Trump’s conundrum for IN Republicans

Leaders say they will support the ‘nominee,’ while McIntosh raises down-ballot alarms

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

BLOOMINGTON – GOP presidential frontrunner Donald J. Trump is just days away from his Indiana political debut, and Hoosier Republicans are facing a multi-faceted conundrum.

Do they join the cabal seeking to keep the nominating number of delegates away from him prior to the Republican National Convention in July? This coming as Trump impugns the wife of Sen. Ted Cruz, threatening to “spill the beans” on her after two weeks of campaign violence and nativist fear mongering representing a sharp departure from modern Indiana internationalism.

Do they participate in a united front seeking an alternative such as Sen. Ted Cruz, Ohio Gov. John Kasich, or a dark horse consensus candidate such as Purdue President Mitch Daniels, former secretary of state Condoleezza Rice, former senator Tom Coburn or former Texas governor Rick Perry?

Or do they take the tack expressed by Gov. Mike

Continued on page 3

Election year data

By MORTON MARCUS

INDIANAPOLIS – Let’s clarify some issues that may arise in this contentious political year. These data covering 2005 to 2015 may differ somewhat from those offered by other writers, speakers, and researchers.

Why? These data are from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics’ “Quarterly Census of Wages and Employment” via the Indiana Department of Workforce Development’s Hoosiers by the Numbers website, where only the first three quarters of 2015 are available. Other researchers may use other data series based on different sources.

In addition, here we are not coloring the picture to tell a

“This plan addresses our state’s immediate road funding needs while ensuring legislators come back to the table next year ready to move forward on a long-term plan.”

- House Speaker Brian Bosma on signing of HEA1001
Howey Politics Indiana
WWHowey Media, LLC 405 Massachusetts Ave., Suite 300 Indianapolis, IN 46204
www.howeypolitics.com

Brian A. Howey, Publisher
Mark Schoeff Jr., Washington
Jack E. Howey, Editor
Mary Lou Howey, Editor
Maureen Hayden, Statehouse
Mark Curry, photography

Subscriptions
HPI, HPI Daily Wire $599
HPI Weekly, $350
Ray Volpe, Account Manager
317.602.3620
email: HoweyInfo@gmail.com

Contact HPI
bhowey2@gmail.com
Howey’s cell: 317.506.0883
Washington: 202.256.5822
Business Office: 317.602.3620

© 2016, Howey Politics Indiana. All rights reserved. Photocopying, Internet forwarding, faxing or reproducing in any form, whole or part, is a violation of federal law without permission from the publisher.

IDWD Research and Analysis
Hoosiers by the Numbers

Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages (QCEW)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employer</th>
<th>Weekly Wage 2005</th>
<th>Weekly Wage 2015*</th>
<th>Change</th>
<th>% change</th>
<th>Real Change</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>$681</td>
<td>$824.01</td>
<td>$143</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
<td>$143.27</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fed. Govt.</td>
<td>$1,052</td>
<td>$1,273.92</td>
<td>$221</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
<td>$221.74</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Govt.</td>
<td>$903.46</td>
<td>$911.80</td>
<td>$8.34</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>$8.34</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Govt.</td>
<td>$524</td>
<td>$755.04</td>
<td>$231</td>
<td>44.6%</td>
<td>$231.37</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>$1,080</td>
<td>$1,205.37</td>
<td>$225</td>
<td>20.8%</td>
<td>$225.16</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Weekly Wage 2005</th>
<th>Weekly Wage 2015*</th>
<th>Change</th>
<th>% change</th>
<th>Real Change</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>$742</td>
<td>$906.75</td>
<td>$164.75</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
<td>$164.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fed. Govt.</td>
<td>$1,115</td>
<td>$1,392.71</td>
<td>$277.71</td>
<td>24.9%</td>
<td>$277.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Govt.</td>
<td>$911.80</td>
<td>$932.80</td>
<td>$21.00</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>$21.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Govt.</td>
<td>$721.5</td>
<td>$877.35</td>
<td>$155.85</td>
<td>21.9%</td>
<td>$155.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>$1,212.7</td>
<td>$1,462.80</td>
<td>$250.10</td>
<td>20.7%</td>
<td>$250.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>United States</th>
<th>Weekly Wage 2005</th>
<th>Weekly Wage 2015*</th>
<th>Change</th>
<th>% change</th>
<th>Real Change</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>$13,371,423</td>
<td>$14,230,402</td>
<td>$858,979</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>$858,979</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fed. Govt.</td>
<td>$2,753,675</td>
<td>$2,780,057</td>
<td>$26,382</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>$26,382</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Govt.</td>
<td>$4,070,344</td>
<td>$4,145,616</td>
<td>$75,272</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>$75,272</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Govt.</td>
<td>$7,189,580</td>
<td>$7,375,840</td>
<td>$186,260</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>$186,260</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>$13,729,738</td>
<td>$14,394,772</td>
<td>$6,657,044</td>
<td>47.4%</td>
<td>$6,657,044</td>
<td>47.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>United States</th>
<th>Weekly Wage 2005</th>
<th>Weekly Wage 2015*</th>
<th>Change</th>
<th>% change</th>
<th>Real Change</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>$14,021,400</td>
<td>$15,351,479</td>
<td>$3,330,079</td>
<td>23.7%</td>
<td>$3,330,079</td>
<td>23.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fed. Govt.</td>
<td>$2,780,057</td>
<td>$2,810,557</td>
<td>$30,500</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>$30,500</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Govt.</td>
<td>$4,145,616</td>
<td>$4,213,080</td>
<td>$67,464</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>$67,464</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Govt.</td>
<td>$7,375,840</td>
<td>$7,528,222</td>
<td>$152,382</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>$152,382</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>$14,394,772</td>
<td>$15,351,479</td>
<td>$956,707</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>$956,707</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Indiana gained 52,300 jobs from 2005 to 2015, with a 61,400 increase in the private sector, but a loss of 9,000 government jobs. While private jobs in Indiana grew by 2.5%, nationally the growth was 6.4%.

2. Government jobs in Indiana declined by 2.3% as the entire country saw a small 0.3% increase in government jobs. State government jobs for Hoosiers fell by nearly 4,500 (4.9%) as job losses in local government totaled 4,600 (1.7%).

3. Average weekly wages (adjusted for inflation) in Indiana’s private sector rose by $5.45 over the 10-year period. The average private sector job across the nation paid $50.45 more per week in 2015 than in 2005. Where the Hoosier job in the private sector was worth 13% less than nationally in 2005, that gap grew to 17% by 2015.

4. Local Hoosier government workers averaged a $43 (5.7%) loss in real weekly wages in the decade. Working for a local government in Indiana in 2005 paid 14% less than a local government job nationally; that gap increased to 21 percent in 2015.

5. Hoosier state workers, by contrast, had a real $82 (9.9%) increase in weekly wages between 2005 and 2015. Their national counterparts saw an 8% increase. Whereas the gap between Hoosier state government employees and state job holders nationally favored the latter in 2005 by 16%, that gap closed to 14% by 2015.

6. The number of establishments (places where people work) in Indiana grew from 153,900 in 2005 to 159,300 in 2015. This growth of 5,400 establishments was a 3.5% increase compared with a nationwide advance of 11.3%. Note: Establishments are not the same as companies. A fast food chain may be one company with hundreds or thousands of establishments.

7. The average private sector 2005 establishment in Indiana had 16.7 employees and 16.5 in 2015. In contrast, the average establishment nationally had 13.3 workers in 2005 and 12.7 10 years later.

There’s lots of grist here for the miller who knows what to do with these numbers.

Mr. Marcus is an economist, writer, and speaker who may be reached at mortonjmarcus@yahoo.com.
Pence, and U.S. Reps. Todd Young, Marlin Stutzman and Jackie Walorski that they will support the Republican nominee, even if it means a gigantic millstone around their necks heading into November?

Former senator Dick Lugar said at the University of Southern Indiana last night of Trump, “He has been able to speak to Americans that feel hurt, who feel that somehow life has not treated them well, whether it be jobs that have been unfair, community situations, fear of immigrants or whatever may be the problem. And so in a dramatic way, almost melodramatic, he has attempted to sock it to them — to say these politicians, the presidency, Congress and elsewhere are the cause of all of this and you have to get rid of the whole lot. ... He’s very vulgar and impulsive but nevertheless is very popular with people who are feeling this hurt.” (Martin, Evansville Courier & Press)

Beyond Stutzman, who sees a pool of new Trump voters backing his anti-Washington crusade, Indiana Republicans are floating between paralysis, private panic and the silent dog whistle past the graveyard.

Some Indiana Republican campaigns will only discuss this on background, saying they are concentrating on their own races. Gov. Mike Pence hasn’t had time to take stock, his campaign told HPI on Wednesday. Politico reported that U.S. Rep. Todd Young and State Sen. Erin Houchin attended a Florida event for big GOP donors aimed at stopping Trump, but both their campaigns insisted they simply were there to talk about issues.

And then there is Club For Growth President David McIntosh, who has embraced the assessment of Indiana Republican National Committeeman John Hammond III when he called Trump “unfit” for the presidency. “I would urge them to let voters know who the best nominee is,” said McIntosh, the former Indiana congressman and 2000 gubernatorial nominee. “The party will thrive with Ted Cruz as the nominee. If Trump is elected, we lose the White House, the Senate and the Supreme Court.”

Does Trump possess the potential to yank down the ticket?

“The reality is in poll after poll, Hillary (Clinton) clobbers Donald Trump next fall,” McIntosh said. “If the party nominates him, it will have a down-ballot impact. You’ll have straight ticket voting that will be difficult to overcome.”

McIntosh cites 2008, when Barack Obama carried Indiana and was able to pick off suburban Republicans who were “inspired by him and didn’t like the Republican choice” of John McCain. “That same voting bloc could back Hillary, even with an indictment, since she would be the first serious woman presidential nominee.”

Stutzman campaign manager Joshua Kelley interprets 2008 differently, noting that a number of voters split their tickets, voting for Gov. Mitch Daniels’ reelect as well as Obama. As for Stutzman and a potential Trump nomination, Kelley was asked if the congressman would support Trump as the nominee. “Absolutely he will. Marlin thinks efforts to try and undermine the democratic process by whatever means is not good for the Republican Party. We should respect the process. The folks that are coming out right now are tired of the status quo in establishment politics. Since Marlin has been one to stand up to the status quo, there is a natural overlap there. Hoosiers have proven to be very independent thinkers and won’t necessarily pull a straight ballot, as we saw in 2008 with Daniels and Obama.

“Both Trump and Cruz are extreme anti-establishment candidates,” Kelley said. “This is a very anti-establishment year.”

There have been other examples of ticket-splitting, whether it was in McIntosh’s 2000 election when he lost to Gov. Frank O’Bannon 56-41%, while George W. Bush carried the state over Democrat Al Gore by a virtually identical margin. In 1996, O’Bannon won the gov-
The governor will support the nominee. "We haven't even the nominee." Gov. Pence's reelection campaign confirmed that relationship (with Trump) like John Gregg has with Hillary Clinton." When Pence was weighing a 2012 presidential bid, the Associated Press reported that Pence met with Trump in New York in 2011.

McIntosh is not surprised that Young, Stutzman and Pence are prepared to support the Republican nominee even after notable Republicans such as South Carolina Gov. Nikki Haley, Sen. Lindsey Graham and others have expressed dire warnings. "What we're seeing in other states will apply in Indiana," McIntosh said. "Trump voters do participate in primaries, but these have not been inherently anti-incumbent. They are backing candidates who are seen as outsiders. This helps Marlin and Jim Banks. You're seeing caution with Republicans at this point because of the primary. They don't want to upset Trump voters."

McIntosh said he has not talked with Gov. Pence about the Trump potential impacts. "I think in the Indiana legislature, and Congress, the majority is such a large majority, I think they could retain that even if Trump is the nominee. But close races will likely be affected," McIntosh said.

There are an array of voices with Indiana connections sounding the alarm about Trump.

Washington Post columnist Michael Gerson, a former aide to U.S. Sen. Dan Coats, observed: "The fact that (Trump) is appealing to understandable concerns does not make him a valid or responsible voice. In the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, for example, President George W. Bush could have chosen to blame Islam and stir up prejudice. He didn't. In the aftermath of the Paris and San Bernardino attacks, Trump did, picking on a religious minor. He didn't. In the aftermath of the Paris and San Bernardino attacks, Trump did, picking on a religious minor."

Former Arizona Gov. Jan Brewer, speaking in 2011, said: "I think that Trump's attacks on Islam are not helpful. I think that he should be more careful in his language." Indeed, Trump's attacks on Islam and Muslims have been widely criticized by members of his own party.

Gerson points to Federalist Paper No. 10, where he writes that the Founding Fathers "had little patience for pure democracy because of the vulnerability of the republic to demagogues."

"Men of factious tempers, of local prejudices, or of sinister designs," says Federalist 10, "may, by intrigue, by corruption, or by other means, first obtain the suffrages, and then betray the interests, of the people."

Gerson concludes: "With the theory of a presidential nominee as a wrecking ball, we have reached the culmination of the founders' fears: Democracy is producing a genuine threat to the American form of self-government."
Trump imagines leadership as pure act, freed from reflection and restraint. He has expressed disdain for religious and ethnic minorities. He has proposed restrictions on press freedom and threatened political enemies with retribution. He offers himself as the embodiment of the national will, driven by an intuitive vision of greatness. None of this is hidden.

R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr., who founded The American Spectator in Bloomington, observed: “I would suggest these political Machiavellis take on Mr. Trump at convention time. What we are witnessing in 2016 is the continued replacement of the national political parties with what that eminently sane Washington Post commentator, Robert J. Samuelson, has called ‘political entrepreneurship. If you want,’ he writes, ‘to become president you don’t need the permission of either party. You just announce, comply with the legal requirements for filing and launch your campaign. This kind of political entrepreneurship began with Jimmy Carter and has continued on to Barack Obama and now to Donald Trump.’ According to Samuelson, the arrival of political entrepreneurship “represents a major upheaval in U.S. politics.’ No wonder conservatives are anxious.”

Tyrrell continues: “Mr. Trump is going to arrive at the convention with his 1,237 votes for the nomination, or he will be very close. Then the man who wrote ‘The Art of the Deal’ is going to be ready to deal. He is finding new coalitions of voters to join the Republican Party, for instance moderate Democrats and independents. My guess is that Donald is going to be difficult to outmaneuver at this forthcoming convention. Actually, I think I would forget about the smoke-filled room at convention time or even persuading the delegates to recast their votes. If I were the conservatives who have been throwing around names like Hitler and Stalin at Donald Trump, I would be practicing the enunciation of the words ‘President Donald Trump,’ the sooner, the better.”

Indiana and the convention

Hoosier Republicans could have a fascinating role in the Republican National Convention. If Trump can’t close the deal after one or two ballots, Hoosiers could play a decisive role, just as they did in Chicago in 1860, when they helped Abraham Lincoln secure the nomination after being a distinct underdog.

FiveThirtyEight’s Nate Silver observes: “The Republican race for the presidential nomination is down to just one man and one number: Donald Trump and 1,237, the number of delegates required to clinch the nomination. Can Trump win 1,237 delegates by the end of the primary season on June 7? Will he be forced to plunder among the more than 100 unbound or currently uncommitted delegates who will make the trip to Cleveland in order to win on a first ballot at the Republican National Convention? Or are we all but assured of a multi-ballot convention? Trump has 695 delegates now, and, on average, our respondents estimate he will still be just a little bit short of 1,237 on June 7, when California wraps up the primary calendar.

He might be close enough, though, that he could clinch the nomination in the six weeks between California and Cleveland.

FiveThirtyEight’s Silver continues: “If you’re looking for the states that could be make or break for Trump, then look to Wisconsin, New York, Indiana and California. In all four, Trump’s expected number of delegates won differed by at least 36 among the respondents surveyed.

- **Wisconsin (April 5):** Forty-two delegates are at stake, and it’s winner take all on the congressional district and state level. Trump led in the most recent poll, but with only 30 percent, and he had a very high unfavorable rating.

- **New York (April 19):** All of our respondents had Trump winning a majority of the state’s 95 delegates, but some believe the other candidates can cut into Trump’s edge by keeping him under 50 percent in a number of congressional districts or statewide. If Trump wins more than 50 percent in a district or statewide, he wins all delegates in that district or statewide.

- **Indiana (May 3):** It’s hard to say to whom Indiana’s 57 delegates will go because there hasn’t really been any polling there, and the Hoosier State doesn’t line up well demographically with any other Midwestern state. (Publisher’s Note: Howey Politics Indiana and WTHR-TV will poll Indiana in April).

- **California (June 7):** The biggest prize of all, California will award 172 delegates, 159 by congressional district and 13 to the winner statewide. No one knows how the very Democratic districts (and hence those with very few Republican voters) around Los Angeles or San Francisco will vote. The average statewide poll shows Trump ahead, but again with only 30 percent.

Five-Thirty-Eight concludes of its panel: “Indeed, there was a somewhat bimodal distribution in the total number of delegates our respondents expected Trump to reach. Three of us have Trump earning from 1,136 to 1,156, and three have him winning from 1,237 to 1,244. (The other two respondents have him in the 1200s but short of 1,237.) That may be why you read some pieces that seem to indicate that Trump is well on his way to winning on the first ballot, but other people seem to think there’s very little chance of it. Smart people disagree. And a single upset in a winner-take-all state could change the map significantly.”

Epilogue

In the 21 years of this publication, only 2008 rivals the 2016 cycle for pure drama. Presidential nomination fights played out here in 1968 (Kennedy, McCarthy and Branigin), 1976 (President Ford and Reagan), 1992 (Bill Clinton, Paul Tsongas and Jerry Brown). But nothing approaches the magnitude of what the May 3 primary could mean for the GOP nomination and how it all feeds into down-ballot impacts for this coming fall which are, at this time, unknown. ✯
Super PACs begin spending in INSen race

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS – The U.S. Senate campaign of Marlin Stutzman picked up a big outside endorsement from FreedomWorks PAC, one of the super groups that fueled the insurgency campaign of Richard Mourdock in his upset primary win against U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar in 2012.

FreedomWorks joins Club For Growth and the Senate Majority Fund backing Stutzman. The critical question is what type of resources FreedomWorks brings to the table. It's a question the Stutzman campaign cannot answer, given the prohibition of campaigns and super PACs communicating. While Club For Growth has officially backed Stutzman, it did not include him in its year-end bundling appeal. Thus far, it has not produced ads or polling as it did for Mourdock in 2012.

FreedomWorks communications director Jason Pye explained, “We’re putting together our budget for this race. Much of our activity will be independent expenditures through our super PAC, FreedomWorks for America, and grassroots activity on the ground.”

FreedomWorks Chairman Adam Brandon cited Stutzman for reducing “regulations, restore the constitutional separation of powers, and repeal Obamacare.” Brandon cited the Howey Republican’s role in “removing John Boehner” from the speaker’s post as an attribute.

Stutzman campaign manager Joshua Kelley told HPI the FreedomWorks endorsement “reflects that Marlin is a true grassroots conservative and have that type of support.”

Club For Growth President David McIntosh told Howey Politics Indiana that his organization has an array of options on Stutzman’s behalf “on the table,” saying that a decision will be made in early April. “We still think Marlin is the right pick and he is our endorsed candidate,” said McIntosh, the former Indiana congressman and 2000 gubernatorial nominee. “We wanted to see how the race unfolded and see what the best role for club would be. There are a lot of different options. Typically in the past, one of the big things we do is our affiliated super PAC Club For Growth Action comes in with independent expenditures. Everything is on the table.”

Todd Young’s campaign has been telling political journalists it doesn’t believe that Stutzman can compete monetarily with the Bloomington Republican, who had more than a 2-to-1 money advantage at the end of 2015, according to FEC financial reports. Young campaign manager Trevor Foughty said the campaign will stay on TV through the May 3 primary.

One Nation, the Republican nonprofit with ties to Senate GOP leadership, is playing in a GOP primary for the first time, Politico reports. The group has purchased $250,000 worth of airtime in the Indianapolis market to boost Young. The 30-second ad praises Young for “fighting President Obama’s liberal agenda on national security” and notes he’s a former Naval intelligence officer. “Todd Young knows what it takes to keep America safe,” a female narrator says.

The Super PAC comes in play here four years after about $50 million was spent on the 2012 U.S. Senate race between Sen. Dick Lugar, Treasurer Richard Mourdock, and then the fall campaign with Joe Donnelly, with more than half coming from Super PACs.

Kelley won’t discuss Stutzman’s strategic media and advertising decisions and continues to stress the campaign’s focus on grassroots organizing.

“Our main focus has been our outstanding grassroots network,” Kelley said. Describing the basics of the network, Kelley said, “It is built on a base of dedicated supporters, many of whom exist outside other groups. We have a very strong network of county captains in upwards of 70 counties. We have representation in all 92 counties, particularly the main counties where Republican votes come from. It’s an array of everyone from folks engaged in local GOP politics, to folks new to politics, from service clubs and church organizations. They tend not to be establishment people. A vast majority of it is volunteer, say with a 20-to-1 ratio.”

The other huge question is the impact the presidential primary will have on the Senate primary. Neither Stutzman or Young have endorsed a presidential contender. Kelley believes that the Donald Trump campaign will turn out an array of new voters, adding that the Trump message that Washington is a broken cesspool dovetails
into the basic Stutzman message.

The Stutzman campaign attempted to use Young’s attendance at a Florida meeting last weekend that was described by Politico as an effort to derail a Trump nomination. Foughty said that Young had agreed to go to the conference and participate on a policy panel discussing anti-poverty and veterans’ issues. “In a question-and-answer period, Trump did come up,” Foughty said. “Todd said he will support the Republican nominee whoever it is.”

The Young campaign is poking at Stutzman’s advertising saying he voted against Speaker John Boehner, with the Young campaign providing a fundraising mailer (pictured right) by Boehner for Stutzman. The campaign also notes that Stutzman received a $15,000 campaign contribution from Boehner which he did not return.

One thing that is off the table is a Stutzman legal challenge to Young’s ballot qualifications. The Associated Press reported that the deadline to file a legal challenge passed last week, with both the Stutzman campaign and the Indiana Democratic Party passing.

One other interesting wrinkle surfacing this week is a Young fundraiser in Warsaw, which will be hosted by Lake City Bank CEO Mike Kubacki, husband of former State Rep. Rebecca Kubacki, who was ousted in the 2014 primary by a number of Stutzman allies. Another host is Patricia Miller, a Department of Commerce head in the Daniels administration. The Fort Wayne Journal Gazette reported that in the three general elections since 2010, Stutzman has received a combined 66 percent of the vote in northeast Indiana’s 3rd District, but 77 percent in Kosciusko County. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.
Hill blasts Stutzman budget

Democrat Baron Hill released the following statement after tea party Congressman Marlin Stutzman unveiled a new budget plan: “Congressman Stutzman has again put his own ideology ahead of common-sense solutions. His budget rewards corporations for shipping jobs overseas while raising Medicare premiums on seniors and making it harder for Hoosier families to get ahead. In the Senate, I will work to responsibly reduce our deficit while investing in education, health care and job creation here at home. That’s the kind of leadership that Indiana needs right now.” Hill says the Stutzman budget would:
- Move the U.S. to a “territorial tax system” that gives tax breaks to companies like Carrier that ship jobs overseas;
- Raise the age of Medicare and increase premium payments for seniors;
- Repeal the Renewable Fuel Standard that supports economic development in rural Indiana and reduces America’s dependence on foreign oil.

Braswell joins Baron Hill campaign

Les Braswell has joined Democrat Baron Hill’s U.S. Senate campaign as communications director.

Governor

Gregg surprises union supporters

The IndyStar’s Tony Cook reported on Tuesday that John Gregg is not likely to pursue a repeal of right-to-work and common-wage laws passed by Republican majorities. “I’m a realist,” Gregg said. “I’m going to have a (Republican) supermajority in both chambers. The right-to-work issue was settled two years ago. There is absolutely no way that is going to be repealed.” Asked if the common-wage issue would be on the table if he was elected, Gregg said, “No, none of that stuff is with the numbers we’ve got.”

“Be honest with you, I’m a little shocked,” said David Frye, business manager for the Indiana Laborers District Council. His organization spent more than $370,000 on TV ads to combat the common-wage repeal effort last year and, along with its affiliates, has contributed more than $450,000 to Gregg’s campaign. Frye and other labor leaders said they agree that right-to-work is probably out of reach given the current makeup of the General Assembly. But reinstating common construction wage is within reach, they said, noting that the repeal narrowly passed in the Senate on a 27-22 vote. “I personally think he’s wrong,” Frye said. “There will be an opportunity to get it back.”

Pete Rimsans, executive director of the Indiana State Building & Construction Trades Council, echoed that sentiment. “On common construction wage, I think it’s going to happen sooner rather than later,” he said. “It’s not unrealistic that that can happen.”

Gregg’s stance on the repeal of anti-union legislation shouldn’t be surprising to anyone. Unless Donald Trump drags down the entire GOP ticket in November, Republicans are expected to maintain strong majorities in the House and Senate. Even with a “Gov. Gregg,” there likely won’t be votes to repeal right to work and common wage. It’s a political reality, just like the scenario surrounding civil rights extension. Until Democrats can become more competitive and decisively cut into GOP majorities, it ain’t going to happen. Horse Race Status: Tossup.

Frank joins Pence campaign

Joe Frank has joined Gov. Mike Pence’s reelection campaign as communications director. He previously served a similar capacity at the Department of Workforce Development.

Statewides

Superintendent: O’Bannon hosts Ritz

Former First Lady Judy O’Bannon and the wives of mayors, senators and legislators will be hosting a fundraiser for Supt. Glenda Ritz from 6 to 8 p.m. on March 30 at O’Bannon’s home at 5351 N. Pennsylvania St. in Indianapolis. Co-hosts include Cindy Henry of Fort Wayne, Dawn Johnsen of Bloomington, Diane Stahura of Whiting, Jill Donnelly of Granger, former Democratic chairwoman Ann DeLaney, Indiana Democrat co-chair Cordelia Lewis-Burks and Heather Willey of UAW Region 2B.

Congress

3rd CD: Banks announces immigration plan

State Sen. Jim Banks released a detailed plan to secure U.S. borders and halt illegal immigration. Banks said that with thousands of illegal immigrants pouring across our southern border every day, his first priority in Congress would be securing borders and protecting Americans from threats abroad. “The federal government’s primary responsibility is the protection of our citizens and nowhere is that more important than at our borders,” said Banks. Banks’ immigration proposals include: Finish 700 miles of walls on our southern border; eliminate federal funding for sanctuary cities; deport all criminal illegal aliens; oppose any immigration legislation that will result in amnesty for illegal aliens; oppose any expansion of guest-worker programs; implement an entry-exit visa tracking system; encourage employers to use rapid-response E-Verify system to check employees’ SSN to make sure American jobs aren’t taken by illegal foreign workers.

Tom backs term limits

Kip Tom, who seeks the Republican nomination in Indiana’s 3rd Congressional District, announced Wednesday that he has signed the U.S. Term Limits pledge. Supporters of the pledge vow to co-sponsor and vote...
for a constitutional amendment that would limit House members to three two-year terms and senators to two six-year terms. “If we want to change Washington, we have to change who we send there,” Tom said in a statement. 

**Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Banks.

**9th CD: Houchin attends Florida summit**

Politico reported over the weekend that State Sen. Eric Houchin and U.S. Rep. Todd Young attended a summit by big Republican donors in Florida. The headline was that House Speaker Paul Ryan met at a “pricey French restaurant” with GOP donors discussing “what to do about Donald Trump.” The dinner was a highlight of a secretive two-day conclave, convened under heavy security by a donor group headed by New York hedge-fund manager Paul Singer, that is being viewed as a pivotal moment for the big-money effort to block Trump from the Republican presidential nomination. According to the agenda, Friday’s sessions included scheduled appearances by GOP Reps. Joe Heck of Nevada, Todd Young of Indiana and congressional hopeful Erin Houchin of Indiana. Mike Cross, speaking for the Houchin 9th CD campaign, told HPI that like Young, Houchin was invited to speak on a panel discussing Republican women running for Congress. Cross said that Houchin had “no knowledge” of the anti-Trump efforts. “She was invited,” Cross said. Asked who invited her, Cross said it was a group of donors and activists. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

**Indiana House**

**HD59: Rep. Smith faces two challengers**

Difficult discussions about road funding, standardized testing and LGBT Hoosiers could face one of three Republican candidates vying for the District 59 House seat if elected to serve in the Statehouse (Columbus Republican). Incumbent Rep. Milo Smith, R-Columbus, is running against former Bartholomew County Council president Ryan Lauer and Bartholomew County assessor Lew Wilson to win the Republican nomination for the District 59 House seat. The three candidates will face off in the May 3 Republican primary. The upcoming election will be a rematch for Smith and Lauer, who ran against each other in 2014. Lawmakers spent much of the 2016 session discussing solutions to the state’s dwindling infrastructure funds, the ISTEP+ standardized test and extending protections to lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender Hoosiers, with legislators pledging to bring those issues back in 2017. Throughout the debate over LGBT rights, Smith has said he favors a more comprehensive approach to anti-discrimination legislation that ensures all Hoosiers are protected from discrimination. While Lauer said he does not believe in any form of discrimination, he also said he would not support legislation that infringes on citizens’ rights to freedom of religion, a major sticking point of the ongoing civil rights debate. He also said governments should have a limited role in defining relationships. Wilson said emotions surrounding LGBT issues were running high this year, so tabling the issue for next year’s session was a good idea.

**HD59: Candidates differ on road funding**

Lawmakers were also divided this year over the best way to generate funds for statewide infrastructure projects (Columbus Republic). Smith had been a proponent of the House’s plan to raise the gasoline tax by 4 cents a gallon to generate about $280 million in road-funding revenue, a plan that was ultimately rejected in the General Assembly this year, but will likely be revived behind the decision. Sandlin is a retired police officer, an NRA life member and a candidate for State Senate District 36. “I don’t think it’s a coincidence that this decision was made less than three months into the term of our new Democrat mayor,” says Sandlin. “The Democrats have a long-standing agenda to limit the 2nd Amendment rights of Americans. In this case, Mayor Hogsett supported this decision without consulting the elected City-County Council and with little apparent respect for the benefits that the pistol range has provided to the public for the past 35 years. Taxpayers are paying for the range, but now they can’t use it. They have to go to more expensive private gun clubs instead.” Sandlin is facing Councilman Jefferson Shreve in the primary. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

**Indiana Senate**

**SD16: Right to Life endorses Long**

While Senate President Pro Tempore David Long is facing an SD16 primary challenge from IPFW Prof. John Kessler and social conservatives angered about his role in civil rights expansion legislation, he trotted out a big endorsement from Indiana Right to Life. “Sen. Long has been a champion for the pro-life cause as the leader of the Indiana Senate,” said Indiana Right to Life President Mike Fichter. “Not only have we passed an unprecedented number of pro-life bills, we’ve passed legislation that has placed Indiana on the leading edge of efforts to protect unborn children, to safeguard women’s health, and to provide women with better information on alternatives to abortion. A track record like this just doesn’t happen. It requires leadership and a true commitment to pro-life principles, and these are the qualities that Sen. Long brings to the job.” Long was also endorsed by Allen County Right to Life, as was Kessler. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Long.

**SD36: Sandlin ‘outraged’ by range closure**

Indianapolis City-County Councillor Jack Sandlin is outraged that the Eagle Creek Pistol Range has been closed to the public, citing an attack on 2nd Amendment rights and a misguided attempt to save money as reasons behind the decision. Sandlin is a retired police officer, an NRA life member and a candidate for State Senate District 36. “I don’t think it’s a coincidence that this decision was made less than three months into the term of our new Democrat mayor,” says Sandlin. “The Democrats have a long-standing agenda to limit the 2nd Amendment rights of Americans. In this case, Mayor Hogsett supported this decision without consulting the elected City-County Council and with little apparent respect for the benefits that the pistol range has provided to the public for the past 35 years. Taxpayers are paying for the range, but now they can’t use it. They have to go to more expensive private gun clubs instead.” Sandlin is facing Councilman Jefferson Shreve in the primary. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.
for discussion again next year. The higher tax should be viewed as a user fee drivers must pay to travel on Indiana roads, Smith said. Smith also authored House Bill 1131, which would have incrementally increased the supplemental gas tax based on the price at the pump to a maximum of 10 cents if prices were below $1.55. However, that bill did not receive any traction in the General Assembly. Additionally, Smith co-authored House Bill 1110 this session. That bill proposed lowering the amount of local option income tax (LOIT) revenues the state keeps in reserve to 15 percent and releasing the funds to local governments to use for whatever purpose they see fit, including road projects. Legislators chose to adopt the reduction in LOIT revenue reserves into Senate Bill 67, which was part of the larger road-funding package passed by the General Assembly. Wilson also is a proponent of using additional gas tax revenues to fund road improvement projects. The assessor said he would not support any bill that lowers the gas tax as prices at the pump rise. But Lauer is a staunch opponent of any gas tax increase, especially Smith’s idea to incrementally increase it based on gas prices, because he does not believe that is a conservative approach to raising infrastructure revenues. Instead, Lauer favors using money in the state’s $2 billion reserves as a cash infusion to kick-start infrastructure repairs and improvements. Lauer has proposed his own 10-year plan for road work that deals with the challenge of maintaining safer roads. As the former county council president, Lauer said he has a good understanding of the struggles the county and city of Columbus are facing in keeping up with road and bridge repairs.

**HD59: Candidates on testing**

Lawmakers next session will re-visit the issue of creating a statewide standardized test as they prepare to completely phase out the current ISTEP exam at the end of the 2016-17 school year (Columbus Republic). A 22-member task force consisting of education professionals such as teachers, administrators and testing experts was created to study over the summer the best way to replace ISTEP. Smith said lawmakers should rely on the recommendations of the task force to adopt a new streamlined test that is accurate, timely and effective. Wilson said he believes the state has taken too much control of the testing process and should allow school corporations to decide on their own how and when standardized tests will be administered. He also said state officials should place less emphasis on test results and should instead trust the judgment of school boards and administrators. Lauer is also in favor of bringing together a panel to study ISTEP. He is advocating for teachers to have access to students’ scores and continual progress, shorter testing time frames and lessening the burden teachers bear from the pressure of standardized tests. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Smith. ✤

---

**Strength** of 94 years of experience

**Support** of 50 full-time professionals

**Leadership** that’s focused on 1 goal for members

**We want to help your business thrive!**

**www.indianachamber.com**

To learn more about how our pro-jobs, pro-economy focus can help your company grow, contact Brock Hesler today at (317) 264-7539 or bhesler@indianachamber.com.
Trump closes in as Indiana looms large

By LARRY SABATO, KYLE KONDIK and GEOFFREY SKELEY

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. – About a month ago, after Donald Trump won the South Carolina primary and all of its delegates, we headlined a piece “The Hour is Growing Late to Stop Trump.” Well, the hour has grown later, and we have to ask the question: Has Trump been stopped?

Certainly not. And a look ahead at the remaining contests calls into question the ability of the other candidates, Ted Cruz and John Kasich, to prevent him from winning the requisite number of delegates to clinch or come close to clinching the Republican nomination.

The magic number is 1,237 delegates, and our own rough calculations show Trump just getting over the hump with 1,239. But that involves Trump winning the lion’s share of the delegates in places as diverse as Wisconsin, New York, Indiana, West Virginia, New Jersey, and California. Table 1 shows these projections, which represent our best guess as to the state of the race right now.

These projections are based on a few different factors, such as racial/ethnic demographics, voting history, religious populations, and regional primary voting so far, where available. The post-March 22 delegate starting point is based on The GreenPapers’ calculations.

In Wisconsin, Trump may benefit from a Cruz-Kasich split and also may hold the advantage in a number of congressional districts that have lower percentages of college graduates and lower median incomes. We see Kasich potentially winning a couple of districts with higher median incomes that performed strongly for Romney in the 2012 GOP primary. We also handed Cruz the heavily Republican Fifth District, as he has performed better among stalwart conservatives, and the Sixth District next door.

For upcoming Northeastern primaries, we used the primary vote in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont as a marker. We averaged the three candidates’ vote percentages from those states, then took the remaining vote (for the withdrawn candidates) and apportioned 50% of it to Kasich and 25% to both Cruz and Trump, resulting in Trump 47.5%, Kasich 35.0%, and Cruz 17.5%.

In part, this was to see what would happen if Trump fell short of a majority in primaries outside of his home state of New York. In Connecticut, we said Trump would win every congressional district, but that Kasich would pick up six delegates via the state’s proportional method for allocating statewide delegates. Next door in Rhode Island, the heavily proportional statewide and district delegates work out to Trump winning eight of the 19 delegates in the Ocean State. In New York, we figured that Trump would get a slight home-state bump to win a majority statewide, and we also gave him a majority in about half the state’s districts, keeping him under in 14 seats to give Kasich 14 delegates from the Empire State. In Delaware, any Trump plurality would earn him all 16 delegates, which we foresee as likely in the First State. And in Pennsylvania, Kasich may give Trump a run for his money and do better than 35%, but we still see Trump as a slight favorite to win the 17 statewide delegates up for grabs on April 26.

Moving to May, we again looked at individual district data to help forge a projection in Indiana. With Trump’s success in Kentucky and the Appalachian parts of lower Ohio, we see him having the edge in most of the state’s four more southern districts. We also think it’s possible he can win the First District as it holds some similarities to districts in Illinois where his delegates found success. We handed Kasich the highly-educated suburban Fifth District, as well as the Third, which borders northern Ohio, and we gave Cruz the Second and Fourth Districts. On May 10, West Virginia, could very likely wind up being a winner-take-all state for Trump, which is how we projected it in this scenario. Considering his success in other parts of the Great Plains, we gave Cruz the winner-take-all state of Nebraska that same day.

The Pacific Northwest is harder to gauge, so we gave Trump narrow wins at 39% statewide in proportional Oregon and Washington, with Cruz and Kasich defeating Trump in a few congressional districts in the Evergreen State. Trump could very well win more than 40% in those states – or dip lower than we are projecting.

The June 7 contests push Trump over the top. We gave Cruz winner-take-all statewide wins in Montana and South Dakota, but that would be insufficient to hold back Trump. Based off an average of the Arizona and Texas primary vote, New Mexico would narrowly go to Trump, though the proportional system in the Land of Enchantment would award both Cruz and Trump 10 delegates (and Kasich four). But to reach 1,237 delegates, California is the key for Trump. Looking at district demographics, party
registration, and GOP performance in the state’s 2014 all-party gubernatorial primary (looking at Republicans Neel Kashkari and Tim Donnelly), we ended up giving Trump the statewide win and the advantage in 32 congressional districts. Cruz won 18 districts and Kasich won three.

Will reality work out exactly like this? Surely not. Still, readers can refer back to this table throughout the primary season and track Trump’s progress. If he’s matching or exceeding these projections, he’s on his way. If he’s falling short, the chances of a contested convention rise. What is clear is that Trump cannot pass the threshold until the June 7 contests are completed.

Despite Trump’s growing lead, there may be just enough time for Cruz and/or Kasich to improve their standing and slow down Trump – to keep him enough below the magic number so that he may not be able to coax enough uncommitted delegates into his column for a first-ballot victory. Few would disagree that the anti-Trump forces have the tougher task at this stage of the nominating battle.

We realize that this is primarily a math game: Trump either gets to 1,237, or he doesn’t, and in the latter instance either the contest is resolved in the six weeks between the end of the primaries and the opening of the convention, or it goes all the way to the convention and perhaps to multiple ballots, something that hasn’t happened in most people’s lifetimes (1948 saw the GOP’s last multi-ballot convention). But it’s not entirely a math game. It’s also a perception game.

If Trump finishes, say, less than 100 delegates short, but he is still comfortably leading national polls of Republicans and wins statewide victories in places like California and New Jersey on the final day of voting (June 7), it’s hard to see how, practically, he wouldn’t be the nominee. Trump would have far more delegates than his rivals, and he would also be heading into the pre-convention period with major statewide victories. Only if Trump finishes 100 or more delegates short does the contested convention become a more prominent possibility. As we’ve previously stressed, there are a small number of unpledged delegates as well as delegates from other candidates that Trump may or may not be able to win over in the interim from June 7 through the opening of the convention on July 18.

We are starting to get the distinct sense that many Republicans, including some in leadership, may not have the stomach to fight Trump all the way to the convention. As some Republicans put it to us earlier this week, they prefer the Twitter hashtag #NeverClinton rather than #NeverTrump. In other words, they’d rather the party unify behind Trump than allow Hillary Clinton to be president. Rallying behind the polarizing Trump may very well deliver the White House to Clinton anyway, though, and there is a real possibility that a credible third-party anti-Trump Republican will emerge at some point.

As this cycle has demonstrated anew, however, a lot can change. The barbaric attacks in Belgium on Tuesday hammer home that we don’t know what the future holds. At this point, we don’t expect the attacks to change the race all that much. The Paris attacks in November and Trump’s later proposal to temporarily ban Muslims from entering the country have likely strengthened his prospects, and Trump has been beating the drum for waterboarding in the two days since Brussels. We doubt there will be much outcry from GOP voters over Cruz’s post-Belgium plan to more heavily police Muslim neighborhoods, either, whatever one might think of it.

For anti-Trump forces, the urgent necessity of the moment is that Cruz and/or Kasich need to start pulling upsets against Trump and blunting his delegate edge if they are to have a realistic chance to defeat him. That starts in Wisconsin, where we begin our tour of the final 17 contests in the Republican race.

**May 3 Indiana Republican primary**

**Delegates at stake:** all 57 – 30 statewide delegates (27 at-large, 3 automatic), 27 CD

**Allocation method:** Winner-take-all statewide and in each congressional district (3 per CD)

**Primary type:** Open

**2008 primary winner:** John McCain

**2012 primary winner:** Mitt Romney

Prior to 2016, the Indiana GOP only allocated its congressional district delegates in its May presidential primary, with the statewide delegates remaining officially unpledged. But this cycle, Hoosier Republicans will bind the statewide delegates to the statewide winner while awarding congressional district winners three delegates apiece. Much like Pennsylvania, Kasich will hope that being the governor of the next-door state will give him a bit of a boost. However, Trump may well be the favorite, having won much of southern Ohio and the Kentucky caucus, relevant identifiers for southern Indiana. The Hoosier State also has a fairly large number of evangelical Christians, meaning Cruz could contend for some congressional districts. If Cruz is going to make a move on Trump, winning statewide in Indiana would be a good target: In some ways, it is similar to Missouri, where Cruz came up just short of statewide victory.

Hendricks County Republican Chairman Mike O’Brien says blue-collar voters in northern Indiana’s 1st and 2nd CDs and southwestern Indiana’s 8th CD may back Donald Trump. But Indianapolis and its suburbs hold big shares of the vote in four districts, which O’Brien says gives Ted Cruz and John Kasich an opportunity (Berman, WIBC). The 3rd and 6th border Kasich’s Ohio – much of the Sixth gets Cincinnati and Dayton TV. But O’Brien and Allen County Chairman Steve Shine say any regional advantage may be offset by ideology – Shine says north-east Indiana’s Third District is Indiana’s most conservative, though he says Kasich finished second to Cruz in a straw poll of Allen County precinct leaders.
Deputy Koontz and the war on drugs

"I can’t remember if I cried When I read about his widowed bride But something touched me deep inside The day the music died."

Don McLean—American Pie

By CRAIG DUNN

KOKOMO – I am writing this less than 24 hours since Howard County Sheriff’s Department officers Sgt. Jordan Buckley and Deputy Carl Koontz were gunned down while serving drug-related arrest warrant at 12:30 a.m. on a frosty and lonely Sunday morning. Both deputies were life-lined to Indianapolis where 27-year-old Carl Koontz died following surgery. Deputy Koontz was a husband, a father, a son, a role model for children and a protector of the community. His loss has deeply touched the Howard County community and the emotions of its citizens are raw from the pain.

This wanton murder of a young law enforcement officer is yet another somber statistic in the desultory malaise of drug abuse and the immensely profitable business of drug trafficking. In my lifetime I have seen the drug problem move from big city flop houses dealing heroin to society’s losers to the casual marijuana and cocaine use by the wealthy in the 1970s. I’ve seen meth houses go from a novelty to having far more locations than Starbucks. The drug problem that once only reached for the young now affects all age groups. Drug abuse, deaths and the misery attendant to the problem touches every demographic group in our country. It cuts across racial, religious and economic lines to bring misery to everyone it contacts.

Now, I have a confession to make. I actually made it through the turbulent ’60s and ’70s without ever taking a single drug of any kind. It never crossed my mind to try marijuana or take a non-prescribed pill. I saw marijuana and other drugs around me in college but the attraction just wasn’t there. However, I did discover beer in college and that is just another side of the same coin. Then again, I must also confess that I went off to college in 1972 with an armful of record albums that prominently featured Frank Sinatra and Tony Bennett. I wasn’t what you would have called, "with it."

As a parent of four children, drug abuse was my greatest fear as they entered their teenage years. Their mother and I dutifully went through their backpacks, dresser drawers, closets and cars on a regular basis. We read their notes from friends and diary entries. Did we violate their privacy? Yes. Did we violate their trust? Yes. Are we apologetic about approaching their teen years like Gestapo agents? Nope. Not in the least. My sense was that I wasn’t supposed to be their friend. My task was to deliver them into adulthood.

About 10 years ago, I co-chaired the Howard County Drug Summit with the Howard County prosecutor. We tried to take an in-depth look at the drug problem and come up with some possible solutions. We asked a variety of people why they took drugs. Here are some of their answers:

■ People suffering from a variety of mental disorders abuse drugs to ease their suffering.
■ They see family members, friends, role models, sports heroes and entertainers using drugs and rationalize that they can use drugs too.
■ Some people think that if a drug is prescribed by a physician, it must be okay.
■ People accidentally get hooked on prescribed drugs after an injury or surgery.
■ They try to overcome boredom by using drugs.
■ People try and reduce the stress of everyday life by using drugs.
■ There are a lot of people hurting from painful memories of their past and they use drugs to make them forget.
■ Young people use drugs to try and fit in.
■ People seek physical highs that are much more extreme than everyday joys.

I would like to say that we developed a brilliant plan to deal with both drug abuse and trafficking. As you surely know, we, like everyone else who has tried to tackle the problem, failed.

One lesson learned from the drug summit, a lesson often ignored by those in a position to regulate, legislate or adjudicate, is that as long as drug trafficking operates at a significant profit, there will be significant drug trafficking. The better the job of policing drug dealing in a community, the higher prices for illegal drugs will rise and serve as a powerful incentive for very bad people to come to your town. Looking back, Kokomo’s and Howard County’s problem with out-of-state dealers came about because the street value of drugs in our community was three times that of drugs in Harvey, Ill., and Detroit, Mich. It is a simple matter of
Pence signs road, cities bills, Bosma awaits ‘17

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS – Gov. Mike Pence signed the road funding and Regional Cities legislation on Wednesday, though House Speaker Brian Bosma made it clear that this was a short-term deal, and that big decisions await in 2017.

Pence signed into law House Enrolled Act 1001 and Senate Enrolled Act 67, which will provide more than $1.2 billion in new funding for road and bridge preservation and funding for the third Regional Cities award. “I’m pleased to sign these bills that commit more than $1 billion in state and local infrastructure maintenance and fully funds our regional cities initiative,” said Pence. “While our roads and bridges rank above the national average, Hoosiers know that roads mean jobs. These bills make clear our commitment to further improving the Crossroads of America and will spur economic development projects and improve the quality of life in regions across our state.”

Specifically, HEA 1001 provides $328 million from excess reserves and Major Moves 2020 for the preservation of state and local roads and bridges over the next two years. SEA 67 makes available $430 million of Local Options Income Taxes (LOIT) reserve account for locals to spend on roads. Additionally, HEA 1001 provides $186 million in state reserves for the Local Roads and Bridge funding over the next two years, and provides $277 million over the next four years by redirecting an additional 1 and ½ pennies of the gasoline use tax to local roads to be phased in over two years; $100 million in funding will be available each year going forward providing long-term road funding for locals.

Speaker Bosma reacted, saying, “This plan addresses our state’s immediate road funding needs while ensuring legislators come back to the table next year ready to move forward on a long-term plan. With House Enrolled Act 1001, we have taken a strong first step toward more sustainable funding by redirecting a portion of the sales tax on gas to a local road and bridge matching fund and providing new tools to help locals meet their infrastructure needs. As the Crossroads of America, investing in our infrastructure is a critical economic development tool.”

Senate Minority Leader Tim Lanane was critical of the law. “Time and tides stand still for no one. But progress seems to be of little concern to Gov. Pence and Republican Statehouse leaders, who skillfully dodged and delayed action on just about every big ticket item this session,” the Anderson Democrat said. “Gov. Pence decided it was better to coast, leaving the difficult decisions for another day and keeping a low profile heading into this election year.”

HEA 1001 allocates $42 million for the Regional Cities initiatives, ensuring all three regional development plans – North Central, Northeast, and Southwest Indiana – receive state funding. Together, these plans outline 100 quality of place projects totaling more than $2 billion in combined public and private investment. More than half of these planned projects, including new riverfront developments, revitalized downtowns and expanded trail systems, are currently scheduled to be completed by the end of 2018. Pence will hold ceremonial bill signings in the North Central and Southwest Indiana regions. Details will be provided at a later date.

Gov. Pence also signed legislation affirming support for Israel and another preventing municipalities from banning plastic bags.

Today he will sign a Bureau of Motor Vehicles overhaul bill in Greenwood, and another bill supporting female leaders.
Thriving Cities, State preparing ‘16 agenda

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS – The Thriving Cities/Thriving State process is now in a new phase, preparing an issue discussion for Hoosiers on the whole, as well as Gov. Mike Pence and Democrat John Gregg.

Key issues coming into view include extending high speed internet to more areas across the state, stemming out-migration while creating a diverse state that will attract talent from across the globe, and education initiatives that focus on statewide pre-kindergarten.

The latest initiative by the Indiana University Public Policy Institute came after 18 commission meetings and five regional meetings. It split into three research prongs: The Urban Commission chaired by Betsy McCaw of the Central Indiana Corporate Partnership; Mid-Size Commission chaired by Jeff Rea of the St. Joseph County Chamber; and Rural/Small Town Commission chaired by Bedford Mayor Shawna Girgis.

Former Lt. Gov. Kathy Davis explained, “We all know that big policy changes come very slowly, whether it is big investments in infrastructure or developing new industry clusters. It takes awhile to come together on big initiatives. We do all of that a step at a time and our resources are so limited.” Davis noted that while the Thriving initiative was “designed to be bipartisan,” she said the end result was that it became “non-partisan,” adding, “The recommendations and ideas are about being our collective best.”

Gary Mayor Karen Freeman-Wilson told the gathering at the Indiana State Museum, “We are all more alike than different. Indiana is a sum of its parts.” The mayor described the transition of the Steel City from one of the state’s largest, to now a mid-sized city. “Leadership has to collaborate and work together on behalf of communities we serve. Only then will we see regional cooperation,” Freeman-Wilson said.

She noted that she recently had to produce a driver’s license for identification purposes, and the man next to her was also a Hoosier, but not proud of his origins. “What we need to do is to work to make everyone say, ‘I’m from the great state of Indiana.’”

McCaw said that 61% of all wages in Indiana are generated in urban communities.

“What happens in our urban communities fosters what is happening in the rest of the state. We are connected to the rest of the state.” She said that big cities are doing a “real poor job of bringing people to the state,” adding, “but we are stealing from small and rural communities. That is not a winning formula.”

“We need to foster a place that is attractive to people from around the nation and world,” McCaw said, citing the need for greater diversity and tolerance. She said there is a leadership deficit, noting that the state’s voter participation is among the worst in the nation.

Rea, speaking for mid-sized communities, accented regional collaboration, citing Gov. Mike Pence’s Regional Cities Initiative as an example. He noted that “dollars won’t solve everything” and echoed McCaw, calling for more inclusiveness and diversity.

Mayor Girgis cited “overlapping priorities” between rural and small communities, and their bigger neighbors, citing the need for better leadership, human capital development and quality of place. She said that “One of our challenges is to retain our best and brightest. What are the things we can do to keep the best and brightest in our communities?”

And she called for universal access to broadband internet. “If your business doesn’t have high speed internet, how do you grow jobs?” Girgis asked.

The “big idea” from each of the commissioners included:

Urban: A community is only as strong as its leaders. To create a successful 21st Century Indiana, new urban leadership must build networks of leaders who are plugged into an intentional system that addresses civic, elected and not-for-profit sectors.

Mid-size: These communities must make conscious efforts to expand participation and build renewed civic infrastructure. This would allow them to take action on often complex problems and shared priorities essential to creating robust, livable communities.

Rural: Build individual, organizational and civic leaders to develop civic vision, community approaches to problem solving and generate funding. From bricks to clicks, well maintained physical assets and wired technology are vital to the success of rural and small towns.

Institute Director Mark Lawrence said the “next steps” will be to formulate key issues and then bring them to Pence and Gregg at a forum to be scheduled for August or September. The Institute held a similar “conversation” with Pence and Gregg in 2012. He talked about aligning the thoughts with other groups and communicating them to the broader public.

Grow Indiana’s Gerry Dick talks with Goshen College’s Richard Aguirre during Thriving Cities/State group discussions. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)
Gov. Christie?
You’re fired

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – With fear and frustration, the White House chief of staff entered the Oval Office for his daily report to the president on making America great again.

“As you know, Chris, I’ve got a problem with your reports,” the president said. “Huge problem. Never good news. You better have progress to report on my wall.”

“Sorry, Mr. President, I’m afraid Congress still hasn’t passed an appropriation for your wall. Still bottled up in the Ways and Means Committee.”

“What the (deleted) does a committee with a silly (deleted) Washington name have to do with building my beautiful wall? I’m the president. I order the appropriation.”

“That’s not the way it works, sir. Congress must approve appropriations. You can’t just order them.”

“That’s stupid, Chris. So stupid. So awful. I only need funds to plan it. Mexico is gonna pay for building it.”

“Little more bad news, Mr. President. Mexico still refuses. And after your threats last week, they expelled our ambassador. Their president says they’ll never pay for your wall. And his approval rating is over 80 percent in Mexico.”

“Don’t talk (deleted) approval ratings. All fake. Lies. So pathetic. The lyin’ news media claim my ratings dropped so much this first year. They make up those (deleted) percentages. I hate the news media. So dishonest. Fox News is the worst, sayin’ I’m no conservative. Harpin’ about spending. The deficit. I’ve said I’ve got a plan to solve all that. Great plan. And the (deleted) newspapers. When do we change libel laws to put ‘em out of business?”

“There seems to be a problem, Mr. President. There’s belief that the Supreme Court would reject closing newspapers. First Amendment, they say.”

“Well, Chris, that’s gonna change with my new appointment to the Supreme Court. Has that (deleted) Senate Judiciary Committee approved my nominee yet?”

“No, Mr. President. Still opposition. Some senators say Judge Judy isn’t qualified for the Supreme Court.”

“Not qualified? Judge Judy puts on a good show. Great show. Good TV ratings. Known all over the nation. Makes money. That’s all the qualification you need.”

“I do have some good news, Mr. President.”

“Chris, I can’t believe it. Tell me.”

“Good news on deporting those illegal immigrants. Sent nearly 20,000 back last month.”

“You call that good news? Chris? We’ve got 11 million of those criminals, drug peddler and rapists. Know how long it’ll take to rid of ‘em at 20,000 a month? Speed it up. Whatever it costs.”

“Once again, Mr. President, it’s the fault of Congress. They say the cost would blow the budget.”

“Order that lame House speaker to get the (deleted) Congress moving. He used to be nice. Now he’s a bad guy. Wants to be a tough guy. Pitiful Paul. A loser. OK, Chris, what’s up with foreign policy?”

“Well, sir, we still can’t find any country in Europe that would welcome you on your trip. As far as a summit with Putin, he still says ‘no’ and calls you a joke.”

“A joke? Doesn’t he know I’ve got the nuclear codes? By the way, what’s happening with the (deleted) Senate approval of my ambassador to Russia?”

“Problems again, Mr. President. Lot of senators don’t think Jerry Springer is a good choice.”

“Chris, Springer would be great. TV guy like me. Celebrity like me. Knows how to step in when there’s a fight. He’d deal with Putin. Now, did you collect that extra 35 percent tax on that cookie maker who’s movin’ jobs to Mexico? Doesn’t matter that Congress won’t approve the tax hike. I order you to collect it.”

“The Supreme Court wouldn’t approve.”

“I’ll cross that bridge when I come to it. Oh, sorry, Chris. I didn’t mean to mention a bridge.”

“If it wasn’t for that (deleted) bridge in Jersey, I’d be sitting where you are, Donald. And I’d know what I was doing.”

“Christie, you’re fired.”

Colwell has covered Indiana politics over five decades for the South Bend Tribune.
Tech both compliments and substitutes labor

By MICHAEL HICKS

MUNCIE – Technology has long displaced jobs and occupations, often with little warning. The good it brings is immense but often overlooked, while the much smaller costs are more concentrated. Though the net effect is overwhelmingly positive, the workers who are unable to adapt usually fair poorly.

The adoption of machines and technology to the workplace displays all the regularity that economic theory suggests. Firms strive to maximize profits with these technologies, which has led them to invest in capital that both replaces workers and complements their skills. Machines and computers have displaced the workers who perform routine but costly tasks. While this has displaced some occupations in all skill levels, it has fallen hardest on middle-skill workers. Notably, these are the workers who benefitted most from early 20th century technologies.

Technology has also been used to complement the skills of workers. In recent decades, complementary technologies tend to go first to the places where skills are most scarce. So, technology investment has first been deployed to very high-skilled workers. At the same time, our overall consumption patterns have shifted away from goods and toward services that are primarily provided by workers at the high-skill and low-skill ends of the spectrum.

A consequence of these economic forces is that, as demand for their services has grown, employment growth has polarized among very high-skilled and very low-skilled workers. Typically, higher demand would lead to wage growth for both categories. However, the bulk of displaced workers moved down the skill ladder, not up. That has created an abundance of workers competing for low-skilled jobs and a scarcity of workers at the top. This, rather than the mysterious forces of globalization or corporate capitalism, accounts for most increasing income inequality.

This might seem altogether a dismal accounting of the past half century, but the same economic forces that brought us to where we are now remain ruthlessly at work. In that we should be most grateful. In future, many of these same economic forces beckon growth in middle-skill occupations where people, not machines dominate. Human skills (defined by MIT’s David Autor as interpersonal interaction, flexibility, adaptability and problem solving) will surely grow in the coming decades.

I think there is good anecdotal reason to believe this is true. Many hotel maids now use iPads in their jobs, while machines replacing pharmacists will be ubiquitous in a decade. It is also true that most new occupations cannot readily be off-shored, so labor market competition will not depress wages. Health and personal services, construction and maintenance operations are good examples of middle-skill occupations where technology will increasingly complement, but likely cannot readily replace, human skills.

We appear likely to enter a lengthy period where middle-skill jobs will be in greater demand than those at the bottom and top of the skill ladder. We need to find ways to make workers better ready for this. Ironically though, this shift will be slowed if we surrender our good judgment to the siren song of anti-globalization zealots.

Michael J. Hicks, PhD, is the director of the Center for Business and Economic Research and the George and Frances Ball distinguished professor of economics in the Miller College of Business at Ball State University.
When is special legislation legal?

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – So, when is special legislation legal?

Well, apparently when the Indiana Supreme Court says so.

Such is the case with legislation requiring Lake County only to redraw precinct lines to eliminate precincts containing fewer than 500 registered voters.

In the 4-1 ruling, Justice Mark Massa admitted that it is special legislation that is generally prohibited by the Indiana Constitution.

But Massa found the legislation constitutionally permissible because Lake County has the most small precincts in the state.

Massa added to the prejudice against Lake County by saying a law requiring all counties to eliminate small precincts would be an unnecessary burden.

Lake County for years has complained that it is unfairly treated by the state when it comes to doling out money and often is the subject of unfair legislation.

The most recent example has been the state's refusal to rebuild the Cline Avenue Bridge after it was torn down because of safety concerns.

The legislation to require the county to eliminate small precincts was brought by Lake County Republicans.

But don't look for county Democratic Chairman John Bunich or the Democratically controlled county Election Board to eliminate the small precincts anytime soon.

Bunich is a strong advocate for Gary, the city that would lose the most if the small precincts were eliminated. Such a change would greatly curtail Gary's strength when it comes to party caucuses to fill vacancies in county offices. And, it would be unwise for a county Democratic chairman to anger the party faithful in Gary.

The county's black vote – most of which comes from Gary – has long been one of the strengths of the county Democratic Party.

And a weakened black vote can only help Lake County's beleaguered Republicans.

While Democrats are likely to refuse to follow the Supreme Court's ruling, it is somewhat difficult to justify keeping the smaller precincts.

It is rather expensive for the county to continue with unneeded precincts both in terms of equipment and personnel on Election Day.

In the meantime, Lake County Democrats have new fodder in their quest for fairness from the state.

Rich James has been writing about state and local government and politics for more than 30 years. He is a columnist for The Times of Northwest Indiana.
Doug Ross, NWI Times: The protests at Friday’s Donald Trump rally in Chicago showed us in vivid images what the sad state of political discourse in this country has come to. It doesn’t have to be like this. On Saturday, Christopher Smith, a former Times photographer, got hit with pepper spray when covering a Trump rally in Kansas City. It is a reminder both of the risks journalists take to bring you the news and of the risky state of our union today. To both the protesters and Trump supporters, I ask this simple question: Are you doing what it takes to unite this country? Because that’s the leadership the nation needs. Trump’s opponents in the primary elections — Marco Rubio, Ted Cruz and John Kasich — quickly denounced Trump’s words that seem to incite violence at his rallies. Kasich nailed it when he referred to the “toxic environment” Trump is creating. Kasich told the media Saturday he is sticking to his pledge to run a positive campaign. House Speaker Paul Ryan told Racine, Wisconsin, radio station WRJN on Monday that “candidates need to take responsibility for the environment at their events. There is never an excuse for condoning violence, or even a culture that presupposes it,” according to Politico. “Look, people are angry,” Ryan said in the interview, quoted by Politico. “People have looked at the last seven years, and they are understandably very anxious, very upset and hurting. But the solution isn’t to call names. It isn’t to stoke anger for political gain. The solution, I think, is to channel that passion into solutions.” That’s a message that resonates. U.S. Senate candidate Baron Hill spoke to me two days before Trump’s Chicago rally about the mood of the electorate. “Donald Trump is unfortunately tapping into that anger in a way that is not healthy for America, in my belief,” he said. “When he taps into that anger, he foams it up and gets people all rabid up, and says things that are inappropriate and irrational and hateful in many regards,” Hill said. “And when you do that, it validates people to do things they shouldn’t be doing. This needs to stop. This is not America.”

Peter Wehner, New York Times: Among the most inexplicable developments in this bizarre political year is that Donald Trump is the candidate of choice of many evangelical Christians. Mr. Trump won a plurality of evangelical votes in each of the last three Republican contests, in New Hampshire, South Carolina and Nevada. He won the glowing endorsement of Jerry Falwell Jr., the president of Liberty University, who has called him “one of the greatest visionaries of our time.” Last week, Pat Robertson, the founder and chairman of the Christian Broadcasting Network, told Mr. Trump during an interview, “You inspire us all.” If this embrace strikes you as discordant, it should. This visionary and inspiring man humiliated his first wife by conducting a very public affair, chronically bullies and demeans people, and says he has never asked God for forgiveness. His name is emblazoned on a casino that features a strip club; he has discussed anal sex on the air with Howard Stern and, after complimenting his daughter Ivanka’s figure, pointed out that if she “weren’t my daughter, perhaps I would be dating her.” He once supported partial-birth abortion and to this day praises Planned Parenthood, the nation’s largest abortion provider. He is a narcissist appealing to people whose faith declares that pride goes before a fall. Mr. Trump’s character is antithetical to many of the qualities evangelicals should prize in a political leader: Integrity, compassion and reasoned convictions, wisdom and prudence, trustworthiness, a commitment to the moral good. At its core, Christianity teaches that everyone, no matter at what station or in what season in life, has inherent dignity and worth. “Follow justice and justice alone,” Deuteronomy says, “so that you may live and possess the land the Lord your God is giving you.” The attitude of Thrasymachus is foreign to biblical Christianity. So is Trumpism. In embracing it, evangelical Christians are doing incalculable damage to their witness.

Gerry Lanosga, IBJ: This being national Sunshine Week, it’s ironic that the Indiana legislature has sent Gov. Mike Pence at least two bills that fly in the face of the public’s right to know. I wrote about one of them, a bill addressing the records of private university police departments, last week. Now it’s time for a look at the other bill, which concerns the release (or, more accurately, non-release) of police video recordings. The bill is being held out as a necessary step for the legislature in addressing a new technology and, in its final form, as a good compromise between privacy and public access. In fact, it is neither of those things. Consider what Indiana’s existing Access to Public Records Act already says about public records. There are a number of pertinent facts here. One, records are defined exhaustively, so video recordings are covered. Two, police already have discretion to withhold from the public records they designate as investigatory material. Three, if a police agency refuses to release a record, a requestor ultimately has to go to court to get it. Four, the agency has the burden of proving that it has the right to withhold the record. In other words, if police want to release a recording, they can do so now. If there’s an investigatory reason for not releasing a recording, they have the discretion to withhold now. So there’s no reason for this bill unless you want to make it either more or less difficult to get the recordings. And this bill makes it more difficult. The most substantive portion of the legislation removes police recordings from the provisions of the law that allow for penalties for public officials and attorney fee awards to requestors who have to sue to get access to records. That means there is no penalty for a police department that willfully violates the Access law. In short, this is a major blow to open government. I can’t think of a better way to mark Sunshine Week than for Gov. Pence to veto this terrible bill.
Lugar, Hamilton decry contempt

EVANSVILLE — Cynicism and contempt is rampant in American politics today, and the fixes include quality candidates and a more informed electorate, former Sen. Richard Lugar and former Rep. Lee Hamilton said Wednesday (Martin, Evansville Courier & Press). The two Indiana political icons were at the University of Southern Indiana for a discussion on "Civility in American Politics." Lugar and Hamilton, a Republican and Democrat who have both received the Presidential Medal of Freedom, said political institutions have withstood the test of time. Yet, both said they are saddened by deteriorating discourse. They noted the inability of Congress to complete what used to be considered basic tasks, such as passing a budget. “We’ve just got to lower the political rhetoric, lower the ideological speeches and focus in a very pragmatic way on how to solve the problems,” Hamilton said. They listed a few reasons for the dysfunction. State legislatures, Lugar said, have drawn congressional districts in such a way to protect incumbents from being ousted by the opposite party. That, in turn, has meant many representatives’ most serious local competition is coming from within their party, from activists hostile to the idea of compromise in Washington. “Members are afraid of being defeated in a primary if they deviate from the party scorecard,” said Lugar. “It has changed the nature of the debate very substantially.”

Obama vows to defeat ISIS

BUENOS AIRES — Defeating Islamic State is the U.S. government’s “No. 1 priority,” President Barack Obama said a day after the terror group claimed responsibility for deadly blasts in Brussels, and he criticized Republican Sen. Ted Cruz's proposals to combat the militants as counterproductive. “I've got a lot of things on my plate, but my top priority is to defeat ISIS and eliminate the scourge of this barbaric terrorism that’s been taking place around the world,” Obama said at a news conference in Buenos Aires on Wednesday with Argentina’s president, Mauricio Macri. ISIS is an acronym for the militant group. Cruz, a Republican candidate for president, said Tuesday that police should “patrol and secure Muslim neighborhoods” in the U.S. Obama criticized that proposal and an earlier Cruz suggestion that areas held by Islamic State should be carpet-bombed. “What we don’t do and what we should not do is take approaches that would be counterproductive,” Obama said. “That’s not a smart strategy.”

Pence in spotlight on abortion bill

INDIANAPOLIS - Gov. Mike Pence is once again at the center of a national debate over a divisive issue (IndyStar). He must decide by Thursday whether to sign a controversial and potentially unconstitutional bill that further restricts abortion in Indiana, which already has some of the most restrictive laws in the nation. The measure, House Enrolled Act 1337, would make Indiana only the second state to prohibit a woman from seeking an abortion because her fetus was diagnosed with a disability such as Down syndrome. It also would prohibit abortions when they are sought based on the gender or race of a fetus, and would require the remains of miscarried or aborted fetuses to be interred or cremated. The proposal has garnered national headlines and incited heated rhetoric from those on both sides of the issue. Supporters say it will protect unborn babies who can’t protect themselves. Opponents say it’s an effort to increase abortion costs and shame women for utilizing a legal medical procedure. "Well, it’s an election year, and Indiana is very pro-life, and our General Assembly is very pro-life. That may be a factor," said Curt Smith, president of the Indiana Family Institute.

Hogsett targets ethics loopholes

INDIANAPOLIS - Today when a lobbyist wines and dines a City-County Council member, he or she has to disclose the cost of the meal, but not who ate it (IndyStar). This is among a number of loopholes in the city ethics code that Indianapolis Mayor Joe Hogsett is attempting to close with a package of reforms introduced at this week’s council meeting. Co-sponsored by Democratic Councilmen Blake Johnson and Leroy Robinson, the ordinance would strengthen reporting requirements, impose stronger penalties for violations and create a web portal for easier public access to ethics disclosures. It would also establish a cooling-off period similar to that for state employees. Thomas Cook, the mayor’s chief of staff, said that in the six years the city’s existing lobbying ordinance has been in effect, no enforcement actions have occurred. "Either everyone was being completely lawful and ethical, or the system wasn’t working," Cook said.

Ex-LaPorte deputy coroner gets 4 years

LAPORTE — A former LaPorte County deputy coroner has been given a four-year prison sentence for selling prescription drugs (Maddux, South Bend Tribune). Dawn Maxson, 47, was escorted to the LaPorte County Jail after she was sentenced Tuesday on two counts of dealing in a controlled substance. Eventually, the Indiana Department of Corrections will determine where Maxson will be incarcerated. She pleaded guilty in January to two felony charges in dealing controlled substances.