

Young latest senator to arrive in tumult

Sen. Young threads the needle with Trump as U.S. faces a nuclear war, intelligence service questions, and controversy

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Freshman Indiana senators have had their share of initial tumult after joining the world's most exclusive club, and U.S. Sen. Todd Young is no exception. U.S. Sen. Birch Bayh came off an election during the Cuban

Missile Crisis in 1962 to his first year with the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, setting him on a path to draft the 25th Amendment a year later. Young's not facing an impeachment trial of a sitting U.S. president, as U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh did



U.S. Sen. Todd Young questions former officials on presidential power to launch nuclear war during a Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing.

when he arrived to his seat in 1999 with President Bill Clinton, even though the term is surfacing in topical news and TV ads these days.

Three months after Sen. Dan Quayle took the oath in 1981, President Ronald Reagan was nearly assassinated, with Quayle helping to pass his historic tax cuts several months later.

And Young is not facing as vivid a prospect of a government shutdown as U.S. Sen. Joe

shut down as U.S. Sen. Joe

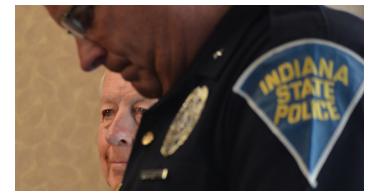
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Following our mayors

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The contrast between the inertia in Washington and what's being accomplished in cities across Indiana is striking.

Traveling throughout the state this past year, I found fascinating pockets of innovation and growth from the new parks and amphitheaters forged by Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr., and Joe Stahura of Whiting, the creation of new city centers in Mayor Jim Brainard's Carmel, Scott Fadness in Fishers and Andy Cook in Westfield. Kokomo Mayor Greg Goodnight and Fort Wayne's Tom Henry have evolved and renewed their downtowns with



“Actually, we haven’t peaked. There are no quick solutions to it. There are no perfect solutions to it. And if we wait for perfect solutions, we’re never going to do anything.”

- Drug Czar Jim McClelland, gauging the state’s opioid pandemic.



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300 Indianapolis, IN 46204
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 HPI Weekly, \$350
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Ivy Tech President Sue Ellspermann talks with Kokomo Mayor Greg Goodnight, Shelbyville's Tom DeBaun and Richmond's Dave Snow at a Leadership Indianapolis conference. Below is Bedford Mayor Shawna Girgis. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

stadiums and the type of amenities that attract a younger workforce. Mayor Lloyd Winnecke is transforming downtown Evansville with a \$380 million transfusion bringing a new convention hotel, one of the state's first land-based casinos, several new businesses, and a medical education and research facility.



These are Republican mayors leading Democratic majority cities, and vice versa.

We see this in smaller Indiana cities, with mayors like Tom DeBaun in Shelbyville working to bolster the education opportunities of his workforce; Bedford's Shawna Girgis, who forged a Stellar City plan and has been cited by Indiana University for advancing public health care in rural communities; former Franklin mayor Joe McGuinness (now INDOT commissioner) who has revamped the entry to his city off I-65 through downtown; to Nashville Town Manager Scott Rudd, who is pushing everything from broadband expansion to a civic performing arts center and trails linking the town to Brown County State Park.

The power of locals took on

greater enunciation on the 25th floor of the Indianapolis City-County Building on Monday, where four mayors – Democrats Joe Hogsett and Bart Peterson and Republicans Greg Ballard and Stephen Goldsmith – gathered to honor former mayor and senator Richard Lugar by naming the new civic plaza in his honor. If there was irony in a

national context, the plaza is a block away from City Market; at the behest of Eli Lilly Jr., Mayor Lugar in the early days of his administration was urged to save the historic building. Lugar did, the market bustles today, and he would launch his presidential bid there in 1995, on the same day of the Oklahoma City bombing. It was a campaign that was aspirational, if ultimately unsuccessful.

There were two subtexts to this gathering. The first echoed an Indianapolis Progress event at the University of Indianapolis several years ago, sans Hogsett and including the late Mayor Bill Hudnut. "They lined up all of us as mayors in sequence and we went through our experiences and one of the things that almost

every citizen grasped was that each one of us built upon what one had done before," Lugar said. "I remembered that very favorably."

Lugar talked of the mentality afflicting Washington this generation, where candidates were "elected to correct all of that, to rectify all the misdeeds of my predecessor." It was thus when Barack Obama took the reins from President George W. Bush, and today when Donald Trump followed President Obama. There's a "tear it down" mentality that has gripped the national capital, and it becomes problematic when there isn't a clear alternative to replace what's been removed. This occurred in Iraq after Obama pulled out, leaving a void filled by ISIS. We've seen this in health care, with Republicans allowing Obamacare to sink instead of evolving; the Paris climate accords, with Syria and Nicaragua signing on, the U.S. is the only nation not on board; and the Trans Pacific Partnership, where the void left by the Americans is quickly being filled by China with its currency and rule of law.

At a Leadership Indianapolis conference last month, DeBaun was asked by Ivy Tech President Sue Ellspermann, "What keeps you up at night?" The Democrat DeBaun, working in a conservative county, said that over the past four decades 14 Japanese companies have invested in his community. Specifically, he said, "My Twitter feed and reading commentary from the Japan Times. It says that the Japanese government and the Japanese people are not confident the U.S. government can keep up with its commitments. That terrorizes me. That's beyond my control."

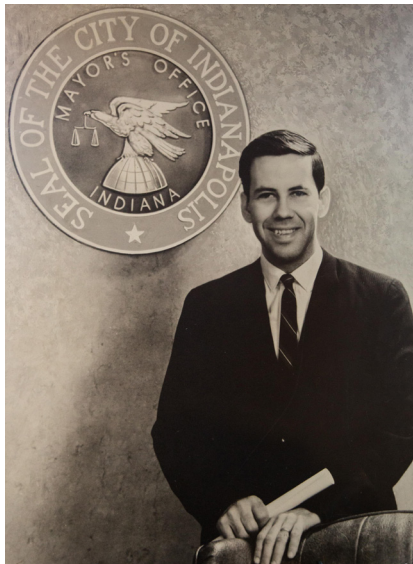
At the same event, Mayor Goodnight was asked who inspired him as a leader. The Democrat answered, "Gov. Mitch Daniels." A Republican.

Clay Robbins of the Lilly Foundation, which has invested \$2.2 billion in the city in a relationship forged by Lugar, observed, "When you look around the country now, there's not a lot of civil dialogue taking place in a lot of places. The way you all have conducted yourselves as our leaders, I think we're all very, very proud. The success we've had here in this community is due to the capable and caring and principled leadership you all have shown."

Lugar added, "The fact is, we had a very clear

flow, strong progress all the way through."

Hudnut took Lugar's initial amateur sports plan and Market Square Arena and expanded it to include the RCA Dome, which brought the Colts. Goldsmith completed the Circle City Mall despite being a critic of the plan, forged the Artsgarden, and expanded the Indiana



Indianapolis mayors Stephen Goldsmith, Richard Lugar, Joe Hogsett, Bart Peterson and Greg Ballard look at the new civic plaza on Monday. (HPI Photos by Mark Curry)

Convention Center and canal, built Bankers Life Fieldhouse (with the help of Gov. Frank O'Bannon), while creating enduring commissions on youth and human services. Peterson took the Goldsmith blueprint on Fall Creek Place to create a vibrant near-northside neighborhood, built an award-winning international airport and Lucas Oil Stadium (with the help of Gov. Daniels and taxpayers in seven suburban counties), and embraced charter schools. Ballard completed EPA sewage/clean river mandates, forged the new

Cummins and residential tower on the long vacant Market Square Arena site, and was responsible for the "greening" of the city with bike lanes and bike/auto sharing platforms. In essence, there was continuity.

There was a hard tack political reality within this group. It wasn't always a "we are the world" set of relationships. The ambitious Goldsmith chafed under Hudnut and didn't attend Peterson's inauguration. Ballard upset Peterson.

This leader arc came by example, often with small gestures. As a member of the Indianapolis School Board, Lugar wrote Goldsmith after he was elected president of the Broad Ripple High School Student Council, urging him to consider a career in public service. "I wanted to become mayor because of Dick Lugar," Goldsmith said, working his way up from the first floor clerk's office to the 25th floor. Peterson recalled meeting Lugar at a Pacers game with his father, Howard, where the mayor autographed an ABA basketball. "I only met the mayor once and it was at that moment," Peterson said. "If he had been in a bad mood ... I would have remembered that my whole life."

Hogsett added, "Sen. Lugar and Mayor Lugar defined what it means to be a statesman, in an era when that phrase isn't used quite as often, a leader who was



clearly dedicated to the betterment of all he served, a leader who reached across the aisle, not because it was the occasional accomplishment he could tout, but because it would yield the best results for the people he was elected to serve."

The momentum in leadership is occurring in American cities big and small. When Trump pulled out of the Paris Climate accords, cities and states have vowed to commit to the carbon reduction goals. Our mayors are not ideologues, but builders, connectors and problem solvers. They work in non-partisan fashion. They are thinking regionally and globally, even as they walk their neighborhoods.

Lawmakers in Washington would do themselves and all of us a favor if they reconsidered their modus operandi in this fashion. ❖

Young Interview, from page 1

Donnelly did when he switched chambers in 2013. But Young has found a surreal environment this year with the Donald Trump/Mike Pence administration exploding on the scene in some of the most unpredictable policy and politics one can image. He's found a tweeting President Trump already mired in scandal. Trump has questioned the U.S. intelligence sector, Young's military origins. There is a prospect of a hot war on the Korean peninsula, possibly one that could include nuclear strikes for the first time, realistically, since the 1973 Israel/Arab War, or 1962 with the Cuban Missile Crisis.

This doesn't even include the Alice in Wonderland political aspects here in the age of Trump. Less than 24 hours before this Howey Politics Indiana interview, Young had to denounce the Republican Alabama U.S. Senate nominee, Roy Moore, backed by Trump ally Steve Bannon, who has since been accused by more than five women of everything from sexual harassment and assault decades ago when they were teenagers and the nominee was a 30-something prosecutor. The notion of a pedophile entering the U.S. Senate prompted Young to issue this statement: "After giving Roy Moore ample time to unequivocally deny the disturbing allegations against him, those allegations remain far more persuasive than the denials. Roy Moore should immediately drop out of the race. The appearance of grossly reprehensible behavior disqualifies him from service in the United States Senate. If he does not step aside, we need to act to protect the integrity of the Senate."

Just minutes before this HPI interview, Young found himself questioning former U.S. Strategic Command and Department of Defense officials about Trump's potential for launching a preemptive nuclear strike after he once promised "fire and fury" for North Korean despot Kim Jong Un. Young listened as Democrat U.S. Sen. Chris Murphy said, "We are concerned that the president of the United States is so unstable, is so volatile, has a decision-making



process that is so quixotic, that he might order a nuclear weapons strike that is wildly out of step with U.S. national security interests."

It followed remarks by Senate Foreign Relations Chairman Bob Corker, a former Trump supporter and potential vice presidential nominee, who questioned Trump's stability and his potential of launching "World War III."

Young questioned Robert Kehler, former commander of the United States Strategic Command, about restrictions on a potential Trump use of nuclear weapons, with Kehler telling him, "Conflicting signals can result in

loss of confidence, confusion or paralysis in the operating forces at a critical moment." Former DOD policy official Brian McKeon told Young and committee colleagues that legislation restricting what had been an unquestioned presidential prerogative for the past 43 years, after then-Defense Sec. James Schlesinger ordered the Joint Chiefs of Staff to ignore any order from scandal-plagued President Nixon unless it had his signature, would be fraught with danger. "I'm not sure that's a wise choice," McKeon said of a potential legislative change on command of the nuclear codes.

"Is the standard ... to conclude that no reasonable order be proportional, or is there some other legal standard left?" Young asked at one point. McKeon told him, "It would be a judgment of senior military officers" who have "30 to 40 years of military experience to make these assessments."

Young pressed further, asking if there were training options "to discern when proportional, necessary orders have been issued."

Kehler responded, "We certainly do train military on what we collectively call the law of armed conflict. We train every day in accordance with nuclear forces and that includes everyone wearing a military uniform. In terms of what is legal precedence here, I frankly can't answer that off the top of my head. I don't know what the legal standard for determining distinction of proportionality and military necessity. I can't describe that. What I can say is that for nuclear decision-making at the highest level, it's a consultative process and there are senior people involved in that process. Where my expectation always was, if there was a question of legality, if this was something we had planned, then those issues have been addressed and resolved prior to the time a plan becomes part of a playbook. There are many options pre-planned if we were doing crisis option planning. I always assumed that if issue occurred the chain of command would be operative."

After the hearing, Corker told the press that Congress will continue its review of Trump's authority, "because it is a sobering issue. I do not see a legislative solution today, but that doesn't mean that over the course of next several months one might develop." But U.S. Sen. Ed Markey, D-Mass., said, "I don't think the assurances I've received today will be satisfying to the American people. I think they can still realize that Donald Trump can launch nuclear codes just as easily as he can use his Twitter account, without the checks and balances of the United States Congress."

So it was in this surreal atmosphere that HPI conducted this phone interview with Sen. Young just minutes



after the Foreign Relations Committee adjourned. Due to time limits, the questions centered on President Trump's temperament, his recent comments that he believes Russian President Vladimir Putin did not "meddle" in the 2016 U.S. presidential election, and Trump's questioning of U.S. intelligence assessments and his definition of former intelligence leaders such as the CIA's John Brennan and Nation Intelligence Director James Clapper Jr. as "political hacks."

HPI: What did you learn from the hearing today on President Trump or any president's authority to launch nuclear weapons?

Young: No. 1, my takeaway is Congress is duly exercising our oversight responsibility regarding this

incredibly dangerous time for our country. By an account of absence of international leadership in recent years, and the continued complication of the global environment, I think it's really important for Congress to be asking probing questions about the possibilities. We're in a current situation where our community could be forced to make a decision about use of our most devastating weapons. The second thing is the operational ability, and some of the witnesses made an important point which was that there are laws, there are legal principles that govern their involvement in the decision to use this force. Those principles aren't maybe as clear as black-letter law. If any member of the military feels an order received is inconsistent with existing legal norms, it's their responsibility to make that known through their seniors and, if necessary, to resign their position. So those are important take-aways. Lastly, I thought an observation was made across the hearing that was important, and that is we need to maintain a measure of calculated ambiguity as a country as it relates to the use our most devastating weapons. We don't want to telegraph to our adversaries or to our allies that any military options are off the table. If we take military options off the table, that may lead our adversaries to act more impulsively or recklessly and undermine our own security. Moreover, if we remove that calculated ambiguity it could also cause our allies to develop their own nuclear arsenals. We don't need other countries developing their own nuclear weapons, further destabilizing environment.

HPI: Should a preemptive nuclear strike include approval by Congress?

Young: It depends on the circumstances. If there is some sort of conceivable imminent threat to the United States of America and that imminent threat can only be effectively neutralized through the use of our strategic arsenal, then my answer is probably not.

HPI: Over the past month, we've heard Sen.

Corker, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Sens. Jeff Flake and John McCain question President Trump's fitness for office since early October. Corker has expressed fear of temperament and instability in the White House and even suggested a potential "World War III." Give us your perspectives on your confidence or lack thereof in President Trump.



Young: My perspective about our duly elected president of the United States is I remain determined to work with him and with everyone to ensure that we remain safe and secure as a country and we grow our economy. My job is not to comment on disagreements between people in Washington, D.C. Republicans agree on a whole lot right now. We agree we need to fix our health care system. We agree we need to give the economy a boost, we agree we need to keep the country safe and secure. There may be some differences between my colleagues on my one hand and my president on the other from day to day, but we have to all

be paddling in the same direction. I don't want to undermine my ability to serve Hoosiers by commenting on these things on a regular basis as much as it might help some people sell papers.

HPI: My priority is not to sell papers. That's not what I am trying to do here.

Young: That's not how I construed it. There are some who are motivated by that aspect.

HPI: We have three carrier strike groups off the Korean peninsula. President Trump twice this year, early last summer and again this past week, has said there is a U.S. nuclear sub off the Korean peninsula, something that Sen.

Donnelly has called a "serious breach" of security. When we last talked in June, we talked about the likelihood of war. What do Hoosiers need to know and was there a breach in security?

Young: As you know I'm a former Marine Corps intelligence officer with a high-level security clearance. I take the protection of our intelligence very seriously and I think everyone in the government should. I'll leave it at that. With respect to your second question, the prospect of war breaking out?

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November 20, 2017

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HPI: When we talked in June you said that Hoosiers need to wrap their minds around the prospect that we could be in a hot war on the Korean peninsula within months. Is there still that potential? Where do you think we are now?

Young: I think Hoosiers still need to be of that mindset. If I were to communicate anything else, I think it would be intimating we're taking military options off the table as a country, undermining our ability to arrive at a peaceful diplomatic solution. With that, I think it is very important that is covered. With that said, I commend the administration for their fulsome diplomatic efforts thus far, diplomacy backed by the credible threat of military force. We have the most vigorous sanctions in years posed on North Korea through the United Nations that certainly I can remember. We have persuaded the Chinese to increasingly crack down on North Korea and stop providing substance to their leadership and their weapons development program and further progress can be made on that front. We have brought together our allies and partners in Southeast Asia as we develop a coalition of the willing to prepare for whatever may come next militarily or otherwise. So the pressure campaigns implemented by the Trump administration, which was a great departure from the era of strategic patience that we saw over the course of the Obama years, has succeeded. That's not to say we'll ultimately succeed in getting Kim Jong Un to give up nuclear weapons and to stop developing more sophisticated strategic weapons technology. You do the best you can with the cards you've been dealt and I think the Trump administration has done very, very well in North Korea.

HPI: Over the weekend, President Trump met with Russian President Putin and said Putin told him he did not "meddle" in the U.S. election. Do you trust the Russian president?

Young: No.1, there's something known as a diplomatic lie that is often deployed by sophisticated diplomats and leaders in furtherance of our national interest. Let's keep that in mind. No. 2, our intelligence community, which I trust, has indicated that Russia has hacked our elections. It never indicated that Russia has influenced our elections. That distinction is missed and I think it's very important that we are accurate and precise in that regard. That's where I am. I think we need to remain vigilant when it comes to Russia. Vladimir Putin's interests are misaligned in most areas with our own. There are some areas we're going to require Russian cooperation. We may need Russian cooperation in North Korea because they could provide hard currency to Kim Jong Un moving forward. We may need Russian cooperation in Syria because, unfortunately, we were out-flanked on policy in recent years and the Russians were able to gain substantial presence on the ground. There are mul-



President Trump with Russian President Putin last weekend; Young debating Sen. Evan Bayh in October 2016; and with National Intelligence Director Dan Coats.



tiple other areas where we're going to have to find cooperation.

HPI: President Trump has consistently disparaged U.S. intelligence agencies, calling John Brennan and James Clapper Jr., "political hacks" on foreign soil this weekend, no less. As a former Marine intelligence officer, how do you react to this type of criticism?

Young: I already indicated I think we should trust our nation's intelligence. I respect those who serve with distinction from the ranks of our inner intelligence community, from the rank and file who serve in that capacity, to the leaders of our intelligence community. ❖

The coming politics of cold beer in Indiana

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Indiana legislative Democrats are wandering the desert, gripped in super minority status, and presumably thirsty. Could cold beer be part of their answer for electoral redemption?

Late last week, the Indiana Association of Beverage Retailers and the Indiana Retail Council cut a deal in an attempt to ward off broader sale of cold beer in an issue almost certain to surface in the 2018 General Assembly. It's one we've been predicting for a couple of months now. The trade-off is Sunday sales in exchange for cold beer to remain only in liquor stores and craft breweries.

"The package liquor store industry, along with our friends at the Indiana Retail Council, are committed to working directly with legislators to successfully draft and pass meaningful and impactful public policy that will allow Hoosiers to purchase alcohol for carryout on Sundays for the first time since Prohibition," said Jon Sinder, chairman of the Indiana Association of Beverage Retailers and CEO of Crown Liquors.

But Scot Imus of the Indiana Petroleum Marketers and Convenience Store Association called the deal "backroom gamesmanship," saying, "How credible can these groups be when just six months ago each made opposite claims?"

Imus is representing Ricker's, which ignited the debate when it exploited an 80-year-old loophole to serve cold beer in convenience stores in Columbus and Sheridan earlier this year. The General Assembly moved last spring to quash the loophole. Imus added, "For well over a decade, the liquor store industry has vehemently opposed Sunday sales, testifying numerous times before legislative committees that such a move would put 25% of liquor stores out of business. Further, the liquor lobby decried the display of spirits in big box stores, even supplying committee members with pictures of liquor bottles next to toys or at the checkout lane to support its position. At the same time, the Indiana Retail Council and its members joined forces with convenience store retailers in forming two coalitions over the last decade to campaign for sensible alcohol laws, which included cold beer and Sunday sales. Why are they now suddenly against cold beer sales?"

The Associated Press reported on Wednesday that Bev Gard, who heads the Alcohol Code Revisions Commission, says the groups are "really jumping the gun" at a time when her commission is still doing work at the Legislature's request. What's more, she noted the agreement

would cut out convenience stores that are seeking the ability to sell cold — and not just warm — beer. "The way the issue was framed, it sounds like these two associations have come to a compromise, so that's going to be the new policy for the state," said Gard, a former Republican state Senator, who said she was "bothered" by the announcement.

Thus far, only one candidate, SD17 Democrat Gary Snyder, is trying to make hay out of the hops. He calls the beverage retailers/retail council deal a sign of a "rigged system," borrowing a phrase from Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders, who used it to gin up 53% primary victories in May 2016.

"This is just another example of who lawmakers really represent, and it's not you. The fact that two lobbying groups (not our elected officials) can come to an agreement that will dictate how politicians vote is sickening," said Snyder. "Lawmakers should allow Sunday and cold beer sales regardless of where you choose to buy it, including convenience stores like Rickers, who would be excluded in this agreement. The system is rigged and goes to show how politicians are bought and paid for by special interest groups." Snyder added.

When Snyder announced his campaign last winter,



Jon Sinder, Scot Imus square off over cold beer sales while SD17 Democrat Gary Snyder is waging his campaign against State Sen. Andy Zay on the issue.

he said, "As your next state senator, I will not vote to regulate the temperature of the beer you buy or what days you can buy it." Snyder is seeking the Democratic nomination to challenge Republican State Sen. Andy Zay, who won a caucus to replace U.S. Rep. Jim Banks. Zay told HPI earlier this fall that he sees little support in the majority caucus for major alcohol system reforms.

A Ball State University poll released earlier this month shows broad support for both wider cold beer availability and Sunday sales, with 61% favoring more cold beer choices and 58% supporting Sunday sales. "Obviously it shows that there is a lot of support for this type of change," said Sean Hillebrand, assistant professor of political science at Ball State and a survey analyst for the Bowen Center for Public Affairs. "They definitely do want to have more availability to purchase not only cold beer but all seven days of the week."

Last April, Ricker's CEO Jay Ricker complained that the General Assembly essentially was picking winners and losers. "I think the legislature is sending a chilling message and not just on my issue, but a lot of issues," he told HPI. "I am hearing from a lot of people, a lot of entrepreneurs. The Republicans are supposed to be the party helping businesses, but they have been hindering us. I'm a Republican but it's the Democrats who seem willing to help us."

Asked if he would be willing to invest in primary challengers or general election candidates, Ricker said, "I wouldn't want that to be the headline. But, yeah, we have to take a look at it. We're not getting any help from the people we've supported. If you are unhappy, you need to get into the political fray and that means your pocketbook, too."

Gov. Eric Holcomb is straddling the issue, saying last week that he'll await the verdict from the legislative panel, even though he's on record saying "I'm interested in modernizing our alcohol laws." Holcomb said, "Obviously I'll deal with every issue that comes our way. I'll be interested to see the final reports from those studies. I'll work with Legislature. I'm going to be focused on my issues; those issues don't exactly fit in my pillars."

There appears to be little political danger for Holcomb to take a populist stance here and opt for wider cold beer sales. Should that come to pass in the winter of 2018, there's virtually no chance it remains any type of issue by 2020. He's off to about as good a start as a rookie governor can have and has had little trouble raising money. So he's not dependent on the Beverage Retailers or the Retail Council.

Republican leaders in the 1980s opposed the lottery, but after the defeat of House Speaker J. Roberts Dailey in 1986, a ballot referendum on the lottery in 1988 passed with 64% of the vote.

U.S. Senate

Henderson drops out of GOP race

The field for Indiana's primary election for a U.S. Senate nomination is a little less crowded. Hamilton County businessman Terry Henderson has suspended his campaign, the Indianapolis Business Journal reported Saturday. Henderson was among six Republican candidates seeking the GOP nomination next spring to oppose Democratic Sen. Joe Donnelly in the 2018 general election (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). It was a development Howey

Politics Indiana reported last month. Henderson told IBJ that he was leaving the race because "it was going to be enormously expensive in order to get the necessary name recognition." He also said, "The only real way to come up with those kinds of funds is to personal-finance." Henderson raised just \$5,400 in campaign contributions through September while lending his campaign \$250,000 of his own money, according to a report filed with the Federal Election Commission.

Donnelly returns Podesta funds

Indiana Sen. Joe Donnelly has pledged to return the \$2,000 his 2018 campaign accepted from Democratic super-lobbyist Tony Podesta, who is reported to be a subject of Special Counsel Robert Mueller's investigation into Russian influence operations within the United States (Hasson, Daily Caller). Donnelly is one of seven Democratic senators to have accepted donations from Podesta for their 2018 campaigns. Tony Podesta's brother, John, was the campaign chairman of Hillary Clinton's 2016 presidential campaign. Donnelly told Fox59 that he would return Podesta's donation. "It's a minimal amount, and I'm more than happy to send it back."

Congress

8th CD: Miller drops out

Evansville resident Glen Miller dropped out of the congressional race last week, leaving the field for now to Terre Haute attorney William Tanoos. The candidate filing deadline is Feb. 9 (Evansville Courier & Press). Vermillion County resident Joanie Kanizer, chairwoman of the 8th District Democrat Party, said last week's Democratic election victories in Virginia and New Jersey have fully engaged supporters dreaming of taking control of Congress in November. "Every day I'm getting calls saying, 'What can I do? What can I do to help you?' And I'm going to tell you, those calls I haven't received for years," Kanizer said. "I've felt people energized."

Indivisible Evansville to target Bucshon

Shock and dismay over Trump's 2016 election was the rationale for Indivisible Evansville, a progressive advocacy organization that noisily challenged, interrupted and jeered Republican Rep. Larry Bucshon at several public meetings this year. The group is a local offshoot of national organization Indivisible, created this year to fight Trump (Langhorne, Evansville Courier & Press). Edie Hardcastle, president of Indivisible Evansville, said the group will continue to appear at Bucshon's town hall meetings in 2018, "if he has one." Indivisible also may place supporters outside Right to Life of Southwest Indiana's April 19 spring banquet.

9th CD: DCCC to target Hollingsworth

The Democratic Congressional Campaign Com-

mittee says Indiana's 9th Congressional District is one of the races it will focus its efforts on leading up to the 2018 election (Eady, Indiana Public Media). Republican Rep. Trey Hollingsworth currently represents the district and is serving his first term. A crowded field of Democratic challengers hopes to defeat him. Andrew Downs, director of the Mike Downs Center for Indiana Politics at Indiana University Purdue University Fort Wayne, says the DCCC's decision to target the 9th District shows Hollingsworth is vulnerable. "On the Democratic side there are people who want that nomination; they don't have to go out and recruit somebody who will go fall on their sword," Downs says. "There are a couple of people who've already raised over \$100,000, \$200,000, so that's showing pretty good production and I'm sure part of the reason the DCCC thinks it's a race worth watching."

Canan blasts bill over individual mandate

Democrat Dan Canan came out against the GOP tax bill: "With this so-called 'tax reform' bill, the Senate GOP has dropped all pretense of being interested in anything other than crony capitalism," Canan said. "What few benefits there are for average Americans expire in just a few years to pay for the actual intended beneficiaries of this bill, big business. In fact, in the long term this bill actually raises taxes on individuals across the board, including the middle class who are already bearing too much

of the burden of corporate welfare. Even more insidious are implications to health care under cover of a tax bill. Republicans are calling for repeal of the individual mandate under pretense of helping taxpayers, when in fact this would cause insurance markets to collapse, effectively ending the ACA and impacting coverage for all Americans."

General Assembly

SD26: Meyer preparing for Delph

Corrie Meyer has resigned as director of the Carmel Redevelopment Commission to focus on her campaign to unseat controversial state Sen. Mike Delph (Sikich, IndyStar). Meyer announced in June she would challenge Delph, R-Carmel, in the May 2018 Republican primary. On Monday, she handed in her resignation to Mayor Jim Brainard. "We are canvassing neighborhoods and fundraising and meeting with lots of different people, township trustees, precinct committee members," she told IndyStar. "I need to have time



to dedicate workday business time to the campaign." Delph appears to be leaning toward reelection, telling HPI he will report more than \$250,000 at the end of the year, but is awaiting final clearance from his wife Beth. ❖

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Will Democrats rise again?

By CHRIS SAUTTER

WASHINGTON – Momentum in politics is fleeting. A candidate can be riding a wave of momentum only to have it vanish with a quick turn of events. During his 1980 quest for the Republican presidential nomination, George H. W. Bush claimed to have grasped “the Big Mo” after he won a surprising victory in the Iowa caucus. But Bush’s momentum evaporated days later when Ronald Reagan defeated him by a wide margin in the New Hampshire primary.



Following a year of finger pointing and handwringing, Democrats have regained their optimism and captured the

political momentum leading into next year’s midterm elections. In last week’s off-year elections, they scored big in state and local races, flipping executive offices and legislative seats across the country. Democrats won offices in New York and Pennsylvania that had been held by Republicans for over a hundred years.

In Virginia, energized Democrats and moderate swing voters — mostly suburban -- turned out in droves to repudiate Donald Trump. Exit polls found 57% of voters disapprove of Trump’s job performance—and that 87% of those dissatisfied voters backed the Democrat. Forty-seven percent strongly disapprove of Trump with 95% voting Democratic.

Demographic breakdowns indicate a revived Obama coalition even without the former president on the ballot. According to exit polling data, 61% of Virginia women voted for Lt. Governor Ralph Northam, a soft-spoken former Navy doctor, over former RNC chair and lobbyist Ed Gillespie for governor. Sixty-nine percent of Millennials gave their votes to Northam. Democrats also carried approximately four of five non-white voters.

Virginia is a state where Democrats should win. It has become more of a mid-Atlantic state than a south-

ern one as the results in populous Washington, DC suburbs now determine the outcome of statewide elections.

But no one predicted Northam’s nine-point margin in which he outperformed Hillary Clinton’s 2016 numbers in many areas, including Richmond suburbs and Virginia Beach. Nor was anyone expecting that Democrats would erase a 32-seat Republican majority in the Virginia House of Delegates, bringing them within one of a majority. Democrats won in districts gerrymandered to guarantee a GOP majority.

Many Democrats are looking to Northam’s success in Virginia for a roadmap to winning back the U.S. House of Representatives and, perhaps, even the U.S. Senate in next year’s midterm elections. But the Virginia formula will not be an easy one to replicate in many races beyond the east coast. Northam combined a conservative resume (VMI graduate and Desert Storm veteran) with the most progressive platform in state history, putting health care at the center of his campaign. It worked as 39% of voters identified health care as their top issue, more than double the next issue.

However, Democrats continue to struggle with blue collar and rural voters. Gillespie outperformed Trump in areas of southern rural Virginia. Democrats must win 24 seats in House races next year to regain a majority. Hillary Clinton carried 24 districts currently held by Republicans, though Democrats are not likely to win all of them. Inside Elections currently rates only 28 Republican held seats as competitive in 2018.



As a result, Republicans could still narrowly hold on to the House in a wave year by maintaining support in small town, exurban and rural American—areas where Trump remains popular.

In Indiana, even a wave may not be enough to carry Hoosier Democrats into Congress due to extreme gerrymandering. The only two U.S. House seats where Democrats have any shot of knocking off an incumbent are in the 2nd and 9th Districts, neither of which are identified by national handicappers as truly competitive in 2018. The Republican advantage in the 2nd is plus 11 and in the 9th is plus 13, according to

the Cook Political Report. Those are difficult numbers to overcome, especially in a 9th District that is predominately rural where few Republicans would be expected to cross party lines.

Democrats have one key advantage in the 2nd

District. Sen. Joe Donnelly will be on the ballot and he remains popular in his former district. When Donnelly won his Senate seat in 2012, he almost carried Democrat Brendan Mullen in with him as Republican Jackie Walorski won the 2nd by less than 1.5%. Neither Walorski nor 9th District Republican incumbent Trey Hollingsworth are particularly strong incumbents, making upset wins in either the 2nd or 9th Districts still possible if the wave is large enough.

If it weren't enough to worry what 2017 portends for 2018, Republicans are also in a panic over the Roy Moore pedophilia scandal. The Alabama U.S. Senate Republican nominee in the special election for Attorney General Jeff Sessions' former seat has put the GOP in a no-win situation. Moore has eschewed calls to step aside. Polling shows his numbers have tumbled but not so much that he might not win a low turnout election. Many Alabama Republicans would rather believe Moore than vote for a pro-choice Democrat, but it is becoming increasingly difficult to justify as more victims come forward.

If Moore does win, then Republicans in Washington have to grapple with expulsion — not a quick and easy process under Senate rules. If Moore loses, Republicans are down to a one-seat majority. Senate Republicans

have made it clear they would rather lose a seat than have Moore hanging around their necks.

Some Democrats argue they are better off if Moore wins since the scandal would drag on into the election year. It was the Mark Foley sex scandal that helped Democrats win back the House in 2006. However, a Democratic win in Alabama will further boost Democratic momentum and Moore has already severely damaged the Republican brand.

Previous midterm election waves didn't start taking shape until much later in the election cycle. Republicans have plenty of time to slow or reverse the Democrats' momentum. Passage of a tax bill that actually helps Middle Americans—not currently on the table—would go a long way to helping the GOP turn things around.

But Donald Trump himself is what drove the 2017 election results and the 2018-midterm elections will again be a referendum on Trump. With new revelations surfacing nearly every day about the Trump's campaign ties to Russia, Democrats have every reason to believe momentum will build through 2018. ❖

Sautter is a Democratic media consultant based in Washington.

Photography With Punch

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Plotting against the Donnelly reelect

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Republican strategists plotting to defeat Sen. Joe Donnelly have attacked the incumbent Democrat as standing in the way of President Trump’s agenda.



Q. Will that strategy change after the results of the election, especially with the anti-Trump flavor of the big Democratic wins in Virginia?

A. No. At least not yet.

Q. But will the Republican nominee who runs against Donnelly really want to be viewed as foursquare for Trump’s agenda?

A. Right now, the two Republican congressmen regarded as top contenders for the party’s nomination, Luke Messer and Todd Rokita,

battle for support of the Trump base, so sizeable in the presidential vote in Indiana, with both claiming to give that foursquare support. Each tries in an already nasty battle to find some inkling of disloyalty to Trump by the nomination opponent.

Q. Is that smart after it seems that standing as a check on Trump was pretty popular?

A. Yes, it’s smart strategy in Indiana in seeking to win the Trump base in the Republican primary next May. Beyond that, in finding popularity or lack thereof for Trump for the general election, the winning Republican nominee can be flexible.

Q. They aren’t worried about a message from Virginia?

A. Of course there’s worry. But Virginia is not Indiana. And it’s a year before Indiana voters decide the political fate of Joe Donnelly. Conditions change. Issues change. Look at all that’s happened in the past year.

Q. Well, if Trump was such a drag on Republican candidates in Virginia and in some other states as well doesn’t it stand to reason he also has lost support in Indiana?

A. Sure. But he has a lot more room to slip in Indiana before becoming toxic for other Republican candidates. In Virginia, a swing state, he lost in a close presidential race there by a little less than 5%. Thus, more slippage there was devastating. In Indiana, Trump won by nearly 20%. If he has slipped by a whopping 15% in Indiana, that still gives him a plus 5.

Q. Will Donnelly try to take advantage of the anti-Trump feeling shown in other states and go on the attack

to signal that he is indeed standing in the way of what Trump wants to do?

A. No.

Q. Is that smart strategy?

A. Yes. Donnelly has cultivated an image as a moderate. Polls show he is popular now with a significant portion of Republicans and independents. He cannot win in Indiana with only Democratic support. He needs to continue to appeal to the type of Republicans who supported former Sen. Dick Lugar, a Republican who also reached across the aisle. He couldn’t do that if he became a Democratic firebrand. That would be disastrous politically and also phony.

Q. Does this mean that Donnelly will vote for the tax plan Trump is pressuring him and other moderate Democratic senators to support?

A. No. Not the current proposals that hurt many in the middle class and substantially worsen the deficit. But nobody knows what a final version will look like.

Q. Could there be a bipartisan version?

A. Yes, although that seems unlikely in this contentious Congress. But one possibility is that the message from voters on Tuesday will bring some compromise, some bipartisan support by curtailing giveaway-to-the-rich concerns, eliminating some provisions that hurt the middle class and reducing the deficit danger.

Q. If Donnelly voted for such a compromise would that hurt him politically with Democrats in Indiana? And would it cause Republican strategists to curtail all the spending of millions upon millions in an all-out effort to defeat him?

A. No. And no. Democrats would not turn to one of the Republicans foursquare with Trump or even moderating to threesquare. And Republican strategists seeking to win the Indiana seat would not pull back on efforts to defeat Donnelly even if he voted for every item on the Trump agenda, which he of course will not. ❖

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

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

Who benefits from Hoosier labor?

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – Once upon a time, if you asked the average Hoosier, s/he would have told you, farming was the backbone of Indiana’s economy. But eventually reality did make an impression. Today, it is common to acknowledge manufacturing as our dominant economic activity. Of course, that may be changing, but let’s not go there.



Instead, let’s look more closely at manufacturing’s transformation from 2005 to 2015 (the most recent data available from the Annual Survey of Manufacturers). Nationally, during that turbulent decade, two million (15.2%) of manufacturing jobs disappeared. Indiana’s loss was over 61,000 (11.5%).

Production workers in manufacturing accounted for 75% of those job losses in Indiana compared to 71% nationally. Those declines were proportionate to the 2005 levels of production jobs in manufacturing. Despite these job losses, total payrolls in manufacturing rose nationally by 9.8%; yet the total wages of production workers fell by 16.3%. In the Hoosier state, manufacturing payrolls advanced by 7.1% with a corresponding 11.6% decline in the wages of production workers.

These disparities suggest those who make the products of American factories took the hit in the Great Recession and the rewards of manufacturing were shifted to those who hold administrative, marketing, finance, and design positions. This would ordinarily be seen as the combined result of increased manufacturing abroad and the automation of production tasks.

However, a closer look at the data reveals that nationally production workers accounted for 70% of all employees in both ‘05 and ‘15, while collecting 58 and 57% of the payroll in those years respectively. Similarly, in Indiana, production workers accounted for 75% of all employees at the beginning and the end of the decade, while earning 67 and 65% of the payroll.

These minor shifts do not signal a massive disruption in manufacturing since they may be little more than rounding and variability in the underlying survey data. Hoosiers, however, might be concerned to learn that Indiana’s manufacturing production workers saw an increase of just \$3.19 per hour over the decade (without adjustment for inflation) while nationally that increase was \$4.89; we ranked 47th in the nation. This low return to labor in Indiana was despite Indiana’s 18th place ranking in

the increase of value added per employee and 10th place rank in value added per dollar of payroll.

While our factories are outperforming manufacturing facilities across the nation, the wages of Indiana workers are not rising commensurate with the benefits of their efforts. In 2005, Hoosier production workers averaged \$19.31 per hour. By 2015, they were averaging \$22.50. As such they fell from sitting nicely in sixth place among production workers in manufacturing across America to 31st place by 2015.

Yes, Indiana does work, as our state government loves to proclaim, but it does not seem to work for Hoosier workers. ❖

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



Only in Indiana would booze reform go slow

By **RICH JAMES**

MERRILLVILLE – Only in Indiana.

Only in Indiana does the Legislature attempt to



pull the state out of the Dark Ages but just gets half the job done. Indiana is the last state in the union to bar the sale of carry-out alcohol on Sunday. It isn’t a religious thing but shows the collective power of package liquor stores around the state. The package stores now have a monopoly on the sale of cold beer and they don’t want to be open on Sunday. But studies show Sunday

is the second busiest shopping day of the year and grocery stores would like to be able to sell alcohol.

The Sunday prohibition may be about to end, based on the recommendation of the Alcohol Code Revision Commission, which has been studying the state’s liquor laws for several months. Unfortunately the commission stopped a bit short when it made its recommendation to open things up for Sunday sales. You will be able to pick up beer at the grocery store on Sunday, but it won’t be cold. Nope, this is Indiana where change comes very slowly.

Actually, it’s a compromise of sorts. The package liquor stores backed away from the prohibition on Sunday sales, but not the prohibition on grocery stores selling cold beer. And beer drinkers know that if it isn’t cold, it’s not worth drinking.

Not only is the commission stiff-arming the Sunday sale of cold beer, except for package liquor stores, it also is imposing restrictive hours. "Beer and religion don't equate," said state Sen. Lonnie Randolph, and East Chicago Democrat. Consequently, the commission has recommended that the Sunday sales be limited to the hours of noon to 8 p.m. The other six days of the week, liquor can be sold from 7 a.m. to 3 a.m. So, if you do your grocery shopping Sunday morning, don't expect to buy any booze.

The commission will make its final recommendations Dec. 8. The proposals agreed upon thus far aren't

likely to change. Some change, however, likely will come when the Legislature convenes in early January. Knowing the conservative nature of the Legislature, it could refuse to allow Sunday sales. But maybe, just maybe, the legislators will do the right thing and allow grocery stores to sell cold beer on Sunday.

Maybe, just maybe. ❖

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

Trump's fruitful trip

By **TONY SAMUEL**

INDIANAPOLIS – On Tuesday night, President Trump, after an 8½ hour flight from Hawaii which closed out 12 days of travel and work and many meetings in five different countries crossing 20,295 miles, concluded a highly successful Asian trip. He started by paying respect



to American service members at Pearl Harbor and ended after strengthening military and trade alliances across the Indo-Pacific region.

The president met with leaders of several different nations, he attended three important trade summits, gave flawless speeches in each country and became the first foreign leader to be honored with an official dinner in the Forbidden

City since the founding of modern China.

Perhaps most importantly, he reinforced a brilliant strategy in dealing with the nuclear threat of North Korea. He pulled our partners further along with sanctions, showed the world our military might and encouraged diplomacy, as it was announced immediately after the trip that China was sending a high-level special envoy to North Korea.

Unfortunately, unless you watched Fox News or CNN overnight, most of the trip was overshadowed by Kevin Spacey, Weinstein, Joe Biden – back again, Fake News – every day, Hillary won't go away. ISIS, Africa bound, evil hit a Texas town. Tax reform, budget battle, Papadopouwho? Sessions rattled. Rand Paul's broken ribs, Roy Moore hitting on kids? Bernie, Donna Brazile, Wasserman Schultz and DNC wars, I can't take it anymore! We didn't start the fire – uh, whoops. Sorry, got sidetracked. But that was a lot of stuff going on in this 12-day stretch, including for me, the Billy Joel concert at Banker's Life, in case you couldn't tell.

All of these stories were sensational or horrific or in some cases, like the DNC scandal, vindicating. All were

worthy of news coverage, especially and unfortunately the tragedy in Sutherland Springs. But never have I seen such a historic and critical trip so ignored by the media and never have so many successes in such a short period of time been so drowned out.

We just had a president prove to the world that American leadership is back in the face of possible war. Remember Obama's Strategic Patience strategy for North Korea? Why didn't we question such ineptitude? Strategic Patience basically meant, "We are going to sit on our hands and hope that the next president knows how to handle this, because we don't."

Which of our past several presidents would go into foreign lands that have been taking advantage of us economically with unfair trade practices and forced intellectual property transfer and theft and come out with agreements for fair and reciprocal trade. In doing so, President Trump made clear that America First means investing in American workers. He and American business leaders secured hundreds of billions of dollars in investment, creating tens of thousands, if not more, American jobs – and this was just the beginning.

The trip wasn't just about economics and North Korea. In China, President Trump and President Xi also reached agreements regarding joint projects on HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases. In Vietnam, a new three-year plan for defense cooperation was concluded to increase bilateral naval activities. In the Philippines, President Trump announced \$2 million to support drug demand reduction programs and an additional \$14.3 million to address the humanitarian needs of 360,000 displaced persons after the liberation of Marawi City, where ISIS-inspired terrorists had taken siege for five months before recently being driven out by Philippine security forces.

Imagine doing all of that and securing the freedom of the three freshman UCLA basketball players caught shoplifting in China, and then coming home to calls of impeachment by misguided Democrat House members.

I hadn't seen Billy Joel in concert in quite a while but used to go to his shows when I was much younger. Back then he always closed by telling his audience, "Good night, and remember, don't take any shit from anyone!" I

always got a kick out of those New Yorkish words of wisdom. That was back before political correctness was even a thing.

Trump, being a fellow New Yorker, has that same attitude for him and for the country. It gives his detractors something to criticize but it's also how he got elected. He doesn't back down and he won't let America back down.

This was on full display during his trip, calling countries out on trade imbalances, talking tough but measured on North Korea, and making it clear what he means by America first. He did it carefully and artfully. He actually did it very presidentially. He was greeted with respect and cheering crowds in every country and it was clear that he is developing alliances and even friendships with many world leaders. He did it all with a smile on his face but

with no regard for political correctness.

The concert was great but I was disappointed that Billy Joel didn't deliver his familiar message at the end of the night. Political correctness, it appeared, has caught up with him. Trump's message to the world was as clear as always, at least to me. He was saying, we want to be your friend and ally and we will protect American interests and help to protect you. We will treat you fairly but we want reciprocal fair trade. And his message to North Korea was even clearer. We are not going to take any shit from anyone! ❖

Samuel is president of Samuel Solutions and was the vice chair of President Trump's 2016 Indiana campaign

From Russia with love

By MARK SOUDER

FORT WAYNE – In the late '60s and early '70s, I was a counter-culture college student, battling the leftist lemmings who condemned America and trashed our flag.



The Evil Empires were Red China and Bolshevik Russia.

In 1970 the movie "Patton" was released, one of my favorite movies. My Young Americans for Freedom friends and I would stand up and cheer to the irritation of everyone else present when Gen. Patton delivered these memorable lines, "Well, the war shouldn't be over. We should stop pussyfooting about

the goddamn Russians! We're gonna have to fight them sooner or later anyway. Why not do it now, when we got the army here to do it with? Instead of disarming these German troops, we oughta get them to help us fight the damn Bolsheviks!" His military and political superiors were even less supportive than the irritated movie theater crowds were when we stood up and cheered.

So, when I walked around Red Square in 1998, it was with severely mixed feelings. As a kid I had watched on our family's black and white TV set as Soviet military forces paraded down Red Square, aware that in our basement we had an area with a survival kit to hopefully survive a nuclear hit from the Evil Empire. By the 1990s, major changes had begun occurring in Russia. After communism collapsed, and some coups

and counter-coups, the Supreme Soviet had been dissolved and a parliament called the State Dumas elected in December 1993. I was elected to Congress the following November.

In 1996-1997 I twice heard Dr. Alexander Zaichenko speak to the Fort Wayne Area Christian Businessmen's group. Dr. Zaichenko was a learned and prominent Russian economist. In 1979, in spite of all his learning, he had begun to ask "what is life really about?" He obtained a Bible through the black market. The Gospel of Matthew, as well as his surreptitiously reading the stories of persecuted Christians to learn more about their faith, resulted in him secretly committing his life to Christ while still serving as a top economist in Gorbachev's government.

After Dr. Zaichenko told his amazing personal story, he plugged the Russian-American Christian University of which he was the Russian coordinator. His pitch that won me as an ally in his work (we still contribute monthly) was that as Russia transitioned to capitalism, there was no similar moral foundation undergirding it as we had in America. The church, other than a few elderly Orthodox practitioners, did not functionally exist. His point, and my belief, was that capitalism without morality just turns into



corruption and greed. It is not just capitalism that made our economy grow, it was capitalism grounded in at least the remnants of Judeo-Christian moral belief. Thus we needed an educational institution that taught capitalist economics but the undergirding moral assumptions that accompany it.

Simply put, Russia in my mind went from an evil empire to one about which I was skeptical, but at least it seemed to offer a window of opportunity for planting seeds for real reform. President Ronald Reagan's strong foreign policy and investments in military buildup had forced the collapse of communism after years of hearing that communist control was inevitable and permanent. Russia was a large, powerful and interesting country. If we could encourage any fundamental change, or at least plant some seeds, it was worth some risk. Isolation doesn't really work either.

In 1998 I was invited to participate in the first U.S. Congress-Russian Dumas exchange. The delegation of around a dozen congressmen was sent to Russia, equally divided among Republicans and Democrats. Republican Curt Weldon and Democrat Steny Hoyer led the delegation. One of my major goals during the Moscow portion was to meet with Dr. Zaichenko.

As I waited for him in our members' "control room" at the National Hotel, there was a heavysset, stereotypical Russian man sitting on the sofa. It was intriguing to me who he was, in part because it is hard to get into a control room, so I went over to talk with him while I waited. He taught me some valuable lessons not available in the books or briefing materials I had read.

I asked who he was and he said: "I'm just a cement maker." When Dr. Zaichenko came in, as soon as we left the room, he said, "What was so and so (I don't remember his name) doing there?" I said I didn't know, but asked how he knew him because he's just a cement maker. Dr. Zaichenko replied something like this: "Just a cement maker? Have you looked around Moscow? Everything is cement. He is the financial power behind Mayor Luzhkov. He owns the major television and radio stations, and much of the city." My response was something like, "Oh."

I also remember asking the cement maker, who was fluent in English and bluntly insightful, why if Russia wanted to be our friend, they continued to sell weapons to our enemies like Iran and Iraq. He replied with roughly these words, sporting somewhere between a twinkle and a sarcastic, jowly scowl: "You know your weapons. You know our weapons. Who would buy our stuff except the people you won't sell? It's just business."

While I had many other insightful discussions, one of the most fascinating was at lunch with the then-head of the relatively new Russian stock exchange. He was

part of the newly ascendant group of leaders trained at U.S. universities who were trying to establish capitalism. I remember him explaining that really what he did all day was basic economics, as in: "Why aren't people buying my stock?" "Well, for starters, you took out 90% of its value and moved it to a Swiss bank account. In a free market, people aren't going to buy it if it has no real value."

In addition to serving as an honorary board member of the Russian-American University, along with my classmate and good friend Sam Brownback, I did my part to try to capitalize on this window of openness in Russia. I met with some exchange groups in Washington. I sponsored two tours of Russian leaders in my congressional district, where Dumas members, city government leaders from cities including Moscow and St. Petersburg, many health professionals and educators came into Fort Wayne and other counties in our area.

I remember, for example, one health executive telling me that the amazing thing about American health care wasn't that New York City or Chicago had top equipment not dissimilar to that in the best hospitals in Moscow, but so did Fort Wayne and even cities we visited like Columbia City. Our economic system spread the inventions and innovations to the masses.

By the time I returned to Moscow in 2004, to get clearance and a means to visit Beslan, where over 300

children were massacred (the school was still smoldering when we arrived), the window was rapidly closing. The Russian-American Christian University was being squeezed out, forcing the program to radically adapt. Many, if not all, of the officials we had met in 1998 were at best exiled, if not jailed or killed. Vladimir Putin had eliminated all rivals and ruled with an iron hand.

Russia and Red China are the greatest national threats to the existence of the United States. Obviously Islamic terrorism is our greatest immediate threat, which, somewhat ironically, also constitutes a threat to governments in both Russia and China. They implement sophisticated and long-term plans, not random acts of terror.

With their current governments, Russia and China are not our friends. They lie and cheat with the desire to wreck our leadership of the world. Communist China is out to dominate us economically. They aren't interested in free trade; they want dominance. They want military superiority, not parity. Russia is out to wreck our democratic system, and very nearly did.

The sycophantic defenders of President Trump and his hate-blinded critics dominate national news coverage and most private conversations. This makes it even harder to be clear about whether President Trump understands the difference between leadership periods of limited opportunity for real reform or thugs running a country. When



you have opportunity, you try to grasp it. When the window closes, you don't give up but you recognize that you are now dealing with a thug.

President Trump does understand the importance of a strong military. He has chosen a strong national security team. However, he does not seem to understand that our continued international wrestling with Russia isn't just about glitter and gold, but a conflict of irreconcilable cultural values. To repeat that Putin "sincerely believes" he didn't meddle in our elections or defend his "strong leadership" is mind-numbingly stupid. Does he not understand that Russia has dramatically changed for the worse. The president's failure to disclose his business dealings, his intermixing of them while seeking to run the American government, his repeated smearing of past national security officials, and his continued downplaying of Russian election intentions makes one wonder if he understands that dealing with Russia as president is not the same as negotiating the price of a hotel.

On the other hand, it was President Obama who sold uranium to Russia, and was perceived as weak which invited Russian aggression. They clearly didn't understand

that Russia loves it when we stress talk and trade, as opposed to understanding essential concept of military strength first. At least Obama had a consistent, if wrong, world view. I worry that our current president's world view is so tainted by his personal insecurities, ego and business interests that it obscures what I believe is his genuine commitment to a strengthened America that leads the world. We are one year into the Trump era and still his world view is at best confusing and inconsistent.

A president who believes that our former intelligence leaders are liars and not credible, but who seems to put more trust in Putin, our enemy, is just unacceptable. The president's constant references to "his" intelligence chiefs and "his" generals as honest, as opposed to honoring all American intelligence heads and generals, is like the NFL players who only honor their version of America. But there is a big difference: Donald Trump is president of the United States and the NFL players are just a bunch of hired athletes playing a game. ❖

Souder is a former Republican congressman from Indiana.

Jones now favored in Alabama Senate race

By **KYLE KONDIK and GEOFFREY SKELLEY**

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. – t's amazing to write, and there's time for our outlook to change, but here goes: A Democrat is now a narrow favorite to win a Senate special election in Alabama. We're changing our rating of the Dec. 12 special election from Likely Republican all the way to Leans Democratic.

Republicans already were deeply worried about former Alabama Supreme Court Chief Justice Roy Moore's (R) Senate candidacy even before he defeated appointed Sen. Luther Strange (R) in a runoff. Still, even a below-average GOP Senate candidate should still be able to hold Alabama, one of the hardest states for a Democrat to win statewide in the Union: By percentage, the Yellowhammer State was President Donald Trump's sixth-best state in the 2016 presidential election, and it hasn't elected a Democrat to the Senate since 1992 (and that Democrat, Sen. Richard Shelby, switched parties in 1994 to become a Republican).

And yet, Moore's candidacy has gone from troubled to radioactive as he has been rocked by very credible allegations of sexual improprieties with teenage girls several decades ago. The story is even more damaging to Moore because of some of the made-for-TV visuals that have accompanied the alleged victims' stories,

most notably Moore's signature in a high school yearbook belonging to one of his accusers. As Sen. Ted Cruz (R-TX) said in retracting his endorsement of Moore, "grown men don't typically sign high school girls' yearbooks."

Meanwhile, former U.S. Attorney Doug Jones (D) has run a competent campaign and has begun to use the latest developments to try to boost his standing among Republicans who might reconsider supporting Moore in the Dec. 12 special election.

Polls, already close before the really bad stories about Moore began appearing about a week ago, seem to have tightened further, with Jones even leading in some.

For instance, Politico's Alex Isenstadt reported on Wednesday that the National Republican Senatorial Committee – no friend of Moore's even before the sexual misconduct stories broke, to be sure – has Moore down 51%-39% to Jones in its polling.

However, we're not sure how useful polls will be in this race: Anticipating turnout in a special election like this is very hard. What we do know is:

1.) Last week's elections and special elections conducted throughout the year have shown high levels of Democratic enthusiasm in both liberal and conservative jurisdictions;

2.) Jones is likely to have a big resource advantage in this race – he's already outspent Moore 11-to-one on TV ads, according to Advertising Analytics – with national Republicans staying away from Moore; and

3.) Moore may have trouble preventing poor Republican turnout given his horribly damaged candidacy. ❖



David Brooks, New York Times: Why are so many conservative evangelicals in Alabama still supporting Roy Moore? For that matter, why have so many evangelicals around the country spent the past two years embracing Donald Trump? I just took part in a compelling conversation on this subject at the Faith Angle Forum, founded by the late Michael Cromartie of the Ethics and Public Policy Center, and came away with one core explanation: the siege mentality. In fact, I'd say the siege mentality explains most of the dysfunctional group behavior these days, on left and right. You see the siege mentality not just among evangelical Christians but also among the campus social justice warriors and the gun lobbyists, in North Korea and Iran, and in the populist movements across Europe. The siege mentality starts with a sense of collective victimhood. It's not just that our group has opponents. The whole "culture" or the whole world is irredeemably hostile. From this flows a deep sense of pessimism. Things are bad now. Our enemies are growing stronger. And things are about to get worse. The world our children inherit will be horrific. The siege mentality floats on apocalyptic fear. The odd thing is that the siege mentality feels kind of good to the people who grab on to it. It gives its proponents a straightforward way to interpret the world — the noble us versus the powerful them. It gives them a clear sense of group membership and a clear social identity. It offers a ready explanation for the bad things that happen in life. Most of all, it gives people a narrative to express their own superiority: We may be losing, but at least we are the holy remnant. We have the innocence of victimhood. We are martyrs in a spiteful world. ❖



Rachel Gorlin, Politico: My Harvey Weinstein was a U.S. senator. We were never alone together or even had a private conversation; he never harassed me. But Sen. Bob Packwood of Oregon was a textbook case of "everyone knew" when I served as press secretary for his 1992 challenger, Les AuCoin. I watched with dismay as our campaign and the press corps covering the race grappled with the knowledge of Packwood's sexual misconduct without knowing what to do about it. Anyone wondering how Weinstein's dealings with women could have been kept from the public for almost 30 years need look no further than the 1992 Oregon Senate race — and the 1991 confirmation hearings at which Clarence Thomas's former employee Anita Hill accused the Supreme Court nominee of workplace sexual harassment. Together, they were a crash course in the politics of sexual harassment. After the Hill/Thomas controversy, I assumed that Packwood's predatory behavior toward women would be a major issue in his 1992 reelection race. Unfortunately for most of the voters of Oregon, it was not. They were kept in the dark. Packwood's "skirt problem" — an anachronistic term for varieties of sexual misconduct ranging from adultery to rape — was as well known in political circles as Weinstein's

was in the entertainment world. The stories about Packwood ranged from trivial to terrifying. I heard the most devastating account from a reporter for a Portland TV station; the incident had happened to one of his friends, who said the senator assaulted her in his office during a job interview. Local and national journalists routinely asked me off the record whether AuCoin, a respected member of the House, would make an issue of the "skirt problem" in his campaign. My answer, as decided by the campaign brain trust, was no. In the May primary contest, we had run hard-hitting, controversial TV ads attacking our chief opponent over an unrelated issue. This prompted numerous outraged editorials about "negative campaigning" and angry public feedback; now, we were all of one mind about ignoring anything but Packwood's voting record, political alliances, public statements and campaign finances. In most races, this would have been enough to build a strong case against an incumbent. Today, news organizations are more willing to tackle these problems, thanks in no small part to the Weinstein scandal, which has set off a chain reaction against sexual harassment extending from the entertainment industry into politics, both in Washington and in state capitals. ❖

John Kass, Chicago Tribune: What is being lost as Republicans — the number dwindling every day — defend Alabama Senate candidate Roy Moore from allegations of sexually assaulting teen-age girls? There is a cost to defending Moore. Don't kid yourselves that there is no cost to it. And something is lost. So what is it? With a corrupt establishment political center collapsing of its own rotten weight and the left pulling one way and the right pulling another — it seems that politics is everything to us now. Yes, we have our tribes, our rhetorical weaponry and our mantras that we tweet at each other, again and again, like shamans on a mountaintop, until the words themselves begin to lose meaning. But politics isn't everything. For the record, I believe the women who have accused Moore. And I think it would be best for the nation, for the United States Senate and the state of Alabama if Roy Moore just walked away and disappeared somewhere. But as long as he fights this, even as more women come out with their accounts of what happened years ago and reports surface about how Moore, in his 30s, trolled shopping malls for teen-age girls, there is the temptation for some in the GOP to defend him. Unfortunately, that means casting doubt on the memories and the pain of the women giving their accounts of what happened when they were girls, when Moore allegedly put his hands on them. Many of those still defending him, from Moore die-hards in Alabama to those in the Breitbart sphere, can't stand the Democratic Washington political establishment and they detest, perhaps even more so, the Republican establishment. They see giving any credence to the stories about Moore as capitulation to their enemies. But that is politics. ❖

Drug czar sees long slog on opioid crisis

INDIANAPOLIS — The Hoosier in charge of fighting the state's opioid epidemic said the crisis is only going to get worse (Feldman, WISH-TV). There is no single face to the opioid crisis. The numbers are jaw-dropping. Opioid deaths are sky-rocketing in Indiana; overdoses are sending many more to hospitals; there's a black hole of money from the epidemic. On his first day in office in January, Gov. Eric Holcomb called it an epidemic and signed an executive order to create the first ever drug czar of Indiana. He named Jim McClelland, the former CEO of Goodwill Industries, to the post... McClelland said this year laid the infrastructure in the opioid fight. But the road is long. "Actually, we haven't peaked," he said, saying the epidemic will only get worse. When will it start to get better? "I don't know. I can't predict," he said. "There are no quick solutions to it. There are no perfect solutions to it. And if we wait for perfect solutions, we're never going to do anything."



Merritt sees relax in drug testing

INDIANAPOLIS — An Indiana senator who has been a major voice in the battle against the opioid epidemic says addiction is causing companies to relax their drug testing rules (Ober, Inside Indiana Business). "People are having to not drug test when they ordinarily would to get employees," says Jim Merritt (R-Indianapolis). He believes those companies are hopeful that, if an employee has addiction issues, they can resolve them in-house without termination. The recently-released Indiana University Kelley School of Business economic forecast pegs the annual economic cost of the epidemic at more than \$1 billion in the state. Merritt was one of several lawmakers that last month praised

President Donald Trump for declaring the nation's opioid epidemic a national public health emergency. At the time, he said the issue "has impacted every household in our state and nation in one way or another," and that lawmakers "are working diligently to kill this epidemic in Indiana."

Chamber legislative preview on Monday

INDIANAPOLIS — Top leaders from both sides of the aisle will take the stage Monday for the annual Indiana Chamber Legislative Preview (McGowan, Inside Indiana Business). The event will include a panel featuring House Speaker Brian Bosma (R-88), House Minority Leader Scott Pelath (D-9), Senate President Pro-Tem David Long (R-16) and Senate Minority Leader Tim Lanane (D-25). Chamber leadership will also present their priorities for the upcoming session. The legislative preview comes just before Organization Day, which will officially kick off the 2018 General Assembly November 22. It takes place from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m.

GOP delegation back tax reforms

WASHINGTON — Most of Indiana's federal lawmakers back a bill the House is scheduled to vote on Thursday to rewrite the tax code, delivering lower tax bills to many businesses and households while adding \$1.5 trillion to the federal deficit over the next decade (Groppe, USA Today). Polls have shown modest public support for the proposal that Republicans argue would boost the economy. But it's backed by some important GOP constituencies, including the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and conservative groups like American for Prosperity, the grassroots arm of the political network controlled by billionaires Charles and David Koch. "We are keeping our promises to the American people," Rep. Todd Rokita, R-Brownsburg, said Tuesday... Most of Indiana's seven GOP House members

have praised the bill. The exception is Rep. Trey Hollingsworth, R-Jeffersonville, who hasn't said how he will vote. Indiana's two House Democrats — Rep. Pete Visclosky, D-Merrillville and Rep. Andrew Carson, D-Indianapolis — are expected to vote against it. Carson said the bill will "ultimately be paid for by low and middle-income families through brutal cuts to programs people rely on..." Indiana's other Democrat — Sen. Joe Donnelly — has been under pressure from the White House and outside groups to back the tax bill.

Sen. Johnson won't vote for tax reforms

WASHINGTON — Sen. Ron Johnson, R-Wis., announced his opposition Wednesday to the GOP's tax bill, the first Republican senator to do so (Fox News). "If they can pass it without me, let them," Johnson told the paper. "I'm not going to vote for this tax package." Sen. Susan Collins criticized elements of the Republican tax reform bill Wednesday, including provisions that would repeal the Affordable Care Act's individual mandate, and also sunset tax cuts for middle-class families while making corporate tax cuts permanent. The New York Times reports today that Sens. Bob Corker of Tennessee and John McCain of Arizona also voiced concerns, but refused to say whether they would ultimately vote for the bill.

ISU confirms President Curtis

TERRE HAUTE — The Indiana State University Board of Trustees has unanimously approved the appointment of Deborah Curtis as the school's 12th president. Curtis, currently the provost and chief learning officer at the University of Central Missouri, will begin her new role in January (Brown, Inside Indiana Business). The university says Board Chair David Campbell will negotiate an employment agreement with Curtis as the board's next meeting on December 15.