

## INDems ponder future after Donnelly loss

Winston calls for a gathering to set goals, message

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

LEBANON, Ind. – It seems like an eternity, but in the Sept. 27, 2014, edition of Howey Politics Indiana, the future of the Indiana Democratic Party was unsettled and under duress four years after losing the House. Evan Bayh had just announced he would not run for governor in 2016 and, in fact, would never run for anything again.

There was a comparison of the two modern Hoosier political juggernauts, Bayh and Mitch Daniels, both of whom had revived moribund parties after eight to 10 election cycles in the wilderness. Secretary of State Bayh would capture the governor's office



U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly talks to the press on election night just hours before his loss.

in 1988, setting up a 16-year run. For Daniels, the promise of political milk and honey was created by Randall Tobias, Jim Kittle Jr., and Bob Grand, whose Phoenix Group became a shadow party, forcing a change from Republican Chairman Mike McDaniel to Kittle, setting up the White House budget director's 2004 run that initiated a 16-year strand of GOP rule that exists today.

In eight years under Gov. Daniels, there was a systemic dismantling of Democratic pillars: Long-

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## Politics in the corn belt

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

LEBANON, Ind. – We tend to concentrate on the big population areas in the electoral context. Between 2008 and 2012, Barack Obama and Joe Donnelly could carry Indiana with just a handful or two of counties.

But when you look closely, those other 80 or so Hoosier counties project not only the power of agriculture, but those with leathery hands and well-worn blue jeans who can make or break a candidate.

Obama was only the second Democrat to win Indiana's 11 Electoral College votes since 1964. He lost a squeaker primary race to Hillary Clinton by less than 1% in May 2008, with



**“So I looked at him and I said, ‘We know what happened in 2016. As the president told you, we’re not having it.’ I thought it was important he hear that from the vice president, too.”**

*- Vice President Pence, in a Nov. 15 chat with Russian President Putin in Asia*



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all eyes on Lake County. But he essentially clinched the nomination that night. Over the next several months, a curious thing happened: Obama opened up about 30 field offices in some of the reddest of red Indiana, in places like Goshen, Hartford City and Fishers.

**On Election Day**, Obama edged Republican nominee John McCain by less than 1%, but his victory didn't come just from big pluralities in Lake, St. Joseph, Monroe counties and Indianapolis. In 2004, John Kerry got 30% of the vote in Noble County; Obama got 42%. LaGrange County gave Kerry 28% and Obama got 39%; Kosciusko gave Kerry 21% and Obama 39%; Shelby gave Kerry 28% and Obama 40%; Hamilton gave Kerry 25% and Obama 38%.

Rural Hoosiers are open to change. That's why they embraced Donald Trump in the 2016 primary when the GOP establishment didn't. They loathed Hillary Clinton (and still do). They made homemade Trump signs, cut the billionaire's name in lawns and cornfields. They were attracted to his core message: He would end "business as usual" in Washington, drain the swamp, define a whole new way of winning, and shake things up.

But there's a persistent ideological streak that forms the base of politics here and Sen. Donnelly had a final reckoning with it on Nov. 6. Donnelly wasn't just some suburban Democrat who paid lip service to rural Indiana and went through the motions. In his six years in office, Donnelly visited all 92 counties at least once annually. Officials from the Indiana Soybean Alliance and the Indiana Corn Marketing Council would tell you

that if they had an issue that needed addressed on Capitol Hill, Donnelly was the go-to guy. He had staffers like Kent Yeager who understood the issues and had the clout to deliver.

On the campaign trail this autumn, you could light up Donnelly's eyes with that Frank O'Bannon twinkle with a conversation on E15 fuels, which he successfully convinced

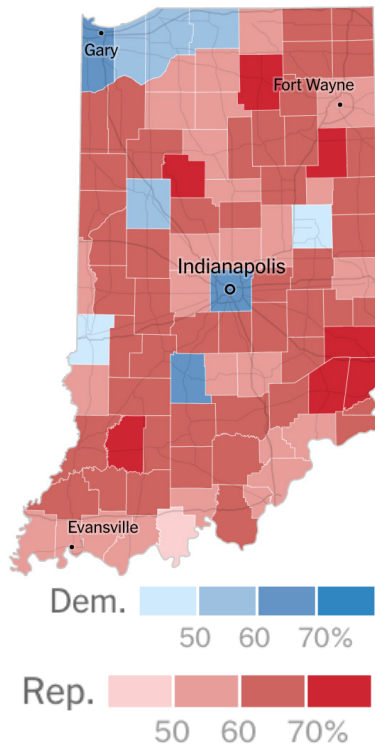
President Trump to push the EPA to permit year-round sales. "Lifting the current Reid Vapor Pressure restrictions benefits farmers, families filling up at the pump, and businesses that rely on abundant and affordable American-grown energy," Donnelly said.

But when the Nov. 6 verdict arrived this year, rural Hoosiers delivered the same message that Donnelly received during his 2010 House reelection campaign against Republican Jackie Walorski at a Chrysler gate in Kokomo, just a year after he was an ardent supporter of the

federal bailout of Chrysler and General Motors. As we headed to Kokomo that August on his campaign RV, Donnelly related what one UAW worker had told him: "I love you, Joe. I'm not voting for ya, but I love ya."

**Donnelly lost to** Republican Mike Braun by about 130,000 votes. Braun carried Gibson County with 64%, Jackson with 64%, Jasper with 66%, Jennings with 65%, Lawrence (home to a GM plant) with 66%, Whitley with 67%, LaGrange with 68%, Kosciusko with 70%, Wells with 72%, Putnam and Dearborn with 73% and Daviess with 75%. It was political death by a thousand cuts.

The critical issue wasn't President Trump's tariffs, immigration or E15; it was the senator's vote against Supreme Court Justice Brett Kavanaugh. A number of Republicans who



were inclined to vote for Donnelly and saw value in having a senator in both caucuses, came home to the GOP on that vote.

The Ball State Hoosier Poll in October put Trump's favorable at 53%, his unfavorable at 39%. But it would be a mistake to believe that rural Hoosiers and those working on auto assembly lines will be lock, stock and barrel for Trump should he seek reelection in 2020.

Farmers and some UAW members believe that Trump has a long-range plan on tariffs. Others (like myself) in the political and agronomics sphere aren't so sure. We think he's winging it.

**On the auto front,** GM's announcing five plant closures, laying off 14,000 employees, and withdrawing from the sedan market, as well as tariffs causing its metals prices to rise by \$700 million, have sent a shiver through the manufacturing sector. GM plants at Fort Wayne, Marion and Bedford were spared for now, but a decade after the federal bailout, grim signs are on the horizon.

The tariffs have caused soybean prices to plummet; futures provided Hoosier farmers a hedge this year, but not for 2019 and 2020. China is turning to Brazil for soybeans, which lacks storage capacity right now, though Beijing's Belt and Road Plan is constructing capacity and investing \$50 billion there. There are also huge tracts of non-Amazon scruff land that could produce the bean, meaning that a temporary loss of market in 2018 could turn permanent in a few short years with tariff resolution and truce.

Trump and his administration are aware of the stakes out on the prairies. The Trump tariffs went into effect on July 6, just as corn and soybean growers were gathering in Washington, D.C. Trump unveiled the green "Make Farming Great Again" hats, consistently appealed and lauded their patriotism, announced a \$12 billion bailout plan, persistently tweeted how great farmers are, and there were deals with Canada and Mexico on NAFTA (though ag sources tell me not much has really changed), another with South Korea, and negotiations underway with Japan and the European Union. They like the cuts in EPA regs, the tax reforms and changes in the Waters of the U.S. (WOTUS) law. There were serious talks on the Farm



Bill, all of which calmed market prices.

Farmer anxiety seemed to spike in mid-July and late August, but huge corn and soybean crops this fall mitigated some of the tariff fallout. The Kavanaugh confirmation controversy and the Christine Blasey Ford testimony came in early October, Donnelly decided to vote against the judge just hours later, the E15 announcement came in late October, and the farm vote came home to Republicans and Braun by Nov. 6.

But things remain restive. As one ag source told me, many Hoosier farmers will get a reality check when they meet with bankers in December and January to finance the 2019 crop and ops.

I asked one agriculture source if President Trump has the crazy-like-a-fox master plan with President Xi at the G20 summit in Buenos Aires this weekend, or whether he's winging it. The response: The administration can't describe what the finish line is.

**Perhaps President Trump** will pull a remarkable rabbit out of his tariff hat this weekend or sometime next year. While economists around Trump and across many economic sectors remain skeptical of an eventual tariff resolution, the president himself is a true-believer and is prepared to double down, particularly if he doesn't think President Xi is feeling the pain or alarm.

If these two presidents don't make a yuuuuuuge deal, if crop prices remain low, markets transition away to Brazil, young farmers with slim margins begin to feel true anxiety or fold, and Democrats nominate a challenger who appeals to the prairie (e.g., Colorado Gov. John Hickenlooper or Montana Gov. Steve Bullock could be palatable) there is a scenario where Mike Pence's amber waves of grain could take on a blue hue. ❖

## INDems, from page 1

time East Chicago Mayor Robert Pastrick was sidelined by RICO statutes. Secretary of State Todd Rokita pared 70,000 voters off Lake County rolls. Republicans exploited unsound business practices by the Indiana State Teachers Association and reduced its economic electoral clout, and right-to-work legislation affecting the powerful United Auto Workers political wing, AFSCME, SEIU, United Steelworkers

and other unions had reduced union membership to 8.9% in 2017, compared to 10.4% in 2016 and just over 12% in 2008, according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (When Gov. Bayh took office in 1989, it stood at 21% and when Gov. Frank O'Bannon was elected in 1996 it was a 14.9%.)

Following the defeat of U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly on Nov. 6, Indiana Democrats haven't won a statewide office since Donnelly's first Senate upset as well as Glenda Ritz's defeat of Supt. Tony Bennett in 2012. Democrats control

just two congressional seats, zero Statehouse offices, 41 of 150 General Assembly seats, 54 city halls, and less than a quarter of county offices.

Other than Donnelly, there is no Evan Bayh on the immediate horizon who brings gravitas, a money network and a legacy. Bayh and the Baron Hills and Jonathan Weinzapfels are no longer politically active. Recent conversations with numerous Democrats reveal no gathering steam for some who might fit the gubernatorial profile: Twice-nominated John Gregg, 2016 LG nominee Christina Hale, South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg, or Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr. Buttigieg is preparing a presidential run. The others are keeping their cards close to vest at this point.

**The donkey on the table** is whether Joe Donnelly would consider a challenge to Gov. Eric Holcomb in 2020. There is a wistful desire on this front from some Democrats, with McDermott telling HPI earlier this month he would urge Donnelly to run. Donnelly is coming off about \$50 million worth of political branding. His style of pro-life, conservative Democratism is viable even in the rural areas he lost (hampered, in part, by his vote against Justice Brett Kavanaugh), though it aggravated a portion of his progressive base. In a gubernatorial run, Donnelly wouldn't have the ghosts of Washington – Chuck Schumer and Nancy Pelosi – peering over his shoulder. He proved to be a tireless worker who visited every county, winning the admiration of the Hoosier agriculture community as a go-to guy when needed on key issues (many on that front in the age of Trump and trade).

When Bayh entered the 2016 senatorial race against Todd Young, he attracted the same kind of Super PAC attacks that Donnelly did this fall. Gubernatorial runs by either Democrat in 2016 or 2020 wouldn't attract nearly the flood of money we witnessed this year.

Despite Mike Braun's emphatic victory, there are potential political openings for the disadvantaged Democrats. President Trump's tariffs are hammering manufacturers (GM is closing five plants, laying off 14,000 workers). Hoosier farmers, who absolutely rejected Hillary Clinton in 2016 and viewed Trump as a reasonable bet, now face hemorrhaging bottom-lines due to tariffs. Gov. Eric Holcomb is facing a split in the GOP over Attorney General Curtis Hill that doesn't appear to have an easy fix. And we're closer to the next recession than the last.

So, now what?

In 2014, Gregg acknowledged that cutting into GOP majorities "will take time. You recruit good candidates and you chip away at it. You've got to recruit have a good message." But Republicans have held on to super-major-

Title	D	I	R	Grand Total
Assessor	22		70	92
Auditor	18		74	92
Clerk	20		72	92
Commissioner	34		242	276
Council	139	1	523	663
Recorder	18		74	92
Treasurer	17		75	92
Grand Total	268	1	1130	1399

**Republicans control 1,130 out of 1,399 offices in Indiana's 92 counties, or 80%.**

ities for three consecutive cycles, so the Statehouse chips are few. "The thing Indiana needs to do is look at redistricting and make it nonpartisan," Mayor McDermott said in 2014. "The Republicans did and we've done it in the past, gerrymandering these districts. It allows people to be more extreme."

Former Indiana Democratic Chairman Robin Winston said in 2014: "There are 150 people in the General Assembly and 6.4 million in the state. You have to take the message out to the people in the state. You have to build issues that matter at the kitchen table.

Yes, it's hard to govern, but it's

not hard to talk about free textbooks, pre-K, and decent wages for people. I have always believed you take the issues outside the limestone." Four years ago, Winston urged the pursuit of "attainable goals," adding, "We should try to win the seats back that we lost, but win them back by cycle. It's doable."

But it didn't happen for a number of reasons in addition to the maps. Donald Trump's selection of Gov. Mike Pence for the 2016 national ticket kept Gregg out of the governor's office. Trump's 19% plurality in 2016 and his continued popularity in 2018 stalled Democratic efforts down ballot, except for a sliver of suburban House seats, four of which switched to Democrats in November.

HPI reached out to Winston on Tuesday and his focus was on a statewide summit. "The first thing is to bring folks together. I've been the advocate of a retreat, bringing together people and divergent issues, get together and see what the next steps are," said Winston, who heads the Winston-Terrell Group. "To be inclusive, expand the base, we need to bring folks together and have a retreat. We need to reassess what went right and what can be improved. We need to figure out priorities."

**Winston said he has** "advocated for years an event" he describes as a "Hoosier Homecoming." It could be akin to the Aug. 27, 1938, "Cornfield Conference" that drew 20,000 Republicans for a barbecue on the farm of future U.S. Senator Homer Capehart and is credited with reviving Indiana Republicanism in the age of FDR's New Deal and the dominant rule of Gov. Paul McNutt.

Winston said that legendary congressman Lee Hamilton has been reduced "to some lanky guy with a crew cut people see at J-J dinners." He said the party should feature its statesmen and women by decade, having Birch Bayh describe Title IX, or Evan Bayh's revival of the party in the 1980s, or Judy O'Bannon's account of the 1996 upset. "We can't move forward until you have a basis on how you move forward," Winston said.

Winston said the party needs to be "honest with one another. It's not just goals, but what the resources be-

hind those goals will be.” He related his effort in the ramp-up to Gov. O’Bannon’s reelection in 2000 to build resources in every county. “What we were trying to do in 1999 was to have at least one elected official in every county. It didn’t have to be a commissioner. It could be a mayor, so when Frank O’Bannon came to Elkhart, Mayor Jim Perron was there to shake his hand.” Winston said that there “has to be someone on the ground to project the party” in every county.

And Winston urged Democrats to dig up old state convention brochures, which feature the names of every delegate. “We need to recontact them and invite them to events. Everybody has an idea.”

**While some Democrats** see abject desert, Winston sees opportunity in a silver linings playbook. “Trump won Indiana by 19% and Joe lost by 5%. What I looked at was Poonam Gill got 44% against Speaker Bosma, and Derek Camp got 45% against Sen. Merritt. Dee Thornton had more than 40% against Congressman Brooks. A typical race would have Susan Brooks winning 70-30%. There were some inroads made. You’ve got Carmel where J.D. Ford did well. Chris Chyung won in southern Lake County. Any time that happens, just like in business, you should ask, ‘How can we re-engineer this?’”

In the 2018 cycle, Democrats like Donnelly em-



Former Democratic chairman Robin Winston.

phasized health care, an issue that will remain relevant in 2020. The party emphasized redistricting reform, but Winston said, “I don’t know if that’s a kitchen table issue. I would rather make a priority of extending voter hours and access” to voter centers in places like Indianapolis.

**As for Donnelly**, an influential Democrat told HPI in 2014: “I wouldn’t underestimate the willingness and ability of Joe Donnelly to play a major role in party-building going forward. He’s the ‘happy warrior’ for our party now and doesn’t mind hitting the trail of J-J dinners and bean suppers around the state to help build the party. He’s more involved than you can imagine behind the scenes in strategy and organizing. He’s offered constant help to the state party which then supplements both Senate and House caucuses as they do recruiting and support for legislative candidates.”

Donnelly, (who dined in Washington last night with Sens. Jon Tester, Heidi Heitkamp and Dick Durbin), McDermott and Hale were not available to comment for this story. But, that’s where the future of the party seems to be at this point. And as Winston would tell you in 1999, or 2003, or 2011, every day a gubernatorial challenger sits on the sidelines is another \$40,000 or so lost into the ether, with Gov. Holcomb and Lt. Gov. Suzanne Crouch poised to unveil big (and growing) war chests later this month. ❖

## Where the Hill saga could lead the GOP

By CRAIG DUNN

KOKOMO – If the Indiana Republican Party was a human body and that body had a nasty festering boil on its derriere, the boil’s name would be Curtis Hill.



As I look into the crystal ball and try to determine the future, I see nothing but problems swirling around Hill and Indiana Republicans. Each potential fix to the Hill problem carries with it its own set of risks and greater problems. The worst part is that taking no action may carry the biggest risk of all.

**What started** out as just an innocent 2 a.m. boozy party for lobbyists, legislative staff, legislators and a few other party animals at the close of the 2018 Indiana legislative session has turned into one nasty life-and-death political struggle. I could point out

quite a few people who bear some responsibility for this mess but that wouldn’t do anything but muddy the waters further. The question is, “Where do we go from here?”

**First, let’s look at where** Indiana Attorney General Curtis Hill stands today. Curtis Hill has been investigated by the Indiana inspector general and by a special counsel appointed by the Marion County prosecutor (a Democrat), and not charged with any crime or crimes. On the surface, this looks very good for Hill but not being charged and being innocent may be two different things. Anyone who listened to the press conference held by Special Counsel Dan Sigler could hear the pain in his voice when he was forced to announce that although he believed the alleged victims, he did not believe that he could get a conviction on any potential charges involving sexual battery or assault. I can’t recall a press conference where the prosecutor announced that no charges would be filed and then the floor was turned over to the accusers for a lengthy, detailed description of the offenses that couldn’t be prosecuted.

After months of accusations, demands for resignation, public discourse and media prosecution, the Indiana Republican Party finds itself grasping a sticky wicket. Hill was accused of assault by four women. A law firm was hired to investigate and its investigation found Hill to

be guilty of inappropriate sexual conduct with state employees. House Speaker Brian Bosma and Senate Pro Tem David Long called for Hill's resignation. Gov. Eric Holcomb called for Hill's resignation. Lt. Gov. Suzanne Crouch and Secretary of State Connie Lawson have asked for Attorney General Hill to step down.

**Hill stated that** he was innocent and demanded that he be investigated by someone other than a political appointee. The investigation was conducted and Hill was not charged. Hill says this proves that he was innocent all along. Hill's detractors say that it means no such thing.

In other words, we're five months into this excrement storm and are no further along in getting the situation resolved.

One option for ending this circus would be for the Indiana General Assembly to impeach and remove Curtis Hill from office. My sources in the legislature tell me that it won't happen. No one other than the Democrats want to see the destructive process of an impeachment. Scratch option one.

Of course, Curtis Hill could understand that his effectiveness as attorney general has been shattered beyond repair by the sexual assault scandal and he could best serve the good people of Indiana by resigning. However, Hill was just elected vice chairman of the National Association of Republican Attorney Generals and he has turned serious sexual assault allegations and the failure of the special prosecutor to charge him into fundraising solicitations. The alleged victimizer is now playing the victim card and the money is flowing in. Scratch option two.

If Hill refuses to heed the numerous public calls for his resignation, it appears that we will proceed to a political showdown in 2020. Hill has three political options in 2020: He can challenge Eric Holcomb for his party's nomination for governor, a complete fool's errand; he can test the waters for governor, take a few swipes at the governor to satisfy his social conservative base, back out early, and then announce he is running for reelection as attorney general; or, finally, Hill might throw all of his effort from the outset into capturing the Republican nod for attorney general at the Indiana Republican State Convention.

**Although I still tend** to believe that Hill will resign from office after receiving an attractive enough employment offer long before 2020, he could be a potent candidate at the convention. Recent conventions have seen socially conservative delegates thumb their noses at the perceived power structure of the Indiana Republican Party on platform issues and Hill would hope to present himself as a champion of the issues held dear by them. Although it would seem strange to me that social conservatives would ignore the sordid details of Hill's "sine die" party conduct and latch onto him as their "knight in shining armor" in the battle of good versus evil, I've been around Indiana politics long enough not to discount how



potent a force social conservatives can be at a GOP convention.

This last scenario is the one that would worry me the most if I were in GOP State Chairman Kyle Hupfer's shoes. You would either be faced with an angry bunch of Hill supporters looking for revenge, or the GOP struggling for a way to deal with the victory of a man that many women hate, and who could serve as a rally point for Democrats to use as a daily club with which to beat all Republicans. It would be the kind of poison that could hurt every Republican candidate.

**The nomination of** Curtis Hill is just about the last thing that Gov. Holcomb could allow in 2020. He would have to find an exemplary candidate to back and expend both monetary and political capital to send enough delegates to the state convention in an effort to deny Hill re-nomination. I could see former Attorney General Steve Carter rising again and running with the full blessing of the Republican establishment. (I know that I would support him.)

As Richard Nixon might say, "Let me make myself perfectly clear." You are not going to see Gov. Eric Holcomb and Lt. Gov. Crouch standing on a stage at the Indiana Republican Convention holding hands with Curtis Hill and singing "Kumbaya." Ain't gonna happen! No way! No how!

A sitting governor has many tools at his disposal to deal with wayward politicians. Some involve carrots and many involve sticks. If I were Curtis Hill, I'd claim victory, fain party loyalty and love of Indiana, then grab the biggest, fattest, juiciest carrot I was offered and ride off into the sunset.

You just don't want to look down into that big ole gubernatorial bag of sticks! ❖

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

# Reshuffling the 2019 HPI Power 50 List

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The annual HPI Power 50 List always goes through a vigorous transformation in the year following an election. The 2019 list which will be published in early January is no exception.

Exiting from top positions will be Sen. Joe Donnelly, Reps. Luke Messer and Todd Rokita, and Senate President David Long.

Our list is always predicated on who will be most likely to shape and influence politics and policy for the coming year. So 2019 will be shaped by the coming biennial budget, how the state responds to the opioid, school security and teacher pay and shortage issues, and the municipal elections.

Another key component will be how the 2020 gubernatorial race begins to shake out, with no Democrat heir apparent surfacing at this point.

We ask our readers to weigh in, nominate those worthy of consideration, or do your own list, which you can then send to me at bhowey2@gmail.com.

Here is the 2018 list:

1. Gov. Eric Holcomb
2. Vice President Mike Pence
3. U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly
4. U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita
5. U.S. Rep. Luke Messer
6. Speaker Brian Bosma
7. Senate President David Long
- 8: U.S. Sen. Todd Young
9. National Intelligence Director Dan Coats
10. Drug Czar Jim McClelland and FSSA Commissioner Jennifer Walthall
11. Surgeon General Jerome Adams
12. Lt. Gov. Suzanne Crouch
13. State Sen. Ron Alting
14. U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks
15. South Bend Mayor Peter Buttigieg
16. Indianapolis Mayor Joe Hogsett
17. John Sinder, Grant Monahan and Scot Imus
18. Mike Braun
19. Secretary of State Connie Lawson
20. Republican Chairman Kyle Hupfer
21. Democratic Chairman John Zody
- 22: House Minority Leader Terry Goodin and Senate Minority Leader Tim Lanane
23. Evansville Mayor Lloyd Winnecke
24. Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr.
25. U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski
26. U.S. Rep. Trey Hollingsworth
27. U.S. Rep. Larry Bucshon

28. IEDC Director Jim Schellinger
29. Christina Hale
30. Rod Ratcliff
31. IMA President Brian Burton
32. Chamber President Kevin Brinegar
33. Fort Wayne Mayor Tom Henry
34. Purdue President Mitch Daniels
35. Ways & Means Chairman Tim Brown
36. State Sens. Ryan Mishler and Travis Holdman

V23, N19



**HOWEY**  
POLITICS INDIANA

Thursday, Jan. 4, 2018

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## HPI Power 50: Indiana at a crossroads

The 2018 list is dominated by Holcomb, Pence, the Senate race and a question of Democratic survival

**By BRIAN A. HOWEY**  
INDIANAPOLIS – Indiana is, famously, the crossroads of America. As we head into 2018, this state stands at a nexus that eclipses the nation and world. Indiana is poised for what we've been calling the \$100 million U.S. Senate race that could determine which party controls the upper chamber.





We watch in fascination Vice President Mike Pence and Director of National Security Dan Coats attempt to keep President Trump within the guardrails, as his volatility via Twitter rattles everywhere

from Congress to capitals around the world. This surfaced once again on Tuesday when Trump goaded North Korea tyrant Kim Jong Un via tweet, comparing the size of his

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### A haywire White House

**By BRIAN A. HOWEY**  
INDIANAPOLIS – And the hits keep coming to what we now know is the "reality TV presidency" of Donald Trump.



On the second and third day of 2018, we find President Trump moving away from comparing body appendages (something we haven't been subjected to since the Clinton White House), to who has a bigger nuclear "button." As crass as who has the bigger package – Trump or Little Rocket Man – perhaps the more disturbing aspect is that Trump may actually believe the "button" exists, as opposed to the "biscuit."




**"I have had many life transitions, from child, to an adult, to a mother, to a police officer, to a school board member, to a representative. This is a new chapter in my life and I am excited for another transition."**

*- Rep. Linda Lawson, who won't seek reelection.*

37. Jay Ricker
38. U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky
39. U.S. Rep. Jim Banks
40. U.S. Rep. Andre Carson
41. Kokomo Mayor Greg Goodnight
42. Fishers Mayor Scott Fadness
43. Supt. Jennifer McCormick
44. Mike O'Brien
45. Holcomb Chief of Staff Earl Goode
46. Bill Hanna
47. East Chicago Mayor Anthony Copeland
48. Attorney General Curtis Hill
49. Pence Chief of Staff Nick Ayres
50. Club For Growth President David McIntosh ❖

# Walorski connects with 2nd CD voters again

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – St. Joseph County Democrats keep complaining that Jackie Walorski doesn't communicate with the voters.

Well, the Republican congresswoman in Indiana's 2nd District communicated satisfactorily with enough of them to win big again, carrying nine of the 10 counties in the district, just as she did to win a second term in 2014 and a third term in 2016. And this time she faced a well-funded opponent with a first-class campaign organization.



Mel Hall, the Democratic nominee, did come closest of all the challengers to the party in control in Indiana's nine congressional districts – seven Republican, two Democratic. Hall got 103,000 votes, nearly twice as many as the Democratic challenger in the last midterm election in 2014.

That wasn't nearly enough. Walorski got 125,000 votes. While her winning percentage was down from prior landslides – Walorski, 54.8%; Hall, 45.2% – it was an impressive win at a time of a serious challenge in what was forecast as a "blue wave" year.

There was a blue wave, just not in Indiana. Democrats gained control of the U.S. House by a wider margin than forecast. The wave swept across neighboring Michigan, where Democrats won for U.S. Senate and governor and flipped two congressional seats from red to blue. But the wave stopped at the state line.

**Hall needed a strong** blue wave to pull an upset in a district rated by Nate Silver, the savvy election forecaster, as providing a one-in-20 chance of a Democrat winning. Hall needed darn near a blue tsunami in St. Joseph County. Didn't happen. He carried the county by 13,700 votes, but needed a far bigger plurality to overcome Republican strength in other counties.

Hall needed to carry at least a couple of other counties, Starke and the part of LaPorte County in the district. Didn't happen. Hard to win while losing nine of 10 counties.

Hall needed to close the

gap in Elkhart County and the other Republican counties to the south. Didn't happen. Once again, Elkhart County and the others delivered overwhelming percentages for Walorski.

**Walorski, after breezing** to victory in the prior two elections, needed to prove she could take on a serious challenge. She did. She agreed to debates and clearly won the first one, disproving the theory of some Democrats that she would crumble if forced to debate. She needed to avoid being placed on the defensive and instead attack after Hall built up a positive image with early TV. She did. With opposition research finding that Hall had for a time lived and voted in Washington, D.C., she attacked Hall as a "Washington insider," even stretching it unfairly, but effectively politically, to claim he was a lobbyist.

Walorski needed help from President Trump, a deciding election factor for a lot of voters. Disapproval of Trump set the blue wave in motion in other states. In Indiana, Trump turned back the blue waters with a more

powerful wave of support from his base. He rallied the Hoosier voters who had given him a win by nearly 20% for president in 2016.

While Trump's two campaign-closing visits to Indiana were aimed at defeating Sen. Joe Donnelly, his successful use of the Kavanaugh vote and migrant caravan issues against Donnelly also brought votes for Republicans in other races.

What does all this mean for 2020, when Walorski will seek a fifth term? She will be hard to beat, emerging stronger rather than weaker from the tough challenge this time.

In the history of the district, there is a pattern of a challenger losing before moving on to defeat the incumbent in the second try. Would Hall try again? If so, would the pattern repeat? Will there be a new challenger? Formidable or token?

And will there be a wave? Blue or red? With Trump running for president or not? ❖



**CONTENT BY CARTER**  
strategic content creation and deployment



# Colwell's 2018 Turkey Awards

By JACK COWELL

SOUTH BEND – With Thanksgiving weekend here, it's time to present the annual Turkey of the Year Awards.

Recipients may cry fowl. But even if they haven't been turkeys all year, each winner has done something to merit this prestigious recognition.



The awards for 2018:

A Turkey of the Year

Award goes to President Trump for his ceremonial pardoning of Thanksgiving turkeys named "Peas" and "Carrots," when he really was practicing to pardon turkeys in his own family.

Locally, a turkey award is presented to Catherine Fanello, St. Joseph County Election Board chairman, for election night vote tabulation confusion and telling on

Facebook about "many, many votes" not counted in a past debacle.

In law enforcement, Elkhart Mayor Tim Neese gets the award for the operation of his police department, known for its battered turkey recipe.

The award for Halloween costuming is presented to Megyn Kelly.

For their contributions to the legal profession, Michael Cohen and Michael Avenatti share a Turkey of the Year Award.

On the international entertainment scene, the turkey for best performance in a romantic role goes to North Korean heartthrob Kim Jong Un. President Trump said he and Kim "fell in love" because of Kim's "beautiful letters."

The turkey award for fake news goes to Facebook. It's served with Russian dressing.

A turkey is awarded posthumously to Dennis Hof, brothel owner self-described as "America's pimp," who won election to the Nevada State Assembly even though he died three weeks before the election.

**An HQ2 Turkey** is awarded to Amazon for pretending that states like Indiana really would be considered for a new headquarters.

A turkey for empathy with the poor goes to running back Le'Veon Bell for sitting out the season rather than accept a stingy, disrespectful and almost minimum wage offer of \$14.5 million to play with the Pittsburgh Steelers.

In baseball, Alex Rodriguez, performance-enhancing cheater on the field, gets a turkey for his performance, presumably without enhancement, as a broadcaster.

Former Cardinal Theodore McCarrick, a former Notre Dame commencement speaker, gets a Turkey of the Year Award for losing his red hat and title in the church sexual abuse scandal.

Surprise! Stormy Daniels gets no turkey. Why? Prominent evangelists say her activities with an important person don't matter. Politics trumps that 6th Commandment stuff. No sin. No turkey.

**The turkey award for** defending the First Amendment and freedom of the press is earned by alt-right commentator Milo Yiannopoulos, who said he just couldn't "wait for the vigilante squads to start gunning journalists down on sight." He didn't have to wait long. Just days later, five "enemies of the people" were gunned down at an Annapolis, Md., newsroom.

A turkey shot with an assault rifle, kind of a turkeyburger, goes to classic rocker Ted Nugent, an NRA board member, who slammed survivors of the Parkland, Fla., high school shooting who advocate firmer gun regulations as "liars" and "mushy-brained children" who "have no soul."

For his conduct on the Indianapolis legislative party scene, Attorney General Curtis Hill gets a stewed turkey.

In local political strategy, the turkey goes to Stan Wruble, the South Bend School Board president, who lost in his school board race after concentrating so much time



on involvement in another race.

For understanding of citizenship, a turkey goes to Timothy Trybus, shown in a video that went viral as he berated a woman in a Chicago park who was wearing a Puerto Rico shirt, shouting, "You should not be wearing that in the United States of America."

For their contributions to TV viewing, Turkey of the Year Awards go to Mike Braun, Joe Donnelly, Jackie Walorski and Mel Hall. The Thanksgiving Turkey approves this message. ❖

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

# Bohacek and Alting bring hate crime bill

By **SHAW R. FRIEDMAN**

LaPORTE – While State Sen. Mike Bohacek (R-Michiana Shores) and I certainly have been on opposite sides of various political issues over the years, if ever there



was an issue on which Hoosier Democrats and Republicans ought to be able to “lay down arms” and join together, it’s his proposal for a badly needed bias crimes statute for our state.

While Indiana has had definitions of what constitutes “bias” on the books for years, there really hasn’t been a statute that gave prosecutors the tools to impose greater sanction on offenders. In fact, it’s become

an embarrassment to the state’s economic development community that, as we pitch for new-age, high-tech job creators to locate here, Indiana is only one of five states without a bias crimes statute.

The proposal, to be co-sponsored by Sen. Bohacek and Sen. Ron Alting (R-Lafayette), finally provides tools to county prosecutors to add “bias” as an aggravating factor in sentencing individuals convicted of “trespass” or “intimidation” or any existing statute that might result from a hate crime. For example, Alting points to Indiana State Police statistics for his home town of Lafayette, where there were actually eight different hate crimes committed just in 2017.

**Those on both** sides of the aisle can agree that in order to recruit and retain talented employees from all over the world, Indiana must be seen as the open and tolerant place that we actually believe we are, rather than an intolerant, hate-filled state which we most certainly are not. The acts of a few demented racists or white nationalists or anti-Semites do not define Indiana which has rightfully prided itself on demonstrating “Hoosier Hospitality” for decades.

The proposed legislation is important in that it would require all law enforcement agencies to report bias-motivated crimes to the FBI and Indiana’s central reposi-

tory for criminal history information at least twice a year. Bohacek and Alting also made the politically savvy move of including any kind of bias in their proposed legislation which means that if someone commits a crime against their victim because of actual or perceived characteristics like race, religion, sexual orientation or disability, but also if the victim is targeted over political affiliation or status as a law enforcement officer or military member, then that would qualify for protection under the proposed statute.

**In other words**, if a leftist extremist targeted a Trump supporter for trespass at their house or committed some form of battery on that individual because of their political views, then such an act would constitute a bias crime. Under the Bohacek/Alting formulation, it’s not just right wing extremists and haters that would be subject to the penalties of the bill, but anyone committing a crime against a person because of that person’s status whether as a police officer or even member of the military would have their sentence potentially increased because of violating the bias crimes statute.

This ought to appeal across the board to legislators in both parties. As the CEO of Genesys, Paul Segre, recently wrote urging adoption by Indiana of a bias crimes statute, employers these days “want the communities in which we live, work and do business to protect our em-



**State Sen. Mike Bohacek is teaming up with Sen. Ron Alting to sponsor a hate crimes bill that Gov. Eric Holcomb wants.**

ployees, customers, partners and other community members against bigotry.” High-tech employers such as Genesys have found they grow and prosper by fostering a climate that encourages diversity in their workforce where differences are respected and that such “rich and open environments result in happier, more engaged employees and create more successful business relationships.”

**No one can want** Indiana to be viewed as a “backwater” that somehow tolerates hatred and bigotry whether it comes from the far right or the far left. The Bohacek/Alting legislation is much needed and sends a message around this nation and the world that “Hoosier Hospitality” is very real and is practiced every day by Hoosiers who believe in civility and tolerance toward their neighbors no matter the differences in race, religion, ethnicity, gender, sexual or political orientation.

Let’s hope for speedy passage in the 2019 General Assembly. ❖

**Shaw Friedman is a LaPorte lawyer who previously served as Legal Counsel for the Indiana Democratic Party and is a longtime HPI columnist.**

# Griffith's township move now a circus

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – Griffith's effort to pull out of Calumet Township and join either St. John or North Township has become a three-ring circus.

Griffith residents – with a state law clearing the way – voted in September to leave Calumet Township. The Griffith folks made the decision because they said they were paying too much to support the township's poor relief operation and getting few benefits back. And, a very smug Griffith Town Council said they planned to join either St. John or North Township. Whatever they wanted, they would have, the council suggested.



So, they turned to St. John Township because it would be the least expensive option.

Instead of rolling out the red carpet – which is what Griffith expected – St. John told Griffith to back off. St. John said it had much to think about before welcoming Griffith. And St. John said it didn't think it could get things done before Griffith's self-imposed deadline of Dec. 31.

If Griffith doesn't find a new home before the end of this year, it will remain in Calumet Township during 2019 and continue paying a high tax rate for poor relief. That wouldn't look good for the Republicans who control the Griffith Town Council. So, Griffith decided St. John Township wasn't the only rodeo in town. The town went knocking on the door of North Township, which includes a number of political heavyweights, including Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr.

Griffith figured the move to North Township wouldn't be a problem. After all, Griffith is one of the so-called three Ridge communities. Munster and Highland are the other two and already are part of North Township. The North Township Board, which would have to approve the inclusion of Griffith, threw up a stop sign, saying "not so fast." Each of the board members and township Trustee Frank Mrvan Jr. said accepting Griffith would be a major move. And, if it was going to happen at all, they needed a considerable amount of time to gather information about the pros and cons.

**McDermott, whose city** is the largest of the five municipalities in North Township, decided he wasn't going to sit out this fight. McDermott said he wants no part of Griffith joining North Township. McDermott made reference to two sportsmanship issues involving Hammond High School and Griffith High School basketball teams. Griffith since has said it won't play Hammond in regular season

games.

"They don't want our kids in Griffith and that's a big deal to me," McDermott said. "They're saying things about my kids, my residents, my city and now you want our help and this was self-inflicted by Griffith. Now they want us to bail them out. No way."

**McDermott also said** Griffith should have gone to North Township first rather than doing so after St. John Township gave them a cool reception. As long as McDermott isn't warm to the idea of North Township taking Griffith under its wing, it likely isn't going to happen. ❖

**Rich James has been writing about politics and government for 40 years. He is retired from the Post-Tribune, a newspaper born in Gary.**

# State and local gov employees slighted

By MORTON MARCUS

INDIANAPOLIS – Some Hoosiers will find delight in this week's column because it shows the government sector in Indiana. Another segment of our population will see more evidence of government services going down the drain. Dataphobes in both groups will read no further shrinking.



Between 2007 and 2017, our increase in private non-farm (PNF) jobs rose by 5.6%, half the rate of growth in the U.S. (10.8%). While nationally state and local government jobs (S&LG) rose by 1.1%, Indiana had a 1.8% decline.

Those percentages translate in jobs important to families and citizens of every town.

Nationally, the PNF sector added 16.4 million jobs, while Indiana added 181,000. However, while the U.S. added 210,000 jobs in S&LG, Indiana lost 7,300 jobs. Yes, there was a great recession in those years, but we did not see "our share" of the private sector recovery despite being "a state that works." Our incentives, foreign junkets, Eastern Standard Time, lower than thou business taxes, even our treasured backwardness were not enough to lure more private sector jobs.

**In addition, Indiana** lost jobs in corrections, police protection, highways, public hospitals, and particularly in public education. Clearly, Hoosiers were in a boat the rising tide did not lift.

Why would state and local public sector jobs fall? It could happen because technology replaced human skills.

But we have no measure of technological advances in policing, firefighting or teaching although we certainly believe such displacements are taking place.

Likewise, public sector employment would fall if we outsourced jobs to the private sector. Vouchers may lead students to private schools rather than those operated by governments. So, too, private prison guards may take over from public employees. Public hospitals may fail while private hospitals construct new elaborate showplaces.

**Again, we don't have** adequate measures of quality in either the public or private sectors. We do know from these data, produced by the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, that in 2007 both PNF jobs and S&LG jobs paid 21% better in the nation than in Indiana. In the private sector, that difference shrank to 17% by 2017. Unfortunately, S&LG jobs in Indiana in 2017 paid not 17%, but 26% less than their national counterparts. While earnings

per S&LG job increased by 27% over the decade nationally, earnings per S&LG job advanced by only 19% for Hoosiers.

**Wait a moment ...** didn't we have some inflation between 2007 and 2017? Yes, consumer prices rose by 18%, which wipes out virtually all of the 19% gains made by Indiana state and local government employees.

Do the returning (and new) Indiana legislators for our 2019-20 General Assembly know this story? Are they aware and do they care that public-sector workers have been the greatest victims of legislative neglect? ❖

**Mr. Marcus is an economist. Reach him at [mortonjmarcus@yahoo.com](mailto:mortonjmarcus@yahoo.com). Follow his views and those of John Guy on "Who gets what?" wherever podcasts are available or at [mortonjohn.libsyn.com](http://mortonjohn.libsyn.com).**

## Thanksgiving for health and prosperity

By MICHAEL HICKS

MUNCIE – Thanksgiving weekend is a good time to pause and take stock of the world as it is today. This means thinking a bit more about those things for which we should be grateful. It is natural for us to think about this



moment in time, for all its goods and ills. I think it is better to examine the long arc of history and report stunning good news that we too often ignore. The central fact of the past three centuries is the spectacular emergence of rapid economic growth that is spreading opportunity across the world today. Let me explain.

In 2018, we live in a world economy that has grown more in each of the past three centuries than all the previous centuries combined. This has resulted in a striking improvement across the globe. In just the past 25 years, the number of people worldwide in real poverty has halved. Better still, desperate material want and the risk of starvation may well slip into the history books within a generation.

**This growth touches nearly** every aspect of life. As late as 1990, perhaps half the world's population had never spoken on a telephone. Today, almost two thirds of adults own a cell phone. In the desperately poor nation of India, per capita income has risen by three times more in the past 25 years than in the previous 25 centuries combined. Nothing even faintly like the last quarter century ever happened before. This is unleashing a torrent

of human flourishing.

In the last century, the share of the world's population living in a democracy grew threefold, and now approaches 60%. We are barely out of the 20th century, which saw more deaths in war than all previous centuries combined. Today we live in a far more peaceful world, with risk of violent deaths lower than at any other time in recorded history. To make the point, the share of living Americans who have never been in battle is lower than at any time in our history. This happy occurrence plays out across most of the globe.

**Across the developed world,** poverty is no longer the result of economic conditions. Everyone who wishes to work and is willing to relocate to find a job has one. A lack of sufficient food, clothing or housing is today a consequence of matters with no direct link to the strength of the economy.

For those workers who possess insufficient labor market skills to earn a good wage, government offers stunning largesse. Indiana, for example, will spend one billion dollars to train less than 125,000 unemployed workers at any given time this year. That is equivalent to more than one year of tuition for the most expensive state university for each worker. A century ago, most American adults had not graduated from high school; today we spend more than \$250,000 per child to see them through k-12 schooling. Our abundance spreads to every doorstep.

On Thanksgiving 1900, about half the people born in 1850 had already died. Life expectancy hovered near 50 years. Today it seems likely that half the Americans born in 2000 will be alive to enjoy Thanksgiving 2100. This is true across the developed world. In Britain, where the monarchy has long penned congratulatory letters to centenarians, the workload has more than doubled in the 21st century. Elsewhere the change is also stunning. In my lifetime, the average resident of India saw their lifespan grow from 44 to 69 years. No other factor so purely dem-

onstrates the power of economic growth than the simple expectation of parents that their children will live into adulthood, and that we with them will live to see grandchildren.

**We live in enviable times**, but that does not mean all is perfect. Human nature has not changed, so war, violence, hatred, addiction, disease and the pain that accompanies them remain. More visibly perhaps, a large minority of residents of the developed world struggle to adapt to the same economic changes that have lifted so many worldwide. These households tend to cluster in formerly vibrant cities and towns in Europe and North America. Their frustration is real, though the causal factors most believe have led to stagnation are mostly fictions. Even for these families, opportunities are better and more abundant for their children than for themselves. That truth is important.

The abundant growth of human flourishing that has accelerated over the past three centuries comes from a common wellspring. These are the elevation of the

individual, endowed with permanent rights. They are attention to reason and the right of individuals to make their own judgments, speak freely upon them and choose the dominion of their own life. These freedoms cannot be universally realized without at least a semblance of a market-based economy, democracy and civil rights.

The dawn of unparalleled growth that began in the 18th century continues to bless us with luxuriant opportunities that spread across the globe at a record pace. On this weekend, as we gather with family, we can only marvel and give thanks for the world as it is, and pray that the miracles of the past three centuries continue to extend the flourishing of all people. ❖

**Hicks, PhD, is the director of the Center for Business and Economic Research and the George and Frances Ball distinguished professor of economics in the Miller College of Business at Ball State University.**

## The mote in your eye or the mountain in mine

By **LINDA CHEZEM**

MARTINSVILLE – As a crossroads of the nation, Indiana has been surprisingly oblivious, even impervious, to political and social changes. That resistance includes writing ethical standards for office holders, state and local.



Dr. Maury Kramer once explained his observations about Hoosier resistance to change with a comparison between settlers and pioneers. Now, several years down the road, his observations applied to the public ethics in Indiana are spot on.

Growing up with parents who participated in community activities, being a precinct committeemen and going to political rallies at the Indiana State Fairgrounds, I did not know

about political corruption as a kid. It was not until I started practicing law in southern Indiana when I was told how \$5 and a pint could vote.

**Even then, ever** an optimist about honesty and inclusion, I worked for the Equal Rights Amendment in the 1970's. I tried cases in the 1980's that involved local officials profiting from bribery. On the Court of Appeals, I saw cases from around the entire state that involved allegations of bribery and other official misconduct.

Over the years, Indiana government officials, state

and local, have been touted as increasingly more honest and more inclusive compared to other states. One might wonder who would report a lack of honesty in a credible way.

**Looking first at conflicts** of interest and honesty, questions about honesty and ethics are not as simple as one might expect. When a friend asked when the "Profiteering from Public Service" section in the Indiana criminal code would apply to a local office holder, I was surprised by the language of the statute. Please join me in considering the language of the law.

IC 35-44.1-1-5 Profiteering from Public Service:

Sec. 5. (a) As used in this section, "pecuniary interest" has the meaning set forth in section 4(a)(3) of this chapter.

(b) A person who knowingly or intentionally:

(1) obtains a pecuniary interest in a contract or purchase with an agency within one year after separation from employment or other service with the agency; and;  
(2) is not a public servant for the agency but who as a public servant approved, negotiated, or prepared on behalf of the agency the terms or specifications of:

(A) the contract; or

(B) the purchase;

commits profiteering from public service, a Level 6 felony.

(c) This section does not apply to negotiations or other activities related to an economic development grant, loan, or loan guarantee.

(d) This section does not apply if the person receives less than two hundred fifty dollars (\$250) of the profits from the contract or purchase.

(e) It is a defense to a prosecution under this section that:

(1) the person was screened from any participa-

tion in the contract or purchase;

(2) the person has not received a part of the profits of the contract or purchase; and

(3) notice was promptly given to the agency of the person's interest in the contract or purchase.

As added by P.L.126-2012, SEC.54. Amended by P.L.158-2013, SEC.500.

But even if profiteering from economic development is permitted, weird though that seems, who would know if someone were profiting? Indiana does not have a state statute that sets out any regular and routine financial disclosure requirements for local officials. There are some interesting (and disturbing gaps) for the state level as well but that may be a book for the future.

**As I looked at the statutes** and asked some questions, I learned about a leadership approach in the Northwest corner of our state, known as the Region, that is aimed at increasing both the financial and ethical sunlight upon their officials. (Sunlight is the best known and most inexpensive disinfectant.) Because the rest of the state has lumped the Region into a caricature of shared values across communities (name source!) for many years, the Shared Ethics Advisory Commission provides an interesting contrast to the popular view of the area. It could be that the commission has potential to inform the rest of us.

The commission quotes Albert Schweitzer, "the first step in the evolution of ethics is a sense of solidarity with other human beings" and their preamble explains what they are doing: Because we value the public's confidence and trust in our services and its decision-makers, our character and behaviors must meet the most demanding ethical standards and demonstrate the highest levels of achievement in following this code.

The Shared Ethics Advisory Commission currently includes the cities of Crown Point, East Chicago, Gary, Hobart, Portage, Valparaiso and Whiting; the towns of Burns Harbor, Cedar Lake, Chesterton, Dyer, Hebron, Highland, Lake Station, Lowell, Merrillville, Munster, Ogden Dunes, Schererville, St. John and Westville; and the counties of Lake, LaPorte, and Porter. All commission participants promote ethical behavior in the workplace and have adopted the standards recognized by the commission. [Click here](#) to get more information about this voluntary program.

**The volunteer approach** has a healthy value in promoting community dialogue. When people choose to identify and agree with ethics standards, they are more likely to live up to those standards. Some local units have adopted ordinances to require financial and conflict of interest disclosures to be made in a standard format pursuant at scheduled intervals after employment and on a yearly basis. But for the most part, Indiana has a lot of work to do to put common sense and workable requirements for ethical governance in place.

The efforts of local governmental units to implement ethical standards voluntarily highlight the inadequacy of Indiana's standards defining conflicts of interest and providing methods to have meaningful disclosure.

Indiana has significant gaps in its requirements for ethical governance at both state and local levels. Beyond the fact that the articulation of ethical standards is incomplete and inadequate, it is particularly worrisome that most of the requirements for local government ethics are in the criminal code. For example, official misconduct is a Level 6 felony. Bribery is a Level 5 felony. Ghost employment is a Level 6 felony.

Ethical behavior is more than refraining from financial misdealing and criminal conflicts of interest. Indiana needs better defining of unethical behavior and that will be demanding work if we are to be respectful of culture and diversity. How should we treat social mores and interactions that present questions of civility? Do we want to make rudeness a crime even if it were constitutional to do so? Should poor judgment be a crime? Probably not, considering that Indiana, as a money-collecting strategy, chose to classify most traffic violations as simple civil infractions. It might even be that not all unethical behavior should be a crime.

We have communal differences across Indiana. When we live in small communities where we know everyone, we tend to respect privacy and not demand a lot of documents. In larger communities, more detailed and demanding measures might be needed. The state agencies, units of large counties, and larger cities should be required to have the most structured reporting because they are more removed from the people.

**Despite Indiana's perceived** resistance to change, the professionalism and investigative capacity and competence of the paid media has changed in the last 20 years. I respect the competence of a couple of reporters in Indiana; still, I believe that they are hobbled by their employers as to content, extent, and direction of their reporting.

If we want more ethical government in Indiana, it is up to each of us to investigate and demand changes. Reporters are not meeting our responsibility nor doing our work for us.

Hopefully, Hoosiers will entertain new ideas and engage participants from diverse communities across the entire state as we discuss ethical and thoughtful leadership. A "Quick-Draw McGraw" approach to the discussions of ethical standards carries a risk of more exclusion and less trust.

Can Indiana have rational and civil discussions of ethical behavior? Or will Indiana be captive of shrill voices that insist on being me centered rather than for the good of the community? ❖

**Chezem is a former Indiana appellate judge, practices law in Martinsville and writes for HPI on legal and agriculture issues.**

# Sexual harassment policy to ethics panels

## Howey Politics Indiana

INDIANAPOLIS – The state’s General Assembly’s proposed sexual harassment policy is being sent to the House and Senate ethics committees for further review before it lands in both chambers for a full vote (Covington & Odendahl, Indiana Lawyer). Even so, questions linger over whether the recommendations will change behavior and protect potential victims. Two legislators who helped

draft the updated policy, Sen. Karen Tallian, D-Portage, and Rep. Holli Sullivan, R-Evansville, believe the proposal meets the mandates of House Enrolled Act 1309. Moreover, Tallian said she hopes the recommendations will help decrease instances of sexual harassment within the General Assembly. But critics are not sure the proposal does all that it could. “They met the minimum requirements of what was asked of them,” said Gabrielle McLemore, communications director for the Indiana Senate Democrats, and one of four women who accused Hill of groping them. “But given everything that’s happened since that bill was passed several months ago and what’s happened with all of us, I think they really missed a really important opportunity to include a lot of things that could have helped a lot of future cases similar to this one.”

## Congress

### Pelosi renominated for speaker

Rep. Nancy Pelosi on Wednesday handily won the Democratic nomination to be speaker when her party claims the House majority in the new Congress, but with 32 Democrats voting no, she was well short of the number she will need to reclaim the gavel in January (New York Times). In a secret-ballot vote that dramatized rifts among Democrats only weeks after midterm election victories handed them House control, Ms. Pelosi, who is the first woman to be speaker, won support from 203 Democrats. Beyond the 32 no votes, three ballots were blank. To become speaker, she must win 218 votes in a House floor vote on Jan. 3, so the tally will touch off what promises to be an intensive period of arm-twisting and cajoling to reach her goal. It also gives some time for a serious challenger to emerge.



### Carson votes for Pelosi

U.S. Rep. André Carson (D-IN) voted for Nancy Pelosi to regain the speakership. “Today I cast my vote for Nancy Pelosi to become the next Speaker of the House. Leader Pelosi has an unparalleled record in Congress. She has gone toe to toe with Presidents and the Senate and pushed through huge reforms like the Affordable Care Act and Dodd-Frank,” Carson said. “Through wars and economic recessions, she has continually put the country first. Leader Pelosi is an advocate for our members, giving all of us a chance to grow and succeed. She has shown that she is open to new ideas that harness the power and diversity of our party. Because we need skilled leadership now more than ever, I believe the best person to lead us in this work is Nancy Pelosi.”

### Young votes for sanctions on Saudis


U.S. Sen. Todd Young was one of 14 Republicans to deliver a historic rebuke of Saudi Arabia and President Trump’s handling of the fallout over journalist Jamal Khashoggi’s killing last month, as a decisive majority voted to advance a measure to end U.S. military support for the Saudi-led war in Yemen (Washington Post). The 63-to-37 vote is only an initial procedural step, but it nonetheless represents an unprecedented challenge to the security relationship between the United States and Saudi Arabia.

Young called the Yemeni civil war “the worst humanitarian crisis since 1940s,” saying on MSNBC’s Morning Joe today, “We took a step yesterday. Next week we’ll have a vote on whether will have a more robust and fulsome debate. I do think we should stop the Saudi behavior,” citing “indiscriminate bombing of school buses and wedding parties,” and “denying food to people” which he said violates American values. Young added, “If this civil war continues the Iranian presence will only grow. This is a national security and humanitarian interest.”

The vote was prompted by lawmakers’ growing frustration with Trump for defending Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman’s denials of culpability in Khashoggi’s death, despite the CIA’s finding that he had almost certainly ordered the killing. The Republicans who voted for the measure were an interesting mix of the usual independent-minded members (Lisa Murkowski, Susan Collins, Jeff Flake, Bob Corker) and senators who have been less inclined to directly challenge the administration (Mike Lee, Lindsey Graham, Todd Young and Rand Paul) (Axios). Their frustration peaked shortly before Wednesday’s vote, when senators met behind closed doors to discuss Saudi Arabia, Khashoggi and Yemen with Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and Defense Secretary Jim Mattis — but not CIA Director Gina Haspel, who did not attend the briefing. ❖

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

**Kevin Williamson, National Review:** General Motors just shared some very bad news: It is closing five factories in the United States and Canada, eliminating 15 percent of its work force (and 25 percent of its executives), and getting out of the passenger-car business almost entirely to focus on SUVs and trucks. President Donald Trump threw a fit, but GM shrugged him off. The facts are the facts. What did U.S. taxpayers get for their \$11.2 billion bailout of GM? About 10 years of business-as-usual, and one very expensive lesson. Bailouts don't work. Never mind the moral hazard, the rent-seeking, the cronyism and the favoritism, and all of the inevitable corruption that inevitably accompanies multibillion-dollar sweetheart deals between Big Business and Big Government. Set aside the ethical questions entirely and focus on the mechanics: Businesses such as GM get into trouble not because of one-time events in the wider economic environment, but because they are so weak as businesses that they cannot weather one-time events in the wider economic environment. GM's sedan business is weak because GM's sedans are weak: Virtually all of the best-selling sedans in the United States are made by Toyota, Honda, and Nissan. The lower and middle sections of the market are dominated by Asia, and the high end of the market by Europe: Mercedes, Audi, BMW. GM can't compete with the Honda Civic at its price point or with the Audi A7 at its price point. Consumers like what they like, and they aren't buying what GM is selling. It isn't winning in the dino-juice-powered market, in the electric-car market, or in the hybrid market, either: GM is not exactly what you would call a nimble corporation. So, things are grim for GM. On the car front, anyway. GM has a much healthier business selling trucks and SUVs, a business that it now will focus its resources on — as it should have done long ago. Why didn't it do that? In part, because we — you and me, suckers — paid them not to. We were told that we simply must bail out General Motors during the financial crisis because if we failed to, that would lead to a bloodbath of job losses and cascading business failures. But the job losses were always going to come: Paying people to build things that consumers don't really want isn't a sustainable business model. That's a reality you cannot bail your way out of. The U.S. automobile industry was never going to fail in toto. The unprofitable parts were. ❖



**Marc Chase, NWI Times:** The sickening pattern of influence an abuser often holds over a victim was on full public display in Lake Criminal Court this past week. The frequent attempts by abusers at manipulating responsibility and the truth behind domestic battery came through in the trial as well. We all should keep it fresh in our minds, particularly if the twice-convicted batterer of women, Lake County Councilman Jamal Washington, ever seeks public office again. Be outraged. Be unforgiving. After all, Washington's defense attorney delivered virtual high-fives to

his client after the verdict was read, celebrating that the conviction wasn't on felony charges and therefore wouldn't threaten the 47 days left in Washington's County Council term. Voters shouldn't forget that display, or the fact Washington has been convicted of battering women twice in the past three years and has a string of past protective orders alleging domestic violence against various women to his name. In the most recent case, a Lake County jury convicted Washington Wednesday of misdemeanor battery and interference with the reporting of a crime, both charges arising from his assault of a female cousin about a year ago. He had faced felonies, but jurors opted to convict him of the lesser counts. Washington also avoided felonies in 2016 when he struck a plea agreement with prosecutors, admitting to misdemeanor battery for an attack on his wife. None of us can prevent Washington from beating women, and the law doesn't prevent him from seeking political office in the future. But we don't have to allow the beat to go on for his political career. ❖

**Thomas J. Duesterberg, Wall Street Journal:** President Trump's aggressive economic pressure has helped bring Chinese President Xi Jinping to the negotiating table. But as the two presidents prepare to meet Friday in Buenos Aires, it would be a mistake for American negotiators to imagine that tariff measures and more commodity purchases will be enough to secure a worthwhile deal with Beijing. The real threat from China is much deeper than anything reflected in the bilateral balance-of-payments ledger. The threat lies in China's commitment to a mercantilist economic model and in particular its well-funded, top-down, multifaceted program to surpass the U.S. and its allies in the development of key technologies. This includes subsidies, forced technology transfers and closed internal markets, violating many World Trade Organization treaty obligations. The U.S. and its allies will need to mount a coordinated effort to raise the costs of Chinese defiance while providing Beijing with plausible opportunities to make a deal without appearing to bow to U.S. pressure. In the first year of his term, the president was at loggerheads with Europe as well as Japan, Canada, Mexico and other Pacific Rim partners. Since then, his team has closed deals with South Korea, Canada and Mexico, entered into trade negotiations with the European Union and Japan, and generally reduced, though hardly eliminated, frictions with these allies. The administration also has filed trade actions with the WTO earlier this year against China's blatant violation of intellectual-property rules, winning support from Japan and the European Union. Advancing a process for WTO reform has also brought together the U.S., Japan and the EU. This latter initiative is crucial since much of China's strategy for building new national-champion companies involves newer, digital-age industries, which are inadequately covered or uncovered by existing WTO rules. ❖



## Ratcliff, Keeler buy Gary casinos

GARY – Former Centaur Gaming executives have created a new business to acquire two casinos in northwest Indiana, and have plans to relocate both gaming licenses (Erdody, [IBJ](#)). The new company, called Spectacle Entertainment, announced Wednesday morning that it has acquired Majestic Holdco LLC, which owns the Majestic Star Casino and the Majestic Star Casino II, both located on Lake Michigan's Buffington Harbor in Gary, for an undisclosed amount of cash. Spectacle is led by some of the same individuals who controlled Centaur Gaming — Rod Ratcliff, former chairman and CEO of Centaur Gaming, is the chairman and CEO of Spectacle, and John Keeler, the former general counsel for Centaur, has been named the general counsel for Spectacle.



## U.S. life expectancy decline alarming

WASHINGTON – Life expectancy in the United States declined again in 2017, the government said Thursday in a bleak series of reports that showed a nation still in the grip of escalating drug and suicide crises (Washington Post). The data continued the longest sustained decline in expected life span at birth in a century, an appalling performance not seen in the United States since 1915 through 1918. That four-year period included World War I and a flu pandemic that killed 675,000 people in the United States and perhaps 50 million worldwide. Public health and demographic experts reacted with alarm to the release of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's annual statistics, which are considered a reliable barometer of a society's health. In most developed nations, life expectancy has marched steadily upward for decades. "I think this is a very dismal picture of health in the United States," said Joshua M. Sharfstein, vice dean for public health practice and community engagement at the Johns Hopkins

Bloomberg School of Public Health. "Life expectancy is improving in many places in the world. It shouldn't be declining in the United States."

## Trump won't rule out Manafort pardon

WASHINGTON – President Donald Trump declined in a new interview to rule out the possibility that he could pardon Paul Manafort, his former campaign chairman ([CNN](#)). "It was never discussed, but I wouldn't take it off the table. Why would I take it off the table?" Trump told the New York Post. The President's comments come following special counsel Robert Mueller's accusation that Manafort violated his plea agreement and lied to Mueller's team after being found guilty on eight counts of financial crimes in August.

## Trump threatens Democrats

WASHINGTON – In a wide-ranging, exclusive interview with The Post, President Trump said Wednesday that if House Democrats launched probes into his administration — which he called "presidential harassment" — they'd pay a heavy price ([New York Post](#)). "If they go down the presidential harassment track, if they want go and harass the president and the administration, I think that would be the best thing that would happen to me. I'm a counter-puncher and I will hit them so hard they'd never been hit like that," he said during a 36-minute Oval Office sitdown. The commander-in-chief said he could declassify FISA warrant applications and other documents from Robert Mueller's probe — and predicted the disclosure would expose the FBI, the Justice Department and the Clinton campaign as being in cahoots to set him up. "I think that would help my campaign. If they want to play tough, I will do it. They will see how devastating those pages are."

## Kerry ponders 2020 run

BOSTON – Former Secretary of State John Kerry on Tuesday did not rule out running for president in 2020, keeping his name among a growing list of prospective candidates vying to be the Democratic nominee ([Politico](#)). Speaking at Harvard's John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum on Tuesday, Kerry was directly asked whether he would announce a presidential bid. "I'm thinking about how the hell to get out from under that question fast," Kerry joked. But he went on to say that he was continuing to think about a possible bid. "I'm not taking anything off the table," Kerry said. "I haven't been running around to the most obvious states, laying any groundwork or doing anything."

## Brohm will stay at Purdue

LOUISVILLE – Jeff Brohm has withdrawn from his hometown university's search for a head football coach. He will remain at Purdue and not replace Bobby Petrino at Louisville ([Louisville Courier-Journal](#)). He will stay in West Lafayette, Ind. to build on two years of impressive progress. "After intense and thorough discussion, I believe it is important to finish the building process we have begun and honor the commitment I made to our football program, players, and recruits," Brohm said in a statement released to media.

## Pence breaks tie on nominee

WASHINGTON — One of President Donald Trump's nominees has cleared an important hurdle to filling the nation's longest judicial vacancy, but it took a tie-breaking vote from Vice President Mike Pence.