



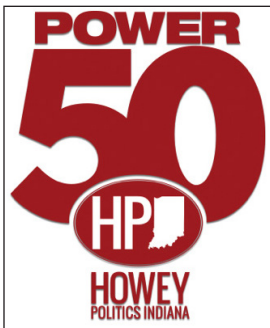
Power 50: Tandem administrations unfold

Trump/Pence and Holcomb teams, biennial budget forge the annual power list

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – After a year of what had been unfathomable events and improbable ascendancies, after a year where political alignments fell off the rails between the people and their political leaders, after a year where long-held beliefs were ditched for current expediency, this is where we are: 2017 promises to be, perhaps, a bipolar year. If 2016 was sensational and unprecedented, 2017 could bring a new dawn or a reckless interlude.

There are voices tweeting things beyond our immediate comprehension. There are photo ops no one ever expected. The political world is shaking at an 8.2 Richter



President-elect Donald Trump with Vice President-elect Mike Pence and Governor-elect Eric Holcomb at the Carrier plant in Indianapolis.

scale level, and the populist uprising that installed two administrations leans in to see what can be delivered, what can't and at what price. There are deals to be made,

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Participation, not party

By **CHRISTINA HALE**

INDIANAPOLIS – I just have to thank Donald Trump from the bottom of my heart.

When winning presidential candidates talk about "bleeding from the whatever," and grabbing p****s, women sit up and take notice. They listen, too, when that same candidate's empowered daughter talks about increasing access for parents to quality daycare options.

Understandably pundits and the public continue to gape, agog and astounded by this past election, glued to the continuous news cycle that is our incoming president. For me, I am grateful for one



“The first order of business is repeal and replace Obamacare.”

- Vice President-elect Mike Pence after addressing Capitol Hill Republicans on Wednesday. He offered little detail on what will replace the ACA.



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very important thing. Donald Trump accomplished what our first female candidate for president from a major party could not. He inspired women from both sides of the aisle to engage in the political process.

During the election cycle, I regret that we invested so much attention in the fact of Hillary Clinton's gender rather than to issues that truly resonate with women. We shouldn't be in the position of breaking glass ceilings in 2016, or 2017 for that matter. That should have happened long ago, nationally and down ballot as well.

Indiana politics are clearly dominated by men. Only one in five members of the General Assembly today are women. Here in Indiana we have never had a female House speaker, Senate president pro-tem, or governor. Most of our mayors are men. Yes, of course positional leadership does matter, yet most people who vote are men as well.



What we lost this past election cycle was the opportunity to engage women on the issues that matter most, in a way that resonates with them, or in a way that inspired action. Or in a way that inspired votes. And by that, I don't mean from the people who showed up and made a choice on their ballots. I mean by the people, the women, who just stayed home.

The good news is Donald Trump rang the alarm, and women here are responding. It wasn't compelling enough to vote for the first woman president. Women are engaging now on issues rather than personalities. That is a good thing.

And yes, shame on us for waiting too long to wake up. It is my hope that when we have more people in office who have balanced work and childcare commitments, people who know the juggle of getting to work on time, getting to aftercare, hustling to the grocery store and getting it all done in time to get to the polls by

6 p.m., we might have more generous polling hours. And certainly more empowered positional leaders with a practical feel for what Hoosiers need and don't need from government.

We need women to engage in the issues, we need women to vote, and we need women to run for office.

All over the state, women are gathering and getting organized. Just after the election, a small group of women tried to host a post-election meeting in Zionsville to talk about what implications a Trump presidency might bring. More and more women expressed interest, and soon they heard from over 100 women who wanted to attend. The meeting had to be moved to accommodate the crowd, and the buzz continued.

In fact, the word got out and in just a few days, much to the group's surprise, over 500 women turned up, standing room only, with over 500 more hopeful women had to be turned away. People who had driven from all over the state. It was hot and

crowded and may have challenged the fire code, and it was amazing.

In a short time, this non-partisan group has gone viral with thousands of members statewide. But they are not alone, others all forming over the state.

They are not alone. People all over the state are concerned about the dignity and safety of all women, especially in regard to sexual assault, health, and equal rights, as well as empowering women to achieve greater political leadership at local, state and federal levels.

These people are getting organized, and more importantly, engaged. Fear is an effective motivator. Let's make the most of it. ❖

Hale was the 2016 Democratic lieutenant governor nominee and a former member of the Indiana House of Representatives. She is a regularly HPI columnist.

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though no one can be sure of the facts here in post-truth America, or the parameters. Fake news, rumor, gossip and innuendo now compete with responsible journalism. The Trump and Holcomb administrations will commence just days from now, the former likely to impact the latter in ways unknown at this writing.

Hoosier Republicans have reached a high-water mark that may never be surpassed, now heading into a 16-year stretch of gubernatorial governance. Eric Holcomb, the former political operative, controls the levers of state government.

In Washington, we find the populist demagogue Donald Trump ready to assume power with Mike Pence at his side. We don't know Trump's ultimate motives because he is a Zelig, changing like a political kaleidoscope. His era may become the first presidential hologram. We don't know if there will be Oz, the man behind the curtain. It could be Pence, or someone else down the road. Pence is the Christian, the conservative and the Republican in that order. Donald Trump doesn't appear to be any of those things.

The year 2017 finds the Indiana Democratic Party in shambles, holding just three of 11 congressional seats, 39 out of the 150 in the General Assembly. This is a party that has been rocked to its core, with few emerging leadership choices ready to assume the mantle either in Indianapolis or Washington.

And there are the Hoosier people. Their income is stunted. In the wide swathes of rural Indiana abandoned by the Democrats, the uneducated and uninformed are turning to methamphetamine, heroin and opioids. Our county jails have turned into mental health wards.

If there is a common thread that weaves through our predicament, it is the Carrier plant on the south side of Indianapolis. United Technologies announced it would close it last February. It brought Gov. Pence and Chuck Jones of Steelworkers Local 1999 together for a brief, unproductive meeting. Carrier then became an emblem of the rigged economic and political systems, a campaign talking point of both Trump and Socialist-turned-Democrat Bernie Sanders. It resonated with the withering Hoosier

middle class, who believe they are getting screwed. They see a population that is aging, browner, more polysexual, and an invasion of outsiders and foreigners edging into their American dream.

Trump won the election by attracting steelworker votes. He and Pence returned to Indianapolis in November, heralding the salvaging of 800 jobs out of the 1,400 slated to leave for Mexico. There would be a \$16 million investment in the plant. There were high fives and even begrudging respect from Chuck Jones. But as the calendar turns to 2017, the details of the deal are obfuscated. The \$16 million investment will go toward automation, which will cut even more jobs.

Trump hailed on Tuesday Ford Motor Company's decision to not build a new plant in Mexico, creating 700 new jobs in Michigan.

But the Washington Post reported: "The new employment opportunities – the tickets to the middle class – won't look like the old ones.

Economists say auto manufacturing at Ford and beyond will become increasingly automated, resulting in fewer jobs down the road for more highly skilled workers."

It underscores the comment from Purdue President Mitch Daniels to HPI last February when he said what keeps him up at night are manufacturing proficiencies that won't create the number of middle class jobs we've seen over the past 80 years. When the notion of income distribution came up with a Republican lawmaker recently, the unanticipated response was that he was "trying to wrap my mind around the concept."

Beyond the sloganeering, the assertions absent of fact, our leaders in Washington and Indianapolis face many forces beyond their control here in a globalized economy that Trump will try to reverse. Their political success in 2017 can come with what they can do around the edges. Can they forge a climate that will bring more jobs, more income? Can they build a new port? Extend broadband to the last mile as a rural lifeline? Can they figure out the "replace" part of the Obamacare repeal? What will happen to the half million Hoosiers who found health coverage that may disappear? Can the state invest in pre-K to build a new cycle of technologically prepared workers? Can we bring comfort to waves of addicts who could become our brigands roaming the countrysides of the future?

Can we turn the corner on the addictions that hobble our population?

The 2017 HPI Power 50 List is geared toward these fledgling administrations, the conservative agenda that will unfold on Capitol Hill, a biennial budget on the



Lt. Gov. Holcomb greets President-elect Trump and Vice President-elect Mike Pence at the Indianapolis International Airport in November.

home front, and new road and education plans that will prepare the masses for more competition from across the globe.

1. Gov. Eric Holcomb:

The 51st governor enters office after one of the most improbable journeys in Hoosier political history, beginning in 2016 as a third-place U.S. Senate candidate and ending up as governor-elect on an unprecedented "100-day campaign" he likened to building a jet mid-flight. After that riotous journey, Holcomb enters office as one of the best-prepared governors in recent memory. He's been in the office for years serving under Gov. Mitch Daniels. He doesn't have to measure the drapes or ask directions to the lavatory. Holcomb has a grounded sense of the inner workings of state government and he watched Daniels systemically challenge status quo assumptions, some of which have eroded over the intervening eight years, and certainly during the last four under Pence. Holcomb enters office with a luxury Daniels never had, which is two super majority chambers. He and House and Senate leadership in both parties seem to be aligning on the major tasks at hand which include a biennial budget, a long-term road plan, and a full frontal assault on the heroin/opioid/meth epidemics and the need for addiction and mental health treatment. All will be tall orders. Having a governor who knows how things work will likely give Hickory Holcomb's fledgling administration a good start.

2. Vice President Mike Pence:

After an uneven three and a half years as governor, Pence took an epic roll of the dice with Donald Trump, got on his ticket and helped forge one of the biggest upsets in American history. In doing so, Pence and his team couldn't get out of Indiana fast enough, depriving the Holcomb



Governor-elect Holcomb with Justice Mark Massa during the Electoral College in December. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

gubernatorial campaign of most of his warchest, and refusing to talk with Indiana media, with just a few brief exceptions, for the final seven months of his governorship. The Pence era was always designed to be a resume builder for national office. He is now positioned to play a powerful role in an administration few truly understand or know what to expect. When it comes to the emerging Trump cabinet, it is on pa-

per one of the most conservative (as well as whitest and wealthiest) in history and appears to have Pence's tell-tale fingerprints all over. That Pence has positioned key aide Marc Short as Trump's legislative director will give him access to the critical intersection of the White House (or, perhaps, Trump Tower) and the machinations on Capitol Hill, where some elements are getting with the Trump program while others, such as the Russian election hack issue, are poised to create some real drama. Dan Coats as national intelligence director and Seema Verma at CMS will be other power wings within the Pence sphere. Conservative New York Times columnist David Brooks observes, "Trump is not a national leader; he is a national show. If this is all true, it could be that the governing Trump will be a White House holograph. When it comes to the substance

of actual governance, it could be that President Trump is the man who isn't there. The crucial question of the Trump administration could be: Who will fill the void left by a leader who is all facade?" Exhibit A on this question could be Pence, assuming he can stay on the good side of the mercurial Trump. Pence appears to be bending and sometimes reversing what we had believed were longtime anchor positions on such issues as free trade and immigration. How far is Pence willing to bend when it comes to deficits, for instance, will be fascinating. He could be poised to be the next Dick Cheney. He could end up being a John Nance Garner, carrying the water of a controversial administration or an



Trump and Pence celebrate their nominations at the Republican National Convention last July. (HPI Photo by Randy Gentry)

afterthought.

3. U.S. Senator Todd Young

Young: He enters the Senate as a favorite of Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell, who poured millions of dollars into his Senate race in 2016. Having defeated Evan Bayh, the fourth member of Congress he's defeated in political races (joining Marlin Stutzman in the 2016 Senate primary, Baron Hill in the 2010 9th CD general and Mike Sodrel in the 2010 primary) gives Young some real mojo in the Senate, a body Bayh trashed when he sulked off in 2010. Young brings in a Ways & Means pedigree, a tight relationship with Speaker Paul Ryan, and has championed the REINS Act before it was widely popular. He will be a leading advocate of tax reform. Young walked the tightwire with President Trump, refusing to out-right endorse him in 2016 and passing on the Republican National Convention. He clearly benefited from Trump's tidal wave, but he would have likely defeated Bayh had Trump won in a less emphatic fashion here in Indiana. Young will join the Trump movement where it makes sense and falls within legal lanes, but he will also likely be a Republican of conscience, resisting Trump if and when he veers out of bounds on such things as an unconstitutional Muslim ban. Along with Holcomb, Young has clearly risen into the top tier of the Indiana Republican Party and the sky is his limit nationally.

4. House Speaker Brian Bosma:

He is now one of the longest-tenured speakers in Indiana history. Once seen as a potential governor, the unprecedented events surrounding Mike Pence and Eric Holcomb have now placed him firmly on the speaker track for the next eight years. We always saw Bosma as a potential strong gubernatorial contender in 2020, having an expansive statewide network and an ability to raise big bucks. But his gubernatorial aspirations hit the one wall where all that didn't matter, the Republican Central Committee, where he found little traction over a few short days in July after Pence ascended to the national ticket. Bosma is still the most powerful legislator in the Statehouse. After getting burned by RFRA in 2015, he's already slammed the door on divisive social legislation such as Rep. Curt Nisly's



Todd Young at his Bloomington Senate campaign headquarters in October.

abortion-ban bill. And Bosma played a leading role in 2016 when he quipped the notion of long-term road funding, a philosophy that has been thoroughly embraced by Gov. Holcomb. Bosma, Senate President David Long and Gov.-elect Holcomb are keeping their road-funding options open, and that could be the most interesting part of the 2017 session. So Bosma will play a huge, supporting role in Holcomb's first biennial session.

5. Senate President David Long:

The Senate president dispatched a Monica Boyer-inspired primary challenger in 2016 and could be entering the twilight of his leadership. Like Bosma, he is signaling little stomach for the RFRA-style divisive social legislation and sent a letter to caucus members rebuking Advance America's Eric Miller, who is essentially persona non grata in the upper chamber. Long has signed on to the process of a long-term road plan and other major issues, noting, "This session, we will build on our track record of responsible fiscal management by passing another balanced budget. We will also work to craft a long-term road-funding plan, support our local schools, replace the outdated ISTEP exam with a new test, and fight the illegal drug abuse that is hurting our communities." On a national tangent, Long's idea of an Article V Constitutional Convention, once seen as a gadfly exercise, is now picking up steam as Republicans have taken over more and more legislative chambers across the nation.

6. Dan Coats.

Retirement? The former senator is now widely reported to be the leading candidate to be President-elect Trump's national intelligence director. Coats met with Trump in November. After that meeting, Coats explained, "I was invited here to just sit down and discuss a number of issues that the president would be facing and I gave him some of my years of experience in terms of what I thought they would be dealing with and made some suggestions." If Coats is offered and accepts the intelligence position, he walks into a hornet's nest as the Obama administration and 17 U.S. intelligence agencies, including the FBI and CIA, believe that the Russian hacking impacted the 2016 presidential election. Trump has all but rejected that conclusion, and on Wednesday, Pence said on Capitol Hill, "I think the president-elect has expressed his very sincere and healthy American skepticism about intelligence conclusions, but we're going to sit down later this week." Coats is a former ambassador to Germany, taking that post just before the Sept. 11, 2001 terror attacks. Coats served on the Senate Intelligence Committee.

7. U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly:

He's in a unique position as one of a handful of moderate Democrats who can help Senate Republicans get to 60 votes on various legislation that could make or break the first



Senate President David Long and Speaker Brian Bosma. (HPI Photo by Mark Curry)

100 days of the Trump administration. How Donnelly approaches things early on will be the most fascinating thing to watch this year, especially since he's probably going to have a hard-fought election next year. While national organizations call Donnelly as one of the most vulnerable Democrats, he has tirelessly worked the state over the past four years, parted with his party due to his beliefs or constituent desires, and is liked by many Republicans we regularly talk with. His reelection would have been much more arduous under a "President Clinton." If President Trump can't deliver on many of his promises and Democrats have a mid-term tailwind, Donnelly would be far from a zombie incumbent.

8. and 9. U.S. Reps. Luke Messer and Susan Brooks: Messer is in leadership as the fifth-ranked Republican, but Brooks is now the Ethics Committee chair. Both are members of the House GOP Steering Committee that decides committee assignments. Either would be a top recruit early this year to run against Sen. Donnelly in 2018, and both will likely be targeted for persuasion by the NRSC. Brooks will be higher on the list for NRSC, but Messer seems more likely to actually be the one to run our Capitol Hill sources are telling us at this point.

10. Sen. Luke Kenley: The Senate Appropriations chairman will play his characteristically important role on the biennial budget and the long-term road funding issue. He is doing it with the kind of caution we've come to

expect.

11. Ways & Means Chairman Tim

Brown: The chairman will take the first stab at the biennial budget and will be a significant voice in the long-term road plan. With Congress preparing to repeal Obamacare, Dr. Brown will provide valuable insights into what comes next if Republicans are serious about the "replace" part.

12. State Rep. Ed Soliday: The House Transportation chairman was one of the driving forces behind the initial long-term road plan prior to the 2016 session. After winning a tough reelection battle in November, he will be a critical player in getting the package through next April.

13. U.S. Rep Todd Rokita: Despite a short-lived bid for governor and (likely) being passed over for Budget Committee chairman after Tom Price was



selected to be Trump's HHS secretary, the fact that he is/was a

contender for the spot shows that Rokita has become more focused in his job than he was early on in his career, and it's paid off. He'll continue to be the Budget Commit-

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tee vice chair (Diane Black will likely chair, but is rumored to be running for governor of Tennessee, so she may not be in that spot long, giving Rokita another crack at it) and the Trump budget is where we will see many of the early (non-confirmation) legislative fireworks. Rokita's office tells HPI he didn't want to create a "distraction" and contest Black for the chair, but he is poised to succeed her if she moves on. Rokita also chairs the K-12 Education Workforce Subcommittee, and could have an important voice if the Trump administration moves on vouchers and school choice issues. A draft Rokita for U.S. Senate Facebook page sprouted this week.

14. Marc Short: This top aide to Vice President Mike Pence will be President Trump's legislative director. This makes Short and Pence huge players in the unfolding Trump agenda when it hits Capitol Hill where there are an array of mixed signals about the new president's agenda, his bromance with Russian President Putin, and the inevitable collisions such as a coming yuuge infrastructure stimulus plan with no apparent method to pay for it.

15. Josh Pitcock: The former Washington lobbyist for Indiana and Gov. Pence will become his chief of staff, controlling access to the fledgling vice president. Depending on how the Trump presidency evolves, this could be an emerging national power center with the COS handling the levers. Jen Pavlik will be Pence's deputy chief of staff.

16. South Bend Mayor Peter Buttigieg: The two-term mayor is being mentioned as a possible Democratic national chair candidate and is responding via Twitter to some of the controversial things President-elect Trump has been saying. He is the first openly gay Indiana public official and his status as a Afghanistan veteran, a Rhodes Scholar and mayor of a city seeking to redefine itself puts him at the center of the Indiana Democratic Party's gargantuan task of redefining itself, expanding beyond the urban areas and college towns back into the rural areas of the state, and preparing for the 2018 and 2020 elections. Reports are if he is elected DNC chair, he will step down as mayor.

17. State Rep. Christina Hale: The former Democratic lieutenant governor nominee and state representative will be a policy and political driving force for Hoosier Democrats who are anemic and lost on the political desert. In his concession

remarks on Election Night, John Gregg made it very clear that Hale will be a future player. She and Mayor Buttigieg face a task of setting a rebuilding process in motion.

18. Indianapolis Mayor Joe Hogsett:

It was a tough year for the Democrat Indianapolis mayor, long identified by John Gregg as a key cornerstone for a Democratic revival. Hogsett played an inconspicuous role in the 2016 election and critical voter turnout fell off, hurting not only Gregg, but his old friend Evan Bayh in his Senate race loss. The year ended with Hogsett's police chief abruptly resigning just after he had revived former Mayor Gregg Ballard's judicial center project. And, Indianapolis experienced its deadliest year by setting a new homicide record. So Hogsett must find steady leadership for IMPD, hope that his initial strategies can begin to tamp down the murders, find a way to finance the judicial center, and play a key role in the revival of the Indiana Democratic Party. If he doesn't begin to find traction, his own reelection in 2019 will not be a slam dunk.

19. Sen. Brandt Hershman: The chairman of the Senate Tax and Fiscal Policy Committee said he anticipates the budget and road funding will dominate Statehouse debates and be more complicated than prior years, in part because no one is quite sure what to expect from the new federal administration. "If the long-term is positive, which many of us feel it will be, there can still be short-term volatility from change," Hershman told the NWI Times. There are rumors he may move into the FCC in the Trump administration. President Long relies on Hershman on the budgetary front where he may have to do some heavy lifting if tax increases are included.

20. Earl Goode, Danny Lopez and Jane Jankowski. Goode is the former long-term chief of staff to Gov. Mitch Daniels and Holcomb has tapped him to get the office set up correctly. It is unlikely that Goode will be a long-time chief of staff as he was during the Daniels administration. Thus it is likely that deputies Lopez and Jankowski will be the next generation of top staffers under Holcomb. One of them is likely to emerge as the key gatekeeper.

21. Republican Chairman Kyle Hupfer. He is co-chair of Gov. Holcomb's transition team and now takes the helm of the Indiana Republican Party at what is its highwater mark. The GOP controls eight of 11 congressional seats, all Statehouse offices and has legislative super majorities. Hupfer will be charged with keeping the party functioning as it prepares to take on Sen. Donnelly in 2018 and then defend the Holcomb record in 2020.

22. State Rep. Ben Smaltz:



Mayors Peter Buttigieg and Christina Hale (top) and Joe Hogsett face a critical year in rebuilding the Democratic Party. (HPI Photos by Mark Curry)

The Auburn Republican forged what could be a cornerstone tactic in gaining control of the drug epidemic that is sweeping across Indiana. He studied and came up with an innovative concept to keep pseudoephedrine away from clandestine methamphetamine labs, which may have numbered in the 10,000 range as Indiana led the nation. The legislation he and State Sen. Randy Head passed already appears to be putting a dent in the meth labs, with Indiana State Police reporting a 37% decline in the first few months. Speaker Bosma rewarded Smaltz with the chair of the House Public Policy Committee, where his influence will grow.



CMS Director Seema Verma (left) and U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski.



23. Purdue

President Mitch Daniels: He is still politically celibate but his influence across academia, policy and politics grows, particularly with disciple Holcomb preparing to assume the governor’s office. Daniels has remained a national figure as he has worked to keep college affordability in the spotlight. He has grappled with free speech issues on campus and will remain a clarion voice as higher

education is confronted with the kind of technological revolution that has dramatically changed everything from the music we listen to, the news we read and the durability of U.S. institutions. Expect Daniels to be vocal about the need for the Trump administration to begin to rein in the “red menace” (and we’re talking about debt, not the Russians here).

24. CMS Commissioner Seema Verma:

One of the architects for Gov. Mike Daniels’ “hybrid” FSSA re-tooling, Healthy Indiana Plan and HIP 2.0 under Gov. Pence now heads to Washington to head the Centers for Medicaid/Medicare. This could be a power and policy center once Congress repeals Obamacare. Verma stands to play a key role in what comes next. Pence has long held that

the states must be the centers of health innovation and Verma could be a major shaper in how that transformation unfolds.

25. FSSA Commissioner Jennifer

Walthall: Dr. Walthall moves from deputy Indiana Health Commissioner to head the sprawling FSSA, an agency that finds itself as the nexus of the drug epidemic

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hitting the state and what comes in the wake of the Obamacare repeal. Gov.-elect Holcomb noted, "Jennifer has extensive experience in the fields of public health and medicine. Her knowledge and expertise will bring a depth of understanding to the complexity of family and social services."

26. U.S. Rep Jackie Walorski: As chair of the Nutrition Subcommittee of the Agriculture Committee, she spent the last two years quietly laying groundwork for changes to the food stamp program. With Republicans now controlling all levers of power in Washington, and Speaker Paul Ryan long being interested in welfare reforms, she could find herself in the midst of significant legislative action. Capitol Hill sources tell us she could pick up an influential Ways & Means Committee seat.

27. U.S. Rep. Larry Bucshon: A few years ago, Bucshon mused to a reporter that he might run against Donnelly in 2018. But now that he has a plum spot on House Energy and Commerce Committee, and a safe district to boot, he seems to be nicely settled into his role. As a member of E&C and a doctor, he could have an opportunity to play a big role on any Obamacare "replace" action in the House.

28. Lt. Gov. Suzanne Crouch: In a span of a few short years, Crouch has gone from the Indiana House, to state auditor, and now lieutenant governor. It was her role in the House, where she was one of several Evansville area legislators to question

and criticize Gov. Mitch Daniels' FSSA deal with IBM that may have put her on Holcomb's radar as a courageous advocate for her constituents. Crouch becomes the fourth female lieutenant governor and 2017 will probably be too early to determine whether she's going to position herself to break the gubernatorial glass ceiling.

29. Evansville Mayor Lloyd Winnecke: The second-termer is not only the sole "big city" Republican mayor, but is the incoming president of the Accelerating Indiana's Municipalities (formerly Indiana Association Cities & Towns). His resounding reelection in a Democratic city shows his electability in any political environment and the progress in Evansville is eye-opening. New convention hotel, IU medical campus, \$50M Tropicana expansion, new Hyatt hotel, recipient of the \$42M Regional Cities program, lowest unemployment rate in a decade – all attracted the first R&D center in North America for Haier to Evansville, among countless other job an-

nouncements the past five years. His long-time personal friendship with LG-elect Suzanne Crouch, coupled with his strong relationship with Vice President-elect Pence, will prove invaluable for Evansville going forward.

30. Mike O'Brien: The former Barnes & Thornburg partner managed Holcomb's upstart gubernatorial race that faced rigid time and money constraints. With victory secured in stunning fashion, O'Brien will be a key Holcomb "kitchen cabinet" member that also includes First Lady Janet Holcomb, Betsy Burdick Wiley, Chairman Huffer and political consultants Anne Hathaway and Pete Seat.

31. U.S. Rep. Jim Banks: In the Indiana Senate, Banks was something of a conservative renegade who nonetheless had a good relationship with leadership after some initial kinks with President David Long. It will be interesting to see how he approaches the U.S. House. Will he fall in completely with the House Freedom Caucus like his predecessor Marlin Stutzman? Or will he try to keep an open line of communication with leadership as Mike Pence did during his House tenure (something that ultimately benefitted Pence as he became conference chair). The hiring of former Coats/Pence aide Matt Lahr as his chief of staff suggests he'll be more like Pence than Stutzman, but the jury is still out. Banks also brings a mili-



Evansville Mayor Lloyd Winnecke, Lt. Gov.-elect Suzanne Crouch, U.S. Reps. Jim Banks and Trey Hollingsworth.

tary pedigree, having served a recent stint in Afghanistan, and will be a consistent voice on military and veterans' issues.

32. U.S. Rep. Trey Hollingsworth: The Tennessee transplant is still an enigma at this point, and it's still unclear how much support he has from the political class in Indiana after spending several million dollars to win this open seat. He enters the House as its richest member. We also don't completely know the heights of his ambition and wouldn't be surprised if he decided to seek the 2018 Senate nomination. He clearly has the resources to do so.

33. Carmel Mayor Jim Brainard: The long-time mayor remains standing and rigid after a number of local frontal assaults. He has remade his city over the past few decades, and any Hoosier living north of Indianapolis should be grateful for the evolution of U.S. 31

and Keystone Parkway. We can't wait for the 96th Street makeover, the last huge impediment between U.S. 20 in South Bend and I-465.

34. Kokomo Mayor Greg Goodnight:

To visit downtown Kokomo is to see a beehive of development ranging from a new YMCA, veterans' housing, shops, brew pubs and parking garage, all fostered by the three-term Democrat. When Kokomo was hit by a severe tornado in August, the city didn't seem to miss a beat, coordinating with the state in a seamless manner. It underscores what we've been saying for years, which is Goodnight is one of Indiana's most innovative and savvy mayors.

35. State Rep. Robert Behning and State Sen. Dennis Kruse: Indiana has scrapped Common Core and now the ISTEP program, with the State Board of Education unsure of what to replace it with. The two House and Senate Education Committee chairs find themselves back in the news facing a potential legislative remedy this session.

36. State Sen. Jim Merritt: The long-time Indianapolis senator has been active on drug and child issues and will be a serious voice as the state grapples with the current drug crisis that has been flagged as a priority by Holcomb, Bosma and Long.

37. Brian Burton, President and CEO, Indiana Manufacturers Association: Burton takes the helm of the IMA from Pat Kiely and it comes during what will be a fascinating era of Indiana manufacturing. The microcosm could be Carrier, which was preparing to off-shore jobs to Mexico until President-elect Trump and Gov. Pence intervened. Some 800 of those jobs will stay, but the \$16 million in investment in the plant will go toward automation, and thus, ultimately fewer jobs. Burton stands to play a key role in this manufacturing evolution that could collide with a sustainable middle class.

38. Kevin Brinegar, President and CEO, Indiana Chamber of Commerce: He will be an advocate for the long-term road plan as well as pre-K funding. "Based on studies, reports and simply travelling across the state, it's pretty apparent that what we desperately need is a long-term, sustainable, transportation infrastructure funding plan," Brinegar has said. He is also backing a cigarette tax increase, noting, "For every pack sold and taxed at 99.5 cents, the state spends at least \$15.90 in related health care costs," Brinegar states. "Obviously that's not a sustainable tradeoff and needs the state's attention."

39. Dennis Faulkenberg and Gary Langston of the Indiana Motor Truck Association: We combine these two as the long-term road and infrastructure funding comes into the fore this session. The truckers came to the table early on in the process in 2016 seeking to influence the package. The IMTA isn't going to like the initial tolling proposals making Langston a key player to bring along. Faulkenberg as the long-time president of APPIAN has spent much of his career advancing state

transportation needs. This will be his Major Moves 2.0 session as the governor and legislative leaders align on a long-term plan.

40. Fishers Mayor Scott Fadness: He is poised to be the next powerhouse mayor in rapidly evolving Fishers, which has become one of Indiana's top 10 cities in population. The mayor has time, a base and an attractive community in the most important Republican county in the state.

41. U.S. Rep. André Carson: After nearly a decade in the House, Carson has settled into a role similar to Visclosky: Fighting for the 7th District in a low-profile way that consistently gets him reelected in a safe district. As one of only a couple of Muslim members of Congress, he could see his profile rise in response to the rhetoric of President Trump. But that didn't happen during the campaign, and Keith Ellison has



Fort Wayne Mayor Tom Henry and U.S. Rep. André Carson

become the more visible Muslim member nationally.

42. U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky: The Merrillville Democrat hasn't used his lengthy seniority to raise his profile nationally or in the state for some time. He's a respected member, especially on House Appropriations Committee issues, but he's made a long career out of fighting for the 1st CD in a low-profile way, often with big results such as the sprawling Marquette lakeshore plan.

43. Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr.: The four-term mayor has ambition that sometimes wants to leap out of his skin. He's pondered gubernatorial and statewide ticket runs, but what he would really love to do is succeed Visclosky in the 1st CD. There are urges to challenge Visclosky in a primary. The angel on his other shoulder urges him to bide his time and wait until the congressman retires. As a former Lake County Democratic chairman, McDermott still displays considerable political heft, having successfully assisted his wife Marissa into winning a judge race. With Sheriff John Buncich facing indictment, McDermott is the most influential Region Democrat beyond Visclosky.

44. Fort Wayne Mayor Tom Henry: The three-term mayor survived a heart scare last year. He cites "momentum" in Indiana's second largest city with an expansion of business and housing. "We saw constant movement, for the most cases better," Henry said in inter-

views. He talks of the city becoming a “point of destination” and he is now focusing on river front development that will include a promenade and bandshell along with restaurants, bars and boutiques.

45. and 46. Rep. Scott Pelath and Sen. Tim Lanane: They are the minority leaders in the House and Senate, controlling just 40 of the 150 General Assembly seats. Both, however, seem to be aligning with the majorities on the road and infrastructure plans, potentially lending bipartisan support to Gov. Holcomb’s top priority, though Lanane is challenging the gas tax hike, saying it shifts the tax burden to the middle class. That may resonate with voters.



Senate and House minority leaders Tim Lanane and Scott Pelath

47. Attorney General Curtis Hill: While there is talk of exploring a 2018 U.S. Senate bid, sources close to Hill say he “is 100% focused on the transition from prosecutor to attorney general and has not spent one minute exploring a US Senate bid.”

48. Democratic Chairman John Zody: The chairman has announced he will seek another term after a disastrous 2016 that saw Evan Bayh and John Gregg go down to defeat and former patron Baron Hill shoved aside. At this point there doesn’t appear to be another viable contender, but the decision won’t be made until March. Zody has the backing of Sen. Donnelly and Rep. Carson and will have to figure out how to make the party viable beyond the urban areas and college towns.

49. Matt Greller, Accelerating Indiana Municipalities: IACT has become AIM, a new vision by Greller which is now being implemented. With the two Republican super majorities, Greller believed that his organization needed to be nimbler on the issues, acting as a bridge between legislators and local officials. AIM will now work in a more grassroots fashion and will be willing to share policy successes with their partners in the General Assembly. Thus a venerable organization is retooling.

50. Chuck Jones, Steelworkers president, Local 1999: He has become the voice of labor this past year, commanding national attention before and after the Carrier plant closing and deal in November, including a twitter battle with President-elect Trump. Of this list, he looks and talks like the common man wooed by Trump and Bernie Sanders. He will likely have a lot to say in the coming months. ❖



House Republicans unveil road plan

By THOMAS CURRY

INDIANAPOLIS – Indiana House Republicans looked to “Investing In Our Future” Wednesday as Speaker Brian Bosma unveiled the first details of the long-awaited infrastructure and roads program. The plan, which manifests as House Bill 1002, filed by House Roads and Transportation Chairman Ed Soliday, calls for an increase in taxes and fees on Hoosier drivers to pay for road improvements.

“It is time to look to the next generation,” Bosma said during the plan’s unveiling on the House floor. “We set a bold agenda this session and we are committed to putting Hoosiers first by passing an honestly balanced budget and responsibly investing in Indiana’s future. Our budget will be built on sound fiscal policies that protect Indiana’s AAA credit rating, top-rated business climate and healthy reserves. We are also focused on passing a comprehensive and sustainable road funding plan that takes into account the needs of the next generation while ensuring our infrastructure continues to fuel our state’s economic engine.”

Governor-elect Eric Holcomb reacted to the plan Wednesday morning, saying, “When it comes to road and bridge funding, we all share the same goal – creating a long-term, sustainable plan that strongly positions us for the future, and I’m confident we’ll have one before we adjourn.”

The gasoline tax, which hasn’t been increased in Indiana since 2003, would go up 10 cents, as would the diesel tax, which hasn’t since an increase since 1988. In addition, there would be a new \$15 annual registration fee for every vehicle and a \$150 fee for electric vehicles. The Republican caucus estimates that it would cost the average Hoosier an extra \$4 a year and Bosma was careful to call it an investment, not an expenditure. Eighty percent of Indiana’s manufactured goods are at some point transported on roads, but studies have shown that 21% of Indiana’s bridges are structurally deficient. A staggering 97% of local agencies say that roads are inadequate for their needs.

The bill requires an average \$1.2 billion increase in the budget every year for 20 years to be spent on improving roads and bridges. The crux of the plan, according to Bosma, is that it “requires people who use the roads to pay for using those assets.” It is estimated currently that Hoosier drivers only pay \$19 monthly for using the roads. “If you use the road more, you should have to pay more,” said Bosma.

However, the bill would also call for diverting money from the state’s general fund to the State Highway Fund. This would create a deficiency in the general fund, but Bosma said that “due to it being a budget year, we can move money around.” ❖

Trumpian challenges for Young, Donnelly

By MARK SCHOEFF JR.

WASHINGTON – One aspect of President-elect Donald Trump’s leadership already is bipartisan: His ability to disrupt both Hoosiers in the Senate. Even before he is sworn in, Trump is poised to cause a split among Senate Republicans over how to handle the investigation of cyber attacks by Russia, possibly designed to influence the U.S. elections.



Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., and Sen. Chuck Schumer, D-N.Y., chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee and incoming Senate minority leader, are calling for a select committee to probe Russian meddling. Trump has dismissed intelligence reports implicating Russia, while Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell, R-Ky., and House Speaker Paul Ryan, R-Wis., assert that existing congressional committees can handle an inquiry.

Indiana Republican Senator-elect Todd Young thrived in an election with Trump at the top of the ticket, easily beating a formidable Democratic candidate, former governor and senator Evan Bayh. Young may find that life in the Senate will present one challenge after the other with Trump in the White House, starting with how to respond to Russia.

It looks as if Young is siding with McConnell rather than McCain, who campaigned for him in Indiana, on the question of a select committee.

“I welcome an investigation into any cyber attack that targets American interests and look forward to being fully briefed on the matter,” Young said in a statement. “President Obama and the relevant Senate committees have ordered investigations, and those findings should provide a clearer picture of a possible path forward.”

Young and other Republicans who resist a select committee are leaving themselves vulnerable to criticism that the GOP formed such a panel to investigate attacks on the U.S. consulate in Benghazi, Libya – and then-Secretary of State Hillary Clinton’s response – but are not doing so to parse potential Russian attempts to undermine U.S. votes.

On Dec. 21, the other member of the Hoosier Senate delegation came out in favor of a select committee. “Foreign interference in American elections is unacceptable and should have serious consequences,” Democratic

Sen. Joe Donnelly said in a statement. “As a first step, we should establish a bipartisan Senate select committee to investigate Russia’s actions and determine how to prevent similar attacks in the future against the U.S. electoral system.”

Donnelly’s splitting with Trump on how to approach Russian cyber attacks is no surprise. But what may have caught Donnelly off guard was Trump’s tromping on his blue-collar turf.

Within weeks of being elected in one of the biggest upsets in U.S. history, Trump followed through with his promise to help workers threatened by a layoff at a Carrier Corp. plant in Indianapolis. Trump and Vice President-elect Mike Pence convinced Carrier to keep about 800 jobs in Indianapolis rather than sending them to Mexico, with the help of sweeteners like state tax breaks.

Trump’s combination of threats and incentives was able to accomplish in a matter of days what Donnelly and other Indiana Democrats and Republicans had not been able to do, preserve Hoosier Carrier jobs. Donnelly called Trump’s moves “a good start” and in a Nov. 30 letter challenged him to fight for Indiana jobs threatened by offshoring at CTS Corp. in Elkhart and at Rexnord Corp. in Indianapolis.

In a Dec. 6 letter to congressional leaders, Donnelly and several other senators from manufacturing states said that they would introduce legislation next year that would utilize the tax code and federal contracting to crack down on companies that outsource jobs, while rewarding those that invest in the United States.



As he looks ahead to his 2018 reelection campaign, Donnelly is not going to cede the blue-collar vote to any Republican who hopes that Trump momentum will continue in Indiana. In fact, Donnelly sees Trump’s efforts directed at the manufacturing sector as an opportunity to amplify a theme he’s been pursuing throughout his public-service career.

“Trump has done a lot to raise the profile of these issues Donnelly has been working on since he first ran for federal office in 2004,” Joel Elliott, Donnelly’s chief of staff, said in an interview. “It helps that the person with the biggest megaphone in the world is going to talk about these issues.”

Donnelly is confident about his bond with the working class. “Donnelly’s kind of a lunch-bucket member of Congress,” Elliott said. “They know he fights for them. Their support is incredibly important to him.”

Donnelly will have to work hard to keep Trump from disrupting that relationship, while Young will have to navigate the waters that Trump roils among Republicans.



Schoeff is HPI’s Washington correspondent.

Blacklisting Trump

By CRAIG DUNN

KOKOMO – One of the history classes required when I pursued my history minor at Ball State University was “The History of the United States from 1950 to Present.” My left-leaning professor (redundant, I know) spent a seemingly interminable amount of time discussing the Red Scare of the Fifties and the Hollywood blacklisting of Communist sympathizers.



We were told how horrible it was to deny someone the ability to make a living on the basis of their political beliefs. We were told that Sen. Joe McCarthy was evil and that all of the card-carrying Hollywood Communists were victims of a budding right-wing conspiracy.

In fact, not only was I subjected to this message for two long weeks during my senior year in college, when I had far more important things to do, but for all of my adult life I have seen little snippets of this message worked into movies, books and television programs. You would think that more than 60 years after the Red Scare and the resultant decades-long drumbeat regarding the evils of the blacklist that the message would have been universally received.

Sad to say, there is still a group devoted to blacklisting of people for their political beliefs or business relationships. That group is the Hollywood elitists and their friends sprinkled across America from sea to shining sea.

From the time that Donald Trump’s presidential nomination became inevitable to his election and to this very day, many pious liberal whack jobs, A-listers, social activists of the disturbed kind and sour-faced whiney pants have launched determined efforts to punish anything and anyone related to Donald Trump. That effort has extended from the immediate Trump family to common, garden-variety Trump supporters. It has gotten ugly and you can bet your “I’m With Her” bumper sticker that it will get uglier as Donald Trump moves from president-elect to Mr. President.

Some of the economic boycott blacklisting has been predictable. A group called Grab Your Wallet Boycott Trump launched a campaign to deny affluent women of the world the delight of carrying an expensive purse bearing the Ivanka Trump label. More than 50 big-box and online retailers were boycotted or threatened with boycott if they did not purge themselves of the Ivanka curse. Their message was simple: We must save the whales, baby polar bears and sand hill squiggits by refusing to be caught toting Ivanka’s purses, wearing her oh-so-fashionable clothing or prancing about in those dazzling dainty pumps. She is the spawn of Satan and she must be made to pay.

Let’s forget all of that malarkey about breaking glass ceilings, empowering women and supporting working mothers. Let’s punish Ivanka for being born to the wrong parent.

Of course, Mark Cuban led the move of NBA teams to avoid staying in any Donald Trump-owned hotel. Those soft terrycloth robes and over-priced cans of mixed nuts could lead to the further oppression of the masses. It is heartwarming that the billionaire Cuban has the interests of those oppressed season ticket holders whom he willingly forces to consume eight-dollar boxes of popcorn at Dallas Mavericks games.

One of the most troubling boycotts led by the looney left has been an effort to punish Trump supporters in Pittsburgh for a litany of perceived offenses. We’re not talking about lefties going after fat cat millionaires and billionaires. The crazies in Pittsburgh are striking at the economic lifeblood of ordinary business people.

Bill Hoy of William Hoy Concrete and Karen Auffenberg of Northwood Realty have been boycotted because they donated to Trump’s presidential campaign. Howard’s Towing has been put on the banned list because he had Trump signs all over his property. Salvatore Pucini’s Hair Salon made the boycott list because he spoke favorably of the Trumpster. Why even the Peace, Love and Little Donuts shop was boycotted for being anti-gay Trump supporters. Gooski’s Bar in Polish Hill is firmly on the list because its owner, Marcus, is “proud and loud” about his Trump support.

It has never dawned on me in my adult life to boycott anyone nor any business because of their political beliefs. If you think I’m going to let politics come between me and a scrumptious donut at Dan’s Donuts, in Kokomo, just because its owner is a Democratic city councilman, you’ve got a big surprise coming. I base my purchases of products and services on quality and price, not viewpoints and politics.

Take Will Ferrell for example. There could not be a better tormenter of Republican politicians. He has skewered the best that the Republican Party has to offer. That being said, I wouldn’t avoid his movies. He’s just too darned funny.

The same could be said for Hoosier John Mellencamp. He’s very liberal and very outspoken, but the guy writes great rock songs. I don’t care if Jack and Diane are Republicans or Democrats. It has a good beat, you can dance to it and I’d give it a 93 Dick!

The most disturbing element of the Soros-promoted Trump-banning boycotters is the Hollywood elite. The writers, producers, directors and stars of stage and screen should be the folks most concerned about protecting the 1st Amendment rights of everyone. Yet, one of the biggest and ugliest trends in La La Land is the systematic boycotting and blacklisting of those who have bravely spoken their political minds. In Hollywood it has become the trend to not only produce a steady stream of message-driven movies, but to also squash like toxic bugs

those who diverge in any way from the accepted political or social line. It's sad when supposed liberal minds are the most closed.

Back in 2008, I was pretty sure that Barack Obama was going to be a disaster as president. His sole resume item of political organizer gave me little hope. Let's face it, being a product of the Chicago political machine just doesn't stir the cockles in the average Republican's heart. I fervently worked against him, I wrote op/ed pieces against him and I organized get-out-the-vote efforts to try and beat him. In the end, as well as in 2012, he defeated our Republican candidate and became our president. I still watched the inauguration with pride.

I won't ask those devastated Hillary Clinton sup-

porters to be happy. I don't want them to smile when they want to cry. I want them to continue to speak out, write editorials and craft comedy sketches. That's what Americans do. I just ask those Clinton supporters to extend the same courtesy and rights to those who differ with them. That's also what Americans do.

So this message goes out to Lena Dunham, Amy Shumer and Rosie O'Donnell: When I don't watch your television shows, movies or stage acts, please know that I am not boycotting you because of your political views. I just think you lack talent!

Dunn is chairman of the Howard County Republican Party.

Time for business to stop seeking subsidies

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – One week ago, I promised recommendations for improving the state's economy. In the past I've done that extensively, but somehow readers don't remember. Here are some more thoughts to be forgotten.



It's time for business leaders to stop seeking subsidies from the same public sector they deny adequate funding to do its job. Businesses complain of a shortage of qualified labor. Is it government's responsibility to train the labor force? Are our elementary and secondary schools to be merely preliminary settings

for vocational training?

What does business do directly to improve the labor force? If they find too many workers disabled by illiteracy, drugs and alcohol, a common complaint in this state, do they sponsor work-prep programs, including alcohol and drug treatment efforts? Do they increase wages to attract more qualified workers? Do they separately or collectively offer intensive training programs for workers? Many firms believe government or workers themselves should pay to prepare for work and for specific occupations. Most often firms don't want to pay the taxes or fees necessary to support such education because workers are not bound by contract to repay the investment.

Where is business in economic development? Indiana uses a combination of federal, state, and local funds to attract and retain firms. The amount and use of private funding for such efforts is hidden from public

view. One means of subsidizing businesses is through Tax Increment Financing (TIF) districts. These districts use the increased future property taxes paid in a developing area to repay bonds sold to raise funds for the sewers, streets, etc. needed in that area.

It's still a valid idea; however, it often grows beyond its initial boundaries and intent, without providing necessary infrastructure and maintenance. TIF districts also delay the receipt of local revenues for ordinary, but growing, government functions (police, fire, schools, and libraries).

The biggest subsidies reduce or eliminate business taxes. Other subsidies reduce or refund taxes to firms that increase employment. Additional subsidies come from curtailing or weakening the enforcement of regulations. Indiana also subsidizes large-scale commercial and residential developments beyond city boundaries by impeding their annexation. Too often these developments escape paying taxes for essential city services.

These many subsidies create Indiana's "good business environment," but they may be hazardous to the public's well-being. Economic developers and businesses tell legislators all these subsidies are needed to combat competition from other places. It's time to prove it; give us evidence, not just uncorroborated stories and supposition.

Let business demonstrate that Indiana is "a state that works." Let's see the Indiana Chamber of Commerce and the dozens of trade associations haunting the Statehouse go back to their members and place responsibility for business success where it belongs, on business leadership.

Indiana could be a leader. Announce we will no longer pay businesses to locate or expand here. If you need a subsidy to be here, maybe you don't belong here.

❖

Marcus is an economist.

Challenge for proposed faithless elector ban

By JOSHUA CLAYBOURN

EVANSVILLE – The 2016 presidential election provided many Americans a civics lesson in the way we actually select the president of the United States through the Electoral College, whose members are chosen in Indiana at state party conventions.



With the realization that electors could have voted differently than the state outcome and swung the election away from Donald Trump, the Indianapolis Star reports prominent GOP attorney James Bopp Jr. wants lawmakers to require future Hoosier electors to vote based on state election results.

Although Indiana has never grappled with so-called faithless electors before, there have been 164 electors

in American history opting not to vote with their state's outcome. About 45 percent of those "faithless" votes occurred because the candidate died before the Electoral College votes were tallied. Excluding those understandable switches, on average each presidential election gets about two true party-defecting electors, although 2016 witnessed seven electors voting against their state's winner.

According to the National Conference of State Legislatures, 29 states require electors to vote based on the candidate who wins the popular vote in their state or district. The IndyStar reports Senate GOP leader David Long said lawmakers would consider legislation this session which would bind electors and make Indiana the 30th state to join the list.

However, no bill has been prepared or filed yet. Moreover, Rep. Milo Smith, R-Columbus, who heads the House Elections and Apportionment Committee, appears skeptical of the proposal based on policy concerns, telling the IndyStar it could give way to accusations that officials are "mandating" election results.

Of course, there would likely be political ramifications for electors if they did not vote the way their constituents want, especially in Indiana where electors must answer to a party system which typically values tribal loyalty over freedom of conscience. President Benjamin Harrison, a Hoosier himself, observed that "an elector who failed to vote for the nominee of his party would be the object of execration, and in times of high excitement might be the subject of a lynching."

Federal law does address congressional input on the matter. Per Title 3 of the United States Code, Sections 15-18, the vice president presides over a joint congress-

sional session on Jan. 6. Two members of the House and two members of the Senate read the Electoral College results submitted by the states in alphabetical order. Once finished, the vote tally is given to the vice president, who certifies the winner. However, the vice president must also ask if anyone objects in Congress during the vote counting. If one member of the House and Senate each object, in writing, to the same elector or slate of electors, the House and Senate go into private meetings to vote on the objections. When the session reconvenes, the votes about the objections are announced, and the contested votes are either counted or disqualified.

Thus, Congress can toss out the "faithless" votes or count them if they don't affect the election's outcome. In 1968 an elector voted for George Wallace instead of Richard Nixon; after objections were filed in the House and Senate, both voted separately to accept the vote.

The IndyStar's coverage of Jim Bopp's proposal never grapples with one of the most important considerations of all: Is the legislation intended to bind electors even constitutional? The electors' job, according to the Constitution, is to "vote" for president, suggesting electors may choose whom they want to vote for instead of following a robotic command, but ultimately the Constitution avoids this level of specificity.

Advocates for party-defecting electors frequently cite Alexander Hamilton's Federalist No. 68 which argues the need for an enlightened, special group of people, now known as the Electoral College, making the actual choice for president. Although Hamilton clearly endorses electors having the freedom to choose their own vote, he never explicitly addresses the constitutionality of state laws binding them.

In *Ray v. Blair* (1952) the U.S. Supreme Court upheld an Alabama state law requiring electors to pledge how they would vote, but appeared to purposefully leave open the question of whether such pledges could be enforced.

Ironically, in a year when Trump supporters most feared an Electoral College revolt, it was "faithless" Democrats who prompted the most recent judicial commentary. Two Colorado electors, Democrats Polly Baca and Robert Nemanich, sought to prevent the state from enforcing a law that required them to cast their electoral vote for Hillary Clinton, the winner of the statewide popular vote.

In December, the 10th Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that any attempt by the Colorado secretary of state to remove the electors "after voting has begun" would be "unlikely in light of the text of the 12th Amendment." Notably, the 10th Circuit rejected requests to immediately halt the enforcement of Colorado's law, but the court agreed a constitutional argument probably exists.

If those pushing to bind electors are to succeed, they will likely do so by arguing the Electoral College exists solely because it is the state of Indiana as a quasi-sovereign entity, and not the people, who selects the president.

Jim Bopp and others will argue Indiana can (and each one does) determine the manner of deciding how its votes are to be cast. In other words, the electors at the Electoral College are merely proxies for the state; the holder of a proxy has no legal authority to cast his ballot otherwise than as directed by his principal.

On the other hand, if Indiana can bind its electors, what is the purpose of an Electoral College at all? The Constitutional framers envisioned individual electors free to vote their own preferences and consciences, regardless of statewide results. To our modern sensibilities this approach seems undemocratic, and indeed it is, but as Alexander Hamilton wrote, that was the framers' intent: "A small number of persons, selected by their fellow-citizens from the general mass, will be most likely to possess the

information and discernment" needed to investigate and vote on a president."

Article II of the Constitution, as amended by the 12th Amendment in 1804, focuses on the electors choosing the president, not the states. Once electors are appointed pursuant to state law – in Indiana, appointed by their political party – power likely shifts to the electors and is no longer constitutionally subject to control by the states.

This much is certain: If the Indiana legislature proceeds with a bill to bind electors, it will be met with swift constitutional challenges and legal opposition. ❖

Claybourn is an Evansville attorney.

Getting used to Vice President Pence

By **RICH JAMES**

MERRILLVILLE – I guess the reality hasn't set in. For the life of me, I still can't embrace the fact that Indiana Gov. Mike Pence will soon be vice president of the United States.

After all, it was a mere eight months ago that Pence launched his campaign for reelection as Indiana's governor. And, at the time, things didn't look especially promising for Pence, who had drawn the ire of a number of groups around the state.



Among those groups was the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender community. Pence denied state civil rights protection to the LGBT community. Pence's stand set off a firestorm across the nation as several organizations cancelled conventions in Indiana. That national response drew the ire of the Indiana Chamber of Commerce,

which issued a rare criticism of Pence.

Pence's stand on a number of pieces of legislation also drew the wrath of the state's teachers and labor organizations. And, in Northwest Indiana, Pence was widely criticized for not directing enough money to that corner of the state, especially in terms of road projects, including the rebuilding of the Cline Avenue Bridge.

It had reached the point by mid-year that Pence's chances for reelection were waning. Statewide polls were showing Democrat John Gregg narrowly leading Pence in the race for governor.

Despite Pence's lack of popularity in the governor's race, Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump announced on July 15 that Pence would be his running mate. That was made official a week later at the Republican National Convention. It turned out that Pence's extreme conservatism is what Trump decided that he needed to garner the backing of the party's far right. In news clips during the presidential race and since the election, Pence wears a continuous smile and applauds widely whenever Trump enters the room.

Almost two weeks ago, Pence was in Chicago to raise money for the Republican National Committee. The cheap seats cost \$2,700 per person, while those who wanted to be up close to the future vice president of the country paid more than \$30,000.

It all still has me shaking my head.

So, we have a sitting Indiana governor who was trailing in the polls for reelection and was elected vice president four months later. And now, people were paying more than \$30,000 to have lunch with the guy Hoosiers were on the verge of rejecting. I guess that's politics. ❖

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.

I told you anything can happen (and it did)

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – There will never, ever, ever be another political year in Indiana like 2016. Ever. It was a year when I kept saying, "Anything can happen." And it happened.

Hoosiers began the year with an embattled Gov.



Mike Pence facing political oblivion, his lieutenant governor preparing to bolt ahead of what many expected to be a brutal campaign rematch against John Gregg. We saw the rise of Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb, the presidential primaries go to a populist Manhattan billionaire-turned-Republican named Donald Trump, and a Vermont Socialist-turned-Democrat named Bernie Sanders, both connecting with our

voters, both declaring the political and economic systems have been "rigged."

Indiana was transformed into a place Trump would call "Importantville" as we assumed our rightful position at the Center of the Political Universe. The year ends with Vice President-elect Pence poised as one of the most powerful politicians on the planet.

Both Sanders and Trump would win the Indiana primary with 53% of the vote, while their party hierarchies were aligned elsewhere. Not a single Indiana Democratic super delegate backed Sanders, even while Sanders drew 10,000 people to Monument Circle on Election eve. Gov. Pence backed Ted Cruz, though he offered an endorsement so squishy that Trump playfully poked fun. The Republican National Convention slate cobbled together by Chairman Jeff Cardwell was heavy on Ted Cruz and John Kasich supporters, while Trump just had Rex Early and Bill Springer.

Everything – everything – changed in July when Pence and his team made that

long-aspired return to Washington, after three years of resume-burnishing in Indiana, taking the epic ticket dice roll when dozens of Republicans begged off. Pence began a three-week dalliance with Trump, breakfasted and dined with him, golfed with him, auditioned at a Westfield sports complex while Manafort trolls grounded Trump Force One, then spent a presumably jittery July 14 on the most conspicuous teeter totter in history, finally securing the veep nod about 66 minutes before he would have to pull his gubernatorial nomination.

Can anything happen? Yes!

But wait! There would be even more!

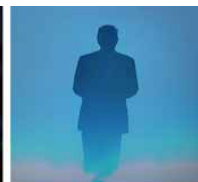
With Todd Young cruising toward a U.S. Senate seat after dispatching his third member of Congress in the May 3 primary, the \$10 Million Man returned! Out of the K Street world of wingtips, jumbo shrimp and monogrammed shirts, Evan Bayh decided he really wanted his and his father's old Senate seat, the same seat he trashed and kicked aside to Dan Coats in February 2010, maligning the Senate as he sulked away. Nominee Baron Hill was discarded, and Young went from about a three-to-one money edge to a nearly 10-to-one disadvantage. Just as in 1986 and 1988, Evan Bayh was back to save the Indiana Democratic Party once again.

The rumblings on the ground were about the most diabolical rigged deal ever. Bayh would take that Senate nomination, win in tandem with Hillary Clinton, then ascend to her cabinet. It would be perfect! Perhaps Gov. Gregg would bring back Baron.

Except, anything can happen. Anything.

In the governor's race, Gregg had spent more than a year preparing for his rematch with Pence, only to end up facing tall, tall Hickory Holcomb, the affable operative with a Mitch pedigree atop well-worn cowboy boots. He would elbow out Todd Rokita and Susan Brooks for an unprecedented 22-vote GOP nomination on July 26. He would end up with just \$1.25 million of Pence's \$7 million war chest, build a campaign with a 100% burn rate, and, in a political jet he built on the fly, ride the Trump/Pence tidal wave to victory.

In August, everyone – everyone – presumed President-elect Hillary Clinton. Donald Trump, even with Bobby Knight and Mike Pence



on his side, had nary a chance. Not a one, just about every talking head and pollster told us. He had insulted Gold Star mothers, chided John McCain for being a POW. He got a Purple Heart the easy way. He was history's most epic liar, with far, far more lies than Lyin' Ted and Crooked Hillary combined. He fat-shamed beauty queens and was exposed in locker room talk with Billy Bush. At the very next debate, wife Melania Trump showed up wearing a pink pussy bow.

We are being punked, right?

It was like Robert Duvall's Lt. Col. Bill Kilgore goading Pfc. Lance Johnson into taking on that Mekong Delta breaker under Viet Cong fire. "Charlie don't surf!" Kilgore barked through the napalm. Neither would Donald Trump, right? There's no way his use of the Twitter Machine could out-flank Hillary's GOTV. Right? There's no way Trump could win after alienating just about every minority group on the continent, right? There's no way that Vlad Putin, Edward Snowden and Julian Assange could pepper the Clinton juggernaut with enough Wikileaks email flotsam and jetsam to make a difference, right? And FBI Director James Comey put that server story to bed forever in July, right?

But as we now know, anything could happen. And it did!

Anthony Weiner rose like a bad porn scene. Mike Pence could feel the earth shake under his feet, much to the chagrin of Carole King and ObamaWorld. Director Comey made a curtain call with what amounted to a Bronx cheer.

Lt. Col. Kilgore's apocalyptic wave broke in the exact opposite direction than everyone expected. It was as if Gov. Pence summoned Moses to part the waters of Lake Michigan. Moses promised to take the Republicans to the promised land, and Pence exhorted them to "come back home." With Indiana becoming a 19% plurality bulwark that would swamp Gregg, Bayh and Shelli Yoder in the 9th CD, Moses split the waters between Milwaukee and Muskegon and there went Wisconsin and Michigan for Donald Trump. Pence and Moses split the waters of the Delaware and the Ohio and there went Pennsylvania! The waters of the Mississippi and Missouri separated and there went Iowa.

At 6:01 p.m. on Nov. 8, John Gregg, Evan Bayh and Hillary Clinton believed they would win. Clinton staffers were uncorking cocktails late that afternoon in Brooklyn. Mike and Karen Pence could feel the earth shake, but even they were pondering the Fox News or, perhaps, the Trump Network TV deal.

About four and a half hours after Pence's prophetic Indiana Republican Convention speech ("Indiana will be the first state on the board for Donald Trump!") the math from Milwaukee and Wayne counties was ominous and so were the Philadelphia suburbs. Minnesota teetered as if Jesse Ventura had returned.

The most epic, American political upset, aided and abetted by a cunning Russian autocrat with a KGB portfo-

lio, fueled by disaffected rust belt voters, a pathetic Clinton campaign, and a Tweetin' billionaire, would be our reality.

Donald Trump vowed to make American great again, while the New York Stock Exchange flirted with 20,000, the jobless rate stood at 4.6%. As Politico's Michael Grunwald observed, Trump won while "The stock market and high school graduation rate are at all-time highs, while the uninsured rate, abortion rate and teen pregnancy rate are at all-time lows. Oil imports, crime and health care inflation are also near historic lows, with carbon emissions, foreclosures and illegal immigration falling, too. Meanwhile, retirement assets, auto sales and renewable power have skyrocketed."

The Indiana Democratic Party stood decimated. Beau Bayh would thank Democratic supporters who were out numbered by camouflaged Trumpers across the amber waves of grain. Hoosier Republican lawmakers have been weirdly silent on the Russian election interference, which is a complete paradigm shift few could have ever imagined and could have historic implications. Attorney General Greg Zoeller left office no longer sure he was a Republican. Gov. Holcomb is poised for Major Moves 2.0. U.S. Rep. Trey Hollingworth will be the richest member of Congress. Even though he couldn't place a single Hoosier in the club, Vice President-elect Pence has shaped the Trump cabinet into a unit unlike we've ever seen, filled with billionaires, generals and true believers who vow to bring back coal, dwarf the Obama stimulus package, build that wall, save Carrier jobs, take aim at Muslims and Dreamers, kill Obamacare, and, perhaps, even take a Jesus Shot guaranteeing good health for life (thus, repeal and replace?).

During his RNC acceptance speech, Trump told us, "Our Convention occurs at a moment of crisis for our nation. The attacks on our police, and the terrorism in our cities, threaten our very way of life. Any politician who does not grasp this danger is not fit to lead our country. I have a message for all of you: The crime and violence that today afflicts our nation will soon come to an end. Beginning on January 20th 2017, safety will be restored. I have joined the political arena so that the powerful can no longer beat up on people that cannot defend themselves.

"Nobody knows the system better than me, which is why I alone can fix it," Trump said.

Like many of us, Washington Post columnist David Ignatius observes, "As Trump's inauguration approaches, he remains a mystery to many of us. He seeks to be a disruptive agent of change, but what are the limits? What if Trump tries to place himself above the law? He wouldn't be the first president to do so, but are the country's institutions still strong enough to resist?"

Hoosiers and Americans have brought the Trump Tower bull into the Pottery Barn. His big hands will hold the levers of power as he intimidates his Republican congressional majorities. What America looks like four years from now is anyone's guess. Because anything can happen. ❖

Obama's legacy under a Trump assault

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Political analysts told us that President Obama's legacy was at stake in the 2016 election. He said that himself.

If Hillary Clinton won, the conventional political wisdom was, Obama's legacy would be secure. Obamacare would survive, finally with vital improvements a Republican Congress had refused to provide. His efforts on climate change, immigration and foreign policy, including tough sanctions against Russia, would continue.



If Donald Trump won, Clinton and Trump sides agreed, Obamacare would be gone. Promoting coal would be more important than concern about climate change. "Soft" immigration policy would

be replaced by deportation. There would be a far different approach to Russia and elsewhere from Iran to Cuba. A Trump victory would constitute voter repudiation of Obama initiatives and Obama himself, it was said, with the outgoing president sinking in historical evaluations.

As 2017 begins, with Trump to be inaugurated as president, the expected changes loom, but Obama's approval rating climbs. His 56-percent approval rating by Gallup at year's end is one of his highest ratings, culminating steady approval gains throughout a year which he began in disapproval territory.

How could that be? Shouldn't Obama be headed down in approval in accord with the political wisdom that a Trump victory destroys his legacy and diminishes his place in history? After all, when Obama won the presidency in 2008, the outgoing Republican president, George W. Bush, sank to only a 29-percent approval rating. It seems, however, that Obama looked better as voters looked at the replacement choice, Trump or Clinton.

What Obama inherited from Bush and future success or failure of Trump will be important factors in determining how Americans and the historians who rate the presidents come to regard Obama. Evaluation of any president includes comparison with presidents and conditions before and after the administration. What did a president inherit when taking office? What did he leave for the incoming president to deal with or build upon?

Obama will look good in comparison with Bush, now generally ranked among the poorest of the presidents. A Siena poll of 238 presidential scholars in 2010 ranked Bush 39th among the 43 presidents who had completed their service by then. He finished just

below Millard Fillmore.

Obama inherited from Bush an economy on the brink of a second Great Depression. Bush also was in charge when the nation was hit by the 9/11 terrorist attacks. He then blundered in invading Iraq, which had nothing to do with 9/11, destabilizing that nation, once a balance against Iran.

While Obama critics give him little credit now for quick action to stave off depression, historians will look at the results, a steady, even though slow, turn-around in the economy. He also will benefit in history for personal achievement as the first African-American president.

The comparison with Trump could be an even bigger factor in how Obama comes to be regarded in history. What if Trump, so underrated politically before his presidential election, is also underrated by his critics now in their predictions of disaster? What if he produces significant "great again" goals? What, however, if Trump, who appears to be inheriting a sound economy, messes things up in trade, spending and tax policies that don't work? What if bluster brings multiple military conflicts?

Will Trump, in dismantling Obamacare, improve health care or just drive more millions from insurance and into hospital emergency rooms for a medical meltdown? Will Trump in foreign affairs work effectively with allies or end alliances? Deal effectively with Vladimir Putin or be suckered by Putin?

If Trump is regarded as a success, at least successful enough to win a second term, Obama won't seem to have been as vital as his supporters now think. If Trump fails to produce, sinks to George W. Bush approval ratings and loses or doesn't even try for a second term, Obama years could look golden in comparison. ❖

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

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Senate GOP frets ACA repeal impact

INDIANAPOLIS — Republicans are fast-tracking the process of repealing Obamacare, aiming to get it done in several weeks. But they're not even close to agreement about what comes next — or even when the repeal should take effect (Politico). Those disagreements spilled over Wednesday at a closed-door meeting with Vice President-elect Mike Pence that had been intended to unify the Senate GOP. Instead, multiple senators stood up to express concern that the party's plans to repeal and replace the law could blow massive holes in the budget, according to a source familiar with the exchange. Newly ascendant Republicans are reckoning with the reality that dismantling a nearly seven-year-old law that reshaped a \$3 trillion health sector and covers millions of Americans is more daunting than simply campaigning against it. "Most of the issues are with respect to replace," Sen. John Thune (R-S.D.) said of the disarray inside the caucus. "I don't think repeal is that complicated. We've done that once. But yes there are budgetary considerations when it comes time to replace. It's complicated, we've got a lot of moving parts."

Donnelly vows to oppose ACA repeal

WASHINGTON — U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly distributed an email to media indicating "I Won't Support Health Care Repeal Effort that Creates Chaos, Increases Premiums, Takes Away Coverage from Hoosiers" (Howey Politics Indiana). "I have long said that the health care law is not perfect, and I have offered many ways we can improve it. I have been willing to work with anyone - Republican or Democrat - to improve the health care system in our country. But what I won't do is

support any effort that would create chaos in the insurance marketplace, increasing premiums and taking away insurance from over 20 million Americans," he said. According to Donnelly, "more than 400,000 Hoosiers currently have health insurance coverage thanks to the Affordable Care Act. And



under the health care law, Governor Mike Pence established the HIP 2.0 program, which provided insurance to over 200,000 Hoosiers, a program that has been critical to collective efforts to address the opioid abuse and heroin use epidemics in Indiana."

Zoeller to bring World Trade Center

INDIANAPOLIS — Departing Indiana Attorney General Greg Zoeller announced that part of his future plans include partnering with others to bring a World Trade Centers Association (WTCA) licensed organization and facility to Indiana once he leaves public service on Jan. 9. "This new mission of developing a World Trade Center in Indianapolis provides an opportunity for me to continue to serve the best interests of Indiana as our state begins its third century," said Zoeller. "The WTC-Indy will serve to enhance trade opportunities for manufacturers, increase global investments and help promote all that is best of our Hoosier state." Zoeller and former Marion County Clerk Doris Anne Sadler will lead an investment group pursuing a WTCA license for an Indianapolis-based World Trade Center (WTC) organization and eventual facility dedicated to strengthening the state's ties to the global economy while helping individual firms seeking to export and import products abroad.

Macer bill would change consent age

INDIANAPOLIS — Since last summer, Rep. Karlee Macer, D-Indianapolis, has been working on a bill to change the age of consent from 16 to

18 years old (Hoffmeyer, Statehouse File). The proposed bill also introduces a new offense called indiscretion, which would punish licensed teachers for having any kind of sexual contact with students ages 16-18. Teachers who were convicted of indiscretion would lose their license.

Pence extends energy code

INDIANAPOLIS — Gov. Mike Pence has signed an executive order extending the state's energy code for one year, a move that ensures developers of commercial buildings and apartments meet minimum standards for insulation, heating and air, and lighting (Indianapolis Business Journal). Pence signed the order on Dec. 28, just days before the code was to expire and a week after critics said failing to do so could let unscrupulous builders cheat tenants and others of basic protections against weather.

Pelath defines 'loyal opposition'

WASHINGTON — Laying out House Democrat's plans for the new session, minority leader Scott Pelath spoke of the "loyal opposition" and how it is the duty of the minority to question the majority (Curry, Howey Politics Indiana). Pelath said House Democrats plan to work with Republicans and that there is agreement on some issues like workforce training. However, Pelath said that the Democrats will "critique your decisions and provide alternatives" on issues the two parties don't agree on. Early into the session, it is clear that one area Democrats will be critiquing Republicans on is the proposed infrastructure plan. While Democrats agree a comprehensive plan is needed, they challenge that raising taxes on Hoosier citizens isn't fair considering the continued tax breaks to the wealthy. "It is essential that this chamber and our new governor sell this plan to the people, but we must look at other alternatives" said Pelath.