

Indiana Senate race drew \$110 million

\$70 million in outside funds spilled in; Donnelly decries influx of ‘dark money’

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – In 2017, Howey Politics Indiana predicted Hoosiers would see a \$100 million Senate race. The emerging reality is that the five major party candidates crested \$110 million, according to [FEC](#) and [Open Secrets](#) reports and compilations.

Of that amount nearly \$70 million came from outside groups, more than doubling what such groups spent in Indiana’s 2012 U.S. Senate race when Democrat Joe Donnelly defeated Republican Richard Mourdock.

Essentially, the Indiana Senate race was engulfed and influenced by groups located outside the state. This tally comes as U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly used his farewell speech in the Senate on Tuesday to decry the gush money



spilling into congressional races that propagate “divisive rhetoric.” Donnelly explained, “Campaigns are increasingly funded by tens of millions of dollars. Anonymous dark

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Blue wave passes Indiana

By **CHRIS SAUTTER**

WASHINGTON – Nationally, Democrats flipped 40 seats in the U.S. House of Representatives, the largest for the party since the 1974 post-Watergate election. The total margin, nearly 9 million votes, was the largest ever in terms of raw votes. Democrats even prevailed in several historically red congressional districts, such as in Oklahoma and Orange County, California, where they hadn’t won in decades.

Democrats also gained seven governor seats, including in Michigan and Wisconsin, Mid-western states Trump carried two years ago. And, they held their losses in the U.S. Senate to just two seats (one seat if you count



“If we don’t get what we want, one way or the other, whether it’s through you, through military, through anything you want to call, I will shut down the government. I will take the mantle. I will be the one to shut it down.”

- President Trump



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the Alabama seat Democrats won in a special election a year ago) with a map so horrible some were predicting at the start of the cycle that Republicans could wind up with the 60 seats needed to overcome a filibuster.

Yet in Indiana, where Democrats picked up five House seats in the 1974 Watergate election, they whiffed. Incumbent Sen. Joe Donnelly lost decisively to Mike Braun, a novice candidate who was forced to spend much of the campaign defending his anti-worker business practices. And, Democrats were easily dispatched in the three U.S. House districts that they had won in 2006, the last time there was a blue wave.

While Indiana has historically been a Republican state, Hoosier Democrats are usually able to compete at least during "Democratic years." So, why did the "blue wave" pass over Indiana? Below are seven factors that contributed to the 2018 Democratic debacle in Indiana:

■ **1.) Trump's favorable ratings were higher in Indiana.** Mid-term electoral success is always tied to presidential popularity. President Trump's popularity bumped slightly nationally in the weeks leading up to the election and was higher in Indiana than in states and congressional districts where Democrats won. This was true not only in Indiana, but also in Ohio, Iowa, Missouri, and North Dakota where Republicans had success. Higher midterm election turnout among Democrats and independents, especially suburban women and new first-time voters, made the difference. But Republican turnout in more rural states like Indiana was also higher than usual for a midterm. Democratic prospects for 2020 in the Hoosier State are not good so long as Trump remains popular.

■ **2.) Gerrymandering in Indiana has virtually eliminated competitive congressional races.** Republican extreme gerrymandering in 2011 put every district but the 1st

(Peter Visclosky) and the 7th (Andre Carson) congressional districts virtually out of reach for Democrats. Democrats won the 2nd, the 8th, and 9th districts in 2006, the year of the last national blue wave. But going into the 2018 midterms, the 2nd District was plus 11% Republican (in the Cook Partisan Index), the 8th plus 12%, and the 9th plus 13%. Though both were well funded, Mel Hall lost in the 2nd District by almost 10% and Liz Watson lost by nearly 20%. William Tanoos, who raised little, lost by almost 30% in the 8th District. Democrats have won in gerrymandered districts in years past, but this time they didn't even come close.

■ **3.) Demographic changes have not reached Indiana.** The adage "demography is destiny" has convinced Democrats they



will eventually triumph in many red states. Indiana is not likely to be one of those states any time soon, however. The demographic changes that made statewide races in Georgia and Texas competitive have not reached Indiana. If anything, Indiana – especially southern Indiana – is trending more red than ever. Election returns show Indiana rural areas were as Republican as ever, while suburban areas failed to vote strongly Democratic as in other states. With suburban voters, especially suburban women, moving toward the Democratic Party nationally, Hoosier Democrats must find a way to win their support in Indiana as well.

■ **4.) The Democratic message is neither clear nor current.** Joe Donnelly made a career out of straddling between Democratic and Republican messages. However, down

the stretch during the 2018 campaign, he lost control of his message. His Democratic supporters threw up their hands with his embrace of Trump's border wall and other outlandish Trump policies while Republican-leaning independents turned on him with his vote against the Brett Kavanaugh Supreme Court nomination. It got to the point where voters, even his own supporters, had difficulty understanding what Joe Donnelly stood for, what his core values were. The Evan Bayh message that dominated Hoosier Democratic campaigns for two decades no longer works and should be discarded (it rarely worked for anyone but Bayh anyway). Democrats need a message that demonstrates they stand for something and are on the side of everyday people. At the same time, it appears unlikely that a Bernie Sanders-style message works anywhere outside of Bloomington. Liz Watson tried it and ran well behind the Democratic performance level in the 9th District, despite being well-funded and organized. Hoosier Democrats must better articulate to voters what they stand for and how they will fight for them if they hope to be competitive in 2020.



■ **5.) Strong, effective leadership is lacking in the Indiana Democratic Party.** Hoosier Democrats have often won with a weak state chair. But climbing out of the hole they are in today requires strong party leadership, the kind of leadership the party has not had in years. The IDP continues to operate on the Evan Bayh model long after Bayh has left the scene. And, the Evan Bayh model was created to further the career of one politician; it was not one based on trying to rebuild a party. If Democrats hold any hope of even modest gains in 2020, the Indiana Democratic Party needs to start anew. That starts with a new chair, but that person can't be just anyone. The new Indiana Democratic Party chair must have the force-

fulness and stature to challenge Republican one-party rule with its embarrassing scandals and special interest-based policies, as well as the ability to raise the funds needed to run competitive campaigns up and down the ticket.

■ **6.) Hoosier Democrats failed to field sufficiently strong candidates. Democrats win in Indiana when they field strong candidates.** Obviously, strong Democratic candidates don't always win, but weak Democratic candidates rarely win in

Indiana and certainly not in districts held by Republican incumbents. That's not to say all the 2018 Democratic candidates were weak, although some clearly were. But the Democratic candidates who ran in the historically competitive 2nd, 8th, and 9th were not as well-known and skilled as those who have won in the past and definitely were not as experienced. Too often in recent years, first-time candidates have become the nominees in these districts. Democrats need to convince popular mayors and state legislators and others who have been highly successful outside of politics to run for Congress to have a decent shot at winning these seats.

■ **7.) Hoosiers simply aren't buying the Democratic brand.** This may be the most important factor in the Democratic Party's failures in Indiana. Too many Hoosier voters do not view the Democratic Party in a favorable light. Part of the problem is the national party brand tends to define the state party. Democrats need a strong identity that is independent of the national party. In the 1980s, Indiana Democrats overcame gerrymandered districts and years of frustrating losses by redefining the Democratic brand. It is past time for Indiana Democrats to do it again. ❖

Sautter is a Democratic media consultant from Indiana based in Washington.

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money interests (are) really doing damage to this country. People ought to have the right to know who's talking to them, who's standing up for what they have to say. I've always believed that if you have something to say, you ought to put your name on it." He said it was impacting the ability of Congress to address "serious, long-term issues."

Donnelly raised \$17,243,997, spent \$17,041,271 and ended the campaign loss to Republican Mike Braun with \$297,160 cash on hand. Braun out-raised Donnelly, with total receipts of \$19,454,007, disbursed \$19,436,255 and ended with \$17,749. Braun lent his own



campaign \$11.6 million, or nearly 60% of his total raised. But the brute force money came from PACs, Super PACs, Careys, 501c and 527 accounts totaling more than \$69.7 million. Donnelly drew \$8,591,309 from groups supporting him and \$24,688,733 who opposed him, for a total of \$36,517,307, while Braun had \$3,452,000 which supported his candidacy and \$29,751,718 which opposed him, according to tabulations by Open Secrets. Add in the \$243,620 supporting and opposing U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita in the primary and \$18,361 for and against U.S. Rep. Luke Messer, and the number reaches almost \$70 million.

Braun's primary opponents raised

Candidate	Supported	Opposed	All 2018 Total (Supported and Opposed)
Donnelly, Joe (D)	\$8,591,309	\$24,688,733	\$36,517,307
Braun, Mike (R)	\$3,452,000	\$29,751,718	\$33,203,718
Rokita, Todd (R)	\$17,500	\$226,120	\$243,620
Messer, Luke (R)	\$0	\$18,361	\$18,361

another \$6 million, with Messer's campaign posting \$3,056,793 in receipts, \$4,099,434 in disbursements and wound up with \$7,754. Rokita's campaign raised \$2,924,402, spent \$4,173,147 and had a cash balance of \$66,819. Both GOP congressmen were able to spend more than they took in during the cycle due to strong prior balances in their federal accounts. Three other Republicans, Terry Henderson (\$322,930), Andrew Takami (\$169,860) and Mark Hurt (\$130,668), raised and spent just over \$500,000.

The big independent expenditures included \$17.3 million from the Senate Leadership Fund (Majority Leader Mitch McConnell), \$17.5 million from the Senate Majority PAC (Minority Leader Chuck Schumer), \$6.979 million from the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, \$4.7 million from the National Republican Senatorial Committee, \$4.578 million from Majority Forward, \$3.63 million from Priorities USA Action, \$2.8 million from America First Action, \$2.5 million from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, \$1.8 million from National Association of Realtors, \$1.22 million from the National Rifle Association, and \$1.2 million from Black Progressive Action Coalition.

Another round included \$780,438 from Hoosiers for Conservative Values, \$68,038 from the Indiana Republican State Committee, \$500,000 from Winning for Women, \$325,000 from Citizens United, \$50,000 from Committee to Defend the President, and \$527,500 from Credit Union Association.

This is a continued trend of outside expenditures dwarfing the candidates' campaigns beginning with the 2012 U.S. Senate race that saw more than \$51 million in spending by and on behalf of Donnelly, U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar and Republican nominee Richard Mourdock.

Outside groups spent \$32,844,052 in 2012,

Candidate financial totals				
Candidate	Party	Total receipts	Total disbursements	Cash on hand
BRAUN, MIKE	REPUBLICAN PARTY	\$19,454,007.16	\$19,436,255.29	\$17,749.83
● DONNELLY, JOSEPH S	DEMOCRATIC PARTY	\$17,243,997.17	\$17,041,271.82	\$297,160.52
MESSER, ALLEN LUCAS	REPUBLICAN PARTY	\$3,056,793.00	\$4,099,434.90	\$7,754.10
ROKITA, THEODORE EDWARD	REPUBLICAN PARTY	\$2,924,402.07	\$4,173,147.61	\$66,819.82

according to the website Open Secrets. The three campaign committees – Lugar at \$4,703,690, Mourdock at \$8,596,756, and Donnelly at \$5,572,767 – raised and spent a combined \$18,873,213, according to the Federal Election Commission. At the time, that would was a record in itself.

In 2016, the total reached \$75 million as Republican Todd Young first defeated Rep. Marlin Stutzman and Eric Holcomb in the GOP primary, then defeated former senator and governor Evan Bayh, who took over the nomination from former congressman Baron Hill in August 2016. The 2016 Senate race featured two of the top all-time fundraisers in Young and Bayh, who resurfaced late and began his effort with a nearly \$10 million balance in his federal account. Bayh made a total of \$13.588 million in disbursements, compared to \$11.39 million for Young in a race Young won 52-42% after the Republican and outside groups essentially destroyed the durable Bayh brand

that had allowed him to win five state-wide campaigns for secretary of state, governor and U.S. Senate.

Stutzman had \$2.92 million in disbursements, Eric Holcomb had \$511,094, and original Democratic nominee Baron Hill had \$1.15 million. Among these five candidates, they disbursed \$29,672,136. That figure could have been higher had Gov. Mike Pence not chosen Holcomb as his lieutenant governor nominee in February 2016.

But again, the real fuel for the 2016 race came from the Super PACs, PACs and 501s, which funneled \$45.9 million into the state. The big spenders included the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee PAC at \$7,833,646 and the Senate Majority Super PAC with \$5,083,309 on behalf of Bayh. Big spenders for Young included the Senate Leadership Fund at \$12,682,214; National Republican Senatorial Committee PAC at \$4,917,671; NRA Institute for Legislative Action, \$2,190,090; U.S. Chamber of Commerce, \$2,749,450.

The real game-changer occurred in January 2010 when on a 5-4 U.S. Supreme Court decision in the Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission case it was determined that the 1st Amendment protection of free speech prohibited the government from restricting independent political expenditures by nonprofit corporations, for-profit corporations, labor unions and other associations. Since then there has been a flood of PAC, Super PAC and 501 funds.

Compare the totals from this year, 2016 and 2012 to the pre-Citizens United, \$9 million 2010 Indiana Senate race: U.S. Sen. Dan Coats raised \$4,499,120 and received \$1,227,000 in PAC contributions in 2010; Democrat Brad Ellsworth raised \$2,291,863 and had \$1,052,000 in PAC contributions that year.

Then Indiana Republican Chairman Holcomb told HPI after the 2012 race, "The roles are changing and we have to adapt to change. Parties are here to stay and they play a very valuable role with the candidates; we provide institutional knowledge, data and we provide the overall brand. Super PACs played a huge role in the presidential and Senate races, primarily on TV. If we've learned one thing, in addition to money can't buy you love, it (can) overcome that."

Bayh spent in the range of \$4-5 million in his 1998 Senate race, and \$3- to \$4 million in his 2004 reelection, according to former Indiana Democratic chairman Dan



Republican Senate nominee Mike Braun speaks at the GOP Convention in Evansville last June. Gov. Eric Holcomb and Lt. Gov. Crouch at left. All three have become fundraising juggernauts. (HPI Photos by Mark Curry and Brian A. Howe)

Parker. Neither of those races was competitive. The most recent truly competitive races occurred in 1990 and 1992 between Coats and Baron Hill in the former, and Joe Hogsett in the latter. Parker put the Hill and Hogsett campaigns in the \$2 million range.

Republicans shatter money records

Eric Holcomb for Indiana, Friends of Suzanne Crouch and the Indiana Republican Party will again end the calendar year in a record-setting position. Together, the three entities will post at least \$5.25 million cash-on-hand, eclipsing the previous second-year record by \$1.25 million. Eric Holcomb for Indiana will post a bigger end-of-year number, \$3.6 million, than either Gov. Mike Pence or Mitch Daniels had at the end of their second year in office. In 2014, Mike Pence for Indiana reported \$3.549 million, and in 2006, Mitch for Governor posted \$2.594 million. Lt. Gov.

Suzanne Crouch will have \$750,000 in the bank, four times the amount of her nearest predecessor. The Indiana Republican Party will close 2018 with at least \$900,000, breaking last year's impressive \$818,000, which itself was a record amount.

■ **2018:** Eric Holcomb for Indiana \$3.6 million; Friends of Suzanne Crouch \$750,000; Indiana Republican Party \$900,000. Total: \$5.25 million.

■ **2014:** Mike Pence for Indiana \$3.549 million; Sue Ellspermann for Lt. Gov. \$189,709; Indiana Republican Party \$288,000. Total: \$4.026 million.

■ **2006:** Mitch for Governor \$2.594 million; Skillman for Indiana \$125,363; Indiana Republican Party \$527,000. Total: \$3.246 million.

Hupfer told HPI on Monday, "Obviously Gov. Holcomb has worked extremely hard at fundraising. We've all put a lot of time and effort into it. There's been a real connection between Hoosiers and Gov. Holcomb. Same can be said with Lt. Gov. Crouch, who is setting her own records. It comes down to the governor has done a good job of ascending to be the clear head of the GOP. He got involved in incumbent primaries and won 11 of 11 he was involved in. Both the governor and I endorsed the statewide candidates almost immediately. We were partners with them throughout the campaign's statewide tour and large TV buy that the governor headlined."

Indiana Republicans will continue to have an impact nationally. Sen. Young will head the National Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, and Gov. Holcomb was elected policy chair of the Republican Governors Association.

INDem base in atrophy

Updated mid-term election results have upped the number of county commissioner seats held by Republicans. Republicans hold 246 county commissioner seats, Democrats have 30. Republicans now hold 89% of county commissioner seats. These numbers were updated from the Nov. 29 edition of HPI where we reported that prior to the mid-term election, Republicans held 80% of county courthouse offices (clerk, assessor, auditor, recorder, com-



Republican Chairman Kyle Hupfer at Republican headquarters. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howe)

missioners, council). Prior to the Nov. 6 election, Republicans held 242 commissioner seats and Democrats had 34.

Hupfer is dismissive that Hoosier Democrats suffer due to gerrymandered congressional and legislative districts. "Democrats keep talling about gerrymandering in a dishonest fashion," Hupfer said. "We hold 80% of county positions. County lines are not gerrymandered. If you look at federal redistricting guidelines, you have to maintain the 1st and 7th congressional districts. You can't carve up Center Township and Lake County. With those being the case, you can't draw lines. These are not hodgepode lines. You look at the congressional race and each Republican won with large margins. Any discussion to the contrary is false."

Delph breaks down loss to J.D. Ford

Former State Sen. Mike Delph broke down his loss to Democrat State Sen. J.D. Ford in November. Delph lost 56-43%, or by more than 7,000 votes. According to the Carmel Republican:

■ Polling consistently showed, including the last week of the campaign, that no one knew who J.D. Ford was. He won 66% of the vote in Marion County because of straight party Democrat voting. These voters never even saw his name.

■ Districtwide and individually in each community, I outperformed Mike Braun and Joe Donnelly outperformed J.D. Ford.

■ In Marion County on the westside or the westside of Indianapolis, Braun got 30% in SD 29, I got 34% in SD 29, and Tera Klutz got 33%. "I beat the base GOP vote by 1% in Indy," Delph said.

■ Andy Harris the Wayne Township Trustee and former Indiana Trustee of the Year lost to Chuck Jones 58-42. "I point this out because Andy is the most dedicated local public official I have worked with and he lost to an anti-Trump union organizer because of straight-party Democrat voting," Delph said.

■ In 2014, Delph received just over 15,000 votes and won 54-46% and in 2018 he won just over 24,000. "I

lost Indy by just over 1,000 votes in 2014 and just over 8,000 in 2018,” Delph said. “If you would have told me I would exceed my 2014 vote total by 9,000 votes, I would have said it was a slam dunk victory.”

■ U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks and Secretary of State Connie Lawson each got 36% in the 55 precincts in SD29 in Indy on the westside.

■ The outcome was decided by straight-party Democrat voting, particularly in Indianapolis. “I could have been running against anyone and would most likely have lost as would have 99% of GOP candidates,” Delph said. “The reason is twofold: Strong anti-Trump sentiment and even stronger anti-Brett Kavanaugh sentiment. Our polling was painfully consistent on this point over the entirety of the campaign. I was advised to stay away from both and even encouraged by some to go after either. I strongly support Trump and Kavanaugh and told those advice givers to stick it. However, every time Mike Braun would love on Trump in his ads in my area, it was another nail and I knew it.”

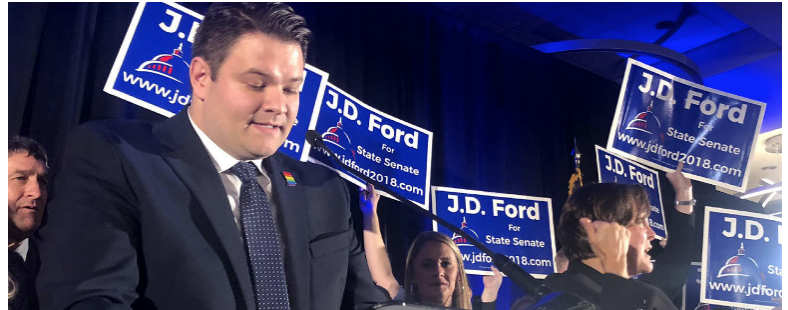
Mayors

Councilman to challenge Goodnight

Kokomo Councilman Kevin Summers moves to the Democratic Party, sparking a potential showdown between the former Common Council member and incumbent Mayor Greg Goodnight (Myers, Kokomo Tribune). And the Howard County Democratic Party is furious about it. Summers first created waves when he defected from the Republican Party to become a Democrat in October 2015, just weeks before the most recent city election. It was at the end of that year he ended his two terms as an at-large member of the Kokomo Common Council, after he chose not to seek reelection.

The reason for those decisions became clear when Summers announced in January 2016 that he would run for the Howard County commissioner seat occupied by Tyler Moore. Moore would soundly defeat Summers, with 55% of the vote. Summers, whose decision to run for mayor was first reported in the Kokomo Perspective on Tuesday, is now taking on his own party.

In a fiery statement, Howard County Democratic Party Chairwoman Kathy Skiles accused Summers of trying to circumvent the Kokomo Police Department’s hiring process, all in an effort to get his own son hired. And when Goodnight wouldn’t allow it, Summers decided to run for mayor, she claims. “Kevin Summers is only running because he is upset that Mayor Goodnight refused to break the rules in order to



Sen. J.D. Ford’s defeat of Sen. Mike Delph in SD29 was the lone bright spot for Indiana Democrats. (HPI Photo by Mark Curry)

hire Kevin’s son as a police officer,” Skiles said. Summers declared his sudden and immediate retirement Wednesday morning. “Effective immediately, I am retiring from the Kokomo Police Department,” he wrote, closing the book on a two-decade career.

Goodnight, who has not officially announced a reelection bid to seek a fourth term, will make a campaign announcement next month, he told the Tribune in a statement today. “After a contentious year of politics, I think most people are enjoying a brief break from the political noise to enjoy Christmas and the holiday season,” he said. “I look forward to making a campaign announcement in January. We talk about the 2019 elections in the calendar year 2019.”

Nation

Pelosi cuts speaker deal with dissidents

U.S. Rep. Nancy Pelosi announced Wednesday that she had reached a deal with dissident Democrats to limit herself to four years as speaker, her most consequential move to date to put down a rebellion in her ranks and clinch the votes she needs to be elected ([New York Times](#)). The agreement would also apply to the party’s other two top leaders, and almost certainly clears the way for Ms. Pelosi to reclaim the mantle as the first woman to serve as speaker. “I am comfortable with the proposal,” she said, “and it is my intention to abide by it whether it passes or not.” ❖

CONTENT BY CARTER
strategic content creation and deployment

Daniels reflects on civics and politics in light of Bush41 passing

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

WEST LAFAYETTE – The conversation Monday with Purdue President Mitch Daniels began with concern over the loss of the knowledge and practice of civics in today’s society. To which the former Indiana governor and White House budget director mused about the idea of the American citizenship test in the context of contemporary higher learning.



“I’ve been thinking about every one of our students taking and passing it during their four years before graduation,” Daniels

said in his Hovde Hall office.

There are 100 civics questions on the naturalization test. During the interview process, applicants are asked up to 10 questions and must be able to answer at least six questions correctly. The first question is, “Who is in charge of the executive branch?” The possible answers include the president, chief justice, majority whip and speaker of the House. Other questions concern the number of U.S. senators, the length of a presidential term, who succeeds a president if he or she can no longer serve, and what are the two major political parties?

I sat down with Daniels a week after the passing and funeral of President George H.W. Bush. He had written a tribute column for the Washington Post well in advance of the 41st president’s death, running last summer on Bush’s 94th and last birthday. Daniels observed of chance involved in the ongoing American experiment.

“We were so lucky to have him at all,” Daniels wrote of the president’s 1944 chapter when as a pilot he was shot down over Chichi Jima, then rescued at sea by the USS Finback submarine. “What if that parachute hadn’t opened in 1944? Or the life raft had not inflated? Or his fellow pilots not spotted him and strafed away the Japanese boats as they attempted to machine gun the downed American flyboy? Or if, instead of paddling furiously away from it, to his discovery and rescue by a submarine, he

had drifted to the nearby island, to almost certain capture and execution? Our nation would have been deprived of arguably its finest single life of patriotic service.”

His penultimate paragraph probed: “Is it too much to hope that the final contribution of this giant life might be to cast before the country an example of virtues that have eroded and nearly disappeared? The very virtues that have sustained the American Experiment through its hardest trials?”

The week of and the day after the president was laid to rest in College Station, Texas, the controversies and scandals surrounding President Trump spiked with the release of three sentencing reports by Special Counsel Robert Mueller and the Southern District of New York.

The contrast between a giant life lived, and the current occupant of the White House was too obvious to ignore, and it shaped this 45-minute conversation with a Hoosier public servant who served Presidents Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush. It was briefly interrupted by two Purdue freshmen, one from Fort Wayne, the other from Monticello, who asked to be photographed with a birthday greeting placard. Daniels was more than happy to comply. In doing so, he briefly quizzed them on their Purdue experience – was it harder than they expected?

Daniels led Indiana as governor for eight years,



and is now pushing the envelope at the state’s land grant university where an original charter asks for the keeping and developing of a sense of civics for cascading generations of students.

HPI: I’m fascinated with where we are as a society and I understand your political agnostic state since taking the helm at Purdue. Since Labor Day with the death of Sen. John McCain and then the passing of President George H.W. Bush, after watching those ceremonies, what are we seeing culturally from what we grew up with to these days with President Trump?

Daniels: You may recall about a year ago now, the editors of the Washington Post where I occasionally write a column asked me to prepare something to be held for the time of President Bush's death. At first, I felt inadequate to the task. What was I going to say that others wouldn't say better? After I thought about it, I formulated an idea and I suggested to them that they just go ahead and run it ahead of that event, which I was hoping would be much later. The reason I wanted to was it didn't take a clair-



American political leadership attends the funeral of President George H.W. Bush.

voyant to see he personified some of the many qualities that were once common in American public life and now seem to be vanishing. You didn't have to be too prescient to foresee that whenever we lost him, it would cause people to stop and think about that. The contrast was just too obvious. I'm not talking about any one figure on the public stage. So if you were to look at that column, which they ran on his birthday, I explained it was supposed to be prepared for the time of his passing, but was being published now by leave of the editors, in the faint hope that with his passing, Americans might begin to reflect on those qualities that he embodied and those qualities might make a comeback. I'm troubled as many others are that his sense of duty, honor and country, his sense of service, of deflecting the credit to others, of not gloating or bragging of things he was raised to do, of forgiving even those who had wronged him most grievously and unfairly... it was obvious to me people would talk about that. The contrast would be unmistakable to many people who are conducting themselves in public life now. When 9/11 happened, it woke people up for a very temporary period. Then we went back to hand-to-hand combat that has only gotten so much worse. I am under no illusions that even though last week was a great time for people to reflect on George Bush and people like him, that will suffice to bring back public demand for that. But, just maybe.

HPI: I'm not so sure. The Republican Party has been taken over by President Trump. With regard to truth, we wouldn't expect any other officeholder, Gov. Holcomb, or Mayor Hogsett or Mayor Roswarski... we expect standards of truth to prevail, and yet we seem to be exempting President Trump from that standard, when many believe the president of the United States should be setting the ultimate example. Does that trouble you?

Daniels: One thing I do see is a dichotomy between federal and state politics. Not to say we haven't seen some fairly dreary, negative, truth dismissive behav-

ior in Indiana. But I do think the nationalization of politics has become a very serious problem. People running for national office are much more likely to be involved in these binary yes/no issues and, because of the perceived stakes, the incursion of outside money and interests. I think that's dragged a lot of our campaign politics down to a level that's pretty disgraceful. Whether we work our way out of that, I don't know.

We've been a little

insulated here in Indiana. Other than 2008, we haven't been that competitive presidentially. We haven't seen the outside money and distasteful communications. Until last year, we haven't had a hotly contested Senate race in the new environment. It's not been that long ago that we campaigned in this state, touting the fact that we hadn't run a negative ad against anybody and that was a positive theme. On top of that, we told the Republican Governors Association to stay out because they were determined to do some things we didn't believe were consistent with the way we wanted to run. It's only been a few years, but it seems like about a century from what we've seen and dealt with.

HPI: One thing that is jumping out at me, and you touched on this in your Ian Rolland address in Fort Wayne a couple of years ago, is that urban America is vastly different than rural America. You can make that case here in Indiana.

Daniels: You can see that now.

HPI: You see it in each freshman class that comes into Purdue. Do you notice the difference between kids from Indianapolis and those from Greensburg or Salem or Rochester?

Daniels: Maybe the young people at this stage of their lives are more similar than their elders are. There is no question that, in pure political terms, one way this will become a much more competitive state is if the suburbs decide the Republican Party is something they're no longer comfortable with any more.

HPI: We're seeing a little bit of that.

Daniels: We saw a lot.

HPI: We saw a lot of that nationally, and here we saw a couple of Indiana House seats flip in Lake County and in Carmel and northern Indianapolis.

Daniels: Maybe not enough to change an election yet, but votes have switched in a big way. Go look back at '08. All my previous experience had taught me that

collectively one would hope that let's say the Indianapolis suburbs might offset the loss in Lake County. By '08 – now granted we did better in Lake County; after 77 trips, you hope to do a little better – but it was a huge vote turnout due to the Obama election. And yet there were three or four individual counties – Hamilton, Johnson, pretty sure Hendricks – which alone offset Lake County voters. It was a huge difference. In subsequent elections those margins have shrunk a lot. They were narrower than ever this year. You're seeing that happen across the country. For people who look at elections, that was one of the most clear cut patterns, like Orange County, California.

HPI: Axios reported today that the Republican Party is going to be extinct in urban areas, and Democrats are pretty much extinct from rural Indiana.

Daniels: At least historically, parties have been adaptable. Sometimes it takes a while. They exist, in the end, to win elections and not to go down in flames over some inviolate catechism. But we'll see, now that each has become more deeply identified in one set of views and deeply captured, in many cases, by the most zealous people. Socialists on the Democratic side and people who are dug in on certain issues in today's Republican Party. You saw the survey work by Pew and others that describe the so-called "exhausted middle"? Tired of both ends, tired, yet nowhere to go. Homeless. Historically, one or both of the parties would see an opportunity to move to respond. Republicans to maybe urban and suburbanites, Democrats to places where they're not doing well. If they're so doctrinaire that they don't do that, then the door is open for a new alternative. Look at what Macron did in France. Granted it's a little easier over there because they're more familiar with multi-party systems, I understand all that, but that wasn't just an entrepreneurial campaign. He built a legislative slate in weeks and won a majority in the legislative branch, which is the way if you really want to get things done. If those things seem a little far-fetched, so would today's situation just a few years ago.

HPI: Republican Chairman Reince Priebus put together the GOP autopsy report in 2013 after the 2012 election and advocated a more inclusive party, reaching out beyond the traditional white, business constituency. And yet the Republican Party we've seen since 2016 and certainly during the mid-terms ...

Daniels: Once again, there was one skillful cam-



paigned with its own set of views out of, what, 19 candidates to start with?

HPI: Yes. And we're probably going to have 25 or 30 running for the Democrats in 2020.

Daniels: There was only one, Donald Trump, that I remember. I don't remember anyone else running in that direction. It was skillfully done. Like so many people, I was guessing wrong. I thought after he continued to progress, it might resolve itself in the end. It always comes down to two. Between Trump and not Trump, I thought "not Trump" would prevail, but I was wrong.

HPI: My take on 2016 was that out of 325 million people, Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump became the choice. We had two really flawed nominees. I kept saying, "Is this really the two best nominees we could come up with?"

Daniels: This is not a comment on anybody's merits, but I told people once it became clear who was running, what an amazing situation: Republicans have nominated the only person in America who can lose an election to Hillary Clinton, and the Democrats have nominated the only person who could lose to Donald Trump. I wrote a book back then, back in 2011...

HPI: "Keeping the Republic."

Daniels: ...which is obstinately optimistic about the country and the people in it, who will ultimately make mature decisions and think about the future more than the present and come together around certain issues. I've admitted in a couple of speeches, would I write the same book today? It might be a little harder, but as I said then, I don't know any operating principle that works in life other than optimism. If you take a defeatist attitude, you're sure to realize your expectation.

HPI: When you see these freshmen classes arriving at Purdue, does it give you optimism that we'll ultimately get it right and thrive? Give us a dose of optimism.

Daniels: Certainly the students we have here are enormously bright, very technically and technologically adept, which Americans will have to be, or led by people who are, in the kind of world we've moved into. The technology itself has caused a lot of problems we have, whether political or economic, or automation and all of that. Especially at a center of excellence in disciplines Purdue excels in and is known for, you can't help but be impressed and hopeful

about that. These young people care about each other, they're very comfortable with each other...

HPI: More tolerant?

Daniels: Yes. We have all of that going for us. Back to something you and I discussed earlier: What troubles me is their lacking of understanding of American history and our civic traditions. Therefore, I think, their innocence about proven bad ideas like socialism. But that's what college is for and that's what lifelong learning is about.

HPI: We grew up through two traumatic periods in the 1960s and '70s, the Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal. We're in for some real political turmoil coming up here. What did you learn from the roiling of American society during that period?

Daniels: What we all learned then was we were a resilient country that is still fundamentally in agreement on basic principles. We didn't put up with the wrongdoing. We insisted on changes of leadership that brought the country back in a very strong way. I don't know if that's predictive; I sure hope so. A country that loses sight of its own history and its own best traditions, a country that has never been organized around ethnic or religious bonds, but simply around an idea. If it forgets what the idea is, it will have lost its moorings. We have also had political parties which have sought the center, wherever that happened to be. At least for the moment, as we've been discussing, you see a little less instinct on their parts to do so. I don't think that lasts. Frankly, right now I hear more Democrats talking about finding ways to do better where they have left people cold. The party that does that most effectively and promptly probably will be successful.

HPI: The last time I was at this table, we talked about whether an American middle class is sustainable, and the coming of artificial intelligence and whether there would be enough middle class jobs. What keeps you up at night now?

Daniels: Tribalism, which I've been spouting off now for a couple, three years.

HPI: I thought your commencement address last May was spot on.

Daniels: I said to the young people there that I was not uncomfortable we wouldn't overcome our material challenges, our economic challenges, even the ethical challenges and dangers that some of these technologies, A.I, biotech, will bring. I'm more worried about our ability to come together and stay together as a people.

HPI: But we've always figured it out. Throughout our history, just about every 80 years we've had a cataclysmic event: The American Revolution, the Civil War, the Great Depression and World War II, which occurred a little



less than 80 years ago. What strikes me is we've always had the leadership, the right person at the right time, whether it was Washington and Jefferson, or Lincoln or Franklin Roosevelt, Reagan, who came in and restored our promise. So you have confidence in that today?

Daniels: I do. I prefer it doesn't happen in a cataclysm.

HPI: Well, we're about due.

Daniels: Some of the people you mentioned were hardly figures of unity at the time, Lincoln for instance.

HPI: And Reagan. Some people thought he was radical and unstable.

Daniels: Let's hope that the long era of peace and prosperity we've been enjoying continues. But, it will make the peacemaker's job harder. If you have a genuine national emergency, whoever was there would rise to the occasion and lead us through it. The situation would cause these people to put aside these hostilities that seem so important to them right now. You'd rather we wouldn't have to come back together that way. Absent a real crisis, the job will be harder. When somebody as good and decent as George Bush passes on, and there are still a few people who cannot restrain themselves from saying hateful things; golly, can't you hush yourself during a week like this? Someone who is going to find the vocabulary and set an example that is open enough and welcoming enough to woo back people who have become so very hostile to each other is going to take more skill than even the greats you mention. ❖

Holiday discretion for President Trump

By CRAIG DUNN

KOKOMO – Dear Mr. President, my wish for you for this coming Christmas is that Santa Claus comes down the chimney at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue and brings you a gift that you desperately need, the gift of discretion.

You have taken a presidency that by most contemporary yardsticks would be measured as successful and turned it into a combination of a circus sideshow and a Paris Hilton slumber party. Your personal mannerisms, disregard for simple truths, mistreatment of people, abusive tweets and public braggadocio have become an embarrassment that have weakened your presidency, affected our international reputation and jeopardized your continued tenure in office.



I have hesitated to write these words for months, but I just can't be silent any longer. The last

time that I spoke my mind in regard to your words and conduct, things didn't go very well. It was April 2016, and several fellow Hoosier Republicans publicly expressed our lack of appreciation for your conduct.

For my part, I had the temerity to tell Politico.com, when asked whether I could see myself voting for you, that I supposed that if you were running against Satan, then I might be able to support you. Several hundred nasty emails and telephone calls later, I came to the realization that your core supporters love your abusive tactics and are willing to dish out their own brand of nastiness to anyone who dares to challenge you.

Well, the fact of the matter was that I was true to my word. I saw your 2016 Democratic opponent as a political Satan and I supported and voted for you. I attended your inauguration and was proud when you took your oath. I truly hoped that you would make America great again.

You have done some excellent things in your first two years in office. Your tax reforms were superb and have done much to improve the lives of the middle class, stimulate the economy and make our corporations more competitive with the rest of the world. Your willingness to tackle tough trade problems is commendable and will prove to benefit the American worker. You have worked to make our military stronger. You have cut reams of bureaucratic red tape and regulations to improve American competitiveness. Your Supreme Court appointments have been excellent and you have done an excellent job of working with the U. S. Senate to fill the hundreds of lower court

vacancies with qualified judges.

In short, when asked by political friends to grade your performance, I give you a B+ in policy. Unfortunately, I also give you a D in citizenship.

Unfortunately for you, Mr. President, your mother was not Mable Dunn. I brought a sixth grade report card home with all A's in my subjects but with a D in citizenship. Mom removed me as captain of the school patrol and as a forward on the basketball team. To my mother, citizenship was everything. No excuses. Keep your hands, feet and mouth to yourself and show everyone respect, every day. It was a hard lesson to learn, but it was a lesson I needed to be taught.

Who is it that teaches the president of the United States a needed lesson? Your opponents have tried and failed. The media has tried and failed. Your appointees have tried and failed. That leaves just two other possibilities from whom you don't want to learn a hard lesson: The courts and the American voter.

While I must admit to enjoying some of your barbs against Hollywood types and a few media folks, I've drawn the line at you disparaging a large number of excellent men and women. To refresh your memory, here's some of what you've said about some of our nation's best:

Attorney General Jeff Sessions: "Doesn't understand what is happening underneath his command position" ... "so look into all of the corruption on the "other side" ... "Come on Jeff" ... "So unfair Jeff, Double Standard" ... "didn't tell me he was going to recuse himself ... I would have quickly picked someone else. So much time and money wasted, so many lives ruined" ... "VERY weak position on Hillary Clinton crimes."

Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg: "An incompetent judge!" ... "has embarrassed all by making very dumb political statements about me"... "Her mind is shot" ... "resign!"

Sen. Lindsay Graham: "Publicity seeking"... "falsely stated that I said there is moral equivalency between the KKK, neo-Nazis & white supremacists" ... "a disgusting lie" ... "just can't forget his election trouncing" ... "always looking to start World War III" ... "sadly weak on immigration" ... "Really sad" ... "failed presidential candidate" ... "no honor!" ... "I ran him out of the race like a little boy" ... "in the end he had no support" ... "ALL TALK AND NO ACTION!" ... "Failed presidential candidate" ... "should respect me" ... "nasty!" ... "dumb mouthpiece" ... "got zero against me - no cred!" ... "had zero in his presidential run before dropping out in disgrace" ... "embarrassed himself with his failed run for President" ... "embarrasses himself with endorsement of Bush" ... "so easy to beat!"

Secretary of State Rex Tillerson: "Didn't have the mental capacity needed" ... "dumb as a rock" ... "I couldn't get rid of him fast enough" ... "lazy as hell" ... "wasting his time trying to negotiate with Little Rocket Man" ... "Save your energy Rex."

Energy Secretary Rick Perry: "Did an absolutely horrible job of securing the border" ... "should be ashamed

of himself" ... "failed on the border" ... "should be forced to take an IQ test" ... "doesn't understand what the word demagoguery means" ... "failed at the border" ... "needs a new pair of glasses."

Former Vice President Joe Biden: "Crazy Joe" ... "trying to act like a tough guy" ... "Actually, he is weak, both mentally and physically" ... "He doesn't know me, but he would go down fast and hard, crying all the way" ... "Don't threaten people Joe!" ... "not very bright"

MSNBC host Mika Brzezinski: "Dumb as a rock" ... "was bleeding badly from a face-lift" ... "low I.Q." ... "Crazy" ... "crazy and very dumb" ... "had a mental breakdown while talking about me" ... "crazy" ... "very insecure" ... "clown" ... "off the wall" ... "neurotic" ... "not very bright" ... "mess!" ... "has gone wild with hate."

Former Governor Jeb Bush: "Failed presidential candidate" ... "no honor!" ... "low energy" ... "just got contact lenses and got rid of the glasses. He wants to look cool, but it's far too late" ... "hypocrite" ... "Just another clueless politician!" ... "has no clue" ... "failed campaign" ... "How can @JebBush beat Hillary Clinton - if he can't beat anyone else on the #GOPDebate stage with \$150M?" ... "lightweight" ... "lightweight" ... "spending a fortune of special interest against me in SC" ... "desperate and sad" ... "Weak" ... "Jeb failed as Jeb" ... "gave up and enlisted Mommy and his brother" ... "Weak" ... "no chance" ... "has gone nasty with lies" ... "by far the weakest of the lot."

Former Governor John Sununu: "Dummy" ... "couldn't get elected dog catcher" ... "forgot to mention my phenomenal biz success rate."

Mr. President, your public comments about reputable people is something I might expect from a bunch of adolescent girls or at a longshoreman convention. It is petulant, juvenile and beneath the dignity your office.

There is a distinct political risk to your behavior. Even your friends have begun to go silent on your behalf. They are refusing to defend the indefensible. If things go bad with either Special Prosecutor Robert Mueller or the House Judiciary Committee, you will need all your friends to help you survive. We're not talking about the 2020 election. We're talking about finishing out the remainder of your term.

Here is my advice to you,



Mr. President: Act like the leader of the most powerful nation in the world. Act like the commander-in-chief of our armed forces. Think before you speak or tweet. Check your massive ego at the door each morning. Take a Sharpie and write the word "RESPECT" in the palm of your hand. When you are challenged, look at your hand.

If you do these things and continue your policies, you will be reelected in 2020. Your competition is not the Democrats. They have no one who commands respect or a vision. Your competition and biggest roadblock to success is you. It is not too late. You

can turn things around.

My test of greatness for any president of the United States is the number of children who want to grow up to be the commander-in-chief and how many parents would be proud to see their son or daughter grow up to be just like the president. If I had a young son or daughter come to me and tell me that they wanted to be just like President Trump, I would be very concerned.

The recent death of former President George H. W. Bush and the many moving tributes to him couldn't avoid being seen as a stark contrast to your presidency. Let's hope you spend this Christmas season reflecting on how you want to be remembered someday. Will you be remembered as a man of honor and dignity or as a petulant child? ❖

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

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

Holcomb, ISTA in fluid teacher pay issue

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

ZIONSVILLE – There was a show of initial unity between Gov. Eric Holcomb and Indiana State Teachers Association President Theresa Meredith when the governor unveiled his 2019 legislative agenda. The governor vowed to raise teacher pay, but he described a multi-year process.



As he concluded his press conference remarks, Holcomb said, "I want to profusely express

my appreciation to the ISTA for stepping forward and reaching their hand out and saying 'We want to work with you.'"

Asked about the delay, Holcomb described talks that began with the ISTA last summer. "We're being very methodical and careful to get this right. Any time you move one piece of the puzzle, it affects another and they have had discussions with their members, we have had discussions with our members to make sure we have leadership, myself and others to make sure we agree on the goals and not just agreeing to do things the way we've done them before. We're changing the course. It is a huge accomplishment to have all of us sitting at the same table and planting the flag and saying this is where we're going. This is what we're going to achieve."

Holcomb added, "We want to do it right and it's a big number. We have some ground to make up here. We want to make sure we're showing local communities that the state is investing in them, but we want them to have local control. That's a balancing even in itself. We are balancing buckets of revenue. We want to make sure we help, along with the Indiana State Teachers Association and legislative input. If we identify sources of revenue that can increase teacher pay, but I want to make sure that local control remains intact. It isn't just us writing a check."

After the event, Holcomb posed for a picture with Meredith, who was all smiles. But come the following Monday, there was pushback. Informed and reliable Statehouse sources say the ISTA leadership and some of its membership have divergent views on when pay raises kick in. At Monday's press conference,

Meredith said, "Teachers need to be valued, respected and paid as professionals. Elected leaders must do more to declare teacher compensation a priority in this session. This issue can't wait. We expect action in 2019."

On Wednesday, Holcomb reiterated the time frame at the annual Bingham Greenebaum Doll Legislative Conference, saying that there is "no silver bullet" for quickly hiking teacher salaries (Carden, [NWI Times](#)). "This is going to require a multibudget effort," Holcomb said. "We've got to identify hundreds of millions of dollars and the means to get it into teacher paychecks." But he also said the time frame had been "mischaracterized," leaving the door open for potential raises this year, with Monday's budget forecast crucial (Berman, [WIBC](#)).

House Speaker Brian Bosma said his caucus is looking at short- and long-term approaches on teacher pay (Kelly, [Fort Wayne Journal Gazette](#)). One immediate change could be expanding a tax credit teachers can receive for what they spend on teaching supplies. But that would not affect their salary. "I hesitate to use the word 'mandate,' but we've got to encourage very strongly for schools to focus more so on teacher pay than on administrative expenses," Bosma said.

Despite the Republican super-majorities, Hoosier teachers are aware of showdowns in other red states such as West Virginia, Kentucky, Oklahoma and Arizona, some involving work actions, though striking in Indiana is illegal.

The average annual salary for a Hoosier teacher is \$54,308, which is \$5,352 below the national average.

"Many teachers have gone as many as 10 years without a meaningful pay increase, all while facing increased insurance costs, paying for their own classroom supplies and taking on second and third jobs just to make ends meet," Meredith said. "A walkout, a day of action in their home communities, any number of things could happen. If that's what our members decide to do, then we will have to work within that."

Holcomb is seeking patience. "We are going to identify ways that every school, every school corporation can increase teacher pay," he said. "We will be helped along the way by the legislative branch, the Indiana State Teachers Association, to identify these ways to increase teacher pay. It's a big number and so much of the important work that goes in will be establishing the framework that helps us identify... we have to identify those buckets and the amount of money going in and how you can maximize that and stretch it even further."

Teacher pay was just one component of his agenda. Holcomb said he would institute all 18 school



Gov. Holcomb lauded ISTA's Theresa Meredith during his agenda unveiling at Trader's Point Creamery last week. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

safety recommendations and will provide more funds to the Department of Child Services (approximately \$300 million), extend broadband into rural areas, and pump \$90 million into a statewide trails system.

The state will continue to work toward becoming “the best state in the Midwest for infant mortality” by 2024 by establishing an obstetric navigator program in areas with the highest infant mortality rates and requiring verbal screening to assess substance-use disorder in pregnancy. Additionally, Holcomb will remain focused on fighting the drug epidemic with expanded recovery housing and further development of Family Recovery Courts.

Holcomb also vowed to remove the state from the “naughty list” of five states without a hate crimes law.



Asked if he would sign a bill that didn't include gender identity, Holcomb said, “I have one that does, our employment policy does. That is my preference. I don't want to start negotiating this bill before Day One. But I have

shared with anyone who will listen that employment policy we have works and it sends the right message.”

There will be opposition from conservatives who argue that judges already have capacity to add to sentences with aggravating circumstances. Holcomb cast it in an economic development and moral sense. “If we want businesses to come in, our policy is preferred,” he said. “It's the right thing to do. Our country was founded on opportunity and access. Our employment policy does just that. I will be an active voice in this process.” ❖

IMA's Burton sounds alarm as Baby Boom retirements loom

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The Baby Boom is now in full migration toward retirement, the pace is quickening, and a statistic Indiana Manufacturers Association President Brian Burton tosses out is stunning: 45% of the state's workforce will retire in the next decade. It will happen fast, with 25% of the force leaving their jobs in the next five years.

“This is a major issue and will be for a long time,” Burton said Tuesday. “We have two

problems, skills and population. Our population is remaining flat. We are going to have to convince people to move to Indiana.”

This comes at a time of full employment, where companies are unable fill jobs. Last March that number stood at 80,000, prompting Gov. Eric Holcomb to say, “We need to skill-up working adults as quickly as possible. That's why expanding opportunities for working adults, in particular, is so critical, because they need the ability to work and earn money while they learn the skills they need to enter a new career in a high-wage, high-demand field. This office makes this possible.”

Last week when he unveiled his 2019 Next Level Agenda for the General Assembly, his third pillar was developing a 21st Century skilled and ready workforce. It includes an expansion of his Next Level Jobs Initiative



and developing a strategy to increase teacher pay in a sector that is troubled by a persistent shortage.

Burton is concerned that state lawmakers are transfixed on the bright and shiny objects such as Amazon's HQ2 (which ended up in population and tech-rich New York City and Washington, D.C.) and high tech, when manufacturing is the dominant jobs engine in Indiana. The state is the most manufacturing dependent economy in the nation as with percentage of GDP (28.6%, Oregon second at 20% and Kentucky third at 19%). It is fifth in GDP generating \$102.6 billion (trailing huge states such as California and Texas, along with neighbors Ohio and Illinois). And, Indiana ranked second in the creation of manufacturing jobs since the Great Recession trough of 2009 with 110,500 added, trailing only Michigan (185,100) and above third-place Ohio (91,100).

In March, Indiana had 539,788 manufacturing jobs, well ahead of the 420,000 jobs in education and health services, the 310,000 jobs in professional and business

Indiana is 2nd in Nation in Manufacturing Job Growth

State	Manufacturing Jobs Added Since July 2009 *	Rank
Michigan	185,100	1
Indiana	110,500	2
Ohio	91,100	3
Wisconsin	63,300	4
Florida	60,100	5
Georgia	52,500	6
Texas	48,400	7
Tennessee	48,400	8
California	45,800	9
Kentucky	41,100	10

* July 2009 represents the low point of employment in Indiana. Job growth is as of July 2018, per Indiana Department of Workforce Development.

services, 300,000 in retail, 290,000 in leisure and hospitality, and about 110,000 jobs each in construction, financial services, transportation and warehousing and wholesale trades.

As for percentage of Indiana's GDP share by industry, the manufacturing sector's \$102.6 billion represents about 28% of the state economy, compared to 15% in finance/insurance/real estate, 8% each in educational services/health and government, and about 7% in professional and business services. The agriculture sector's GDP share stood at \$3.8 billion. The average weekly wage stood at \$1,347 for manufacturing, trailing only financial services (at just over \$1,400).

The IMA engaged Thomas P. Miller & Associates (TPMA) to study the state's skills gap. In addition to the growing Baby Boom retirement, automation and new technologies are evolving at an increasingly rapid rate, critical job training is lacking and there is "an on-going perception that a student has to obtain a four-year degree after high school in order to be successful, even though there are many lucrative careers that build on more technical training." The TPMA study says that "Educational institutions and K-12 schools are operating through an outdated system and often does not prepare students for a post-secondary education or rapidly evolving careers." Education and workforce needs are "misaligned," with TPMA adding, "Driving this misalignment, the funding of schools in Indiana is not based on outcomes, but rather 'seat time,' which does not always result in the student's or state's best interest."

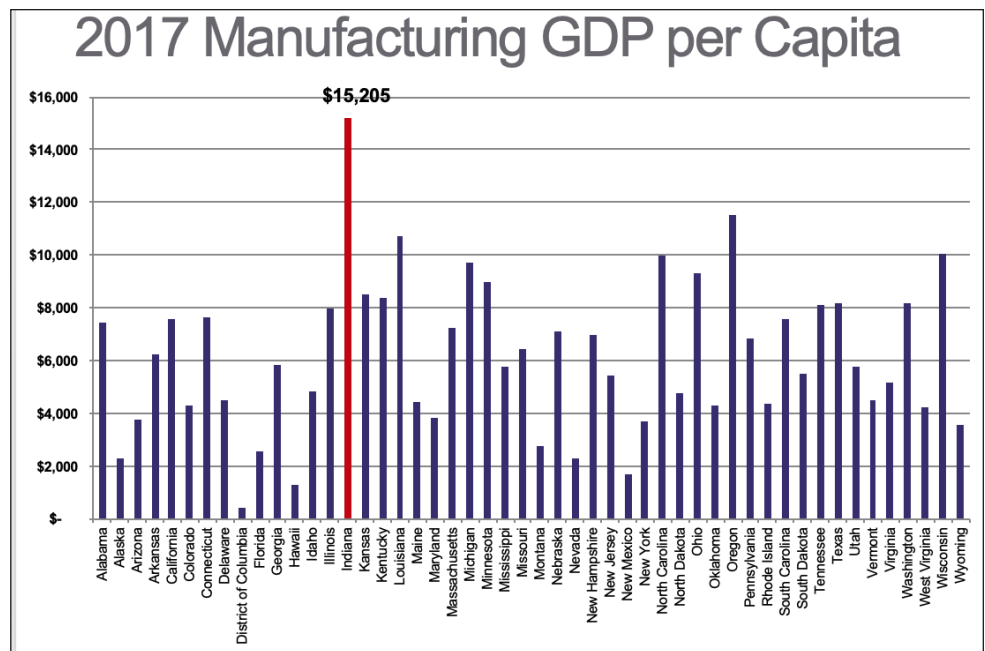
The TPMA study recommends a work-based learning model, Indiana Advance, that would create "more defined and accelerated pathways that incorporate work-based learning."

Burton points to an average annual salary of \$77,000 for a manufacturing employee, compared to \$44,000 in the other combined sectors. "We have 60% going to college, but we lose half of that after the first year," Burton said.

Burton points to the Federation for Advanced Manufacturing Education (FAME) that originated in Georgetown, Ky., as a not-for-profit organization tasked with replacing an aging workforce at the Toyota plant there. It has since expanded for all of Kentucky.

Burton said that as worker shortages continue and grow, "companies will be looking to automation to make the difference. Manufacturing is the largest consumer of I.T."

As for a specific ask for Gov. Holcomb and the General Assembly, Burton will be advocating an expansion of the state's training grants from \$10 million to



\$20 million, which Holcomb is advocating as well. As for the notion of attracting workers to the state with a flat population, Burton said, "We would like to see a relocation incentive. We do a lot of economic incentives for companies, but not workers." He proposes eliminating the state income tax for imported workers for five years, saying that these new workers would still be paying property and sales taxes.

"It's a net positive," he said.

In addition to doubling the employer training grants, Holcomb's agenda includes: Expanding the Workforce Ready Grant, which enrolled 11,000 Hoosiers in its first year with 4,000 completing training; pursuing more Pell Grant flexibility from the feds; the introduction of career pathway courses for every high school student; initiating a 21st Century Talent Region Pilot to 12 communities; increasing pre-K programs by 500 students per year (currently at 3,000); and providing funding for computer science training for every school by 2021.

In a Katz Sapper & Miller survey for the IMA, the question asked was how well is manufacturing supported by Indiana government. In 2017, some 81% of manufacturing firms responded positively, rising to 84% this year. As for Washington-based policy, in 2017 only 38% said the federal government supports their industry, but that rose to 73% in 2018 as President Trump began rolling back regulations and addressing trade deficiencies with China. That study also recorded a shift in modernization priorities with 58% saying in 2018 that investment in facilities, machinery and information technologies was the most important, up from 27% in 2014.

As for the lure of high tech jobs, Burton said he told Gov. Holcomb that manufacturing investment means "concrete and rebar" anchored in the Hoosier State while a tech firm "can be unplugged overnight." ❖

Why Trump might not run again

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Don't be surprised if President Trump doesn't run for reelection in 2020. He might not for any of a variety of reasons.

This isn't a prediction that he won't run again. I don't make political predictions unless it's a sure thing. The last flat-out prediction I recall was when I said Bob would be elected mayor Mishawaka. That was way back when the nominees were Bob Beutter and Bob Nagle. And Bob won.



So, I'm not predicting that Donald Trump won't seek a second term. Just saying it's indeed a possibility. Here are some reasons why he might not:

Since Trump is so often in a foul mood, furious over any criticism, ranting and raving in angry tweets, insulting and threatening enemies he sees looming everywhere, he could decide he can't stand the job and would prefer life at Trump Tower and his golf courses rather than frustrations in the White House.

Since Trump believes making money is the ultimate sign of success, he could figure out ways to make even more by leaving the White House, doing deals without restrictions of the presidency to cash in on his foreign policy. A Trump Tower in Moscow. Golf resorts in Saudi Arabia and North Korea.

Since Trump ran on the promise to "make America great again," he could cite all the achievements about which he boasts as evidence of his greatness, proclaim that he already has made America great again and thus forego a second term in which he would have nothing else to prove.

Since Trump has said that he already is "far greater than Ronald Reagan," he could decide to step aside after one term, having proved he could achieve more greatness in one term than the two it took for other presidents. Like Reagan. Washington. All those others.

Since Trump knows that his daughter Ivanka has dreams of going on to be the first female president, he could step aside in 2020 to let Ivanka get started on a presidential path, running for vice president on a ticket led by Mike Pence. Or maybe Ivanka for president, Pence for his present subservient duties.

Since Trump delights in flaunting his presidential power to pardon, he could do the ultimate, go out with a flourish and stick it to snoopy enemies of the people by granting pardons to all members of his family and himself,

still proclaiming: "No collusion. No collusion. No collusion. No collusion."

Since Trump has warned that treasonous Democrats would vote to impeach him if they gained enough strength in Congress, he could be proactive, not waiting to see what happens in 2020 congressional elections and leave the presidency before they could gain power and impeach. Can't impeach a former president.

Since Trump loves speaking to adoring crowds, the faithful members of his base, he could actually do that more often, night after night, without the restrictions of sometimes having to pay attention to presidential duties. He could even start his own TV network to make sure he was always shown in prime time.

Since Trump hates losing – so much so that he often claims a loss is really a victory or that bankruptcy is a win in the art of the deal – he could find he is sinking even lower in the polls as 2020 arrives and decide not to face the chance of defeat. That's when claiming America is great again and leaving in glory would be appealing.

Since Trump is unpredictable, we don't know what he will do. He doesn't know what he will do. Some of those reasons listed for why he might not run are perhaps far-fetched. Not all of them are. ❖

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

Unbalanced news

By MORTON MARCUS

INDIANAPOLIS – Next week's column will offer data demonstrating the failure of Indiana and a substantial portion of its counties to exhibit even average economic growth in jobs and wages.



You, therefore, have seven days to sharpen your arguments supporting complacency, even satisfaction, with our economic progress.

Flatly stated, Indiana is not, and has not been, outperforming the nation in job or wage growth. Yes, for short periods of time, largely in the early part of the recovery from the Great Recession (2010 to 2012), Indiana did better than the nation as a whole. But if we take the entire recovery period (2010 to 2017), the story is one of continued mediocrity at best.

Why are we misinformed and self-satisfied? Is it the adverse economics of journalism combined with the self-

interest of the booster community? The Times of Northwest Indiana did run a story on business closings in the past year, but how many other news outlets did so?

Why are the media unbalanced toward “happy” economic news? Corporations issue news releases about their positive intentions; they are easy and inexpensive to report. But only when required do they tell us about their realized failures. State agencies (Dept. of Workforce Development, Commerce, Indiana Economic Development Corp,) likewise want your applause and continued funding.

The same applies to your local government, economic development agency, and chamber of commerce. The death of a long-established firm gets a sentimental obituary notice. But the stagnation of business along Main Street or around the square is not newsworthy. Store window displays that have not changed in years go unnoticed. The emptiness and neglect of retail, office, warehousing, and manufacturing space is not covered.

Our state government refuses (to the best of my knowledge) to report on employment in our downtown districts or other major areas of the county. Retail sales tax collections by county on a quarterly basis are not available

in Indiana as they are in other states. Even where there is no question of violating confidentiality rules, Indiana acts like a Victorian maiden terrified to show an ankle.

Does your town have a public transit system? How many riders did they have last month? What’s the on-time performance by route? How many street lights were out of service this week?

Why are the operating figures of public entities collected, but not reported widely to the public? Many cities and towns require their local cable companies to carry public service programming, but do not make these operational indicators available even at two in the morning. Why not? In some cases, government officials do not understand their own data and fear the public will “misinterpret” them. It is the same in the private sector. Only a few firms discuss their operations openly with their employees, customers, and shareholders.

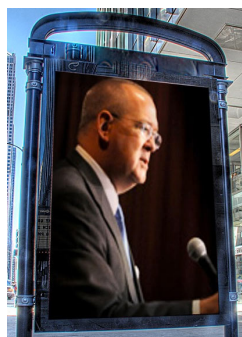
This may be a data-driven era, but generally we are denied the data we already have. ❖

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Slow growth in 2019

By **MICHAEL HICKS**

MUNCIE – The research center in which I work released our 2019 economic forecast this week. Like all economic forecasts, this one is likely wrong, but is hopefully useful. To talk about the forecast, it is best to re-examine 2018.



In many ways, this has been a good year for our economy. Employment growth nationally has been strong, and median wages for the world rose roughly one full percentage point above inflation. More people returned to work, with labor force increases strong throughout

most of the year. It was, in short, a mostly good year, but the end of year news is far less salutary.

The Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, which I supported, proved a disappointment. Among its goals was the repatriation of between 2.0 trillion and 2.5 trillion dollars in assets held abroad. Only about 10% of that actually returned as investment. Another goal was to cause businesses to invest domestically. Business investment actually slowed deeply by year’s end. As it appears today, most of the economic effect of the TCJA was to promote domestic consumption.

Increased consumption caused the economy to grow more quickly in the first half of 2018, but it also led to higher budget deficits. Because we must borrow

to finance these deficits, our trade deficit reached record levels by year’s end. The tax cuts were less beneficial than expected.

Unfortunately, most of the limited benefits of the tax cuts were offset by the growing trade war. The Trade Modernization Act of 1962 authorizes presidents to impose tariffs without consulting Congress. Tariffs are taxes levied overwhelmingly on U.S. consumers, dampening the benefits of other tax cuts and worrying businesses. The expectation of higher tariffs were sufficient to weaken the economy by late 2018, and today’s concerns are the story of 2019.

As of this writing, stock markets are now down for 2018, erasing a year’s worth of steady gains. The yield curve has inverted, signaling recessionary conditions and more informal indicators; for example, RV shipments to retailers will end the year in negative territory. The RV data worries me because fluctuations in sales of these big ticket luxury items have a better track record of predicting recession than any group of economists. On top of that, as the year ends, factory employment here in Indiana will end the year down from 2017.

New home construction has stalled and will likely decline throughout 2019, and, along with maybe four interest rate hikes, we should expect a deep slowing of construction jobs. Even if the Federal Reserve slows its rate increases, most indicators are of a slowing 2019. The sole good news comes from labor market growth, which is unfortunately a lagging economic indicator.

I am not predicting a recession, but it bears repeating that the growing trade war can easily yield negative economic growth. ❖

Marc Chase, NWI Times: “Oh, you mean you live near Gary.” That was the response I received from a fellow tourist recently after striking up a conversation regarding where we both resided. It’s one of the many reasons why anyone living in Northwest Indiana should care about the fate and leadership of the Steel City — why none of us should labor under the false pretense of being separate from Gary’s struggles, regardless of the comparative affluence of our cities or towns. The conversation in question came early last week while my wife and I were traveling out of the country. While eating lunch adjacent to another American couple from Delaware, they asked us where we were from. “Northwest Indiana,” was the initial description we provided. “What else is near there?” was their follow-up question. We described the Indiana Dunes, the southern tip of Lake Michigan, the Region’s steel industry and being located just southeast of Chicago. “Oh, you mean you live near Gary,” was the gentleman’s response, accompanied by a not-so-pleasant grimace. It’s a grimace unfortunately earned in many respects, and none of us should be at ease with it. ❖



people he sends into exile. His administration doesn’t have alumni so much as refugees. H.R. McMaster, Gary Cohn and Reince Priebus are a dumbfounded diaspora all their own. Careerists who would normally pine for top jobs with a president assess his temper, behold his tweets, recall the mortifications of Jeff Sessions and Rex Tillerson, and run for the hills. Trump sits at the most coveted desk in the world, but almost no one wants to pull up a chair. What happened with Ayers, who is finishing a stint as Mike Pence’s chief of staff, speaks pointedly to the president’s diminished state. Bear in mind that Trump had already started telling people that Ayers would succeed John Kelly as chief of staff, so Ayers’s decision was doubly humiliating. Bear in mind who Ayers is: not just any political climber but someone whose every breath is focused on his enhanced glory, a trait frequently mentioned by Republicans who have watched his rise (and who sense in him more than a bit of Trump).

Frank Bruni, New York Times: He’s not wanted. Not at funerals, though the Bush family, to show class and respect for tradition, held their noses and made an exception. Not in England, where they turned him into a big, hideous blimp. Not by moderate Republicans, or at least the shrinking club with a tenuous claim to that label, who pushed him away during the midterms as they fought for their survival and clung to their last shreds of self-respect. And not by a 36-year-old Republican operative who is by most accounts the apotheosis of vanity and ambition — and who just turned down one of the most powerful roles in any administration, a job that welds you to the president’s side and gives you nearly unrivaled access to his thoughts. Nick Ayers didn’t see enough upside to the welding. He could do without those thoughts. He said no to becoming Trump’s next chief of staff, and this wasn’t just the latest twist in “As The White House Turns.” It was, really, the whole story — of a president who burns quickly through whatever good will he has, a president who represents infinitely more peril than promise, a president toward whom a shockingly small and diminishing number of people in Washington feel any real affection, a president more tolerated than respected, though even the tolerance wanes. He’s forever fixated on how wanted he is (“My crowds!” “My ratings!”), but what’s more striking is how unwanted he is. And that’s not merely a function of the crests and dips that every president encounters. It’s not really about popularity at all. It’s about how he behaves — and the predictable harvest of all that nastiness. While other presidents sought to hone the art of persuasion, he revels in his talent for repulsion: how many people he attacks (he styles this as boldness); how many people he offends (he pretties this up as authenticity); how many

Chuck Todd, Mark Murray and Carrie

Dann, NBC News: By now, you’ve heard the takeaways from Tuesday’s battle royale at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue involving President Donald Trump, House Speaker-designate Nancy Pelosi and Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer over Trump’s border wall and a potential government shutdown. Welcome to divided government! (“Mr. President, please don’t characterize the strength that I bring to this meeting as the leader of the House Democrats,” Pelosi interjected.) Trump owns any future government shutdown, because he said so! (“I’m going to shut it down for border security.”) He lost control of the narrative on his own turf! (“You just said my way or shut down the government,” Schumer observed.) Vice President Mike Pence, also in the room, was auditioning for a Southwest Airlines commercial. (Thought bubble: “Wanna get away?”) But to us, there’s a more fundamental takeaway to yesterday’s Thunderdome in the Oval Office: It appears Trump still hasn’t accepted his defeat from the midterms and what that means for his agenda beginning next year. Here’s a reminder of what happened in last month’s midterms: Republicans lost a net of 40 House seats, losing control of that chamber of Congress; they lost the House popular vote by nearly 9 percentage points, 53.4% to 44.9%; and while they gained Senate seats, Republicans go from the 52-48 majority they enjoyed at the beginning of the 2017-2018 cycle to 53-47 next year — despite one of the most favorable Senate maps in generations. Bottom line: It was the same kind of “thumping” that George W. Bush recognized back in 2006, and similar to the “shellacking” Barack Obama admitted receiving in 2010. But Trump has yet to concede what really happened in the midterms and how that means divided government in 2019-2020. ❖

ACA enrollment tumbles in Indiana

FORT WAYNE – Enrollment in health insurance available through the federal Affordable Care Act has plunged 19 percent in Indiana with days to go before the sign-up deadline (Francisco, [Fort Wayne Journal Gazette](#)). For the first 38 days of open enrollment, 63,887 Hoosiers had selected insurance plans for next year, according to data released Wednesday by the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid. For the first 39 days of enrollment a year earlier, 79,230 state residents had chosen plans. Open enrollment began Nov. 1 and will end Saturday. Nationally, enrollment in the federal insurance marketplace has dropped from nearly 4.68 million people a year ago to 4.13 million for the corresponding period this year, a decline of nearly 12 percent. “So far, it appears that the Trump administration’s relentless efforts to undermine the Affordable Care Act are bearing their intended fruit,” Fran Quigley, coordinator of People of Faith for Access to Medicines.

Bosma says funds will be tight in ‘19

INDIANAPOLIS — Republican Statehouse leaders say they want to increase funding for Indiana’s embattled child welfare agency and find a way to pay teachers more, but that money will be tight when they craft the state’s next two year budget. “The budget is going to be more difficult than most people realize,” House Speaker Brian Bosma said Wednesday during a forum previewing the upcoming session, which begins in earnest Jan. 1. “It’s going to be a very challenging year.” It’s hardly a surprise that lawmakers are prioritizing a larger appropriation for the Department of Child Services. Long-festering problems at the agency exploded into public view last year, when its former director resigned in a letter accusing Republican Gov. Eric Holcomb of making management changes and service cuts that “all but ensure

children will die.”

Farm bill passes House; to Trump

WASHINGTON — The House of Representatives followed through with passage of the farm bill Wednesday, sending the Agriculture Improvement Act of 2018 to President Trump for signature (Pfeiffer, Hoosier Ag Today). House members voted 369 to 47 in favor of the bill. Of the votes against the bill, 44 were Republicans and just three were Democrats. The action followed Tuesday’s passage in the Senate, 87 to 13. The long-awaited five-year farm bill replaces the expired 2014 farm bill. House Agriculture Committee Chairman Mike Conaway, says the bill “sets us on a better path – for producers, for rural communities and American consumers.”



Cohen gets 3 years for ‘dirty deeds’

NEW YORK – Michael Cohen, President Donald Trump’s one-time fixer, was sentenced Wednesday to three years in prison for crimes that included arranging the payment of hush money to conceal his boss’ alleged sexual affairs, telling a judge that he agreed time and again to cover up Trump’s “dirty deeds” out of “blind loyalty” ([Associated Press](#)). Cohen, 52, shook his head slightly and closed his eyes as a judge pronounced his sentence for evading \$1.4 million in taxes, lying about Trump’s business dealings in Russia and violating campaign-finance laws in buying the silence of porn star Stormy Daniels and Playboy centerfold Karen McDougal, who claimed they had sex with the candidate. Cohen and federal prosecutors have said the payments were made at Trump’s direction to influence the election. “Time and time again, I felt it was my duty to cover up his dirty deeds rather than to listen to my own inner voice and my moral compass,” said a choked-up Cohen,

a lawyer who once boasted he would “take a bullet” for Trump. “My weakness can be characterized as a blind loyalty to Donald Trump, and I was weak for not having the strength to question and to refuse his demands.”

Emanuel seeks Chicago casino

CHICAGO – Mayor Rahm Emanuel on Wednesday floated a port district site on the Far South-east Side as the possible location for a Chicago casino, if state lawmakers finally grant the city the long-sought gambling palace. In a meeting with the [Chicago Tribune](#) Editorial Board, Emanuel noted his “love-hate” relationship with the idea of a casino but said if the city finally builds one it should be away from the Loop and McCormick Place. Instead, he said it should bring economic development to an area of the city that needs it, before floating an Illinois International Port District site near Pullman as “an example.” The land, just off the 111th Street exit on the Bishop Ford Freeway on the far southeast side.

Lawson probes Johnson Co. vote

FRANKLIN – A state agency is investigating an Election Day technical glitch that left some central Indiana voters waiting in lines for hours and others not voting at all. Indiana Secretary of State Connie Lawson said Tuesday in a statement that her office is investigating Johnson County’s problematic electronic poll books and hopes “to determine the root cause of the problem.” The Daily Journal of Franklin reported that the poll books that are used to check in voters before they cast a ballot kept freezing on Nov. 6, stalling several voting machines and preventing some people from voting.