

Challengers take aim at Senate leaders

Pence's social conservative allies seek to take out Senate leadership, Miller

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – With the General Assembly leaving the capital city today, attention now turns to three Senate races, two of which will test leadership of the majority caucus. In two cases, social conservative allies of Gov. Mike Pence are seeking to take out Senate leadership at the very time the governor and those leaders have forged a united front against the House Republican road plan.

It comes when rampant anger is fueling the rise of presidential candidates Donald Trump and, to a lesser extent, Bernie Sanders, though this dynamic has yet to take out a single congressional incumbent or governor to this point.



Senate Appropriations Chairman Luke Kenley and Senate President David Long will now attempt to fend off primary challengers in the May 3 primary. (HPI Photo by Mark Curry)

Senate President David Long is facing a challenge from IPFW Prof. John Kessler in SD16, while Senate Appropriations Chairman Luke Kenley is attempting to fend

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Trump & P.T. Barnum

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Donald Trump? Meet my good friend P.T. Barnum.

For much of the 19th Century, Barnum delighted and confounded patrons on two continents with a circus and a freak show filled with amazing characters. The phrase "There's a sucker born every minute" is often attributed to Barnum, though some speculate it was actually uttered by David Hannum. It is an apt description of Barnum and his customers.



On Tuesday night, fresh off victories in John Kasich's neighboring Michigan and Ted Cruz's neighboring Mississippi, Donald Trump added to the pro-



“Nancy Reagan’s adoration for her husband was absolutely genuine and was a big part of what made him so successful.”

- Peter Rusthoven, former counsel to President Reagan, on the passing of former First Lady Nancy Reagan



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fanity, to the authoritarian nature of his campaign and to the racial-coded aspects with an unprecedented display of pure hucksterism.

It capped a week where Trump flip-flopped on torture, whether his national security team even existed, and his penchant for making his crowds take an oath of allegiance, the optics of which had some comparing him to Adolf Hitler at Nuremburg. We witnessed Hoosier supporters forcibly remove a black woman from his rally in Louisville. It came after 2012 nominee Mitt Romney tried to derail the Trump circus, calling him a "fraud" and a "phony." Trump responded by suggesting that Romney would have performed a sexual act on his knees to get his endorsement four years ago.

Fellatio sure spiced up the Clinton presidency, so why not invoke it now?

Trump's victory speech at Trump National Golf Club Jupiter was a stunning piece of narcissism. It is a place of luxury where 95 percent of the blue-collared, angry, white Americans voting for Trump will never get a chance to plant a flip-flop, let alone sink a putt. Trump was in his element and it was all about him and his products. In a speech worthy of a K-Tel commercial, Trump cited his array of business successes: Trump vodka, Trump steaks, Trump water, Trump magazine. I could not find a count of how many times he used the word "I" or "me."

The only flaw was that Trump didn't bring enough steaks, vodka, water and magazines for everyone in the room.

Or, as Mr. Barnum would say, "I believe hugely in advertising and blowing my own trumpet, beating the gongs, drums, etc., to attract attention to a show; but I never believed that any amount of advertising or energy would make a spurious article permanently successful."

Trump explained, "Mitt got up and he really shouldn't have done it. It wasn't very becoming. He talked about the water company. Well there's the water company." Trump then pointed at a table offstage. "I mean, we sell water. And it's a very successful, you know it's a private little water company, and I supply the water for all my places and it's good.

"I have very successful companies. I filed with the Federal Elections [Commission] 100 pages almost, 100 pages that many of the press have gone down and seen and they were all very, very impressed. I built a great, great company. I have very low debt, I have assets like this, owned 100 percent by me with no debt."

Or as Mr. Barnum once put it, "Nobody ever lost a dollar by underestimating the taste of the American public."

Conservative columnist Charles Krauthammer watched as the networks stayed transfixed even as Hillary Clinton spoke, observing on Fox

News, "I don't think I've seen such a stream of disconnected ideas since I quit psychiatry 30 years ago."

Trump then played an attack TV ad aimed at him that featured dozens of "bleeped" cuss words from an array of his speeches. The 30-second spot by the American Future Fund Political Action running in Florida ahead of the crucial March 15 primary has Trump saying:

- "Listen you mother-----."
- "He gets the nomination, they're gonna sue his a--"
- "She said he's a p-----."
- "We'll beat the sh-- out of them."

And Trump pronounced it all good as he continued to scoop up evangelical support.

Mr. Barnum once observed, "Never cater to the baser instincts of humanity, strive as I have always done to elevate the moral tone of amusements, and always remember that the children have ever been our best patrons. I would rather hear the pleased laugh of a child over some feature of my exhibition than receive as I did the flattering compliments of the Prince of Wales."



At one point during his infomercial, Trump said, "Advertising is not as important as competence."

Tuesday on MSNBC's "Morning Joe," Mika Brzezinski asked if Trump had formed a national security advisory committee, something that former House Intelligence Committee Chairman Mike Rogers had been urging contenders to do for more than a year now during this, the age of ISIS.

Trump responded, "Yes, there is a team." He then quickly reversed himself,

saying, "There's not a team. I'm going to be forming a team. I've met with far more than three people, and I'll be forming a team at the appropriate time."

Mr. Barnum once said, "You know I had rather be laughed at than not to be noticed at all..."

So it's been a stunning week in American politics. Unless John Kasich can defeat Trump in his home state of Ohio on March 15 (CNN/ORC has Trump leading Kasich 41-35%) or Marco "Bambi" Rubio can salvage his home state of Florida (CNN/ORC has Trump leading Rubio 40-24% there), Donald Trump will be well on his way to the Republican presidential nomination.

Or, as Mr. Barnum once said, "Never give a sucker an even break." ❖

Challengers, from page 1

off a Westfield businessman Scott Willis, in SD20. State Sen. Pete Miller is facing an aggressive challenge from John Crane in SD24.

At this point, it doesn't appear that Long and Kenley are in as much danger as Senate Finance Chairman Larry Borst was at this point in 2004 and Senate President Robert Garton was in 2006. Borst and Garton were vulnerable to pro-life and pro-right-to-work forces. Garton had also aroused populist anger with his 2002 legislator health care for life deal. Long has angered social conservatives and family advocacy groups for attempting to find a compromise on LGBT civil rights expansion.



Sen. Pete Miller

Both Long and Kenley were cognizant of the com-

ing challenges and began preparing months ago. Senate Majority Caucus sources tell HPI that internal polling shows both to have strong reelect and favorable numbers.

Having said that, primary challenges of this type find a more conservative, activist voter than in general elections, and since 2002 more GOP senators – Borst, Garton, Steve Johnson in 2002 and John Waterman in 2014 – have lost in primaries than in general elections. Factor in unusual nature of this cycle and outsider pique at establishment Republicans, and there is a wildcard dynamic in place. So these races could develop late and merit attention.

Long and Miller are facing challenges fueled by the family advocacy groups with social issues the key issue, most specifically the recent LGBT civil rights expansion. Kenley's challenge appears to be coming from the education realm. Long (\$678,000) and Kenley (\$253,000) have the protection of huge war chests, while Miller was sitting on \$48,000 at the beginning of the year. With the General Assembly out of session, all three can begin to add or

replenish.

Last week, the Fort Wayne Journal Gazette reported that the American Family Association headed by Micah Clark had sent out "scathing" direct mail titled, "Liar Liar Politicians on Fire." It was in response to radio and cable TV buys by Long in which he defended his role in legislation that attempted to expand civil rights to LGB groups. Clark is accusing Long of bowing to the "homosexual lobby." The Journal Gazette also reported that while Long has a 95% pro-life voting record with Indiana Right to Life, he has killed pro-life bills behind the scenes. One example was a proposed bill this year to make it illegal to abort a baby if a heartbeat was detectable. That legislation was assigned to committee and didn't get a hearing. And Clark claims Long had to be persuaded to allow an amendment to defund Planned Parenthood several years ago. When asked about the email, Long told the Journal Gazette's Brian Francisco, "I don't pay attention to Micah Clark, so I have no comment on that."

In addition to Clark, Tea Party activist Monica Boyer has joined the fray, pushing her network to support Kessler, who was recruited for the challenge in the week prior to the Feb. 5 filing deadline. The Kessler campaign has some money and has begun grassroots organizing.

On March 5, Boyer posted on her Facebook page about the LGBT legislation: "They tried to allow this in Indiana this year. Now, Senator David Long and Senator Holdman tried to fix this conundrum in SB 100 by saying this man had to wait a year and live as a woman or man before coming into the bathroom of the opposite sex. (All the ladies say whaaaaat?!!??) Thank goodness cooler heads prevailed and they were forced to scrap that bill for another that also did not pass, but Senator Long promised the issue would be back next year. He must be replaced."

Boyer told HPI on Tuesday, "I knew there was an effort to find a conservative to run against Sen. Long, but I did not have the privilege to get to know Prof. Kessler prior to his filing for this campaign. When I met him... wow! I found that not only does he support the issue so near and dear to my heart, his knowledge of the economy and the sanctity of life are outstanding. He really is a well-rounded conservative candidate. I decided that day that I would not only support him, but that my family would be willing to sacrifice our time and finances for him."

Boyer added, "I think this could be the most impactful primary in the state this year. That impact is felt

statewide. We have a tremendous ground game. There are volunteers and donations coming from all over the state. I believe he will have the money to do the things we need to do to win. Sen. Long is extremely vulnerable because of the general anti-incumbency sentiment, the fact that Long has a voting track record that puts him at odds with his constituents on a broad array of issues. How do our boots on the ground beat the establishment money? We win by simply informing the public of Sen. Long's record. Door by door..."

"It's something we're watching closely," said Matt Zapfe, who heads the Senate Majority Campaign Committee. "I can't quantify what it's going to look like." He described Kessler as a relative newcomer, and someone who "has not been on the front lines" of Boyer's political operations that were, in part, responsible for the 2014 primary defeats of State Reps. Kathy Heuer in a district that overlaps Long's, and Rebecca Kubacki.

Zapfe said that Long had anticipated a primary challenge after he and State Sen. Travis Holdman unveiled LGBT expansion legislation in November. "Sen. Long has been staffing up and has been preparing for this since December." Long has been advertising on WOWO on the religious freedom issue. Boyer said that once the ad began running, "I got phone calls from people I didn't even know, asking me how a politician can so easily lie on the radio. People are not fooled by this kind of thing."

Zapfe and the SMCC are keenly aware of dynamic in place that has been fueling the campaigns of Donald Trump, Sen. Ted Cruz and Sen. Bernie Sanders on the Democratic side. The Long campaign knows that this could change quickly and that Trump has the potential to bring out new voters. It is something Marlin Stutzman's U.S. Senate campaign has acknowledged. Whether a Trump voters will vote on down ballot races is a key question with no answer at this point.

Kenley's challenger, Scott Willis, is not coming from the social conservative right. He has articulated education funding issues. There has been some speculation that the Indiana building trades groups are preparing to spend money against Kenley for his role in blocking HB1001, the House Republican road plan.

Zapfe is monitoring negative robocalls coming into the district on behalf of Willis, who had not filed a campaign committee by the end of 2015 reporting deadline, making it impossible at this point to know of his financial wherewithall. There are also reports that some veterans groups are targeting Kenley.

Zapfe said that internal polling shows strong reelections with Long and Kenley. "We don't see any weakening," he said. Kenley's numbers are weaker in the Westfield portion of his district where he is running for the first time



IPFW Prof. John Kessler (left) is challenging Senate President David Long and Westfield businessman Scott Willis is challenging Sen. Luke Kenley.

since reapportionment. But, he added, Kenley is still "running surprisingly strong" there. Both will need strong ground games and both senators are aware of the unusual climate they face.

Like Long, Sen. Miller's challenger is being fueled by family advocacy groups, in this case Curt Smith of the Indiana Family Institute. Smith, who has been promising primary challengers to those supporting civil rights expansion, observed, "John Crane is a leader of extraordinary vision and integrity.

His principled, practical understanding of the issues facing Indiana make him an ideal Hoosier to represent our views and values as a common-sense voice in the Legislature. And as we all know too well, common-sense in public life is actually quite rare these days."

Smith and Clark view select primary challenges as a way to instill future discipline on issues such as civil rights expansion. An upset of either Long, Kenley or Miller would capture the attention of the entire caucus.



Republican John Crane, from a video on his Facebook page, as he takes on State Sen. Pete Miller.

Crane's campaign is focused on social issues. He says that "marriage, as designed by our Creator, is to be between a man and a woman. And social science has repeatedly confirmed that the ideal scenario for a child's well-being is to be raised in a home where both biological parents are present and lovingly invested in their upbringing." Crane says he will "protect human life at every stage of the human life cycle."

And, Crane said, "The current erosion of these bedrock constitutional principles creates a crack in our societal foundation that, if left unchecked, will be the cause of our own undoing."

Zapfe believes that the Crane campaign could benefit from "some overlap" with the Stutzman U.S. Senate campaign.

Miller was appointed to this seat in 2012 and is up for his first reelection bid. He is running ads on cable TV for the past week.

HPI Horse Race Status: Likely Long and Kenley; Leans Miller. ❖

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Supreme process differs, but politics remain

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

ZIONSVILLE – Here in the emerging Trumpian era of the rant and the screed, I had one of my own in Monday's HPI Daily Wire. It went like this:

"Nationally, U.S. Senate Republicans with the support of Sen. Dan Coats have said that the decision on selecting the next U.S. Supreme Court justice should be held off until after the November election, and should be made by the voters with the nomination coming from the next president. Taking this logic, shouldn't the same dynamic be in effect here in Indiana, where we have an open Supreme Court seat? Shouldn't the voters and the next governor make this decision? Gov. Pence and Sen. Coats owe us a detailed explanation on why such a consistent approach shouldn't be applied in Indiana. And, if there is compelling reason to proceed on the state vacancy, but not the national one, we need to have a greater understanding of the difference. We need to know whether political considerations have the potential to permeate the state process and what safeguards are in place if that has yet to occur."

Both the offices of Sen. Dan Coats and Gov. Mike Pence responded, pointing out a huge difference between the state and federal processes. Indiana officials are compelled to make an appointment within 60 days of the Judicial Nominating Commission recommendation of three candidates. And this process is intended to take the politics out of the equation.

At the federal level, there is no such mechanism to compel senators to do their jobs. Political decisions are made and there is a strong likelihood of a U.S. Supreme Court vacancy extending another 18 months or so until President Trump or President H.R. Clinton (frontrunners at this point) takes the oath and declares a choice.

Matt Lahr, communications director for Sen. Coats explains: "While the U.S. Supreme Court and the Indiana Supreme Court both currently have vacancies, the similarities between the two situations end there. On the federal level, the executive and legislative branches of our federal government are separate but equal. While the Constitution grants the President the power to nominate Supreme Court justices, the Senate must give its "advice and consent." During presidential election years, there is substantial precedent to let the American people weigh in on their next Supreme Court justice by casting their votes. In the past, senators such as Joe Biden have argued that the Senate should not act on a presidential nomination during an election year. In fact, 1888 was the last time a justice was nominated to the Supreme Court in a presidential election year and confirmed by a Senate controlled by

the opposing political party.

Lahr continues: "At the state level, a vacancy on the Indiana Supreme Court prompts the Judicial Nominating Commission to urge the public to apply for the position. Under this process, which was inserted in the Indiana Constitution in 1970, the governor is not involved in the initial vetting and selection of applicants, and the state legislature has no role in the confirmation or selection of judges. Only once the Judicial Nominating Commission selects three finalists does the governor have a chance to weigh in. The governor must choose one of these finalists within 60 days of the commission's announcement. If he does not, the chief justice makes the selection. This entire process is part of Indiana state law.

Lahr adds, "At the federal level, there are no commissions to vet potential Supreme Court nominations. Further, the President not only vets potential judges, he also makes the nomination. The federal process differs significantly from Indiana's commission-centric system, in which the governor is only involved at the final step. Finally, the Indiana State Legislature plays no role in

Indiana's process, while the U.S. Senate is a coequal branch of government that may provide its 'advice and consent' in the manner it so chooses."

That doesn't mean that politics has been removed from the Indiana equation. Sources are telling Howey Politics Indiana that various family advocacy groups are weighing in with the Pence

administration on who is acceptable and who isn't and wielding considerable clout. The governor also appoints three of the seven Judicial Nominating Commission seats.

At the March 3 swearing in of Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb, Geoffrey Slaughter, 53, now an attorney at the Indianapolis firm of Taft, Stettinius and Hollister, was being introduced by Curt Smith of the Indiana Family Institute. Slaughter, along with St. Joseph Superior Judge Steven Hostetler and Boone Superior Court Judge Matthew Kincaid, were named the finalists by the Judicial Nominating Commission later that afternoon.

The optics of this were revealing. Asked if there were litmus tests that Gov. Pence has involving the selection and whether he is being lobbied, Deputy Chief of Staff Matt Lloyd begged off, saying he had been out of the office with the flu for the past few days.

Indiana will have a new Supreme Court justice by May. The U.S. Supreme Court will function with eight justices until sometime in mid- to late-2017, and perhaps beyond, depending on the caliber and political attributes of the person President Trump or President Clinton nominates.

And, as we've pointed out before, the untimely death of another of the octogenarian justice could double the dynamic. ❖



Hollingsworth a ‘scam artist’ charges Zoeller

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

JEFFERSONVILLE – After weeks of Trey Hollingsworth taking aim at Attorney General Greg Zoeller, defining him as a “career politician,” Zoeller took the gloves off Wednesday.

Zoeller called Hollingsworth and his Super PAC, Indiana Jobs Now, for being “political scam artists.”

“One of my most important roles as Indiana’s attorney general is to protect people against scam artists,” said Zoeller. “In doing so, over the years I’ve warned Hoosiers of the ‘red flags’ of a scam artist:

1. Someone who suddenly appears that you don’t know.
2. Someone, such as an

out-of-state salesman, without references that can be checked.

3. Someone who makes claims that are either too good to be true or too bad to be believable.

“I think the people of the 9th District know a scam artist when they see one and these ads are the product of political scam artists.”

He went on to refute, point by point, the false claims made in the most recent ad produced and aired by Trey Hollingsworth’s super PAC, Indiana Jobs Now, an ad the Indianapolis Star says is “stretching the truth.”

Zoeller said, “It’s easy in this political environment for negativity to take root and for false accusations to quickly spread and be perceived to be true. So I believe it’s important to stand here and take these charges head-on and to do the worst thing you can do to a scam artist: expose them and tell the truth.”

False Charge: Hollingsworth charged that Zoeller supported the Gang of 8 Immigration Bill.

Truth: “For years, I have advocated that Congress finally do its jobs and pass legislation that fixes our immigration problem...I never once endorsed their bill, their specific proposal, or amnesty. I oppose amnesty.”

False Charge: Hollingsworth maintains that Zoeller refused to challenge President Obama’s executive order on immigration

Truth: “I did not refuse to have Indiana join the challenge...what I did was to provide for outside counsel to challenge the president’s executive order on immigration

because of my ongoing efforts alongside other attorneys general to encourage Congress to do their job.”

In addition, Zoeller pointed out the ironic choice of using a photograph of him standing behind President Obama in the ad. “It has absolutely nothing to do with immigration. Nothing at all. In fact, it’s from a press conference at the White House announcing an historic settlement between the nation’s largest banks and government to provide mortgage holders, including thousands of Hoosiers. The work of my office resulted in Hoosiers receiving \$145 million. It was one of the proudest moments of my tenure as attorney general.”

Zoeller added, “This is one thing I thank the political scam artists for: highlighting my record of results on behalf of Hoosiers.”

Young, Stutzman diverge on Lugar Bipartisan index

By **MARK SCHOEFF JR.**

WASHINGTON – The two Republicans running for the GOP Senate nomination in the May primary diverge widely on their willingness to work with Democrats on legislation, the latest analysis by a former Hoosier senator shows.

Rep. Todd Young, R-9th CD, ranked 138 among House members in the number of bills he co-sponsored with Democrats in 2015, while Marlin Stutzman, R-3rd CD, ranked 435, according to the Bipartisan Index released on March 7 by the Lugar Center and the Georgetown University McCourt School of Public Policy. The Lugar Center is a think tank run by former Sen. Richard Lugar.

The latest iteration of the index also shows that GOP Rep. Susan Brooks, at 35, was the Hoosier House member who most often worked across the aisle, while Democratic Sen. Joe Donnelly ranked 2nd in the Senate. Retiring Republican Sen. Dan Coats, whom Young and Stutzman are trying to replace, came in at 75.

Young and Stutzman, who are engaged in a heated and divisive battle for the GOP nomination, are legislating in ways that are influenced by their constituents, according to aides.

Young is “conservative...[who] puts Hoosiers first when he votes or offers legislation,” campaign manager Trevor Foughty said in a statement.

He went on to cite one Young bill that draws little Democratic support, a measure that requires congressional approval of major regulations, and one that has garnered Democratic backing – legislation that would define full-time work as 40 hours per week under the health care reform law.

Stutzman “is proud of his conservative voting record that reflects the priorities and values of the Hoosiers



he represents in Congress," spokeswoman Kelsey Knight said in a statement. "More often than not, Republicans have the preferred solutions to getting Washington off the backs of Hoosier businesses and to help drive economic growth."

In a statement, Donnelly referred to himself as "the hired help" who must "get things done" in the Senate. "That responsibility has nothing to do with party affiliation and everything to do with supporting the best ideas, regardless of whether the idea comes from a Republican or a Democrat," Donnelly said.

The Bipartisan Index quantifies how frequently legislators sign on to bills originated by the other party and attract members from the opposite side to bills they write.

"Lawmakers with strong ideological views can still find common ground with members across the aisle if they make an effort to do so," Lugar, who served for 36 years in the Senate, said in a statement. "Some members of Congress have embraced this challenge, despite the intensely partisan political culture exemplified in the national presidential campaigns."

Democrat Baron Hill for Indiana Campaign Manager Luke Quandt called out Marlin Stutzman for being ranked last in the Lugar Center's 2015 Bipartisan Index. "Marlin Stutzman puts his radical right-wing ideology ahead of working Hoosier families," said Hill campaign manager Luke Quandt. "He would rather shut down the government than fix problems like stagnant wages and making college affordable for our students. Indiana has a long history of electing moderate, bipartisan senators like Richard Lugar and Joe Donnelly who understand doing what's best for Indiana comes before ideology. That is the kind of leader Baron Hill will be."

New Stutzman ad

The Stutzman campaign is running a new TV ad outlining key votes that speak to his record of providing principled leadership. Stutzman's campaign manager made the following statement about the TV Spot, "We felt it was important to point out that Marlin is the authentic conservative in the race for U.S. Senate here in Indiana. There are a lot of election year conservatives who say one thing on the campaign trail but lack the backbone to actually stand up to the establishment in Washington. We hear from Hoosiers every day who want conservative leaders who will stand strong on principle in Washington, not sellout the American people by cutting deals with liberal democrats like Barack Obama and Harry Reid. Marlin will continue to

stand strong on principle in the face of pressure from party leadership because he knows when Republicans bend America breaks."

Hill endorsed by Senatorial committee

Baron Hill has secured the endorsement of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (Bloomington Herald-Times). Hill is the only Democrat in the running for the Senate seat from which U.S. Sen. Dan Coats, R-Ind., is retiring. "Indiana deserves someone who will fight for issues that are important to Hoosiers like growing small businesses and making college more affordable, and that leader is Baron Hill," said Sen. Jon Tester, chair of the DSCC, in a press release. "Over the years, Baron has proven he is committed to fighting for Indiana's middle class families, and we are proud to endorse him in Indiana's Senate race. We look forward to supporting his campaign and welcoming him to the Senate next fall."

2nd CD

Tom begins second TV ad

Farmer and businessman Kip Tom today released the second television advertisement of his campaign for Congress in Indiana's 3rd district. Featuring Kip's dad, Everett, the ad highlights the importance of electing an outsider with the business experience to clean up the mess in Washington created by career politicians (Howey Politics Indiana). "There's no one whose support I value more than my dad's. He engrained in me the work ethic and commonsense conservative values that are so sorely lacking in Washington today," Tom said. He went on, "If we want to change Washington, we need to change the people we send there. I'm the only candidate in this race with 40 years of business experience and not a day in elected office."

Don Villwock, the long-serving former president of the Indiana Farm Bureau, endorsed Tom for Congress. "I am proud to endorse my long time friend, Kip Tom,



Rep. Marlin Stutzman's new TV unveiled this week talks of how he bucked the GOP House leadership.

in his run for the U.S. Congress," Villwock said. "Kip's passion to bring positive reforms, combined with his common sense solutions and can-do track record is just what our country needs at this critical time in our nation's history." ❖

Chaos and the Republican Party

By MARK SOUDER

FORT WAYNE – People have long considered the Republicans as the more conservative party, in style and substance. Republicans have long considered the Constitution a historic model for the world, something with fixed principles that are adjusted over time but within the general context, not some moldable piece of parchment that can be re-shaped every election.



With the rise of Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan, the conservative movement built an ever-expanding network of what the Clintons called the “vast right-wing conspiracy.” The eastern liberal establishment was vanquished. Yet in just a few months an eastern establishment billion-

aire insider, who funded the very liberal leaders whom conservatives have fought, has seemingly laid waste to 50 years of conservative network building.

Donald Trump has mocked, demeaned and embarrassed almost all the traditional conservative publications, taken on and smeared leading talk radio hosts and Fox News personalities, and has not demonstrated that he’s ever read a single conservative book. Trump has slandered senators, governors and congressmen whom the movement had elected to defeat the liberals. He has peddled the message that they sold out. To whom? Him? He is the epitome of the establishment.

Trump has eviscerated and embarrassed the pro-life, NRA, libertarian and evangelical movements as well as making the Tea Party nearly totally irrelevant by demonstrating that a plurality of Republicans don’t prioritize those philosophical concerns. He flip-flops on issues at will, stresses “deal-making” which supposedly conservatives find worrisome at a minimum, and turns constitutionalism on its head. American’s founding fathers didn’t want America to become France; no king, no mob rule, and no Napoleon. Trump, basically, wants

to use mobs to make him something between a king and Napoleon.

Everything is “I” this and “I” that. There is no “I will, along with the House and Senate, the courts, 50 governors and state legislatures, thousands of mayors and councils” approach to government. Trust the Donald. He will fix it. Or punish those who oppose him until they show how weak they are under his might.

Certainly some of his appeal is economic populism. I can relate to that; in my career, more than most other Republicans, I crusaded against communist China, unfair trade and how it hurt the steel and auto industry, and Wall Street domination of the economy. Those supporting most-favored-nation status for China spent a mini-fortune failing to move me. Eventually the coalition head, the president of Boeing, came into my office. He acknowledged that he wouldn’t persuade me, nor did he have any influence with me, but said he was told that unless he could understand my conservative economic arguments on the issue, they would never prevail.

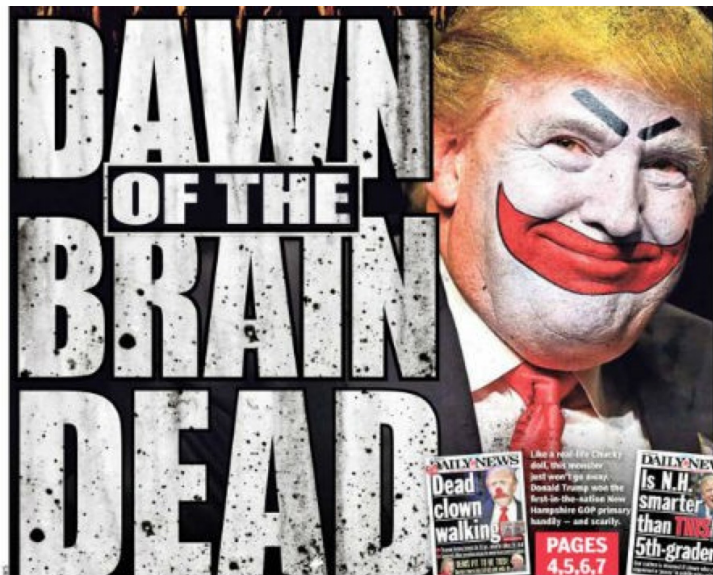
My point is this: A conservative argument can be made for some of Trump’s positions, but he doesn’t bother, or apparently even know, what they are. He throws out some “red meat” simpleton phrases, then returns to demeaning his opponents. One would think he is running for president of reality shows or perhaps a fake university, not president of the United States.

On moral/social issues his exploitation has been even more skillful. I argued for years in multiple settings with social conservative leaders that the political strategy of just relying on abortion, homosexual issues, pornography and prayer was not sufficient to deal with the nuances of the evangelical movement. But the sudden collapse of a “values voter” consensus stunned even me.

The so-called “name it and claim it” movement has always been a part of the landscape of America, but seldom manifests itself politically. Those increasingly left behind in the economic split – largely anchored in the fact that “knowledge” skills pay better – have become more

desperate. Growth in gambling, always skewed toward those who don’t understand math, is merely one area of seeking gains separated from work. Preachers who promise financial gain for money are merely another “short-cut” long-shot hope for monetary gain.

The fact is, just because someone is a Christian, doesn’t mean that materialism (i.e. economic success) isn’t more important in personal behavior than theoretical positions on political moral issues. Greed, another form of lust or covetousness anchored in personal



pride, always lurks in our sinful bodies. The Bible warns of this tendency over and over. Trump, astoundingly, gets away with mocking his evangelical followers publicly when he states that "they like me better when I carry a Bible." Even his flippant dismissal of Holy Communion is ignored because of anger and/or materialism. This is more of a warning about what is happening in Christianity than it is about politics. Sin will always exist; public mocking of God and His Word is a totally different, and disastrous, trend.

Then there is the race card. Whenever Cruz and Rubio start to gain, Trump reminds everyone that they are brown people, possibly not even eligible to be president. He used the wall with Mexico and deportation of brown people as a race-polarizing issue. His proposal to ban every Muslim is certainly a way to isolate Middle Eastern and Asian Muslims. His China bashing covers the other Asians. Trump even used two African-American women as a warm-up act in the South. They were pretty typical of the Jim Crow-style humor that would have appealed to white racists in an era that seemed long past.

In the South and around the country many leaders in the conservative movement and in politics are standing up. They continue to do so, even though many voters seem to hate anyone who has actually done anything. Can Trump be stopped? Florida and Ohio likely hold that decision in their hands.

The picture of Marco Rubio in South Carolina with

Gov. Nikki Haley, Sen. Tim Scott and Rep. Trey Gowdy is how the future of conservatism and the Republican Party (if that is to be the long-term vehicle of conservatism) will look. The process may take a while, and the Democrats may hold power for a long time if the last gasps of the Trump faction last for more than one election. But buffoons don't last long-term.

Trump's campaign is only about him, and almost all incumbents are winning every primary at every other level. The changeover is not a question of "if" but merely of "when." American demographics have irrevocably changed. ❖

Souder is a former Republican congressman.

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Deal reached on roads, Regional Cities funding

INDIANAPOLIS — Legislative leaders struck a road-funding deal Wednesday pledging almost \$1 billion over the next two years for local and state roads (Osowski, Evansville Courier & Press). The deal received approval by both majority caucuses in the Indiana House and Senate and a final vote is expected today. The bill will include \$42 million for a third Regional Cities program and \$10 million for Speaker Brian Bosma's teacher scholarship bill, which will both come out of Gov. Mike Pence's tax amnesty program.



Both Bosma and Senate Leader David Long, R-Fort Wayne, said the money for roads will come from state reserves and the state taking an extra 1.5 cents of the sales tax on gas out of the General Fund and into the state's road and bridge fund. The excess local option income tax included in Senate Bill 67 will also be absorbed into the roads package, bringing more than \$400 million to local efforts.

The House Republican's push for a more permanent funding source via a hike in Indiana's fuel and cigarette tax is over for now. The tax increases are not included in the agreement. Instead, the task force advocated for by Sen. Luke Kenley, R-Noblesville, will be created to look for a permanent solution next year.

Bosma said the deal takes care of some issues the state is facing currently and makes sure the problem will be tackled when the General Assembly passes the 2017-18 budget. "It addresses immediate needs, it meets some of our long-term goals and ensures that everyone is at the table in the budget session to work on the long-term issue," Bosma said.

The specific dollar breakdowns by year and the state and local split will be revealed Thursday during the conference committee discussion. Bosma did say part of the money will be spent during fiscal year 2017, which begins in June. Over \$1 billion, quite a bit of it is going to locals. no tax hikes. all regional cities fully funding.

"I'm happy," said state Rep. Ed Soliday, R-Valparaiso (Carden, NWI Times). "I knew we

weren't going to get it all."

"We're confident that we've done the best that we can with the current funds available, while ensuring that we will have a deep discussion of long-term road funding and bridge funding needs in the coming (2017) session," said Bosma.

"Governor Pence couldn't be more grateful that leaders of the House and Senate have agreed to invest more than \$1 billion in Indiana's roads and bridges and fully fund the Regional Cities Initiative," said Kara Brooks, a spokeswoman for Pence (Cook, IndyStar).

Pence, leadership met 4 straight days

The road deal came after Gov. Pence and legislative leaders met for four straight days in the governor's office. A Pence administration source described the meetings to Howey Politics Indiana as "all very civil," dispelling reports that there had been a "knockdown, dragout" episode. "The governor brought everybody to the table and they got it done," the Pence source said. "He said he wasn't going to sign a tax hike. There was no way a tax hike wasn't going to get through Senate. Long made that clear. And the governor wasn't going to sign a tax hike."

Meth bill still unresolved

Still unresolved on the final day of the session is methamphetamine legislation. State Rep. Ben Smaltz tells Howey Politics Indiana this morning: "So interesting. The hallway, which worked so hard to stop the original HB1390 language that was (inserted) into SB80 when we sent it over, are now trying to get Sen. Head to concur on that version as opposed to Sen. Head working on passing the Concurrent Resolution. The question now is which version has the votes? Since the concurrence died, I stopped counting and was only counting votes on the CCR and it had the support as of yesterday." Legislative sources tell HPI that the hallway pharma lobby is making a last ditch effort to get the Drug Enforcement Agency involved. The DEA has a history of deeming all PSE products a meth

risk and they are trying to backdoor a way of preventing those PSE formulations from have a retail advantage over traditional products.

Controversial abortion bill advances

A controversial bill restricting the reasons a woman can have an abortion is now heading to Gov. Mike Pence after the Indiana House concurred with changes made in the Senate (Osowski, Evansville Courier & Press). The concurrence



Gov. Mike Pence meets with General Assembly leadership that ultimately forged a compromise on the road bill.

on House Bill 1337 passed out of the House 60-40 after emotional testimony from both sides of the aisle. The final tally showed 11 House Republicans voted with the 29 Democrats either out of concerns with the changes the Senate made or because of the process by which the bill was pushed through. When it left the House, HB 1337 just contained language regulating the disposal of fetal remains, either from an abortion or a miscarriage. The Senate added language relating to abortions after a similar Senate bill died in the House. The language states a physician can't perform an abortion if the mother tells him the reason for an abortion is because of the baby's gender, ethnicity or a diagnosed developmental disorder such as Down syndrome. Because the bill was amended in the Senate and author Rep. Casey Cox, R-Fort Wayne, concurred with the changes, the abortion language was never discussed in the House, which rankled some members. Rep. Holli Sullivan, R-Evansville, said none of the women in her district got to discuss or testify on HB 1337. "I feel that my constituents are worthy of their input in the process," Sullivan said. "Female legislators in the House, they also didn't get a chance to vet, amend or make the Senate addition to the bill better." Both Sullivan and Rep. Wendy McNamara, R-Mount Vernon, voted against the bill despite a strong history of being pro-life. Both of them said they couldn't vote for the bill because of the lack of a vetting process.

Teacher pay bill still alive

Language that would allow school districts to give teacher's bonuses outside of their negotiations with a teacher union made its way back into legislation during the final days of the 2016 legislative session (McInerney, StateImpact). Two earlier bills would have given teachers supplemental pay outside of collective bargaining. Both died after criticism from teacher unions and educators. But a new conference committee report for HB 1005 includes language that gives advanced placement teachers the opportunity to earn a raise outside of collective bargaining. It aims to do something slightly different from the plans in the two previous bills. Those bills allowed schools to negotiate pay increases for teachers in hard to fill positions without engaging teachers unions. Teachers and educators argued that separate negotiating processes might pit teachers against one another. Rep. Bob Behning, R-Indianapolis, says including language that gives advanced placement teachers the opportunity to earn a raise outside of collective bargaining isn't a sneaky way to bring that language back. "What is 1005 is exactly the same language that passed the General Assembly for dual credit teachers. We're just aligning the both of them together," he says.

ISTEP bill still with conferees

In an effort to address delays in the release of the 2015 ISTEP results, which were finalized in January, state

representatives introduced a bill that would require results to be submitted to the state board of education by July of the same year the test is taken (Slagter, Kokomo Tribune). The same bill, HB 1359, suggests dropping the ISTEP on July 1, 2017, and establishing a panel to study alternative assessments in the meantime. The bill passed the House 86-11, with support from local Reps. Mike Karickhoff and Heath VanNatter. The Senate amended and then passed it 38-10, with support from Sen. Jim Buck, but the House did not support the Senate's amendments. As of March 3, the bill had been assigned to a conference committee, and the legislative session is expected to end today.

Opioid dependence bill passes

A bill creating new addiction treatment options in an effort to combat Indiana's opioid epidemic has been approved by the legislature (Smith, Indiana Public Media). Right now, if someone seeking addiction treatment goes to a methadone clinic, their only option for medication assisted treatment is methadone. But under SB 297, which is currently making its way to Gov. Mike Pence, patients who show up to a treatment center will get assessed and hopefully put on the best treatment plan for them. That could mean methadone, or it could mean a different medication, such as Suboxone or Vivitrol—other drugs that can help fight addiction. Steve McCaffrey, president and CEO of Mental Health America of Indiana, says the guidelines under the bill could improve the state's ability to combat its opioid epidemic. "We know that when you do disjointed treatment like we've done historically, the success rate of about 10 to 20 percent," he says. "We know that when you do it in a comprehensive way, it jumps up to over 60 percent."

House honors Rep. Dermody

The House interrupted its regular business for more than an hour Wednesday to honor a Region lawmaker, respected on both sides of the aisle, who is not seeking re-election this year (Carden, NWI Times). State Rep. Tom Dermody, R-LaPorte, the chairman of the House Public Policy Committee, repeatedly teared up as his colleagues recalled their adventures, both inside and outside the Statehouse, during his 10 years representing Northwest Indiana. "We're losing a very, very independent and thoughtful legislator," said state Rep. Sean Eberhart, R-Shelbyville, Dermody's office- and seatmate. "My best friend is leaving." Republicans and Democrats praised Dermody as a loyal team player, ornery at times, but someone who always would have your back. "He's a great lawmaker, but he's an even better person," said House Democratic Leader Scott Pelath, D-Michigan City. "Except when he gets on the basketball court." In his final speech, Dermody warned his soon-to-be former colleagues that he'll be calling them on Saturday nights when he's at the store buying wine for Sunday dinner, since they never approved his proposals to legalize Sunday take-home alcohol sales. ❖

Republican lessons from Constantinople

By CRAIG DUNN

KOKOMO – In the wee small hours of Tuesday, May 29, 1453, the people of Constantinople were shocked from their sleep by a beating of drums, the blaring of trumpets and clanging of cymbals accompanied by the bloodcurdling battle cries of 80,000 Ottoman soldiers approaching the walls of the great city. The noise was no accident. The Ottomans were skilled in using psychological warfare to unnerve their opponents prior to battle. The battle this time was for no less than the final conquest of the Byzantium Empire.



The terror of the sounds of the advancing Ottomans was enhanced by Sultan Mehmet II's decree that his army would be rewarded for their victory with three days of unrestricted rape and pillage. The 7,000 soldiers defending the walls of Constantinople were under no illusions as to their fate should the sultan's army be successful at breaching the thick walls of the city.

The bells of every church in the city rang out to sound the alarm and call the defenders to the wall. They were joined by some women and nuns who understood the desperate nature of their plight. In spite of the imminent peril, a large number of able-bodied men refused to take part in the fighting. They were furious that Emperor Constantine, in a desperate strategy to save the last remains of Byzantium, had reaffirmed the union of the Eastern Orthodox Church with the Church of Rome.

Many of the Orthodox priests feared or detested the pope more than they did the Ottomans and showed their contempt by denouncing Emperor Constantine and refusing to offer from their massive treasuries any financial support for the defense of Constantinople. The words of defiance were best summed up by the Grand Duke Notaras who decreed, "Better the turban of the Sultan than the tiara of the Pope in Constantinople."

Such is the similar state of affairs in the Republican Party and its historically unprecedented presidential sweepstakes. It seems like a majority of the party has decided that it has an unrelenting dislike of each of the top three Republican candidates. Currently, large segments of the party have been quite verbal about their ultimate refusal to back any eventual candidate but their own. This would all be quite interesting if it wasn't just so darn scary.

The reality of presidential primaries is that, generally, the most philosophically committed people are the ones who turn out to vote in caucuses and primaries. This

has pretty much been true in both political parties. These voters have their preconceived litmus tests that they apply to the candidates and they usually show no sense of compromise, waffling or equivocation. You are either philosophically pure in my book or hit the road.

The Republican Party began rebuilding its brand after the disastrous results of the 1964 presidential election by looking for a strategy to expand the political tent. Political strategist and author Kevin B. Phillips created a strategy to turn the south and the west into Republican bastions. He ably detailed this strategy in his seminal work, "The Emerging Republican Majority."

The strategy called for developing a conservative philosophy and support of issues that would cleave the southern states from the Democratic Party and bring this sizable block of voters to the Republican Party. His strategy also involved focusing on philosophies that appealed to the independent spirit of the growing western states. In fact, it was Phillips who coined the term, "Sun-belt."

Finally, Phillips realized that there was a huge base of conservative religious people who placed family and the sanctity of life ahead of all else. Many of these people were Catholics and Southern Baptists. The strategy also appealed to the Hispanic voters of the time, who were hard-working and placed family above all else.

Phillips' strategy was successful in 1968 and brought Richard Nixon into the White House. Over the nearly 50 years that Republicans have pursued this strategy, the party of strong economic and strong national defense philosophies has morphed into a purveyor of a litany of hot-button issues that appeal to the current cobbled together coalition that calls itself the modern Republican Party. Since 1968, the Republican Party has increasingly relied on an uncompromising devotion to issues such as abortion, gun ownership, cutting taxes, establishing a narrow definition of marriage, school choice, demonization of government involvement in our lives, and a fight against anything Obama, to forge electoral majorities. This strategy has largely been successful in both raising tons of election cash and winning elections. But the seeds of this strategy are now yielding some bitter fruit.

The Republican presidential field has now been winnowed down from 15 to 4 candidates. It has been an amazing, embarrassing and increasingly ugly process. Donald Trump has preyed on the fears and anger of a large number of the Republican electorate who are simply fed up with the status quo and have turned to a man with a populist message that resonates. Never mind the flip-flopping views, past devoted support of Democrats and their causes, the rude juvenile mocking and name calling, the trashing of a war hero and the verbal abuse of anyone who steps in his way; Trump's supporters are solidly in his corner and they are neither prone to compromise or forgiveness. Either their man wins and the "establishment" is vanquished or they will take their marbles and go home.

Ted Cruz has presented himself as the unwaver-

ing Christian conservative constitutionalist in the election. He offers his supporters an evangelical zeal and a promise to not only save our U. S. Constitution, but to promote his faith through a variety of issues. His faithful love Jesus, the Bible and promoting Christian causes through government. They are fervent supporters and will not compromise. After all, how can you compromise with the devil? If their man does not win the nomination, they will willingly sacrifice themselves and our country by staying home in the fall. Doubt this? Explain why Mitt Romney received 5 million fewer votes in 2012 than John McCain received in 2008. Romney's crime to the evangelicals was his Mormonism and they just couldn't forgive someone whom they perceived as belonging to an impure cult.

Marco Rubio, a religious conservative who has demonstrated a command of the issues and a traditional economic and defense oriented conservatism, has his adherents who both support him and who pledge to never vote for the bully Donald Trump or the inflexible evangelizing Ted Cruz. Many of Rubio's supporters long for the days when the enemy was the Democrat Party and not their fellow Republicans.

John Kasich has definitely been the adult in the room and the debates over the last several months. He has received the least amount of air time to make his case in the debates. He is experienced, respectful and thoughtful. Unfortunately, we live in a world of absolutes and entertainment. Make no mistake about it, John Kasich will never compete with Kim Kardashian for twitter time. Fifty

years ago, a guy with Kasich's credentials would have been a shoo-in. His limited supporters are patiently waiting for lightning to strike in Ohio and for a contested Republican Convention to turn to a reliable conservative who hasn't yet called anyone a short, small-fingered, lily-livered liberal doo doo head.

It remains to be seen whether any of the current Republican field can unite the disparate voters against the common demon, Hillary Clinton. You would think that a common hate of all things Clinton would allow Republicans to let bygones be bygones. You would think it, but history tells us that the nobility of self-immolation for a cause is all-powerful. For me, I will work my hardest to help field a candidate who has the best chance of winning in November. Against Hillary Clinton, there is no substitute for victory. If my first choice doesn't get nominated, I will suck it up and support the eventual nominee. I don't believe that anyone could be worse for our country than Hillary Clinton.

And what of our Byzantine friends who huddled in the Eastern Orthodox churches refusing to defend Constantinople, preferring the turban of the Sultan to the tiara of the Pope? The Ottomans eventually breached the walls of Constantinople and beheaded every last man, woman and child, except for the few young children of the priests who Sultan Mehmet II kept as sex slaves.

Elections do have consequences. ❖

Dunn is chairman of the Howard County Republicans.

Photography With Punch
A Fresh Look At Indiana Politics Through The Lens Of Mark Curry
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Why are Republicans going way of Whigs?

By LARRY SABATO, KYLE KONDIK
and GEOFFREY SKELLEY

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. – In the spring of 1976, the Republican Party seemingly stood in peril. It had been drubbed in the post-Watergate elections of 1974. And now it experienced an increasingly abrasive fight between moderate and conservative factions over its impending presidential nomination. Conservatives, in fact, hoped to replace sitting Republican President Gerald Ford. Thus, pundits like Lou Cannon and David Broder suggested that the party hovered near its death-bed. And on several occasions that spring, Maryland's moderate Republican Sen. Charles Mathias warned that unless his party mended its ways, it would "go the way of the Whigs."

This was a dire forecast indeed. The political home of Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and even Abraham Lincoln, the Whig Party had competed on reasonably even terms with Democrats between 1834 and 1852. After that year, however, the party suffered a rancorous sectional rupture, institutional implosion, and abandonment by virtually all of its one-time adherents, leaders and followers alike. By the end of the decade it was, as many one-time Whigs themselves lamented, "dead and buried."

As we know, Republicans did not suffer that fate in 1976 or in the four subsequent decades. But what about now, when the increasingly rancorous battle between insider and outsider forces within the party grows more brutal and ugly every day, and each threatens to boycott the others' candidates should they win the presidential nomination? Does the Whigs' sorry story provide a template pointing to what might become the GOP's fate now?

There are striking similarities, but also some crucial differences, between what befell the Whigs in the 1850s and Republicans' fractious situation today. The Whigs' final national convention in 1852, for example, was seriously split over the platform and among three contenders for the presidential nomination: Incumbent President Millard Fillmore, southern Whigs' decided favorite; his Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, backed almost exclusively by New Englanders; and Mexican War hero Gen. Winfield Scott, the choice of most northern Whigs. Fillmore, Webster, and their supporters insisted that the Whig platform declare the Compromise of 1850 a final, unamendable settlement of all slavery questions. Most northern Whigs, having resisted passage of the compromise in Congress and denounced its proslavery concessions after its passage, opposed that commitment. Together, the pro-compromise men had a majority at the convention and prevailed in the platform fight. But for 53 consecutive roll call votes over three days (Yep, 53 ballots!), they divided their support between Fillmore and Webster rather than combining behind either man, allowing Scott, whom most southern

Whigs mistakenly distrusted as anti-compromise, to snatch the nomination. The upshot: Northern Whigs publicly repudiated the platform while southern Whigs publicly repudiated the candidate. Indeed, upon the convention's adjournment, nine sitting southern Whig congressmen immediately issued a public letter vowing that they would never vote for Scott. (Sound familiar?)

Aware that the Deep South was hopelessly lost, the Whigs' campaign for Scott clumsily and unsuccessfully focused on winning over naturalized Catholic immigrants, who had traditionally supported Democrats and whose numbers in northern states were soaring. The result was disaster. Southern Whigs abstained in droves; so did normally Whig, Catholic-hating Presbyterians and Methodists in key northern states; and the northern Democratic vote surged with the infusion of new immigrant voters. The hapless Whigs carried only four of 31 states with a mere 14% of the electoral votes in what Whigs themselves pronounced a "Waterloo defeat." To boot, they had managed to permanently alienate nativist Protestants, who vowed to look elsewhere for a new political home because they no longer trusted establishment Whig leaders. This 1852 result -- a Whig rout attributable to shrunken turnout for their party and a swollen turnout by immigrants for the Democratic enemy -- is, of course, precisely what many establishment Republicans fear their party will duplicate in 2016 should Donald Trump or Ted Cruz be their nominee.

Yet this defeat in a presidential election was NOT what killed the Whig Party. Rather it died because its voters decamped to new, non-Whig, anti-Democratic parties in the local, congressional, and state elections of 1853, 1854, and 1855 before the next presidential election in 1856. By that election, the Whig Party was already a hollowed-out shell. A host of splinter parties arose in those off-year contests, but two were most important. Of these, the more well-known is the Republican Party, which emerged in the North to protest enactment of Democrats' Kansas-Nebraska Act in May 1854. Reaction to that law split northern and southern Whigs against each other, decimated northern Democratic congressional candidates in 1854 and 1855, and caused the majority of northern voters to coalesce gradually behind the overtly anti-southern, anti-slavery-extension Republican Party, a process substantially, but not yet fully, completed by the 1856 presidential election. The rise of the Republican Party depended upon, even as it helped cause, the death of the Whig Party. But it has little relevance to the situation of today's Republican Party.

Far more parallel to the contemporary situation was the rise of notorious Know-Nothing Party, which in fact did far more to gut the Whig Party before 1856 than did Republicans' exploitation of anti-southern hostility. Economic dislocation that destroyed blue-collar jobs, unemployment during a severe recession in 1854 and 1855, and the palpable growth of both the foreign-born population and the Catholic Church, which in precisely those years demanded that local governments divide local tax

revenues between public and Catholic parochial schools, allowed Know-Nothings to exploit burgeoning religious and anti-immigrant prejudices.

Know-Nothings allowed angry voters to vent more than religious and ethnic prejudices. They also allowed them to smite established Whig and Democratic leaders who had betrayed them by groveling so overtly for Catholic and immigrant support. A genuinely spontaneous, populist grassroots revolt of angry working- and lower middle-class dissidents, Know-Nothings initially pledged

that they would never support any candidate who had ever held or previously sought public office. All professional politicians, they ranted, were the enemy. In their oft-repeated phrase, they exclusively sought candidates "fresh from the ranks of the people."

In its causes and expression, in sum, the Know-Nothing uprising of the 1850s comes as close to previewing today's Trump phenomenon as one can imagine. Yet it took a different form than the Trump crusade, and that is the all-important difference between then and now. ❖

Translating today's political lingo

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – With political lingo more crude and rude this year, it's time to update my translation of what candidates really mean when they say what they say.



Candidate: "He has lied about my record, lied about what he said, lied about what I said."

Translation: "Hey, it's the new way of saying we differ on the issue."

Candidate: "I'm (candidate name) and I approve this message." **Translation:** "I know it's a mean, underhanded attack. But my consultants said I had to approve this TV attack if I want to

destroy my opponent."

Candidate: "My opponent was the first to go negative." **Translation:** "Darn. Beat me to the punch."

Candidate: "The news media never tell the truth about me." **Translation:** "Good thing. If they ever find the truth, I'm done."

Candidate: "I'm glad you asked that question. It's a great question about an important issue facing us today and threatening the future of our children and grandchildren. I'm appointing a blue-ribbon committee of nationally known experts to study this vital issue. It'll be a great study. And when I get the recommendations from the experts, I'll present a detailed position paper to make clear exactly where I stand." **Translation:** "Haven't the slightest idea how to answer that question."

Candidate: "It has come to my attention that there are a few mistakes in my campaign literature. Little things on college degrees, military service, awards and employment. I was unaware of these mistakes by my staff. But I won't let some silly typo or staff carelessness divert attention from what's really important in this campaign." **Translation:** "They caught me."

Candidate: "That comment was taken out of context." **Translation:** "I didn't know somebody was recording what I said at that fundraiser."

Candidate: "I pledge to continue an all-out, vigorous campaign, fighting for every vote." **Translation:** "Gonna really get dirty now."

Candidate: "I will pay for my plan by cutting waste, fraud and abuse." **Translation:** "Don't know how to pay for it. I'll just use that old line. Always fools the voters. Make 'em think my administration really would have a magic way to make waste disappear."

Candidate: "I'll bring a businesslike approach to government." **Translation:** "Yeah, I'll bring government business to my big contributors in the corporate world."

Candidate: "I pay no attention to the polls. Never look at 'em. What's important to me is the size and enthusiasm of this great crowd right here tonight." **Translation:** "I check my own polls three times a day. Can't cite 'em when I'm down by 20 points."

Candidate: "My friends, we are winning. A new WNUT poll shows us winning big in this state." **Translation:** "Small sample. Lead is within the margin for error. But if you got a poll lead anywhere, flaunt it."

Candidate: "I'll bring change." **Translation:** "I'll bring a quarter, two dimes and a nickel. That's about all the change left in my campaign after those dismal losses dried up my contributions."

Candidate: "My opponents complain that I'm a one-issue candidate. Not true. I know and care about all the issues. But right now I stress again the issue that they want me to forget. It's the most important issue facing this country." **Translation:** "It's the only issue I know anything about."

Candidate: "I won't accept a dime from (name special interest) ever." **Translation:** "Sure wish I'd get some contributions from 'em, but I know they'll never support me."

Candidate: "I'm no politician." **Translation:** "I try to sound like I'm above politics, not admit that every move I make is political." ❖

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

Weak data short circuits tax policy

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – When last we visited Boss Bosco of the Indiana General Assembly he was sleeping off his egg nog. Today he is fresh and frisky. “Over here, son,” he calls in his legislative baritone.

“Boss,” I ask anxiously, “did you bring your spreadsheet showing your plan to return sales tax to Indiana counties?”

“Right here,” he says, unfolding a set of papers. “It’s all here. In 2014, the Indiana Department of Revenue (DOR) collected \$6.3 billion in sales taxes or \$953 for each of the 6.6 million Hoosiers.”

“I understand you would allow local governments to raise the sales tax within their jurisdictions,” I say.

“No,” he replies. “Sober, I see it would only increase competition between communities while confusing consumers and businesses. Let’s just increase the state sales tax by a penny and give all that new revenue back to the counties.”

“How much will that be?” I ask.

“Based on the 2014 data from DOR, I estimate \$900 million,” he says. “That equals an added \$136 per person for local schools and other government services.”

“And how would the money be distributed to each county? By population? By where the dollars are collected?” I push for clarity.

“Yes and yes,” the Boss replies. “But first, you do know all this is subject to getting more accurate data from the DOR?”

“What,” I gasp. “We can’t trust DOR numbers?”

“They do as best they can,” the Boss says, “but they warn us not to take their numbers seriously for any meaningful purpose. That’s because their total of collections in each county accounts for just 53 percent of state-wide sales tax collections.

“**Our kindly legislature,**” he continues, “still allows firms to send in consolidated reports lumping counties together. Therefore, we don’t know where 47 percent of the sales taxes originate.”

“In this day and age of computers?” I explode.

“My boy,” the Boss calms me, “our beloved General Assembly is not of this day and age, and a few companies of considerable influence may resist detailed reporting for what they claim are competitive reasons.”

“All right,” I acknowledge, “let’s see the results based on the imperfect DOR information. Who’s going to get how much of those \$900 million?”

“If,” he says, “we give equal weight to population and place of collection, Marion County gets \$169 million

(18.8 percent of the \$900) and Lake gets \$76 million (8.4 percent). See for yourself.”

I look at the spreadsheet. Only 11 Indiana counties have higher percentages of retail sales tax collections than they do percentages of population. In the other 81 counties, population out-weighs retail sales.

It’s easy to understand that Vanderburgh County (Evansville) is a shopping center (5.6 percent of sales tax revenue as reported vs. just 2.8 percent of population. But why aren’t Allen, Howard and Johnson counties retail centers? Is it because companies operating in those counties report from headquarters elsewhere in Indiana?

“What will it take to end this gross distortion in the DOR data?” I ask. Boss Bosco just smiles, shrugs his shoulders, and walks away. ❖

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



Manufacturing jobs, production & snake oil

By **MICHAEL HICKS**

MUNCIE – The Department of Commerce data have just been released, and 2015 was another record year for manufacturing production in the United States, as I expect will be the case for Indiana when those numbers come out. Simply put, when you adjust for inflation, American manufacturing firms are making more goods



altogether than at any other time in history. This is not some slick statistical artifice. We made more cars here in Indiana and across the U.S. in 2015 than in any other year in history.

American manufacturing has never been stronger, yet the airwaves are cluttered with snake oil purveyors who tell us otherwise. They rely on widespread fear and anger, with which I understand. But, these demagogues also prey on our ignorance, for which there is no excuse.

Employment in American manufacturing has been growing since 2010, the longest period of growth since the 1994-2000 stretch, right after NAFTA. While these small periods of growth tell us something about the effects of international trade, they are only transient. Indiana has been losing manufacturing employment for a half century and the nation as a whole has for 40 years.

The readily knowable fact is that for the past half century American manufacturing production has been booming, while manufacturing employment has been in

decline. The reason for this is that Americans businesses are very good at manufacturing, thus able to produce more with far fewer workers. It is really that simple.

Trade also has grown, and our imports minus exports now account for 3 percent of GDP. My research, published in 2014, says that about 13 percent of lost jobs over the past decade are due to this widening trade gap. Most economists calculate a much smaller figure, but there's no need to quibble on the big picture. The huge loss of manufacturing jobs at a time when manufacturing production is at record levels cannot be explained away by a 3 percent trade gap.

I write these things not simply because facts and truth matter, but because demagogues in both parties wish to convince voters that globalization is a proximal cause of their own woes. That is an attractive falsehood. It appeals to ignorance and cowardice, of which we should be collec-

tively embarrassed. The illusion of damage from free trade also appeals to the eyes. We can see stores full of Chinese made goods and shuttered factories across the Midwest. But, these eyes deceive us. They also tell us the earth is flat.

Our public debate ought to be about what steps we can take to help workers who have lost their jobs, whether to machines or foreign labor. Instead of bashing workers abroad, we should look to our city and county leaders to make our neighborhoods and schools stronger. Our problems and our solutions are domestic, and have always been thus.

These truths are unappealing. It is far more popular to sell false cures for globalization that pander to the fears and insecurities of the most ill-informed and myopic among us. I know we can do better. I am not sure we deserve to. ❖

Mark Becker could be Ferguson's gain

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – Mark Becker isn't a bad sort for a Cheesehead. Yeah, the Wisconsin native is a diehard Green Bay Packers fan. He's also a pretty bright guy; he's sarcastic and his dry sense of humor makes deserts seem damp. He is so straight that he has been a guest lecturer on ethics in law enforcement at Calumet College of St. Joseph. And, he knows cops and what makes them tick. And he knows what community policing is all about. That's why he's a finalist for the Ferguson, Mo., police chief's job.



Ferguson is the city that still is struggling with civil unrest after a white police officer fatally shot a black youth. Should he get the Ferguson job, it will be Missouri's gain and Northwest Indiana's loss.

I first met Becker almost three decades ago in the FBI office in Merrillville. He pretty much was spending his time investigating white-collar crime. Becker came to prominence in 1991 when he was a key part of a multi-jurisdictional task force that investigated and caught the so-called "shotgun killer," who was responsible for seven random killings and five attacks during 11 incidents.

Becker found his niche in the 1990s when he led the newly formed Gary Response Investigative Team that had two primary goals – put gang members in jail and reduce the city's homicide rate. Gary at the time was the "murder capital" of America based on the number of homicides per 100,000 residents.

Becker's team worked the streets of Gary for 20 years, helping the city shed the murder capital label as the number of homicides was cut in half. Shortly after retiring from the FBI in 2007, Becker was named police chief by Portage Mayor Olga Velasquez. Becker brought the police department up to speed to help it handle the challenges of a changing city. Unfortunately for Portage, when James Snyder defeated Velasquez four years later, the new mayor fired Becker for purely political reasons.

That might not have been all bad since new Gary Mayor Karen Freeman-Wilson inherited a city with a multitude of crime problems and a police department that had been riddled with politics for decades. No one knew Gary and its problems better than Becker, who wanted the chief's job in the worst way. But, Freeman-Wilson refused to hire a chief who either didn't live in Gary or rejected the idea of moving into the city. So Freeman-Wilson turned down the best chief she could have hired. And crime remains Gary's primary problem.

While Gary lost out, East Chicago turned out to be the winner. East Chicago Mayor Anthony Copeland named Becker chief of police. Becker promised Copeland three years and gave him four. And in the process, Becker turned what might have been the most corrupt police department in the state into a respected organization. For the first time in history, police officers advanced through merit promotions, not politics.

Becker left the East Chicago Police Department a week ago and was named a finalist for the Ferguson job. Wouldn't it be something if Becker got the job in Missouri, especially in light of the fact that Freeman-Wilson rejected him for Gary? ❖

Rich James has been writing about state and local government and politics for more than 30 years. He is a columnist for The Times of Northwest Indiana.

Vi Simpson, Howey Politics Indiana: This week, as our nation kicks off Women's History Month, Indiana made history of a different kind. The third woman to hold the position of lieutenant governor stepped down. A man, who is lockstep with Gov. Mike Pence on his ideological world view, takes her place. Somehow, I don't think this transition will be highlighted in our state's coming bicentennial celebrations. Lt. Gov. Sue Ellspermann brought a diverse background in manufacturing, academics and consulting to state government, where she also served in the General Assembly. She continued the good work of former Lt. Govs. Kathy Davis and Becky Skillman in revitalizing Indiana communities, and was a strong surrogate for Gov. Pence. Regardless of the reason, Gov. Pence's decision to replace the able and accomplished Sue Ellspermann with Eric Holcomb speaks volumes about what he values in the person who is literally a heartbeat away from the governor's office. What lesson we can learn from Lt. Gov. Ellspermann's early departure is clear. We still have a great deal of work ahead to move women forward in our state, and we need positive leadership at the Statehouse, not obstructionism. ❖



the notion that Trump has a real shot at winning in November. Start with the basic electoral math. At the national level, Trump trails Clinton by more than three percentage points in the RealClearPolitics polling average, and she has led him in 15 of 17 national polls since December. Trump clearly does the worst against her of the possible Republican nominees. His unfavorables are historically high for a general election nominee. And if "more than three points" doesn't sound impressive, note that Barack Obama rarely led Mitt Romney by more than three points in the polling averages — and he won easily. What state polling we have suggests that Clinton, like Obama, will start with 220 or 230 electoral votes safe or close to that amount, leaving Trump little room for error. Breaking the numbers down demographically makes Trump's path look even steeper. In 2012, Romney easily won the non-Hispanic white vote, but it wasn't nearly enough to overcome his poor showing among Hispanics, who broke 71 to 27 percent for Obama. A recent Post-Univision News poll found that 80 percent of Hispanics have an unfavorable view of Trump. Given that the electorate is expected to be less white than it was in 2012, Trump would have to win an unprecedented share of the white vote to stand a chance. Some have suggested that record turnout in the Republican primaries bodes ill for the Democrats come November. In 1980 and 1988, millions more people voted in the Democratic primaries than in the Republican contests — and Democrats lost in the fall. In 2000, Republicans had the edge, and the GOP lost the popular vote. ❖

Thomas Friedman, New York Times: Donald Trump is a walking political science course. His meteoric rise is lesson No. 1 on leadership: Most voters do not listen through their ears. They listen through their stomachs. If a leader can connect with them on a gut level, their response is: "Don't bother me with the details. I trust your instincts." If a leader can't connect on a gut level, he or she can't show them enough particulars. Democrats take Trump lightly at their peril. He is still sitting with three aces that he hasn't played yet. They could all come out in the general election. One ace is that if he wins the nomination he will have no problem moving to the center to appeal to independents and minorities. He will have no problem playing the moderate unifier — and plenty of people will buy it, saying: "Why not give him a chance? He says he can make us winners." His second ace is that given the position he staked out on terrorism, if, God forbid, there is a major terrorist attack on our soil between now and Election Day, Trump will reap enormous political benefits. Watch out. I've seen how one well-timed terrorist attack tilted an Israeli election. His third ace is that he will indeed go after Hillary Clinton in ways you never heard before and that will delight and bring back a lot of disaffected Republicans, whose hatred of Hillary knows no bounds. ❖

Bob Kravitz, WTHR-TV: You didn't just throw passes and win games in Indianapolis; you left a footprint. You became the athletic standard bearer for this community. Reggie Miller was great, Tamika Catchings is a civic blessing who is too often under-valued, but I think we can all agree, you were the most impactful athlete and civic citizen ever to come through these parts. And folks around here, they never forgot. Even after you went to the Denver Broncos, Indianapolis fans followed. When you won the most recent Super Bowl, people around here felt proud and proprietary, even if you were wearing Bronco orange. The truth is, you've never stopped being one of us. From a football standpoint, these things almost go without saying: Without you, the Colts are probably in Los Angeles. Without you, Lucas Oil Stadium never gets built. Without you, high school football doesn't become a prime recruiting ground for big-time programs. Without you, we don't have about 10,000 little Peytons, boys and girls, walking around this town. We all know you will be a first-ballot Hall of Famer and a soon-to-be member of the Colts Ring of Honor, but I'd take it a step further: I firmly believe there should be a Peyton Manning statue outside of Lucas Oil Stadium. You didn't just change Indy, lead the transition from a basketball town to a football town. You changed the game, the NFL game. ❖

James Downie, Washington Post: For months, political observers said over and over that the GOP front-runner wouldn't win the nomination. But after accumulating seven more victories on Super Tuesday, bringing his total to 11 of the first 15 states, Donald Trump has destroyed that conventional wisdom and looks likely to be Hillary Clinton's opponent in the fall. Let's dispense with

Kasich leads in Ohio Fox poll

WASHINGTON — Ohio Governor John Kasich bests Donald Trump among Buckeye Republicans by a 34 to 29 percent margin. Ted Cruz is third with 19 percent. Marco Rubio trails with just 7 percent. That's according to a new Fox News poll of Ohio likely Republican primary voters. The governor's edge is within the poll's margin of sampling error. Kasich is bolstered by positive evaluations of his job performance as governor. He has a sky high 79 percent approval rating among the Ohio party faithful. Even so, nearly one quarter of Kasich supporters say they could end up voting for another candidate (23 percent). For Trump supporters, 19 percent say they may change their mind. Who would they pick? Kasich (21 percent) and Rubio (19 percent) top the "second-choice" list, with Cruz close behind (17 percent). Trump is the second choice for only 12 percent. Nearly half of Ohio GOP voters are evangelical Christians, and they prefer Kasich over Trump and Cruz (32-27-23 percent). Home-state preference seems to be at work: Fox News exit polls of 2016 Republican contests held so far have found either Cruz or Trump always winning the evangelical bloc.

Trump trouncing Rubio in Florida

WASHINGTON — Less than a week until the first winner-take-all Republican primaries, Donald Trump is trouncing Marco Rubio on his home turf, according to a new Fox News poll. In the race for the Republican nomination, Trump receives 43 percent among Florida likely GOP primary voters. Rubio is a distant second with 20 percent, closely followed by Ted Cruz at 16 percent. John Kasich comes in fourth with 10 percent. Here

is what's driving the vote: a 63-percent majority of likely Republican primary voters feels "betrayed" by politicians in their party -- and they go heavily for Trump over Cruz (49-18 percent), with Rubio and Kasich way behind (12 percent and 11 percent respectively). In addition, just 48 percent of Sunshine State GOPers approve of the job Rubio is doing as senator, while 38 percent disapprove.

Clinton, Sanders in for a long grind

MIAMI — Democrats got a taste Wednesday night of where their nominating contest between Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders could be heading — toward a grueling and increasingly contentious battle that could continue until the primaries end in June (Balz, Washington Post). A few days ago, Wednesday's debate here appeared as if it might be an anticlimax as Clinton rolled toward the nomination. Instead, Sanders arrived reenergized and reinvigorated after his surprising victory in Michigan. Rather than questions about Sanders's viability, Clinton faced questions about what had gone wrong with her campaign. The two squabbled at length over immigration. They traded charges over bailing out the automobile industry. They argued again over health care and about how to combat climate change. A quiet start turned into a spirited and at times tense series of exchanges that highlighted their differences and the state of their competition.

Final chapter for Caveat Emptor

BLOOMINGTON — The way Janis Starcs, owner of Caveat Emptor, talks about the history of central Eurasian studies soon may be the way his customers talk about the established secondhand bookstore in downtown Bloomington as it enters its final chapter this August. "You learn that history is never over," said Starcs,

one of five book-lovers who opened the store in 1971. "The past is never 'always the past,' and the things that happened hundreds of years ago can still be remembered. They're still very much alive." It's a literary map of Starcs' varied interests over the years, and when the store's lease expires this August, they may soon become the interests of another intellectual. If Starcs doesn't find a buyer for the business and his gargantuan inventory, he says the store probably will reduce its hours and have what he calls an epic sale.

Deputy in Boone shooting revealed

LEBANON — Boone County Sheriff Mike Nielsen has suspended a deputy who accidentally fired a handgun in the courthouse. Deputy R.T. Krise was suspended for two days after he accidentally fired a handgun in the Boone County Courthouse Feb. 5, said Bob Clutter, an attorney for the sheriff's department. Nielsen initially refused to release the deputy's name. He decided to release the Krise's name in response to a request from IndyStar. In releasing the information, Clutter said he agreed with a 2008 opinion from the Indiana Public Access Counselor that states that public agencies must release disciplinary records when an employee has been fired, demoted or suspended.

Gholston convicted for teen's murder

INDIANAPOLIS — A jury has convicted a man charged with killing a Ben Davis student and setting her body on fire to try to cover up the crime (WTHR-TV). A jury found William Gholston guilty of felony murder in the August 31, 2014 murder of Ben Davis High School student Dominique Allen, who disappeared from a relative's front porch around 4:00 am in August 2014. She was 15 years old. Family and friends of the slain teen embraced in the hallway outside the courtroom after the verdict was read.

