



INGOP reaches its political, policy apex

Chairman Hupfer surveys the Braun victory, his metrics and what's coming for the Next Level

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – There couldn't be a more emphatic contrast when it comes to major party chairs Kyle Hupfer of the Republicans and John Zody of the Democrats.

Hupfer is essentially undefeated in statewide races and federal seats beyond the 1st and 7th CDs. Zody has been shut out, save for three Indiana House seats and a Senate pickup this cycle, coming after a GOP shakeup in 2016 that brought about the Donald Trump/Mike Pence dynamic that has dominated ever since.

For Hupfer, Mike Braun's dispatching of Sen. Joe Donnelly was the culmination of a two-year effort that reached across multiple platforms, party entities and campaigns. "Not only did we have good funding, we had early funding where we could really build up that infrastructure over the state for well



over a year," Hupfer said in a Howey Politics Indiana interview on Monday at a northside Indianapolis Starbucks.

Continued on page 3

Welcome to Trumpiana

By **JACK COLWELL**

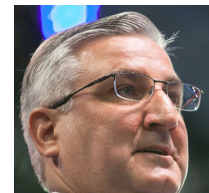
SOUTH BEND – This is Trumpiana. The state, with new name or old, resisted the blue wave that swept across much of the nation on Tuesday.

The wave, near a tsunami in some states, brought



Democratic control of the U.S. House and flipped seven governor offices from red to blue. Rolling across neighboring Michigan, it propelled Democrats to significant victories there, almost pulling under long-popular Republican Congressman Fred Upton in Michigan's 6th District.

But the wave stopped at the state line in Michiana. No blue water seeped across.



"I am proud of Indiana's efforts to pursue Amazon's headquarters. Responding to this bid showed the world that Indiana has become a global destination and a thriving community for tech."

- Gov. Eric Holcomb, on Amazon HQ2



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Indiana was the Red Sea. Trumpiana.

With the decisive defeat of Sen. Joe Donnelly and easy reelection of all seven of the state's Republican House members, Trumpiana's congressional delegation stands at nine Republicans, only two Democrats. Those two surviving Democrats couldn't lose, running in House districts stacked with as many Democratic voters as possible in gerrymandering. Republicans control all offices elected statewide and retain overwhelming majorities in both houses of the state legislature, leaving minority Democrats with about as much power in the legislative chambers as they would have if they stayed home.

Even some states in the Solid Red South turned purple, not blue, but a competitive purple. Ted Cruz was in a very competitive race in Texas. Texas! There also were competitive races in Georgia and Mississippi. Georgia! Mississippi!!!

Why was Trumpiana less competitive than Mississippi in a big race?

Give credit where political credit is due – to President Trump, for whom the state now is named. Trump held back the waters. The blue wave that Democrats thought they saw coming to keep Donnelly in the Senate and upset some Republican member of Congress. They fanaticized that the wave could leave Congresswoman Jackie Walorski vulnerable in the 2nd District.

Republicans on the national scene, such as House Speaker Paul Ryan, wanted Trump to tone it down. Stop spreading fear at rallies about a caravan of bad people, really bad, marching to the border to spread crime, disease and terror. Talk instead about a robust economy. They knew his divisive taunts, criticized as racist,

could drive away Republican support in key suburban areas and in significant demographic groups in much of the nation, making it impossible to retain control of the House.

Trump, understanding that chances of retaining the House were slim anyway, chose to concentrate on destroying the vulnerable Senate Democrats up for reelection in states where he won big for president. Retaining control of the Senate was a better prospect.

Thus did Air Force One take off so often, almost as regularly as a scheduled commercial flight, for states like Trumpiana. He sought to fire up his base. Get it to view those Democratic senators as radical accomplices



in the march of the evil caravan. Get it sweeping to the polls. A wave of its own.

Trump proclaimed "a big victory" for himself in results of key races he targeted. Indeed, the Senate will have a bigger Trump-supporting majority.

Sen.-elect Mike Braun on election night proclaimed again that Trump provided the inspiration for him to challenge Donnelly. He said Trump's campaigning for him had "a huge impact." Huge.

Some Republican strategists thought Trump should stop crowing about Senate confirmation of Brett Kavanaugh for the Supreme Court because many women believed allegations against him. Trump knew better. In campaign-close rallies, the president hammered away at Donnelly for

voting against Kavanaugh. Donnelly knew that vote was hurting him, especially with the way Senate Judiciary Committee Democrats overplayed their hand. He was hopeful voters would forget that and turn to other issues as they went to the polls.

Trump wouldn't let them forget Kavanaugh, portrayed as the real victim. The Kavanaugh controversy

and the caravan energized the Trump base and beyond to change the state's name.

This is Trumpiana. ❖

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

Hupfer Interview, from page 1

Asked about Indiana's evolution into basically a one-party state, Hupfer played it down. "I always go back to athletic analogies and the easiest way to start a downward trend is to think lowly of your opponent," he said.

Hupfer wouldn't commit to serving into 2020 when his friend and ally, Gov. Holcomb, seeks a second term. But Hupfer says the party is performing at an optimum level and has two critical assets, President Trump and Vice President Pence, that made a huge impact in Braun's victory over Donnelly.

Here is our HPI interview with Chairman Hupfer:

HPI: What kind of voter outreach were you able to execute and the role that played in the mid-terms?

Hupfer: There were a couple of things that set us apart. First was the team that we have. We're strong from top to bottom of the ticket. We were strong with the seven congressional candidates, super-majorities held in both the House and Senate. We had a strong team behind them for voter contacts. We had a program between the Republican Party, the Republican National Committee, the Mike Braun campaign and also the House and Senate campaigns – all were coordinated in a way that hasn't happened before. Obviously, some significant funding came in from the Republican National Committee where, by the end, we were over 30 paid staff, over 30 interns. We had great data. We were getting good data back from our fieldwork. We made 2.5 million voter contacts. We made calls with connections and voicemails plus doors. It was unprecedented, probably two or three times anything we've done before.

HPI: The HRCC guys were saying the level of support this cycle was unprecedented from the state party.

Hupfer: It was a team effort. They were a big part of it as well. Not only did we have good funding, we had early funding where we could really build up that infrastructure over the state for well over a year. We hired the best people to be out there and trained well over 1,000 volunteers who were out there doing all that work.



It was a very strong effort from top to bottom, kind of below the radar for the most part, though we were talking about it. I do think it was a factor that contributed on Election Day.

HPI: So, the Braun campaign did not have to build its own voter contact regimen.

Hupfer: We were working hand in hand with Mike Gentry and Josh Kelley during the entire campaign. Actually, at different times we moved staff over to the state. So, folks who had been working on the Braun campaign moved over to the state party doing the same job because funding was there. It was a coordinated campaign and

there was no need for them to duplicate that effort. But, they were involved in it from day one.

HPI: Did your voter outreach out-class the Democrats?

Hupfer: I honestly don't know what they did. I don't know what their state party did or their team did. But, obviously, it wasn't a big effort.

HPI: Do you know what kind of money advantage you ended up with? I know Braun out-raised Donnelly by the end of October.

Hupfer: Maybe we'll have it in December. We may not know until next year until we get the final reports all put together.

HPI: I was monitoring the legislative races and Republicans have money advantages pretty much across the board, with only a few of the races even. It looks like the Democrats were completely out-raised and out-manned. We've essentially become a one-party state.

Hupfer: I'm not quite there. I always go back to athletic analogies and the easiest way to start a downward trend is to think lowly of your opponent. The difference is we've tended over the last 14 years not to look to our opponent as our measure. We've looked at the slogan, "Party of Purpose," we've used over these last few years, and the "Right Track Results Tour," we've gone to measure against ourselves. But more importantly, we've convinced Hoosiers we've created a brand here in Indiana that Hoosiers respect and they've now given us this truly sacred trust of holding every statewide office and super-majorities in both

the House and Senate. We can't rest on our laurels. We've got to double down and deliver results to Hoosiers with good policies, continue to be very transparent, measure everything we're doing for well over a decade. That's really our measurement, moving everything forward and taking it to the next level versus trying to figure out what the Democrats are going to do. That's not really what we've done for a long time.

HPI: I cannot find a gubernatorial challenger for the governor's race. Nobody is really plunging into it at this point. Is that your take?

Hupfer: Again, I focus on the things I can control. There will eventually be a candidate in that race and we'll address that when it happens. In the meantime we'll focus on what we can control.

HPI: President Trump came to campaign for Mike Braun four times, was here in Indiana five times, and Vice President Pence was here four or five times for different events and fundraisers. In my final forecast in the Senate race, the Trump factor led us to give Braun the edge. What was the impact of that activity?

Hupfer: He had a big impact, particularly the last two visits. It was the ultimate icing on the cake, right? We had this two-year coordinated effort. When the president's coming into areas we know we can take more enthusiasm and more effort to turn out the vote, that's what he and the vice president's visits accomplished. They spoke to their supporters, they created an unbelievable amount of energy during the last two weeks. They filled two stadiums and had thousands more outside. I wasn't out there to count them, but there were a lot of people who didn't get in. At Southport, there was an overflow room with several thousand who didn't get into the main arena. It's a level of enthusiasm the president has a unique ability to generate. It certainly helped in the last week and took the excitement for the Republican Party to a crescendo right before the election.

HPI: Going into the 2020 presidential race, what should we expect?

Hupfer: Apparently at a press conference last week, the president confirmed that Mike Pence was going to be his running mate. I took that as an announcement for reelection that I assume will kick off real soon. I think you'll see reelection rallies across this country for the next year and a half.

HPI: Did you notice in your internal polling an increased intensity level due to the Justice Brett Kavanaugh story?

Hupfer: I don't know if I'd use the word "intensity." What I was told was that as a party, we spent two years trying to get the message out as to who Joe Donnelly really was in Washington, D.C., how he voted, what his record really was. That he supported Nancy Pelosi and

Chuck Schumer, his votes on key issues. That's going from a pulpit with not a lot of money behind it, but we earned media and (gave) a lot of speeches around the state. Obviously, the Braun campaign ginned up heading into that. The RNC and the Senatorial Committee put a lot of money behind that message. I thought the Kavanaugh vote was the culmination of all of those efforts in a way that we could never spend enough money on advertising. Every Hoosier got to see, front and center, the decisive vote and they got to see whether Joe Donnelly was going to stand with the values that they had, or the values of Chuck Schumer. It was every TV station, every news article, there



was a ton of earned media around that. So, I think that was kind of the cliff. Some folks who were undecided who had been hearing this message and wondered, "Where does Joe stand?" got to see a clear articulation of that in that vote. You started to see numbers move after that.

HPI: I thought Sen. Donnelly jumped a little too early on that, announcing his no vote in the hours after the testimony from Dr. Ford and Judge Kavanaugh, instead of waiting for the FBI probe the following week. It turned up no corroboration. That's the one thing I heard from Republicans, particularly men, who thought it was patently unfair that high school-era allegations, that would be impossible to prove or corroborate, could be used against a person.

Hupfer: We heard some of that around that time. It was a very highly publicized position for Sen. Donnelly. Everyone saw it, and I think it became a little bit of a barometer of, as least for some voters, how they were going to vote on Election Day.

HPI: Are you going to stay on through 2020?

Hupfer: I haven't really thought about it. It was a very interesting race when you couple with what we didn't talk about, which was the statewide tour. It was somewhat unprecedented for Gov. Holcomb to spend three full days on the tour, showed his commitment to the ticket. We had Sen. Young on some of the stops, the various congressional candidates and Lt. Gov. Crouch were on it. We were seeing the numbers, but we could also feel the excitement. By the time we reached Lake County on the Saturday night before the election, and there's 300 screaming folks at 8 o'clock, I left that feeling like it was 2016 again. I'm not sure if it wasn't a little more.

HPI: Do you feel the union guys were still on board with President Trump and, thus, the ticket? The tariffs don't seem to be having an impact. I'm not seeing the policy impacts playing out politically.

Hupfer: No, I think they're seeing the benefit of the tax policy and I think they've done a good job of talking to the farmers who see this as a long-term policy initiative. If you don't fix it at some point, they will continue to fall further and further behind. I think they appreciate the effort. I think getting a North American trade deal done was helpful, as well. They knew if you get that piece done, that moves farmers along.

HPI: How can you top what you've got now? Going back to the early 1980s, we haven't seen one party this strong. Particularly if 75 to 80% of county officeholders are Republican.

Hupfer: I think if you start going and looking at

that, you're missing the picture. The election results and us holding these offices are the result - not the cause - in the equation. They are the result of well over a decade, 14 or 15 years now, of us moving strong Republican policy. Hoosiers like what they've seen from the Republican Party. They see record low employment, a record amount of job creation last year, Gov. Holcomb is on track to exceed that again in 2018, they feel real good about where the economy is at and the jobs. The governor is focused on workforce and the opioid crisis and the progress on those things. I think it's just a brand that has been built up over time. Our focus as a party needs to be not on trying to cling to every single seat in the state, but the next level. ❖

Zody claims support to continue Dem rebuild

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Indiana Democratic Chairman John Zody didn't win much last Tuesday, but told HPI on Tuesday that he has the support of his Central Committee, has laid out a plan for 2020, and will seek to defend incumbent mayors and legislators as the party searches for a gubernatorial nominee. Zody wouldn't name names, but said that he and other Democrats are having deep talks on a potential challenger to Gov. Eric Holcomb.

Here is our phone interview with Chairman Zody:

HPI: What do you think was the cause for Sen. Donnelly's defeat?

Zody: You can point to a number of things. I'm not one to prescribe one specific thing. I think you can look at the state which President Trump won by 19% in 2016. Joe Donnelly kept this race competitive until the very, very end. We got our vote out in some places and underperformed in some counties around the state. The margins were different than they were in 2012, but the numbers where Sen. Donnelly finished told us that there's a bit of a realignment going on in the state. Certain areas got further away and certain areas got closer, like the suburbs around Indianapolis, particularly around Hamilton County.

HPI: Where were the areas that underperformed? Lake and Indianapolis?

Zody: Actually we did pretty well in Lake and Marion. It was the rural areas. We're still going through the results county by county, but we're looking at the rural areas that supported the president very heavily in

2016 and didn't get much better for Joe in 2018.

HPI: I spent a lot of time this past year talking about the suburban vote and the educated females there. It seems like those were the areas you made some pickups like Crown Point, Carmel, the Louisville suburbs. The Devon-Westerhausen race in the Granger area was real close. Do you see these as areas where you will have better prospects in 2020?

Zody: I do. I do think we're going through a realignment here. The numbers in 2016 – it was a little harder to say. Some say there were problems with polling, but the numbers were better this time. You pointed out in your Daily Wire that margins in these Republican areas really evaporated. Todd Huston went from 20 points to 8 points. Speaker Bosma, where J.D. Ford won. Those (areas) are trending and those are growth opportunities. We can't ignore any area of the state and I think we have some opportunities in rural Indiana, but certainly we see opportunities in those suburban areas.

HPI: The CNN exit data had the Latino turnout at 3%, when they are 6% of the population, so that's a demographic where Indiana Democrats seem to be underperforming with.

Zody: We just need to keep talking to every Hoosier we can. We continue to diversify the party, diversify our ticket. In 2018, we started out with a goal and stated several

times that we had more first-time, more female, more Millennial-age candidates than we've had in recent memory. We had a very diverse statewide ticket. We understand



that for the state to change, we have to make sure we're talking to every Hoosier out there, that Democrats stand for them and what they stand for.

HPI: In the Senate race, I thought that Braun was taking an advantage in the final 10 days or so, and then there were those two polls that showed Sen. Donnelly leading, by 7% in the Fox News Poll and 3% in the NBC/Marist Poll. And yet, I left the race a "Tossup" with an edge to Braun because President Trump and Vice President Pence were coming back multiple times and you cannot underestimate their brand here. Was that the turning point in your view?

Zody: I personally have never put personalities as the deciding factor in any race. They helped energize the bases. It was clear the Trump base was energized, but ours was, too. We had great base turnout in certain counties. I don't think it was the deciding factor. You saw those trends in 2016. The race stayed competitive. Joe Donnelly closed that gap quite a bit. The president finished 19 and a half points up and Sen. Donnelly's final margin was 6 to 7 points, so that gap was closed. I think the Republicans had the president come in because it wasn't a done deal.

HPI: The exit polling I've seen suggests there was a "Kavanaugh effect." Do you agree?

Zody: It could have had an impact. Joe did the right thing there. We knew there could be political consequences there and he stands by it. I don't think there was one single factor there.

HPI: We had 57 women file for General Assembly seats. You had Courtney Tritch and Liz Watson raise a lot of money in the 3rd and 9th CDs, as well as Mel Hall in the 2nd, and yet none of them even came close despite outraising their opponents. We went through the various challengers in Indiana House and Senate races and a lot of them ended up in the 30th and 40th percentile and they lacked money. Was money the critical factor there?

Zody: You always have to have resources. In all of those race, they were first-time candidates. We had more first-time candidates running for the Statehouse. We're grateful for everyone who ran. We hope they consider running again. We set out with the goal of recruiting folks to run and the new members are either women, first-time candidates or Millennials. You're seeing the party grow in these races where we picked up seats, like Lisa Beck, Chris Campbell and Chris Chyung, as well as J.D. Ford. We're seeing movement. I will say in the 5th CD, those numbers have been closer than in the past.

HPI: Let's talk about 2020. That will be a huge election. Last spring you said that whoever ran for governor needed to be out supporting candidates. We saw Mayor McDermott, Christina Hale, and John Gregg seemed to be ev-

erywhere this year. Where do you stand as far as getting a challenger to Gov. Holcomb?

Zody: There are a lot of people talking about it. I'm not going to name names today, which I know will disappoint you.

HPI: Damn.

Zody: There are people talking about it. Anybody who understands what the path forward is for a Democrat in Indiana. I think we'll have a good candidate, if not several. I think we'll have to see who emerges and where the folks around the state want to go. We have a lot of good folks who have started the conservation.

HPI: Redistricting is actually huge. Your legislative candidates got about 55% of the vote and the GOP still has super-majorities. What's your strategy for reapportionment in 2021?

Zody: I'm glad you asked. We held or won nine legislative districts that President Trump won. So, with gerrymandered districts, we had J.D. Ford beat an incumbent for the first time in decades. We had three pickups and are one seat away from taking away the super-majority in the House. We've got to keep moving north. We need to make sure we have a good incumbent protection program in 2020 for the good folks who got elected this year in the House. I don't think we can analyze this election and not talk about gerrymandering. It's been one of our five key messages. As Democrats, it's something we need more legislative action on if the courts don't decide our way. And so, it's both a policy issue that we feel very strongly about, but it's also a political factor. We had some victories in some very gerrymandered districts. We just have to keep moving north.

HPI: President Trump instead of touting record employment and the economy, just kept playing the race card. Address the tone the president set and what opportunities might lie there for Democrats.

Zody: A president does set the tone. I think he wears thin on people. I think there's been an opportunity for Democrats to talk about what the party stands for and we'll keep talking about that. People do want a positive alternative. We're for public education, we're for access to health care, we're for strong borders, to make sure people

are treated equally and are secure under Indiana law, and gerrymandering. Chris Campbell talked about those things this year and won. So, I think that shows the message can be effective. It was persuasive. The president's tone takes care of itself, but I do think that he does set a tone that wears thin on people.

HPI: I've written that the Democratic Party has returned to where it was in the

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early 1980s, that it has just the two congressional seats, no Statehouse offices, the Republican super majorities, the defeat of Sen. Donnelly. Make the case that Indiana isn't a one-party state.

Zody: The first thing that comes to mind when you say that is the emails I started getting immediately after November 2016, the number of candidates we had running, from township advisory boards all the way up to Congress. The energy is there, people are getting out and doing things. That's how we rebuild. In the early '80s I was in kindergarten, but I do know that the energy was there; the new Democrats entering the General Assembly is a new bench that's building. Going back to rural Indiana, we're going into municipal elections and we have to protect our Democratic mayors who are running again. We'll recruit not just mayors, but city council, town council,

clerk-treasurer candidates. That's where people get their feet wet in local government and learn operations. We have a lot of great Democratic mayors across the state and we can build the bench of the party. We're not a one-party state. We've got plenty of good Democrats elected around the state.

HPI: Is it your intention to stay on as chair through 2020? And, if so, do you have the support of your central committee?

Zody: Yes, I have the support of the central committee. I was told that last week and I intend to stay on as long as I can have a positive impact. The job isn't about me. Last week, we laid out a plan for where we go next. I've been on the phone and we've got a lot of activity already and a lot of people are on board. I plan on sticking around here for a while. ❖

Ready to live in a democracy?

By MORTON MARCUS

INDIANAPOLIS – You probably noticed the 2018 elections are over, except in states where recounts are proceeding or in bars, diners, and family rooms where pride and disbelief are in conflict.



Now what? If we want to restore integrity and responsibility to government, redistricting is imperative. If we understand the need for fair taxation and meaningful regulation, redistricting is the first big step. If we are to pass the environment to future generations as our greatest asset, redistricting is urgent.

Across this land legislatures are less responsive to the electorate than to the moneyed men and women. Public service has become private enrichment in too many cases because legislators can, and do, choose their voters.

Congressional district boundaries are redrawn following a census of the population every 10 years. Cities, towns, counties, school corporations and other governmental units follow suit in most instances. Political power is supposed to follow the people as they move and add to their families.

Every two years we are supposed to have the ability to retain or replace all or part of legislative bodies. But if the district boundaries are drawn to protect political party favorites or punish those with opposing views, the game is rigged. Stagnation sets in. Experience is valued more highly than expertise. Caution, often based on igno-

rance, retards progress.

Can we break the shackles of bipartisan greed? Electoral distortion is not exclusively practiced by Democrats or Republicans. Whoever holds office when the census numbers are released shapes our politics, our policies and our priorities for one or more decades.

On this past Election Day, 999,000 Hoosiers voted for the nine Democrats running for Congress while 1,247,000 selected the Republican candidates. The outcome: Seven Republicans and two Democrats will represent us in the next Congress.

That's 78% of our congressional delegation will hold office with 55.3% of the vote. Conversely, 44.3% of voters secured just two congressional offices. (Another 0.4 percent of the votes went to other candidates.) Many people will see this imbalance as a serious denial of adequate representation for a million Hoosiers.

Of the nine seats, the 1st District gave Democrat Visclosky 65.1% of the vote. Republican Walorski, next door in the 2nd district, won with a mere 54.8%. The median victor in the state scored 65.1% while the median loser garnered 35.6 percent of the vote. The median spread: 28.5%.

We could move to proportional representation where, if the Republicans get 55% of the vote, they are entitled to five of Indiana's nine representatives and the Democrats get the other four seats in Congress. That's a much bigger change than drawing district boundaries without thought of past voting patterns.

Nonpartisan commissions are the answer several states have chosen. But would the men and women ensconced in the Indiana General Assembly yield any of their power to steal the voting rights of Hoosiers? ❖

Mr. Marcus is an economist. Reach him at mortonj-marcus@yahoo.com. Follow his views and those of John Guy on "Who gets what?" wherever podcasts are available or at mortonjohn.libsyn.com

Mining down in exit data on Braun upset

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – After further review, the call on the field of play stands. Mike Braun wins the U.S. Senate race by a touchdown. Actually, make that 50.9% to 45% with Libertarian Lucy Brenton finishing with 4%. There was no need for an Adam Vinatieri PAT.

But what gave Braun the edge? For more answers on that front, we turn to CNN's exit polling. Some have cast doubt on the array of exit polling this cycle that was conducted individually by the networks, but in talks with Indiana Republican Chairman Kyle Hupfer, a lot of the Republican Party's internal polling matches up with CNN's exit results.

First, let's update some of the actual returns. Donnelly ended up with a 99,000-vote lead in Marion County and a 50,000-vote lead in Lake. He won St. Joseph by 17,000 votes, Monroe by 19,000, Tippecanoe by about 3,800 votes, Porter by a little less than 14,000, LaPorte by 4,000 and Vigo by just 341 votes. Donnelly carried just eight counties, which reinforces the notion that Hoosier Democrats are only viable in urban clusters and the university metros.

Braun rolled up his 134,201 plurality (as of Monday) by winning dozens of rural counties in the upper 60th to 70th percentile. There was some suburban support erosion, with the Republican winning Hamilton County by just 11,000, Hendricks with 59%, Boone with 56% and the rest of the Indy doughnut counties with 60% or more.

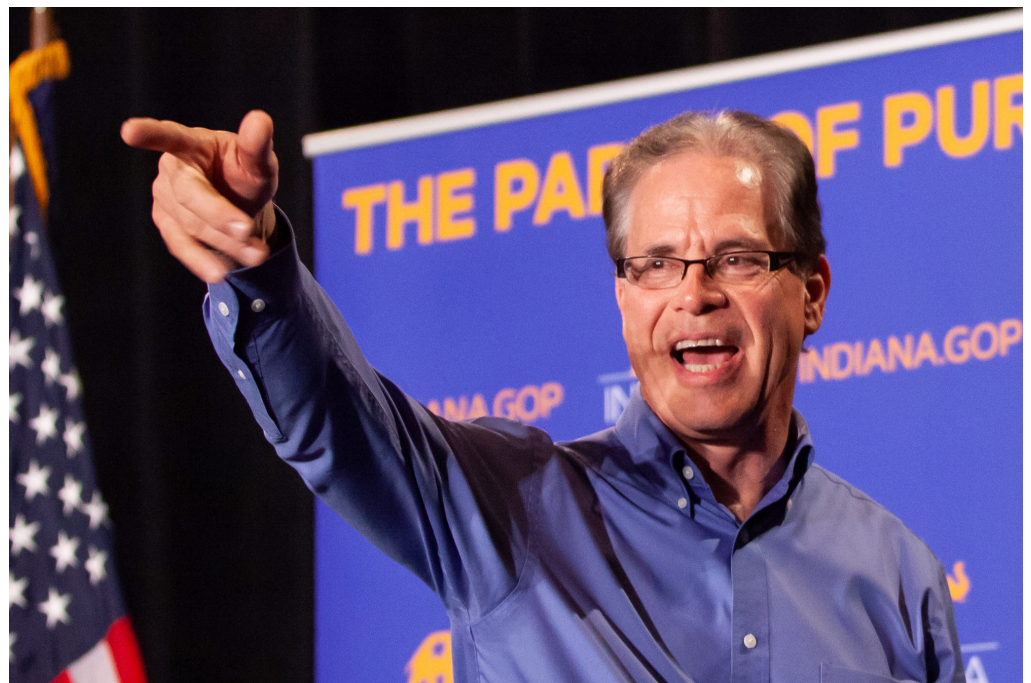
Donnelly won the female vote by just 3%, or 49-46% with Brenton at 5%, which was a serious erosion from 2012 when he won females by 10%, or 52-42%. Donnelly and Braun tied at 46% with the 18-29 age group, but Braun won the 45-64 age group 54-43% and the over 65 crowd 56-43%. On this front, Donnelly's emphasis on health care issues and pre-existing conditions did not pay off.

Braun carried the white vote 57-39, including white men 62-35% and white women 51-43%. Donnelly carried African-Americans 86-13% (which constituted

8% of the total, though this group is 9.1% of the state's population), and Latinos 69-24%. Latinos constitute 6% of Indiana's population but comprised only 3% of the turnout, meaning that this demographic is significantly underperforming for Democrats. That must be considered a missed opportunity for Donnelly and Hoosier Democrats after President Trump used the immigrant caravan and other race cards predominantly in the homestretch of the campaign, continually disparaging Mexico while referring to our southern neighbors as "breeders," "rapists" and "criminals."

Donnelly carried college grads 52-45% and female college grads 56-40%, while Braun carried the non-grads 58-37%. This fits part of the profile of Democrats performing better in suburban areas, but Donnelly didn't turn out enough of them.

What impact did the Justice Brett Kavanaugh story have? On the question of whether Donnelly's "no" vote was a factor, 69% said yes and 24% said no. With voters who thought it was an important factor, Braun carried them 54-38% while Braun edged out the incumbent 48-47% for voters who didn't think it was a factor. Donnelly carried by a 56-39% margin voters who thought it was a



minor factor.

So, the answer to that \$64,000 question was that there was a "Kavanaugh effect" and it hurt the Democrat incumbent. Had the Christine Blasey Ford allegations not surfaced and the sensational controversy not taken place, this probably would have been a closer race.

Donnelly tried to appeal to a slice of President Trump's supporters. Exit poll respondents approved of Trump 55% to 44%. Braun won Trump supporters 87-10% while Donnelly won those who disapprove 88-7%. Donnelly won moderates 58-37%, Braun won 88% of conser-

vatives, and 71% of evangelicals.

As for decision-making, 12% made their decision in the last few days, 6% in the last week and 15% in the final month. Braun won the last month breakers 55-41%, which fits the general rule that the challenger will feast on the undecideds.

The other telltale that sat there right in front of our face is that in most polls, Donnelly couldn't crest the 45% range. We noted in October that Donnelly had told HPI during Richard Mourdock's primary challenge to U.S.

Sen. Richard Lugar that the incumbent was vulnerable because he could not escape the lower 40th percentile. In that last Fox News Poll that was not only an outlier but obviously off the mark, Donnelly had a 7% lead at 45-38%, while the final NBC/Marist Poll had Donnelly up 48-46%. Both those surveys were obviously off, but the fact that Donnelly rarely found a perch close to 50% was the ominous sign that he faced an uphill battle that became reality. ❖

There was a pink wave in Indiana, but it wasn't fully funded

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – There was a pink wave in Indiana. When the gavels drop on Organization Day next week, there will be 30 women in the General Assembly out of 57 who filed for primary races.

In Congress, there were seven women who won nominations, with Republican U.S. Reps. Jackie Walorski and Susan Brooks returning while Democrats Courtney Tritch (35%), Tobi Beck (35%), Dee Thornton (43%), Jeannine Lee Lake (33%) and Liz Watson (43%) came up short. Those percentages were reflecting of their vote totals. Tritch and Watson both out-raised their opponents, U.S. Reps. Jim Banks and Trey Hollingsworth, but Banks defeated Tritch 64.7 to 35.3% while Watson got just 43.5% against the freshman Republican.

The new faces in the Indiana House include Republican Rep. Christy Stutzman who was uncontested in an open seat, and in the Senate, Republican Linda Rogers. Democrats will welcome into the House Carolyn Jackson, Ragen Hatcher, Patricia Boy, Lisa Beck, Chris Campbell, Tonya Pfaff and Dr. Rita Fleming. There were nine women who ran for the Senate, with three other incumbents (Sens. Karen Talian, Liz Brown and Erin Houchin) returning.

In the House, 26 women won seats, while 26 lost. There were several trade-offs, with Beck defeating Republican Rep. Julie Olthoff, and Campbell upsetting Rep. Sally Siegrist, 56.7 to 43.3%.

When you look at support, many of the nominees just didn't fare well in the general election format. While Democrat Patricia Boy won with 60% in the open HD9, there were dozens who struggled to reach even 40%, including Loretta Barnes in HD13 (29.8%), Christina Zacny in HD16 (29.8%), Michelle Livinghouse in HD17 (32.7%),



Dee Moore in HD18 (23.9%), Karen Salzer in HD30 (38.7%) and Amie Neiling in HD32 (28.4%). Democrat Kimberly Fidler received 31.2% in HD44, Susan Diagana had 28.9% in HD47, Martha Lemert 26.7% in HD52, Nancy Tibbitt 29.3% in HD53, Corrinne Westerfield with 27.8% in HD55, Cindy Reinert 36.7% in HD58, Sarah Stivers with 34.6% in HD70,

and Paula Finch at 37.8% in HD87.

Those who did cross the 40th percentile included Naomi Bechtold in HD24 (41.6%), Jennifer Culp in HD36 (44.4%), Aimee Cole in HD38 (45.4%), Michelle Callen in HD40 (42.3%), Evelyn Brown in HD42 (39.6%), Penny Githens with 41% in HD60, Amy Swain with 43% in HD62, and Poonam Gill with 44.5% in her race against Speaker Brian Bosma, losing by a little under 4,000 votes.

A majority of those struggling to be competitive were Democrat. They were running in gerrymandered districts designed to be locks for incumbent Republicans when the maps were forged in 2011. Republicans have held super majorities since 2014.

While the GOP has had the Lugar Series as a preparation organization that teaches women the art of running and winning campaigns over the past three decades, Indiana Democrat commenced Hoosier Women Forward this year, with 22 chosen for its first class.

The lesson of the 2018 "pink wave" is that many Hoosier women were ready to step up and serve. But most came in uncompetitive districts and beyond incoming representatives Boy, Beck, Campbell, Pfaff and Fleming,



simply didn't have the financial resources to mount serious campaigns.

Democrats made meager gains in the General Assembly, just four seats across the two chambers, so they head into the final cycle before the 2021 reapportionment maps with very little resources or power to make more districts competitive in the third decade of this century.

Nationally, a record 110 women (at this writing, with four races still undecided), will be joining Congress,

making up 20% of its ranks. There were 200 women who filed for congressional primaries, with 94 winning crowded primaries.

According to Forbes Magazine, previously, the most women who had advanced were 167 in 2016, according to records kept by the Center for American Women and Politics at Rutgers University. A record 19 women won Senate primaries and 13 women were nominated for gubernatorial races. ❖

A history of the slow rise of women in the Indiana legislature

By **TREVOR FOUGHTY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Julia Nelson (R-Delaware County) never set out to be the first woman elected to the Indiana General Assembly. A long-time suffragette, Nelson was 56 years old in 1920 when women first had the right to vote in Indiana. She chaired the Delaware County Republican Women's Club that year in order to encourage women to utilize their new right (and to encourage them to vote Republican when they did). Then on Saturday, Oct. 30, 1920 — just days before the November 2 election—incumbent State Rep. J. Clark McKinley (R-Delaware County) suddenly died.



Local Republican leaders quickly made the decision to reward Nelson's efforts by running her in McKinley's place and by that evening she was

officially a candidate for office. Barely 72 hours later, they were celebrating the accomplishment of sending the first woman to the General Assembly.

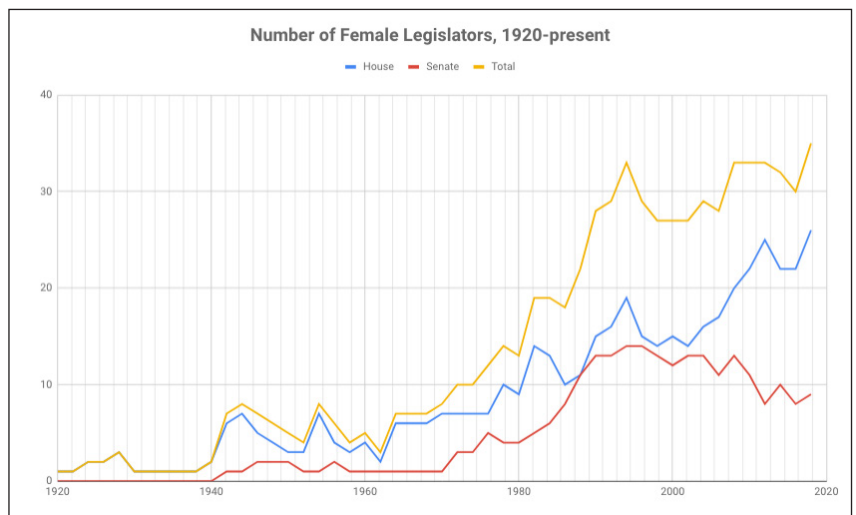
Because it is unclear if Nelson's name actually replaced McKinley's on the ballot, or if party leaders merely decided she would be the recipient of McKinley's votes, most sources today consider her only to be the first woman to serve in the General Assembly, and not the first to be elected (since McKinley was the original candidate). But newspaper articles from 1920 make it clear that at the time they considered her to be the first elected.

Those same articles offer proof, if needed, that progress can be a slow-rolling train.

While generally celebratory of her historic feat, their characterizations of her qualifications are cringe-inducing to modern audiences. The Muncie Evening Star, for instance, raved about her election not because of her leadership skills, but because she was "the kind of a woman who can fry waffles to a crisp at breakfast-time without burning them and always has dinner ready on time."

Since Nelson's service, at least one woman has served in every session of the General Assembly. As the 2018 elections capped the first century of women in legislative office, perhaps it's fitting that some characterized this year as a sort of "Pink Wave." By the numbers at least, the "Pink Wave" seems to have crested a little higher than the anticipated "Blue Wave." While Democrats netted a four-seat gain in state legislative races, women netted five. The result is nine new female legislators with 35 total between both chambers, an all-time record.

As the following chart shows, progress has indeed been a sort of slow-rolling train, but one that's built quite a head of steam in recent years. Nelson served only a single term, but was replaced in 1922 by Elizabeth Rainey (R-Marion County), whom many consider the first woman to win a general election for a state legislative seat. Rainey also served just a single term, but was followed by two more women in the House in 1924, two more in 1926, and three in 1928. In the 1930's, no session ever featured more than one woman in the House, and more often than not it was Bess Robbins Kaufman (D-Marion County), the



first woman to serve more than one term (she won election in 1932, 1936, and 1938).

While women constituted this small minority of elected House members throughout the 1920's and 1930's, the onset of World War II saw women make progress in terms of their numbers as many men went off to war. In 1942, a then-record six women were elected, including Arcada Balz (R-Marion County), the first woman elected to the Senate. Balz won a special election that year to replace Sen. Edward Green (R-Marion County) after he resigned to serve in the U.S. Navy. She won a full term of her own in 1944, also making her the first to serve multiple Senate terms.

It wasn't until 1964 that a woman was elected to serve in both chambers when Marie Lauck (D-Marion County) was elected to the Senate after having been elected to a single term in the House in 1958. Lauck's feat would not be repeated until Julia Carson (D-Marion County), who was the first African-American woman elected to the House in 1972, and the first African-American woman elected to the Senate in 1976 (a distinction she shares with Katie Hall, D-Lake County, also elected to the Senate that year; both Hall and Carson would go on to be elected to the U.S. House, with Hall being the first African-American of either gender elected to the U.S. House from Indiana).

Carson's election to the House in 1972 also coincided with the first year in which women reached a double-digit number of members (10 total; seven in the House, three in the Senate). Since then, female legislators have always been in double digits. Since 1988, there have been at least 20 (the first year they hit that milestone); and since 2008 there have been at least 30 (33 women were elected in 1994, the only year prior to 2008 in which there were more than 30).

This progress culminates at the start of the 121st General Assembly, which will feature 35 women when it convenes. That bests the previous record of 33 who served in the 109th (1994-1996), 116th, 117th, and 118th (2008-2014) General Assemblies. The House will see 26 women on the floor this session, a record for that body just surpassing the 25 that served in the 118th (2012 to 2014). The other nine will serve in the Senate, down from the record of 14



Democrats Julia Carson (left) and Vi Simpson made Indiana General Assembly history.

that served in that body in the 109th and 110th (1994-1998), and the 13 that served in the 116th (2008-2010). It's worth noting that the General Assembly from 1990 to 2010 saw an average of 13 female senators and 16 female representatives; since 2010, the number of representatives has grown to an average of 23 (an increase of 43%), but the number of female senators has dropped to an average of nine (a decrease of 30%).

While the number of women serving continues to grow steadily, the number of women who have served in legislative leadership posts has been slow to catch up. While four women have served as the nominal presiding officer of the Senate by virtue of being the lieutenant governor (Kathy Davis, Becky Skillman, Sue Ellspermann, and Suzanne Crouch), no woman has ever served as Senate president pro tempore or speaker of the House.

Sen. Vi Simpson (D-Monroe County) is the only woman ever to serve as minority leader, the highest ranking post for the minority party, in either chamber during a legislative session. The only other woman to head a legislative caucus is Rep. Linda Lawson (D-Lake County). As some may recall, she served as the House minority leader for an interim period of about four months in 2012 after Democrats ousted Pat Bauer (D-St. Joseph County) in a surprise July caucus held in West Lafayette, but she only

Legislator	Chamber	Party	Position	Tenure
Kathy Richardson	House	Republican	Majority Caucus Chair	2000-2018
Becky Skillman	Senate	Republican	Majority Caucus Chair	2002-2004
Connie Lawson	Senate	Republican	Majority Floor Leader	2006-2012
Vi Simpson	Senate	Democratic	Assistant Floor Leader	2006-2008*
Connie Spies	Senate	Democratic	Minority Caucus Chair	2008-2012
Linda Lawson	House	Democratic	Minority Floor Leader	2010-2018**
Jean Breaux	Senate	Democratic	Assistant Floor Leader	2012-present
Vanessa Summers	House	Democratic	Minority Caucus Chair	2012-2014
Karen Tallian	Senate	Democratic	Minority Caucus Chair	2016-present
Cherrish Pryor	House	Democratic	Minority Floor Leader	2018-present
Mara Candelaria Reardon	House	Democratic	Minority Caucus Chair	2018-present

*Later served as Senate Democratic Leader from 2008-2012

**Also served as House Democratic Leader for 4 months in 2012

agreed to hold the position until just after that November's election.

Going down the ranks gets a little tougher, both because the records aren't easy to find, and also because there are a seemingly endless number of "assistant" and "deputy" titles that get handed out while coalition-building around leadership elections. In the interests of space and time, I'll focus just on the positions of floor leader (or assistant floor leader in the Senate Democratic Caucus) and caucus chair, as they are the traditional #2 and #3 spots in each caucus. It appears that only 11 women have ever held these ranks, all since 2000 (please let me know if you see any omissions).

This session, four women will be serving in the top 12 spots. This seems on par with recent history, as between three and five women have served in those spots

since 2006 (2010-2012 was the only period with five, when Simpson, C. Lawson, L. Lawson, Sipes, and Richardson were all in top leadership roles). But this will be the first session since women broke into these roles that Republicans won't count one among their leadership, and this leveling off has occurred even while the number of women in legislative offices has increased 25% since 2006.

Regardless, women start their second century of elected service to the state with continually increasing numbers and growing influence around the Statehouse. Consider: The women serving in the 121st General Assembly make up 21% of all the women who have ever served, and 75% of all women legislators in history (123 out of 164) have served since the start of the 112th (Nov. 8, 2000, and after). Even for a slow-rolling train, that's quite a bit of momentum. ❖

Wither the impactful GOP class of 2002

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Wither the Republican Class of 2002? They've all moved on, one way or another, these four conventioners John McGoff, Richard Mourdock, Mike Delph and Todd Rokita. But, goll-eee, as a cluster of throbbing and exultant political humanity, they sure changed the Hoosier State.

After one of the most suspenseful and intricate convention floor fights in a generation, it would be Rokita who would emerge as the victor after a four-ballot showdown at the Indiana Convention Center in a drama that featured operatives and players such as Bob Grand, Greg Zoeller, John Keeler, Jack Cottey, Phil Borst, Jonathon Byrd, Tom Schneider, Bettye Lou Jerrell, Sue Ann Gilroy and GOP Chairman Jim Kittle.

Rokita was destined to a pair of terms as secretary of state, where he would lead a clever campaign to reapportion in 2011 with tidy, compact districts that essentially moved most of the congressional and General Assembly seats out of the reach of Democrats. Not all Republicans were on board. Rokita pissed off Senate Republicans so much that in 2011 they drew him out of his own congressional district.

Rokita went on to win four terms in the 4th CD beginning in 2010,

when he became chairman of the Education Subcommittee on Early Childhood, Elementary and Secondary Education. When Gov. Mike Pence resigned his gubernatorial renomination to run for vice president in 2016, Rokita was one of four Republicans to seek the gubernatorial nod from the Republican Central Committee. After a dramatic two weeks, much of it playing out at the Republican National

Convention in Cleveland, he finished third, behind Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb and U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks.

His political capstone to date came with the 2018 U.S. Senate race, where Mike Braun reduced him to a cardboard twin with House colleague Luke Messer in the Republican primary, where he finished second, 10 points behind the future senator-elect. Jim Baird will succeed Rokita in January, but if his tenure is short, Rokita could end up back in the 4th CD, or make a run for governor in 2024, which is something he's aimed for with his career arc.

Mourdock comes in at No. 2 for his post-convention legacy. The Vanderburgh County commissioner went on to win two terms as state treasurer in 2006, defeating rising star Democrat Pete Buttigieg in his 2010 reelection bid.

Then Mourdock pulled off an amazing upset, defeating legendary U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar in a primary landslide in 2012. The Tea Party, U.S. Chamber, NRA and Club For Growth figured him to be a heavy favorite in the fall, but within



Todd Rokita and Dr. John McGoff during the 2002 secretary of state campaign, and U.S. Rep. Dan Burton with State Sen. Mike Delph.

a month of his primary victory, Mourdock gained a reputation as a loose cannon, failed to bring along the Lugar wing of the party, and needed adult supervision for most of the summer and fall. In his final debate (his participation coming only at the last minute), Mourdock made what is considered to be the epic blunder of Hoosier politics in the young 21st Century. Asked about abortion, Mourdock could have simply said he had been endorsed by Indiana and national Right to Life groups. Many believed he would have won the debate and perhaps the close election. Instead, he matched Missouri's Todd Akin's rhetoric, declaring that God willed pregnancy by rape. It created one of the first Twitter and social media firestorms, and Mourdock was defeated by U.S. Rep. Joe Donnelly by 7%.



Richard Mourdock won a landslide 2012 Republican primary against U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar, but failed to close ranks in the GOP and then lost to Rep. Joe Donnelly after an epic debate blunder.

Was the Class of 2002 impactful? As you can see thus far, yes.

There was Dr. McGoff, a brigadier general and former Marion County coroner, who challenged U.S. Rep. Dan Burton three times, beginning in 2008 in races that included Burton, Luke Messer, and State Rep. Mike Murphy. In 2012, Burton was to face McGoff, David McIntosh, Jack Lugar and Susan Brooks. When Burton abruptly resigned, it was Brooks who won the seat. McGoff has gone on to wield considerable influence in Indiana military and medical circles.

Finally, there is Delph, the former legislative aide to Burton who was defeated for a fourth term in the Indiana Senate last week by openly gay Democrat J.D. Ford. In 2005, the Carmel Republican won an upset caucus victory against Wayne Township Trustee Dan Gammon to replace State Sen. Murray Clark. Delph worked a coalition of social conservatives and suburban Republicans for what was more than a mild surprise. He would defend his seat in 2006, again 2010 (when he faced future Rep. Robin Shackleford), and once again in 2014 with a 54-46% victory over Ford. Delph's career comes to a temporary halt after increasingly Democratic Pike Township and Marion County helped turn the tide in one of the few legislative districts represented by a Republican that backed Hillary Clinton in 2016.

That Ford would defeat Delph was a rare act of political retribution from the Democratic Party, LGBT and pro-choice wings, given the Republican's career legacy on abortion, immigration and several attempts to place traditional marriage in the state constitution. As a state senator, Delph cultivated

and developed a statewide network of evangelicals and Tea Party cells. In 2012, again in 2016 and once more prior to this year, his advocates in these circles urged Delph to seek a U.S. Senate seat, but he declined, citing career and family considerations. Heading into the 2018 U.S. Senate race, Delph appeared at Rokita's campaign kickoff and endorsed his old rival. As with the three others in this class, Delph played on a statewide stage. He's young enough (age 48) that he could re-emerge down the road.

One of my favorite political stories from this unique cluster of talent features Delph. In the June 17, 2002 edition of The Howey Political Report, we reported: Rex Early was lying in the recovery room at the hospital just after his hip replacement surgery last winter. He peered from his morphine-altered state and saw ... Mike Delph, Republican candidate for secretary of state. Awhile later, the former Republican chairman asked his wife, 'Was Mike Delph in here? Or was I hallucinating?' No, Mrs. Early said, Mike Delph had been there, seeking Early's signature for filing documents."

Rarely have we seen a grouping of such talent, ambition and impact as we've had with Rokita, Mourdock, McGoff and Rokita. They ended up changing Indiana in subtle to profound ways since those dramatic convention days in 2002. ❖



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A slo-mo Democratic wave laps at Trump

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Indiana Republicans are a giddy bunch. They love and have emphatically embraced President Trump. Vice President Mike Pence has stocked the federal administration with dozens of Hoosiers, and they control wide swaths of the health, agriculture and intelligence sectors.



And when the curtain dropped on Election Night, Sen. Joe Donnelly's head joined that of Evan Bayh, Glenda Ritz and Ned Stark on the castle crest pikes (this last is a "Game of Thrones" reference for those of you in non-HBO dwellings).

With characteristic hyperbole, Trump declared on Election Night that he had achieved "very close to a complete victory," even though he lost the U.S. House by what could be a 36-seat turnover when the final ballots in nine seats (with Democrats leading in most according to CNN) are tallied or recounted. Given the array of 2011 reapportioned maps that gave Republicans in some 30 states (including Indiana) a significant strategic advantage, that's far from "complete." Democrats gained back a third of the 1,000 state legislative seats lost during President Obama's two terms. They regained control of eight state legislatures and flipped seven governorships (including Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and Kansas).

Trump tweeted on Nov. 7, "Those that worked with me in this incredible Midterm Election, embracing certain policies and principles, did very well. Those that did not, say goodbye! Yesterday was such a very Big Win, and all under the pressure of a Nasty and Hostile Media!" He singled out defeated Republicans such as Rep. Mia Love of Utah, who didn't embrace his mantle.

Trump held 44 MAGA rallies, including four in Indiana, and endorsed 91 Republican candidates, including Indiana Senator-elect Mike Braun. But Trump's overall scorecard is mixed, with 51 wins, 37 losses, and three races still to be determined.

Thus, beyond Indiana, there are problems on the horizon for President Trump's Grand Old Party. Remember RNC Chairman Reince Priebus's 2013 autopsy report? It made the case that Republicans had to reach out beyond

the white, male and uneducated voter demographics. They had to court Millennials and Latinos and end efforts to curtail gay rights. In the mid-terms, Trump doubled down on his kickoff escalator rhetoric, mostly ignored the thriving economy and record employment (though he led with those issues at his Southport HS rally on Nov. 2), and emphasized warnings about the migrant caravan throbbing with breeders, rapists and lepers in the campaign homestretch.

Axios CEO Jim VandeHei and analyst Mike Allen probe deeper into this play: "Trump has locked his party into a white-man strategy, using the pre-midterm rallies to amp up fears of immigrants and change. The strategy held the Senate for the GOP, since this year's battlegrounds were largely rural. But white men are shrinking, and will continue to, as a proportion of the electorate. Think of it this way: There's not a single demographic trend in America that benefits Republicans."

While South Bend Tribune columnist Jack Colwell has dubbed the Hoosier State as "Trumpiana," some cracks appear. Democrats J.D. Ford, Chris Campbell, Lisa Beck, Chris Chyung and Rita Fleming all won seats in suburban General Assembly districts, and there were a couple of close calls, with Rep. Dale Devon barely hanging on. Democrat Poonam Gill held Speaker Brian Bosma to 55% in his growing suburban district, losing by just under 4,000 votes. HPI columnist Morton Marcus notes that Republicans who control "78% of our congressional delegation will hold office with 55.3% of the vote."



In states with growing Latino populations – Florida, Texas, Georgia – Republicans largely prevailed this cycle (gubernatorial races in Florida and Georgia are still undetermined at this writing), but in Arizona, Kyrsten Sinema won a Senate seat, something a Democrat hasn't done since the mid-1980s. And Arizona was supposed to be the GOP's immigrant showcase; it's home to Sheriff Joe Arpaio and on the front lines if that "caravan" ever shows up, to be greeted by 15,000 U.S. troops. Sen. Sinema, meet Sen. Jones of Alabama.

Trump will also have trouble carrying the "Blue Wall" states that faltered in 2016, with Democrats taking governorships in Wisconsin, Michigan and Pennsylvania.

Now, could Democrats blow it? Of course! This is literally the party that puts the "fun" in dysfunction and they seem hell-bent on a Trump investigation frenzy that could prove to be as big an overplay as the one Republicans blundered into when they impeached President Clinton in 1998. That was the election when Democrats retook the U.S. and Indiana Houses.

But it's the demographics that will pose the biggest problem for Republicans if they continue to embrace that white man strategy. So, what will be their destiny? ❖



Tom Huston's battle on domestic enemies

By **CRAIG DUNN**

KOKOMO – ANTIFA plots insurrection! Police officers gunned down! Unrest in the streets! Bombs mailed to politicians!

Reading recent headlines, a person might be inclined to think that we are living in the most dangerous domestic environment in our country's history. Former Nixon speechwriter and Presidential candidate Pat Buchanan recently said as much.

Today's volatile domestic turmoil acknowledged, there once was a much more threatening time to our republic. That time was the extremely dangerous years of 1969-1970.

Nearly 4,000 domestic bombings, 28 police officers shot by snipers and numerous groups, such as the Weather Underground, actively working to destroy our nation and daily riots in the streets shook our nation to its core.

Among the buildings bombed in New York City were the Marine Midland Building, Chase Manhattan Bank, Standard Oil, General Motors, the Criminal Courts Building, an Armed Forces Induction Center, the United Fruit Company and the Federal Office Building at Federal Plaza.

President Richard Nixon was alarmed by the potential existential threat and called upon one of his youngest and brightest minds to get a handle on the problem and

recommend presidential action. That young, up-and-coming dynamo was a Hoosier, Charles "Tom" Huston of Logansport.

That such an important task as coordinating the White House response to a vital national security problem should be entrusted to the 29-year-old Huston was testament to the young Hoosier's meteoric rise as a leading light in the American conservative movement. Tom Huston was no ordinary, newly minted attorney. He had traveled heady roads that few dare explore.

Born in 1941, the son of a Logansport insurance agent, Huston morphed from a fan of Democrat Adlai Stevenson to a "Jeffersonian Republican," a firm believer in personal responsibility and small government. Huston took his conservative philosophy with him when he matriculated at Indiana University with a bachelor's degree (1963) and law degree (1966). Huston graduated with high honors in both.



A young Tom Huston with conservative icon and 1964 Republican presidential nominee Barry Goldwater. Top photo, Huston in an Oval Office meeting with President Nixon and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.

During law school, Huston found time to become the national chairman of the leading conservative youth movement in the country, Young Americans for Freedom, in 1965. In 1966, at a time when most college students were spending their time smoking marijuana, practicing free love and protesting the Vietnam War, Tom Huston organized the World Youth Crusade for Freedom which tried to battle communism across the globe, particularly in Vietnam.

It was also in 1966 that the laser-focused Huston took his first political plunge. After the whitewashing of Barry Goldwater in the 1964 presidential election, the Republican Party was casting about looking for a credible candidate for 1968. California Gov. Ronald Reagan was gaining huge momentum for a potential run, but Huston felt that Reagan's lack of experience in international politics put him at a disadvantage to former Vice President Richard Nixon. In a controversial and very public move, Huston announced his support for Nixon. This early support for Nixon brought Huston to Nixon's closest aides.

Nixon repaid Huston's gesture after his 1968 victory by inviting Huston to join Pat Buchanan and William Safire as a White House speechwriter. Huston was just winding down a two-year ROTC commitment with Army intelligence and, although he had been offered a job as an associate attorney with Barnes & Thornburg in Indianapolis, he asked his future employer for the opportunity to spend two years serving the president.

During his time on President Nixon's staff, Huston speedily morphed from speechwriter to presidential advisor and special projects guru. Huston was immediately tasked with determining what type of special retirement perks Lyndon Johnson had bestowed upon himself prior to leaving office.

An early, politically sensitive task was an assignment by Nixon to determine to what extent President Johnson had used the Paris Peace talks and bombing halt to try and influence the 1968 election and, as a separate issue, the intrigues of Republican political doyenne Anna Chenault to derail the Paris Peace talks, a potential violation of U.S. law and, possibly, even treason. Nixon knew the truth in both of these hot potato issues, but he wanted to know what an investigator might be able to uncover and potentially use against him in the future.

Additionally, Huston was asked by the president to thoroughly investigate "that Bay of Pigs thing" and Ken-

nedey's communications with Gen. Thieu of Vietnam prior to the assassination of President Diem.

As his time at White House proceeded, Huston's methodical and intelligent approach to every assignment increasingly ingratiated himself to Nixon. "Have Huston look into this" was a favorite marching order from the president to Chief of Staff Bob Haldeman. Nixon's increasing confidence in Huston and the domestic turmoil of 1969 and 1970 led to the young Hoosier's most challenging assignment in service of his president and country.

In the spring of 1970, after a Weather Underground bomb-making factory accidentally exploded in Greenwich Village, President Nixon believed that the threat to our national security was significant enough that a thorough review of the problem and potential solutions must be undertaken. Huston was given the task of analyzing the magnitude of the internal security problem, determining what organizational difficulties between the four principal security agencies might be, finding what legal roadblocks to dealing with domestic political violence existed and, finally, coming up with a recommendation for the president on what needed to be done. Huston would not be doing his work alone; the president called out all of the big guns.

Joining Huston on the Interagency Committee on Intelligence were FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, CIA Director Richard Helms, Lt. General Donald Bennett of the Defense Intelligence Agency and Admiral Noel Gaylor of the National Security Agency.

President Nixon brought all of the principals, including Huston and Haldeman, into the Oval Office and gave them their marching orders. There was to be no miscalculation. Richard Nixon was serious about the internal security risk to our nation.

Prior to the first working meeting of the Interagency Committee, Tom Huston was summoned to J. Edgar Hoover's office for a formal introduction and sit-down. In a recent interview with Huston, he told me that he was ushered into Hoover's office and brought before the director. Hoover's desk had been elevated in such a way that he could look down on and lecture visitors like Zeus from a mountaintop. Huston received the obligatory history of the FBI, the heady days of Prohibition gangsters and bank robbers and the hunting down and killing of John Dillinger. The encounter was meant to intimidate, but as subsequent events demonstrated, Huston was unfazed by Hoover's histrionics.

In the first meeting of the Interagency Committee,



Huston walks the White House grounds with President Nixon.

Hoover took the lead in trying to define the work of the group. More interested in protecting his agency, he intentionally mischaracterized Nixon's marching orders delivered in the Oval Office. Hoover was more intent on creating a dissertation regarding the creation of the various intelligence services and their work up to this time. Huston could not tolerate Hoover's intentional distortion of the president's order and with the impetuosity known only to young and intelligent hard-chargers, he blurted out, "The president is not interested in a history lesson. He's interested in understanding the problem that exists today and our best understanding of what the problem is likely to be into the future."

With those few words Huston immediately made an enemy out of one of the most powerful people in the federal government. The other directors used Huston's impertinence to allow them to chime in and state their agreement with the young Hoosier's assessment of Nixon's wishes. Hoover later snapped to FBI Intelligence guru William Sullivan that Huston was just a "hippie intellectual."

The Interagency Committee met four times between May and the end of June, 1970. William Sullivan drafted the committee's report and Tom Huston edited the document. The major problem confronting the committee was that their solution for dealing with the domestic terrorism issue was already being done on an extra-legal basis. Each agency had been repeatedly violating United States laws in regard to domestic surveillance, wiretaps, break-ins and disinformation for nearly two decades. Each agency was well aware of what the others were doing but none was willing to confess to the legal violations.

Instead, they requested in the report that the president issue executive orders validating the work that they were already doing. Whether Nixon knew this ruse or not, Huston definitely did not.

While the final report broke very little new ground in the work of battling domestic terrorism, Huston did put his own stamp on it with one of his recommendations. The FBI had been using college students to monitor and report on campus radicals by infiltrating their groups. Limited by law to only recruiting informants that were at least 21 years old, Huston knew that to build a longer-term source, you needed to introduce informants as young as 18 into the mix. That recommendation made it into the final report.

The final report, or as it has historically come to be referred to as the "Huston Plan," was circulated among the four directors for their signatures. At William Sullivan's recommendation, the plan was first submitted to the CIA, DIA

and NSA for their approvals before the document went to J. Edgar Hoover. Even though Hoover's FBI was up to its eyelids with past bugging and black bag operations, the director thought he could give himself some cover by footnoting each of the committee's options as to whether or not the FBI approved of each provision.

When the other three directors learned of Hoover's tactic, they were enraged. They knew what he was up to and strenuously objected. However, they knew that they would never get Hoover to sign off on any other document, so they acquiesced and submitted the footnoted report.

Huston submitted the report to President Nixon for his approval and executive action through Chief of Staff Haldeman. While Nixon approved and endorsed the itemized options as presented, he and Haldeman decided that it would be in the best interest to have the report go out over Huston's signature. Huston complied and issued the report over his signature and the document was destined for history and infamy as the "Huston Plan."

The Huston Plan was a 43-page report and outline of security options. Among other things, the plan called for domestic burglary, illegal electronic surveillance and opening the mail of domestic radicals. The document also called for the creation of camps in the Western states where anti-war protesters would be detained.

The ink had barely dried on the Huston Plan when J. Edgar Hoover set about dismantling it. Hoover may have been a lot of objectionable things, but he was a supreme politician and a master at the Washington power game. He took the plan directly to his ostensible boss, Attorney General John Mitchell, who nearly had a cow about its content. Mitchell knew the legal and constitutional issues raised by the document and hurriedly set off to the Oval Office to kill it. On July 26, 12 days after the Huston Plan had been approved by the president, he reconsidered his decision and killed the plan. The Huston Plan documents were retrieved from each of the four principal agencies and locked away in a White House safe, never to see the light of day. Or so it seemed.

Tom Huston had grown disillusioned with the Nixon White House. Like many a bright-eyed and idealistic person before him, he slowly came to see the Nixon Administration as seriously flawed. Entering his position with a passion for his conservative beliefs, he was saddened as Nixon came under the sway of Eastern liberal Democrat, Daniel Patrick Moynihan. While Huston wanted to see conservative principles applied to government welfare, Moynihan influenced Nixon to see the political expediency of continuing the practices of the Johnson Administration.



Internationally, confrontation of communism around the world gave way to the détente advocated by Henry Kissinger's crew in the White House. In short, the promising conservatism that led Huston to support candidate Nixon in 1966 gave way to the reality that political hacks such as Charles Colson were calling the shots. By the spring of 1971, Huston had had his fill of political expediency and intrigue and happily moved to Indianapolis to begin a successful career as a real estate attorney.

Unless fate had intervened, the American people would never have learned about the Huston Plan and the perceived dangers to our constitutional rights. It was only because of Watergate that we came to learn of the Huston Plan. While unrelated to the

Watergate burglary and its resulting cover up, the keys to the White House safe had passed from Tom Huston to John Dean upon Huston's departure for Indianapolis. As part of Dean's desperate attempt to save his neck during the Watergate prosecution, he literally emptied the White House safe and passed the top secret, classified Huston Plan to the Washington, D.C., Federal Court. The Senate Watergate Committee subpoenaed the document and what had served as an unimplemented intelligence plan burned like a wildfire in the halls of Congress, the courts and the national media. In short, the Huston Plan became generally acknowledged in many circles as the most dangerous document in the history of our republic, a status that Huston still finds to be absurd and ridiculous.

In 1975, Tom Huston was called back to Washington to testify before the Church Committee, the Senate committee organized to examine intelligence abuses of the various governmental agencies. Although repeatedly challenged by Sens. Frank Church, Walter Mondale and Gary Hart, along with Chief Council F.A.O. Schwartz, Jr., Huston adroitly defended the plan associated with his name as a product created because of the extremely dangerous domestic environment in the United States. He also deftly pointed out that most of the recommended options were legal at the time of the creation of the plan and had only been subsequently found by the courts to be illegal. In one particularly testy exchange with Sen. Church, Huston reminded the senator that 4,000 bombs had been set off



A note from legendary conservative pundit William F. Buckley, who might not recognize conservatism in the age of Donald Trump.

in our nation and that terrorists were gunning down police officers. Huston viewed his work as patriotic, reasonable and necessary for the safety of our country. Church's line of attack fizzled at Huston's emphatic response.

Looking back, Tom Huston realizes that his signature on the document gave Nixon and Haldeman plausible deniability should the plan blow up. He told the New York Times in 1973 that, "The real threat to internal security - in any society - is repression, but repression is the inevitable result of disorder. Forced to choose between order and freedom, people will take order. A handful of people cannot frontally overthrow the government, but if they can engender enough fear, they can generate an atmosphere that will bring out of the woodwork every repressive demagogue in the country."

Huston acknowledged in a taped interview for the Nixon Library, conducted in 2008, that he should have known better at the time of the creation of the Huston Plan. However, Huston, at his young and relatively inexperienced age could not conceive that Richard Helms, James Angleton and the rest of the intelligence establishment would compromise the integrity of their agencies for a partisan political purpose.

Huston returned to Indiana and forged a successful career as a real estate attorney and as principal of Brenwick Development. He worked religiously on historical preservation projects, served on committees of the Indiana Historical Society, served as a long-time member the board of the President Benjamin Harrison home and along the way built one of the largest and most impressive collections of presidential campaign memorabilia in the United States.

Not bad work for a kid from Logansport. He now passes his time winding down Brenwick Development and spending time with his wife, Brenda, and their grandchildren.

In life, some citizens ignore history, some citizens study history and a very few citizens make history. Hoosier Tom Huston at a very young age sat in the lap of history. ❖

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

Marc Chase, NWI Times: Dysfunction breeds chaos in human relationships. Vitriol, anger and shouting are the precursor to collapse. So it should surprise no one that the Porter County 2018 general election fell like a house of cards doused in gasoline and set ablaze just before being shoved into ruin. Ask just about any Porter County official, and they'll describe the dysfunction that has been brewing for some time among the Porter County clerk, the elections board and the "leaders" of the voter registration office. If you won't take their word for it, view the video of the Oct. 31 election board meeting. The angry, childish and misinformed antics on display in that meeting seem to foretell the impending doom that came to pass for the most sacred of democratic processes on Election Day.



Between the vitriol that built toward the election, and the climax of an Election Day collapse, Porter County voters should be clamoring for their leaders to rebuild the process. By now, consumers of Region news are quite familiar with the fiasco of the Nov. 6 Election Day in Porter County. A dozen polling locations opened hours late, prompting a judge to order the locations to stay open hours beyond the normal closing time. A number of voters were disenfranchised in the process, but the disaster was only just getting started. Scores of absentee ballots cast early by voters weren't processed on election night at the precinct locations, ultimately delaying any reported election results until an embarrassing three days after the polls closed. It turns out a big reason for that delay was the state of chaos in which the early ballots were kept leading up to the election. As top county officials begin to unravel the messy mechanics that led to the election collapse, they're noting early ballots weren't sorted properly as voters cast them in the weeks leading up to actual Election Day. Rather than immediately being sorted by precinct, the ballots became a jumbled mess that no one began to rectify until it was too late. The chaos of polling places that didn't open on time, lacked the requisite volunteers for operation or early ballots left in disorganized shambles should surprise no one.

It has become clear from speaking with numerous county officials and watching video of a recent election board meeting that chaos and division define the relationships between the people who are supposed to be running the show. On Halloween, a mere six days before the Election Day debacle, the Porter County Election Board meeting, which was supposed to be sorting out a snafu that threatened to negate some 118 to 122 early ballots cast in Portage, turned into a complete meltdown of unintelligible shouting among voter registration and other officials in the visitors gallery. The 118 to 122 voters all were being asked to return to a polling location to recast their votes because those ballots lacked the bipartisan initials from the Democratic and Republican supervisors at the early voting location in Portage. Under state law, ballots lacking the bipartisan initials don't count, election

board attorney Ethan Lowe explained at the meeting. That legal advice didn't stop Democratic election board member J.J. Stankiewicz from making a motion to try to count the ballots, state law be damned. A nonsensical argument over the matter occupied most of the Oct. 31 board meeting, with Stankiewicz's motion failing to be seconded by another board member, and therefore rightly failing. The dysfunctional grand finale of the meeting actually came after it had officially adjourned. Kathy Kozuszek, Democratic director of the Porter County voter registration office, engaged in an unseemly shouting match with Porter County Clerk Karen Martin, who sits on the election board. Several others in attendance joined in in a noisy bout of vitriol.

Remarkably enough, the venomous exchanges all seemed to center on whether enough volunteers had been identified to properly open and run polling locations at the Nov. 6 election. As it would turn out, the answer to that question was no. But the childish shouting match seemed to stand in the way of any solution to the problem. ❖

Jonathon Swan, Axios: President Trump has long been casting about for a replacement and has, on several occasions, made what in any normal world would be taken as an official job offer to Mike Pence's chief of staff, Nick Ayers, 36. But when Trump offers you a job, it's not always as it seems. He has discussed the job with Ayers sporadically for months. Sources close to Pence's chief tell me that in recent weeks, Ayers has privately expressed a "Who knows?" attitude: It could happen tomorrow, or in several months, or maybe never. The case for Ayers, according to his boosters: He has sharp political instincts and business acumen — and that's what some believe Trump needs in his chief job heading into the 2020 presidential election. Ayers' supporters say Pence's office is one of the few well-functioning and low-drama parts of the building. Jared and Ivanka are major supporters — and maybe that's all Ayers needs to overcome his internal enemies. But the opposition to Ayers is substantial inside the administration. His internal opponents attack him as too slick by half and ruthlessly ambitious. ❖

Dave Bangert, Lafayette Journal & Courier: The mini-blue wave that rippled in Tippecanoe County — two Democrats on a county council that had been assumed GOP territory since Lillian Cote left after 1994, sweeps of trustee and board positions in Fairfield and Wabash townships, the flip of House District 26 after a decade — have their roots in a couple of events. The first was on the Tippecanoe County Courthouse steps in January, on a surprisingly warm Saturday after President Donald Trump's inauguration and on the day of the Women's March, when the crowd grew until police closed Columbia Street. The second was in February 2017 at the West Lafayette Public Library, the night of the "Town Forum With or Without Rep. Todd Rokita." ❖

Ayres could replace Kelly as Trump COS

WASHINGTON – President Donald Trump is considering yet another shakeup of his administration, preparing to remove Department of Homeland Security Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen and looking at possible replacements for Chief of Staff John Kelly, including Vice President Mike Pence's Chief of Staff Nick Ayers, according to multiple sources familiar with the matter (ABC News). Nielsen, who became secretary at Homeland Security when John Kelly left DHS to become Trump's chief of staff, is expected to leave her role in the coming weeks and could be asked to resign, according to sources. However, Kelly is fighting to delay her departure, the sources said. The timeline for a shakeup remains unclear and the White House has not responded to a request for comment. "The Secretary is honored to lead the men and women of DHS and is committed to implementing the President's security-focused agenda to protect Americans from all threats and will continue to do so," DHS spokesperson Tyler Houlton said in a statement Tuesday. The Washington Post first reported the news of Nielsen's potential departure. The White House did not immediately respond to ABC News' request for comment about the potential changes. Meanwhile, Kelly's job is also uncertain and his fate has been in question for some time. Sources tell ABC News that within the last few weeks, the president has once again discussed Kelly's fate with many of his top advisers; Kelly has continued to grow distant with the president, sources said.

Hoosiers back pot more than betting

MUNCIE – Hoosiers are more supportive of legalizing marijuana than they are of legalizing sports betting, according to results of a new survey (Erdody, IBJ). Ball State University's annual Hoosier Survey, released Tuesday, found only 37 percent of Hoosiers favor legaliz-

ing sports betting as a revenue source while 50 percent oppose the idea. But when it comes to marijuana, 39 percent said they support legalizing it for recreational use and 42 percent said they support legalizing it for medicinal use. Only 16 percent said pot should not be legalized. The Indiana General Assembly is expected to debate both issues in the upcoming session, and sports betting seems to have some support from lawmakers already.



Holcomb approval at 52% in BSU Poll

MUNCIE – A majority of Hoosiers approve of Gov. Eric Holcomb's job performance in Ball State's annual Hoosier Survey (Smith, Indiana Public Media). Of those surveyed, 52 percent say Holcomb is doing a good job, compared to just 13 percent who disapprove. But about a third say they don't know him or don't have an opinion about him. Ball State's Bowen Center for Public Affairs Director Charles Taylor says that number makes sense, given Holcomb's approach. "Governor Holcomb has a more low-key style than Governor Daniels did," Taylor says. "He's not had the sort of divisive social issue controversy that Mike Pence had as governor." Taylor also says Holcomb could help himself by taking more of a lead on some policy issues. Otherwise, Taylor says, Holcomb risks playing into the hands of a future political opponent. "It leaves an opening when there's a significant number of people that haven't made up their mind, then somebody may come along and help them make up their mind," Taylor says.

More calls for Porter probe

VALPARAISO – Porter County Commissioners and the Valparaiso Democratic Committee are calling on the state to investigate the bungled election last week. Election Day in

Porter County was rife with problems, including delayed election results that came in three days late, 12 precincts that stayed open later than planned because they did not open on time, and absentee ballots not being distributed to precincts to be counted by the time the polls closed (Lavelly, Post-Tribune). After hearing firsthand stories from poll workers about the chaos that ensued on Election Day in Porter County for the midterm elections, the Board of Commissioners on Tuesday asked the county attorney to request an Indiana Secretary of State's Office investigation and for the state agency to ask for an inquiry by the Indiana State Police.

State revenue ahead of forecast

INDIANAPOLIS – State revenue is running ahead of expectations one-third of the way through Indiana's budget year (Carden, NWI Times). Between July and October, Indiana collected \$5 billion in sales, income and other taxes from Hoosiers, according to data recently released by the State Budget Agency. That was \$92.1 million, or 1.9 percent, more than anticipated by the state's revenue forecast. State records show higher than expected sales, corporate income and gaming tax receipts largely were responsible.

Hill vice chair of A.G. group

INDIANAPOLIS - Attorney General Curtis Hill will serve as vice chair of the Republican Attorneys General Association (Haggerty, Indiana Public Media). Members elected Hill to the position over the weekend. According to a release from Hill's press team, the association aims to get more Republicans into the position of Attorney General nationwide.