



The coming \$100 million Senate race

\$75 million Senate race in 2016; money floods in; Hill, Braun may enter

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – In 1998, the U.S. Senate race between Democrat Evan Bayh and Republican Paul Helmke ended up in the \$4 million range. In 2010, Republican Dan Coats and Democrat Brad Ellsworth spent \$9 million. And in 2012, Sen. Dick Lugar, Treasurer Richard Mourdock and Democrat Joe Donnelly saw a combined \$51 million course through their campaigns, including \$32,844,0452 from outside groups.

Howey Politics Indiana added up the total cost of the 2016 showdown between Republican Todd Young and Democrat Evan Bayh, along with Democrat Baron Hill



and Republicans Eric Holcomb and Marlin Stutzman, and it topped \$75 million.

With the Senate balance in the 2018 mid-terms potentially hanging on U.S. Sen. Donnelly's reelection, Hoosiers are probably looking at a \$100 million race. U.S.

Continued on page 3

Director Comey's rebuke

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – It was a stark assessment from the fired FBI Director James Comey: The president of the United States is a liar.

In the May 9 dismissal by President Trump, Comey told the Senate Intelligence Committee in sensational testimony Thursday, "The administration then chose to defame me and more importantly the FBI, by saying the organization was poorly led. Those were lies, plain and simple." At least five other times, Comey questioned the truthfulness of President Trump.

It brought about this response from White House spokes-



“Despite so many false statements and lies, total and complete vindication ... and WOW, Comey is a leaker.”

- President Trump tweeting his reaction to the James Comey testimony today





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man Sarah Huckabee Sanders: "I can definitely say the president is not a liar. It's frankly insulting that that question would be asked." It was akin to President Nixon saying in 1973, "I'm not a crook."

Trump, speaking Thursday at the Faith and Freedom Coalition in Washington, said before the Comey session was over, "We are under siege," but that "we will come out bigger and better and stronger than ever." Going into the testimony, there was wide speculation that Trump would be tweeting, but didn't until this morning when he said, "Despite so many false statements and lies, total and complete vindication...and WOW, Comey is a leaker!"

For three riveting hours, Americans got Comey's assessment of Trump's character. We learned that Comey leaked his extensive memo to the media via a Columbia University law professor about the February dinner he had with Trump. We learned that Trump repeatedly pressed Comey for his "loyalty."

The former director said that senior FBI officials were "shocked" by Trump's appeals to drop the Russian probe and lay off former security adviser Mike Flynn. Comey said he didn't have the "presence of mind" or courage to tell Trump the request was inappropriate.

"I was fired, in some way to change the way the Russia investigation was being conducted," Comey said. "And that is a very big deal. I took it as a direction. I mean, it's the president of the United States with me saying, 'I hope this' ... I took it as this is what he wants me to do," Comey said. "I didn't obey that. But that's the way I took it. I felt my job was contingent upon how well he thought I was doing and whether I demonstrated loyalty."

Asked why he didn't rebuff Trump, Comey said, "Maybe if I were stronger I would have; I was so stunned by the conversation that I just took it in."

The other huge takeaway was that Comey believes that the Kremlin sought to interfere in the American election, though he doesn't believe the Russians were able to penetrate state voting systems. "They are coming after us. That happened. That's about as unfake as you can possibly get, and it's very, very serious," Comey said. "The Russians interfered in our election in 2016. They did it with purpose, with sophistication. There is no fuzz on that."

And Trump found former Attorney General Loretta Lynch's conduct during the Hillary Clinton email probe "concerning," saying she wanted the FBI chief to frame it as a "matter" instead of an "investigation."

Another key takeaway was that committee Republicans were not partisan in their questions, with Idaho Sen. James Risch actually praising the former director.

While the White House declared the president "vindicated" by the Comey statement released on Wednesday and then



the testimony Thursday that Comey had told Trump he wasn't the target of the investigation, the new reality is that due to Trump's pressing for a "quid pro quo" on Comey remaining in office for a termination of the Russia probe, the investigation of Special Counsel Robert Mueller could very well end up in the Oval Office.

Judge Andrew Napolitano, a Fox News commentator, called the Comey session potentially dangerous for Trump. While Comey's testimony didn't expressly indicate a criminal act, Napolitano said, "It advanced the ball on the seriousness of this. You get a very, very credible and compelling argument that president of the United States has not been truthful with the American people."

Comey's testimony came a day after Director of National Intelligence Dan Coats and Natural Security Agency Adm. Mike Rogers refused to reveal specific conversations with

Trump, saying they didn't feel "pressured" by Trump to end the probe, as the Washington Post reported, but they would not confirm or deny that the topic had come up.

And in a Watergate parallel, Comey offered his memos of nine conversations with Trump, then said he hoped Trump would turn over audio tapes he has claimed on Twitter to possess, saying at one point, "I've seen the tweet about 'tapes' and Lordy, I hope there are tapes."

"The president surely knows if he taped me. And if he did, my feelings aren't hurt," Comey said. "Release all the tapes." The White House has yet to confirm the tapes exist, but if they do, the idea that a Watergate-style "smoking gun" is out there could be enough to bring down this presidency.

When U.S. Sen. Dianne Feinstein pressed Comey on whether he was fired due to the Russian probe, Comey responded, "Yes, because I've seen the president say so." That was in reference to Trump's interview with NBC's Lester Holt in which he contradicted Vice President Mike Pence and press secretary Sean Spicer saying the firing was based on a Department of Justice memo. "And in fact when I decided to just do it, I said to myself, I said 'you know, this Russia thing with Trump and Russia is a made-up story, it's an excuse by the Democrats for having lost an election that they should have won,'" Trump had told Holt.

Just hours before, White House said Trump had fired Comey solely on the recommendation of the deputy attorney general for his handling of the Clinton email investigation. Vice President Mike Pence told reporters on Capitol Hill, "He provided strong leadership ... to act on the recommendation of the deputy attorney general."

Former Director of National Intelligence James Clapper reacted, saying, "What I saw today reinforced" that Russia scandal more serious than Watergate. "Quite damning and very disturbing."

The Weekly Standard's William Kristol tweeted, "I happen to have seen various GOP Senators this afternoon. Trust me: Basically, they're not just concerned. They're pretty terrified."

The Wall Street Journal editorialized today, calling Comey's testimony a "passion play" whose testimony "did expose the methods of the highly political former FBI director" and said he should have resigned.

Speaker Paul Ryan defended Trump, saying Trump wasn't "steeped in the long-running protocols" of how to interact with law enforcement and is "new at this." He added, "When the FBI director tells him on three different occasions he is not under investigation, yet the speculation swirls around the political system that he is, that's frustrating. I think the American people now know why he was frustrated." ❖

\$100 million race, from page 1

Reps. Luke Messer and Todd Rokita are expected to post around \$2 million when the second quarter FEC reports are filed next month. The Republican field also includes businessman Terry Henderson, Kokomo attorney Mark Hurt and New Albany educator Andrew Takami. Donnelly reported \$1.3 million raised in the first quarter and is also expected to top the \$2 million mark.

Attorney General Curtis Hill was asked Howey Politics Indiana on Tuesday if he is considering a Senate bid. "I'm very busy with my job as attorney general. I am 100% focused on what I'm doing here," said Hill. "I've heard comments and I've also been approached by people. I think people are looking for bold, fresh leadership in all areas of government, including the United States Senate. For now I'm doing my job and feel pretty good about how we're doing and will stay focused on that."

With Hill, the former Elkhart County prosecutor, essentially keeping his name in the 2018 scenario, we asked if the low approval of Congress might provide an



State Sen. Mike Delph

opening for an outsider, and he responded, "I don't know if that's a factor. In the attorney general's race, I came in from northern Indiana, outside of ordinary courses of the political process in Indianapolis and I think that's played a role in my success as attorney general. I don't see that changing. I think it's good to have a healthy perspective outside the so-called normal processes and I'll remain true to that."

Another potential candidate is State Rep. Mike Braun, whom The Hill described as a potential self-funding candidate. "I have not officially declared," Braun told the Washington Times-Herald, "But I have been kicking the tires, talking with people and seeing what kind of support I might have. So far, I have received a lot of encouragement to get into the race." Braun says he expects to have a decision on whether he will be a candidate by Aug. 1. State Sen. Mike Delph told HPI last month that he will talk about the Senate race in late June. So there could be up to eight Republican candidates vying for the nomination to challenge Donnelly. That has the potential to gin up fantastic money totals.

The real game changer occurred in January 2010 when on a 5-4 U.S. Supreme Court decision in the Citizens

United v. Federal Election Commission it was ruled that the 1st Amendment protection of free speech prohibited the government from restricting independent political expenditures by nonprofit corporations, for-profit corporations, labor unions and other associations. Since then there has been a flood of PAC, Super PAC and 501 funds.

Once a candidacy is declared, campaigns cannot coordinate with Super PACs. This could be a reason why Messer and Rokita may wait until later this summer to declare. Messer's annual barbecue at Morristown is scheduled for Aug. 12, and some Republican sources tell HPI he is likely to enter the race then.

The \$75 million 2016 race

The 2016 Senate race featured two of the top all-time fundraisers in Young and Bayh, who resurfaced last July with a beginning cash balance of \$9.98 million. Bayh made a total of \$13.588 million in disbursements, compared to \$11.39 million for Young in a race Young won 52-42% after the Republican and outside groups essentially destroyed the durable Bayh brand that allowed him to win five state-wide campaigns for secretary of state, governor and U.S. Senate.

Republican U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman had \$2.92 million in disbursements, Eric Holcomb had \$511,094, and original Democratic nominee Baron Hill had \$1.15 million. Among these five candidates, they disbursed \$29,672,136. That figure could have been higher had Gov. Mike Pence not chosen Holcomb as his lieutenant governor nominee in February, 2016. Holcomb told HPI that he and his wife Janet had plans to self-fund the homestretch of that primary battle.

But the real fuel for this race came with the Super PACs, PACs and 501s, which funneled in \$45,983,332. The big spenders included the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee PAC at \$7,833,646 and the Senate Majority SuperPAC, \$5,083,309 on behalf of Bayh.

Big spenders for Young included the Senate Leadership

Fund at \$12,682,214; National Republican Senatorial Committee PAC at \$4,917,671; NRA Institute for Legislative Action, \$2,190,090; U.S. Chamber of Commerce, \$2,749,450.

'Crazy' spending

The opening spending skirmishes in this Senate race began in February when the conservative Judicial Crisis Network ran ads pushing Donnelly to vote for Supreme Court Justice Neil Gorsuch, which the senator did.

Over the past couple of weeks, Majority Forward, a Democrat PAC designed to back state legislative candidates, is running cable ads on behalf of Donnelly, describing him as a job creator. So a little less than two years away from the November 2018 election, the ad dollars are already pouring in.

Donnelly campaign manager Peter Hanscom told HPI that \$1.5 million of outside money has already been spent against Donnelly by conservative groups like Judicial Crisis Network, the NRA and Susan B. Anthony Fund. Majority Forward is spending \$600,000 on 500 gross rating points in Indianapolis, South Bend and Fort Wayne.

"I think we're looking at the most expensive Senate race in state history," Hanscom said. "It's only 2017."

Messer and Rokita begin this cycle with roughly the same amount of money. Messer reported \$1.6 million for the first quarter, compared to Rokita's \$1.55 million. Rokita told HPI last month that he has an \$8 million finance network. Both have high rolling finance teams, with Bob Grand and Jim Kittle backing Messer while Rokita has Dan Dumezich on his team.

Tim Edson, a general campaign consultant for Rokita, called the explosion of outside money "crazy" and suggested that 2018 could breach the \$100 million mark. "When you consider the Senate race will be at top of the ticket, with the focus not on a presidential race, the 2018 race could equal if not surpass 2016," Edson said on Tuesday. "We have



2016 Senate Candidate spending

Todd Young (R)

Total receipts: \$10,698,358
Total contributions: \$9,647,139
Total disbursements: \$11,394,679
Beginning cash on hand: \$761,714
Ending cash on hand: \$65,392

Marlin Stutzman (R)

Total receipts: \$2,459,512
Total disbursements: \$2,927,150
Beginning cash: \$469,796
Ending cash: \$877

Eric Holcomb (R)

Total receipts: \$511,094
Total disbursements: \$511,094
Beginning and ending balance: 0

Evan Bayh (D)

Total receipts: \$4,513,158
Total disbursements: \$13,588,564
Beginning cash: \$9,983,284
Ending cash: \$889,086

Baron Hill (D)

Total receipts: \$1,386,201
Total disbursements: \$1,150,649
Beginning cash: 0

heard some say it could cost upward to \$100 million.”

Edson added, “I think that obviously the Citizens United is the big reason why these numbers have jumped. You have all this outside money pouring and some folks are already wringing hands. They say a competitive primary is going to hurt the party, but that’s ancient history.”

Edson noted the Majority Forward advertising on behalf of Donnelly, saying, “National Democrats have polled and see that he’s very vulnerable to definition. They’re trying to inoculate him.”

Emily Daniels, finance director for Messer, would not confirm when Messer will enter the race. His

annual barbecue is scheduled for Aug. 12. “The Messer Family BBQ is a premiere Hoosier grassroots political event and we are excited that this year will mark the sixth annual BBQ,” she said. “There is no definitive timeline for a campaign kickoff.”

Messer spokesman Jason Kneeland told HPI of an official entry into the race, “We don’t have a definitive timeline on that. It’s going to be a huge race that will get all kinds of national money, since it’s being a mid-term. People all over the country will be watching this. Periodicals are calling it the No. 1 race for both parties. There will be a ton of money spent. Our finance committee is

2016 Indiana Senate race outside spending

| | | |
|---|---------------------|--------------|
| 60 Plus Assn | \$23,250 | Conservative |
| American Federal of State, County & Municipal Employees PAC | \$1,378,554 | Liberal |
| American Federation of Teachers PAC | \$411,480 | L |
| Americans for Prosperity 501 | \$1,457,981 | C |
| Associated Builders and Contractors 501 | \$354,000 | C |
| Citizens United PAC | \$27,318 | C |
| Club For Growth PAC | \$13,395 | C |
| Defending Main Street SuperPAC | \$125,000 | C |
| Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee PAC | \$7,833,646 | L |
| Ending Spending Action Fund SuperPAC | \$1,230,614 | C |
| Freedom Partners Action Fund Super PAC | \$1,066,821 | C |
| Freedom Partners Chamber of Commerce 501 | \$4,510 | C |
| Indiana Republican State Committee PAC | \$5,070 | C |
| National Federation of Independent Business PAC | \$203,100 | C |
| National Republican Senatorial Committee PAC | \$4,917,671 | C |
| National Rifle Association PAC | \$648,740 | C |
| National Right to Life PAC | \$9,879 | C |
| National Right to Life SuperPAC | \$9,879 | C |
| NEA Advocacy Fund SuperPAC | \$822,642 | L |
| New Prosperity Foundation SuperPAC | \$415,000 | C |
| NRA Institute for Legislative Action | \$2,190,090 | C |
| One Nation 501 | \$378,308 | C |
| Rampart SuperPAC | \$13,437 | C |
| Senate Conservative Fund PAC | \$111,178 | C |
| Senate Leadership Fund | \$12,682,214 | C |
| Senate Majority SuperPAC | \$5,083,309 | L |
| U.S. Chamber of Commerce | \$2,749,450 | C |
| Vote Vets.org | \$1,578,763 | L |
| Working America 501 | \$61,148 | L |
| Working American Coalition SuperPAC | \$169,634 | L |
| Total: | \$45,983,332 | |
| Total PAC and candidates | \$75,555,468 | |

getting engaged. We're expecting a great quarter and be in line with where Todd Young was two years ago."

Kneeland said that Messer's past role as executive director of the Indiana Republican Party will give him an advantage, "not only the party, but with the grassroots, leading the party for a number of years."

As for the coming wave of money, Daniels said, "My guess is it will break all records. Indiana's 2018 U.S. Senate race is projected to be a top national target for Democrats and Republicans. That's why Indiana Republicans need a proven conservative leader and disciplined messenger in what will be a difficult environment."

Asked about Messer's second quarter FEC report, Daniels added, "Our statewide finance team is working hard and we are excited about the momentum on our side as our team grows every day. I expect the Messer



campaign's very strong fundraising to continue and a second quarter cash on hand total similar to the Young campaign in 2015.

Indiana Democratic spokesman Will Baskin-Gertz observed of the coming Republican primary donnybrook, "After both Congressman Messer and Congressman Rokita appeared to anonymously launch attacks at each other this spring in the press, the fighting is now out in the open, with one Rokita ally saying Congressman Messer 'needs the primary.' An expensive early fight seems to be right down the road, with the eventual nominee weakened heading into the fall."

"It's certainly going to be a pretty expensive race," Baskin-Gertz told HPI on Wednesday. "Where that money comes from, I think Joe will have the resources to defend his record." ❖

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Indiana reaction to Comey testimony

Howey Politics Indiana

INDIANAPOLIS – Here is reaction from the Indiana congressional delegation, academics and commentators to the testimony of former FBI Director James Comey on Thursday.

Donnelly 'very concerned'

Sen. Joe Donnelly told I-Team 8 Thursday that he was "very concerned" by former FBI Director James Comey's testimony that President Trump asked him to "let go" of the FBI's investigation into former National Security Adviser Michael Flynn (Haeberle, WISH-TV). "It's very, very concerning, but I will also defer to Robert Mueller. That's the purpose of the special counsel in this process is to review what did happen in regards to potential criminal investigation and to make those decisions," Donnelly told I-Team 8. Comey also revealed that while he was investigating the scandal surrounding Hillary Clinton's emails last year, that then-acting Attorney General Loretta Lynch asked him to refer to the FBI's inquiry as "a matter" rather than "an investigation." Donnelly, who stumped for Clinton in Indiana during last year's election, said Lynch never should've made that request. "As we look at this from both sides, the Justice Department should not be Democrat or Republican. The Justice Department works for the people of this country. Their boss is the U.S. Constitution and the people who live in this great nation. That's who I think Director Comey has worked for every single day," he said.

Carson says 'context matters'

U.S. Rep. Andre Carson (D-IN) says the context matters as much as the words (Berman, WIBC). He says when you're president, asking the FBI director to drop an investigation is an implied order, and Comey's testimony that Trump made sure he was alone with the director before making his pitch adds a layer of suspicion. He says congressional investigators and a Justice Department probe led by Comey's predecessor Robert Mueller will have to look at the possibility of obstruction of justice.

Rokita attacks 'rush to judgment' by media

In a written statement, Republican Rep. Todd Rokita emphasizes Comey's confirmation that he told Trump the president was not the subject of the FBI's investigation (Berman, WIBC). He attacks what he calls "a rush to judgment by Washington elites and many in the media," and says Congress should focus on "facts and evidence" relating to Russia's attempts to meddle in the election.

Banks says 'let's get back to business'

U.S. Rep. Jim Banks (R-IN) issued the following

statement regarding the Senate Intelligence Committee's hearing with former FBI Director James Comey: "My approach to this whole situation is simple – we need to follow the facts. Yesterday, Director of National Intelligence Dan Coats testified that he never felt pressured to interfere in the ongoing investigation. Today, Mr. Comey described some inappropriate interactions with President Trump but made it clear that the President has not interfered in any way with the FBI's investigation or engaged in illegal behavior. Mr. Comey also said that the President was never personally under investigation. Those hoping for fireworks or a smoking gun may be disappointed by today's hearing, but I am hopeful that now Congress can let the independent prosecutor do his job and draw conclusions once the official investigation is complete. We need to focus on the major legislative challenges before us, like reforming our broken tax code, rebuilding our military and improving the care our veterans receive."

Matthews doesn't see 'collusion'

MSNBC's Chris Matthews reacted, saying, "The assumption of the critics of the president, of his pursuers, you might say, is that somewhere along the line in the last year is the president had something to do with colluding with the Russians ... to affect the election in some way," Matthews said on MSNBC, following the testimony. "And yet what came apart this morning was that theory," Matthews said, listing two reasons why. First, he said Comey revealed that "Flynn wasn't central to the Russian investigation," and secondly, he said that kills the idea that Flynn might have been in a position to testify against Trump. "And if that's not the case, where's the there-there?"

Fleisher questions Comey leaks

Former White House spokesman Ari Fleisher Tweeted, "Comey needs to answer if he leaked other info. Was this the only time? If not, when? What issues? Agents can't leak. Nor (should) the Director."

IU experts react

Indiana University experts who watched James Comey's testimony Thursday were impressed by the former FBI director (Reschke, Bloomington Herald-Times). "I think Comey's testimony will be studied for a long time to come as to how to make an effective presentation to Congress," said Lee Hamilton, a professor of practice in the School of Public and Environmental Affairs. "He showed brilliance in typing up notes afterward," IU debate coach Brian DeLong said. A focal point of the Senate committee's hearing was whether Trump directed Comey to drop the investigation into former National Security Adviser Michael Flynn. Comey said the circumstances, subject matter and "nature of the person" led him to keep a written record of several meetings with Trump. This prevented his memory of what was said during those meetings from being called into question, DeLong said. ❖

Trump supporters should press their guy

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Attending five Donald Trump campaign rallies in Indiana last year was to witness a fledgling political figure connect with Hoosiers just as Barack Obama had done eight years prior, or as Ronald Reagan did in 1976 and 1980, and Robert F. Kennedy did in 1968. All of these figures drew huge, enthusiastic crowds while igniting American dreams. Trump rallies were streams of consciousness in which he articulated the desires, grievances and hopes for the part of our state bearing witness to the withering of Main Street while Hillary Clinton earned \$400,000 paychecks for Wall Street speeches.



Just as President George W. Bush defeated John Kerry here in 2004 57-37%, Trump gathered and surfed a 19%

plurality here that became the foundation to the greatest upset in presidential history. And with this victory, Trump established the premise for great hopes. He would go to Washington, attack and shatter the congressional inertia, drain the swamp, bring broader and cheaper health coverage to the masses, build great projects unlike we've seen since the space program and the interstate highway system, protect the borders, reform the tax code for the first time in a generation, and charge up a second century of American dominance.

If you were to script the opening six months to a presidency, you couldn't have found a more deflating scenario than what we've just witnessed.

While Trump supporters believed he was "telling it like it is," we've found a president who has little regard for the truth and has resorted to "alternative fact." He has undercut his own staff and appointees, from Vice President Mike Pence to Attorney General Jeff Sessions, his most ardent early supporter who has already offered to resign. He has been contradicting his own cabinet secretaries on matters ranging from national security to the immigration "travel ban." Trump talks about a tax reform bill advancing in

Congress, when one doesn't even exist. Trump didn't study or understand the details of the American Health Care Act that passed by one vote in the House and faces an arduous path in the Senate.

When Trump spoke before NATO last month, he summarily deleted a reaffirmation of Article V which requires all members to aid another under attack. It was invoked just once, the day after the Sept. 11, 2001, terror attacks. This deletion blindsided Defense Secretary Jim Mattis, Secretary of State Rex Tillerson and National Security Advisor H.R. McMaster who had specified and urged its inclusion.

His White House political operation has been amateurish. It is led by senior adviser Steve Bannon, a self-described "Leninist" who desires to tear down the established structures. At times throughout history, such a teardown is required, but there has to be something built in its place and capable constructors who can accomplish the mission.

The great movers and shakers of our time like President Reagan surrounded himself with talented people like James Baker, Michael Deaver, Mitch Daniels and George Schultz, who always stayed on message and made sure the trains ran on time. In contrast, Trump's staff spent weeks insisting his immigration executive order wasn't a "travel ban," but Trump used that term in a tweet, criticized his own Department of Justice, and may have damaged his prospects with the U.S. Supreme Court.

His management skills have been exposed. After campaigning on an ardent law and order platform, Trump



Candidate Donald Trump with former IU coach Bobby Knight during a rally in Indianapolis in 2016. (HPI Photo by Mark Curry)

dismissed some 46 district attorneys and has yet to nominate a single successor. Indiana's two federal prosecutor offices are empty. These are the prosecutors that charge terrorists, gangs, drug traffickers, public corruption and white collar criminals.

Only five of 53 top jobs at the Pentagon have been filled. Two nominees for Army secretary have withdrawn, as has one for Navy secretary. According to the nonpartisan Partnership for Public Service, Trump has not picked a nominee for 442 out of 559 key positions requiring Senate confirmation. At the State Department, only eight of 120 positions have been filled. The U.S. hurricane season has arrived and there are no nominees to head FEMA and NOAA.

Trump has had success in his successful nomination of Supreme Court Justice Neil Gorsuch and FBI director Christopher Wray this week, as well as his push to roll back regulatory reforms.

A growing chorus among Republicans are begging Trump to give up Twitter. Former GOP rival Carly Fiorina urged Trump this week to "stop tweeting," saying the tweets are "insulting" and "distracting" and "very destructive."

From the conservative Washington Examiner, commentator Quinn Hillyer called for a cabinet intervention. "Their message to Trump should be blunt: Unless he starts acting presidential, stops undermining them, seri-

ously curtails his tweeting, and learns and respects basic ethical guidelines, they will all resign together while warning the country that the president is temperamentally (and perhaps intellectually) unfit for office."

A liberal Washington Post columnist Dana Milbank has conjured the notion of a "President Pence," writing: "The contrast between the reckless president and his responsible understudy has me thinking, not for the first time, how much better things would be if Pence were president. Trump shows no ability to correct course, to pull himself out of a self-destructive spiral. It may be premature to talk of impeachment or resignation, but Trump's path is unsustainable. Republicans in Congress would be sensible to start thinking about an endgame, and the former Indiana governor may be their best hope – and all of ours."

If there's a cautionary tale to a president winning a 20% plurality here in Indiana, it came for Bush43 in 2006 when his handling of the misguided Iraq War cost him three congressional seats. Chaos, particularly that instigated from the top, can bring down majorities.

Trump supporters should be sending this critical message to our president: You articulated what we felt, we voted for you and charged you with a mission. It's time you take that charge, surround yourself with capable and credible staff, and act like a president who will change the world. ❖

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Paris climate pact was the new Versailles

By CRAIG DUNN

KOKOMO – It was spring, 1975, on the Ball State University campus. The grass was green, the sky bright blue and the sun provided the necessary relief from the cold, dreary winter to morph college coeds from their cocoons of jeans and sweatshirts to the butterfly stage of halter tops and Daisy Duke cutoffs. It was a great day to be a red-blooded male college senior! What better way to soak up the sun and the best views on campus than to attend an Earth Day rally on the Quad?



I'll never forget seeing one of my economics professors standing on a makeshift stage, haranguing the crowd

about the dangers presented by the "settled on" science of global cooling and its future devastating economic impact. The culprit, as pointed out by Dr. Forgettable, was the continued use and reliance upon fossil fuels. Because of the United States' massive consumption of fossil fuels to heat our homes, run our vehicles and power our industrial might, the world faced a bleak future of a new ice age, droughts, tornadoes, hurricanes, food shortages and global conflict. All of this wisdom and foresight was coming from a man who rarely showered, never combed his hair and spewed socialist ideology for an entire semester. I was unimpressed with the good professor and his like-minded eco-enviro-anarchists.

Oh, sure, there were other "experts" heavily beating the drum on global cooling. On January 11, 1970, the Washington Post reported, "Colder Winters Held Dawn of New Ice Age." A June 24, 1974, issue of Time focused on an article titled, "Another Ice Age?" The article pointed out that "the atmosphere has been growing gradually cooler for the past three decades." Just a little over a month after the Ball State Earth Day rally, Newsweek magazine featured an article titled, "The Cooling World." This article declared that there were "ominous signs that the Earth's weather patterns have begun to change."

No matter what article you read addressing global cooling or which expert you listened to on the subject, the culprit in every scenario was the developed world's consumption of its natural resources and the belching of carbon by evil economies more intent on the happiness and welfare of their countries than on the welfare of the Great Blue Marble.

Lurking silently behind the mask of environmental evil was the biggest villain of them all, capitalism.

For those of you who believe that I sit around in a dark closet wearing a tinfoil hat, I have one thing to say. I do. But that is beside the point. In the 42 years since I graduated from college and discovered myself stuck in the relentless battles of living in the real world, I have made it a point to do my own reading, research and thinking. As a financial advisor, I've come to reject the herd mentality as just so many lemmings rushing toward a cliff. History has repeatedly taught us that politicians will lie to achieve their goals and that cartels of special interests will coalesce to promote their own selfish agendas, whatever they may be. History has also sadly taught us that people are extremely uninformed and amazingly gullible and may be manipulated to achieve both good and evil with a carefully orchestrated lie. History has also taught us that statistics can be manipulated to get just about any outcome you want.

As an adult, I have made it a goal to travel as much as possible and observe various cultures. I've particularly focused on travel to Europe, not because the people are more interesting, but because the public restrooms are cleaner.

What I have personally observed over the last 30 years is that the world is looking more like us every day. On a recent trip to Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and the Czech Republic, this fact was very evident. Every taxi we took was playing American rock music on the radio. American chain stores dominated the shopping boulevards. Pizza was the food of choice. English was spoken by most people. Menus, signs and advertising were either in English or contained English words where no indigenous word exists. Mojo is mojo the world around!

Why is this? Because the young people of the world love everything American! Our music, movies, clothes, slang and mojo are the envy of kids throughout the world. Try this experiment. Go to "YouTube.com" and type in Pharrell Williams' "Happy We Are From." You will see the people of the world dancing and enjoying life to Mr. Williams' effervescent tune. You will also see a world of people who dress, look and act re-



markably like our own children and young adults.

Unfortunately, there are people and governments around the world who hate and reject the United States for a variety of reasons. For some people, the hate is religious. For others, the hate is cultural. For most, the hate is economic.

If you come from a country that keeps your women at home with a sheet over their head or from a country that uses genital mutilation as a tool to keep your wife loyal, you most likely will find the United States reprehensible.

If you are French and remember the days when the French language, food, literature, theater and music reigned supreme, you most likely hate the golden arches on the Champs d'Elysee and its Royal Cheese. You remember the glory days before the two world wars when you were both a military, cultural and economic power. Now you cloak yourself in Euro-protectionism and use world organizations to flex your diminished muscles.

For most of the world, however, the source of hate of the United States springs from an absurdly imbalanced distribution of wealth. We the people of the United States have been extraordinarily lucky to live at a time in history when unspoiled land, vast natural resources, political freedom and capitalism came together to create the most prosperous country in the history of the world.

While most Americans would ascribe our economic success to hard work, the blessings of a just God and freedom, the rest of the world tends to look on it as just dumb luck and not fair. It is safe to say that the average autoworker in Slovakia assembling Volkswagens believes that he is entitled to the same perks of life that an American autoworker making three times the income has.

What is easier for a world leader to achieve politically: Destroy your own cherished institutions, cultural norms, business and labor practices and political systems in order to move toward the success of the United States, or conspire through world political organizations to bring the United States economic engines to a slow grind?

During times of war, famine, natural disasters and economic upheaval, the United States is welcome to show up with its money, manpower and industrial might. In times when no knife is being held to the throat of Europe, the United States is just another economic enemy.

Doubt my thesis? The creation of the European Union was done to improve the industrial and trade power of the separate European countries and try and reduce the power of the U. S. dollar. As one European leader recently told me, we have to eat this terrible tough beef from Spain instead of the great beef from the United States because of the European Union trade rules.

I suppose if I was ruling a country that imported virtually 100 percent of its oil and natural gas to power and drive my industry and GDP, I would find oil and gas to be a reasonable whipping boy. I might do anything possible to remove that economic advantage from my competitors and bring them down to my level. It just might keep the hometown fans happy and keep getting me and my friends elected so that we might have important global warming meetings in Gstaad.

Want proof that the shift of message from a mantra of "global cooling" will destroy the world to "global warming" will destroy the world has economic change as its ultimate goal? I give you proof in the words of Christiana Figueres, the woman who is executive chairman of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. This may also be known now as the "Paris Accord."

In 2015, at a news conference in Brussels, Ms. Figueres said the following: "This is the first time in the history of mankind that we are setting ourselves the task of intentionally, within a defined period of time, changing the economic development model that has been reigning for at least 150 years, since the Industrial Revolution." She further restated the goal: "This is probably the most

difficult task we have ever given ourselves, which is to intentionally transform the economic development model for the first time in human history."

To this good old Hoosier boy the message is pretty simple: The United States has erased a feudal-based order that lasted a thousand years, produced zero growth and kept men and women working from sun up to sun down for their very short lives and replaced it with a free market capitalist system that has increased production 70-fold, cut work days in two, and doubled lifespans. This success cannot be tolerated by the oligarchs, kings and industrial potentates of the world. The system must be changed.

When I was a young boy, my father told me about the great New York Yankee dynasty of 1923-1964, when the ball club dominated Major League Baseball. He told me about calls from the public to break up the team so that there would be more competition. I remember asking him the innocent question, "Why didn't the other teams just get better players?" His answer was "It is always easier to tear down than to build up."

Global cooling, global warming, climate change or whatever you want to call it, is just another name for a strategy of tearing down a winning team. I'm glad my president isn't buying it. ❖

Dunn is the former Howard County Republican chairman.



Data set for cold beer; legalization precursor

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Proponents of wider cold beer sales published in a new statewide poll published Monday afternoon showing 70% of Hoosiers favor giving drug, grocery and convenience stores the right to sell cold beer. Respondents also strongly favored allowing Sunday carryout sales, and enabling liquor stores to sell a wider variety of products.



Pollster Fabrizio, Lee & Associates conducted the survey of 600 registered voters via landline and cellphone between May 8-11.

The margin of error at the 95% confidence interval for 600 voters is +/- 4.00%. It comes as the Indiana General Assembly studies the state's archaic alcohol sales system in a summer study committee.

Hoosiers favored allowing all licensed retailers the right to sell cold beer by 71%; permitting Sunday carryout sales by 65%; and repealing the commodity restriction on liquor stores by 64%. Of other listed reforms: 67% opposed allowing minors into liquor stores; 59% opposed restricting the sale of spirits to liquor stores only; and 57% were against requiring all alcohol to be sold behind counters in drug, grocery and convenience stores. Importantly, the poll also showed that implementing the most popular reforms would not change the buying habits of customers, with 80 percent of respondents saying it would have no impact.

"This poll confirms that Hoosiers view Indiana's alcohol laws as nonsensical and in desperate need of change," said Scot Imus, executive director of the Indiana Petroleum Marketers and Convenience Store Association (IPCA) who commissioned the poll. "We are encouraged that this has been acknowledged by the leadership of the General Assembly with the announcement last week of the establishment of the alcohol code revision commission."

In April, Ricker's CEO Jay Ricker responded to legislation that took aim at two of his convenience stores in Columbus and Sheridan selling cold beer in a restaurant setting. Ricker told HPI that he was prepared to get involved politically. "We have to take a look at it. We're not getting any help from the people we've supported. If you are unhappy, you need to get into the political fray and that means your pocketbook, too."

Speaker Brian Bosma and Senate President David Long have ordered a summer study committee to look at all of Indiana's liquor sales laws, some instituted after Prohibition ended eight decades ago. Speaker Brian Bosma and Senate President David Long have ordered a summer study committee to look at all of Indiana's liquor

sales laws, some instituted after Prohibition ended eight decades ago. "The General Assembly has formally commissioned a comprehensive review of Indiana's alcohol laws for the first time in many years," Long said today. "All issues are on the table as we begin this process. I expect the study commission's first area of focus to be the retail sector of alcohol sales, with formal recommendations being submitted this fall. I am hopeful these recommendations can guide meaningful legislative action with regard to our alcohol laws in the General Assembly's next legislative session."

Ricker expressed frustration that the General Assembly has clung to the status quo despite an explosion of craft breweries, vineyards and distilleries across the state, as well as alcohol sales at grocery stores. "You have to listen to the constituents and be mindful that the world changes so doggone fast. It could be too late, look at all these department stores closing. I don't want to be on that list. I've got to worry about smoking, fuel, electric charging, higher mileage. I've got to have a business that's going to be there and food is part of it, food and beverage. People like to drink when they eat food. I want

Now I'm going to read you several proposals that have been made to change the states laws governing the sale of alcohol. After I read you each, please tell me whether you would favor or oppose it.

| | TOTAL FAVOR | TOTAL OPPOSE | Overall Net Favor | GOP | Ind | Dem | 18-34 | 35-44 | 45-54 | 55-64 | 65+ |
|--|-------------|--------------|-------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Allow all licensed retailers to sell warm or cold beer. | 71 | 26 | +45 (1) | +44 (1) | +49 (2) | +50 (1) | +65 (1) | +78 (1) | +42 (1) | +37 (1) | +13 (2) |
| Allow liquor stores to sell a wide variety of products besides just alcohol. | 64 | 31 | +33 (2) | +27 (2) | +51 (1) | +29 (3) | +48 (3) | +46 (3) | +21 (3) | +29 (2) | +22 (1) |
| Allow the carry out sale of alcohol on Sundays. | 65 | 33 | +32 (3) | +24 (3) | +48 (3) | +35 (2) | +58 (2) | +61 (2) | +39 (2) | +21 (3) | -7 (5) |

to have that available for them. The legislature is really handicapping me. They shouldn't be picking winners and losers when it comes to businesses as they are today."

Dawn of the legalization battle

The marijuana legalization battle is just beginning, with Attorney General Curtis Hill firing off the first salvo in what could be a precursor to a decade-long battle, making the case that pot is a "gateway" drug. There is no credible marijuana advocacy lobby and the chief proponent, State Sen. Karen Tallian, sits in the tiniest caucus and accused Hill of purveying "self-serving deceit" and "preaching hell-fire and brimstone." SD17 Democrat Gary Snyder said Hill's advocacy of jailing non-violent users is a bad deal for taxpayers, something we've heard from even Republican county councilmen and women who are faced with bulging jail populations. The WTHR/Howey Politics Poll from last October on medicinal pot had 75% favoring and 23% opposed. The cross tabs are revealing, with 59% of Republican men and women, 77% of independent men and 78% of independent women, and 82/83% of Democrat men and women favoring legalization. It was also backed by 57% of conservatives, while 82% of moderates and 86% of liberals favored. ❖

5 Harrison County Democrats to GOP

Howey Politics Indiana

CORYDON – The Harrison County GOP made history when it introduced five new elected officials — District 1 Councilman Kyle Nix, Assessor Lorena (Rena) Stepro, Jackson Township Trustee Joe Martin, Blue River Township Trustee Michael Beyerle and Spencer Township Trustee Aaron Scott — to a rousing applause of a standing-room-



only audience in the commissioner/council room at the Government Center in south Corydon (Shulz, Corydon Democrat). "None of them was happy with the leftward turn of the Democratic party of the recent years as it did not

match their own beliefs," GOP county chairman Scott Fluhr said of their motivation to change parties. "I think they all agree with Ronald Reagan, who once said he did not leave the Democratic Party, the Democratic Party left him." Democratic Party Chair Kim Black Bary said Monday the party wishes the quintet well and also added they're not technically Republicans until they sign up to run for office again and file to do so as Republicans. "We will get loyal and decisive Democrats in public office," Bary continued. "We are rising each and every day. We will sail our ship and not run it aground as some hope or think we will. It only takes one snowflake to start an avalanche and 2018 is coming."

Greg Pence comments on CD6

Greg Pence isn't saying whether he will seek the 6th CD seat if U.S. Rep. Luke Messer runs for the U.S. Senate, as is widely anticipated. In an interview with IndyStar, Pence acknowledged regular overtures encouraging a congressional run, but said he's focused on Messer's campaign right now. "The funny thing is I'm getting asked that a lot," he said. "And right now the only thing I'm focused on is helping Luke and Jennifer (Messer) make a big decision on whether or not they should run (for Senate)."

Lieneweber declares in 9th CD

A Charlestown man announced he is running in next year's 9th Congressional District race on the Democratic ticket (Beilman, News & Tribune). Jason Lieneweber, 36, is kicking off his campaign at the Jeffersonville Pride Festival on Saturday, where he hopes to voice a message of inclusion. "I want everyone to be involved and heard," Lieneweber stated in a news release. "Republicans, Demo-

crats, black, white, gay, straight, female, male, old, young, voters and non-voters." Lieneweber stated he hopes to represent the middle class if elected to Washington. "People are tired of the same old, same old in politics," he stated. "The majority of the current political party system is made up of lawyers, career politicians and lobbyists. The days of allowing the most damaging of people who choose to harm, rather than to help, decide what is right for those below them, are coming to an end."

Potential rematch in SD29

Democrat J.D. Ford has announced he will seek the SD29 seat in 2018. Republican State Sen. Mike Delph defeated Ford in 2014 by a 15,140 to 12,744 margin. "With everything that is going on in the country and in our state, I just have to get started," Ford said on Wednesday. "I am excited to be launching my campaign in the month of June and at the Pride parade, an event centered on love, hope, equality and inclusion...core principles that I hold near and dear to my heart." Delph told Howey Politics Indiana he will announce whether he will seek reelection or make a U.S. Senate bid in late June.

Holcomb fundraiser

Gov. Eric Holcomb is holding a fundraiser later this month at the swanky Lucas Estate, with tickets priced as high as \$10,000 (Cook, IndyStar). Those top-tier donors and their spouses will be treated to round table dinner

| <i>Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the job Eric Holcomb is doing as Governor?</i> | <i>Overall</i> | <i>GOP</i> | <i>Ind</i> | <i>Dem</i> |
|--|----------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Approve | 54 | 79 | 55 | 29 |
| Disapprove | 26 | 6 | 26 | 48 |
| DK/Refused (DO NOT READ) | 20 | 16 | 19 | 24 |
| NET APPROVE | +28 | +73 | +29 | -19 |

| <i>Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the job the State Legislature is doing?</i> | <i>Overall</i> | <i>GOP</i> | <i>Ind</i> | <i>Dem</i> |
|---|----------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Approve | 49 | 72 | 47 | 27 |
| Disapprove | 38 | 14 | 39 | 63 |
| DK/Refused (DO NOT READ) | 14 | 14 | 14 | 10 |
| NET APPROVE | +11 | +58 | +8 | -36 |

with the governor in a setting the Lucas Estate website describes as "reminiscent of a French country manor for a member of aristocracy." For a more modest \$2,500 contribution, donors can attend a VIP reception after the dinner. Those who contribute \$50 to \$2,500 will have access to a general reception party with music from local cover band Dave and Rae. Contributions will be split 70-30 between Holcomb's campaign and the Indiana State Republican Party, according to the invitation. ❖

Civility counts. Please tell that to Mitch

By SHAW FRIEDMAN

LaPORTE – We’re just coming off a legislative session that many say was among the least rancorous and contentious in a long time. Accident? I don’t think so. From what I can tell, the more collegial and collaborative tone was set by our new governor, Eric Holcomb, who seems to be taking a very different approach in dealing with not only Democrats but regions of the state that have long felt neglected and marginalized by one of Holcomb’s predecessors, Mitch Daniels.



Indianapolis Star columnist Matt Tully penned a column about Holcomb the other day that summed up well what many are seeing with this new governor. At a recent speech before the Indianapolis Rotary Club, Tully reported, “Holcomb encouraged Hoosiers, regardless of political affiliation to think about the future

and the state’s place in it. He didn’t demonize Democrats. In fact, the Republican didn’t offer one negative word about those on the other side of the aisle. He actually said politicians should listen more to critics.”

Tully and other Indianapolis observers have long had this blind spot for Daniels as some kind of “big thinker” and were often willing to overlook the guy’s personal abrasiveness and contentiousness and write it off as just some kind of cerebral quirkiness on his part. But, dealing in a civil and courteous way with one’s opponents can go a long way to reaching consensus in government, and it seems after this latest session that Holcomb has learned that far better than his one-time mentor, Mitch Daniels, who still comes out swinging and defensive, even from the lofty perch he now enjoys in academia.

Take Daniels’ view of Northwest Indiana: At a May 15 speech at Avalon Manor in Merrillville, Daniels was still lecturing our region on how it supposedly can’t get along, is rife with corruption and what he labeled as “what’s in it for me” government. Contrast that with Gov. Holcomb’s victory tour on a South Shore train recently, as he hopped aboard with legislators of both political stripes to conduct ceremonial signing ceremonies of HB1144, which provides the “game changer” of doubletracking for Northwest Indiana and will be a huge economic development shot in the arm for our region.

After Holcomb’s commuter rail tour of Northwest Indiana, he spoke later in the day at a One Region event in Munster, where he talked about the unlimited potential for this vital region and spoke glowingly about wanting to bring “five million Hoosiers up to the Region and show them the beaches, the scenery and how close to the world their marketplace is.” In short, this governor talked about what a bright future this region faces, rather than endlessly lecturing Northwest Indiana about it being a place where supposedly nobody plays well in the sandbox and leaders can’t be trusted to do the right or ethical thing and are, in Daniels’ words, “protecting their own turf and not acting in the common good.” Mr. Daniels, what happened on HB1144 and the extraordinary level of bi-partisan cooperation from local and state officials that is bringing doubletracking of the South Shore Railroad closer to reality proves once again, you’re dead wrong about our region.

But that’s the insulting and demeaning style that has characterized much of Mitch Daniels’ time in government and public life. Take a look at a May 10, 2017, column that the notoriously thin-skinned former governor penned for the Indianapolis Star, responding to two critical letter writers who had every right to question Daniels’ still very controversial sell-off of the Indiana Toll Road lease rights to a foreign consortium in 2006. Rather than content himself with a factual rebuttal to his critics as Eric Holcomb would have done, Daniels took it upon himself to



go after the Indianapolis suburbs where both letter writers lived, claiming an “outbreak of amnesia seems to have descended upon our western suburbs.”

Daniels got his comeuppance for this snarky piece of writing when letter writer Randy Mason of Franklin, Ind., wrote to the Star on May 14 to complain about Daniels’ op/ed column calling the tone “petty, condescending and extremely mean-spirited. In fact, it was downright Trumpian.” Mason was rightly upset when the former governor charged his two letter-writing critics with “overtly partisan sniping,” and Daniels even went so far as to claim

that “disinformation” by the letter writers was “intentional rather than merely ignorant.”

As Mason put so well, “insults, name-calling and mean-spirited sarcasm were not needed to make his points. Mr. Daniels, the people of Indiana deserve better and expect you to be above this type of uncivil and disrespectful discourse.”

It appears to this observer that Gov. Holcomb has decided that the “in-your-face” style of his former boss simply leads to more fighting and obstruction. Compare Daniels calling then-Indiana House Democratic leader Pat Bauer “a car bomber” when he disagreed with him to the far more civil and businesslike relationship that Gov.

Holcomb seems to have carved out with Democratic House Leader Scott Pelath, and you’ll understand that there’s been a return to civility in the Statehouse and a reason that so much apparently got done this past session.

All Hoosiers are better off with civil, respectful discourse between our leaders and Eric Holcomb seems to have been present for that particular lesson in politics and good government, while Mitch Daniels clearly skipped class that day.

Shaw Friedman is former legal counsel to the Indiana Democratic Party and has represented a number of governmental entities in Northwest Indiana.

Exploring MSA GDP rates

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – It’s easy to emphasize the pleasant present and forget a troublesome past. With a low unemployment rate and some good economic initiatives, parts of Indiana are doing well today. However, elsewhere in our state, a weak past led to neglect of essential work to maintain resources.



It’s not different from an ordinary household. When you’ve had sustained unemployment or low wages, you don’t repair things around the house as needed or replace worn tires on the car; you just don’t have the money. You don’t save as much for retirement or other future needs.

Catching up after down times is hard to do.

Today we’ll look at just three aspects of metropolitan economic growth from 2005 to 2015: 1) the value of the output in the area as measured by Gross Domestic Value (GDP), 2) the number of wage and salary jobs, and 3) the average compensation of employees (wages, salaries, and employer paid benefits).

Let’s get right to the point: GDP in the Kokomo metro area (Howard County) grew by 11.4% compared to the nation’s 37.2% increase. Jobs in the Kokomo MSA were down 7% compared to a 6.7% rise in the country’s 382 metro areas. Average compensation per employee for the Kokomo MSA was up only 3%, the worst record of all U.S. metro areas, set against the nation’s 28.8% increase (not adjusted for inflation).

In sum, Kokomo’s economic performance ranked 368th among the 382 metro areas for the 2005-15 period. Joining Kokomo in the 300-or-lower ranks were Muncie

(345th), Michigan City-LaPorte (338th), and South Bend-Mishawaka (315th). Digging out from this economic storm takes time and commitment from local and state entities.

The problems of the bottom-feeders among Indiana’s MSAs were not due to past or current political leadership in those places. Most major business decisions are independent of government actions. The economic traumas of the past decade occurred in branch plant communities where national and multi-national companies moved jobs and production elsewhere like impersonal pieces on a checkerboard. Mergers and acquisitions frequently tear leadership out of long-established community involvement.

Multinational companies and foreign trade are not evil forces. Rather, states and cities need to recognize the economic perils any community can face almost anytime as private companies make changes.

Are devastating natural and economic events occurring with increasing frequency? For years the focus of economic development was forward-looking. Today there is a desire to recreate the past, to look backward rather than toward a stronger future.

Most households and businesses carry insurance so we can recover from the damages of horrendous storms. The time is overdue to insure ourselves and our communities to go beyond recovery from future economic tornados and quakes. To do so, we must prepare first-response teams, strengthen our redevelopment capabilities, and reimagine the paths of progress. ❖

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

Colwell quiz time

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Quiz time once again. It'll test your knowledge and maybe your sense of humor.

1. Who often is described now as leader of the Free World?

- a. Angela Merkel.
- b. Vladimir Putin.
- c. Rodrigo Duterte.



2. Who is the Democratic national chairman?

- a. Pete Buttigieg.
- b. Jason Critchlow.
- c. Mike Schmuhl.
- d. Tom Perez.

3. Which once played football at Notre Dame?

- a. Joltin' Joe DiMaggio.
- b. Jumping Joe Savoldi.
- c. Jabbering Joe Scarborough.

4. Donald Trump was born in:

- a. Russia.
- b. Kenya.
- c. Syria.
- d. America.

5. "The Onion" publication once cited which person as "the sexiest man alive?"

- a. North Korea's Kim Jong Un.
- b. Donald Trump.
- c. Evan Bayh.
- d. Dwayne "The Rock" Johnson.

6. Which former Chicago Cubs player was acclaimed for dancing?

- a. Stan Hack.
- b. Hack Wilson.
- c. David Ross.
- d. Michael Jackson.

7. The winner of the Indianapolis 500 was:

- a. Takuma Sato.
- b. Always Dreaming.
- c. Harold Lowe.
- d. La La Land.

8. The Oscar for best picture went to:

- a. La La Land.
- b. Moonlight.
- c. Pricewaterhouse.

9. In "Shattered," the book about Hillary Clinton's

failed campaign, which was NOT found to have contributed to her defeat?

- a. The debates.
- b. National news media.
- c. Bernie Sanders.
- d. Anthony Wiener.

10. Which accurately describes former FBI Director James Comey?

- a. Beloved friend of Hillary Clinton.
- b. Highly respected by President Trump.
- c. Really tall dude.
- d. Protégé of J. Edgar Hoover.

11. The Jared with most notoriety now is:

- a. Jared Fogle.
- b. Jared Kushner.
- c. Jared Jewelers.

12. "I simply view President Trump as the Wizard of Oz. Loud and bombastic. A charlatan. Nothing behind the screen, other than the institutional chaos that defines his White House..." That was said by:

- a. Leonard Pitts.
- b. Rachel Maddow.
- c. Stephen Colbert.
- d. Charles Krauthammer.

13. Which of these is NOT seeking to win the 2018 Senate race?

- a. Todd Young.
- b. Luke Messer.
- c. Joe Donnelly.
- d. Todd Rokita.

14. "Old soldiers never die. They just fade away." This was said by:

- a. Gen. Colin Powell.
- b. Gen. Michael Flynn.
- c. Gen. Douglas MacArthur.
- d. Gen. Electric.

15. The last Democrat to carry Indiana for president was:

- a. Grover Cleveland.
- b. Barack Obama.
- c. Lyndon Johnson.

16. Who drove a podium on the streets of New York?

- a. Sean Spicer.
- b. Megyn Kelly.
- c. Brian Kelly.
- d. Melissa McCarthy.

ANSWERS: 1-a; 2-d; 3-b; 4-d; 5-a; 6-c; 7-a; 8-b; 9-a; 10-c; 11-b; 12-d; 13-a; 14-c; 15-b; 16-d. ❖

Congress should reassert itself on force

By **LEE HAMILTON**

BLOOMINGTON – The decision to send troops overseas requires clear eyes, hard questions and specific answers.

The Trump Administration, like its predecessors, has shown an apparent appetite for the use of force overseas. The “mother of all bombs” dropped on Syrian troops, saber-rattling toward North Korea, deployments of U.S. forces in 10 or more countries — all of this suggests a growing comfort with the idea of putting our troops in dangerous places.



Politicians on Capitol Hill have noticed this. In particular, senators Jeff Flake of Arizona, a Republican, and Tim Kaine of Virginia, a Democrat, have introduced legislation to authorize the use of military force against ISIS and other terror groups. This is an effort to assert congressional authority and extend Capitol Hill’s oversight over the use of force by the White House, something

Congress has long neglected. “It’s our constitutional duty in Congress to authorize military action,” Kaine said at the end of May.

All I can say is, Amen! American soldiers are involved in combat situations in countries all over the globe. We’re deploying special operations forces and advising, equipping and training local forces to fight. All too often, these countries’ leaders are more concerned with overcoming internal threats than they are with the strategies and values that motivate us to help them.

The argument for all this often comes down to: “We need to do something.” Once we’re there, the arguments for staying get rolled out; we can’t leave without loss of face; we need the leverage more troops provide for negotiation; we’ll lose credibility and standing if we withdraw.

But our experience over the years has shown that we don’t tip the scales of a war that in most cases has no battlefield solution. We repeatedly get ourselves locked into situations where we must ask ourselves how much bloodshed and destruction we can accept as a result of our entanglement.

The decision to send troops overseas requires clear

eyes, hard questions and specific answers. If we are sending our military abroad, our objectives and exit strategies need to be nailed down. Are we engaging in nation- or empire-building? Do we risk being locked into protracted, unending conflicts — we’ve already spent 15 years in Afghanistan — with minimal progress? Are we inflating the dangers to our national security, as we did when we falsely asserted that Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction?

And when we do intervene, are we avoiding or increasing the suffering of the local people whom we’re trying to help? No use of force should go forward without reciprocity; that is to say, capable, committed local leaders who fight corruption and try to provide good governance and protect the values we cherish and promote.

The use of force ultimately comes down to the president, or the president and his top advisors, making the decision. This usually happens without sufficient dialogue, consultation, or robust debate beyond the White House. The people the president consults around him are not independent; they hold high office at his pleasure and, from my experience, generally come into the room prepared to reinforce his arguments.

What the president really needs, as LBJ advisor George Reedy famously said, is someone who can tell him to go soak his head. In particular, the people who have to do the fighting and bear the costs need to have a major voice in the use of force, and the best way to ensure that is with the involvement of the Congress.

There are obviously cases where the president needs flexibility. But if we’re to put our troops in harm’s way, he also needs independent advice and to answer tough questions. I don’t see any alternative but the strict, robust and sustained involvement of the Congress.

Deciding on the use of force is the most grave and consequential decision government makes. It is of such import that it should not be made by the president alone, but should be shared with the Congress. Presidents should not get broad authority to use force without limit on geography, objectives, or types of forces. The Founding Fathers had it right: The president is commander in chief,

Congress has the authority to declare war. Power over the use of force needs to be shared. ❖

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

Hoosiers moving out

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – A nationwide study by a major moving company has found that more people are moving out of Indiana than moving in. United Van Lines reported that 54% of state-to-state moves last year were out of Indiana, while 46% were to the Hoosier state. Strikingly, 66.3% moving out of Indiana did so because of jobs.



Such statistics seemingly call into question claims by former Gov. Mike Pence that Indiana has positioned itself to be one of the most business friendly states in the country. Among those laws is the anti-union statute known as the right-to-work law.

The state also has done away with the prevailing wage law that also is anti-union. And, Indiana has passed a series of laws making it virtually impossible for teachers to negotiate wages or working conditions.

Based on the results of the study, it also wouldn't be fair to say fewer people were moving into

Indiana than out because of weather conditions. United Van Lines found that the states with the greatest number of people moving in were all in the north – South Dakota, Vermont and Oregon.

In terms of people movement, there already is talk about the 2020 Census. State Rep. Ed Soliday, R-Valparaiso, who chairs the House Elections Committee, will be one of the heads of redistricting following the census. Soliday talked about the importance of an accurate count, particularly in Northwest Indiana where there is considerable migration. Even though Indiana is losing people, there is still a considerable number of people moving into Northwest Indiana from the northeastern corner of Illinois.

In terms of an accurate count, state Rep. Charlie Brown, D-Gary, is still hurting from the results of the 2010 Census that determined Gary no longer was the largest city in Lake County. The census gave that title to Hammond. Brown contends that thousands of Gary residents weren't counted because they didn't understand the process or were afraid to come out.

"We could be very, very devastated by the loss of additional federal funds because of losing population on paper, when in actuality we haven't lost that amount of population," Brown said. ❖

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.

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Dana Milbank, Washington Post: President Trump, on his recent European trip, literally shoved aside Prime Minister Dusko Markovic of Montenegro in order to get to the front of a group of leaders. On Monday, Vice President Pence hosted the shoving victim at the White House, then praised Markovic publicly. "I had the privilege of welcoming the prime minister to the White House today," Pence said at an Atlantic Council dinner. "I was very humbled to be able to share a few moments with him on the very day that Montenegro became a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization." On that same European trip, Trump surprised his own aides and unsettled allies when he refused to affirm NATO's collective-defense obligations. On Monday night, Pence expressed his "unwavering" support: "The United States is resolved, as we were at NATO's founding and in every hour since, to live by that principle that an attack on one of us is an attack on us all." Tuesday morning found the vice president doing what he does frequently these days: cleaning up Trump's messes. Pence, speaking at the National Catholic Prayer Breakfast, offered a soothing contrast to Trump's recent outbursts. Where Trump alienated allies and opened a dispute with the mayor of London, Pence vowed to "continue to stand with our allies" and praised "our cherished ally," Britain. Where Trump has largely removed human rights from the agenda, Pence called for "an America standing tall in the world again for our values and our ideals." Where Trump has stoked anti-Muslim sentiment, Pence asserted that under Trump, "America will continue to condemn persecution of any faith at any place at any time." The contrast between the reckless president and his responsible understudy has me thinking, not for the first time, how much better things would be if Pence were president. Trump shows no ability to correct course, to pull himself out of a self-destructive spiral. It may be premature to talk of impeachment or resignation, but Trump's path is unsustainable. Republicans in Congress would be sensible to start thinking about an endgame, and the former Indiana governor may be the their best hope — and all of ours. ❖



Kelly Hawes, CNHI: One step forward, two steps back. Such would seem to be the state of race relations in America. Sitting on a peaceful lake in southern Indiana, I spot a Confederate battle flag waving from a boat across the way. What message is that boater trying to send? What would the explanation be if anyone asked? The message is more ambiguous, I guess, than the one delivered by the vandal who painted a racial slur on a gate leading to property owned by NBA superstar LeBron James. "My family is safe," James told reporters at a news conference this week. "At the end of the day, they're safe, and that's the most important. But it just goes to show that racism will always be a part of the world, a part of America. And hate in America, especially for African-Americans, is

living every day." I ponder all of this in light of the recent removal of four Confederate monuments in the iconic southern city of New Orleans. The first to come down was the Liberty Place monument, an obelisk tucked on a back street near the French Quarter that commemorated a Reconstruction Era white supremacist attack on the city's integrated police force. If you were to try to define a monument to racism, that one would seem to fit the bill. The others were bronze statues of Confederate President Jefferson Davis, Confederate Gen. P.G.T. Beauregard and Confederate Gen. Robert E. Lee. Folks came from as far away as Oklahoma to light candles at the base of the monuments and carry Confederate flags, pistols and automatic rifles. Those on the other side of the debate responded with banners saying "Take 'em down" and even held a barbecue at one of the monuments. ❖

Chuck Todd, Carrie Dann & Mark

Murray, NBC First Read: Here's a thought exercise: Imagine a Trump presidency without him tweeting. He wouldn't have publicly accused Barack Obama of wiretapping him; he wouldn't have threatened former FBI Director James Comey of possibly having "tapes" of their conversations; he recently wouldn't have undermined the legal defense of his travel ban; and he wouldn't have attacked London's mayor after the terrorist attack on that city. Now he might have actually SAID these things in interviews or public comments (though when was the last time he held a news conference?). But we know about these controversial statements because he tweeted about them, and that's been a significant problem for the White House. Where would Trump's job-approval rating be without those tweets — 45% instead of the high 30s? A Quinnipiac poll conducted before Trump's inauguration found 64% of voters saying Trump should NOT keep his Twitter account. As Sen. Bob Corker (R-TN) said yesterday, per NBC's Marianna Sotomayor: "We live in a world today where, unfortunately, a lot of communications is taking place with 140 characters, and probably it's best to refrain from communicating with 140 characters on topics that are so important." By the way, as one of us flagged yesterday, Trump promised right after his election victory that he was going to be "restrained" in his use of Twitter. "I'm going to be very restrained, if I use it at all, I'm going to do very restrained. I find it tremendous. It's a modern form of communication. There should be nothing you should be ashamed of. It's- it's where it's at. I do believe this, I really believe that, the fact that I have such power in terms of numbers with Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, et cetera, I think it helped me win all of these races where they're spending much more money than I spent. You know, I spent my money. A lot of my money. And I won. I think that social media has more power than the money they spent, and I think maybe to a certain extent, I proved that." ❖

House repeals Dodd-Frank

INDIANAPOLIS — House Republicans voted Thursday to deliver on their promise to repeal Dodd-Frank — the massive set of Wall Street regulations President Barack Obama signed into law after the 2008 financial crisis (Bennett, NPR). In a near party-line vote, the House approved a bill, dubbed the Financial Choice Act, which scales back or eliminates many of the post-crisis banking rules. The legislation is the brainchild of House Financial Services Committee Chairman Jeb Hensarling, R-Texas. “Dodd-Frank represents the greatest regulatory burden on our economy, more so than all the other Obama-era regulations combined,” Hensarling told reporters Wednesday. “There is a better way: economic growth for all; bank bailouts for none.” Financial reform advocates argue the Choice Act would leave the U.S. economy vulnerable to another financial crisis. “Dodd-Frank was a knee-jerk government reaction to a financial crisis that the government created,” U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita said. “The way to solve it wasn’t to create more government and to choose a one size fits all solution, but that’s what my Democratic colleagues created and it has handicapped our economy. After six years of work, I am proud to have been a leader in these efforts to unravel Dodd-Frank and create a policy that addresses the needs of the American people through the CHOICE Act.” “Dodd-Frank was supposed to protect consumers and hold Wall Street accountable, but instead it left taxpayers on the hook for big bank bailouts, squeezed Main Street, and made it harder for small businesses to create jobs,” U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski said. U.S. Rep. Larry Bucshon (R-IN) added, “When the Democrats passed Dodd-Frank in 2010, we were promised an end to taxpayer funded bailouts and a system that protects



consumers. Instead, this massive regulatory monstrosity enshrined “too big to fail” and taxpayer bailouts into law.”

Holcomb meets with Pence

WASHINGTON — Gov. Eric Holcomb and Indiana Department of Transportation Commissioner Joe McGuinness spent Thursday in the nation’s capital (Fox59). They were part of a group meeting with President Donald Trump about his administration’s infrastructure proposal. President Trump is working to build support for the \$1 trillion plan he’s launching this week. The president has already claimed that the work will be completed ahead of schedule and under budget. Vice President Mike Pence was also in attendance. He tweeted about the meeting Thursday afternoon, saying it was a productive lunch.

Holtmann in talks with Ohio State

COLUMBUS, Ohio — Butler’s Chris Holtmann is in talks with Ohio State to become its next head basketball coach, a source told IndyStar on Thursday night (IndyStar). There is “no deal yet,” according to the source. Another source said Holtmann was offered the job earlier this week but did not immediately accept, underscoring that there is no certainty he will leave Butler. The Buckeyes would be exchanging one former Butler coach for another. The 45-year-old would succeed Thad Matta, 49, a former Butler player and coach whose 13-year tenure with the Buckeyes ended Monday.

South Bend eyes panhandling fix

SOUTH BEND — A South Bend Common Council member said Thursday he will go ahead with his plan to introduce a resolution Mon-

day asking the city administration to launch a work program for panhandlers, despite some pushback from the mayor’s office (South Bend Tribune). The resolution “requests and encourages” Mayor Pete Buttigieg’s staff to earmark \$25,000 in next year’s budget for the program, which would offer panhandlers work cleaning public parks and spaces for the \$10.10/hour minimum wage that city employees receive.

‘Gray death’ kills 3 in Evansville

EVANSVILLE - A heroin-based drug mixture so powerful that it is known as “Gray Death” has made its way to Evansville (Gootee, Evansville Courier & Press). And it might have been responsible for three deaths already. A toxicology test confirmed that the city had its first death blamed on the highly-potent mix of opioids last month, Vanderburgh County Coroner Steve Lockyear said. Gray Death is a mixture of opioids and other drugs so potent that it has prompted warnings from authorities that it can pose dangers to not just the user, but anyone who simply touches the drug, including police or paramedics.

Senate GOP may keep ACA parts

WASHINGTON — In their effort to revamp the nation’s health-care system, Senate Republicans are considering preserving or more gradually eliminating key elements of the Affordable Care Act that the House voted to discard, creating an uncomfortable political situation for the party after years of promises to fully repeal the law (Washington Post). Senate GOP leadership told rank-and-file Republican senators during private talks this week that they favor keeping guaranteed protections for people with preexisting medical conditions — a departure from the House approach of allowing states to opt out of a regulation ensuring such individuals are not charged more for coverage.