



Four days in July that rocked Indiana

Pence's pursuit of veep nod, Holcomb's win at GOP Central Committee were bold moves toward November history

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – When filing back through time to make sense of the sensational Nov. 8 election that catapulted Gov. Mike Pence into global power and capped Eric Holcomb's unprecedented rise in Indiana, it comes down to four days in July when the historic and fateful dramas unfolded.

On July 14, we witnessed cable breaking news reports of Gov. and Mrs. Pence disembarking on a charter flight from Indianapolis to Teterboro, N.J., in what most thought was an obvious sign he was about to join the



Gov. Mike Pence and Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb celebrate their Election Day victories that were forged by four momentous days in July, including Trump's visit to Indianapolis and Westfield.

Republican presidential ticket with Donald Trump. Except it was not fait accompli. That wouldn't happen until Friday, July 15.

And on Monday July 25, after 22 Indiana Republican Central Committee members migrated back to Indiana from the Republican National Convention in Cleveland, the

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2016 winners and losers

By **MARK SOUDER**

FORT WAYNE – Every election results in individual and categorical winners and losers that impact the longer-term future of politics. Here are a few of my selections.

Indiana winner: The Pence/Coats establishment.

It directed the quasi-slating of the victorious state ticket: Todd Young for Senate, in part by moving Eric Holcomb out and into position to become governor; Suzanne Crouch as lieutenant governor; Curtis Hill as attorney general; and Jennifer McCormick as superintendent of education. In political years, especially by Indiana standards, they are "fresh faces" ready to ready to rejuvenate



“The very worst choice you can make is to opt out as a citizen, to give in to the cynicism, the despair and the anger. We have to pull back from the toxicity of this election, and if we don't, our system of government eventually will break.”

- Lee Hamilton



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the brand.

Indiana loser: An exhausted Democrat re-tread brand. Evan Bayh is one of the most decent men to represent our state, but coming back after clearly moving to Washington and becoming Big Bucks Bayh was a huge mistake, and his biggest mistake was trying to deny those changes. John Gregg had a detailed list of what he wanted to accomplish, and is generally considered "affable" when not nuking his opponents. The problem is that Gregg's solutions, and Bayh's, were the same liberal re-tread ideas that Hoosiers had passed up long ago. Superintendent Ritz no longer had Superintendent Bennett to kick around. In fact, the Democrats really missed Richard Mourdock as well. They were hoping Trump would drag down the ticket. At some point, the Democrats will have to develop a strategy that appeals to Hoosiers, and not just try to scare them.

National winner: The Congressional GOP. For a year of "draining the swamp" there was very little water seepage. From the earliest primaries until election day, 80-year-old incumbent Republican senators were clobbering outsider rivals. For a number of election cycles we have been hearing Republican victories being attributed to a grassroots rebellion, then to a desire to maintain the status quo, then – repeat. At some point, since Republicans have been prevailing in both the House and Senate, there needs to be an acknowledgement that voters prefer conservative Republican policies and tend to prefer the incumbents over the opposition. Speaker Paul Ryan and Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell endure a lot of abuse but are positioned rather well; they expressed their concerns about President-elect Trump but did not totally abandon him. They control the legislative branch to the degree that it can be controlled. President Trump will now be heavily dependent upon senators he personally attacked, including John McCain, Lindsay Graham, Ben Sasse,

Jeff Flake, Ted Cruz, Marco Rubio, and many others.

National loser: See Indiana reference, insert "Pelosi" and "Clinton." Reelecting Nancy Pelosi minority leader would not help the re-tread image. Nor would making Joe Biden head of the Democrat National Committee. New Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer, because he is so much more media savvy, is a short-term bridge to the new radical, more socialist wing of the Democrat Party.

National winner: President Barack Obama. Donald Trump did what the President, his policies and the Democrats could not do; they



Speaker Paul Ryan with 9th CD congressman-elect Trey Hollingsworth in Sellersburg last month. (HPI Photo by Thomas Curry)

pushed Obama to over 50% popularity. The President (and his family) were also what conservatives had always thought Bill Cosby was, a real-life example of an American dad (and family) that happened to be African-American and a role model that success in American can come regardless of your background. Furthermore, in the critical first week after the Trump victory, the President stood nearly alone among national Democrats as a towering reminder of the importance of a smooth transition of power, this with a man who had questioned his citizenship.

National winner: Bernie Sanders and the Socialist wing of

the Democrats. Elizabeth Warren is set up to be the new Bernie. The general feeling in the left wing of the Democrat Party is that Bernie would have defeated Trump if he hadn't been cheated out of the nomination. This faction will be almost as important to Republicans as Democrats. "Socialists" will replace "Clinton" as the new voter mobilization word. Selecting leftist, Muslim-American Congressman Keith Ellison would cement that socialist trend, with the goal of also highlighting not just white liberal socialists from the East Coast. The question is this: After years of calling every liberal a "socialist" will it work as a scare word when faced with the real thing (though actually American socialist politicians are sort of "socialism lite.")

National loser: Evangelical conservatism as a political movement. The political evangelical movement is now deeply divided. Many, many church leaders were shocked that so many Christian leaders not only voted for Trump, but defended him. They will likely step back from direct politics for the foreseeable future stressing religion, not politics. Evangelical Mike Pence as vice president is emerging as a likely power in critical administration staffing and policy decisions, but the evangelical political dominance within the Republican Party has been destroyed. Donald Trump buried the issues related to gay marriage. Not that many years ago Dr. James Dobson was blasting gambling. This election he was pushing a casino man for

president. Jerry Falwell and others who backed Trump seemed morally lost. "Success" trumped character. Abortion is the last moral issue standing, in part because it was not identified as primarily evangelical.

National losers: Small government conservatives. Donald Trump the nationalist is more statist than any of the Bush family. To be honest, I am more like Trump on certain economic issues (i.e. trade, business support) that resulted in me getting primary opponents every election but, compared to Trump, I'm a libertarian.

Media Winners: Brian Howey, Megyn Kelly, Jeffrey Lloyd, Chris Wallace, and especially social media.

Media Losers: The Big Three TV networks, Fox News, pollsters, the top 100 daily newspapers (only the Las Vegas Review Journal endorsed Trump and he lost that state).

Biggest media winner: Brad Parscale. His media coverage will explode, just as it did about the Obama digital world advances. He ran Trump's alternative strategy of messaging. His firm in San Antonio had proven success in brand management. He demonstrated it could translate to politics. Check out the article in Wired magazine. ❖

Souder is a former Republican congressman from Indiana.

Four days, from page 1

Holcomb campaign was riding high on endorsements from Pence and legislative leaders and expressing sheer confidence he had the nomination in the bag. But he didn't. That wouldn't be secured until a second ballot on July 26.

These cascading events have profoundly reshaped the political contours of Indiana and American politics. They have obliterated the political and media industries, from polling to social media, to get-out-the-vote mechanisms. It has thrust Vice President-elect Pence into the role of a Washington power center. His addition to the Trump ticket over the mogul billionaire's first choice, New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie, may have not only saved the Trump candidacy, but lifted that of Holcomb, who now will extend the GOP Statehouse winning streak to four terms, while rendering Indiana Democrats into historic oblivion.

Had Pence not boarded that flight to Teterboro at the behest of then-Trump campaign manager Paul Manafort and son-in-law Jared Kushner to secure the prize, a Trump/Christie ticket would have resulted. It would have been roiled in the conviction of two Christie

aides in the "Bridgegate" scandal in the final week of the campaign, perhaps eclipsing FBI Director James Comey's stunning letter that pulled the Hillary Clinton email scab off in public view for the final time. It might have blunted the surging tidal wave that would not only propel Trump, but Pence and Holcomb into office.

Trump would carry Indiana 57.2 to 37.9% for Hillary Clinton and 4.9% for Libertarian Gary Johnson, a 525,000 plurality that swamped Gregg, Senate nominee Evan Bayh and Supt. Glenda Ritz, and propelled Trey Hollingsworth to a 14% victory in what had been a drum-tight 9th CD race. It would help Holcomb to a 164,000-vote plurality over Gregg (51.4% to

45.4%) in a tossup race we deemed him to be a slight favorite based on the final WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll, and potentially bolstered by the Trump surge most didn't know was unfolding beneath our feet in its final, stunning magnitude.

In CNN exit polling data, Trump won the 21% of Hoosiers making their decision in the final week by a 51-36% margin over Clinton. A Trump/Christie ticket could have easily ended up creating a President-elect Clinton

| when did you decide presidential vote? | | | | |
|--|---------|------------|---------|-----------------|
| | clinton | trump | johnson | other/no answer |
| in the last week 21% | 36% | 51% | 14% | n/a |
| before that 78% | 35% | 61% | 4% | n/a |

and Governor-elect John Gregg.

Flight to Teterboro

The drama over Pence joining the Trump ticket began as rumors in late June that the Pence campaign and gubernatorial offices initially denied, then downplayed. When he golfed with Trump in New Jersey over the 4th of July weekend, it all ticked into high gear. Then came Tuesday, July 13, when Trump flew into Indianapolis for a Columbia Club fundraiser and then the Pence veep "audition" at Westfield's Grand Park. The two then dined in the Capital Grill at the Conrad, with Trump's itinerary having him leaving shortly thereafter.

We now know from CNN, New York Times and New York Post reports that Manafort and Kushner, seeking to head off Trump's first choice of Christie, concocted the "mechanical troubles" with the Trump jet, keeping the billionaire in Indianapolis an extra night. He spent the night at the Conrad, the scene later in the day finding Newt Gingrich, Jeff Sessions, and Sean Hannity milling around the lobby. Trump, his adult children, and the Pences breakfasted at the Governor's Residence that Wednesday morning. Trump then would fly to California.

Later in the day, the Pence team grew confident the prize was his. Pence was signaling to his team that he had a "premonition" he was in. They were replicating U.S. Sen. Dan Quayle's conspicuous mid-summer 1988 strategy to get into the view of Vice President George H.W. Bush, culminating with a solid interview with David Brinkley on ABC's "This Week" the Sunday before the Republican National Convention that Bush himself watched. Two days later, Quayle was plucked out of a humid New Orleans crowd for his journey into destiny.

Pence, in the eyes of Manafort and Kushner, was a "safe" choice, a bridge to Congress and the conservative evangelicals. As Trump vacillated, then delayed the announcement due to a terror attack in France, Pence was

up against the hard deadline of having to withdraw from his gubernatorial nomination by noon that Friday.

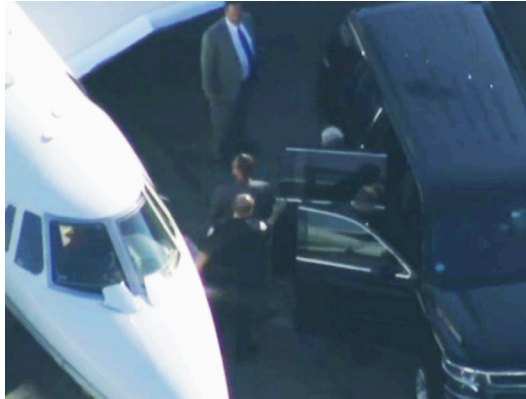
CNN reported that it was Manafort who sent word for Pence to get on the private plane late Thursday afternoon July 15, setting the final stage into motion. Trump obfuscated the process, telling radio host Michael Savage that he hadn't made a final decision. After the cable networks showed Pence exiting the jet in New Jersey, Trump was telling Fox News Thursday night he hadn't made a "final, final decision."

By Friday morning, early cable reports had Trump agitated by leaks from Indiana that Pence was in. Some reported he felt "boxed in." CNN reported the Pence team was spooked, but the governor remained calm "convinced that Trump would keep his word."

Even boarding that private jet to New Jersey could have been devastating to Pence's career. Had Trump pulled the nomination, he would have had to return to Indiana with epic egg on his face, explaining why he was seeking another nomination while in a tossup race with Gregg. If Trump had changed his mind after Pence resigned the ticket at noon Friday, he would have been a man without a nod.

The official Trump/Pence line is that once the offer had been tendered by Trump, it was a bona fide. But it was Holcomb who revealed the fact that Pence was, for a time, twisting in the wind. Holcomb told FOX59 he learned that Pence would be the GOP vice presidential nominee when Trump tweeted it out shortly before 11 a.m. Friday, July 15. The two would officially announce the ticket that Saturday at Trump Tower before Pence and family celebrated his good fortune at a Manhattan Chili's.

But the good fortune was really Trump's. Pence has emerged as a stabilizing force on the ticket that has been buffeted by everything from overweight beauty queens, criticism of Gold Star mothers, to Billy Bush's obscene Access Hollywood video and Trump's ribald comments that gave Pence pause in October. It was Pence who would spend the final two weeks of the campaign, urging Republicans to "come home," after some 25 per-



Pence arriving at Teterboro on July 14, the Trump tweet on July 15 that he Pence was on the ticket, and Pence accepting the nomination. (HPI Photo by Randy Gentry)

cent of sitting governors and members of Congress either refused to endorse or said they wouldn't vote for the billionaire.

In two fateful days in mid-July, Pence seized his prize and altered history in profound fashion.

Holcomb's ultimate rise

Ten days after the Pence drama concluded, Holcomb found himself at historic crossroads. Never before had just 22 people held an Indiana gubernatorial nomination in their hands. Holcomb had gone from a third place U.S. Senate candidate, to Pence's lieutenant governor in March after Sue Ellspermann resigned, to this point on the precipice of a 100-day campaign.

Holcomb had the big momentum. He had nominated Pence at the Republican National Convention on national TV. He spent much of the week at the Hilton Gardens Hotel near the airport and on the convention floor making his case, while U.S. Reps. Susan Brooks and Todd Rokita did the same, sometimes just a few feet away. Never before had such a critical stretch of an Indiana gubernatorial race played out in of all places, Cleveland, Ohio. In another unprecedented move, Holcomb, Brooks and Rokita all resigned their nominations on Friday, July 15, since Indiana law forbids dual candidacies.

When Holcomb, Rokita and Brooks drove back to Indiana that Friday, July 22, the Holcomb team was expressing button-popping confidence. Pence had endorsed him that Friday, as had Speaker Brian Bosma, Senate President David Long, and U.S. Sen. Dan Coats, along with Marsha Coats, the national committeewoman. Central Committee members were told the Pence warchest would flow to his sidekick. There seemed to be the sentiment that the "next man up" was trumping the idea of Indiana Republicans nominating Brooks for their first female governor.

There were rumors

the campaign pushed that Holcomb had up to 16 votes when Monday, July 25, rolled up, but other insiders were describing the process as "fluid." Committee members seemed to be concentrating on the "electability" question. Some were pushing for a Brooks/Holcomb ticket, a combination that would be the best of the top two choices.

And then came Tuesday, July 26. The ultimate confirmation that Holcomb didn't have it sewed up came when the first ballot took almost an hour. Former legislator Mitch Harper was in the room and tweeted out sensational news; the first ballot ended in up 11 for Holcomb, nine for Brooks and two for Rokita. At least one Holcomb vote didn't materialize. State Sen. Jim Tomes would drop out on the second ballot.

Chairman Jeff Cardwell commenced the second ballot almost immediately, but sources in the room tell HPI that in the brief interlude between the two ballots, Dan Dumezich was in an intense conversation with Clark County Sheriff Jamey Noel, an ardent Holcomb supporter, in a backroom corner.

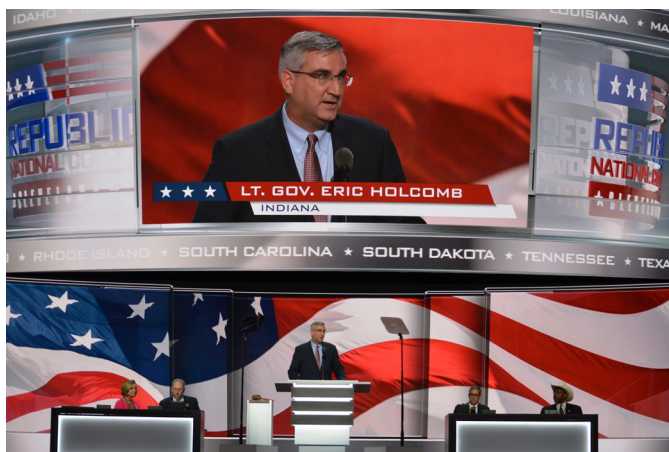
The second ballot results were never released by Cardwell, but most believe that Dumezich had switched his vote from Rokita to Holcomb, giving him the magic 12th vote.

It placed the towering, cowboy-booted Holcomb into a race with Gregg. The Democrat had predicated his entire strategy on running against the polarizing Pence. He now faced a nominee with about \$20,000 in his campaign account, and lack of access to much of the Pence warchest, of which only \$1.2 million would flow to the new nominee.

"This year, as many of you know, has taken many twists and turns and I am ready to take this next call and lead us to victory," Holcomb said, flanked by Cardwell, Brooks, Rokita and Tomes. "We've got work to do and a short time to get there."

With Pence steadying the Trump ticket, making the clarion call for Republicans to come home, even as Holcomb briefly wavered himself after the Billy Bush tape emerged, the two partners had ultimately split their own tickets and forged two of the most profoundly unlikely chapters in political history.

As they say, they rode the wave. ❖



Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb campaigns in the lobby of the Hilton Gardens in Cleveland last July, winning the Republican Central Committee vote the following week. Holcomb nominated Pence at the Republican National Convention. (HPI Photos by Brian A. Howe and Randy Gentry)

Pence takes the helm, shakes up transition

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Vice President-elect Mike Pence has taken the helm of President-elect Donald Trump's transition team and has cleansed it of lobbyists from the "swamp." But the real markers of Pence's emerging clout could come on how many fellow Hoosiers he can bring into the new government.

The Washington Post reported today that Pence is positioned to "exert sweeping authority on all matters foreign and domestic as Trump's partner in governing."

Multiple media reports say that U.S. Rep. Luke Messer and former Indiana Supt. of Public Instruction Tony Bennett are on the top of the transition team's list for Department of Education secretary. Politico is reporting that four Hoosiers are on a potential list to head the Agriculture Department, Mike McCloskey, a dairy executive; Kip Tom, a farmer who ran for Congress in Indiana this year but was defeated in the primary; Don Villwock, former president of the Indiana Farm Bureau; and Ted McKinney, the current director of the Indiana Department of Agriculture in the Pence Administration. Previous reports had former deputy secretary Chuck Connor on that list.

Tom told the Fort Wayne Journal Gazette that said he has had conversations with members of Trump's transition team but declined to divulge what those talks entailed. "I'm both humbled and honored to be considered, and if asked to serve, I will serve," he said Wednesday night in a phone interview. Tom, 61, is chief executive officer of Leesburg-based Tom Farms, which grows corn and soybeans in seven northern Indiana counties. He finished a close second in this year's Republican primary election for northeast Indiana's seat in the U.S. House.

And at EPA, Politico is reporting that Indiana Department of Environmental Management Commissioner Carol Comer is under consideration for an agency that will be squarely in the Trump/Pence bullseye when it comes to chopping back regulations propagated during the Obama administration.

These names come as multiple media reports say that the transition team is in "disarray" and going through "purges" since Pence took the helm from New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie, who is in free-fall in Trump world after the conviction of two top aides in the Bridgagate scandal. Christie also prosecuted Charles Kushner, the father of Trump son-in-law Jared Kushner, who is emerging as a power center. Washington Post reporter Robert Costa identified Kushner, U.S. Sen. Jeff Sessions and former New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani as key players along with Pence



in the transition. Trump, however, let everyone know who's really in charge when he Tweeted Wednesday morning, "Very organized process taking place as I decide on Cabinet and many other positions. I am the only one who knows who the finalists are!"

Gov. Pence met with Trump at Trump Tower on Tuesday to go over recommendations. One source told Fox News that the decision to remove the lobbyists "makes good on [Trump's] vision of how he wants his government constructed." Trump had vowed to "drain the swamp" in Washington. Pence formally signed a memorandum of understanding putting him in charge of the transition team on Tuesday evening. Pence ignored questions from reporters Tuesday, both as he entered Trump Tower with a thick binder tucked under his arm, and as he left six hours later. A person familiar with the transition efforts told AP different factions in Trump's team "are fighting for power." Fox reported the group organized by Christie had featured a litany of lobbyists, former bureaucrats, academics and corporate lawyers. That caused consternation from Trump.

Messer, who was renominated as Republican Policy Committee chair in the GOP conference on Tuesday, has been active on an array of education issues both in Congress and as a member of the Indiana House. Bennett was a key reform figure during the administration of Gov. Mitch Daniels, but was upset for reelection in 2012. He was a key advocate for the Common Core reforms that Pence undid as governor and was to be a cornerstone of Pence's own 2016 presidential campaign until he was sidelined by the Religious Freedom Restoration Act controversy in 2015.

Another education name floated is Daniels, though he told Dave Bangert of the Lafayette Journal & Courier that he wasn't interested in leaving the Purdue University presidency. ❖



Pence guts Trump policy team

WASHINGTON – Vice-president elect Mike Pence has gutted the transition's so-called "landing teams," the people responsible for going into federal agencies and helping to reshape them under a Trump administration, according to one source inside the transition and one downtown lobbyist close to it (Politico). The gutting was part of Pence installing more campaign people in these slots and pushing aside members of the existing transition structure that's been working on the federal agency issues for months. Overall, there were 25 landing teams, according to a recent Trump transition org chart. Of roughly 200 team members, it's unclear how many have been ousted. This complicates the efforts to hand off power and further stalls the work of setting up a Trump-led government. And, this means that agencies from the Department of Homeland Security, Treasury, or HHS have to wait. ❖

Ben Quayle sees Pence prepared for transition

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Former Vice President Dan Quayle was a mentor to a young congressman named Mike Pence. It went to the next generation, when then Rep. Pence helped bring along U.S. Rep. Ben Quayle when he was elected in 2010. So the Arizona Republican has some interesting insights on the towering task facing the Indiana governor.

On Friday, President-elect Donald Trump switched gears, installing Vice President-elect Pence to head the transition team, replacing New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie. By Tuesday, when the two met at Trump Tower to go over a list of potential appointments, the process was described as in “disarray,” with Christie allies such as former House Intelligence Chairman Mike Rogers abruptly leaving. Some potential cabinet appointees such as Dr. Ben Carson have begged off. NBC News was citing “Stalinesque purges” from the team and Politico called it a “chaotic scramble inside Trump Tower, with competing power centers jockeying for position and influence.” One source described it as an “absolute knife fight.”



One thing is certain, the transition Pence faces will be far different than the one Dan Quayle participated in in 1988 when he was elected with President George H.W. Bush. “He participated in that one, but it was a little more seamless because Bush41 was Reagan’s vice president for eight years,” Ben Quayle told HPI on Tuesday of his father.

“There were a lot of the same players who stuck around and filled some of the holes,” Quayle said. “It’s a different scenario. This is a completely new administration from a different political party. There will be changes all across the board.” He noted that because of the Bush43/Gore recount in Florida in 2000, that transition didn’t get fully under way until mid-December.

“It’s always drinking from a fire hose because you have to fill some 4,000 political appointee slots,” Quayle said. “But I think they are getting into a position where some of the transition folks had been in place for quite awhile, analyzing what executive orders President Trump can start getting rid of on Jan. 20. I think they’re in a good spot. Transitions are difficult because there is so much to learn.”

Quayle was part of the 2010 Tea Party movement when he won a 10-way primary in Arizona’s 3rd CD and then the general election. But during the 2011 redistricting, Quayle was drawn into a district with U.S. Rep. David Schweikert and lost in the 2012 primary. He currently

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What are Pence's key attributes in heading the transition team?

"He's a good communicator. He's a calming focus," said Quayle. "He always has that calm demeanor which is a juxtaposition to what President Trump might be. He understands Washington but is not of Washington. He's always tried to change the way things were done. He's a serious reformer and really has been trying to do that for a number of years. He'll continue in that vein. He's going to be a really good bridge to that conservative wing of the party up on Capitol Hill. He was chairman of the Republican Study Committee and chairman of the conference when they were in the minority. He does understand, has those relationships and how to bridge those gaps."

Quayle pointed to the early stages of the Obama administration when Pence asked President Obama to address the Republican conference and take questions. "That's something that no one else would have thought of," Quayle said. "They were in the minority and they had just lost two bad elections in 2006 and 2008. He decided to bring the president in so he could understand where the Republican conference was coming from. He wanted to know where the president was coming from as well because, well, he's the president."

What does Quayle expect from Pence as the Trump policy agenda begins to emerge? Already there is

talk of a infrastructure and stimulus plan that some estimates would add more than \$5 trillion to the national debt. Pence has been a long-time deficit hawk.

"The most interesting thing will be watching the House," said Quayle. "Some 65% of Republican conference has never had a Republican president. They've never had to carry a president's agenda through the House. It's going to be interesting to see how people react if it doesn't conform to some of their principles. It's going to be something Pence is going to have to deal with. I think there will be some differences. It will not be seamless, it will be a challenge."

Does he expect the policy to be generated from Trump, or House Speaker Paul Ryan, who is closer to Pence than the president-elect.

"Mike Pence is going to help smooth some of those frayed edges that some folks had with Trump during the election," Quayle said. "Those are how relationships are going to be built. President Trump will have to engage wholeheartedly as well. One of the biggest mistakes of the Obama administration, and I learned this through my Democratic colleagues, is they didn't engage in the House or the Senate. My Democratic friends were not too happy with that. Gov. Pence understands that and understands the stakes and I think he will get the whole administration to engage in Congress so those kinds of relationships can be built and they can get things accomplished." ❖

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Shelled Democrats will listen, wait for opportunities

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS – The embers of a horrific Democratic defeat are still smoldering, yet South Bend Mayor Peter Buttigieg senses an opportunity just two years away.



“Democrats have to put forward a positive agenda, but we need to have a positive response to those in power,” the second-term Democrat said Tuesday.

“What is really extraordinary is we have an incoming president who is not a conservative, not a liberal

and not a moderate. It’s going to be more difficult to know in advance what his policies are and what they mean for people in our community, but it may help set our agenda.”

In talking with Democrats across Indiana after the Trump/Pence tsunami swept away the gubernatorial, U.S.

Senate, attorney general, superintendent of public instruction and viable congressional nominee on Nov. 8, the other obvious bookend to what happens in Washington is what happens in a place like Washington, Indiana.

Former Democratic chairman Robin Winston, who signs off each of his emails with “The politics of exclusion lead to the politics of defeat” advocates Democrats fan out across the state on a listening tour. His advice comes as Indiana Democrats have been consigned to Indianapolis, Lake, Porter, St. Joseph counties and college towns. The party has only a couple of General Assembly seats south of Bloomington, and State Rep. Terry Goodin is virtually alone in representing a rural district.

“You’ve got to be inclusive,” said Winston, who led the party from 1999

through the 2000 election and oversaw the party winning the Indianapolis mayoralship as well as reelecting Gov. Frank O’Bannon. “We need to have a series of meetings around the state, inclusive, listening meetings. Listen to what people have to say, let them talk about their communities and what can be done in the future.”

“I would establish clear goals,” said Winston, who was deputy campaign manager of O’Bannon’s upset 1996 win over Stephen Goldsmith. “Clear, incremental goals. In county after county after county at their level, not regionally, you hear first hand what the issues are. What might work in Randolph County might not work next

door in Wayne County.”

Winston and Buttigieg believe that issues will be critical in the 2018 mid-term elections and the 2020 cycle. “We should revisit the platform, perhaps come up with a new one instead of the one we’ve had every two years,” Winston added. “It needs to be something reflective of why you are asking people to vote Democratic.”

Buttigieg, who ran for treasurer statewide in 2010 and lost to incumbent Richard Mourdock, used redistricting reform as an issue the party should latch on to. “Is our party going to be vigorously involved in redistricting reform, or not? We should be skeptical politicians choosing their voters. In one sense, our politics does appear to be rigged. We need to provide an alternative to get politics out of that process.”

And he echoed Winston, saying that Democratic politicians “need to do a lot of listening, to make sure there is a clearer sense of the real needs and concerns of the voters.”

That is not a criticism of gubernatorial nominee John Gregg, who based his campaign on some of the same issues that propelled Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders to 53% Indiana primary wins on May 3. Both used Carrier fleeing to Mexico, obscene golden parachutes for



South Bend Mayor Peter Buttigieg campaigns for the Democratic ticket in the final week of the campaign. (HPI Photo by Thomas Curry)

unsuccessful CEOs and a “rigged” economic system as campaign themes. Gregg consistently talked about sagging per-capita income and the need to create higher paying jobs and set the stage for a better workforce by fully funding pre-K and extending rural broadband to the last mile.

The Gregg/Hale ticket was swamped by the Trump/Pence tidal wave that broke in the final week of the cycle.

“Trump won the state by 520,000 votes and John lost by 160,000,” Winston observed. “Somewhere along the line, people were voting for both Trump and Gregg. Somewhere John made up about 300,000 votes.”

Winston believes the Gregg campaign missed some opportunities. Some 80% of Hoosiers voted for the constitutional hunting and fishing amendment. "I was an advocate for taking a position when you had an item that won with 80% of the vote," he said.

And Winston notes that Rep. Goodin consistently wins in rural Scott and Jackson counties, and Mara Candelaria Reardon recaptured her old House seat in Lake County. "How did she appeal to voters in Munster?" Winston asked. "Terry Goodin campaigns from Nov. 9 to November 2018, whether it's at a fire station in Brownstown or Crothersville. We need to sit down with Democrats who won and ask them, 'How did you win?'"

And on the gender front, Winston believes the Gregg campaign missed an opening when it didn't fashion an ad campaign around lieutenant governor nominee Christina Hale, who could have mitigated some of the negative fallout from Hillary Clinton. "We had an articulate, passionate, well-researched, well-spoken nominee who could have articulated it in a current time frame, to reach out to women," Winston said. "I just wish we had seen her in some ads."

State Rep. Dan Forestal penned a letter to his party this week. "We told Hoosiers that our system is not rigged, when the opposite is true," the Indianapolis Democrat said. "The system is rigged against everyday people by a complex web of massive amounts of campaign cash dominating our elections and our legislative processes. We must stand together against these special interests that rig the system against those we are sworn to serve."

He added, "When the Democratic Party held the presidency, the U.S. (House) and the U.S. Senate, did we pass laws to help those working hard to move our economy forward? We did not. Were any of the profiteers responsible for the economic devastation thrown into prison? No. Instead we perpetuated a system in which the all-powerful pilfered our public coffers at the expense of those we serve. To put it frankly, we bailed out Wall Street and left Main Street in shambles, then we lost the public's trust. Our constituents have gone without new streets, new sidewalks and fewer police officers while those rigging the system line their own pockets. This system must end. We must begin the work of rebuilding trust with Hoosiers."

Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr., believes that Democrats have given up on a key constituency. "That's something the Democratic Party has left behind, the straight, white males. They voted for Trump. We had union leaders who would give John Gregg hundreds of thousands for governor and yet their members voted for Trump."

McDermott echoed the others. "John Gregg ran the best campaign for governor. He and (Christina) Hale

ran a great race, but due to Hillary Clinton, they were dismissed." He also said that Evan Bayh's sudden entry into the Senate race "landed like a thud."

"There was just a lack of enthusiasm for that campaign," he said. "People were voting against the whole Washington scene."

McDermott fears similar fallout to what occurred in 2010 when Bayh unexpectedly bolted from a Senate reelection. It set in motion what we've long called the "Bayh dominoes" that wiped out U.S. Rep. Brad Ellsworth in the Senate race, Trent Van Haaften in the 8th CD and Sen. Bob Dieg from a House race. That lit the fuse for the loss of legacy Democratic seats throughout the Ohio and Wabash valleys.

"Christina Hale has got a great future in politics," McDermott said. "She needs to be in leadership. She may be back on ticket in four years. She's a successful, single mom, bipartisan, aggressive. I would hate to see her go back to private sector. We lost Brad Ellsworth as part of the Evan Bayh fallout."

And McDermott questioned the party's aversion to contested primaries. "My party always tries to avoid a primary," he said. "I like primaries. You find out if you have a weak candidate. The presidential race was greased for Hillary Clinton with the super delegates, and it destroyed the party. We put a bad candidate at the top of the ticket. We knew she was in trouble with Bernie Sanders and we ignored it. It's like signs of heart attack and you ignore it. Then you have a heart attack."

Three-term Kokomo Mayor Gregg Goodnight says Indiana has assets, starting with U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly, and then a deep mayoral bench. "Just last year we picked up the mayor of Indianapolis and in north central Indiana, we picked up Logansport, Peru, Anderson, Elwood," said Goodnight. "We made headway."

He sees long-time mayors such Fort Wayne's Tom Henry, Lafayette's Tony Roswarski (his name comes up often), McDermott, Buttigieg and Gary's Karen Freeman-Wilson as a good place to start. "Many of us are doing a lot of good things."

Like McDermott, Goodnight believes that Clinton's lack of a coherent message backfired. The Clinton campaign focused on Trump's temperament. "It's the economy, stupid," Goodnight said, quoting the 1992 slogan that got Bill Clinton to the White House. "That's a pretty good way to describe it. Donald Trump did talk the issues. He took some positions on trade that were very different than some of his colleagues were in the Republican Party."

As for the future, Goodnight said that Indiana Democrats should look at local governments where there is plenty of strong leadership in the party. "The best thing I can do right now is to show how Democrats can be good stewards with the public money and how we can govern.

❖



Former Democratic Chairman Robin Winston.

Zody blames Dem loses on tidal wave

By MAUREEN HAYDEN
CNHI Statehouse Bureau

INDIANAPOLIS – State Democrats were hoping to celebrate a string of election victories at their annual holiday party here in the state capital. Instead the early December event will likely have a more somber tone as party leaders dissect what went wrong on Election Day.



Democrats lost every statewide contest last Tuesday, including what were seen as competitive races for Senate and governor. Despite money and labor poured into a handful of legislative seats, the party failed to unlock the Republican super majority in the General Assembly, or make a dent in Republicans' hold on seven of nine congressional seats.

State Democratic Chairman John Zody blames the across-the-board losses on a tidal wave created by GOP President-elect Donald Trump. Late polls projected Trump to win the state by 6 to 10 points. Instead, he and his vice presidential candidate, Gov. Mike Pence, won by 19 points, more than 500,000 votes more than his losing opponent, Democrat Hillary Clinton. "That's tough to overcome," said Zody, who seemed as surprised as anyone by Trump's strong pull on the down-ballot races.

Zody said he's taking advantage of upcoming gatherings of party activists to find out why their candidates took such a pounding. "I've got a list started already of people I need to talk to and places I need to go," he said. Zody, with another year to go in his four-year elected term as party chairman, faces a daunting task analyzing what happened and deciding what comes next.

Going into Tuesday's election, party leaders were convinced their incumbent state schools chief, Glenda Ritz, would be joined in the Statehouse by gubernatorial contender John Gregg, whose internal polls showed him narrowly ahead of Republican Eric Holcomb. Instead both Ritz and Gregg lost. She was defeated by Jennifer McCormick, now superintendent of Yorktown Community Schools.

"We can be sad. I certainly was," said Sen. Tim

Lanane, of Anderson, one of nine Democrats who will be left in the 50-member chamber. "But there will be another election, and we've got to be thinking now really in terms of how to prepare for that."

With no statewide offices up for election for two years, Lanane said party leaders have time to address hard questions. "We need to analyze our base," he said. "Did they get out to vote? And if they didn't, why didn't they respond to our message?"

In the traditionally Democratic stronghold of Lake County, for example, African-Americans dominate the voter rolls in the cities, but turned out at a lower rate than white voters in the suburbs. Clinton won 41,000 more votes there than Trump. But back in 2008, President Barack Obama won that county by more than 100,000 votes. "We've got to take a hard look at ourselves," Lanane said.

Democratic leaders around the state echoed his point.

A year ago, Kokomo Mayor Greg Goodnight helped usher in historic results for Democrats in his community, becoming the first Democrat to win the mayor's office for the third time. All six contested common council races were won by Democrats, as well.

Goodnight said he knows people who voted for him last year but voted Republican this year. For him, the most surprising were autoworkers who helped Republican Todd Young defeat Democrat Evan Bayh in the U.S. Senate race. Young opposed a 2009 auto industry bailout that Bayh supported. "Sometimes people don't vote in their own best interest," Goodnight said.

There are no easy answers for Democrats, who've been out of power in the Statehouse for 16 years, he added. Goodnight said the party will have to convince voters it can do things better, a tactic that Gregg tried to employ in the governor's race but failed. "We have to produce good policy and hope it resonates as good politics," he said.

South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg, a rising star in the state party, agrees. Last November, the 35-year-old mayor won reelection with 80 percent of the vote, after spending much of his first term focused on boosting his city's shifting economy. Buttigieg said Democrats need to focus on fixing fundamental problems in the economy and the political system that leave too many people feeling left out. "That's what the winning campaigns in this election tapped into,"

he said. "But, at the same time, we can't make false promises." ❖

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Indiana Democratic Chairman John Zody. (HPI Photo by Mark Curry)

Indiana Exit Polling presidential results

| opinion of presidential candidate you voted for | | | | |
|---|---------|-------|---------|-----------------|
| | clinton | trump | johnson | other/no answer |
| strongly favor 45% | 36% | 61% | 3% | n/a |
| have reservations 32% | 41% | 55% | 4% | n/a |
| dislike opponents 21% | 36% | 56% | 8% | n/a |

| most important issue facing the country | | | | |
|---|---------|-------|---------|-----------------|
| | clinton | trump | johnson | other/no answer |
| foreign policy 13% | 45% | 48% | 7% | n/a |
| immigration 13% | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| economy 54% | 38% | 54% | 8% | n/a |
| terrorism 17% | 28% | 68% | 4% | n/a |

| education among whites by sex | | | | |
|---------------------------------|---------|-------|---------|-----------------|
| | clinton | trump | johnson | other/no answer |
| white college-grad women 21% | 39% | 55% | 6% | n/a |
| white non-college women 22% | 30% | 65% | 5% | n/a |
| white college-grad men 19% | 34% | 60% | 6% | n/a |
| white non-college men 21% | 22% | 73% | 4% | 1% |
| non-whites 17% | 68% | 28% | 4% | n/a |

1817 respondents

| is trump qualified to serve as president? | | | | |
|---|---------|-------|---------|-----------------|
| | clinton | trump | johnson | other/no answer |
| yes 50% | 4% | 96% | 0% | |
| no 49% | 65% | 22% | 13% | |

| opinion of donald trump | | | | |
|-------------------------|---------|-------|---------|-----------------|
| | clinton | trump | johnson | other/no answer |
| favorable 46% | 6% | 94% | n/a | |
| unfavorable 52% | 61% | 27% | 12% | |

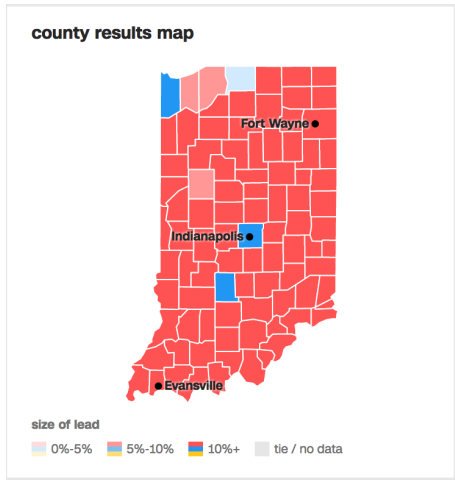
president projected winner

11 electoral votes **trump** ✓

| candidate | % | votes |
|-----------|-------|-----------|
| ● trump | 57.2% | 1,556,220 |
| ● clinton | 37.9% | 1,031,953 |
| ● johnson | 4.9% | 133,856 |

est. 97% in
updated 11:08 am ET, Nov. 10

[full details](#)



| indiana exit polls: president | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------|-------|---------|-----------------|
| gender | | | | |
| | clinton | trump | johnson | other/no answer |
| male 49% | 33% | 62% | 5% | |
| female 51% | 42% | 53% | 5% | |

1817 respondents

| region | | | | |
|--------------------------|---------|-------|---------|-----------------|
| | clinton | trump | johnson | other/no answer |
| northwest 17% | 52% | 43% | 5% | n/a |
| north / central 32% | 30% | 66% | 3% | 1% |
| marion county 13% | 57% | 37% | 6% | n/a |
| indianapolis area 17% | 31% | 63% | 6% | n/a |
| south 21% | 32% | 63% | 5% | n/a |

| does trump have the temperament to be president? | | | | |
|--|---------|-------|---------|-----------------|
| | clinton | trump | johnson | other/no answer |
| yes 42% | 5% | 95% | 0% | |
| no 56% | 64% | 29% | 7% | |

| indiana exit polls: president | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------|-------|---------|-----------------|
| gender | | | | |
| | clinton | trump | johnson | other/no answer |
| male 49% | 33% | 62% | 5% | |
| female 51% | 42% | 53% | 5% | |

| party id | | | | |
|---------------------|---------|-------|---------|-----------------|
| | clinton | trump | johnson | other/no answer |
| democrats 30% | 84% | 13% | n/a | 3% |
| republicans 42% | 6% | 92% | n/a | 2% |
| independents 28% | 36% | 53% | 11% | n/a |

| income | | | | |
|-------------------------|---------|-------|---------|-----------------|
| | clinton | trump | johnson | other/no answer |
| under \$30,000 15% | 41% | 49% | 10% | n/a |
| \$30k-\$49,999 21% | 38% | 53% | 8% | 1% |
| \$50k-\$99,999 35% | 33% | 63% | 4% | n/a |
| \$100k-\$199,999 22% | 31% | 63% | 5% | 1% |
| \$200k-\$249,999 3% | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| \$250,000 or more 3% | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |

| white born-again or evangelical christian? | | | | |
|--|---------|-------|---------|-----------------|
| | clinton | trump | johnson | other/no answer |
| yes 39% | 22% | 75% | 3% | n/a |
| no 61% | 50% | 45% | 5% | n/a |

| opinion of hillary clinton | | | | |
|----------------------------|---------|-------|---------|-----------------|
| | clinton | trump | johnson | other/no answer |
| favorable 28% | 96% | 2% | 2% | n/a |
| unfavorable 71% | 11% | 81% | 8% | n/a |

Electoral College was a target for Birch Bayh

By MAUREEN HAYDEN
CNHI Statehouse Bureau

BLOOMINGTON – Democrat Hillary Clinton apparently won the most votes last week, but she didn't win the White House, a contradiction that is renewing debate over the system of selecting a president that is baked into the U.S. Constitution. Calls to abolish the Electoral College, which gives some states disproportionate influence, aren't new.

A half-century ago, an Indiana senator took up the cause of reforming how presidents are picked, only to be stymied by an array of forces that included segregationist Sen. Strom Thurmond and the widow of civil rights hero Martin Luther King Jr.

The fascinating details of Sen. Birch Bayh's quixotic attempt to reform, and later topple, the Electoral College are forever preserved in the archives of the Indiana University Libraries. They landed there 35 years ago, in some of the 1,200 boxes of senatorial papers donated by Bayh to his alma mater.

Archivist Kate Cruikshank has organized a jumble of material into a narrative of Bayh's 18-year Senate career. "It's very unusual to find this much detail," she said of a mass of internal memos, staff correspondence and other material that offer a behind-the-scenes look at Bayh's work.

The materials show Bayh's persistence, a man, she said, "not likely to give up on anything." They include 2,600 pages of testimony offered in multiple hearings on Electoral College reform, organized by Bayh when he headed the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments. Much of the testimony supported Bayh's belief that the institution created in 1787 as a compromise by populous northern states to appease slave-holding states of the South was an anachronism. Under the system, voters cast ballots for electors who in turn choose the president. Each state is assigned a certain number of electors based on the size of its congressional delegation, which is tied to population.

"In the final analysis," Bayh would later write, "the most compelling reason for directly electing our president and vice president is one of principle. In the United States, every vote must count equally. One person, one vote is more than a clever phrase, it's the cornerstone of justice and equality."

That principle has been upended by the Electoral College four other times throughout history, when the candidate with the most votes didn't win the White House. The most recent was George W. Bush's victory over Democrat Al Gore in 2000. It also happened during the 1824 election of John Quincy Adams, the 1876 election of Rutherford Hayes, and again in 1888, when Hoosier Benjamin Harrison ousted the incumbent, Grover Cleveland.

Also in the Bayh archive are documents showing his alarm during the 1968 election in which Alabama Gov. George Wallace, a populist firebrand, was attempting to wreak havoc. Wallace knew he couldn't win the popular vote, but he was hoping to win enough electoral votes to force the decision into the U.S. House of Representatives, where he saw some sympathy for his segregationist agenda. Republican Richard Nixon narrowly won the popular vote that year but handily won the Electoral College.

In the following session of Congress, Bayh again filed a resolution to begin the long process of abolishing



Former U.S. Sens. Birch Bayh (right) and old Electoral College nemesis Strom Thurmond.

the Electoral College with a constitutional amendment, which would require two-thirds votes in both houses of Congress and ratification by 38 states.

Bayh had 40 co-sponsors in the Senate and a majority support in the House. But his resolution was bottled up in the Senate Judiciary Committee by Thurmond. The South Carolinian would be Bayh's nemesis on the issue for years to come, as the archival material shows.

Bayh's final push came in 1977, after Jimmy Carter won the presidency with the popular vote but a thin margin of electors. By then, Bayh had widespread public support but not enough votes to overcome Thurmond's filibuster.

In Bayh's papers is a document from the time, a telegram from a group of black leaders addressed to Thurmond, later distributed to Bayh and others. It vehemently argues that abolishing the Electoral College would dilute the vote of minorities. The telegram was signed by Coretta Scott King, among others.

It was heartbreaking for the Indiana senator.

Bayh, now 88 and ailing, was unavailable to talk about the Electoral College after Republican Donald Trump won the White House last week despite Clinton's apparent victory in the popular vote. The outcome inspired a new effort to abolish the Electoral College, this time filed by Sen. Barbara Boxer, a California Democrat.

Bayh's papers show that he continued to argue for the abolition of the Electoral College until the end of his career. His archive includes a talking-points memo on the perils of the system in a close election. It was written

in late October 1980, as Bayh was preparing to be interviewed on national television. A week later, he would lose his reelection bid to future Vice President Dan Quayle. In the same election, Ronald Reagan would win the presidency with just under 51 percent of the popular vote, but 91 percent of the Electoral College. ❖

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Silent majority and the Electoral College

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – Suddenly, on Nov. 9, the majority in the United States woke up to find it has been silent too long. In fact, it realized, it might not be a majority at all. The combined Republican and Libertarian vote was 50.59%. From what I know, many of the Libertarian votes were from Republicans who were embarrassed to be known as Republicans this year. The 48.76% who voted Democratic or Green believed strongly in their causes and could not understand how others could believe otherwise. But they were not the majority.



Now, instead of taking to the streets, this silent minority needs to be heard. Now, if it wishes to be successful in the political arena, it must recognize the urgency of political action. This means ending the corruption of gerrymandering by political parties and restructuring the Electoral College.

Gerrymandering is the practice of state legislators drawing district lines to protect their seats and their party in the General Assembly. Here in Indiana, through a study committee report, we have made a good start toward taking extreme partisanship out of the process. But that effort must continue and be intensified next year.

What's wrong with the Electoral College is what ails so many citizens. As it stands today, the candidate who gets the most votes in a state also gets ALL of the electoral votes of that state. If you live in a Red state,

there is little reason to vote if you are of a different color. The same applies to voting in a Blue state.

The Electoral College is part of the U.S. Constitution. But it can be changed by action of legislatures in the individual states without a Constitutional amendment. Maine and Nebraska have done that. Let's see if Indiana can do likewise.

The sensible change is to assign Indiana's 11 electoral votes according to the popular vote. Trump won 57.2% of the popular vote and would get 6.3 electoral votes. Clinton, with 37.9% of the popular votes gets 4.2 electoral votes and the remaining 0.5 electoral votes goes to Johnson, the Libertarian.

"What?" you say. "How do you divide the electors into parts?" That's no problem. There is no need for electors as such, there need be only certification of electoral votes which can be carried to Washington by couriers we call electors. This system has been proposed for years. It puts priority on the popular vote while maintaining the virtues of Electoral College (to be discussed in a later column).

Can the silent minority stop being alternately depressed and outraged about losing an election? Can they stop holding pity parties and recognize an end to gerrymandering and restructuring the Electoral College are the imperatives of our times.

Donald Trump will be our new president. He wants

to "drain the swamp." Let's help him by putting an end to gerrymandering and reforming the Electoral College, starting here in Indiana. ❖

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

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

What we learned after a stunning upset

By **LARRY J. SABATO, KYLE KONDIK**
and **GEOFFREY SKELLEY**

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. – Now that we’ve had a week to digest the results of the 2016 election, here are some observations about what happened and what the results might tell us about the future:

1. Electoral map tilts to the GOP

In close elections, the Electoral College will probably continue to tilt to the GOP. Twice in 16 years, we’ve

had a “misfire,” where the popular vote went to one major-party candidate while the other candidate secured a majority of the electoral vote. This is because Democrats secure large, sometimes enormous, majorities in mega-states such as California, New York, and Illinois, while Republicans have just Texas, where Donald Trump’s margin of victory was nearly 450,000 votes fewer than Mitt Romney’s. (You should never join “just” with Texas, but we trust you’ll see what we mean.) Other sizable states, such as Florida, North Carolina, and Virginia, are closely divided and add only small pluralities to the candidate that wins them.

While the cumulative popular vote means nothing under the Constitution, it is not a good thing for a president to have lost it. The powers of the office are the same for every chief executive, yet it is almost impossible for a president to claim a mandate when many more people voted for the opponent. Democratic candidate Al Gore secured a national plurality of 547,000 votes in 2000; as of Wednesday afternoon, Hillary Clinton has 1.2 million more votes than Donald Trump, and that gap is very likely to grow.

Most Americans have long favored abolition of the

Electoral College, designed for the 1790s rather than the 21st century. However, no one expects to see the Electoral College go the way of the horse and buggy anytime soon. It is also fair to note that if there were no Electoral College, the campaigns would have been run differently, so we can’t automatically assume that Hillary Clinton would have beaten Donald Trump under a popular vote system.

2. The map gets more competitive

Because the 2016 contest was far closer than either 2008 and 2012, the number of states decided by five points or less increased from four in 2012 (Florida, North Carolina, Ohio, and Virginia) to 11 in 2016 (shown in the map below). But the nation’s polarization is still obvious, and only six states flipped from Democratic to Republican

(Florida, Iowa, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and probably Michigan) -- and none in the opposite direction. At least we can say that the playing field was more broadly competitive, and especially so until the final GOP consolidation behind Trump in late October and early November. For a while in the fall, Arizona, Georgia, Utah, and a few other states appeared to be tightly contested, and even on Election Day Arizona and Georgia ended up being less Republican than Iowa and Ohio. We may be at a time of transition in the Electoral College where the whiter Midwest gets redder and the more diverse Sun Belt gets bluer.

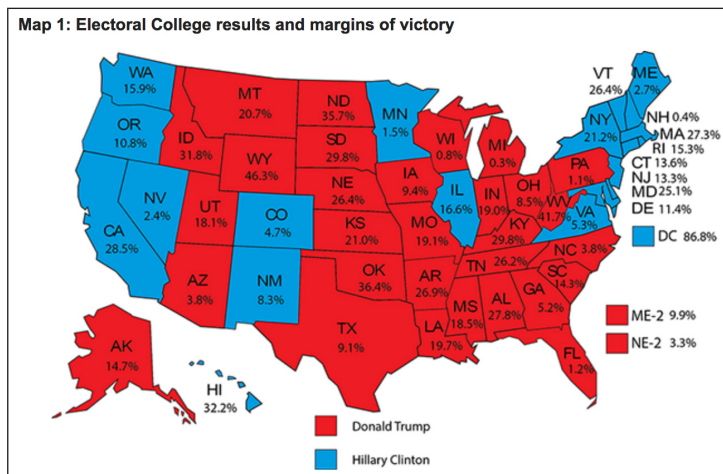


Table 1: 2016 Electoral College projections as compiled by 270toWin.com

| Forecast | Hillary Clinton / Tim Kaine | | | Donald Trump / Mike Pence | | | Toss-up |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|------|-------|---------------------------|------|-------|---------|
| | Favored | Lean | Total | Favored | Lean | Total | |
| Sabato's Crystal Ball | 232 | 90 | 322 | 173 | 43 | 216 | 0 |
| Cook Political | 213 | 65 | 278 | 157 | 57 | 214 | 46 |
| Rothenberg & Gonzales | 223 | 100 | 323 | 147 | 50 | 197 | 18 |
| FiveThirtyEight* | 239 | 33 | 272 | 176 | 38 | 214 | 52 |
| Princeton | 274 | 34 | 308 | 191 | 24 | 215 | 15 |
| PredictWise | 278 | 44 | 322 | 179 | 36 | 215 | 1 |
| NYT Upshot | 268 | 54 | 322 | 184 | 14 | 198 | 18 |
| ABC | 200 | 74 | 274 | 154 | 34 | 188 | 76 |
| Associated Press | 200 | 74 | 274 | 144 | 46 | 190 | 74 |
| CNN | 200 | 68 | 268 | 157 | 47 | 204 | 66 |
| FOX | 182 | 92 | 274 | 116 | 99 | 215 | 49 |
| NBC | 182 | 92 | 274 | 71 | 99 | 170 | 94 |
| NPR | 190 | 84 | 274 | 157 | 57 | 214 | 50 |
| Governing | 182 | 92 | 274 | 157 | 29 | 186 | 78 |
| The Fix (Wash. Post) | 185 | 90 | 275 | 96 | 119 | 215 | 48 |

3. Projections miss the mark

With credit to 270toWin.com, here is the final Election Day forecast for a range of sites and news organizations. No one was even close to the final Electoral College results. The Crystal Ball actually had the largest allocation of electors to Trump

(216) but we were in a three-way tie for the second-most electors assigned to Clinton (322). This will be a year pundits and predictors will want to forget, yet none of us should. There are many lessons to learn, and we all need to do much, much better in the future.

4. Many polls were off

By the time all the votes are counted, the RealClearPolitics average of national polls that showed Clinton winning the national popular vote by about three points

probably won't be all that far off -- Clinton may win it by a point or two or somewhere in between. But many of the state-level polls missed the mark, and missed badly, particularly in the Rust Belt. Hardly any polls showed Trump leading in several of these states the whole election, and yet Trump's one-point wins in Pennsylvania and Wisconsin and even narrower lead in Michigan, which the Associated Press has yet to officially call, ended up being the differ-

ence in the race: had Clinton carried these three states, she would have won with 278 electoral votes (as it stands now, if Trump carries Michigan he'll end up with 306).

But there were some signs. A Republican pollster, the Trafalgar Group, released polls of Michigan and Pennsylvania showing Trump with tiny leads. Another Republican pollster, Harper, showed the race tied in Pennsylvania. ❖

Pigs were flying on Election Night

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – When pigs flew over my car as I drove home on election night, the sight neither startled nor surprised me. Hey! The Cubs won the World Series. Donald Trump won the presidency. So why would aerodynamically skilled porkers be a surprise?



Actually, the Cubs were expected to win this time. Trump wasn't.

Not long ago, as Hillary Clinton won the debates and Trump was losing it in a tweeting rage, speculation grew about a political tsunami sweeping away the Republican presidential nominee and helpless Republican candidates all around the nation, bringing a Democratic Senate for sure and maybe – just maybe –

even a Democratic House. Could Clinton, surprisingly close back then in an Indiana poll, even carry the Hoosier state the way President Obama did in 2008?

Tsunami there was. In Indiana, the waves swept away helpless candidates, just as predicted when a tsunami hits. But some of those mid-October election forecasts were like a South Bend weather forecast in winter that goes wrong as shifting winds off the lake bring something far different than predicted.

Tsunami waves hit a different place, a different party. The helpless candidates, drowned without a chance, were Democrats: Evan Bayh, the long-popular Indiana vote-getter who came back to run again for senator in a plan to win control of the Senate; John Gregg, who seemed in October to be moving toward a clear victory for governor over a little-known, last-minute appointee on the Republican ticket; Glenda Ritz, who had survived a past Republican tide to be state school superintendent and become a champion of public education.

Clinton didn't end up surprisingly close to carrying Indiana, or anywhere close. A Trump tsunami in Indiana was so big that it washed away any Democratic hopes of

wins in statewide races or for congressional district upsets. Trump didn't win big everywhere, just barely in most battleground states, but by enough to win electoral votes needed to win the presidency.

What happened? Republican voters came home. No doubt. A lot of that should have been expected. Voters, even if they dislike their nominee, seek reasons still to return to the party they usually favor. The Oct. 28 bombshell by FBI Director James Comey, that more emails of possible interest had been discovered, helped to accentuate that return home. The thinking: "Well, maybe she really is a crook. I just can't vote for her. Gotta vote for Trump."

Emails, a subject always hurting Clinton, were back in the news with Comey's "never mind" just before the voting. That in itself didn't doom Clinton. Trump turned more positive, abandoning tweeting rants and staying on message, more reason for more undecided voters to vote for him.

Then there was that vaunted ground game of the Democrats. They thought all their work to identify potential supporters and get them to the polls, all the calls and knocking on doors, would assure victory in any close contest. Trump didn't bother with a ground game. Trump was convinced that his supporters were enthused enough to get to the polls without need for all that traditional political organizing. They were.

Democratic strategists were convinced their work would bring waves of voters they needed to the polls, big turnouts of African Americans, Latinos, women in general and suburban women in particular. Didn't happen in percentages needed. Enthusiasm just wasn't widespread for Clinton. You can identify potential supporters, but you can't make them vote if they aren't energized by the candidate, if they don't want to bother. As Republicans came home, Clinton couldn't convince enough of the wavering Democrats to do the same.

St. Joseph County, supposedly strongly Democratic, darn near was carried by Trump – Clinton, 52,247; Trump, 52,019. The tsunami left Bayh, Gregg, Ritz and Democratic congressional nominee Lynn Coleman with small margins, nowhere near what was needed to win. Earlier forecasts before the winds shifted now look as ridiculous as flying pigs. ❖

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

The act of voting becomes an issue

By **LEE HAMILTON**

BLOOMINGTON – We’re faced with a fundamental disagreement among state governments as to how they should treat Americans’ most basic right.

One of the more intriguing aspects of this unusual election year is the extent to which the underpinning of the election itself — voting — has become an issue in its own right. An act that we used to take for granted is increasingly being called into question.



Just look at the headlines from the past few months. Russia, it seems clear, was trying to meddle in the process, sowing confusion and distrust about the integrity of the vote and about the vibrancy and fairness of our democracy. There have been questions about the cyber-security of voting infrastructure across the country — “States Unprepared for Election Day Cyber Attack,” ran the headline on a Politico story 10 days before the election.

There are worries about the fragility of our voting system in general, what with its patchwork of procedures, obsolete machinery, and increasingly complex training requirements for poll workers. And, of course, you’ve got the cries from one of the presidential candidates that the entire system is rigged against him.

But perhaps most notable of all, we’re faced with a fundamental disagreement among state governments, which are charged with protecting Americans’ most basic right, as to how they should treat it. Some states are seeking to constrain voting, instituting restrictive registration requirements, limiting access to the ballot box with ID requirements, and even imposing shorter hours for early voting and for voting on Election Day. In essence, they’re trying to limit voter turnout. Other states are moving in the opposite direction, trying to expand the ease with which citizens can vote by knocking down barriers.

These are mostly, but not entirely, partisan stances. Jim Sensenbrenner, the senior Republican from Wisconsin in the House of Representatives, noted in a March New York Times commentary, “Ensuring that every eligible voter can cast a ballot without fear, deterrence and prejudice is a basic American right. I would rather lose my job than suppress votes to keep it.”

Still, members of his party generally support restricting voting; Democrats support expanding the vote. Politicians in each party tend to see the issue through a partisan lens; they support positions which they believe will help them win elections.

I’m with Jim Sensenbrenner on this one. The right to cast a vote is fundamental in a democracy. It is the pre-eminent emblem of American citizenship; indeed, the right to vote is synonymous with being a citizen, the essential attribute of American freedom.

The history of our country can be written in part by tracking who has the right to vote. The 15th Amendment gave it to African-American men; women of all races won the right after World War I; discrimination at the polls constricted the vote for many decades, until the Voting Rights Act of 1965 once again bolstered access to the ballot; 18-year-olds were given the vote six years later. Over many decades, from the 19th century on, the electorate has expanded, contracted, and expanded again.

These days, you pretty much need a score-card to keep track of voting rights in the U.S., although I believe that in the long run, seeking to undermine the privilege of voting is a losing cause. The courts have been getting heavily involved, and in recent years have often overturned, challenged or blocked some of the more restrictive laws passed by state legislatures. Moreover, the effort to disenfranchise or suppress votes in the name of “ballot security” runs the risk of antagonizing voters who, given a chance to vote, will inflict political losses on the party that tried to block their way.

Instead, we ought to be expansive in championing voting rights. I’ve worked in a lot of precincts over my decades in politics, and I understand full well that there are deficiencies in our voting laws and procedures. Registration records get skewed. Errors occur. Incompetence happens. Inadequate state or local resources result in confusing ballots, some precincts getting short-changed on voting machines, and voting machines breaking down.

Voting is an issue worth our sustained attention. But let’s place our priorities where they belong, on ensuring the fairness, integrity and efficiency of our voting infrastructure and procedures, and assuring that qualified citizens exercise democracy’s most fundamental right — voting. ❖

Lee Hamilton is a Senior Advisor for the Indiana University Center on Representative Government; a Distinguished Scholar, IU School of Global and International Studies; and a Professor of Practice, IU School of Public and Environmental Affairs. He was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives for 34 years.

Lake GOP can now play with big boys

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – Lake County’s traditionally weak Republican Party thinks it can now play with the big boys. County GOP Chairman Dan Dernulc and others think they did a heck of a job during the Nov. 8 election.



Not so fast. Republicans lost a state representative race they had won two years ago, but they did win a seat on the county board of commissioners, something the party hadn’t done in 20 years.

Lake County Republicans haven’t grown as much as they would like you to think. It’s not that they have made the gains on their own. That’s hardly the case. No, Big Brother in Indianapolis gets the credit for making it possible for Lake County Republicans to make some advances.

They craftily drew districts to favor Republicans following the 2010 Census.

Take the case of three House districts. After redistricting, Democratic Rep. Mara Reardon narrowly defeated GOP attorney Bill Fine in the 12th House District. Two years later, Fine narrowly defeated Reardon. On Nov. 8, Reardon squeaked by Fine by just over 2,000 votes. There likely will be a repeat of the last three years come 2018.

And then there is District 19 in the heart of Lake County, where Crown Point Democrat Shelli VanDenburgh had won several terms. Because of redistricting, Republican Julie Olthoff narrowly won District 19 in 2014. In a rematch this year Olthoff edged VanDenburgh by about 300 votes. Yes, look for a repeat in 2018.

And then there is House District 15 that the GOP-controlled Legislature drew for Schererville’s Hal Slager. It may be the General Assembly’s best job of securing a solid Repub-

lican district in an area that used to lean Democratic. In 2012, Slager, a Schererville councilman, edged Democrat Thomas O’Donnell, a county councilman from Dyer, by less than 500 votes. Two years later, Jim Wieser, an attorney and longtime fixture in the Democratic hierarchy, took on Slager. Surprisingly, he was crushed by 5,000 votes.

So, with Donald Trump heading the GOP ticket this year, Democrats thought Slager was vulnerable. The party convinced O’Donnell to make another run at Slager, rather than focusing on running for county sheriff in 2018. O’Donnell improved on Wieser’s loss but still fell 2,000 votes short.

What happens in 2018 is anyone’s guess.

Perhaps the best job of gerrymandering came in Lake County’s 2nd County Commissioner District. For a variety of political reasons, the new district took effect this year rather than in 2012. The district shed heavily Democratic areas in north Crown Point and Merrillville and added strong GOP areas in Munster, Dyer and St. John.

Scheub, 81, had held the commissioner’s seat since being elected in 1996. Schererville Councilman Jerry Tippy defeated Scheub by more than 2,000 votes. Chances are it will be Tippy’s district for a long time to come.

What happens in the state representative districts is hard to determine. There won’t be a Donald Trump on the ballot. ❖

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.



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Jerry Davich, Post-Tribune: Are you now ashamed to be an American after Tuesday's presidential election? Or are you prouder than ever? Does the once-unfathomable title, "President-elect Donald Trump," proudly roll off your tongue today, or will you be choking on it for weeks to come? I understand how tens of thousands of Northwest Indiana residents feel about Trump's shocking Election Day victory over Hillary Clinton. My social media sites, email and voice mail have been inundated with conflicting reader reaction to Trump's astonishing victory since late Tuesday night. "I'm so upset," Catherine Swisher, of Hammond, told me Wednesday morning. "I didn't think I would be so affected by all of this. And now I'm freaking crying." Sheila Wood, of Portage, said, "I feel devastated today. I'm sad, deflated and defeated." Imam Mongy El-Quesny, leader of the Northwest Indiana Islamic Center in Crown Point, said, "Nothing worries us because we look forward, not backward. We live with hope, not fears." They're not alone. I've heard from many other women in this area who were profoundly saddened when they awoke Wednesday morning. Some of them weren't quite sure if it was over Trump's victory or Clinton's loss. Along with the rest of the country, they learned the hard way that the only poll that matters is Election Day. Trump's controversial campaign as an agent of change, empowered by a resurrected rural army of white, middle-class voters, trounced the governmental status quo and all that it stands for. It was as much a backlash victory against President Obama's legacy, Washington, D.C., politics and the mainstream media as it was against the powerful Clinton family. On Tuesday night, I jokingly posted on social media this quip in regard to the way the presidential results were heading: "If Trump wins, thank God I'm white, male, middle aged and uneducated." It's true, you know. I could very much represent the base voter for Trump and his vice president-elect, Indiana Gov. Mike Pence. ❖



Jim Rutenberg, New York Times: It was mid-June, and relations between Donald J. Trump and the news media had taken another dreadful turn. He had already vowed to change the libel laws to make it easier to sue journalists, and his personal insults were becoming more vicious. (One news correspondent was a "sleaze"; another was "third rate.") Most troubling was that he was keeping a blacklist of news organizations he was banning from his rallies, and it was growing. I called him at the time, to see what this would look like in a Trump administration. Would he deny White House credentials to select reporters and news organizations? No, he said. "There, I'm taking something away, where I'm representing the nation." We can only hope he means it. Because if Mr. Trump keeps up the posture he displayed during the campaign — all-out war footing — the future will hold some very grim days, not just for news reporters but also for the Ameri-

can constitutional system that relies on a free and strong press. It's one thing to wage a press war as a candidate, when the most you can do is enforce reporting bans at your rallies, hurl insults and deny interviews and access (all of which are plenty bad). It's another thing to do it from 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, where you have control over what vital government information is made public, and where you have sway over the Justice Department, which under President Obama has shown an overexuberance in investigating journalists and the whistle-blowers who leak to them. Imagine what somebody with a press vendetta and a dim view of the First Amendment would do with that kind of power. ❖

John Krull, Evansville Courier & Press: Evan Bayh slept. It was late summer, 1988. We flew in a small plane, just he, I and the pilot. He was running for governor, the first Democrat in 20 years to have a shot at claiming the state's highest office. I traveled with him, reporting on his campaign. We had spent the day, wheels up, wheels down, in Southern Indiana bouncing from county fairs to town festivals, stopping even at a couple of local picnics. Everywhere, people treated him like a missing prince who'd wandered home. Bayh wasn't comfortable with all the attention. When people came at him, he took a half step back before grasping the proffered hand. When one aggressive woman tried to ruffle his hair, he lunged to evade her reach. Then 32, he was reserved, almost shy. Some of his discomfort came from an inherent reticence. Some came from growing up in the public eye — of having his family's tragedies (the death of his mother, Marvella) and setbacks (the loss of the U.S. Senate seat his father, Birch, held for 18 years) played out before people he didn't even know. The day wore on him. When we got back to the plane at near midnight for the flight home, he looked at me and said: "Do you mind if I just go to sleep? I'm beat." It was while he dozed as we flew back to Indianapolis that I developed a sense of Evan Bayh I've never lost — that he was a more complicated, conflicted figure than people realize. His male-model handsomeness and seeming fortune-upbringing made it easy to overlook his anxieties and vulnerabilities. Now, in the aftermath of his defeat for the U.S. Senate race, there are people — not all of them Republicans — who are gleeful at Bayh's downfall. They see his loss to Republican Todd Young as a comeuppance, a deserved bit of electoral justice delivered to an entitled scion who never fulfilled his promise and never rendered full service to the progressive cause. Doubtless, there are valid reasons for these resentments. Self-absorption and a sense of grandiosity are occupational hazards for long-time political leaders. It's a rare officeholder who doesn't succumb to those ego traps from time to time. Bayh's natural reserve also could come across as arrogance. Still, I never could understand the animosity he inspired. ❖

Gov. Haley eyed for sec of state

INDIANAPOLIS — South Carolina Gov. Nikki Haley is under consideration to be President-elect Donald Trump's secretary of state, her lieutenant governor told the Post and Courier Wednesday. Lt. Gov Henry McMaster said he too is being considered for a position in Trump's cabinet — including possibly attorney general — and told the Post and Courier that he's in contact with the Trump transition team. Haley, considered a rising star in the Republican Party, backed Sen. Marco Rubio in the Republican primary. The daughter of Indian immigrants, she would bring both racial and gender diversity to Trump's cabinet. Former New York mayor Rudy Giuliani is also a strong contender for the position, per multiple reports and sources.



Lake Council OKs pot resolution

CROWN POINT — The Lake County Council passed a resolution Tuesday supporting the legalization of medical marijuana (Dolan, NWI Times). The council voted 4-2 to support Lake County Councilman Jamal Washington, D-Merrillville, who is urging state officials to pass "a prescribed medical marijuana program statute by the state of Indiana." Washington was joined by Council President Ted Bilski, D-Hobart; Councilwoman Christine Cid, D-East Chicago; and Councilman David Hamm, D-Hammond; in supporting legalization. Council members Elsie Franklin, D-Gary, and Eldon Strong, R-Crown Point, opposed the measure. Indiana is one of only a handful of states and American territories that still consider all marijuana use a crime. Two bills regarding the use of medical marijuana were studied earlier this year by the General Assembly, but neither was passed into

law. Washington said medical marijuana could help people suffering from a coma, glaucoma and Crohn's disease. "Just like the prohibitions against alcohol and gay marriage, marijuana will soon be legal in all 50 states, I believe. I believe we must make our voice heard."

Hupfer reported to be Holcomb's COS

INDIANAPOLIS — Holcomb transition co-chair Kyle Hupfer is reportedly to be named the incoming governor's chief of staff. HPI could not get confirmation from sources close to Gov.-elect Eric Holcomb. Hupfer is a former commissioner of the Indiana Department of Natural Resources under Gov. Mitch Daniels.

Crouch begins her transition

INDIANAPOLIS — After a whirlwind three-month campaign with running mate Eric Holcomb that resulted in a big election night victory, new Lt. Gov-Elect Suzanne Crouch is starting the transition process from State Auditor to Lieutenant Governor (Osowski, Evansville Courier & Press). Crouch, an Evansville native, said she is making sure the auditor's office is in good shape for whomever Gov-Elect Holcomb appoints to replace her. The Holcomb-Crouch transition team is also in the process of going to the various agencies the lieutenant governor oversees to get Crouch up to speed.

Walorski seeking Ways & Means

WASHINGTON — At least one Republican member of the House Ways and Means Committee is considering a possible role in the Donald Trump administration, signaling more change for the tax writing panel (Bloomberg). Rep. Tom Reed who threw his support behind Trump early

in the presidential race, said Nov. 15 he was talking to the new administration but didn't provide any more details. If Reed departs for an administration job, it will add to the three vacancies on the Republican side. Reps. Jackie Walorski (Ind.), Mike Bishop (Mich.), Carlos Curbelo (Fla.), Bradley Byrne (Ala.) and Andy Barr (Ky.) are among Republicans who are interested in the openings.

Test scores decline for second year

INDIANAPOLIS — The number of Indiana students passing the state math and reading test fell for the second straight year in 2016—even as more schools saw their passing rates inch up. Across the state, 51.6 percent of students in grades 3-8 passed both exams, down from 53.5 percent in 2015 (IBJ). That was when tougher standards caused test scores across the state to plummet, leaving just four schools out of 1,500 across the state with any test score gains at all. This year, 494 schools saw their passing rates improve. And far fewer schools experienced the double-digit drops that were present for 93 percent of schools in 2015.

Vermillion to seek vacant SD17

MARION — Ann Vermillion, a former editor at the Marion Chronicle-Tribune and Marion hospital executive, announced she will seek SD17, the seat being vacated by U.S. Rep.-elect Jim Banks.

Trump seeks 5 year lobbying ban

WASHINGTON — Appointees to President-elect Donald Trump's administration will be asked to sign a form barring them from being a registered lobbyist for five years after they leave government service, officials announced Wednesday -- following up on his pledge to "drain the swamp."