

# Bray completes Senate power transition

Preliminary vote sets Republican as next president pro tem

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Senate Republicans entered the final sequence of the 2017-18 power shift when State Sen. Rodric Bray was preliminarily elected Senate president pro tempore.

Bray's ascension comes after the retirements of Senate Appropriations Chairman Luke Kenley, Tax & Fiscal Policy Chairman Brandt Hershman and finally in February, that of Senate President Pro Tempore David

Long. Bray won a party caucus with sources saying it was by a single vote over Sen. Travis Holdman.

Monday's election was a preliminary one to settle the GOP caucus instead of a months-long campaign that



might have divided the majority caucus. The real vote will occur after the Nov. 6 election when there will be at least four new senators replacing Long, the defeated Sen. Joe Zakas, and the retiring Sens. Doug Eckerty and Jim Smith.

**Continued on page 4**

## Truth, tribes & tyranny

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

NASVHILLE, Ind. – The fissures continue to appear, the dominant topical one cracking the thin crust of Hawaii's Big Island. In the human context and the matter of whether we can keep our republic, the breaches forecast trouble, upheaval and, perhaps, cataclysm. The voices we've heard over the past several weeks should not be ignored.

For Hoosiers, it was Purdue President Mitch Daniels who sounded alarms during his annual commencement address. "The freedoms we take for granted, the 'blessings of liberty' of which our Constitution speaks, are the gross exception in history," Daniels said Friday night in West



**“If our leaders seek to conceal the truth, or we as people become accepting of alternative realities that are no longer grounded in facts, then we as American citizens are on a pathway to relinquishing our freedoms.”**

*- Rex Tillerson, former secretary of state, at VMI*



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Lafayette. "Almost all of history has belonged to the tyrants, the warlords, the autocrats, the totalitarians. And tribes always gravitate toward tyrants."

**His remarks** come two months after Chinese President Xi Jinping changed his country's constitution leaving him in power indefinitely. On March 4, speaking at his Mar-a-Lago estate, President Donald Trump praised Xi, saying, "He's now president for life. President for life. No, he's great. And look, he was able to do that. I think it's great. Maybe we'll have to give that a shot someday."

Daniels' address Friday night was not specifically aimed at Trump but coming on the heels of Xi's power grab and Trump's authoritarian tendencies, the implication was impossible to ignore.

Those who were in attendance say that the import of Daniels' poignant observation held wide sway with a rapt audience. It had a Churchillian resonance with 1930s gravitas.

Some 1,500 miles to the south, another Republican, former New York City mayor Michael Bloomberg, overtly had President Trump in mind, citing "an endless barrage of lies" and a trend toward "alternate realities" that he insists pose a dire threat to U.S. democracy. The greatest threat to American democracy, he said, is "our own willingness to tolerate dishonesty in service of party and in pursuit of power."

"This is bigger than any one person. It's bigger than any one party," Bloomberg said after his speech. "How did we go from a president who could not tell a lie to politicians who cannot tell the truth?"

**And as this column** was written, we learned by the president's financial disclosure that he lied about the Stormy Daniels payments, while President Trump's first secretary of state, Rex Tillerson, told graduates at the Virginia Military Institute, "If our leaders seek to conceal the truth, or we as people become accepting of alternative realities that are no longer grounded in facts, then we as

American citizens are on a pathway to relinquishing our freedom."

These warnings and observations are not liberal bellowing, but come from moderate to conservative voices, titans of corporate America who have tapped into our common experience. Mark Lubbers notes that Daniels spent 450 days campaigning in every county three times in 2003 and 2004 as he prepared to govern, mostly staying in guest bedrooms where he learned in minute detail the intricate nature of the Hoosier condition.

Ronald Reagan tapped into



the American worker by visiting every General Electric factory in places like Fort Wayne and Decatur, where the company's celebrity spokesman spent countless hours visiting workers in their lunch rooms. Reagan kept detailed logs that would eventually shape two successful terms of the American presidency.

The contrast to ponder is that if Gov. Holcomb, or Speaker Bosma, or Mayor Tim Neese of Elkhart or Mayor Jim Lienhoop of Columbus lied incessantly about items big and small, they would likely be thrown out of office. When the Department of Child Services report comes out next month, Gov. Holcomb has credibility.

**With the Trump** administration, it might as well be Alice in Wonderland. We don't know what to believe.

Further warnings came from Axios CEO Jim VandeHei, who writes that President Trump has completely taken over the Republican Party, one where Reagan in his old-fashioned views might not be welcomed today.

"Reversing one of the basic assumptions of politics, Trump has shown you can radically change a political party's core beliefs and brand overnight," VandeHei explains. "Only six years ago, the GOP's Romney-Ryan ticket was preaching the evils of Russia, the virtue of free trade, the sin of deficits. With no debate and little resistance, Trump has flipped an entire party's core beliefs."

"We always assumed party affiliation was a prerequisite for leading a political party, and some political experience a must," VandeHei continued. "Trump was a liberal Democrat and he hijacked conservatism. The hunger for something different is unmistakable, partly because a big chunk of voters has had it with conventional politics and politicians. No reason another exotic Republican — or third party, or even a surprise Democrat — couldn't do the same."

Beyond those who hold power, those who convey and communicate are closing in on rupture. The "Oracle of Omaha," Berkshire Hathaway CEO Warren Buffett, observes the contraction of American newspapers. At the company's annual shareholder meeting, he suggested that only the New York Times, Washington Post and Wall Street Journal will survive, and even then at the cost of hundreds if not thousands of editorial positions.

"If you look, there are 1,300 daily newspapers left," Buffett said. "There were 1,700 or 1,800 not too long ago. Now, you've got the Internet. Aside from the ones I mentioned, [most of them] haven't figured out a way to make the digital model complement the print model."

At the turn of the century, many Indiana cities had a Republican and a Democrat newspaper. They merged over the course of the 20th Century, the Evansville Courier wedded to the Press, the Muncie Star and Evening Press joining. They created the community fact-checker.

Today, the mergers are shareholder-generated with Gannett combining the IndyStar with the more substantive Indianapolis News, slashing staff. Today's IndyStar is smaller in print size than many editions of the Peru Daily Tribune my father edited back in the 1960s and '70s, serving a town of 12,000 people. In newsrooms across the state, a community with 50,000 citizens would count its reporters, editors, designers and photographers in the dozens, and a total payroll in the hundreds. No more. The Michigan City News-Dispatches, Elkhart Truths, Bloomington Herald-Times and Kokomo Tribunes can count reporters on two hands these days, and some just on one.

If professional journalism succumbs and is replaced by bloggers and entertainers, the result will be competing alternative facts, as White House adviser Kellyanne Conway famously put it. This comes as murder rates are spiking in rural communities and drug epidemics shudder dwindling emergency rooms, overcrowded county jails, strained sheriff departments and social service workers.



Former New York City mayor Michael Bloomberg

The Peru Daily Tribune, once a watchdog and advocate for citizenship throughout Miami County, now pitches obits, police logs and school lunch menus.

This trend is coming to television with local network affiliates consolidating in South Bend, Fort Wayne and Indianapolis. The New York Times reported that dramatic changes are on the way: "Beneath the sparkle and the canapés, the networks are also navigating a serious advertising upheaval. Ratings are on the decline, especially among young people, some of whom don't even own televisions. It's hard to keep up with the many devices and apps people now use to watch shows. And there is a host of material from Silicon Valley that is competing for viewers' attention, including Google's YouTube, Facebook and Netflix."

**It added: "National TV** ad sales peaked in 2016, when they exceeded \$43 billion, according to data from Magna, the ad-buying and media intelligence arm of IPG Mediabrands. Sales fell 2.2% last year, and the firm estimates that they will fall at least 2% each year through 2022."

In Daniels' first letter to the Purdue University community as president in 2013, he cited predictions that 40% of American colleges may not make it to 2050, with St. Joseph College in Rensselaer the Indiana example.

The politicians have taken note. When U.S. Rep. Mike Pence kicked off his gubernatorial campaign in 2011, the official word went out via Facebook to the burgeoning campaign's friends and followers. The press avails would wait. Six years later, brother Greg Pence ran a stealth congressional campaign in which he largely avoided most interviews with the press, winning a primary with close to 75% of the vote. There were no debates, no Q&As answered. He didn't have to meaningfully address a \$100 million family business bankruptcy or a bank note he guaranteed and then reneged upon to a Columbus bank that subsequently went under.

**It was similar to 2016** when a \$50 million man, Trey Hollingsworth, showed up in Jeffersonville from Tennessee, did little to engage the public beyond direct mail and TV ads, and easily defeated a popular sitting attorney general and two state senators who had solid, but regional, political bases in the 9th CD.

Truth in flight, newsrooms in atrophy and institutions crumbling will create the dilemmas confronting our state today with the opioid epidemic the most obvious. Polarization and a lack of substantiated facts will make solutions harder.

"Over these last few years this new self-segregation has taken on a much more worrisome dimension," Daniels explained to his graduates. "It's no longer just a matter of Americans not knowing and understanding each other. We've seen these clusters deepen, and harden, until separation has led to anger, misunderstanding turned into hostility. At the individual level, it's a formula for bitterness and negativity. For a self-governing people, it's poison."

Daniels challenged the graduates: "The grandest

challenge for your leadership years may well be to reverse and surmount this threat. Life in a tribe is easy, in all the wrong ways. You don't have to think. Whatever the tribe thinks is right, whatever the other side thinks is wrong. There's no real responsibility; just follow what the tribe, and whoever speaks for it, says to do."

Journalists especially ought not have tribes. To this

Eagle Scout who swore a fidelity oath and spent a decade working for a newspaper named The Truth (the one publishing in Elkhart, not Moscow), the widespread insensitivity and lack of outrage with which our nation's top officials glibly operate bring to mind a shaken foundation and prospects of danger at the edge of town.

This is no way to keep our republic. ❖

## Bray, from page 1

Sources say they expect the Bray selection to endure after the election. Bray will pick up the mantle of fundraising and protecting the GOP's super-majority status, as well as to begin planning for what will be an epic 2019 budget session.

Bray's election differed from the other two pro tempore showdowns in 1980 and 2006. Those were three-way races with Robert Garton defeating Larry Borst and Joe Harrison in 1980 (Harrison cut a deal with the winner), and Long out-distancing Brent Steele and Tom Weatherwax in 2006 with the help of six female senators and four moderates.

"I really couldn't be more pleased," Bray told the Bloomington Herald-Times. "We haven't set priorities for next session, but we'll spend the summer looking at those types of things." As for his race against Holdman, Bray said, "At no period of time did we create any sort of hot spot or tension between us. He gave us congratulations and offered to work with us. So, his supporters are going to do the same."

Bray, 49, of Martinsville comes from a political family. His grandfather was U.S. Rep. William Bray, who was defeated during the Watergate wave election of 1974 when Rod was just five years old. His father, Richard Bray, served in both the Indiana House and Indiana Senate in the seat he serves today.

On Tuesday morning, HPI conducted this phone interview with Sen. Rod Bray:

**HPI:** There was some speculation the pro tem vote was on tap for the special session. How did it come about?

**Bray:** The final vote comes after the Nov. 6 election. That's when Sen. Long's official retirement happens. We can't finalize it. There was a willingness and interest by everybody in the caucus to sort this out and know where we were going before the entire summer, because as smoothly as this went and as friendly as it was, it still creates tension with everybody in the caucus when you sort this thing out. That's why we decided to sort it out this week.

**HPI:** When was that decision made?



**Bray:** There was a discussion over the last few weeks to try and find a date to do it and then we decided to do it Monday because everyone was coming back to Indianapolis.

**HPI:** I'm assuming President Long will stay in office through Nov. 6. You'll officially take the reins on Nov. 7?

**Bray:** Probably the day after the general election which is when it will officially happen. In the meantime, he and I will work pretty closely together to take care of the responsibilities that the pro tem takes care of all summer long.

**HPI:** I suspect there are two spheres you'll be working on, the political with the election coming up in November and then the policy heading into the 2019 budget session.

**Bray:** On the political front, one of the big responsibilities of the pro tem is the fundraising piece and making sure that our members are supported in their general election campaigns. We've got some tough campaigns and we want to make sure they run smoothly and we have the ability to help if we need to. A good bit of energy will be spent this summer dealing with those types of issues. And then on the policy front we're in the process of sorting out some of the summer study committees and we'll be working with all the members to organize our priorities for the upcoming session. The DCS piece will take a lot of work as we've got that report coming up in late June and we'll take a look at that and determine what kind of legislation will be necessary. I don't know exactly what we'll need to do at this point because the report hasn't come through, but I would be surprised if there was no legislation needed. I fully expect we'll need to do something. We'll start to work on those priorities and start to fine tune them a little bit and put together an agenda for what we want to do in the next legislative session. Of course, there's the budget. There are really two different tiers of work.

**HPI:** When Mollie (Swigert) called, I was literally going through the Senate showdown races for November. I'm looking at SD25 where you have Zaki Ali running against Minority Leader Tim Lanane, then the open Eckerty seat, the Delph/Ford rematch, SD38 with Jon Ford and then the two southern Indiana seats, 45 and 46. Any

perspectives on any of those races?

**Bray:** You touched on the ones we're going to need to watch closely. I feel pretty optimistic. We've already begun some fundraising and I think the people we have running are taking it very seriously. Delph had a very contentious and serious challenge primary race, so in that respect he's got his name ID out there, but there is going to be a lot of work to do. We're going to help as much as we can. I think you touched on some of the bigger races we'll be watching.

**HPI:** Do you alter your thinking if this is a neutral election environment? Let's say President Trump has success with the North Korean summit and his approval goes way up, as opposed to the so-called "blue wave" that has the potential of sweeping a lot of Democrats into office.

**Bray:** Anytime we can get some wins on the federal government level that's a big help, especially this year which is always at risk in the next election after a president comes in. It's traditionally not very good for that party. We're certainly not going to sit on our haunches, but I would expect we want to make sure to keep people interested in the process because reasons kind of roll back after a presidential year and the party that is in power becomes a little disinterested and less engaged. One of the big goals is to make sure is that people continue to be interested and engaged and we get their attention. That kind of a blue wave, as you call it, is a concern and we're going to try and work against it.

**HPI:** On the policy front, the Herald-Times today put the fiscal impact of the opioid crisis at \$4 billion for this year as far as economic damage. I know your district has been fighting this in Martinsville and Morgan County. Is the opioid crisis, in addition to the biennial budget, the key issue heading into 2019?

**Bray:** There is no doubt those will be the two huge ones. The budget will be obvious and the opioid crisis (has been) on-going for the past two years. We've been trying to attack it at (two) levels: Increased punishment where it is applicable; treatments so those who are ready to try and reform their lives to get off that downward spiral can have access to it quickly. It's important that when people are emotionally ready for treatment, they can get it. It doesn't work for heroin or even prescription opioids when you say, "All right, I want to get help, I'm going to make an appointment three months from now." Three months from now, you're back on it and you're not thinking that way again. It has to be really immediate, getting that access to immediate care. And then make sure that stuff isn't on the streets is another tier. So, we'll try and attack those things. It's a very challenging thing as we all know. I'm not surprised by that big number on the economic impact because it affects every facet of our lives in my community. It affects parents who are using, it affects

our schools when the kids aren't ready to learn because their own environment is so bad, it affects youth services because the homes are so broken. It affects our criminal and juvenile facilities. It affects every facet of our lives.

**HPI:** Will there be more work on the school safety front, beyond the \$5 million that was approved on Monday?

**Bray:** Absolutely. That \$5 million doesn't mean we're done with that project. We'll continue to have to look at it. Another piece of that bill was the audits and try to work with schools to make sure their campuses are safe. It will be on-going.

**HPI:** What are your challenges on the next biennial budget? It seemed that David Long had set up the financial tandem with Ryan Mishler and Travis Holdman taking the reins from Luke Kenley and Brandt Hershman. I'm assuming you have a good working relationship with them. It's going to be a new team this time.

**Bray:** It certainly is. We're all going to work together well, we communicate together well, even this morning. We're just going to need to keep open lines of communication together and keep talking about what the budget needs to look like. For me, in particular, there's going to be a large learning curve. I've had lots to do in the Senate and haven't spent a lot of time crafting the budget



U.S. Rep. William Bray (left), State Sen. Richard Bray and incoming Senate President Pro Tempore Rodric Bray.

with those issues, so I'm going to work hard at it and rely on their expertise, so we can put something together that is really going to work well.

**HPI:** You're talking to a third-generation journalist and I'm talking to a third-generation political figure. What was it like growing up with your father in the General Assembly and grandfather in Congress?

**Bray:** My grandfather, who was in Congress until 1974.

**HPI:** When you were growing up were you running around the halls of Congress and the Statehouse - like I was the newsrooms at the Michigan City News-Dispatch and Peru Daily Tribune?

**Bray:** It's like anything else, that's what you see and that's what you're interested in. It's not fair to say I was running around in the halls of Congress. My grandfa-

ther got beat in 1974 and I was only five at the time. He died when I was 10. To me, he was just a grandpa. The concept of Congress didn't mean a whole lot to me. In 1974, right after that election, my brother and sister and I flew out there and spent a number of days with my grandparents and he showed us around the Capitol and I was most impressed with the underground subway where you could get from the office to the Capitol. I thought that was the best thing in the world. I had a little bit of experience with that. We'd have dinner every Sunday until he passed away, and after that it was with my grandmother. We were a very political family. Some people say the rule of thumb is you don't talk politics or religion at family dinners; it's not too much of an exaggeration that's what we talked about exclusively. You glean information and opinions from that and, by its very nature, you adopt those types of issues. I did as a child spend a decent amount of time at the Statehouse being a page for my father. I just appreci-

ate the place and respect it. It's a fun honor to be here now.

**HPI:** I know Ryan Mishler has young children and so do you. That will be a balancing act for you.

**Bray:** Of course, it's a balancing act, but everything in life is. It was my law practice and raising my kids. It's a very high priority of mine to be involved in their lives and it's going to continue to be. My boys are 10 and 12 now, and they kind of understand what I'm up to and the family is certainly behind me. This will keep me busy, but it's my priority to get home most evenings to see them to bed. It doesn't happen every night because of other obligations. My real goal there is when I am with them, I need to be engaged instead of looking at my phone or my computer. When I'm with them, I try to be there and be engaged. ❖

## Historical odds & ends: What's old is new once again

By **TREVOR FOUGHTY**

INDIANAPOLIS – As we've watched political events in Indiana unfold over the past few weeks (and really, as we've watched them unfold nationally over the past few years) there's a temptation to suggest that we're witnessing things that have never happened before, that we're in a uniquely historical time in our politics. But with more than 200 years of state history to draw on, it turns out that King Solomon was probably right: There is nothing new under the sun.



Consider the rise of Mike Braun, who is taking his outsider businessman campaign into a general election for U.S. Senate, against the backdrop of a long

line of Hoosier Senators with deep political experience. Todd Young, Joe Donnelly, Dan Coats, and Dan Quayle all came from the U.S. House; Evan Bayh served as governor; Dick Lugar and Vance Hartke both served as mayors of major cities; Birch Bayh had been speaker of the Indiana House; and Bill Jenner had been the State Senate pro tem. Braun (who only served a handful of terms as a rank-and-file state representative) certainly appears to have a unique background.

**But Homer Capehart** was the original trailblazer of the outsider-businessman-to-U.S.-Senate path.

Capehart made millions after he founded Packard, the company that essentially invented the jukebox, and sold it to Wurlitzer. In 1938, he decided to get involved politically by hosting what he dubbed the "Cornfield Conference" on his farm in Daviess County. The event drew thousands of Republicans from around the country, attracted national attention, and is credited with sparking a revival of the GOP that helped fight back against FDR's Democratic Party. Just like Braun, it was only six years after his first involvement in partisan politics that Capehart found himself running for U.S. Senate on the strength of his business background (and the money he made along the way). While Capehart was ultimately successful and served three terms as a senator, we'll have to wait until November to see if Braun can repeat the feat.

**Similarly, there was much** speculation that Mike and Steve Braun were poised to become the first brothers from Indiana running for (and potentially holding) seats in the U.S. Congress simultaneously.

But this was first accomplished by Charles (9th District, 1897-1909) and Frederick (11th District, 1903-1907) Landis, brothers from Logansport, who were both on the ballot together in 1902, 1904 and 1906 (a third brother, Kennesaw Mountain Landis, served as a federal judge beginning in 1905, and became the first Major League Baseball commissioner in 1920).

While Charles gave up politics after his 1908 defeat, Frederick would spend nearly three decades wandering in the political desert after his defeat in 1906. He helped formed the Progressive Party in Indiana to support Teddy Roosevelt's Bull Moose bid in 1912, serving as the chairman of the first Progressive Party Convention that year, as well as its lieutenant governor nominee. He helped run various Progressive campaigns in the ensuing years, none of which was successful.

In 1928, he returned to the Republican Party as a

candidate for governor, but failed to win the nomination. In 1934, he gave elected office one more go, and was the Republican nominee for the 2nd Congressional District, 28 years after his congressional career had ended. Improbably, out of Indiana's 12 congressional races that year, Frederick Landis was the only Republican to win, and unfortunately, he never got to enjoy his amazing comeback story as he died less than two weeks after the election.

**Steve Braun's loss** in the 4th District primary means most Hoosiers still won't get to hear about the Landis brothers, but Jim Baird's victory presents another seemingly unique proposition: Baird's son Beau won the nomination to replace his father. While several state legislators have replaced their parents at the Statehouse, you'd be forgiven for thinking a parent-child combo on the ballot for U.S. Congress and the state legislature is a first. But that was last accomplished in 1974, when U.S. Rep. William Bray was up for reelection and his son Richard ran for a seat as a state representative. The father saw a 24-year career wiped out in the Watergate wave that year, but the son would go on to serve a combined 38 years as a state representative and state senator.

**When Richard Bray** retired in 2012, he was replaced in the state Senate by his son Rod. Earlier this week, Rod Bray was elected as the next Senate pro tem, but it's tough to find historical first there, either.

As I've written in the past, after the "Black Day of the General Assembly" in 1887, the Senate majority started electing a full-time president pro tem as their first action each session. The first pro tem elected under this new scheme was James Franklin Cox, who, like Rod Bray, was a Martinsville attorney, so Bray isn't the first Morgan County resident to hold the job. As a side note, Cox's one term in office wasn't particularly noteworthy, but how he got there was: In a district convention to select a Democratic nominee, Cox and Joseph Moore deadlocked on a whopping



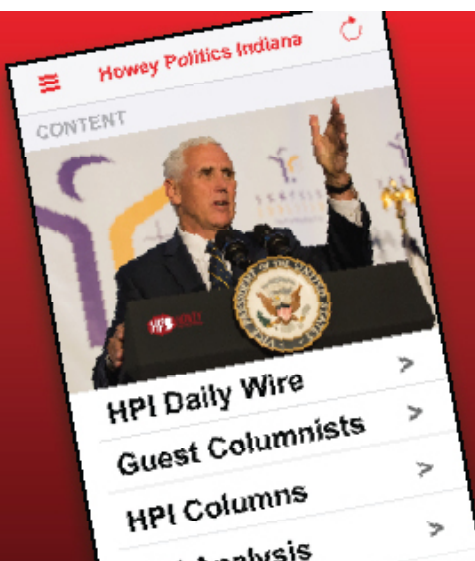
U.S. Rep. William Bray and U.S. Sen. Homer Capehart.

102 consecutive ballots before one Brown County delegate finally switched to give Cox a narrow victory.

And while Bray's six years in office is less service time than his most recent predecessors (coincidentally, Robert Fair, Chip Edwards, Bob Garton, and David Long all had served exactly 10 years when they were elected pro tem), historically it isn't uncommon for a senator in his first or second term to be elected to the post. In fact, the first of the modern pro tems, Phil Gutman, had only served for two years when he won the post and transformed the office in 1970.

**None of this is to** take away from the impressive accomplishments of winning primaries or leadership elections, nor should it take away from the excitement of watching history unfold. It's merely meant to underscore the notion that sometimes what's old is new again, especially in politics. If nothing else, Indiana's history is replete with great stories, and the present often provides a great opportunity to learn about our interesting past. ❖

**Foughty is an employee of Indiana University and publishes at CapitolandWashington.com.**



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# Democrats will need huge wave to make Indiana Senate gains

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS – If you’re an Indiana Democrat gunning for the GOP super-majority Indiana Senate, you are hoping the surf’s up, because without the kind of tidal wave that propelled Democrats into General Assembly majorities back in 1964 or 1974, there is little hope that it can claw back into relevance.

In our initial analysis of Indiana Senate races, we find just five races that have the potential to flip to the Democrats: The open SD26 being vacated by State Sen. Doug Eckerty in the Muncie/Anderson area; SD 29 in the Indianapolis/Carmel area where State Sen. Mike Delph just won a spirited primary; SD38 in the Terre Haute/Brazil area that went to the GOP four years ago; and the twin SDs 45 and 46 in the Jeffersonville/Clark County area where Sens. Ron Grooms and Jim Smith both won tight races in 2014.

Sen. Smith is retiring, so that’s an open seat joining SD11 where Sen. Joe Zakas was defeated in a primary landslide, and Eckerty’s SD 26 where Anderson Fire Chief Dave Cravens appears to have a decent shot at a pick-up.

This is a gloomy era for Senate Democrats, who are mired in a 41-9 super minority. Even if the GOP implodes around the controversial President Trump and Indiana Democrats sweep the tossup and leans races on this list, their probable, best-case scenario is a 36-14 minority.

As for a historical perspective, CapitolandWashington’s Trevor Foughty notes that in the past 30 years, only Democrat Frank Mrvan in 1998 has managed to flip a Republican-held Senate seat, and that probably deserves a huge asterisk since the State Recount Commission actually declared Mrvan the winner of the 1994 races, despite the Senate seating Sandra Dempsey instead. To get more Orwellian: Since 1984, Democrats have only flipped multiple Republican Senate seats in one election, so they are facing a daunting historical scale.

We’ve included several other “outlier” districts that either have a first-time general electorate nominee, like Sen. Andy Zay in SD17, or seats where Democratic challengers came within 5,000 votes in 2014. But it would take an LBJ-style wave in 1964 that plundered GOP General Assembly majorities, or the Watergate 1974 fallout election to even get Hoosier Democrats into porta-potties outside the upper chamber, let alone into the main house close to power.

Our informed and reliable Washington sources are telling HPI that Special Counsel Robert Mueller’s Rus-

sia probe will almost certainly not conclude prior to the mid-term, meaning that specter is likely to “go dark.” So, Democrats are unlikely to get the definitive “smoking gun” report (if there is one to be had) prior to Nov. 8. That leaves Democrats with the drip-drip-drip speculative reports on what Mueller may be uncovering, and the increasingly shrill-to-hysterical cable news reactions (on both sides) that are unlikely to spring-load any definitive reaction in down-ballot races such as those featured here.

The key danger for Hoosier Republicans is vote suppression, i.e., the 2016 surge of new Trump voters who won’t turn out this time for a midterm election. In wave elections such as 1994 when Republicans took control of Congress, it was Democratic voters staying home that defined those outcomes.

So here is our initial forecast for the Indiana Senate, subject to evolution and change in the coming six months. These include races in the “Likely” to “Tossup” range. All others are deemed “Safe.”

**SD11: Republican:** Linda Rogers. **Democrat:** Ed Liptrap. **Analysis:** Rogers upset State Sen. Joe Zakas 66-33% on May 8. In 2014, Zakas ran unopposed, carrying 19,924 votes. Rogers, 66, who owns Juday Creek Golf Course and Nugent Builders in Granger, said of her landslide upset, “I appreciate all the voters of the district having confidence in me to take their problems to Indianapolis and be their voice. I worked really hard and had tremendous community support. So many people stepped up to help because they believed in the campaign.” Liptrap is a South Bend cabinet-maker and a U.S. Navy veteran. He is for the legalization of medicinal marijuana and decriminalization, and is a public school advocate, saying, “By continuing to divert resources away from public education, legislators in the Indiana Statehouse are contributing to the source of these problems. When they choose to ignore our public education system year after year, they are failing our children and families. Unfortunately, the Indiana legislature only measures success in its ability to cut taxes and maintain a budget surplus. This short-sighted governing strategy will have long-term social and economic consequences for future generations.” We’ve included this seat because it is open, but this is a very Republican district and should hold for the majority caucus. **Horse Race Status:** Safe Rogers.

**SD15: Republican:** Sen. Liz Brown. **Democrat:** Kathy Zoucha. **Analysis:** Sen. Brown defeated Jack



Morris 15,101 to 10,482. She faces Zoucha (pictured right), Fort Wayne special education teacher with a bachelor’s degree from IPFW. She



ran for a House district seat in 2016, but lost to Republican Rep. Dave Heine, R-New Haven. "We're struggling. We're hurting," Zoucha said when she announced her candidacy, according to the Journal Gazette. "Hoosiers deserve better and I will work to return value to working Hoosiers." She said Hoosiers make less money than residents of other states, pointing out that residents of Des Moines, Iowa, earn 23% more than Fort Wayne residents do. We've included this race as an outlier district in case a strong Democratic wave emerges. If that doesn't occur, Sen. Brown will be a strong favorite. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Brown.

**SD17: Republican:** Sen. Andy Zay. **Democrat:** Gary Snyder. **Analysis:** Republican State Sen. Jim Banks ran unopposed in 2014 with 20,013 votes in what is a very Republican district. Upon election to Congress, Zay won a caucus to replace him and faces former Libertarian Snyder of Huntington. He hosts an Internet talk show and has run a conspicuous campaign supporting Sunday alcohol sales, cold beer sales beyond liquor stores and the legalization of marijuana. Zay is also from Huntington. Zay earned his bachelor's degree from Indiana University. He is the owner of Zay Leasing and Rentals, Inc. We've included this race because this is Zay's first Senate race before the broader electorate. As with SD15, this is an outlier race. If we're talking about this matchup much in October, it will be evidence of a strong Democratic wave. Absent that, this seat should hold in the GOP column. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Zay.

**SD22: Republican:** Sen. Ron Alting. **Democrat:** Sheryl Shipley. **Analysis:** In 2014 Alting ran unopposed with 16,051 votes. Indiana Democratic Chairman John Zody told Lafayette Journal & Courier columnist Dave Bangert that Alting's seat is "winnable." Bangert explained, "This definitely will be Alting's biggest challenge in a long time. Sherry Shipley is serious about her campaign, which was born out of frustration with Rep. Todd Rokita and the post-Trump election days. In December, she left the 4th District congressional race, after putting a lot of time and energy into it, because she thought it was more important to have serious Democratic candidates up and down the ballot, instead of all jammed into one primary. I'm not sure how far the Sunday sales angle will work for Alting; I still say that's more of a state story than a local one. But Alting remains popular here. He'll be a tough out for Shipley, for sure. And it's a crapshoot if the Democratic Party takes a serious interest and gets involved with mailers." **Horse Race Status:** Likely Alting.

**SD25: Democrat:** Senate Minority Leader Tim Lanane. **Republican:** Zaki

**Ali. Analysis:** Lanane defeated Democratic challenger Tami Dixon-Tatum with 65%, including 64% in the city of Anderson. "I'm absolutely pleased with the outcome," Lanane told the Anderson Herald-Bulletin. "You can't take anything for granted. Primaries will sometimes result in a split in the party. We need a unified party, which is something I think we can achieve. There was nothing in the primary that will cause a split." Dixon-Tatum told the Herald-Bulletin she will support Lanane in the fall. But Herald-Bulletin political report Ken de la Bastide said that there are signs of a revolt on Anderson's west



side, with some African-Americans talking about backing Ali (pictured). "That will make it a little tougher," de la Bastide said. In 2014, Lanane easily defeated Libertarian Robert Jozwiak, 15,560 to 5,458. This time he faces African-American attorney Ali, who brings some name ID into this race with past advertising for his law practice. This is a Democratic district, but Lanane faces a more prominent Republican, so while he enters as a heavy favorite, this is one district we'll keep an eye on. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Lanane.

**SD26: Open** (Sen. Doug Eckerty retiring). **Republican:** Madison County Councilman Mike Gaskill. **Democrat:** Anderson Fire Chief Dave Cravens. **Analysis:** Cravens defeated Muncie businessman Dave Ring 66-33% while Councilman Gaskill topped Commissioner Owens in the GOP primary 56-44%. Eckerty was unopposed in 2014, drawing 22,329 votes. Craven will have a money advantage heading into this race, but the key question is whether Gaskill will get support from the Madison County GOP. It's been a somewhat tortured relationship, with Gaskill appointed to the county council in 2014, only to be defeated that November. He returned to the council in the 2016 election. There's been a long-running feud between Gaskill



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and Republican Chairman Russ Willis, who backed Owens in the primary. Willis did not have a good primary with most of the candidates he backed losing. Most observers believe this is a potential pickup for Democrats, but it will not be easy. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

**SD29: Republican** Sen. Mike Delph. **Democrat:** J.D. Ford. **Analysis:** This is a rematch from 2014 when Delph won 15,140 to 12,744. Delph just won a bruising primary battle over Corrie Meyer, 58-42%. Delph withstood more than \$200,000 in an advertising blitz that included \$100,000 in late money from some heavy-hitting individual donors and business groups, as well as an array of influential district mayors and former officeholders conspicuously backing Meyer. But Delph proved the power of his grassroots network. Ford (pictured right) attracted much support from the Democratic establishment in 2014, campaigning door to door with U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly, gubernatorial candidate John Gregg and then-State Rep. Christina Hale. The gay Democrat will get that kind of support in the rematch, coming in the only Senate district in Indiana that voted for Hillary Clinton in 2016 while being represented by a Republican. The rematch should be a slugfest, but as controversial as Sen. Delph has been, he is a consummate campaigner and will be tough to dislodge. It will probably take a significant Democratic wave to get Ford into the victory lane. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Delph.



**SD38: Republican:** State Sen. Jon Ford. **Democrat:** Chris Gambill. **Analysis:** Sen. Ford pulled off one of the big upsets in 2014, defeating Sen. Timothy Skinner 13,585 to 12,580. It was the closest Senate race of the cycle and one of the true battleground districts. Gambill, who won a three-way Democratic primary with 71% of the vote, has decades of experience in law enforcement, as legal advisor to the Terre Haute Police Department, as a drug forfeiture attorney, and as a special trial deputy for the Clay County prosecutor. Gambill raised \$18,626, while his two primary opponents raised no money. Ford has been active in the Terre Haute art scene and is past chair of the Indiana Arts Commission. He is a small businessman, co-founder of Edison Strategies. He was sued by a former employer, All State Manufacturing, on Oct. 29, 2014, alleging that he had misappropriated funds and claimed to own the company during his first Senate campaign, according to the Terre Haute Tribune-Star. He said he had disputes over his expenses with the company and his stepmother, company chairwoman Marian Ramsey-Ford, before he was terminated as its chief operating

officer in April. "I know we've had some talks in the past about associated expenses that, after the fact, she didn't like," Ford said. The lawsuit claims Ford was wrongly paid \$56,483 for expenses, including some that were for personal use or with insufficient evidence of business purpose. So, this race could turn contentious in what is a true battleground district. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

**SD45: Republican:** Chris Garten. **Democrat:** Jeffersonville Councilman John Perkins. **Analysis:** This is an open seat, vacated by the retiring State Sen. Jim Smith, who defeated Democrat Julie Berry 19,827 to 16,994. Garten is a Scott County native from Lexington, a former Marine who did two tours of combat duty in Iraq, enlisting in December 2001 after the Sept. 11 terror attacks. "I founded Signature Countertops, which has been honored by the Southeast Indiana Chamber and am vice president of the Scott County Chamber of Commerce. I come from humble beginnings in rural Lexington,



Indiana," Garten (pictured) explains on his website. "My early years were defined by family challenges. A broken home, plagued with alcoholism and related issues, taught me how to fight for myself and solve problems. Though I would not wish my childhood on anyone, my experiences helped make me the man I am today. I learned responsibility and the value of resilience at a very young age. I am running for State Senate because I refuse to believe that the current state of politics is the best we can do. I am not wired to accept the status quo as good enough. I understand service and commitment, and I feel a moral obligation to put my life experiences to work in the service of my community, my state, and my nation." Perkins is a retired teacher and served 20 years on the Jeffersonville City Council prior to being appointed to fill the Clark County Commissioners seat vacated by Mike Moore after Moore became Jeffersonville mayor in 2012. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

**SD46: Republican:** Sen. Ron Grooms. **Democrat:** Anna Murray. **Analysis:** Sen. Grooms won reelection in 2014 with a 16,950 to 13,168 win over Chuck Freiburger in a rematch. Murray is a Jeffersonville attorney running for office for the first time. She is running on workforce and infrastructure issues. "We need a diverse workforce," Murray said as she kicked off her campaign last summer on the Clark County Courthouse steps. "I want people to want to come to Indiana. We need to learn to accept people for what they are." She criticized Sen. Grooms for failing to support an increase in the minimum wage and repealing the common construction wage. She has also criticized Grooms for not doing more on the opioid cri-

sis. "The challenges we face are very real," she said. "My initials are A.M. like the morning. It's time for us to move forward and upward together." Sen. Grooms is a pharmacist with a degree from Butler University and has served two stints on the Jeffersonville City Council from 1984 through 2010, the year he was first elected to the Senate. This is a competitive district in a region of the state that has gradually gone from Democrat to Republican. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Grooms.

**SD47: Republican:** Erin Houchin. **Democrat:** Nicholas Siler. **Analysis:** Houchin pulled off the most emphatic upset of 2014, defeating former Senate Minority Leader Richard Young 21,395 to 15,419. This is a district that has rapidly evolved from a Democratic river country

stronghold to the GOP. Houchin is ambitious, waging a campaign for the 9th CD in 2016, losing to U.S. Rep. Trey Hollingsworth. She is considered a party rising star and her husband, Dustin, is Washington County prosecutor. Siler of Leavenworth is an attorney with a private practice in West Baden Springs. He has been in private practice since 2005 and previously served as counsel for the Indiana Department of Child Services, representing the department in all counties of the 47th Senate District. This is another outlier district we're watching in case a strong Democratic wave develops. Siler's history with DCS is also interesting, given that a special report on that troubled agency has been ordered by Gov. Eric Holcomb and is expected to be released in June. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Houchin. ❖

## Donnelly, Braun begin self-definition TV ads

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The U.S. Senate campaigns of Democrat Joe Donnelly and Republican Mike Braun wasted little time defining their respective brands for the fall in a race that has already seen around \$20 million spent.



Just hours after the May 8 primary, Sen. Donnelly began airing his "Bridge" ad that touts his ability and willingness to work in bipartisan fashion. On Wednesday,

Braun launched the MeyerMeansFamily.com website and a TV ad featuring the policies of his company, which came under attack during the contentious Republican primary. The ad is an attempt at early inoculation on his activities as a businessman. The ad notes that Braun's company pays nearly double the minimum wage for new hires, provides "excellent benefits" while taking care of employees during his nearly 40 years in business.

It comes as the Senate Majority PAC is spending more than \$500,000 on an ad citing an Associated Press story on Braun's business record, including lawsuits he's faced from employees and the import of products from Mexico and China. The Senate Majority PAC has spent around \$3 million to support the Donnelly campaign.

In the voiceover, the ad claims, "Attacks on Mike Braun's business record just aren't true." It then shows four employees vouching

for the boss, with "Scott" saying, "I'm sick of politicians lying about Mike," while "Sandy" says, "Mike's company is America."

Republicans have attempted to make Donnelly's private business an issue, calling him "Mexico Joe" for having an ownership stake in a family firm that manufactures goods in Mexico. Donnelly reacted last year by saying he's had no day-to-day activity with the company in years and that he's sold his stake in the business.

"These attacks by Sleepin' Joe's team simply aren't true. If Sen. Donnelly had ever spent any time in the real world, he'd know that you don't thrive in business for four decades and become an industry leader unless you do the right thing and take care of your employees, and that's exactly what Mike Braun has done," said Braun spokesman Josh Kelley. "Mike pays nearly double the minimum wage for new hires, provides excellent benefits, has high employee retention and unlike Sleepin' Joe, has never outsourced a single job. These attacks are just more of the same from a career politician who is desperate to keep his job and hide his record."

Donnelly is burnishing his bipartisan record, as defined by the Lugar Center and fourth in that regard in the Senate. In the "Bridge" ad, Donnelly is seen in the middle of a Southern Indiana bridge, saying, "In Washington, someone has to bridge the divide between the far left and far right. That's where I stand – in our Hoosier common sense middle."

It's part of a six-figure, statewide broadcast TV buy. "As Indiana's hired help in the Senate, Joe knows his job isn't to work for any president or political party – it's to bring both sides together to deliver results for Hoosiers," said Kate



Oehl, press secretary for the Joe for Indiana campaign. "Whether it's increasing access to mental health services for our servicemembers, or ensuring Hoosiers have access to decent and affordable health care through HIP 2.0, our new ad shows how driving down the commonsense middle has helped Joe bring about a positive vision for Indiana in Washington."

**Braun's new best friend, President Trump**

At 10:30 p.m. on Election Night, Braun received a congratulatory call from President Trump. Last Thursday, he joined Trump and Vice President Pence on stage at a rally in Elkhart. On Tuesday, Braun joined Trump and Senate Republicans for their weekly luncheon on Capitol Hill. And on Friday, Pence returns to Indianapolis to host a high-dollar fundraiser for the new nominee.

Braun and Trump had never met before Tuesday. Now, it's a true political bromance. On the Election Night call, Braun told Fox59, "It was interesting. It was along the lines of 'great job, you took on a couple pros and showed you could lay out a game plan and execute it. We were watching and we are going to campaign the dickens out of Indiana.'"

Trump fulfilled that promise in Elkhart a week ago, firing off early salvos at "Sleepin' Joe" Donnelly. "Raise your taxes, take your jobs and destroy your borders,"

Trump said. "A vote for those Democrats is a vote for your borders. We are going to build the wall."

Donnelly reacted to the president's visit, saying, "It's okay that the president and vice president are here today for politics, but problems only get solved when you roll up your sleeves and put in the hard work. I'm Indiana's hired help in the Senate because I don't work for any president or any political party; I work for Hoosiers, and that will never change." Over the weekend, Donnelly became the second Democrat to announce he will vote to confirm Gina Haspel as CIA director. "I have also reviewed her record and her testimony before Congress," Donnelly said. "I believe that she has learned from the past, and that the CIA under her leadership can help our country confront serious international threats and challenges. Importantly, Ms. Haspel expressed to me her commitment to be responsive to congressional oversight and to provide her unvarnished assessment, both to members of Congress and the president. For those reasons, and after careful consideration, I will support Ms. Haspel's nomination to lead the agency to which she has dedicated her career."

**GOP's missed unity**

The Trump/Pence rally in Elkhart was a lovefest. Attorney General Curtis Hill introduced Pence. U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita flew into South Bend with the veep, while U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski and U.S. Sen. Todd Young flew in on

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Air Force One with Trump. But the GOP's unity front was missed when U.S. Rep. Luke Messer was a no-show. While Young and Donnelly have a friendly relationship and have co-sponsored legislation together, Cam Savage of Young's political wing told the Washington Examiner that the junior senator will make fundraising for Braun his "first priority." Since he first ran for Congress in 2010, Young has been a fundraising juggernaut. An online ad by the Democrat-affiliated group American Bridge, released shortly after Braun clinched the nomination, previewed what could be a major line of attack. Titled "Can't Trust Mike Braun," the ad repackages blistering criticisms from Rokita and Messer. The clip includes everything from their attacks on Braun's vote in the Indiana legislature to raise taxes, to Chinese goods imported by his national auto-parts distribution business. Whether that will prove effective in a general election campaign that could top \$100 million is far from certain. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Donnelly.

**Congress**

**2nd CD: ND student got 21% v. Walorski**

Mark Summe, the Republican that most of us didn't know, managed to win 21% of the vote in Tuesday's primary election against U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski (Dits, South Bend Tribune). The Federal Election Commission has no record of Summe's campaign committee, Summe for Congress, raising any money. And he answered no questions, as far as anyone can tell, before or after the election. The Tribune sent Summe messages by phone, email and text Wednesday to request a brief interview and even knocked on the door of his South Bend apartment, where someone said he was busy doing his graduate work at the University of Notre Dame. WSBT and Tribune political columnist Jack Colwell also had tried to speak with Summe prior to the election, to no avail. In a column last Sunday, Colwell had predicted that, in a primary, just 10% of the vote "for a token candidate means nothing," while 15% could mean "some dissatisfaction with Walorski in Republican ranks" and 20% would be "a real danger signal." Summe received 20.9% in St. Joseph County and 21.4% across the entire district. "Obviously there's some dissatisfaction," said Brian Howey, who writes a syndicated column about politics in Indiana and publishes Howey Politics Indiana. "I think there's a general loathing and dissatisfaction of Congress ... in both parties." **Horse Race Status:** Leans Walorski.

**4th CD: Braun aimed at the wrong foe**

Steve Braun was an early and clear favorite to win the 4th CD Republican primary. He had a \$919,494 to \$215,000 money advantage over the winner, State Rep. Jim Baird. The initial analysis of the upset was that an 11th hour mailer from the Citizens for a Strong America PAC affiliated with the Braun campaign might have allowed Baird to forge his 6% upset. That "ARM/LEG" mailer was criticized because Baird was a Vietnam combat veteran

and amputee. But 4th CD sources note that Braun sent six mailers out attacking the third-place finisher, Diego Morales. Meanwhile, Baird quietly worked the Purdue Extension network, stoking support of the district's broad agriculture community along with his home base of Putnam County, which he carried with 72% of the vote while receiving 3,529 votes, compared to 658 for Braun. Baird carried Boone County with 41%, Benton with 31%, Clinton with 37%, Fountain with 44%, Hendricks with 36%, Montgomery with 51%, Morgan with 45%, Newton with 38% and Tippecanoe, the most populous county, with 28% (compared to 23% for Braun, who finished third there) and Warren with 45%. Baird either won or finished second in every county. So, it appears that Braun was aiming his fire at the wrong opponent. Baird now faces lightly funded Democrat Tobi Beck. **Horse Race Status:** Safe Baird.

**5th CD: Thornton posted \$19,000**

Our coverage of the first quarter FEC reports



noted that there was no posting for Democratic 5th CD nominee Dee Thornton. Her report is now posted with \$19,251.35 raised for the first quarter, \$11,498.40 disbursed and \$7,752 cash on hand. That compares with U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks who raised \$851,577 for the quarter, disbursed \$619,695 and has \$1.579 million cash on hand. **Horse Race**

**Status:** Safe Brooks.

**8th CD: Bucshon's deterrence**

Unless 8th District Rep. Larry Bucshon publicly puts both feet in his mouth, alienates a key voting bloc or single-handedly blocks one of President Trump's cherished objectives, Tuesday's voting suggests Republicans will continue to back him (Langhorne, Evansville Courier & Press). Facing his fourth consecutive intraparty challenge in a GOP primary election last week, Bucshon delivered his fourth consecutive double-digit beat-down to opponents. The veteran congressman's margin over challenger Richard Moss was 33 percentage points, a slight improvement over the 30-point defeat he dealt Moss in 2016. Bucshon's 60% of the vote was 46 points better than Tokyo, Japan resident Rachel Covington's showing. In 2012 and 2014, Bucshon dispatched primary challengers Kristi Risk and Andrew McNeil by 16 and 50 points, respectively. Unless Bucshon commits an astonishing political mistake, University of Evansville political scientist Robert Dion said, that seems to be enough for most Republicans in the 19-county 8th District. Dion agreed with one thing Moss said during the campaign: Bucshon is a supporter of House Republican leaders. "If it's a leadership priority, that's typically where he falls. He falls in line with the rest of the (House) Republican Conference," the political scientist said. Bucshon faces Democrat Terre Haute attorney William Tanoos in November. **Horse Race Status:** Safe Bucshon. ❖

# Questions remain after Trump's Elkhart trip

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – President Trump has left town and TV ads by Republican Senate candidates attacking each other have disappeared. Questions remain.

**Q.** Why did Trump fly here for a big rally in Elkhart right after the Indiana primary?

**A.** Joe Donnelly.

**Q.** The president took Air Force One here because he wanted to ridicule Donnelly as "Sleepin' Joe" and "swamp person" in the Democratic senator's home area?

**A.** Right. Indiana's Senate race is targeted by Republicans as crucial to hopes of retaining and even expanding their control of the Senate. They know Donnelly is vulnerable, a Democrat in a Republican-voting state that

Trump won by a ton.

**Q.** But why the hurry for Trump to bring his wrath against Donnelly so quickly after the primary election?

**A.** Quick timing was due to those vicious TV attacks against each other by the three Republicans fighting to become the challenger to Donnelly this fall. Trump and Vice President Mike Pence came quickly to seek GOP unity against Donnelly after that primary election fight with Mike Braun, the winner, and Congressmen Todd Rokita and Luke Messer savaging each other. Braun was there to embrace Trump as his inspiration and to pledge foursquare Senate support.

**Q.** The president denounced Donnelly for voting against the Republican tax plan. If Donnelly had instead become the lone Democrat in Congress to vote for the Republican plan, would Trump have refrained from coming to blast him?

**A.** No.

**Q.** So, Senate votes by Donnelly, even when he often sides with Trump on nominees and priorities, don't mean anything in terms of Trump's determination to defeat him?

**A.** Right. This is politics involving congressional control, not how often Donnelly seems to Trump to be naughty or nice. The moderate stances by Donnelly of course mean something to the many Hoosier voters who admire a less partisan approach. That's why Trump wants quickly to shatter that moderate image and demonize Donnelly as a tool of "liberal handlers."

**Q.** Did Republican voters in the primary pick the best challenger to go against Donnelly?

**A.** Yes. Braun successfully established an image as an "outsider," something popular with many voters, especially Republican voters, and he won by portraying the two congressmen as just cardboard cutouts of Washington politicians. Braun gained momentum for the fall from a big primary win.

**Q.** Did the president also come to support Congresswoman Jackie Walorski, the Republican incumbent in the 2nd District?

**A.** That wasn't the reason for the timing or the main purpose of the trip. But, sure, Trump also sought to put in a plug for Walorski, who came with him from Washington. She faces a tough race. Democrats will target her in their effort to capture enough Republican-held House seats to win control of that chamber.

**Q.** Did Democrats in their primary pick the best challenger to run against Walorski?

**A.** Yes. Mel Hall, winner of the Democratic congressional nomination, will be a formidable candidate with a moderate Democratic approach that is ideal politically in a Republican-flavored district like the 2nd. He demonstrated both organizational and fundraising skill.

**Q.** Did Hall, like Braun, also emerge with momentum?

**A.** Yes. Hall won in all 10 counties of the 2nd and got 42% of the districtwide vote - not as good as the 47% first being reported, but impressive in a six-candidate race in which he faced two hard-campaigning opponents, Pat Hackett (28%) and Yatish Joshi (22%).

**Q.** In the Republican primary, an unknown candidate who didn't campaign or say a thing got 21.4% of the



vote against Walorski. Does that mean anything?

**A.** Means something. Just what is uncertain. It shows that just over one in five Republican primary voters chose not to vote for Walorski, a sign of some dissatisfaction with the three-term representative. Over what? And will many of those that indicted dissatisfaction vote for Hall in the fall? We don't know. ❖

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

# Amazon telling cities what they should do

By MORTON MARCUS

INDIANAPOLIS – It’s been years since I last talked with Rhonda Boutte, one of the state’s leading economic development professionals. She hasn’t changed a bit as far as I could tell. She wasted no time with pleasantries.



“Everybody’s trying to be somebody else. There’s a whole lot of chubby brunettes pretending to be slinky blondes. Unless you’re willing to undergo a real transformation, those dark roots will show through and the stress will sour you on getting anything done,” she said.

“I don’t understand,” I admitted.

“Bezos be damned,” she said. “Here’s a guy telling cities what they need to be if they are going to get the Amazon prize. He’s looking for another Seattle.

He’s the typical narcissistic tycoon expecting to work wonders on whatever he touches.”

“Seattle’s a nice place,” I said.

“Yes,” she replied, “but it is not Denver or Pittsburgh or Indianapolis. Seattle grew to what it is today from what it was 40 years ago. It has not achieved any awards for urban perfection and might not qualify as a desirable place by Amazon’s fanciful expectations.”

“But striving to be successful by imitation of other places is not new,” I suggested.

“Quite right,” Rhonda agreed. “But development is best when it’s organic, emphasizing existing strengths. One can prune a plant to encourage a desired form but grafting for variety is a not necessarily successful. Lafayette has developed because of existing strengths at Purdue. Indianapolis has built upon the foundation laid by Lilly and the IU medical school.”

“Isn’t that idea often used as an argument against needed change, against modernization and diversification?” I asked.

“Yes,” she answered. “But let’s get real. Indiana is a conservative state. That’s not a political statement alone, it is a philosophical disposition. We celebrate inventing the rearview mirror. Our long history is the story of staying put. Yesterday was good enough. Those with a desire to depart from their current status in life usually go elsewhere where striving is not a sin.”

“That’s harsh,” I objected.

“Come now,” Rhonda laughed. “You’ve said similar things for years. But it’s harsh when I say it? Indiana always wants to wait until it sees how the rest of the country is moving. We’re happy to trot along near the back of

the pack rather than to be a frontrunner. Our efforts are devoted to being ‘business friendly’ instead of trying to help people. Many Hoosiers actually believe in policies that were rejected in the late 19th century.”

Then I asked her the question I get so frequently, “If Indiana is so bad, so backward, why do you stay here?”

Rhonda thought for a moment and then said, “It’s more fun to swim against the tide, to walk into the wind, to exert oneself, than to be carried along by popular forces.”

“What you mean,” I said, “is no one has offered you a job elsewhere.” ❖

Mr. Marcus is an economist. His views can be followed on a [weekly podcast](#) or reached at [Whogetswhat4@gmail.com](mailto:Whogetswhat4@gmail.com)

# My gosh the Lake pols are getting old

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – My gosh they are getting old. Old as dirt, some would say. That is the complexion of elected officials in Northwest Indiana, particularly Democrats. And the area’s delegation to the General Assembly also is aging.



Charlie Brown, D-Gary, who finally tired of driving twice a week up and down Interstate 65 to the General Assembly, didn’t give up politics. Brown, who is an octogenarian but sharp as a tack, ran for and won nomination to the County Council. Election in the fall is a given.

Speaking of the County Council, incumbent Elsie Franklin, who is no spring chicken, won nomination for another term. And there is former Lake Circuit Judge Lorenzo Arredondo who lost a bid for attorney general in 2016.

Arredondo, who is pushing 80, won the Democratic nomination for county clerk. Victory in the fall is pretty much guaranteed.

Fran Dupey, who also is just on the short side of 80, retired as county commissioner a few years back. Since, she moved from Whiting to Schererville and won one of the three Democratic nominations for St. John Township Board. Victory in the fall isn’t a given.

Also on the local level, North Township Board member Richard Novak, who is beyond the 70 mark, was nominated for another term and will win in the fall.

And there is the local delegation to the Legislature.

State Sen. Frank Mrvan, D-Hammond, topped 70 several years ago. He won nomination to another four-year term and should win easily in the fall.

**Both Republican** State Reps. Michael Aylesworth of Hebron and Ed Soliday of Valparaiso, are in their 70s. So too is state Sen. Ed Charbonneau of Valparaiso.

And there is state Rep. Vernon Smith, D-Gary, who put 70 in the rear view mirror a few years back. And word

is that U.S. Rep. Peter Visclosky, D-Merrillville, will embrace 70 next year.

I guess one can't be surprised by the number of aging local elected officials when Lake County Democratic Chairman Jim Wieser, himself, is 70. ❖

**Rich James has been writing about state and local government and politics for more than 30 years. He is retired from the Post-Tribune.**

## On the brink of an expansion of gaming

By **CRAIG DUNN**

KOKOMO – It's the final game of the Indiana State High School Basketball Championship and three seconds

left in the game with the Hickory Huskers down by one. The Huskers get the ball at mid-court and Buddy Walker fires a pass to Huskers' star Jimmy Chitwood who turns toward the basket. Jimmy's got a Ben Franklin bet on the South Bend Central Bears so he takes two dribbles and passes the ball to Ollie McClellan who promptly clanks one off the rim.

The Huskers lose but Jimmy's got an extra hundred for his effort.



Think sports betting hasn't caused many a fierce competitor to take a dive for the sake of a buck or two? Ask the Chicago Black Sox, Pete Rose, Alex Karras, Paul Hornung and Sonny Liston, just to name a few. Many folks who place big sports bets just don't trust their money to the game going on inside the lines. Let's just say they are prone to trying to put their thumbs on the scale. They've always done it and they always will.

Yes, due to a 6-3 U.S. Supreme Court decision, sports betting is coming to a state near you. Soon!

**How do I know that** sports betting is going to come to Indiana in the not so distant future? Well, you just can't be a little pregnant! Let me relate the following historical perspective:

- 1989 first Indiana Lottery
- 1994 Hoosier Park opened in Anderson
- 1995 first off-track betting parlors
- 1995 first of 10 casinos opened in Indiana
- 2002 Indiana Downs opened in Shelbyville
- 2006 charity gaming began
- 2007 slot machines approved for horse tracks

What has fueled the inevitable progression of gambling in Indiana from relatively benign scratch-offs to

big time gaming? Cash, and plenty of it! According to the USA Today in a 2014 feature story, Indiana ranked fourth among gambling states with revenue in excess of \$2 billion. That's a whole big bunch of bananas. These bananas come with very little political downside.

How will sports betting come to the Hoosier State? This is how I see it happening, but then again, this is how I see most things getting done in Indiana.

**The Ferndale Camel** Racing and Racino decides that they want to take advantage of sports gaming and they've got room for it back by the hospitality soft drink stand. They trot on down to Indianapolis and hire the big law firm of Dewey, Cheatum and Howe to represent them in their discussions with state government. Frank Finster, managing partner of the law firm, has the kind of political muscle that comes from dispensing hundreds of thousands of dollars in campaign contributions over the years. Frank is one of those guys who passes through security at the Statehouse without taking his belt off.

Frank makes three stops on his whirlwind Statehouse tour. First, he stops to see the governor. "Hey Guv, just want to let you know what is going to happen during the budget session this year. Gonna be a great new, politically palatable, revenue source that will be available for you. I'm working on the legislation right now. Can't talk any more, got places to go and people to see."

Next, Frank drops in on Rep. Marvin Bundy, chairman of the Easy Money for No Work Sub-Committee of the Naming the State Pie Committee.

**Finster:** Marvin, here is a way for the State to make two hundred million and no one will complain."

**Bundy:** But won't Clint Longslide of United Families for the 18th Century and Navin Bluegarten of Progress, We Don't Want No Stinkin Progress object to expanding gambling?

**Finster:** Leave them to me. We're writing other legislation that will make it mandatory to have Bibles in every classroom, as long as we have sports betting.

**Bundy:** Sign me up.

Finally, Frank calls on Senator Jobs McArthy, Chairman of the We Need More Good Jobs Committee.

**Finster:** Senator, this sports betting will be a job-creating godsend. Just think about how many more of your constituents will be employed down in Hazzard County!



**McCarthy:** Well Frank, we gonna have to look into this here sports gamblin' thing a little closer. It might take about three weeks' worth of per diems to figure out our best course of action. Also, y'all don't forget to water the caucus with some campaign love.

**Finster:** Done!

Fast forward to the January press conference announcing the introduction of HB1002, an Act Enabling Certain Sports Gambling. At the press conference the bill's sponsor, Rep. Bundy, along with Senate sponsor Jobs McCarthy tell the assembled media that in an effort to create thousands of good-paying Hoosier jobs, increase revenue to the state, which will be dedicated to teacher pensions and property tax reductions, remain competitive with other states and to improve the viability of the Indiana gaming industry, a bill to allow sports betting has been filed. Further, Rep. Bundy announced that in an effort to protect our most precious asset, our children, that Pop Warner football and high school wrestling have been excluded from the betting, unless Illinois allows it.

And so it shall be done.

**I'm willing to bet that** this process, or something very close to it, has already begun to take place. Sure as the corn grows and the sun comes up in the east, sports betting is on the horizon. It surely won't take as long as Sunday liquor sales. There's way too much money

piled up on the pro side and very little on the con. Attorneys for Gamblers Anonymous just don't knock down \$600 per hour fees and write campaign checks with lots of zeros before the decimal point.

Don't get me wrong. I am content with gambling of all types. I would much rather have some sucker down in Hawg's Holler paying my taxes for me than doing it myself. Hooray for regressive taxes that are paid for by people who never took a statistics class! We like to see smiling taxpayers and this old stupidity tax comes with an all-you-can-choke-down buffet.

**My only problem with** pandemic sports gambling is the potential for the further destruction of amateur sports. You think that big sneaker and apparel contracts have screwed college basketball and football? Just wait until sports gambling comes to a state near you. The corruption factor will start the moment a casino hires its first lobbyist on the subject and it will be all downhill from there.

As I stated previously, you can't be a little pregnant. You either are or you aren't. I'm here to tell you that we're "ready to explode" pregnant and this time it's twins. ❖

**Dunn is the former chairman of the Howard County and 4th CD Republican parties.**

**Photography With Punch**

Mark Curry On Indiana Politics

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# Trust in government has decline precipitously

By **STEVEN WEBSTER**  
**Sabato's Crystal Ball**

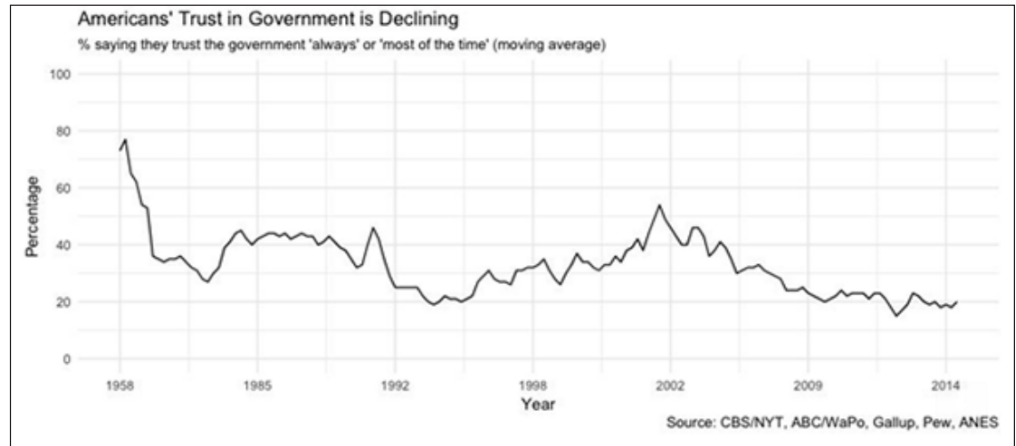
CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. – From President Donald Trump's tweets, to congressional gridlock, investigations about Russia's potential meddling in the 2016 presidential election, and, yes, a comedian's standup routine at the White House Correspondents' Dinner, the political scene is inherently anger-inducing. Indeed, in an era defined by intense partisan divisions where the logic of negative partisanship governs most political decision-making and forms of political behavior, anger is an omnipresent emotion in contemporary American politics. Yet, despite the fact that anger is so prevalent within the American electorate, little work has been done to understand the ways in which this anger is related to an equally worrisome trend that has been developing simultaneously: Americans' declining trust in their own government.

Trust in government has declined precipitously over the past 60 years. As the trend line in Figure 1 shows, high levels of trust in the national government were typical in the latter years of the Eisenhower Administration. However, by 2016, only 20% of Americans said they trusted the government "always" or "most of the time." Because trust in government is essential for facilitating democratic representation and legitimacy, understanding the causes of this cratering trust in government is of paramount importance. My research, published last September in the journal *Political Behavior*, suggests that the growth in anger within the electorate and Americans' declining trust in the national government are not separate phenomena. In fact, my work has shown that higher levels of anger within the electorate are actually one of the primary reasons citizens have lost trust in the national government.

Why might we expect higher levels of anger to lower citizens' trust in the national government? The primary reason stems from the psychological theory of "mood congruity." Aptly named, this theory argues that people tend to evaluate institutions, objects, or other people in ways that are in line with the emotions that they feel. Moreover, psychological studies indicate that every emotion has either a positive or a

negative valence to it. So, if one is experiencing the emotion of happiness, he or she will evaluate objects positively precisely because happiness is an emotion with a positive valence. On the other hand, because anger is an emotion that contains a negative valence, an individual who is in an angry state will tend to render negative evaluations of any given thing.

To examine whether and how anger within the electorate causes citizens to lose trust in their own government, I conducted a survey experiment on approximately 3,300 registered American voters a few months before the



2016 presidential election. The key part of the survey is the experimental manipulation that seeks to induce anger in respondents. To do this, I utilized a technique known as "emotional recall." This strategy simply asks respondents to write a paragraph about a time they were very angry about politics. The idea, which is rooted in psychological studies, is that when individuals write about an anger-inducing experience they will temporarily relieve that emotional response.

However, in addition to asking respondents to write about a time they were very angry about politics, I randomly assigned respondents to two other treatment groups: a group that asked individuals to write about a time they were very angry, and a "political salience" group that asked individuals to write about a time they thought about politics. By doing this, I am able to separate the emotion (anger) from the target (politics) while invoking

anger. Separating anger from politics is important from a theoretical standpoint because this allows me to examine both the effect of political anger and generalized apolitical anger on citizens' trust in government. The individuals randomized into the control group were asked to write about what they ate for breakfast. This serves as a useful control group because it is benign in nature and unrelated to politics or political affairs. ❖

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

**David Drucker, Vanity Fair:** “There is no shadow campaign,” a senior political adviser to Mike Pence told me Monday, pouring cold water on the persistent speculation that Donald Trump’s broad-shouldered vice president has been anything less than faithful to his volatile boss. “The president tasked the vice president with being the tip of the spear for the midterm elections. Our actions have the full support of the president’s re-election team,” the adviser explained, referring to Pence’s recent cross-country expeditions on behalf of Republican congressional candidates—an expansive political role that has put Pence in contact with some of the most prominent fund-raisers in states across the country. “If there was a shadow campaign,” the adviser continued, “we certainly wouldn’t ask for \$5,000 contributions and disclose them publicly. It lacks credibility.” Talk of a “shadow campaign” isn’t the sort of thing with which vice presidents typically contend when supporting their boss’s re-election efforts. But Trump isn’t a typical president, and Pence, GOP strategists say, would be stupid not to be preparing various contingencies. “I don’t know how you could argue they are not preparing for every eventuality and doing so in a more overt manner than has been done in the past,” a veteran Republican political operative said, summarizing the views of many inside the party. “He isn’t just filling a need.” Indeed, buzz about Pence’s political aspirations has become something of a parlor game in Washington. While Trump remains the alpha and omega of Republican politics, Pence has quietly taken the lead on virtually all the midterm drudgery usually overseen by the president—making endorsements, conferring with party power brokers, meeting with voters in battleground states.

Those in Pence’s orbit coolly dismiss the notion that there is anything to see here beyond perfectly innocent fund-raisers and other voter turnout activities. Trump, after all, is not particularly interested in the machinery of Republican politics, which is now more diffuse than ever. There’s the president and his Twitter account, of course; a somewhat disengaged White House political shop; the Trump re-election campaign, already up and running; the so-called dark-money group America First Policies and an affiliated super PAC, which are the official outside groups promoting Trump’s agenda; and there’s the Republican National Committee. Dispatching the vice president is only logical. Among those who suspect Pence has one eye on the throne, however, those maneuvers look like a tell.

Pence’s parallel political operation now bypasses the president’s. Last May, he startled political observers by creating Great America Committee to raise resources for House and Senate Republicans, as well as to finance his travel on Air Force Two. (Unlike America First Policies, the standard PAC is constrained by federal fund-raising limits and has to reveal its donors.) This year, Pence formed a joint fund-raising committee with House Majority Leader Kevin McCarthy of California, dubbed “Protect the House,” to raise money that flows directly to House Re-

publicans and their campaign arm, the National Republican Congressional Committee. “No question, it’s unusual,” a Republican insider and former leadership aide in Congress told me. “Most V.P. offices haven’t dreamed of having separate political operations from that of the president of the United States.” Nor would they think to hire Nick Ayers, the hyper-political campaign operative who now serves as Pence’s chief of staff. As one G.O.P. pollster told me, the move was as shocking as if Vice President George H.W. Bush had

tapped Lee Atwater as his chief during the Reagan years. “Pence is not stupid,” a Republican consultant with Indiana ties said, reflecting on the vice president’s political rise from conservative radio host to politician-in-residence at No. 1 Observatory Circle. “Trump is very volatile, and Pence has never intentionally been volatile.” In other words: If anyone is looking three moves down the chess board, it’s Pence. ❖



**Anne Applebaum, Washington Post:** In retrospect, the era of American hegemony — the moment of the “sole superpower,” when the United States was the “essential” country — was remarkably brief. It began in 1991, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, probably peaked just before 9/11, and for the past decade — under Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama — it has been drawing slowly and unevenly to an end. Even while it lasted, this hegemony was partly a game of smoke and mirrors. It depended on perceptions: belief in American wealth, fear of American military power, admiration for American values. It depended on the absence of opponents: the collapse of the Soviet Union, the relative weakness of China. Above all, it depended on an American willingness to invest: in diplomacy, in military power — but above all in alliances. By forging mutually advantageous agreements with Germans or South Koreans, the United States had far greater influence than it would have had otherwise. By creating and then expanding NATO, by maintaining troops in South Korea and Japan, the United States kept parts of Europe and Asia free to choose democracy, and open for commerce and trade. Everywhere else, agreements and partnerships as well as money and armies gave the United States an outsize voice in trade and commerce, as well as matters of war and peace. President Trump knows no history and does not have any idea how the United States became an “essential” country, let alone a superpower. But he seems to believe that he can maintain that status, and even increase it, without making investments — diplomatic, military or monetary — at all. This week, the outline of what this means — call it “hegemony on the cheap” — suddenly came into sharp focus. Perhaps unexpectedly, Trump’s abrupt withdrawal from the Iran nuclear deal exposed America’s weak hand. For we left — but then what? ❖

## Sports betting bill will get hearing

WASHINGTON – A key Senate committee chair says legislation to legalize sports betting in Indiana will get a hearing next session (Smith, [Indiana Public Media](#)). That comes after this week's Supreme Court decision that allows states to authorize such wagering. Rep. Alan Morrison (R-Brazil) wrote a bill this year that would have legalized sports wagering if, say, the Supreme Court sanctioned it in all 50 states. It didn't even get a hearing. But now, Morrison says he's hopeful for progress. And a study committee will devote time to the topic. Morrison says he wants to hear from every stakeholder. "The gaming association and the properties – the casinos and racinos – to Hoosier citizens to the major sports leagues, the NCAA," Morrison says. The Senate Public Policy Committee governs gaming legislation in that chamber. Chair Ron Alting (R-Lafayette) says he'll give a hearing to a bill next year to legalize sports betting. "It's the green light," Alting says. "You either get on board or you sit on the sidelines." Alting and Morrison say they anticipate neighboring states will move forward with sports wagering.



## Indy faces troubling health crisis

INDIANAPOLIS – Marion County Public Health Director Dr. Virginia Caine is slated to announce Thursday morning "troubling statistics facing Marion County" when it comes to 2017 infectious disease data, findings that could lead the way to declaring a public health emergency and establishing a needle exchange program in Indianapolis (McQuaid, [WTTV](#)). "Dr. Caine will conclude the session by discussing an initiative to address the current epidemic, and we look forward to providing additional details at that time," wrote MCHD Spokesman Curt Brantingham in a statement to CBS4. Last December, Dr. Caine told CBS4, "We look at those unintended

consequences as a result of illicit drug use – and that is the increase in the number of hep C cases, the increase in HIV cases. "Actually syringe exchange programs – these safe exchange needle exchange programs have been very effective."

## FBI's Wray troubled by Trump/ZTE ties

WASHINGTON – FBI Director Christopher Wray on Wednesday reaffirmed concerns about Chinese telecommunications company ZTE that President Donald Trump wants to help — and defended the agency from political attacks coming from the White House and Congress ([Roll Call](#)). At a Senate Appropriations subcommittee hearing about the FBI's fiscal 2019 budget request, Wray used a question about the agency's responsiveness to congressional oversight to highlight the importance of protecting people who provide agents information. Wray stood by previous testimony that the FBI still has deep concerns about ZTE, saying that a company beholden to a foreign government can steal information, conduct undetected espionage, and exert pressure or control.

## Pence releases financial disclosure

WASHINGTON – Vice President Mike Pence has released his annual financial disclosure, reporting a pension plan from the state of Indiana worth between \$500,000 and \$1 million and credit card debt between \$15,000 and \$50,000 (WRTV). The report shows that oil company founder Forrest Lucas provided Pence with two tickets worth \$774 to the Indianapolis Colts game in October that Pence walked out of in protest of some NFL players who knelt during the national anthem. Pence also received three tickets worth \$15,000 to the 2017 Super Bowl in Houston from Houston Texans owner Bob McNair. The vice president also attended the

Indianapolis 500, receiving two tickets valued at \$1,000 from the Indianapolis Motor Speedway. Pence's wife, Karen Pence, reported royalties of \$15,000 to \$50,000 for her children's book, "Marlon Bundo's Day in the Life of the Vice President."

## Banks named to Education panel

WASHINGTON – U.S. Rep. Jim Banks has been appointed to the House Committee on Education and the Workforce (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). The House Republican Conference chose Banks, R-3rd, on Wednesday to fill a vacancy on the committee, his office announced.

## BSU agrees to take over schools

MUNCIE – The Ball State University Board of Trustees has agreed to let the university take over the Muncie Community Schools days after Gov. Eric Holcomb signed legislation allowing the takeover (Associated Press). The board Wednesday unanimously approved a resolution on the takeover. In a special session Monday, the General Assembly approved a bill allowing the takeover. The debt-ridden district already is being run by an emergency manager. Ball State will appoint a new school board, dissolving the existing board effective July 1.

## Donnelly warns of pension woes

WASHINGTON — Sen. Joe Donnelly is sounding a warning for Hoosiers who are counting on their pensions (Allen, WIBQ). Donnelly says around 30,000 people in Indiana could be affected by over 150 troubled pension plans across the country.