

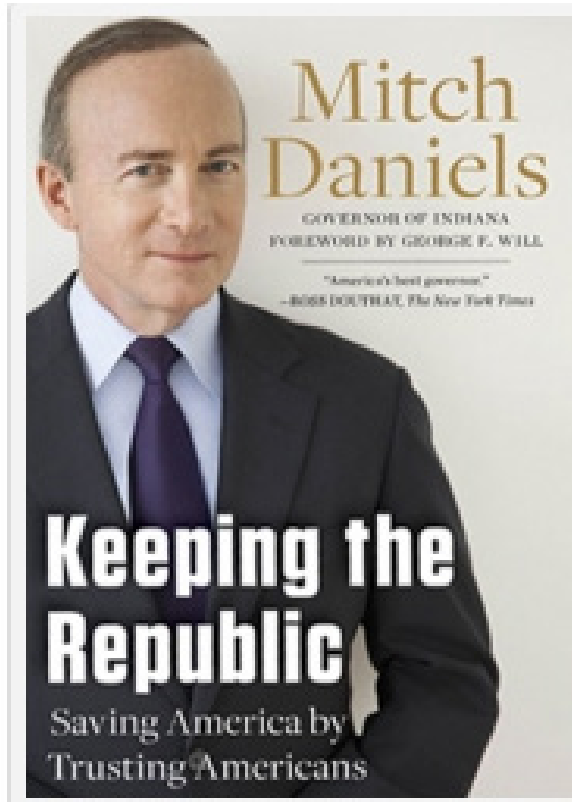
What if Mitch had run (& won) in '12?

May 21, 2011, may be the date that put us on the path to Trump

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

NASHVILLE, Ind. – We all know the red letter dates in American history: July 2, 1776, with the Declaration of Independence; July 3-4, 1863, and Union victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg; Dec. 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor; Nov. 22, 1963, the assassination of President Kennedy; and Sept. 11, 2001, a date that needs no description.

In the context of President Trump, top ally Steve Bannon's looming civil war within the Republican Party, Senate Foreign Relations Chairman Bob Corker's stunning pronouncement that Trump is "debasing" American politics, and an array of polls that put his approval in the mid-30th percentile, here's another red



letter date most folks haven't thought about:

May 21, 2011.

Huh? Say what?

Yes, May 21, 2011, the day we discovered that Indiana Gov. Mitch Daniels would not become president of the United States. He wouldn't even try. He'd become a president, at Purdue Univer-

Continued on page 3

Always stay proud & mean

By **MARK SOUDER**

FORT WAYNE – Did you hear about the Trump staffer who was fired yesterday after being heard humming Tim McGraw's hit song, "Always stay humble and kind?" Fake news.



It is safe to say that when the president of the United States becomes Don Rickles with hair and no smile, the king of the insult, anyone singing that song at the White House would be doing so ironically.

The critics of the president are, if anything, worse. What is extraordinary is how bottom-dwelling nasty liberals have become, justified with an air of superiority and a con-



“He said some powerful things. He indicated character counts. He said integrity counts in leaders. He thinks that’s what our party should stand for and I happen to agree with him.”

- U.S. Sen. Todd Young, reacting to U.S. Sen. Jeff Flake



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descending tone to those who don't laugh at their meanness.

The vice president of the United States cannot attend the most popular play in America without being lectured by the cast. He cannot leave a football game, which he attended to honor Peyton Manning, not observe players disrespecting the nation, without getting torn apart by liberals trying to prove they can be the meanest king of the mountain.

We cannot watch any entertainment awards show, already focused on celebrating shows and movies not popular with the people who made the stars rich but often attacking their fans' beliefs, without enduring endless banal, crude and unoriginal political attacks.

The Washington Post and the New York Times, liberal but once respected institutions even by those who disagreed with their ideological bias, increasingly have turned the news stories into ideological crusading. It is sad when it is hard to tell the difference between SNL (and Colbert/Kimmel) and the Washington Post (and sometimes the Times). Though to be fair, sometimes the newspapers are more humorous and less contentious.

One way to determine whether you are a liberal is if you thought, from my beginning, that this was going to only be about Trump. A corollary to the "Always Stay Proud and Mean" theme pervading public debate today is that neither side sees themselves as guilty of the charge.

Politics is as old as man's beginnings. God asked Adam if he had eaten the apple, and Adam blamed Eve. Cain killed Abel because he wanted the best offering, so to accomplish

that he killed off his opponent. Nasty politics isn't even of American origins. Machiavelli, the crown prince of political strategy, was from 16th century Italy. Liberals, like Adam, immediately finger Trump as the person to blame for this deterioration of public discourse, and thus justify playing Cain by trying to politically kill Trump. Not defeat him, destroy him.

On my Facebook page the other day, one conservative expressed the view of conservatives accurately: Meanness and coarse dialogue is when a conservative says it, not



when liberals continue to do it. Young people would point to how Obama was brutalized by conservatives. (I, for example, continue to get berated for not thinking he was Satan's brother.) Middle-aged conservatives would point to how Bush43 was absolutely savaged in the media, often characterized as an ape. Middle-aged liberals remember how conservatives demonized Bill and Hillary. Conservatives will never forget the incredibly mean, among the worst in American history, slanders of Reagan and Goldwater.

John Adams supporters would quickly point out that Jefferson was the king of smear jobs. Jefferson's hatchet newspaper printed nearly total fake news by anybody's standard. The Jeffersonians would respond that Adams started the conflict (they were once close friends) by behaving like the first American king,

who viewed dissension from his throne as treason.

Trump has been compared to President Andrew Jackson, even by his supporters. Jackson, honored by Democrats at annual Jefferson-Jackson Day dinners, is an interesting role model. He participated in somewhere between five and 100 duels. After a conflict with a neighbor over whether Jackson reneged on a horseracing wager, after which his neighbor referred to Jackson as a coward and his wife as a bigamist, Jackson killed him in a pistol duel. His massacre of Creek Indians in Florida, who it appears were actually mostly free blacks, is even more sordid.

Pistols and canes, or fisticuffs, were not uncommon weapons in American political history. The record is not littered with kindness and humbleness. Humbleness in politics is not a particularly useful trait, but that's also true for any profession that requires verbal jousting. Humility is not conducive to building your brand. I grew up in furniture retailing where we, as a group, aren't very humble, since we all stick our names on our stores. There aren't a lot of successful humble trial attorneys, or car dealers, or stars in any profession. There is lots of fake humility, but getting to the top and especially staying there requires strong "self-confidence" (a kind word for pride). Christians try to give God the credit, but pride is always a struggle for every human being who wants to believe that success

is something earned.

Boastfulness is insecure pride. President Trump, who is mostly a brand built on gold-plated, everything is about me PRIDE, is an extreme example. He simply cannot tolerate anyone stepping on his being the biggest and best at anything, even on petty things like the inaugural crowd size or whether he's called more war widows than Obama did.

They say your traits become most apparent when no one is watching. I felt the most unexpected, unscripted moment of the presidential debates was when Trump paused to wait when he saw Carson standing confused in the hallway leading to the debate platform. His instinct was to wait while the other candidates didn't even flinch as they walked on by. There wasn't the slight hesitation for a brainy "being kind could be useful" action. I mean, I don't want to ruin his brand, but perhaps Donald Trump instinctually can actually be kind.

This angle may be the most important in deciding who will control Congress, including the critical United States Senate seat in Indiana, in 2018. Will voters choose kind, moderately prideful people in politics, or does the nastiest person win? ❖

Souder is a former Indiana Republican congressman.

President Daniels, from page 1

sity. But on this day Daniels informed the IndyStar's Mary Beth Schneider that he would not run for the White House.

He unleashed this bombshell by saying, "Over the last year and a half, a large and diverse group of people have suggested to me an idea that I never otherwise would have considered, that I run for president. I've asked for time to think it over carefully, but these good people have been very patient and I owe them an answer. The answer is that I will not be a candidate. What could have been a complicated decision was in the end very simple: On matters affecting us all, our family constitution gives a veto to the women's caucus, and there is no override provision. Simply put, I find myself caught between two duties. I love my country; I love my family more."

So May 21, 2011, became the day that set in motion the events that brought us President Trump. As 2011 evolved into 2012,

it was former Massachusetts Gov. Mitt Romney who would win the Republican nomination. Romney would likely have made a decent president, but he lacked the common touch that Gov. Daniels and President Barack Obama had. In clumsy fashion, Romney invoked the "47%" that brought him ridicule and defeat in a year where all of the economic telltales should have predicated an Obama reelection defeat.

During the 2008 campaign when not only did Daniels and Obama campaign on parallel paths – Daniels for reelection and Obama on an inspirational out-of-the-blue whirlwind to the White House – the common threads were apparent. Both consorted easily with the common man. Karl Berron of the Indiana Realtors remembers Daniels showing up at an event where the VIPs gathered at the front of the room awaiting his arrival. Daniels showed up without an entourage, walked past the VIPs and first engaged with the common staff.

Daniels could easily chat with blue collar workers and farmers just as naturally as he could biochemists and astrophysicists. He stayed in regular

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Thursday, May 26, 2011

Daniels joins Bayh on family sidelines

Governor's decision to opt out of presidential race alters Indiana landscape

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS - For the second time in 18 months, a towering Hoosier ruling figure chose family over ambition, significantly altering the political landscape that has undergone dramatic change here in the past decade.

As was the case with former U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh, the public fate of Gov. Mitch Daniels, wife and family played a significant – though not primary role, he said – in his decision not to seek the Republican presidential nomination.

Daniels' "vetting statement to the Indianapolis Star late Saturday night ended one of the stranger chapters in Hoosier politics with a draft movement for the presidency the governor insisted he didn't start and didn't intend. But it seemed to mirror a similar scenario that emerged between 2002 and 2003 when he entered the gubernatorial race.

"Over the last year and a half, a large and diverse

Gov. Daniels prepares to speak to the press on Tuesday as his spokeswoman Jane Jankowski adjusts a tape recorder at RUPU. (HPH Photo by Brian A. Howe)

group of people have suggested to me an idea that I never otherwise would have considered, that I run for President."

Continued on page 3

The elevator ride

By MARK SCHOEFF JR.

WASHINGTON - Waiting in the J.W. Marriott lobby for Gov. Mitch Daniels to return from a White House meeting in late February, I was confident that I would get some kind of story, or at least a viable Daily Wire brief.

Daniels was back in Washington for a second time that month. A few weeks earlier, the buzz about a potential Daniels presidential candidacy grew louder following a boffo speech before the Conservative Political Action Conference. At the moment, the White House and Capitol Hill Republicans were either

“The president really pre-empted the relationship.”

- Sen. Dick Lugar, on President Obama touting his friendship during the 2008 campaign

Hoosier homes throughout his decade on the campaign trail or in office, eschewing high-dollar hotel rooms. And like Obama, he crafted his own campaign strategies, slogans, speeches and timelines.

Mitch Daniels was the most natural compilation of political and policy skill ever wrapped into one Hoosier body and soul. At his CPAC speech in February, 2011, commentator George Will described him by saying, "Never has there been a higher ratio between mind and mass."

In February, 2016, during a *Howey Politics Indiana* interview in his office at Purdue, Daniels acknowledged he believed he had a real shot at the Republican nomination. But he added he probably wouldn't have defeated President Obama. This notion brought about respectful disagreement from this writer.

While Obama had rescued the domestic auto industry (which helped him win the critical state of Ohio in 2012), there were so many economic precursors that should have derailed his reelection. There was a record 2.9 million mortgage foreclosures in 2010. The jobless rate hovered around 8% and only one incumbent president had won reelection with unemployment over 7% (President Reagan in 1984). On Election Day 2012, it stood at 7.9%. The fourth quarter GDP in 2011 stood at an anemic 2.8%. There were 46.7 million people on food stamps. There had been 613 new federal regulations in the first 33 months of his presidency.

In his 2012 *State of the Union* address, Obama told a restless nation, "The state of our Union is getting stronger. Last year, they created the most jobs since 2005. American manufacturers are hiring again, creating jobs for the first time since the late 1990s. Together,

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Mitch in Wonderland

Even close allies aren't sure whether Gov. Daniels will seek the White House

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**
 WASHINGTON - The Indiana governor is famous for writing his own speeches and TV ads, and building intricate strategies and timelines to achieve significant goals. But this past week, even the most ardent Mitch Daniels supporters weren't sure what they were seeing.

It was Mitch in Wonderland. As he wowed the elite Reagan Dinner crowd at CPAC and the rave reviews spilled in, many close to the governor weren't sure whether they were witnessing a campaign for president, or perhaps vice president. Catch some of these people at a different time and they don't think he's running. Another day and another hour, they do. Some see an audience of one - First Lady Cheri Daniels - as the governor orchestrates this strategy clear

only him and a few trusted aides and friends. In the national media gallery and within the various CPAC delegations last weekend, there was intrigue galore on the policy sense as there were whispers about the governor's marriage. It opened up questions about whether Mitch and Cheri Daniels would be ready for prying media

Gov. Mitch Daniels addresses the Reagan Dinner for the American Conservative Union Foundation last Friday night in Washington. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

Continued on page 3

we've agreed to cut the deficit by more than \$2 trillion. And we've put in place new rules to hold Wall Street accountable, so a crisis like this never happens again. No, we will not go back to an economy weakened by outsourcing, bad debt, and phony financial profits."

Gov. Daniels gave the rebuttal, stating, "The President did not cause the economic and fiscal crises that continue in America tonight, but he was elected on a promise to fix them, and he cannot claim that the last three years have

made things anything but worse; the percentage of Americans with a job is at the lowest in decades."

The Christian Science Monitor described the Romney disaster, quoting former RNC Chairman Haley Barbour, who portrayed Romney as "a wealthy plutocrat married to a known equestrian." And CSM would later observe, as a presidential candidate, Romney ran to the right to win the nomination, then tacked back to the center in his convention speech and in the debates. Conservatives weren't sure they could trust him, and moderates weren't sure he would really have the political freedom to be one of them if he won the White House. Romney was left looking as if he lacked a political core. With his loss, Republicans had lost four of the previous six presidential elections and in two others (2000 and 2016) the nominee didn't win the popular vote.

A political core was distinctly in the Daniels wheelhouse. He governed as a progressive economic conservative, yet signed restrictive abortion legislation without alienating the GOP's business base. In 2010, Daniels called for a "truce on social issues" that did not bring a strident



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rebuke from the religious conservatives, evading controversy that ended Gov. Mike Pence's presidential quest five years hence. Daniels had the unique ability to thread the needle, walk the tightrope and assuage the fears across the broader Republican spectrum.

In retrospect, even though the economy recovered under Obama, even though the trillion dollar deficits pulled back into the mid-billions, even though he had eliminated Osama bin Laden, there was a sense of scorn on Main Street. None of the Wall Street barons had been punished for the 2008 economic collapse. There was this black man living in the White House with a middle name "Hussein." Hoosier folks wondered why, as POS pollster Gene Ulm noted to HPI in 2016, their adult children were still living in their basements. The widespread perception was that illegal immigrants, drug dealers and terrorists were spilling over the Mexican border. A methamphetamine/opioid epidemic was beginning to take conspicuous hold across vast stretches of the red states, and in tandem beginning in 2015, billionaire former Democrat Donald Trump and socialist Sen. Bernie Sanders presented this indictment of the status quo: That the economic and political institutions had been "rigged" against the middle class.

Trump became the so-called "blue collar billionaire" who channeled a forceful message to alarmed and anxiety-ridden Republican voters who were looking for a savior.

All of this begs the historical hypothetical: Could a U.S. "President Daniels" have taken power, gotten America's fiscal and entitlement house in order to create a new order that would have brought the growing angst at bay? Could he have provided an American "Major Moves" that actually built things and began a trek to Mars? Would Common Core have been discredited? Would the federal deficit have declined to the Rolling Stones tune of "You Can't Always Get What You Want?"

May 21, 2011, Part 2

The other historical part of May 21, 2011, was the second half of Daniels's statement. "I am deeply concerned, for the first time in my life, about the future of our Republic," Daniels explained. "In the next few years Americans will decide two basic sets of questions: Who's in charge here? Should the public sector protect and promote the private sector or dominate and direct it? Does the government work for the people or vice versa? And, are we Americans still the kind of people who can successfully govern ourselves, discipline ourselves financially, put the future and our children's interests ahead of the present

and our own? I am confident that the answers will reaffirm the liberty and vitality of our nation, and hope to play some small part in proving that view true."

The prelude to this was the February, 2011, CPAC speech in which Daniels warned, "We face an enemy, lethal to liberty, and even more implacable than those America has defeated before. We cannot deter it; there is no countervailing danger we can pose. We cannot negotiate with it, any more than with an iceberg or a Great White. I refer, of course, to the debts our nation has amassed for itself over decades of indulgence. It is the new Red Menace, this time consisting of ink. We can debate its origins endlessly and search for villains on ideological grounds, but the reality is pure arithmetic. No enterprise, small or large, public or private, can remain self-governing, let alone successful, so deeply in hock to others as we are about to be."

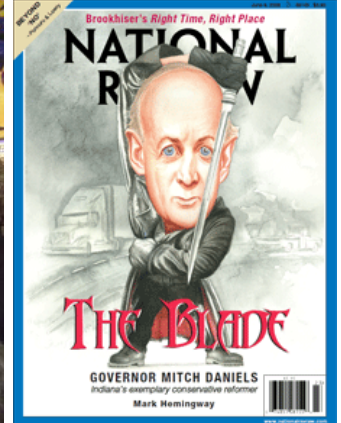


Daniels spoke of a "morbidly obese" American government in need of "bariatric surgery," adding the need for "an affectionate 'thank you' to the major social welfare programs of the last century, but they're sunseting when those currently or soon to be

enrolled have passed off the scene. The creation of new Social Security and Medicare compacts with the young people who will pay for their elders and who deserve to have a backstop available to them in their own retirement. These programs should reserve their funds for those most in need of them. They should be updated to catch up to Americans' increasing longevity and good health. Medicare 2.0 should restore to the next generation the dignity of making their own decisions, by delivering its dollars directly to the individual."

While Daniels possessed uncanny political and policy instincts, in February, 2016, even he didn't have

full grasp about what Trumpism would unleash on the political spectrum. On Feb. 1, 2016, he wasn't convinced that Trump could win the Republican nomination, even though long-time patron Jeb Bush and the rest of the GOP field was floundering. The irony is that Trump would capture the nomination in Daniels' own Indiana and in this sequence, the mogul began pushing the boundaries over whether there would be the "discipline" necessary to govern.



On the morning of the Indiana primary, Trump would allege that U.S. Sen. Ted Cruz's father was implicated in the JFK assassination, citing the National Enquirer. He would go on to criticize U.S. Sen. John McCain for being a POW, spar with Gold Star mothers, get his Purple Heart from an admirer "the easy way," back a Muslim ban that Pence had once described as "unconstitutional and offensive," and brag about grabbing female anatomy and the size of the types of body parts that had been outside the political spectrum since 1998-99.

But more alarming from the Daniels "red menace" perspective is that throughout the 2016 campaign, no one – not Donald Trump, not Hillary Clinton or Mike Pence and

Tim Kaine – talked about the staggering debt poised to be passed on to the Millennials and generations beyond. There was no talk of entitlement reform. Zero.

Trump has cut back on federal regulations and the bureaucracy, though there doesn't seem to be a coherent strategy on the manpower front. The State Department is a shell, and as we approach the brink of war with North Korea, there is no ambassador to Seoul or even an Asian under secretary.

Today, with President Trump in need of a victory, any legislative victory after two Senate health reform debacles, he is preparing a budget and subsequent "tax reform" (he's now calling it a "tax cut") that will blow

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open deficit spending over the next decade by about \$1.5 trillion. Longtime deficit hawks like Pence and U.S. Reps. Luke Messer and Todd Rokita are molting their feathers in order for a policy buzz and headlines in a fool's errand to avoid what Trump is predicting will be a 2018 GOP blow-out, aided and abetted by henchman Bannon.

Trump warned House conference members that a defeat of his budget and tax plans would mean the loss of a GOP majority in 2018.

Epilogue

A few days after the 2011 bombshell, Daniels met with the Indiana press. "This is not something I would have thought about doing if I weren't really alarmed about the position of the country," he said at IUPUI. "If the country was in a stable, normal state and the future looked good, I wouldn't have thought about it for a second. But the country is not. This nation is facing what the president's own Deficit Commission chairman says is the most predictable crisis in history and we're not doing anything about it. And that's why I thought about it at all."

Think about that. Daniels said that in May, 2011. It's now late 2017 and nothing has changed. The Baby Boomers are retiring at a rate of 10,000 a day. Medicare and Medicaid are stressing and in about a decade, Social Security will be writhing in that neighborhood.

At this writing, Republican Senate Foreign Relations Chairman Corker went on the Today Show and said, "For young people to be watching, not only here in our country, but around the world, someone of this mentality as president of the United States is something that is debasing to our country. You would think he would aspire to be the president of the United States and act like a president of the United States. But that's just not going to be the case, apparently,"

In a lunch I had with long-time Daniels Eli Lilly colleague Randall Tobias years ago, I envisioned Mitch Daniels as a modern President James K. Polk. He would come to the Oval Office content on serving a term, but with compact and far-reaching goals not aimed at his own reelection. It would all be about keeping the Republic. He would reform entitlements, get the fiscal house in order, unconcerned about the potential political consequences. He would spend huge amounts of political capital, use his considerable personal skills or deploy his enforcers, and end the inertia on Capitol Hill.

Long-time ally Mark Lubbers agrees. "I don't think there is a more significant exercise in alternative history than: What if Mitch Daniels had run for president in 2012? And, sadly, I think history has already begun to unfold in a way that proves this is not a Cassandraic exag-

geration. The contest would have been epic. The caliber of candidates and competing ideas would have merited comparison only to Adams/Jefferson and McKinley/Bryan. Some argue he wouldn't have won. I say he would have won going away. Everything would be different."

Lubbers continued, "The political fabric of the nation would not only be intact but on its way to being beautifully rewoven. The Red Menace would be well on its way to defeat, forestalling the impoverishment of the Millennial Generation, and saving the dollar as the reserve currency of the world. The idea of wealth creation would be transitioning from economic buzzword to moral imperative. New immigrants would be pledging allegiance and funding Social Security. Harder to see the international repercussions, but I think the ISIS caliphate would have been thwarted from the outset, and hundreds of Syrian children – living in proximity of Mitch's grandfather's birthplace – would be alive and thriving today. If string theory is correct, it would be nice to visit the parallel universe where MD and the country are enjoying his second term."

Today we find one-sixth of the U.S. economy in a health care death spiral. We appear to be on the verge of a nuclear war. Trump the deal maker doesn't have the attention span or decision-making abilities get things done, dumping everything from health reform, to Iran, to Dreamers, on an inert Congress. Trump betrays his base, who not only sent him to Washington to end the rigged system, but to put in place something that would serve them well.

Or as New York Times columnist Thomas Friedman observed, "It took almost a year, but we now have the 'Trump Doctrine.' It's very simple. And, as you'd expect, it fits neatly into a tweet. On nearly every major issue, President Trump's position is: 'Obama built it. I broke it. You fix it.' It's Trump's willingness to unravel so many long-standing policies and institutions at once – from NAFTA, to Obamacare, to the global climate accord, to the domestic clean power initiative, to the Pacific trade deal, to the Iran nuclear deal – without any real preparation either on the day before or for the morning after."

Mitch Daniels had the skills to create intricate policy strategies that became a well-spring for his politics. He had ability to build an adroit team which consistently moved the needle, as we witnessed for eight years at the Statehouse and since at Purdue University. He possessed the communication skills that bring the public majority to his side.

In today's debased chaos, it's easy to understand that for those of us here in Indiana who knew him best, May 20, 2011, seemed like a day when the Daniels beacon was about to beam across America. ❖



GOP canaries chirp their warnings in Trump's civil war

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – As the Republican deficit hawks molt into deficit doves, the GOP canaries – President George W. Bush and Sens. John McCain, Bob Corker and

Jeff Flake – have chirped out their warnings. It comes on the heels of President Trump's bizarre criticism of one of the nation's newest Gold Star mothers. It comes as a third U.S. Navy carrier strike force heads toward to Korean peninsula, with the USS Nimitz joining the USS Ronald Reagan and USS Theodore Roosevelt.

A week ago Bush43 said, "We have seen our discourse degraded by casual cruelty.

We've seen nationalism distorted into nativism; forgotten the dynamism that immigration has always brought to America. Bullying and prejudice in our public life sets a national tone, provides permission for cruelty and bigotry, and compromises the moral education of children. The only way to pass along civic values is to first live up to them."

From McCain, we heard, "To fear the world we have organized and led for three-quarters of a century, to abandon the ideals we have advanced around the globe, to refuse the obligations of international leadership and our duty to remain 'the last best hope of earth' for the sake of some half-baked, spurious nationalism cooked up by people who would rather find scapegoats than solve problems is as unpatriotic as an attachment to any other tired dogma of the past that Americans consigned to the ash heap of history."

From Senate Foreign Relations Chairman Corker, not only sounding alarms about Trump igniting a nuclear World War III, on Tuesday he said Trump was "debas-ing" American politics, explaining, "I don't know why he lowers himself to such a low, low standard and is debasing our country,"

adding that Trump "purposely has been breaking down relationships around the world. It's unfortunate that our nation finds itself in this place."

And from Flake on the Senate floor, we heard: "We have again forgotten who we are supposed to be. There is a sickness in our system – and it is contagious. How many more disgraceful public feuds with Gold Star families can we witness in silence before we ourselves are disgraced? How many more times will we see moral ambiguity in the face of shocking bigotry and shrug it off? How many more childish insults do we need to see hurled at a hostile foreign power before we acknowledge the senseless danger of it? How much more damage to our democracy and to the institutions of American liberty do we need to witness in silence before we count ourselves as complicit in that damage?"

As the chirping fades, the reality is that Trump, Steve Bannon and Vice President Pence's chief of staff, Nick Ayres, have won the opening round of the GOP civil war. "There is zero appetite for the 'Never Trump' movement in the Republican Party of today," Andy Surabian, an adviser to Great America Alliance, told the New York Times. "This party is now defined by President Trump and his movement."

"We're not an element," Laura Ingraham, a pro-Trump talk show host, told NYT. "We're the party."

It could be a Pyrrhic victory. If you want Exhibit A in what an intra-party civil war looks like, check out Indiana circa 2012 when Republicans jettisoned U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar for Richard Mourdock. Lugar's 36-year hold on that Senate seat ended with the election of Democrat Joe Donnelly.

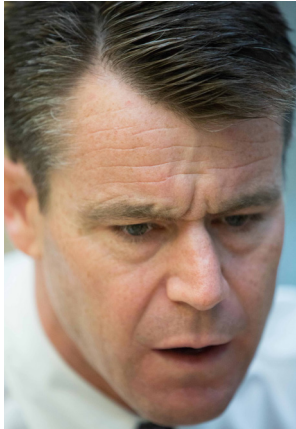
It was totally predictable. In a Howe Politics/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll conducted in March 2012, Lugar had a 50-29% lead over Donnelly in a general election head-to-head, whereas Mourdock and Donnelly were tied at 35%. While Mourdock won a landslide primary victory over Lugar, he spent the following weeks alienating the Lugar wing of the party and, along with controversial quotes, it cost him the election.

Heading into the 2018 mid-terms, the data sets are dismal for Trump and the Republicans. Trump's Indiana approval stands at 41%, compared to 45% who disapprove, according to the results of the Old National Bank/Ball State University 2017 Hoosier Survey, with 77% of Republicans approving. "These survey results add to the evidence that the president's approval



has slipped a great deal since January,” Chad Kinsella, a political science professor at the Bowen Center for Public Affairs, which conducts the annual survey, told the Indianapolis Star.

Trump’s approve/disapproves are 36/58% in the latest Gallup tracking, 38/58% in Ipsos/Reuters, 38/54% in Marist, and 43/56% in Rasmussen. All are at or near historic lows for a first-year incumbent president. A Fox News Poll released Wednesday shows Trump has dived 30% among independents (see page 14).



U.S. Sens. Jeff Flake, Bob Corker and John McCain have all sounded alarms about President Trump’s impact on the U.S. and the Republican Party, and Sen. Todd Young agrees with Sen. Flake.

Direction of the country? Marist has it 31/63% wrong/right track; Rasmussen puts it at 33/61%. The Congressional job approval stands at 13%/80% approve/disapprove in Gallup, while the Economist/YouGov puts it a 8/71%. Ipsos/Reuters puts it at 19/68%.

And the Congressional generic? CNN has it 54% Democrat and 38% Republican. In the GOP wave election year of 1994 when it picked up 54 House seats, Democrats actually led the generic ballot 47-42% in an ABC News Poll just prior to the election. In 2010, when Republicans picked up 63 House seats (including two in Indiana) Republicans had a 49-45% lead that October. So a 16% lead heading into 2018 portends a Republican congressional blowout. It’s backed up by strong third quarter FEC reports from Democrats Liz Watson and Daniel Canan in the 9th CD, William Tanoos in the 8th and even Courtney Tritch in the deep red 3rd CD.

Indiana is a fascinating study in Trumpism. He won the 2016 primary here with 53% of the vote, with the support of Bob Knight, Gene Keady and Lou Holtz, but with none of the Republican establishment. They came around when Gov. Mike Pence was added to the ticket in July, and Trump won the state by 19% that November. But that is beginning to fade with Mark It Red putting Trump’s approve/disapprove at 47/50% and Morning Consult at 49.8/44.9%, a 17% dropoff from its January tracking.

While Indiana U.S. Senate candidates Luke Messer and Todd Rokita are openly embracing Trump (whose favorability among Hoosier Republicans stood at 87% in the Mark It Red survey), and State Rep. Mike Braun is courting Steve Bannon’s insurgency, U.S. Sen. Todd Young did not discredit Flake’s warnings, telling WNDU-TV on Tuesday,

“He said some powerful things. He is a principled person who says that he wasn’t going to give up on principle. He indicated that character counts. He said that integrity counts in leaders, and he also pointed out some specific policy areas continuing to be supportive of free markets, continuing to embrace peoples from a variety of backgrounds. He thinks that’s what our party should stand for; I happen to agree with him. To this U.S. senator, his message was one that I would I embrace.”

Young added, “With respect to comments about

our commander in chief, Hoosiers didn’t send me here to engage in back and forth about those sorts of things. I’m focused on trying to create jobs that pay better and do what I can to keep Americans safe and secure.”

Mike Allen observes in Wednesday’s Axios: “President Trump enjoys public support (despite private gripes) from most of the 49 other Senate Republicans and 239 House Republicans, including every person in elected leadership. Trump got standing ovations from Senate Republicans, with Corker in the room. This flows from his strong, sustained support of GOP voters. Corker is right, Republicans in private cringe at the thought of President Trump. But it’s meaningless if they publicly bow to him, routinely vote for him and never condemn him. With few accomplishments, countless petty GOP fights and slights, Trump is strong as ever. Flake is the proof. While cable lapped up his anti-Trump retirement speech (‘I will not be complicit’), the truth is he was forced out because he wrote a book critical of the president and saw his base turn on him. If Flake ran, he was toast. Once Corker turned, he was probably toast, too. Tennessee Republicans prefer Trump to Corker, too.”

Allen adds, “For all the warnings of how harshly history will judge the Trump enablers, that history will need to be told in an exceptionally long book – because the vast majority of Republicans are forever marked as Trump Republicans.”

But you can always find yet another canary who warns of Mourdockian implications, with Republican strategist Alex Conant explaining, “To be successful, Trump needs a united Republican Party. A divided party loses elections.” ❖

Old Hickory and The Donald

By **CRAIG DUNN**

KOKOMO – You may like Donald Trump. You may hate Donald Trump. You may think he’s the greatest thing since sliced bread or the devil incarnate. Think what you will, there is something that all of us can agree on. Donald Trump has certainly not been a boring president.

Folks who don’t live in a history book might be inclined to think that Donald Trump is the most controversial and disruptive president that our nation has ever seen. While Trump has created his share of chaos and angst in the halls of political power, he can’t hold a candle to President Andrew Jackson.



It is revealing that Donald Trump added a portrait of Jackson to the Oval Office shortly after his inauguration. If Andrew Jackson is President Trump’s role model, then he couldn’t have picked a better

example of a president who didn’t give two hoots about what his party or the press thought of him. Jackson came to Washington to drain the swamp as he saw it and, “whoa Nellie,” did he ever do it.

As we consider Andrew Jackson, it might serve us well to remember that Hurricane Jackson blew into Washington in an era where only newspapers existed for dissemination of news and commentary. As we reflect on Jackson, try and imagine his presidency as viewed through the lens of television journalism, the internet, Facebook posts, Tweets and the New York Times.

President Andrew Jackson certainly created a stir in Washington, D.C., when he showed up with his entourage of uncouth and unkempt westerners in buckskin. Jackson, who reportedly fought more than 100 duels in his life, was not one to back down from a fight. In one duel, he took the first musket ball in his chest and then steadied himself long enough to shoot his opponent dead. There is no doubt that Jackson sent shivers through the ranks of both friends and foes alike.

Jackson did not follow a genteel path to the White House. He served as a courier in the Revolution-

ary War, was captured by the British and was physically scarred for life by a British officer who demanded Jackson shine his boots. When Jackson refused, the officer slashed Jackson’s hand and face with his sword.

After short stints as a United States representative, senator and Tennessee federal judge, Jackson ascended to command of the Tennessee militia. He won rave reviews for his campaigns against the marauding Indians of Tennessee and Georgia. He was focused and merciless in his goal to remove the Indian as a threat to the people in his jurisdiction.

Jackson was called to United States military service during the War of 1812. While battling the Red Stick Tribe during the war, Jackson received a name from the Indians. He was called Jacksa Chula Harjo, “Jackson old and fierce.” At the end of the war Jackson won everlasting glory and a ticket to Washington with his amazing victory over the British at the Battle of New Orleans.

In the 1824 presidential campaign, Jackson won the popular vote and a plurality of the Electoral College vote. Unfortunately for Jackson, he failed to win a majority of the Electoral College and the election was sent to the House of Representatives. There, after much wheeling and dealing, John Quincy Adams was narrowly elected president. Jackson would not forget.

Four years later, Jackson’s populist supporters, beating the drum of a new political party called the Democratic Party, carried the Tennessean to a 66% winning margin in the Electoral College. Jackson ran on a variety of controversial issues, including a belief that Congress should do the will of the American people or they should resign.

Sound familiar?

The 1828 campaign was as nasty as anything that



could be imagined. Jackson’s wife, Rachel, was accused of committing bigamy and Jackson of adultery. Rachel had divorced an abusive husband in 1794 and had subsequently married Jackson later that same year. Although the divorce was granted, apparently not all of the paperwork had been signed. This attack continued throughout the entire campaign and President Jackson attributed the attack’s withering

effect to Rachel's death three months after taking office. Jackson was heard to say at her funeral, "God may forgive her killers, but I won't!"

Jackson's first action upon taking office was to drain the swamp. He fired 996 federal employees and replaced them with his close associates and supporters. He was forced to immediately deal with a bank and monetary crisis. His experience in battling the powerful bankers led him to move for the elimination of the National Bank. He went as far as pulling all federal monies from the bank.

Jackson aggressively promoted a treaty to remove Indians from the southern part of the United States to barren territory in Oklahoma. The Trail of Tears, the movement of the Cherokees on foot, in winter, to Oklahoma in compliance with the treaty, led to 5,000 deaths. The New England elitists, religious leaders and Jackson enemies excoriated the president for this action.

He thwarted the efforts of South Carolina to secede from the Union by brashly promising to go to South Carolina and "Hang the first secessionist I can find from the first tree I can find!"

In foreign policy matters he worked surreptitiously with Sam Houston and other like-minded settlers living in the Mexican territory of Texas to foment revolt in the territory with an eye on future inclusion in the United States.

The most frequent criticism leveled at Jackson over his career was that he ignored the United States Constitution when it suited his needs. Accused of bullying and forcing his will on the country instead of adhering to the Constitution, Jackson didn't run in fear of the document.

Whether it was illegally declaring martial law in New Orleans, invading Spanish Florida and executing British citizens, removing federal deposits from the National Bank or questioning the Supreme Court decision in Worcester v. Georgia (establishing federal supremacy over all Indian matters), Jackson moved in the direction set by his own moral compass.

There is no debating it. When Andrew Jackson arrived in Washington, he danced over the establishment the way his supporters danced in the White House ballroom wearing their hobnailed boots. Eight years of fights, battles, blustering, threats and naked use of presidential power left their marks all over government. And yet, in the final analysis, Jackson achieved much. He preserved the Union by



thwarting nullification, his actions behind the scenes eventually brought Texas into the United States, and he restored faith in our currency. He paid off the national debt! It is his face staring back at us from a \$20 bill, a fact that his contemporaries would have thought preposterous.

Despite a long list of political enemies both in government and in the press, Jackson was reelected in a landslide. As unpopular as many of Jackson's policies had been with the ruling elite, they were widely welcomed by the farmers, laborers and mechanics who elected him. I suspect that President Trump is aware of this fact and sees himself as a modern Jackson.

The presidency of Donald Trump is still in the first quarter. How his entire presidency will be evaluated has yet to be determined. It may not even be determined in our lifetime. Someday, perhaps, we may be looking at a smiling Trump staring back at us from a \$20,000 bill. Who knows?

President Donald Trump might do well to follow the words of wisdom spoken by our seventh United States president, his apparent hero. Andrew Jackson advised: "Any man worth his salt will stick up for what he believes right, but it takes a slightly better man to acknowledge instantly and without reservation that he is in error."

I'm not sure if this will fit in a tweet, but it would be a good one for the president. I'm not sure I'll hold my breath waiting for that. ❖

Dunn is the former chairman of the Howard County Republican Party and has authored two books on the Civil War.

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

Congressional fields continue to grow

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Congressional fields continued to grow in the 2nd and 4th CDs this past week.

In the 4th, State Rep. Jim Baird, R-Greencastle, joins Steve Braun, Diego Morales and Jared Thomas in the Republican primary. "There is a tremendous need for a common sense approach to fix the broken system in Washington. We need new leaders in Washington who will stand up for West Central Indiana and actually get

things done for the American people," Baird said on Thursday. "I want every American to have the opportunity to enjoy success, prosperity and freedom. A limited government approach, rooted in constitutional principles, will be

what preserves the American dream for the next generation of this wonderful country. I look forward to listening to the concerns of my fellow citizens in District 4 and the opportunity to win grassroots support throughout West Central Indiana."

Baird currently serves as state representative from HD44 and had served as a Putnam County commissioner prior to his election to the Indiana House (Greencastle Banner-Graphic).

In the 2nd CD, South Bend attorney Mary Patricia "Pat" Hackett Tuesday confirmed her plans to seek the Democratic nomination for the 2nd District congressional seat next year (Parrott, South Bend Tribune), joining Yatish Joshi and Mel Hall in that race. "I'm running because I want to assist not only my party but the country in reclaiming, rebuilding and furthering our pluralistic democracy and our commitment to the human dignity of all people," Hackett said Tuesday. "Jackie Walorski is facilitating an administration that poses a grave risk to our democracy."

Hackett, 58, originally from Detroit, has lived in South Bend for 40 years. For the past 26 years she has worked as an attorney, specializing in estate, probate and health care law with the law firm Barnes & Thornburg for eight years, served as in-house counsel for Holy Cross Health System (now called Trinity Health System) for two years, joined the Baker & Daniels firm for five years, and has run her own firm since 2006. Hackett seven years ago married Rita Koehler. She acknowledged that being openly gay could cause her some problems in the district's more rural and conservative parts.

"I think many people have woken up since the election of Donald Trump," Hackett said. "I think people who have not had the opportunity to know people in committed same-gender marriages can have a hard time with

this," she said. "I'm hoping people can come to know me as a person, the values I hold and the competency that I bring. My education, my professional life, my work as an attorney... I think I've been preparing for this my whole life and it's time for me to get involved."

Hackett joins a field that includes Mel Hall, former CEO of health care survey firm Press Ganey, and Yatish Joshi, an Indian-born businessman and CEO of South Bend-based GTA Containers. The winner will face Republican incumbent Walorski in the November 2018 general election.

Joshi said he wants to "ignite a change and bring civility back to Congress." Joshi, 67, announced his candidacy at his campaign office on Sycamore Street, just south of LaSalle Avenue, before a crowd of enthusiastic supporters. His announcement came a week after United Methodist minister-turned-CEO Mel Hall announced he will run as a Democrat for the seat. Hall had been guarded when asked his thoughts on Republican President Donald Trump, saying "the jury is still out" on whether he's been a good president. Trump easily carried the 2nd District in November. By contrast, Joshi minced few words, saying Trump's win over Democrat Hillary Clinton was a "wake-up call" for him and other Democrats. "I don't think he's a good president," Joshi said. "He doesn't know what he's doing. He is doing everything off the cuff. His big thing is about Twitter and that's it. You cannot run foreign policy and talk to



State Rep. Jim Baird (top left) in the 4th CD, Pat Hackett and Yatish Joshi have all kicked off campaigns this past week.

people on the Twitter. He has no policies. Whatever comes to his mind at that moment, that is the policy. That's one of the reasons I am running for Congress."

U.S. Senate

Rep. Braun resigns from House

State Rep. Mike Braun (R-Jasper) announced he

will step down from the Legislature on Nov. 1 (Grant, Washington Times Herald). "Serving the people of Southwest Indiana for the past three years has been both a rewarding and humbling experience," Braun said. "During my time in the General Assembly, I've helped craft two balanced budgets and pass the largest state and local infrastructure investment in Indiana's history. I've used my expertise as a business owner when supporting laws that continue to create a welcoming environment for businesses to start and grow their operations in our state. I'll miss working alongside my fellow House members, but hope to continue serving Hoosiers in a different capacity in the future." Braun, who is running in a crowded Republican field for the nomination next spring for the U.S. Senate, told the Washington Times Herald the Senate run became too much to continue at the statehouse. "My run for the Senate is going well and it has become more than a fulltime job," he said. "I have received a lot of support but between the campaigning, the travel and the fundraising, there was not enough time to do both. I talked with the House speaker and told him I needed more time to work on the campaign and he understood."



Braun also launched a super PAC. "Mike Braun brings the business sense and outside-the-beltway thinking that people are looking for," David Carney, a New Hampshire-based strategist running the PAC, said in a statement announcing its formation Thursday (Groppe, IndyStar). Carney oversaw a super PAC which spent \$1.5 million helping Rep. Trey Hollingsworth win Indiana's 9th Congressional District last year. That PAC was funded by Hollingsworth's father.

Rokita, Braun reach out to Bannon

Former White House chief strategist Steve Bannon is increasingly expanding his proclaimed "season of war" against establishment Senate Republicans to include primary races in states with Democratic incumbents, hoping to sway GOP challengers toward his nationalist/populist movement and against Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (Arkin & Huey-Burns, Real Clear Politics). In Indiana, Rep. Todd Rokita and Braun have reached out to Bannon about setting up meetings, and one with Braun is expected to take place soon, according to a source familiar with the planning. Both Rokita and Rep. Luke Messer, the two House members running for Senate in Indiana, hedged when asked about their support for McConnell. "I'm so focused on our own primary I haven't spent a lot of time thinking about that," Messer said in an interview late last month. (A spokesman didn't return emails Wednesday asking if he still holds that view.) "The biggest issue in my

primary is folks want to see a Senate that's supportive of President Trump's agenda, and that's what I intend to do when I get an opportunity to serve in the United States Senate." When asked about support for McConnell, Nathan Brand, a spokesman for Rokita's campaign, said, "Republicans in Indiana are united around the fact that Joe Donnelly does not share Hoosier values. Washington elites like Donnelly are the problem in the Senate."

Rokita blasts Obamacare

Rokita told WSBT reporter Bob Montgomery what changes he wants to see for the country and his opinion on several controversial topics (WSBT-TV). Health care should be reformed with block grants, Rokita says. "What I mean by that is taking property that the federal government has confiscated, our tax dollars, and giving it back to us, the states, and let the states and local legislators decide what health care should look like," Rokita said. He believes the main priority on immigration should be the wall. "Using brick and mortar, using technology, to keep our nation sovereign. A nation cannot be sovereign if it cannot control the borders," Rokita said. He said that he is in favor of a tax cut across the board and also in favor of reducing the debt.

General Assembly

Garten announces for SD45

A Scottsburg Republican announced Tuesday he is running for the Indiana State Senate to represent District 45, the seat currently held by Sen. Jim Smith (Beilman, News & Tribune). Chris Garten formed an exploratory committee to run for the seat in May. According to a news release, he has raised more than \$70,000 since then. Smith, also a Republican, announced two weeks ago that he is not seeking reelection in 2018 when his term expires. Garten is president of Signature Countertops, Inc. and is a Marine Corps veteran who served two combat tours in Iraq in 2003 and in 2005-2006. He transferred to the Inactive Ready Reserve as a gunnery sergeant.

GOP sets caucuses for HD63, HD74

Indiana Republican State Chairman Kyle Hupfer officially called caucuses of eligible precinct committee members to fill the scheduled vacancy in the office of House District 63, the seat currently held by State Rep. Mike Braun, and the current vacancy in House District 74, the seat most recently held by former State Rep. Lloyd Arnold, a news release announced (Howey Politics Indiana).

The House District 63 caucus will be at 6 p.m. ET on Monday, Oct. 30, in the Pfeffenweiler Room of Jasper's City Hall located at 610 Main St. The House District 74 caucus will be held at 6 p.m. CT, 7 p.m. ET, on Monday, Nov. 6 at Perry Central High School, 18877 Old State Road 37, Leopold, IN.

President

Trump approval down in Fox Poll

President Donald Trump's approval rating reached the lowest mark it has been in any Fox News poll, 38%. In Fox News' latest poll released Wednesday, the percentage of voters who approve of the president dropped 4 percentage points from September month and a full 10 points since the poll's first post-inaugural results in February, while the number of those who disapprove — 57% — rose to a new high under his administration. The findings highlight a continued erosion of national support for the president, who received low mark across several major policy areas. Approval for President Trump remained high, however, among Republican voters, who overwhelmingly favored his performance at 83%. His support among independents dropped to 30% while 9 in 10 Democrats registered their discontent with the president's performance.

Potential independent candidates

While some think that President Trump could run for reelection as an independent, his forcing Sens. Jeff Flake and Bob Corker into retirement make it more likely

he might run as a Republican. Speculating on who might run as an independent, the Washington Post lists former New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg, Dallas Mavericks (and IU grad) Mark Cuban, Gen. David Petraeus, Ohio Gov. John Kasich, and MSNBC Morning Joe host Joe Scarborough as potential candidates.

The Post notes that Bloomberg would "be able to fund a campaign without breaking a sweat." Cuban has expressed interest in running as a Republican. "I think there's a place for somebody who's socially a centrist, but I'm very fiscally conservative," he told Fox News on Sunday. Petraeus, the former CIA director, was considered the most talented Army officer of his generation and is still seen as an authority on the Middle East.

Kasich said on NBC's Meet The Press, "With all the chaos going on, my wife said to me one morning, 'You know, John, I wish you were president.' That's how I knew the country was in trouble." And Scarborough, a former Republican congressman from Florida, announced that he would leave the party in July and accused Republicans of abandoning their fiscal principles. Scarborough has been a fierce critic of President Trump and accused him of threatening to blackmail him with a National Enquirer article. ❖

School referendums replace board decisions

By **RICH JAMES**

MERRILLVILLE – Hoosiers used to elect local school board members to make the tough decisions about education. That's not the case any longer. The Legislature mandated several years ago that any major increases in



the amount of money schools can raise must be approved by the voters through a referendum. Such will be the case Nov. 7 on increased funding proposals for the Hobart and Hammond school corporations.

Again, I don't fully understand why. It seems that the school districts elected board members to make the decisions about levels of funding for the hiring of teachers and staff, the repair and replacement of school

buildings and the purchase of equipment. There is one major fault with that system, and Lake County has seen it happen in recent years.

The more affluent communities approve referendums to raise more money for schools. And, the poorer communities reject referendums to raise more money for

the operation of the schools.

Specifically, the voters in Gary and East Chicago, the two poorest municipalities in the county, have rejected school referendums in recent years. That's somewhat understandable in that those taxpayers can least afford to spend more money on schools – or anything else for that matter. The irony of referendums dying in Gary and East Chicago is that those two districts needed more money for schools than others did.

It clearly isn't because of wasteful spending that school districts are running short. The state often is to blame because of a reduction in school spending and the limitations imposed by tax caps.

Besides some voting against school referendums because they can't afford it, there are others who will oppose the referendums because they no longer have children in school or never did. What it will come down to next month is whether Hammond Superintendent Walter Watkins or Hobart Superintendent Peggy Buffington have waged public relations campaigns effective enough to win over voters.

That's unfortunate in that they ought to be entirely focused on running school corporations, not playing politics.

Rich James has been writing about state and local government and politics for almost 40 years. He is retired from the Post-Tribune.

Smugness can get the better of Democrats

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Many Democrats, smug in belief that they know what’s right for the nation, are sure that voters throughout the nation know they’re right and that



President Donald Trump is what his own secretary of state called him.

So, they are convinced that 2018 will bring big Democratic election gains – control of the House and maybe even of the Senate, where the seats up for election make it tough, though still possible.

Don’t the shifting demographics of the country, and seeming determination of Trump to insult and alienate

so many of the growing segments of the population, make big Democratic wins inevitable and threaten the future of the Republican Party?

Well . . . A year ago today, many Democrats, smug in belief that they knew what was right for the nation, were sure that voters throughout the nation knew they were right and that Trump, with the Harvey Weinstein image of that time, would never be president.

They were convinced last October that the election would bring big Democratic election gains: Control of the Senate, where the seats up for election then made that seem certain, and even control of the House, with gerrymandering making that tough, though still possible. Shifting demographics were cited then. Trump’s insults of growing segments of the population were cited. Would the expected big Democratic gains threaten the future of the GOP?

How did that turn out?

Democrats are convinced that events this year prove they were right in warning a year ago that Trump was unprepared, unsuited and unthinkable for the presidency, that if elected he would bring chaos in government, divide the nation, threaten fundamental rights, endanger alliances abroad and even bring fears of what he might do with the nuclear codes.

They are convinced. But what about others? What about Republicans who voted solidly for Trump, even if more because of dislike of Hillary Clinton than conviction that Trump would be a great president? How many of them are ready now to like Democratic candidates?

What about all those independents who voted for Trump, including a significant percentage in those groups

that Trump seemed intent on insulting? Do they see Trump as a threat to 1st Amendment rights or agree with him that the press should face loss of “license” for the reporting about him? Are they upset about a Muslim ban or all for it? Are they concerned about rights of NFL players to protest or all for suspending them?

What about the Democrats who defected to Trump because of concerns about Democratic stands on social policy? Do they like Democratic stands now?

Democrats seeing victory in 2018 were shocked if they saw a recent Time magazine cover portraying the Democratic Party as the party shrinking, declaring that “Democrats are in their worst shape since 1929,” and asking, “Can anything save them?” This pessimistic view of the Democratic Party’s future may be as off-base as those predictions a year ago about a GOP demise.

Still, as Time reported, Democrats are darn near irrelevant in many states, where Republicans control the governors’ mansions and state legislatures and thus the power to gerrymander seats for election to Congress. Democrats have the fewest governors, just 15, since 1922. Republicans control 67 of the 98 partisan state legislatures, with Democrats losing 970 state legislative seats during the Obama presidency.

Democrats, if they are to get out of what Time called their “deepest congressional rut since the class of 1946 was elected,” are going to have to do more than just say, “See, we were right in warning about Trump.” Who



will be their new leaders? Or are they still fighting over old leaders in past primaries, Bernie vs. Hillary?

How can they convince voters that they are right right now? Being found right in the annals of history does not guarantee victory now. Being convinced of victory doesn’t mean being victorious. ❖

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

What are the prospects of Trump's GOP purge?

By **KYLE KONDIK**
Sabato's Crystal Ball

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. — If President Trump actively campaigned against incumbents of his own party in primaries next year, it would be an unusual political occurrence. But it would not be without precedent. In fact, he wouldn't even be the first ideologically flexible, wealthy New Yorker who occupied the Oval Office to do so.

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt tried to knock off several fellow Democrats in 1938 primaries. Back then, neither party was ideologically cohesive and a lot of key Democrats were conservatives. Roosevelt, along with many others (including prominent political scientists), wanted the parties to be sorted ideologically, with the Democrats as the clearly liberal party and the Republicans as the clearly conservative one. Over the course of several decades, they got their wish in the current iteration of our two-party system, although it's debatable as to whether the nation is necessarily better off for it.

In any event, the FDR purge proved to be largely unsuccessful. Only one of the conservative Democrats who FDR disliked, Rep. John O'Connor of New York, ended up losing, and FDR did not really personally target him. Many others, such as Sens. Walter George of Georgia, Millard Tydings of Maryland, and Ellison "Cotton Ed" Smith of South Carolina, ended up retaining their seats.

Two overarching lessons from FDR's attempted purge are that even a president with excellent approval in his own party is not all-powerful within that party and, more broadly, incumbents are often really hard to defeat in primaries. Democratic incumbent challenges were not very successful in 1938, and they wouldn't become more successful in future elections.

As is clear, those who want to be renominated almost always win renomination, and despite the oft-cited primary unrest on the GOP side, that has not really translated into more incumbents losing. Yes, there have been some very high-profile primary losers, like former House Majority Leader Eric Cantor (R, VA-7) in 2014, but those are exceptions to the usual reality. All told, 98% of House members and 96% of Senate members who have sought renomination in the postwar era have advanced to the general election.

It remains unclear how far President Trump will pursue challenges. As is often the case with this president,

he is hard to pin down, on both this topic and others.

One can argue that Trump already has claimed a scalp, now that Sen. Jeff Flake (R-AZ) has announced his retirement. Flake, a vocal Trump critic, badly lagged in polls for renomination, and even if he made it through the primary, he would've likely had a difficult general election path against, most likely, Rep. Kyrsten Sinema (D, AZ-9).

A couple of months ago, Trump seemed to endorse Flake's Republican primary challenger, former state Sen. Kelli Ward, although now that Flake has retired, bigger names seem likely to enter the race, and Trump's backing will be up for grabs as he seemed to back away from his support of Ward almost immediately after tweeting it.

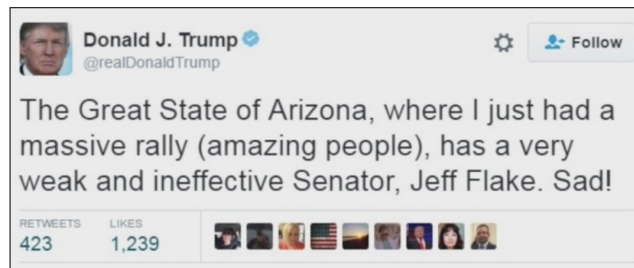
We moved the Arizona Senate race to Toss-up two months ago, and we're keeping it there. Trump has also sent mixed signals about Sen. Dean Heller (R-NV), who is being challenged by perennial candidate Danny Tarkanian (R). Could the president intervene there, one way or the other?

Or might he shy away from backing primary challengers?

Trump recently appeared with Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-KY) and said he might try to get Steve Bannon,

a Trump consigliere and lightning rod former White House official who is now back at Breitbart News, to back off finding challengers for some incumbent Republicans. As part of that, Trump has reportedly assured three other Republican Senate incumbents running for reelection next year — Sens. Roger Wicker of Mississippi, Deb Fischer of Nebraska, and John Barrasso of Wyoming — that he will support them, even as Bannon and his acolytes may support primary challenges against one or more of these incumbents. Trump also may feel burned because he stuck his neck out and endorsed appointed Sen. Luther Strange (R-AL) in his primary, but former state Chief Justice Roy Moore (R) still ended up winning a runoff. The Strange-Moore battle pitted Trump against Bannon, who backed Moore in the race, but it's hard to give Bannon much if any credit for Moore's win.

Despite a history of incumbents almost always winning renomination, there is always a chance that we could see more incumbent losses than we're used to on the GOP side. Clearly, the nomination of Trump, against the wishes of party leaders, is a sign that Republican primary voters are open to going their own way. And even though there have been few GOP primary losers in recent cycles, that topline success obscures some relatively weak performances. In 2014, six reelected Republican senators won 60% or less in their primaries -- Pat Roberts of Kansas, Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, Thad Cochran of Mississippi, Lindsey Graham of South Carolina, Lamar Alexander



of Tennessee, and John Cornyn of Texas -- and Roberts and Alexander actually won less than 50%. Cochran won a very narrow majority in a runoff after he finished slightly behind state Sen. Chris McDaniel (R) in the initial primary (McDaniel is considering challenging Wicker next year). Last year, Sen. John McCain (R-AZ) barely won a majority against a field of challengers led by Ward.

Flake was in deep trouble and now he's heading for the exits. Tarkanian could threaten Heller. Other GOP senators could also face challengers, although it's unclear how threatening those challenges will be. It also seems likely that the nominees who replace Flake and retiring Sen. Bob Corker on the GOP slate in their respective states will be closer to Trump than the departing incumbents. Trump may already be having more success in reshaping the Republican Party in his image in the 2018 cycle than FDR did in the 1938 cycle.

The potential for Trump picking and choosing his primary interventions also is reminiscent of FDR, who alternated between actually endorsing Democratic challengers against conservatives to ignoring incumbents he didn't like.

Ultimately, let's just be clear here: Trying to predict what Trump will do in primaries next year is a fool's errand. We just don't know, and he may not either. All we can say is that a president pursuing a widespread course of reprisal against members of his own party is a rarity. FDR's 1938 attempted purge is the only example we can think of. FDR did not have much success, but it may be that the modern GOP electorate is a little more open to primarying challengers than the Democratic electorate was then.

Still, there's not much precedent for more than a handful of members of Congress losing renomination in any given year. But those historical averages don't take into account incumbents who might've seen the writing on the wall and headed for the exits, like Flake ... and a primary challenge against the president himself a couple of years from now might have similarly low prospects for

Year	HOUSE			SENATE		
	Number seeking reelection	Lost renomination	% won renom.	Number seeking reelection	Lost renomination	% won renom.
1946	398	18	95%	29	6	79%
1948	400	15	96%	25	2	92%
1950	400	6	99%	32	5	84%
1952	389	9	98%	32	2	94%
1954	407	6	99%	32	2	94%
1956	411	6	99%	29	0	100%
1958	396	3	99%	28	0	100%
1960	405	5	99%	29	0	100%
1962	402	12	97%	35	1	97%
1964	397	8	98%	33	1	97%
1966	411	8	98%	32	3	91%
1968	409	4	99%	28	4	86%
1970	401	10	98%	31	1	97%
1972	393	11	97%	27	2	93%
1974	391	8	98%	27	2	93%
1976	384	3	99%	25	0	100%
1978	382	5	99%	25	3	88%
1980	398	6	98%	29	4	86%
1982	393	10	97%	30	0	100%
1984	411	3	99%	29	0	100%
1986	394	3	99%	28	0	100%
1988	409	1	100%	27	0	100%
1990	406	1	100%	32	0	100%
1992	368	19	95%	28	1	96%
1994	387	4	99%	26	0	100%
1996	384	2	99%	21	1	95%
1998	402	1	100%	29	0	100%
2000	403	3	99%	29	0	100%
2002	398	8	98%	28	1	96%
2004	404	2	100%	26	0	100%
2006	403	2	100%	29	1	97%
2008	400	4	99%	31	0	100%
2010	397	4	99%	25	3	88%
2012	391	13	97%	23	1	96%
2014	392	5	99%	28	0	100%
2016	393	5	99%	29	0	100%
TOTAL	14309	233	98%	1026	46	96%

success

Trump reportedly told Sen. Bob Corker (R-TN) that he would campaign on Corker's behalf in a reelection bid, but the two-term senator decided against running for a third term next year. Unlike Flake, Corker probably would've been OK in both a primary and a general election, but we also just cannot assume with perfect certainty that he wouldn't have succumbed to a challenger.

Now, Trump and Corker are sniping at each other as Corker, freed from reelection concerns, is voicing strong criticisms of Trump that his colleagues may be fearful of expressing. Corker said Tuesday morning that Trump will be remembered for the "debasement of our nation," and Trump tweeted that Corker "couldn't get elected dog catcher in Tennessee."

Many, including us, have become numb to the constant sniping between Trump and various members of his own party, but in any other presidency, such open warfare between a president and a prominent senator would be a really big deal. And given

the widespread antipathy many elected Republicans feel toward the president, albeit expressed more often privately instead of publicly, one has to at least wonder: Could Trump have primary trouble of his own if he seeks a second term, as one would assume he will at this early point?

The short answer is that there's not much reason to think Trump would, although even a seemingly minor challenge could be an indicator of bigger problems.

There's one obvious difference between this list of postwar presidents -- Barack Obama, George W. Bush, Bill Clinton, Ronald Reagan, Richard Nixon, and Dwight Eisenhower -- and this list -- George H.W. Bush, Jimmy Carter, Gerald Ford, and Lyndon Johnson. The presidents in the first group all won two terms in the White House, while the others did not. But there's something else that separates the first and second groups -- the members of the latter group all had notable primary challengers that inflicted political damage on them, and the members of the first did not. ❖

Preparing for the future

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – One of the most popular numbers used to describe (and often judge) a community is educational attainment. The Census Bureau provides such data for the nation, states, counties, townships, cities and towns. With technological progress, we can expect to learn how many years of schooling or what degrees are held by the angels atop that famous pin.



But years of schooling, certificates, and degrees are not precise measures of what a person knows, of his/her actual educational attainment. Nor do those metrics indicate what a person can do. They are, like Little League statues, participation awards. Yet, until something better comes along, that's what politicians, business savants, even economists look for as an indicator of promise, capability, and innovative capacity.

"Something better has come along," a commanding voice says. I look around, but there is no one about. "Who said that?" I ask. "What is better than educational attainment?"

"Educational participation," the voice rattled the windows. "I want to know how many people are engaged in learning, preparing themselves for the future. A degree 20, 30, or 40 years old may be worthless. Not only may that person not know what is needed to be known today, the learning skills of that person may have atrophied."

"Where do we have that number?" I asked. "I've not seen it incorporated in any reports."

"Of course you have," the voice rumbled. "It's just that you haven't bothered to see it. The numerator is widely known: It's the number of persons, by age, engaged in learning. The denominator is simply the number of persons of that age."

"Right," I said. "But I can think of all sorts of adjustments and modifications that can be made to both the top and the bottom of that fraction, that percentage figure."

"Certainly," the voice contained a resounding laugh that did not relate to humor. "Just start simply and go from there. In the U.S., we have 9.2% of the population 15 and older enrolled in college, graduate or professional school. Indiana has 8.9% of that population enrolled. We are below the national average in all major census age groups."

"So what's new?" I wise-cracked. There was silence, a heavy silence, a foreboding quiet as one might hear in a glacial cavern before an iceberg calved.

"If education is the key to the future," the voice's whisper was a roar, "and if that future will require one skill above all others, the skill to learn, then firms will want workers who are practiced learners."

"Seven states," the voice continued, "have more than 10% of their population 15 and older enrolled in college and graduate programs. Indiana is probably happy to rank 27th, trailing such states as Illinois, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Rhode Island and Utah."

"Is it going to be like that?" I wondered. "Are we doomed to be lifelong students? Will we never escape from being institutionalized?"

There was no answer. ❖

Morton Marcus is an economist.



Jeff Ward, Muncie Star Press: C'mon, is this guy serious? That was my first reaction upon learning state Rep. Jim Lucas, a Republican representing Seymour, wants journalists to become licensed. It seems Rep. Lucas actually wants to repeal an Indiana law that requires a license to carry a handgun. In fact, his proposal to license journalists is almost identical to language requiring a handgun license: register with the state police, pay a \$75 fee and get fingerprinted. When his plan came to light this month, I was inclined to ignore it. It's just a stunt designed to get attention. Mission accomplished if that was his intention. But the more I thought about it, the more it seemed to demand a response. It's no secret "mainstream" media (or lamestream as many refer to us) is taking it on the chin. Some of the criticism is deserved, some isn't. This isn't going to be a debate about whether handguns ought to be licensed. Rather, this is about defending one's profession and constitutional rights – free speech and press – rights used by media, but rights any citizen can enjoy. Lucas' argument is this: if it's OK to license the right to bear arms, why not other rights? In his world, either you're "free" to do as you please, or you're not. And he says gun owners are not, and neither should journalists. I'll argue there are no absolutes. The coveted First Amendment, the most powerful tool journalists have, comes with some boundaries. All speech, written and oral, has restrictions. I'll mention the one that always comes to mind: You can't yell "fire" in a crowded theater. There are libel and copyright laws that also restrict, if not downright prohibit, what can be published. Granted, there is a high bar of proof for someone wanting to file a lawsuit against a publication or speaker. Malicious and willful intent is part of the equation, and that can be tough to prove. That's a good thing, because more and "better" speech is always preferred to less, even if it's repugnant. ❖



Doug Ross, NWI Times: "Voters are looking for authentic leadership that shoots straight and tells the truth," U.S. Rep. Luke Messer, R-Ind., told me during a visit to The Times last week. He was talking about himself, of course, and his campaign for U.S. Senate, in an attempt to unseat Democratic Sen. Joe Donnelly. But if that's what voters are looking for, they're not finding all of what they're seeking in the White House. I asked Messer how President Donald Trump's frequent prevarication — it has been proven time after time that he has lied to the American people — affects Messer's working relationship with the president. Messer said he supports the Trump agenda, but not necessarily Trump's way of communicating with the public. Later in the interview, Messer said Trump has a New York personality while Messer has more of a Hoosier style. Messer faces competition in the primary, including U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita. Rokita and Messer are both strong supporters of Trump. What remains to be seen in the 2018 election is what the Trump factor turns out to be. Don-

nelly has a reputation for being a moderate in the Senate. Republicans hoping to unseat Donnelly will tell their voters that Donnelly is aligned with liberals the majority of the time. There are many Hoosier voters who have taken offense at a number of Trump's actions while president, but I can't help wondering how much his dishonesty has harmed the Republican brand. For hard-core Republicans, it might not matter much, at least in the primary. But when relationships fail, it is often the drip-drip-drip of negative behaviors rather than a single catastrophic event that causes differences to be irreconcilable. ❖

Dave Bangert, Lafayette Journal & Courier: It's no secret about how personal and biting the GOP side in the U.S. Senate race has been. Rep. Luke Messer didn't sit across a coffee shop table this week and dispute that fact, knee-deep in a contest Politico declared "the GOP's nastiest primary." He also didn't sit across that table pretending that things would get any nicer between him and Rep. Todd Rokita, a classmate during their days at Wabash College and his main rival among seven candidates for the Republican nomination and the right to face Democratic Sen. Joe Donnelly in 2018. "I've known him since he was 19," Messer said. "I know how he behaves." With the primary more than six months away, the campaign has been littered with allegations of Hoosier bona fides; management styles (Rokita has been skewered over reports about how he treats his staff); and a tug of war over who is the most firmly planted in Donald Trump's camp. (A recent Rokita ad called out Messer as suspect on that account, summing up with: "If you like Donald Trump, you won't like Luke Messer.") ❖

Mike Allen, Axios: It was just three weeks ago that the N.Y. Times punctured film mogul Harvey Weinstein after decades of creepy sexual harassment and assault, usually targeting aspiring, vulnerable young women in the industry — the open secret that had long been hinted at but never properly exposed. Past culture-rattling revolutions took decades to come to fruition. This one, befitting an era when everything is sped up, took days: A cascade of women have come forward to tell their stories — more than 50, in the case of Weinstein (most on the record), and 200-plus in the case of filmmaker James Toback. Investigations of harassment in state capitols are just beginning: AP reports that "hundreds of lawmakers, lobbyists and consultants [are] coming forward to say the problem is pervasive." Harvey Weinstein will go down as an historic figure, just not for the reasons he assumed. His outing as a sexist, dangerous pig triggered an uprising rarely seen: Abused women feel liberated to bring down powerful men in government, media, tech, politics, business and pop culture. It's spreading by the day. Every sexual predator in every walk of professional life is — and should be — nervous that they will be exposed by this uprising. ❖

Trump will declare opioid emergency

WASHINGTON — President Trump will order his health secretary to declare the opioid crisis a public health emergency Thursday - but will stop short of declaring a more sweeping state of national emergency, aides said (USA Today). Trump will sign a presidential memorandum ordering Acting Secretary of Health and Human Services Eric Hargan to waive regulations and give states more flexibility in how they use federal funds, said four senior officials responsible for crafting the administration's new opioid policy.



Holcomb, McRobbie pen opioid op-ed

INDIANAPOLIS — Gov. Eric J. Holcomb and Indiana University President Michael A. McRobbie penned an op-ed for Fox News entitled "Indiana's full court press to fight opioid addiction." "Last year alone, drug overdoses killed more Americans than the Vietnam and Iraq wars combined," the article stated. "Without comprehensive action, this trend will continue and likely accelerate... the breadth of the problem demands that we act simultaneously on a wide array of coordinated steps. We must train medical professionals and addictions counselors, while changing policies that prevent people from getting needed treatment. We must better understand the science of addiction, while also engaging community support groups. And we must improve how we track the scope of this crisis, while also discovering new treatments... We can't entirely eliminate addiction or the factors that spread it, but we can build a united response to this crisis. Our pledge is straightforward. We'll tap the collective impact of our state's major institutions to create solutions that can help reverse this crisis across our state - and nationwide. The lives of

our neighbors depend on our willingness and ability to do so."

Delph bill would prevent I-465 tolls

INDIANAPOLIS — State Sen. Mike Delph said he will propose legislation forbidding tolling on I-465, a response to the Indiana Department of Transportation's announcement last week that it would not rule it out (IndyStar). The Carmel Republican tweeted Wednesday morning that "increasing gas taxes & levying tolls is unfair to my constituents." Lawmakers approved a road-funding bill last legislative session that both increased the gasoline tax by 10 cents per gallon and paved the future for tolling by asking the Gov. Eric Holcomb's administration to study the issue. The goal is to generate \$1.2 billion in revenue the state estimates is needed to maintain and repair roads.

Judge won't stay refugee case

INDIANAPOLIS — After blocking the state from banning the resettlement of Syrian refugees in Indiana, a refugee organization can continue its litigation against the state after a district court judge denied the state's motion to stay proceedings while the Supreme Court of the United States reviews a federal travel ban (Covington, Indiana Lawyer). U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Indiana Judge Tanya Walton Pratt on Tuesday denied the state's motion to stay proceedings in Exodus Refugee Immigration, Inc. v. Eric Holcomb and Jennifer Walthall, 1:15-cv-01858.

Walorski seeks to stop abortion clinic

WASHINGTON — U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski is asking the Indiana State Department of Health to reject an abortion provider's application to open a clinic in South Bend (South

Bend Tribune). Walorski, R-Jimtown, said in a letter Monday that St. Joseph County has made "tremendous progress" in reducing the number of abortions in recent years. That coincides with the closure of a South Bend clinic that stopped providing abortions in 2015 after the state revoked Dr. Ulrich Klopfer's license amid allegations he violated state laws and regulations.

Bush41 apologizes for groping actress

INDIANAPOLIS — Former President George H.W. Bush apologized through a spokesman Wednesday after an actress alleged that he had groped her years ago. Heather Lind, who played Anna Strong in AMC's "Turn: Washington Spies," wrote in a since-deleted Instagram post that the former president had "sexually assaulted" her during a photo op in 2013. "He touched me from behind from his wheelchair with his wife Barbara Bush by his side," she said. "He told me a dirty joke. And then, all the while being photographed, touched me again." Jim McGrath, a spokesman for the former president and first lady, didn't deny the allegations.

Halperin accused of sex misconduct

WASHINGTON — CNN's Oliver Darcy reports on the latest high-profile journalist to face allegations: "Women who spoke to CNN say Mark Halperin also had a dark side not made public until now. The stories of harassment shared with CNN range in nature from propositioning employees for sex to kissing and grabbing one's breasts against her will. Three of the women who spoke to CNN described Halperin as, without consent, pressing an erection against their bodies while he was clothed. Halperin denies grabbing a woman's br. "During this period, I did pursue relationships with women that I worked with, including some junior to me," Halperin told CNN. "I now understand from these accounts that my behavior was inappropriate."