



Trump2.0 & the courting of Donnelly

President shifts away from GOP leadership after first deal with Democrats

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – One week ago we witnessed what could be President Trump 2.0. It occurred as a smiling Vice President Pence watched in the Oval Office as minority Democrat leaders Chuck Schumer and Nancy Pelosi sat nearby. President Trump abruptly shut down a discussion where Treasury Sec. Steve Mnuchin was talking about an 18-month debt ceiling window. Then –



Presto! – came the art of the deal with new-found friends “Chuck and Nancy.”

Trump would agree to a three-month delay on the debt ceiling, pushing it to December, and tied it to \$15 billion in Hurricane Harvey relief.

It left Speaker Paul Ryan and Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell stunned, perplexed and furious and fearing 2018 mid-term fallout. McConnell was whispering that he didn’t believe Trump had a strategy, that it was just another impulse move in search of that

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Cold beer for the Amazon

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – If I’m gonna go to the Amazon, I’m going to pack and pack tight, take a first aid kit, mosquito netting, a hammock, a Sears poncho, rations, trail mix, potable water and . . . cold beer.



Timing can be everything. As the General Assembly’s Alcohol Code Revision Commission dived into the frosty suds debate on Monday, mayors from Indianapolis and Fishers, along with the Indiana Economic Development Commission, were dreaming of Amazon’s HQ2. Analysis from the New York Times and others places Indiana in the mix until “quality of life” and “mass transit” comes into



“I find it troubling that many outside the current arena, including former officials, criticize the recent record and expressed concern about capabilities with the president.”

- DNI Dan Coats, during a keynote to the Billington CyberSecurity Summit



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play.

With this plum capturing site selector fantasy, Indiana is plunging into a debate about where cold beer can be sold and whether it should be available on Sunday beyond craft brew pubs and restaurants. In 49 other states and the District of Columbia, the temperature of beer sales is unregulated. According to Prohibition-Repeal.com, states that ban Sunday liquor sales include Alabama, Indiana, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, and West Virginia. Notably, Indiana is the only state in the country that bans retail beer, wine and liquor sales on Sundays.

The decision on where to locate Amazon's HQ2 will be made at the current corporate headquarters in Seattle (a city with a departing gay mayor), located in a state with liberal alcohol laws, legalized recreational marijuana, and the sprawling and admired King County Metro Transit. So adaptable is the Seattle mindset that in 1986 it changed from King County honoring Vice President Rufus King (in office when the territory was formed in 1853) to King County honoring civil rights icon Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., whose face adorns the county flag, logo and highway markers.



Amazon is literally, by the hour and day, changing the retail face of America with its vast online sales that include four large warehouse operations, one called a "fulfillment center" here in Indiana. It is experimenting with drone deliveries of all products, presumably including liquor. In Indiana, you can find firms like Fort Wayne's Cap 'n Cork doing limited home deliveries to bona fide of-age patrons.

The site selectors and those hiring employees will at some point get beyond the real estate, low taxes, low cost of living, airport (and we've got one of the best), workforce (we Hoosiers are hard workers), research

and development (tee up IU, Purdue, Notre Dame and Rose-Hulman), legacy (native and transplanted Hoosiers helped invent the automobile, airplane, TV, 2% milk, tomato juice and subsequently the Bloody Mary) and concentrate on such quality of life. On this front, we are making headway with BlueIndy, urban bike trails and the sprouting of mass transit.

But maybe not on retiring archaic code. On Monday, the opening salvos between the status quo by the Indiana Association of Beverage Retailers representing some 1,000 liquor store outlets and the convenience/petroleum marketers came down to access, price and safety.

While the IEDC has been formidable in landing Honda, Toyota and Salesforce over the years, it finds a potential client viewing a state where fruit-based beverages can be sold cold in convenience stores, but malt/barley based beverages go out the door warm. "Our stores can sell Angry Orchard cold but we must sell Reds Apple Ale warm," said Matt Norris of the Indiana Petroleum Marketers. "There may be a difference in how the products are made, but the vast majority of consumers see them as interchangeable."

Patrick Tamm of the Indiana Association of Beverage Retailers impressed that alcohol is a dangerous product of which the sale must be regulated. Liquor stores require clerks to be age 21 by law, have their own permits and be certified for beer sales; the convenience stores aren't regulated at this point. NWI Times reporter Dan Carden reports: "Several suggested cold beer availability at gas stations would lead to increased drunken driving, even though they admitted most Hoosiers drive to liquor stores when they purchase cold beer (or craft breweries). They also cautioned that cold beer sales could lead to demand for Sunday retail alcohol sales, which they claimed would further harm liquor stores by driving up operating costs relative to grocery, drug and convenience stores that

already are open Sundays.”

The convenience stores expressed a willingness to take on new regulations in order to sell cold beer. At some point this fall, there should be studies on whether Indiana’s alcohol-related highway death rates are lower than the 49 other states that allow a broader sale of cold beer.

The fascinating contrast between alcohol being a “dangerous product that needs to be regulated” and the work of a separate legislative study committee that wants to allow anyone to walk on the streets with loaded handguns without licensure is an obvious moose on the table. At some point during the 2018 session, legislators could be faced with preventing convenience stores to sell cold beer on Sunday, while they vote to eliminate handgun permits altogether.

As one observer noted: “Say what you will about the ill effects of alcohol on health and drunk driving, a loaded handgun has the power to do a lot more damage a whole lot quicker.”

Some observers in the lobby believe there will be changes, most likely Sunday sales, as signaled by State Sen. Ron Alting earlier this summer in the Lafayette Journal & Courier. But the pound of flesh exacted could well be cold beer sales relegated to liquor stores, and not Ricker’s, Thornton’s or the Amazon drones.

Liquor store owners claim that the fight isn’t about cold or warm beer, or about bringing the price of beer down. It’s about national supermarket chains not wanting to be tied down by local alcohol rules, as WISH-TV puts it. Thus another jarring contrast continues between the archaic three-tier system eight decades old, a General Assembly still caught in a nanny state mindset that conservatives purportedly loathe, and an economic development plum which could bring waves of drones humming toward our stoops.

Here’s how the American Conservative observes our straddling the centuries, with reporter C. Jarrett Dieterle writing: “Indiana lawmakers recently announced that

they plan to study the state’s outdated alcohol laws this summer with an eye toward reforming them for the 21st century. While this is an encouraging sign, the road that led to this legislative soul-searching involved a missed opportunity to reform the state’s infamous ‘cold beer law’ and underscored the cronyist forces Indiana reformers are up against.”

Dieterle, a fellow at the R Street Institute and who edits Reform.org, continues, “Although nearly every state has outdated and arcane alcohol laws, Indiana’s cold beer law stands out as one of the most bizarre. In its present form, state law allows only liquor stores and restaurants to sell carryout beer that is either ‘iced or cooled.’ According to an Associated Press analysis, liquor-store interests have contributed more than \$750,000 to Indiana lawmakers since 2010, underscoring the power they were able to exert in the state capitol. One lawmaker even stated that voting to revoke Ricker’s ability to sell cold beer ‘goes against every grain in my free market body,’ but then turned around and voted for the legislation anyway. Rather than spending their time defending anachronistic laws and targeting convenience stores that want to sell cold beer, Indiana should fix its booze laws. After all, no one likes warm beer.”

And Forbes Magazine observes of 20th Century alcohol codes: “Most are unjustified relics. Too often, the motivation to put and keep many of these restrictions in place has nothing to do with public health or safety concerns. Instead the ultimate purpose is to protect politically well-connected stakeholders from competition. In the process, these protectionist regulations also inhibit industry expansion and economic growth.”

So, Hoosier legislator, that’s how national writers – conservative national writers – perceive us. It’s enough to prompt a mass cringe at IEDC.

We want to go to the Amazon. But the Tamminists want to do it with warm beer, or their cold beer. Think that will impress the Seattlists? ❖



Trump 2.0, from page 1

elusive deal. Mike Allen of Axios observed: “It’s now possible that Trump’s biggest legislative wins this year will be more spending and raising the debt cap – the exact opposite of what Tea Party Republicans came to D.C. to do. Trump ‘brazenly rolled his own party’s leaders,’ as AP put it.”

Fast-forward to Tuesday night when U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly joined fellow Democrat Sens. Heidi Heitkamp and Joe Manchin for dinner and a scoop of ice cream (President Trump



had two) at the White House. It came several days after Heitkamp joined Trump on an Air Force One ride to her home state of North Dakota, then joined him on stage, heard his praise as the president pushed for tax reform. “We had a very good meeting with Nancy Pelosi and Chuck Schumer,” Trump told reporters eight days ago on Air Force One while traveling to North Dakota. “We agreed to a three-month extension on debt ceiling, which they consider to be sacred – very important – always we’ll agree on debt ceiling automatically because of the importance of it.”

So what we have here are tumbling tables in President Trump's quest for the art of the deal, in this case, tax reform and the stroking media praise he craves. When Donnelly kicked off his reelection bid in Anderson last month, he declared that Donnelly voters "are my voters" and was clearly lapping up the attention.

"I had another good conversation with President Trump about my proposal to address the outsourcing of American jobs," Donnelly said after the White House dinner. "I am pleased he remains supportive of my proposal, and I believe that tax reform should include measures to support companies that invest in our workers and penalize companies that ship American jobs to foreign countries. I am hopeful we can work together to encourage domestic investments that benefit American workers."

A new adherent is Trump legislative liaison Marc Short, a long-time Pence aide, who was in the room during Trump's bombshell, seen in pictures as the president had the happy ear of Schumer. By Tuesday, he was a convert, telling a Christian Science Monitor Roundtable, "We learned this summer that keeping 50 or 52 Republicans [in the Senate] is not something that's reliable. Despite promises and commitments they've made to the American voters since 2010, we don't feel like we can assume we can get tax reform done strictly on a partisan basis, so it would be wise for us ... to try and reach out and earn the support from Democrats as well."



President Trump cutting a deal with Senate Minority Leader Schumer as his legislative liaison, Marc Short, looks on.

30 Republicans and 30 Democrats

The new art of the deal may well be 30 Democrats and 30 more moderate Republicans reaching the 60-vote threshold for paydirt.

It's an extension of an early Pence strategy executed by chief of staff Nick Ayres and operative Marty Obst to target recalcitrant Republican senators like Arizona's Jeff Flake and Nevada's Dean Heller, who actually had Trump PAC TV ads aimed at him during the Obamacare repeal/replace debacle last spring. Since then, former Trump senior aide and returned Breitbart editor Steve Bannon has added Sens. Roger Wicker (a former chair of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee) and Bob Corker to the list of Republicans to be primaried. Bannon is actively reaching out to potential GOP primary challengers, to the point that Corker, once a potential Trump secretary of state and an early supporter, is seriously mulling retirement.

Bannon told Charlie Rose on "60 Minutes" that Ryan and McConnell were attempting to "nullify" the 2016 election. "They're not going to help you unless they're put on notice. They're going to be held accountable if they do not support the president of the United States. Right now there's no accountability."

Earth moves under Messer, Rokita

All of this leaves U.S. Reps. Luke Messer and Todd Rokita in a surreal twilight zone. Both have been ardently defending Trump and are courting his base for next May's Senate primary. Both ended up joining 88 other Republicans in voting against the Hurricane Harvey/debt ceiling deal last week. "I can't support the Senate's legislation that piles on more deficit spending, without any effort to shake up the status quo, balance budgets and pay down our debt," Messer said after the vote. Rep. Todd Rokita called it a "wake-up call" for Republicans. "If Republicans would put aside their disagreements, actually fight the failed policies of the Washington elite and support the president's agenda, the president wouldn't be forced into cutting deals that maintain the status quo," Rokita said in a statement. "It's time to get our act together and follow through on our promises."

Campaign manager Chasen Bullock deflected criticism that Messer had lined up against humanitarian storm relief. "Luke voted for the clean House bill," Bullock said. "The Senate played politics with it and stuck it to the debt ceiling vote. Trump was basically given a bad deal."

As Trump now courts Donnelly, seemingly unconcerned whether he retains a GOP Senate majority in 2018, Messer and Rokita stand to be refigured in pretzel-like contortions as they shift and roll with a president who prizes unpredictability, whether it's with Kim Jong Un or Mitch McConnell. Bullock summed up the coming thrust of Messer's primary campaign, that the upper chamber has become a corrupted obstacle: "We're running against the Senate," Bullock declared.

Rokita blasted Donnelly after the White House dinner. "As Joe Donnelly admitted earlier this year, he sides with Washington liberals 9 out of 10 times," the Rokita campaign stated in a Tim Edson email. "Whether it's the stimulus that sent jobs to China, amnesty for illegals, ObamaCare, the Iran Deal, taxpayer-funded abortion or even gun control, Joe Donnelly is always with Obama, Clinton, Pelosi and Warren, not Indiana. Now running for reelection, Joe Donnelly's deception campaign is already in high gear. Donnelly is even claiming Trump voters are his voters. It's false, and embarrassing. Hoosiers beware of Joe Donnelly's deception. Joe Donnelly needs to stand up to the liberal obstructionists in his own party and actually support tax reform, not just use a White House visit to try to fool Hoosiers."

Internal Trump poll numbers from Indiana

This comes as Howey Politics Indiana has accessed some GOP internal Trump approval numbers from

July of likely voters. On the image question, 45% of Hoosiers approve and 51% disapprove. But on job approval, the numbers are reversed: 52% approve and 46% disapprove. So Trump still has mojo with Hoosier Republicans.

In the coming weeks, Pence will be back in Indiana on Sept. 22, Sept. 29 and Oct. 20, according to a senior administration official. Which raises the possibility of some fascinating optics. Will we watch Donnelly disembark Air Force One in Heitkamp mode with Trump and Pence as they arrive at Indianapolis International or South Bend Regional? Will Rokita and Messer be along for the ride? Will Donnelly take the stage with Trump?

Inquiring minds want to know.

National Review Editor Rich Lowry noted the "dalliance with Schumer" and said the tangible result is "another layer of distrust and dysfunction atop an already fraught relationship with the GOP leadership at a time when it is grappling with an enormously complex legislative task."



The first independent president

It's prompted renewed speculation – already expressed by HPI earlier this summer – that Trump has achieved what Teddy Roosevelt, Strom Thurmond, George Wallace, John Anderson and Ross Perot couldn't achieve: He's the first independent president. He conducted a hostile takeover the Republican Party. Many (including here) wouldn't be surprised if he ran for reelection as an independent. That's why he persistently plays to his 35% base, even with today's purported DACA deal with Chuck & Nancy, which Trump refuted on Twitter this morning.

The Washington Post reported: "Trump's push for tax cuts is coming up against a familiar challenge: Divided GOP. Trump advisers and top congressional leaders, hoping to assuage conservatives hungry for details, are working urgently to assemble a framework that they hope to release next week, according to White House aides and lawmakers. But after months of negotiations, the thorniest disagreement remains in view: How to pay for the giant tax cuts Trump has promised. Negotiators agree with the goal of slashing the corporate income tax rate and also cutting individual income taxes. But they have yet to agree about which tax breaks should be cut to pay for it all. In private talks, Trump advisers are pressing to eliminate or reduce several popular tax deductions, including the inter-

est companies pay on debt, state and local income taxes paid by families and individuals, and the hugely popular mortgage interest deduction."

Trump said on Wednesday that under his tax reform plan, wealthy Americans would not gain and might have to pay higher taxes (Reuters). Meeting with a bipartisan group of lawmakers at the White House, Trump said his main goal is to cut taxes for the middle class and cut corporate taxes to enhance job growth with details coming within a fortnight. "The rich will not be gaining at all with this plan. We are looking for the middle class and

we are looking for jobs - jobs being the economy. So we're looking at middle class and we're looking at jobs," he said. "I think the wealthy will be pretty much where they are, pretty much where they are. ... If

they have to go higher, they'll go higher," he said.

U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks, who attended a White House meeting with Trump on Wednesday, said, "He is very enthusiastic about tax reform. He would like for it to be bipartisan. He also indicated that if it won't be bipartisan, we're going to go ahead." As opposed to repeal/replace, Trump appears studied and engaged on the issue.

McConnell tried to put a different spin on things, telling a New York Times' podcast that Democrats had "spiked the ball in the end zone a little too early" by celebrating the bargain. "Since I was in charge of drafting the debt ceiling provision that we inserted into the flood bill we likely – almost certainly – are not going to have another debt ceiling discussion until well into 2018," McConnell said.

NBC's First Read reported Wednesday that many congressional Republicans aren't blaming McConnell for the deal, but they are quietly upset with the president. "I think member frustration lies pretty squarely with the president, either because they think he is playing a game that only hurts our shared goals in the long run, or because he made a snap decision without a firm understanding of the policy and the long-term consequences," said one aide to a senior Republican senator.

The San Diego Union-Tribune reported that Republican U.S. Rep. Duncan Hunter, an early and loyal Trump enthusiast, gave this candid assessment of the president to a group of Young Republicans in his district: "He's an asshole, but he's our asshole." ❖

Trump's week of contrasts

By TONY SAMUEL

INDIANAPOLIS – What a great week for contrasts in American politics. The 2016 election continues for Democrats while President Trump has moved on and is willing to reach across party lines to get results for the American people.



The same week that Hillary Clinton's book came out, and Bernie Sanders came out with his new plan – wait, I mean the same old plan – is the same week we hear that President Trump and Vice President Pence will visit Indiana and other states to take their powerful message to the people. Right on!

The message is simple and the changes are long overdue. As President Trump said, "We believe everyday Americans know better how to spend their own money than the federal bureaucracy, and we want to help them keep as much of that hard-earned money as we can." The president wants to lower taxes for the middle class, so that Americans have more in their pocketbooks, and for employers, so they can expand and hire more workers and pay more.

He plans to simplify the tax code so that it is fair and easily understood. The typical Form 1040, used by most American families, has grown to 241 pages from just two pages in 1935, and costs the taxpayer \$176 to complete with the average accounting firm. The tax code is over six times as long as it was in 1955. Small businesses incur between \$15 and \$16 billion on tax compliance costs and the total burden to the economy is \$262 billion to comply with the tax code.

Furthermore, the U.S. now has the highest corporate tax rate among the 35 advanced economies in the world, with a rate that is 15% higher than the average developed nation. This increases corporate inversions, with Fortune 500 companies hoarding more than \$2.6 trillion in profits offshore to avoid \$767 billion in federal taxes. Lowering our tax rates will bring this wealth back, which will result in more investment and more jobs.

Cutting taxes, simplifying the tax code and bringing back American wealth should all result in GDP growth of 3% or higher, contrasted to the anemic 2% growth we've seen since 2010. It's already happened in the last quarter, based on expectations for the tax cuts along with the president's deregulation efforts and corporate earnings already improving. Also already improving is the stock market, where we've seen a surge since the election, with the S&P 500 gaining over \$2 trillion in value.

A sustained 3% growth over the next 10 years

translates into an additional \$10 trillion of economic activity, 12 million new jobs and \$3 trillion in budgetary savings. Contrast all of that with what Hillary and Bernie and the far left are saying, and you'll understand why Trump supporters are more energized than ever about his efforts to keep his promises.

Speaking of Hillary, I thought her book was titled, "What Happened?" with a question mark, as if she was so disoriented that she was asking others, "What the hell happened?" I figured they accidentally left off the question mark and I was prepared to tell her that she lost because she was a failed, untrustworthy candidate against an opponent with a vision and a message that connected with millions of Americans. That's what happened – contrasts that she missed.

But then I found out that she actually just wanted to blame everyone else, not asking, but telling us that it wasn't her fault. This makes more sense coming from the Clinton machine.

Hillary is also drawing her own contrast with Bernie. Again, the 2016 election continues, now going back to the Democrat primary. He is reviving his failed initiative for single payer health care while she adds him to the reasons she lost the general election. She leaves out that the Democrat party cheated for her by undermining him, but his supporters won't forget. They drag the party further to the left while she contrasts and tries to give a rebirth to more moderate Democrats. Not a bad idea, but they need a new leader, not a failed one. Others will fight for that role if they get over their fear of the far left.

I for one am glad to see that the same old battles will take place among the Democrats because Republicans have their own set of problems and their own contrasts to worry about.

There is a reason that President Trump is reaching across the aisle. The failed leadership in the Republican Congress contrasts daily with his urgency to get things done. They so far have let him and the American people down. So he will try to do what so many politicians promise when they are trying to get elected. Most don't follow through.

We now have a president who will do what it takes to follow through for all Americans. Mitch McConnell said that this president has too high of expectations and doesn't understand how the democratic process works. Contrast his statements with what the American people expect and you'll understand why the president is so critical of the effort coming out of congressional leadership.

There also will continue to be criticism of this president from all sides. However, if you really look at the big picture and look at all of the contrasts between their rhetoric and his results, you'll root for this president to fix our broken tax system and make America prosperous again. ❖

Samuel was the Trump Indiana campaign vice chair.

ND law prof riles up the Senate race

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – A Notre Dame law professor who has been nominated for the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals has been thrust into Indiana’s U.S. Senate race. Prof. Amy Coney Barrett was questioned by U.S. Sens. Dianne Feinstein and Dick Durbin during Senate hearings last week and drew a rebuke from Notre Dame President John Jenkins.



“When you read your speeches, the conclusion one draws is that the dogma lives loudly within you, and that’s of concern when you come to big issues that large numbers of people have fought for, for years in this

country,” Sen. Feinstein said of the pro-life professor at the Catholic university. “Dogma and law are two different things. And I think whatever a religion is, it has its own dogma. The law is totally different.”

Durbin criticized Barrett’s prior use of the term “orthodox Catholic,” saying it unfairly maligns Catholics who do not hold certain positions about abortion or the death penalty. “Do you consider yourself an orthodox Catholic?” Durbin asked.

“It is chilling to hear from a United States senator that this might now disqualify someone from service as a federal judge,” Notre Dame President John Jenkins wrote in a public letter to the California lawmaker. He took great exception to her remark that the “dogma lives loudly” in the professor.

In a letter to the Chicago Tribune, Durbin defended his questions, saying Barrett had “raised the issue.” Durbin explained, “Notre Dame law professor Amy Barrett came before the Senate Judiciary Committee last week seeking a seat on the 7th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. In the lengthy list of her publications was an article she co-authored with John Garvey of Catholic University of America that addressed the challenges facing Catholic judges when they are called on to rule in cases involving moral issues such as the death penalty. Barrett offered her opinion on those occasions when an ‘orthodox Catholic judge should recuse himself or herself from rendering a decision such as the sentencing phase of a death penalty case. Though I have had my differences with the church, I am Catholic and a product of 19 years of Catholic education. As I said at the hearing, I had never heard Barrett’s term ‘orthodox Catholic’ and asked her what she meant

and whether she considered herself to fit that definition. My questions were confined to issues she raised personally in her writings and speeches which could directly impact the discharge of her duties as a circuit court judge.”

“The Amy Barrett hearing, along with the Southern Poverty Law Center labeling, the Alliance Defending Freedom and Family Research Council ‘hate groups,’ reveals a new disturbing trend: Anti-Christian sentiments which were once only whispered behind closed doors are now being proclaimed from the rooftops by the most powerful people in society,” Ryan T. Anderson, a research fellow at the Heritage Foundation, told National Review.

The exchange prompted U.S. Rep. Luke Messer to “denounce” Feinstein and Durbin. “Today, I am calling on Sen. Donnelly to return the campaign contributions from Sen. Feinstein and Sen. Durbin, and pledge to not take any more money or attend any fundraisers with Feinstein and Durbin until they both apologize,” said Luke Messer. “Bigotry targeted at someone’s religion is beyond the pale.”

Rokita aims at Donnelly over single payer

In an email distributed to media, the Todd Rokita for U.S. Senate campaign pressured U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly (D-IN) to reveal his stance on the proposed single-payer healthcare bill. “If Sen. Joe Manchin, a Democrat



Notre Dame Law Prof. Amy Coney Barrett during testimony before a Senate committee.

much more moderate than Donnelly, is open to a single-payer health system, Hoosiers have to wonder where does liberal Joe Donnelly stand? Hoosiers wouldn’t be surprised to see Donnelly say one thing in Indiana and do another in Washington D.C,” said Campaign Manager Bryan Reed.

Donnelly opposed single payer

High-profile Democrats are lining up behind Sen. Bernie Sanders’ Medicare for All plan before its Wednesday release, leaving little doubt about where the base of the party stands on the issue of health coverage well ahead of what already figures to be a robust presidential primary

(Huey-Burns & Arkin, Real Clear Politics). The vast majority of Democratic senators up for re-election next year have also shied away from backing Sanders' bill. When Republicans put a single-payer amendment to the floor in July as a way to put Democrats on record, four red-state senators facing tough re-election bids next year voted against it: Donnelly, Heidi Heitkamp of North Dakota, Joe Manchin of West Virginia, and Jon Tester of Montana. Sanders and Democrats voted "present," arguing that the amendment was a political stunt.

Lugar praises Donnelly bipartisanship

In an interview with the Indy Star's Matt Tully, former U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar praised Donnelly's bipartisanship. "It's hard to be productive if you're not willing to reach across the aisle." As Tully notes, "Lugar's eventual replacement,... Joe Donnelly, was recently ranked by the index as the second-most-bipartisan senator." This year, The Lugar Center ranked Joe as the most bipartisan Democrat and the second-most-bipartisan legislator out of the 535 members of Congress in Washington.

Henderson likely to drop out

Informed and reliable sources are telling Howey Politics Indiana that Terry Henderson is preparing to exit the Republican U.S. Senate race. The Atlanta, Ind., businessman has been reaching out to campaign donors saying he is likely to fold his campaign, which hasn't had much of a presence in the media and traditional GOP circles. The contest is expected to be dominated by U.S. Reps. Todd Rokita, Luke Messer and State Rep. Mike Braun. It also includes Kokomo attorney Mark Hurt, who complained to the Anderson Herald-Bulletin about his lack of name ID. New Albany educator Andrew Takami is also in the race. Attorney General Curtis Hill has hinted at a possible entry, but with the third quarter FEC reports due less than three weeks, his window is quickly closing.

Congress

9th CD Hollingsworth defends aid vote

U.S. Rep. Trey Hollingsworth defended his vote against Hurricane Harvey relief that was tied to the debt ceiling. "I voted for bipartisan hurricane relief and stood

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proud lending a hand to fellow Americans,” Hollingsworth said. “Hoosiers also demanded last November that we stop the overspending and quit bankrupting America’s future. While disappointed in career politicians playing politics with American lives, I was proud to amplify Hoosier voices that demanded their government return to fiscal responsibility.” Hollingsworth said the debt ceiling increase is “immoral” and due to “bad legislative tricks.” Democrat 9th CD candidate Dan Canon criticized the Hollingsworth vote, saying, “We shouldn’t be too surprised that our silver-spoon representative, who voted to take away his own constituents’ healthcare, would deny relief to vulnerable Americans in their hour of need, but this is truly appalling. This vote further demonstrates that Hollingsworth just does not care about anyone but the wealthy.”

Canon supports universal coverage

Upon announcement of Sen. Sanders’ “Medicare for all” bill today, 9th CD candidate Dan Canon reiterated his support for universal healthcare. “No American should go bankrupt or die because of medical costs,” Canon said. “Healthcare cannot be treated as a luxury good for a privileged few. More elected officials are finally starting to realize that our current system is unsustainable, and that we need to start making big changes for the sake of our children and grandchildren. If elected, I would co-sponsor

any legislation which ensures that Americans receive healthcare as a basic human right, regardless of income. Senator Sanders’ bill would do just that.”

General Assembly

Spartz wins SD20 caucus to replace Kenley

Victoria Spartz won a six-ballot caucus to replace State Sen. Luke Kenley last week. Spartz, 38, Noblesville, is chief financial officer for Attorney General Curtis Hill and an adjunct professor at IU Kelley School of Business-Indianapolis. The caucus eliminated Joe Morris in the first round, Dan Schmidt in the second round, Brad Beaver in the third round, Sue Finkam in the fourth round and Mark Hall in round five, leaving Spartz and Megan Wiles. On the sixth ballot Spartz defeated Noblesville Council President Wiles 54-39. Spartz grew up in the Soviet-controlled Ukraine and spent her career in various financial leadership positions, working with Fortune 200 companies and Big 4 public accounting firms throughout the U.S., including in Indiana (The Reporter). Spartz has



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a significant track record in Hamilton County grassroots politics serving as a volunteer, coordinator, president of the Hamilton County Federated Republican Women and vice chairman of the Hamilton County Republican Party. Spartz currently sits on the 5th CD Republican Central Committee.

SD22: Delph awaits permission from ‘boss’

State Sen. Mike Delph hosted his first 2018 cycle fundraiser and brought in \$115,000, and will easily report \$250,000 on his annual campaign finance report. He had been poised for the U.S. Senate race before endorsing U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita, and that drew in Carmel Redevelopment Commission President Corrie Meyer and Zionsville Council President Susana Suarez. Delph tells HPI that if he decides to run, he will have the full backing of the Senate Majority Caucus. He just has one key hurdle on his reelection: Permission from his wife, Beth, who has become somewhat wary of politics.

Counties

Insider vs. outsider in Lake sheriff caucus

Democratic Party leaders decide Saturday whether an insider or an outsider can restore the Lake County

Sheriff’s Department to good repute (Dolan, NWI Times). Six active and retired law enforcement officials and two civilians seek command of a law enforcement agency with the responsibility to protect all of the county’s 485,000 residents, supervise 475 county police, corrections officers and civilian employees, the county jail and a \$32 million-a-year budget. A U.S. District Court jury convicted and removed former Sheriff John Buncich Aug. 25 on bribery and wire fraud charges that he took illegal kickbacks from towing firms seeking more lucrative work. The next election for sheriff doesn’t take place until 2018. State law gives Buncich’s political party the authority to name his replacement until then. More than 500 precinct committee members are to gather Saturday in Crown Point to choose a new sheriff from among their ranks. Those who had filed since Friday are: Schererville Police Chief David Dowling; retired federal law enforcement agent Richard Ligon; Lake County Police Sgt. Oscar Martinez; Lake County Deputy Police Chief Daniel Murchek; Gary landlord Jim Nowacki; retired San Diego Harbor police Lt. Todd Rakos of Munster; former Lake County Commissioner Gerry Scheub; and Lake County sheriff’s Cpl. Maria Trajkovich. ❖



DACA debate revolves around Constitution

By **JOSHUA CLAYBOURN**

EVANSVILLE – The Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) debate revolves in part around a Constitutional question: Does the president unilaterally set immigration policy, or do such laws require congressional authorization? When President Obama lacked the votes to get DACA through Congress, he simply implemented it via executive order. In truth, DACA was headed toward a legal challenge that likely would have overturned the rule as unconstitutional. Congress needed to take it up one way or the other anyway.



But this administration's motives to end DACA, or at least sow confusion among those benefiting from it, most certainly find their roots in more than just constitutional concerns. The #MAGA crowd feels

their American identity and financial well-being stretched and insecure. Immigrants make an easy culprit.

We've witnessed similar tension at other points in our country's history – the Civil War, waves of immigration at the turn of the 20th century, and the cultural revolution of the 1960s – but throughout those conflicts the question was whether white Christians would make more room for other groups at a table they still dominated. In those older conflicts new groups gained acceptance in exchange for cultural assimilation.

The same bargain seems unavailable this time around. Culture changes much more rapidly and assimilation means something very different than it did before. White Christians already make up less than half of the population and the trend will continue to accelerate. No one race or culture will dominate the metaphorical table.

The challenge compounds as political fault lines increasingly line up along racial and religious/cultural grounds. Nearly 85% of Republicans identify as white and Christian, but the same is true of only 29% of Democrats. The disparity between those numbers grows each year.

The Left struggles with a temptation to capitalize on these changes through identity politics, forming exclusive political alliances on the basis of race, gender, national origin, or sexual identity and moving away from broad-based consensus politics.

Meanwhile the Right, now led by populists, treats any attempts at identity politics as the mark of the devil. To the extent society embraces the Left's identity politics built around race and gender (and in many ways we have), white nationalists assert in coded or direct terms

that white Christians should be an acceptable tribal marker to rally around.

This is an unhealthy debate offering a false choice. Many of us who oppose both nationalist tribalism and identity politics will be left without a representative voice in the national dialogue. For the American experiment to work, civic leaders will need to be less reactionary and work toward a more unified sense of political purpose in which all Americans can see themselves.

Our country has lost its "story." We lack an overarching sense of meaning and purpose to our history. Why is America here? What is our unifying goal? Instead of a grand narrative, our political discourse focuses on a series of power conflicts between oppressor and oppressed.

For most prior generations, we generally shared a common narrative about the country's vision and mission. We need to find and reclaim that once again. ❖

Claybourn is a Republican Evansville attorney.



Indiana counties and attracting workers

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – "Workers," says the human resources manager. "Customers," says the small business owner. "Young families," says the home builder. "Students," says the school superintendent.



"We'll get what you need," says Monique representing Man-Mover, the population recruiting company. "We find the communities that are attracting the people you need. Then we examine what they have done to get those people."

The next day I get the call. "Hi, it's Monique," she says. "Got a job for you; tell me which

Indiana counties are best at attracting different types of people. Send me what you can in the next 24 hours." I know a consulting scam when I hear one, but I need the work. "It's done," I say and email this information to her:

According to the American Community Survey, five-year report for 2015, the largest age group of in-migrants (people who crossed a county, state, or international border to live in Indiana) was those ages 18 to 24. We think of these people as predominantly college students and that is true for certain counties, including Knox, Vigo, Grant, Vanderburgh and St. Joseph. But young people who

don't go to college also move for jobs and/or to establish their own households in counties like Steuben, Spencer and Posey.

In all, 18- to 24-year-olds equaled 30% or more of migrants in 11 Indiana counties. In total, 34 Hoosier counties had 18- to 24-year-olds as the largest cohort of in-migrants. Statewide, this age group equaled 27.4% of in-migrants. This fact is a tribute to our colleges and universities. But, do they satisfy our criteria for county economic growth?

In contrast, only three counties (Perry, Parke and Dearborn) saw 30% or more of their in-migrants in the next age group, 25 to 34. Yes, this age group was the leading cohort of in-migrants in 43 of our 92 counties, but accounted for just 21.8% of our in-migrants. Isn't this the population concerned Hoosiers seek as the target population for growth?

In only Brown and Fayette counties were 35- to 44-year-olds the leading in-migrant cohort. In 31 counties,

this cohort accounted for less than 10% of the in-migrant population. Across the state they represented 11.1% of in-migrants. What is the economic impact of this group compared to younger households? Should they be our target?

Extend those same questions to 45- to 54-year-olds (8.6% of in-migrants statewide) and 55- to 64-year-olds (6.2%). Finally, there are advocates for the 65-and-older cohort, who accounted for just 5.9% of in-migrants.

It's doubtful Monique will answers the questions posed. But she has sensational stories to tell about the preferences of the millennial avant-garde, projecting anecdotal evidence as the basis for investment by communities of all sizes. As usual I'll have data on individual counties for interested readers. No charge. ❖

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

Illinois' 'soda pop' migration to Indiana

By **RICH JAMES**

MERRILLVILLE – Almost without exception, what happens just across the state line in Illinois has an impact on Northwest Indiana. When property taxes go up, scores of Illinois residents move to Lake, Porter and LaPorte counties. When the Illinois sales tax goes up – particularly in Cook County – people flock to Indiana to buy cars, cigarettes, gasoline, appliances and more.



And now, Cook County residents are coming to Northwest Indiana to buy pop and other soft drinks containing sugar. The Cook County Board has approved a penny-per-ounce tax on sugary soft drinks. The financially strapped county says

the tax will raise about \$200 million annually and prevent the closure of Stroger Hospital or a reduction in its services, particularly to low-income residents.

The tax would add 67 cents to a two-liter bottle of pop or 72 cents to a six-pack of 12-ounce soft drinks. Suffice it to say that Cook County residents aren't happy and are hoping the courts will throw out the tax. The ads supporting the tax, as well as those in opposition, are dominating Chicago (and Northwest Indiana) television.

Adding insult to the tax opponents is that former

New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg, a billionaire, is paying for the ads backing the tax. While the tax was enacted as a way to keep the children of Cook County healthier – as is the contention of the Bloomberg ads – it actually is all about money and keeping Cook County government solvent.

Meanwhile, as the Cook County fight goes on about the future of the tax, Hoosiers continue to welcome the folks from across the border and their money.

The political repercussions could be significant, particularly for Cook County Board President Toni Preckwinkle. Preckwinkle, who has been a good board president, has to stand for reelection next year. In addition, Preckwinkle is one of those rumored to take on Chicago Mayor Rahm Emanuel, who appears vulnerable because of police misconduct in the city.

The soda pop tax could seriously impact Preckwinkle's political future. ❖

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.

Will GOP or Dems be the next Whig Party?

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Which party now is going the way of the Whigs?

Political pundits have pontificated about that for decades, actually since 1854. That’s when the Whig Party, once one of two major parties and dominant in the 1840 presidential and congressional elections, disintegrated – split over slavery and stuck on less relevant issues. It quickly ceased to exist.



Now, once more, come prognostications about which party is going the way of the Whigs. Some analysts in the press, in political science, in think tanks, in bars, say it is the Republican Party. Theory for demise? That it cannot survive the divisive and bizarre presidency of Donald Trump, who alienates so many segments of the population, including the growing number

of Hispanic voters, African-Americans, the young and on and on. Also, Republicans have total control of Congress at a time when polls show total contempt for Congress. And the GOP seems mired in issues of the past instead of what voters want for the future.

The Democratic Party theory for demise? That it was so inept that it lost to Trump and still concentrates more on Bernie vs. Hillary than on a unifying message to keep Trump from winning again over an inept opposition. Also, Democrats already are weaklings in many states, with no majorities in state legislatures, no statewide winners, no input on redistricting, no hope. And Democrats seem mired in issues important to liberals but not to mainstream voters.

Rebuttal? It’s easy to argue against portraying leaders of either party as wearing Whigs. The theory that Republicans are doomed because of losing the growing Hispanic vote, the African-American vote and support of younger voters was loudly proclaimed during the 2016 campaign. How did that work out?

Donald Trump, who was a lifelong Democrat and is no conservative, is divisive and bizarre. But he has a base, supporters who won’t, as he said, leave him even if he shoots somebody in the middle of New York’s Fifth Avenue. Add those many Republicans who will never vote for a Democrat. Add independents perhaps displeased again with the Democratic alternative. That could add up to the president’s reelection.

Congress? Most voters still vote for incumbents in their own districts even if they view the institution in approval slightly above cockroaches.

The theory that Democrats are doomed because of lacking unity and a message appealing to mainstream voters in key states – think Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania – isn’t backed up by 2016 vote totals. Despite a flawed campaign by Hillary Clinton, she won in the national count by over 3 million votes and just barely lost those key states that were decisive in her Electoral College loss.

Democrats have time to find both a charismatic nominee and their way into the middle ground, where elections are won. Maybe they won’t. But could they really do worse than in ‘16, when they still almost won? If Democrats wake up to the importance of state legislatures, they could reduce the GOP gerrymandering control in drawing congressional districts and eventually reclaim control of Congress.

Going the way of the Whigs? The same two parties won’t go on forever. Maybe one will disintegrate, replaced by a new one, just as the Republican Party in the north replaced the Whigs, and a young Whig Party politician named Abe Lincoln switched to Republican. Maybe there will be a strong third party. Maybe a fourth, a splinter-party system.

Maybe there will be a strong third party. Maybe a fourth, a splinter-party system.

Right now, however, any prognostication of pending doom for either party seems at least quite premature. Many pundits saw the Republican Party going the way of the Whigs after the 1964 trouncing of Barry Goldwater. Many pundits saw the Democratic Party going that way after the 1972 trouncing of George McGovern.

Interesting that the party doomed after being crushed in 1964 came back to do the crushing just two presidential elections later. Both parties are far more resilient than the Whigs. ❖

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

The Political Legacies of
Barry Goldwater and
George McGovern
Shifting Party Paradigms

Jeffrey J. Volle

The people's hunger for bipartisanship

By **LEE HAMILTON**

BLOOMINGTON – When I talk to people about Congress and Washington in general, I'm impressed by their hunger for bipartisanship. Americans of all stripes want members of the two parties to work together more.



Back in March, two young members of Congress from Texas, Beto O'Rourke and Will Hurd, became brief internet celebrities. Unable to fly back to Washington because of a snowstorm, the two hit the road together, tweeting and livestreaming their trip north. They fielded questions along the way on everything from the war on drugs to immigration, and so ended up holding what O'Rourke

called "the longest cross-country livestream town hall in the history of the world."

What sparked people's interest was a fact that, a generation ago, would have been unremarkable: O'Rourke is a Democrat, and Hurd a Republican. They disagree politically on many things. Yet somehow they managed to share Whataburgers, sing along to Johnny Cash's "Ring of Fire," joke with colleagues of both parties – and wind up signing on to each other's legislation once they got to D.C.

That this struck a chord with the national press and hundreds of thousands of Facebook viewers shouldn't come as a surprise. When I talk to people about Congress and Washington in general, I'm impressed by their hunger for bipartisanship. Americans of all stripes believe that the institutions of representative democracy are not working as they should. And they want members of the two parties to work together more.

The litany of forces tilting our politics toward polarization is long and dispiriting. The political extremes, left and right, make up perhaps a third of the American public, but they're disproportionately active within their parties and help drive polarization. This is amplified by Americans' increasing preference for associating with people who share their views, and by the army of consultants and politicians who use negative politics to bring out their "base" and sway those in the middle.

The institutions that once sought the middle ground no longer do so. The media has become more

impulsive, more aggressive, and far less objective. Strong, sophisticated, well-financed interest groups have learned to play the political game hard and to brook no compromise. Political parties that made it their job to build consensus have set it aside. Political and congressional leaders, far from seeking to build the center, find reward in pursuing conflict and confrontation, demonizing opponents and even members of their own party who show a willingness to compromise.

O'Rourke and Hurd's joint adventure seemed so unusual in part because all of these trends come together in Congress. It is the sole American institution explicitly designed to air the diverse needs and voices of Americans when policy gets made. Yet these days, it is the place where no one expects this to happen.

As a nation, we are far worse off because of this. At home, we get deadlock, dysfunction, and loss of faith in our political institutions. Abroad, we're seen as indecisive and incapable. So how do we fix this?

The answer lies in four arenas. First, we need to bolster the middle by expanding the electorate; the more people who vote, the less influence held by ideologically driven activists who are unwilling to compromise.

Second, politicians need to step up – and most especially, the president and the leaders of Congress. They have to remind people that the job of the policymaker is to put the country before politics, and that it is necessary for us to work together to meet our challenges.

Third, Congress needs to fix its practices with an eye toward reversing polarization. It should return to the deliberative order of doing business, and to real conference committees, which would require members to meet, discuss, and compromise with one another. It needs to reduce partisan control of elections, the influence of special interest money, and gerrymandering for partisan advantage, and to strengthen the integrity of the electoral system. I am heartened by several private-sector groups that are determined to push Congress and the president to work together to get things done.

Finally, we as citizens have to convey to politicians that there are a right and a wrong way to conduct the dialogue of democracy. If we want to keep this country strong, prosperous and free, we need to place a premium on politicians who know how to work together – and with people who don't agree with them. ❖



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Troubling support for racially charged ideas

By UVA Center for Politics

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. – A new Reuters/Ipsos poll conducted in conjunction with the University of Virginia Center for Politics finds that while there is relatively little national endorsement of neo-Nazis and white supremacists, there are troubling levels of support for certain racially-charged ideas and attitudes frequently expressed by extremist groups. The survey also found backing for keeping Confederate monuments in place, the removal of which has become a hot-button issue in communities across the country.

As is often the case, these survey results can be interpreted in two quite different ways. On the one hand, despite the events in Charlottesville and elsewhere, few people surveyed expressed direct support for hate groups. But on the other hand, it will be disturbing to many that a not insubstantial proportion of those polled demonstrated neutrality and indifference or, worse, expressed support for antiquated views on race.

The large-sample poll (5,360 respondents for most questions) was conducted from Aug. 21 to Sept. 5 in the aftermath of a neo-Nazi rally and counter-protest on the Grounds of the University of Virginia and in downtown Charlottesville, Virginia on Aug. 11-12.

Among the questions, respondents were asked if they agreed or disagreed with statements asking whether white people and/or racial minorities in the United States are “under attack.” Notably, 14% of all respondents both 1) agreed that white people are under attack and 2) disagreed with the statement that nonwhites are under attack.

Nearly one-third of respondents (31%) strongly or somewhat agreed that the country needs to “protect and preserve its White European heritage.” Another third (34%) strongly or somewhat disagreed with the statement, and 29% neither agreed nor disagreed.

Fifty years after the United States Supreme Court struck down bans on mixed-race marriage in *Loving v.*

Virginia, about one-sixth of respondents (16%) agreed with the statement that “marriage should only be allowed between two people of the same race” and an additional 14% neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement, while 4% said they didn’t know. In total, about a third failed to express tolerance of interracial marriage. Among whites, 17% agreed that marriage should be restricted to the same race, with 15% neither agreeing nor disagreeing. This was slightly higher than nonwhites (15% agreed, 12% neither agreed nor disagreed).

In separate questions, each asking whether/to the extent respondent supported various ideologies:

- 6% of respondents said they strongly or somewhat supported the alt-right.
- 8% expressed support for white nationalism.
- 4% expressed support for neo-Nazism.

For both the alt-right and white nationalism questions, the poll found that about one-fifth of respondents said they neither supported nor opposed those groups or movements, perhaps revealing some potential additional support.

“Let’s remember, there are nearly 250 million adults in the United States, so even small percentages likely represent the beliefs of many millions of Americans,” said Center Director Larry J. Sabato.

On Confederate monuments, respondents were given a choice between removing Confederate monuments from all public spaces or keeping all of them in place.

■ Three-fifths (57%) said that Confederate monuments should remain in public spaces, while a quarter (26%) said they should be removed.

■ Among African Americans, 54% said all monuments should be removed versus 25% who were inclined to keep all monuments where they are. Whites strongly differed, with two-thirds (67%) saying they should remain in place and just 19% favoring removal.

■ A plurality of Democrats favored removing all monuments (46%) versus 38% for leaving them in place.

■ Republicans (by 81%-10%) and Independents (by 62%-18%) overwhelmingly preferred keeping the monuments in place.

■ Among those people with a bachelor’s degree or higher, 51% favored keeping the monuments in place versus 34% for removing them.



Some results indicated broad acceptance of racial equality:

- Seven in 10 respondents (70%) strongly agreed that people of different races should be “free to live wherever they choose” and that “all races are equal” (70%), with only 2% and 4% of respondents strongly disagreeing, respectively.

- A large percentage (89%) agreed that all races should be treated equally, even as 11% answered otherwise: 3% disagreed, 5% neither agreed nor disagreed, and 3% said they didn’t know.

But other findings presented conflicting opinions about whether and which racial groups may be “under attack” in the United States.

- 39% of respondents strongly or somewhat agreed with the statement that “white people are currently under attack in this country,” while 38% disagreed. Strong disagreement (28%) ranked higher than strong agreement (19%). Among whites, 29% disagreed with this statement, whereas 54% of nonwhites disagreed. Among partisans, 21% of Democrats agreed with the statement to some extent compared to 63% of Republicans. Conversely, 59% of Democrats disagreed (47% strongly) while just 17% of Republicans disagreed. About the same percentage of Democrats and Republicans neither agreed nor disagreed (17% for the former, 18% for the latter).

- 55% strongly or somewhat agreed with the statement that “racial minorities are currently under attack in this country,” while 22% strongly or somewhat disagreed. Just 13% of racial minorities disagreed with the statement while 27% of whites disagreed.

Lastly, the poll found mixed views on Black Lives Matter and a relative unfamiliarity with Antifa compared to other movements and organizations that the survey asked about:

Roughly one-third of respondents (32%) said they supported Black Lives Matter, and another 24% indicated a middle position of neither supporting nor opposing. Among African Americans, 62% voiced support for the group, while 26% of whites and 33% of Hispanics also did.

A plurality of respondents were against BLM, however, with 37% somewhat or strongly opposing the organization. The strongest core of opposition to the group came from whites, with 43% opposing BLM. There was also an obvious partisan difference in support or opposition to the organization: 52% of Democrats supported BLM and 62% of Republicans opposed it.

8% said they strongly or somewhat support Antifa versus 33% strongly opposing Antifa and another 6% somewhat opposing (39% total opposing). There is more uncertainty about Antifa than the alt-right, which could suggest a lack of familiarity with the groups themselves, or with the groups’ ide-

als: 32% answered “don’t know” when asked about their support or opposition to Antifa, versus 23% who said the same when asked about the alt-right.

A fundamental question that this poll sought to help clarify is whether there is a sizable portion of the American public that could be receptive to the types of messages being disseminated by groups associated with the alt-right and/or white supremacy. When respondents were asked if they supported the alt-right, white nationalists, and neo-Nazis, only a small percentage said they did. But for both the alt-right and white nationalism, about one-fifth of respondents said they neither supported nor opposed those groups or movements.

Within this poll a sizable number of respondents selected the “neither agree nor disagree” option. Given the racially-charged and controversial nature of some of the statements polled, these “middling” answers seemed remarkable, particularly given the fact that a “Don’t know” option was also presented and was available if, for example, one wished to express uncertainty or a lack of knowledge. Ipsos pollster Julia Clark examined the makeup of the “neither agree nor disagree” respondents from this survey. While the profile of these respondents is not uniform, on some of the more notable questions she discovered a general trend showing that these respondents were more likely to have views that leaned more toward intolerance than away from it.

“The ‘Neither agree nor disagree’ respondents, for example, are far less likely to condemn statements against interracial marriage and in favor of preserving white heritage,” said Clark. “In addition, the ‘Neither/Nors’ are notably less likely than other respondents to feel all races should be treated equally or that minorities are under attack. In both cases, and others, this makes their viewpoints more congruous with extremist, anti-equality views than more progressive views.” ❖

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

James Nowacki, NWI Times: The Lake County Democratic Party, which on Sept. 16 will choose a replacement for the disgraced office of county sheriff, is signaling a continuation of the toxic environment that the political establishment has long accepted. Voters are unaware that this small group of insiders, as apologists for Lake County's corrupt reputation, receive benefits and special treatment while leaving voters on a political plantation. Their choice will be a bitter harvest until voters can return to the polls in 2018. All too familiar are headlines of local elected Democrats involved in scandal, mismanagement and corruption. It is a common refrain among some that "everybody does it," but everybody "does not." Citizens are helpless to effect change in this political culture. There is a 1% in the local Democratic Party that determines who gets what, and the organization better toe the line. For many years, the sheriff's office was known to be corrupt, yet the local Democratic organization endorsed the former officeholder over and over. It seems that in Lake County, only death or felony convictions allow for change and never a fresh start, always a promotion from among a chosen few. These gatekeepers make certain the status quo remains intact so they maintain their control over jobs, contracts and political influence. Those who turn a blind eye, the party loyalists, are doing more harm than good because the bad behavior is recycled, and voters' confidence is lost. This type of "plantation politics" consolidates power and resources while pretending to be open to all. Honest and well intended citizens are marginalized and discouraged from running for office while expected to support the party unquestioningly. If Democrats are to hold on to this office, they have to take a long hard look at themselves and their contribution to the culture of corruption in Lake County. They must reject the usual suspects, drop the party line and support Democrats who will not accept business as usual. ❖



Jeff Rea, South Bend Tribune: A few days since Hurricane Irma passed through Florida, residents and businesses owners are just beginning to sort through the aftermath and contemplate what's next. It could take years for them to rebuild and rebound. I have seen firsthand the devastation a hurricane can wreak on an area. In 1992, I spent more than a month in South Florida helping the drugstore company I worked for rebuild after Hurricane Andrew. Our company had several locations in the Miami/Homestead area that were battered or destroyed by the storm surge, rain and 165 mph winds. At the time, Hurricane Andrew was the most expensive hurricane in U.S. history. The storm did more than \$25 billion in damage and killed 44 people. About 730,000 houses or buildings were damaged or destroyed and more than a million people were without power. In addition, 80,000 businesses were damaged. In anticipation of the storm, we set out for Florida with the goal of arriving safely at our locations as

soon as the storm had passed so we could secure inventory and immediately begin to rebuild. Crime rates in that area spiked after the hurricane mostly due to looting. I was unprepared for the devastation and the chaos that would follow. The images on the television news didn't do this storm justice. People lost everything and the days ahead would create desperation as they were left wondering where necessities such as food, water, clothing and shelter might come from. Close to 250,000 people were left homeless by the storm. Most of them were also left unemployed, at least temporarily. We reopened just days after the storm so we could help provide people's basic needs including water, medicine, film, batteries and charcoal. Many businesses could not survive and closed for good. Employers were left with a dilemma. Many wanted to take care of their employees and get them back to work as soon as possible, even while not knowing where they were going to live or how they could pay employees the money they desperately needed to help get their own lives back in order. And as those employees scrambled to secure the safety and basic needs of their own families, it became hard for many businesses to assemble enough staff to rebuild and reopen. I'm confident that Florida will recover from Irma's wrath, much like it did after Andrew. ❖

Howard Kurtz, Fox News: The goal would seem to be right smack in the party's wheelhouse: Republicans cutting taxes. But so far, it hasn't been easy. Nearly eight months into an administration that hasn't won a major victory on the Hill, there is plenty of motion but no plan. President Trump's initial goal was to achieve tax reform, and he might still be able to slash some deductions and declare victory. But reform involves a royal battle with every lobbying interest on the planet. At this point, the GOP would be thrilled to lower tax rates by Christmas and campaign on that in 2018. The problem—and this may sound familiar—is that Republicans in Congress are divided. "The White House and GOP congressional leaders agree with the goal of slashing the corporate income-tax rate and also cutting individual income taxes to benefit the middle class," says the Washington Post. "But they have yet to agree about which existing tax breaks should be eliminated to pay for it all." For instance, the White House would like to ax the massively popular home mortgage interest deduction, but Hill folks say it's too popular to kill—and they're probably right. The challenge with big tax cuts is paying for them, at least under the assumption, long argued by conservatives, that they shouldn't blow a further hole in the deficit. You can get into rosy scenarios and dynamic scoring, but you need to find some offsetting dollars somewhere. And then there is the classic split between Republicans who want to provide more relief for those at the top of the income scale and Democrats who attack such plans as a giveaway to the rich. ❖

Japan execs say IN workers lack skills

TOKYO — As Gov. Eric Holcomb has traveled the state this year, he has continued to hear from businesses that employees are lacking skills, and they would hire more workers if they could find applicants with the right skills (Holtkamp, Franklin Daily Journal). This week, he is 6,000 miles away visiting companies in Japan with more than 40 elected officials, economic development recruiters and business leaders from across the state, but he is hearing the same message from the leaders of Japanese companies. The companies already know about the advantages of doing business in Indiana, such as the low cost of doing business and living, the infrastructure, the healthy state budget and a cooperative regulatory environment. But the companies need more skilled applicants for openings.



Guardisman arrest for threat to Pence

JOHNSTOWN, Pa. — Authorities say a National Guardsman has been jailed after a reported threat against Vice President Mike Pence before his visit to Pennsylvania for the annual observance of the Flight 93 crash. William Robert Dunbar, 22, of Berlin was charged Saturday with disorderly conduct and terroristic threats. Richland Township police allege that Dunbar was on duty at the Army National Guard Training Center when he said, "If someone pays me enough money, I will kill the vice president." Witnesses said they contacted commanding officers after they heard Dunbar make the threat twice.

DeVos to visit Gary school

INDIANAPOLIS — U.S. Secre-

tary of Education Betsy DeVos will visit Gary on Friday afternoon, according to Gary Mayor Karen Freeman-Wilson (Colias & Carlson, Post-Tribune). DeVos' visit is expected to include the 21st Century Charter School in the afternoon. Freeman-Wilson said in a text message to the Post-Tribune that she plans to be there to greet DeVos "just briefly." Earlier this year, former 21st Century Charter School student Raven Osborne gained national attention after she graduated at the same time with a high school degree and bachelor's degree from Purdue University Northwest. The trip is part of DeVos' nationwide "Rethink School" tour, where DeVos aims to "showcase creative ways in which education leaders are meeting the needs of students in K-12 and higher education," according to a press release.

Chuck/Nancy claim DACA deal

WASHINGTON — After dinner with President Trump at the White House last night, Chuck Schumer and Nancy Pelosi released a joint statement saying the president had agreed to a legislative replacement for DACA along with border security funding and, crucially, without funding for the wall (Allen, Axios). The White House released a statement that didn't mention a deal. Trump tweets this morning: "No deal was made last night on DACA. Massive border security would have to be agreed to in exchange for consent. Would be subject to vote. The wall, which is already under construction in the form of new renovation of old and existing fences and walls, will continue to be built."

Sec. Perdue saved trade agreements

WASHINGTON — Earlier this year, Secretary of Agriculture Sonny Perdue, on his first day in office, saved the NAFTA agreement (NAFB News Service). Now he has done it again by

coming to the rescue of the Korean Free Trade Agreement. According to U.S. news website Axios, Perdue was part of the briefing team last week that convinced President Donald Trump to reconsider withdrawing the U.S.-Korea Free Trade Agreement, known as KORUS.

Hill to issue opinion on CBD oils

INDIANAPOLIS - A new Indiana law intended to legalize the use of a cannabis extract to treat epilepsy instead resulted in a massive crack-down on the product across the state, making it more challenging for those with severe medical issues to obtain it (Lange & Cook, IndyStar). An IndyStar investigation has found that after the law passed in April, the Indiana State Excise Police confiscated products containing cannabidiol, also known as CBD, from 57 stores across the state. Cannabidiol is a non-psychoactive substance in marijuana... Now public officials are pointing fingers at one another over who is to blame. Ultimately, the debate is likely to carry over into the upcoming legislative session — and it could become a proxy for a broader, far fiercer, debate over full blown medical marijuana legalization... The chaos has now prompted Indiana Attorney General Curtis Hill to get involved. His office is conducting a legal review with plans to issue a formal opinion on the legality of CBD products.

Boone County eyes Amazon HQ2

LEBANON — Boone County has submitted five sites to the state for consideration as possible locations for Amazon's second headquarters, a \$5 billion investment that would bring 50,000 jobs to the area selected (Pearl, Zionsville Times Sentinel). The Boone County Economic Development Corp. yesterday submitted the sites to the Indiana Chamber of Commerce, which is helping coordinate a proposal for the entire region.