plant proceeded without a study. Citizens have every reason to be outraged and to take action. We must

hold the architects of these deals responsible, both as institutions and individuals, at the local and state level.

**I have spent a career studying** and writing about tax incentives and the factors that cause people and places to struggle or thrive. The process of that research often leaves me writing about very narrow tax or policy issues. However, minor misapplication of a tax instrument is not what ails either Muncie or Wisconsin's Foxconn deal. The problem in both places is broken politics. In these places, the elected officials, economic developers, and large employers decided they owe nothing to voters. They are so certain their dandy plans are clever that shar-

ing facts with the people paying the bills and bearing the financial risks is a pointless inconvenience. That is anti-democratic, damaging to economic growth and illustrates scorn for people and process in both places. Along with tangible changes, voters in these places deserve an apology. ❖

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## The end of filibuster may be at hand

By HUNTER BROWN  
Sabato's Crystal Ball

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. — With hopes of winning full control of Washington in the 2020 election, Democrats have proposed bold ideas from Medicare for All to the Green New Deal. Fearing potential roadblocks, some have sought structural changes to American politics recently, calling for abolishing the Electoral College, packing the Supreme Court, and radically transforming the composition of the Senate. However, perhaps the easiest-to-overcome procedural roadblock to progressive policy objectives is the filibuster in the U.S. Senate, which future Senate majorities could end with a majority vote.

Ending the filibuster has been mentioned by Democratic presidential candidates such as Gov. Jay Inslee (D-WA) and Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-MA), as well as former Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid (D-NV).

Of course, the Democrats (or Republicans) could overcome the filibuster by winning the requisite 60 Senate seats needed to invoke cloture.

But, as will be explored in depth below, there have been very few filibuster-proof majorities in recent decades, and there seems to be no realistic path for either party to get another one any time soon.

**The filibuster has been** a feature of the United States Senate since the nation's early days. If a senator can talk ad nauseam, a piece of legislation will never come to a vote and thus fail. However, the Senate has slowly been weakening the filibuster's power over the years. Initially, the Senate allowed unlimited debate, effectively requiring unanimous consent to vote on any bill, as any member could individually hold up a bill by launching a filibuster. However, in 1917, then-President Woodrow Wilson,

annoyed at much of his legislation stalling and pressed by an impending entry into World War I, convened a special session of Congress, in which the Senate enacted Rule 22, enabling a two-thirds majority of the body to end debate and proceed to the vote. This threshold was further reduced in 1975 to three-fifths.

**The Senate has also begun** to limit the scope of the filibuster. In 1974, the Senate passed the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, which created a method of bypassing the filibuster entirely for certain legislation called budget reconciliation. In 2013, with many of President Obama's judicial nominees stalled and amidst the threat of an impending Republican take-over of the Senate, the

Senate Democrats ended the filibuster for executive and judicial appointments excluding those of Supreme Court justices. In 2017, Republicans, in control of both the Senate and the presidency, ended

the filibuster on Supreme Court nominees in order to approve the nomination of now-Justice Neil Gorsuch.

Ironically, while it takes 60 votes to kill a filibuster, it would only take 51 to stop filibusters forever, as it could be changed as a part of the Senate rules, which only requires majority support, every two years.

**Thus, it may be only** a matter of time until the practice ends for good. It has been increasingly rare in recent years for a single party to command a 60-seat filibuster-proof majority in the Senate. In fact, since the end of the 1970s, it has only happened once: For a brief period from July 2009 to February 2010, Democrats held 60 seats. However, it was a very tenuous hold, only solidifying after Sen. Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania switched parties and Al Franken (D-MN) was declared the victor of a razor-thin Minnesota Senate race. Furthermore, the Democrats held many seats they likely would not have much of a chance to win today, including both seats in Arkansas, Montana, North Dakota, and West Virginia as well as a seat apiece in Alaska, Indiana, Louisiana, Missouri, and Nebraska.

Looking ahead, does either party have a reasonable path to 60 seats in the Senate? Probably not. ❖



**Kathy Gilsinan, The Atlantic:** President Donald Trump's feud with his intelligence agencies has flared ever since he took office already chafing about their conclusion on Russian electoral interference. The latest casualty: Dan Coats, who today leaves his post as director of national intelligence, with his deputy, Sue Gordon, reluctantly following him out the door. Joe Maguire now steps in as acting director, and whoever takes over the spot permanently could be, for good or ill, an unusually consequential figure — precisely because of the president's hostility. Coats's departure followed what's by now a familiar pattern: First came the rumors about his fraying relationship with Trump, then reports about various names being floated for his position, all interspersed with direct attacks by the president on the intelligence community — including, after Trump announced Coats's retirement, his assertion that intelligence agencies had "run amok" and needed someone to "rein it in."

But Coats's tenure was remarkable for its longevity — he departs as one of the last original members of Trump's national-security Cabinet still in the same job, despite Trump's reported ambivalence about him personally, mistrust of intelligence in general, and skepticism of the very utility of the position Coats held. So how do you serve a president who routinely shares misinformation and misleads the public? And how do you observe the intelligence community's bounds of secrecy and discretion while keeping the public informed about the real nature of threats — from Russia to North Korea or the Islamic State — that Trump denies or downplays? "One of the DNI's main responsibilities in any administration is to ensure the objectivity of intelligence analysis, and intelligence collection, and intelligence in general," says Mike Morell, who is also a former deputy director of the CIA.

One way Coats handled the dynamic was to try hard to stay out of the news. But the biggest headlines he did generate highlighted the gaps between the president and his intelligence community on issues like Russia, North Korea, ISIS, and Iran. The president downplayed Russian election interference; Coats was forceful about just how severe a threat the intelligence community saw in it. The president at various times declared there was no longer a nuclear threat from North Korea, and that ISIS had been defeated; Coats's January congressional testimony on worldwide threats flatly contradicted those conclusions, saying it was unlikely North Korea would ever give up its nuclear program and highlighting the continuing threat of the Islamic State. ❖

**Kelly Hawes, CNHI:** It was, as always, all about Donald J. Trump. On a mission to comfort victims of a mass shooting in El Paso, Texas, our president apparently couldn't restrain himself from talking about the last time he was in town. "That was some, that was some crowd," he can be heard saying in a cell phone video. "And we

had twice the number outside." The crowd at his rally was much bigger, he said, than the one at a competing event staged by the hometown boy, Democratic presidential hopeful Beto O'Rourke. "Beto had like 400 people in a parking lot," the president said. "They said his crowd was wonderful." The president raised the topic again in a meeting with law enforcement. "You know, I just left, we made a speech here about three months ago, and we could've sold it out four times," he said. People were suffering, and the president was focused on his own star power. That, of course, was not what his staff had in mind in announcing these visits. White House press secretary Stephanie Grisham

had suggested in a tweet that the president was a true leader who would rise above politics. She said he would focus on honoring victims, comforting communities and thanking first responders and medical professionals for their heroic efforts. She should have known better. As he left one grieving city on his way to another, the president was focused not on the victims of two mass shootings but on the perceived slight he had received from two Democratic politicians, U.S. Sen. Sherrod Brown and Dayton Mayor Nan Whaley. The president fired off a tweet accusing the two of lying. "Just left Dayton, Ohio, ..." he wrote. "It was a warm & wonderful visit. Tremendous enthusiasm & even love. Then I saw failed Presidential Candidate (0%) Sherrod Brown & Mayor Whaley totally misrepresenting what took place inside of the hospital. Their news conference after I left for El Paso was a fraud." Grisham joined in. "The victims, families, medical staff and first responders were so happy to have their president and first lady there," she told CNN. "I just don't know why it can't be acknowledged. It's disgusting." Never mind that it wasn't true. ❖

**Jonathan Capehart, Washington Post:** Every second Saturday in August, my mother and her siblings host a family barbecue, a simple gathering under the enormous pecan tree in the side yard of the house where they grew up in Severn, N.C. In the mix are great-aunts and great-uncles, along with two or three generations of cousins and folks who have been friends of the family forever. All are African Americans from the Tar Heel State and Virginia, along with a few transplants and relatives who live in New York state. In short, a great focus group for the 2020 Democratic presidential contest. This was kind of an in-person reprise of that totally unscientific and impromptu Twitter poll I conducted back in May. Back then, Sens. Kamala D. Harris (D-Calif.) and Elizabeth Warren (D-Mass.) were the top choices of my followers, with Mayor Pete Buttigieg (D) of South Bend, Ind., and former vice president Joe Biden coming in next. That foursome is still top of mind now. But Biden's hold on African American support was confirmed. I saw potential for Buttigieg to boost his support among black voters. The enthusiasm for Warren was palpable. And there was respect for Harris, but there was also concern about her potential. ❖



## Special prosecutor for Rep. Forestal

INDIANAPOLIS – The Marion County Prosecutor’s Office has announced it will ask for a special prosecutor in the case involving State Rep. Dan Forestal ([WTHR-TV](#)). That’s because Forestal has made campaign contributions to Prosecutor Terry Curry as well as worked as a campaign volunteer. Court documents released to Eyewitness News on Wednesday show Forestal allegedly asking where he could purchase cocaine prior to his arrest Saturday night. Forestal is now facing charges of impersonating an officer, resisting law enforcement and OWI. According to the court documents, Forestal had been at the Blue Moon Tavern on E. Washington St. earlier in the night. A bartender there said Forestal had been “harassing customers” throughout the night and was asking where he could purchase “party favors’ such as cocaine.” A short time later, a couple called 911 after Forestal stopped in front of their home and identified himself as “a legit officer.”



## Reps. Vermillion, Sherman sworn in

INDIANAPOLIS - The Indiana House has its second new member since adjourning four months ago (Berman, WIBC). Marion Republican Ann Vermillion has been sworn in to complete the term of Kevin Mahan, who resigned to start a new job in Indianapolis. The former Marion General Hospital administrator says she hopes to work on rural issues, and the same public health challenges she’s addressed at the hospital and as a health-care consultant, starting with Indiana’s opioid epidemic. Vermillion notes the struggle with opioids spills over into other public health challenges, including Indiana’s high infant death rate and babies born with substance abuse addiction or withdrawal

issues. Vermillion’s never held office before, but she says there’s some similarity to her hospital work -- she says listening to what patients or constituents are saying is central to doing the job right. Vermillion joins Indianapolis Republican Dollyne Sherman as rookies when legislators reconvene in November. There will be one more new legislator before the General Assembly reconvenes in November. Republican precinct leaders will caucus next month in Peru to pick a replacement for Logansport Senator Randy Head, who’s resigning to become chief deputy prosecutor in Pulaski County.

## Epstein had broken neck bones

NEW YORK — An autopsy found that financier Jeffrey Epstein sustained multiple breaks in his neck bones, according to two people familiar with the findings, deepening the mystery about the circumstances around his death ([Washington Post](#)). Among the bones broken in Epstein’s neck was the hyoid bone, which in men is near the Adam’s apple. Such breaks can occur in those who hang themselves, particularly if they are older, according to forensics experts and studies on the subject. But they are more common in victims of homicide by strangulation, the experts said. The details are the first findings to emerge from the autopsy of Epstein.

## Hickenlooper to drop out today

DENVER — John Hickenlooper will drop out of the Democratic presidential primary on Thursday, according to a Democrat close to him (AP). The former two-term Colorado governor, who ran as a moderate warning of the perils of extreme partisanship, struggled with fundraising and low polling numbers. Hickenlooper, 67, is not expected to announce a decision Thursday on whether he will run for Senate in Colorado, though he

has been discussing the possibility with advisers. Republican Sen. Cory Gardner, up for reelection in 2020, is considered one of the most vulnerable senators in the country.

## Buttigieg talks of rural immigrants

DES MOINES, Iowa — Democratic presidential candidate Pete Buttigieg said Tuesday that anti-immigrant sentiment in rural America declines when residents know and appreciate the role of those moving into their communities (AP). It’s the thinking behind a provision in a rural economic plan introduced by the South Bend mayor that would enable local towns and counties to seek work visas for immigrants to fill the many empty positions in labor-hungry rural America. “Very rural, very conservative areas are much more open on immigration when they personally know immigrants,” Buttigieg told reporters while strolling the grounds of the Iowa State Fair after addressing an audience of several hundred people. “People have been told immigration is the problem. I think it does change the way we look at things versus when it’s kind of all this fear of the unknown.”

## Nash to receive Hamilton Award

NEW ALBANY — Warren Nash met Lee Hamilton in the early 1960s when the two entered politics. Nash first became a precinct committeeman in 1964 before being elected Floyd County Assessor in 1966 and New Albany mayor in 1971. Hamilton, a Columbus native, was elected to the U.S. Congress for the first time in 1965. “He was very young back then and so was I,” Nash said. Hamilton went on to serve 34 years in Congress. It’s only fitting that Nash will receive an award on Aug. 24 named after his old friend at the 9th CD’s 139th Indiana Democratic Editorial Association convention in French Lick. Nash will receive the Lee H. Hamilton Public Service Award at a dinner.