

# Donnelly faces the full brunt of Trump

Two MAGA rallies and a series of polls give Braun late mo, but NBC/Marist, Fox have Donnelly leading

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – After a flurry of late polls from obscure firms like Mason and Cygnal, and a few sur-

veys from Republican partisans, the growing perception at the end of last week

was that Republican Mike Braun was gaining late momentum in his race to unseat U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly.

But on Wednesday, Fox News had Donnelly up 45-38%, which represents a true outlier, while NBC/Marist had Donnelly with a 48-46% lead over Braun, with 2%



for “other” and 7% undecided. Donnelly had a 63-47% lead among people who had already voted and he had a 48-32% lead among independents. President Trump’s approval stood at 48/40 approve/disapprove. A CBS News survey released Sunday had Braun leading 46-43%.

In the Fox Poll, the race shifted since September when Braun was up by 2%. In early October, Donnelly was up by 2%. Donnelly’s edge comes in large part from greater party loyalty

and higher interest in the election among Democrats.

**Continued on page 4**

## Senator Trump?

By **MARK SOUDER**

FORT WAYNE – One thing will be certain next Tuesday: If Mike Braun defeats incumbent Sen. Joe Donnelly, it will be Trump who won the race.

The president is making sure that is clear to everyone by making repeated appearances in Indiana, including stops the day before the vote.

Obviously, internal polling – far more frequent (probably daily), possibly by the Brad Parscale operation – is optimistic that Braun will win or it is unlikely that the president would risk his political reputation on Indiana. His advisors also clearly understand that turnout is the key, or he would not be appearing in Fort Wayne on Monday night.



**“Despite coming from the opposite party, Joe’s always shown the bipartisan spirit and willingness to reach across the aisle to deliver results for the country that we need more of in the Senate these days.”**

*- Former Defense Sec. Chuck Hagel endorsing Sen. Donnelly*



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There are some interesting subtexts going on as well. Normally when a key battle is in the home state of a sitting vice president, the closing arguments would be from the vice president. Clearly, Trump wants this victory to be seen as his victory, not that of Mike Pence.

**The vice** president has changed his personal emphasis since joining with Donald Trump. Mike Pence recognized the potency of Trump as a brand. In government, as he was in business, Trump is obsessed with the brand "Trump." He wants it to be seen as his version of classy and, most importantly in his mind, be perceived as a winner. Everything must be the best ever. He makes no apologies. He just keeps moving forward with new greatest things and assumes people will forget any past mistakes.

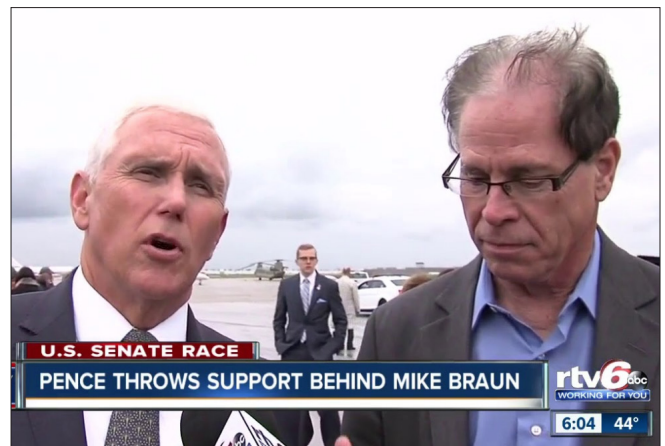
When Pence joined up with this brand, he knew that he would be, in a way, like the backside of an old 45 rpm record that had a number one hit and something else on the B- side. Vice presidents mostly are supposed to wait quietly unless the president dies or happens to call, filling in at funerals and traditionally campaigning in smaller states or those where their political party is strongest. Presidents go to big states with larger populations.

**In 2018, the** battle for control of the U.S. Senate ironically has led to many key battlegrounds coming in non-swing states President Trump won by significant margins that normally would fall to vice presidential political duty. But we have a president who loves to campaign, loves the simplicity of sloganeering to cheering fans, and loves to have a day when winners are clear. Especially if it is him winning.

As for governing, it's not much fun. People are always telling him that it is complicated, giving him things he's supposed to read, and

suggesting that perhaps he should listen more. Governing to this president seems to be by gut feel, emotion, certain preconceptions, advice from randomly selected acquaintances, and reinforced by people who know how to tell him variations of what he wants to hear. All presidents do this – all of them. But this president probably quadruples the normal mix of those factors compared to listening, reading and experience dealing with key issues.

**The vice president** has essentially traded his independent image for the right to quietly influence the government's policies in several critical ways. Most importantly, he helps guide the president through details and personnel to implement things the president said he'd do or wanted to do. Some of those things were said



because they were politically useful (e.g. socially conservative positions) and others for a blend of his previous views and political value (e.g., court appointments). In Donald Trump's previous life, these things were not a big focus.

There are also many smaller things. President Trump has opinions on health care, though historically they have been all over the map from left of Bernie Sanders to a more traditional conservative, free market approach. The secretary of the agency that has to actually guide the details of the massive agencies under Health and Human Services is Alex Azar of Indiana, along with Seema Verma of Indiana, whose area oversees 26% of

the federal budget.

The Hoosiers in the government are not the noisy ones. Think Dan Coats, who oversees national intelligence. They are smart, honest people who work to make things happen without stepping on the president's credit when things go well. This is also true in foreign policy and military issues, and largely with views that match those of pre-Vice President Pence.

So here, in the days before Election Day, it is Donald Trump riding in to rescue Mike Braun and defeat the incumbent Sen. Joe Donnelly, in a state where Donnelly – if he wasn't Joe Donnelly – could be losing by 30 points. Braun has almost no effective grassroots enthusiasm. His ads veer wildly between awful, mediocre and sometimes very good. He basically had two themes: I am a businessman and I wear a blue shirt, not a coat and tie.

**Donnelly mostly tried** to sell that he wasn't some crazy liberal Democrat, that he tried to get people to get along and find some sort of a middle way, and that he actually would sometimes work with the president. He also constantly harped about Braun's blue shirt, which appears to have persuaded few but which actually reminded them that Braun wasn't a stuffy businessman or politician. Some of his attacks on Braun's specific business practices, however, did have an impact in spite of the blueness waste of time. The Mexico Joe and China Mike nonsense also just confused people. The attempt to turn the issue into about who was the biggest hypocrite failed as well. If they are such hypocrites, why did the recent poll show Donnelly with 52-41% favorable/unfavorable rating and Braun with 47-39% favorable/unfavorable? That is a rather astounding rejection of the campaign approach of both sides. Did people find these ads so false that they assumed if each man was being called hypocritical by the other, then both must be pretty honest men?

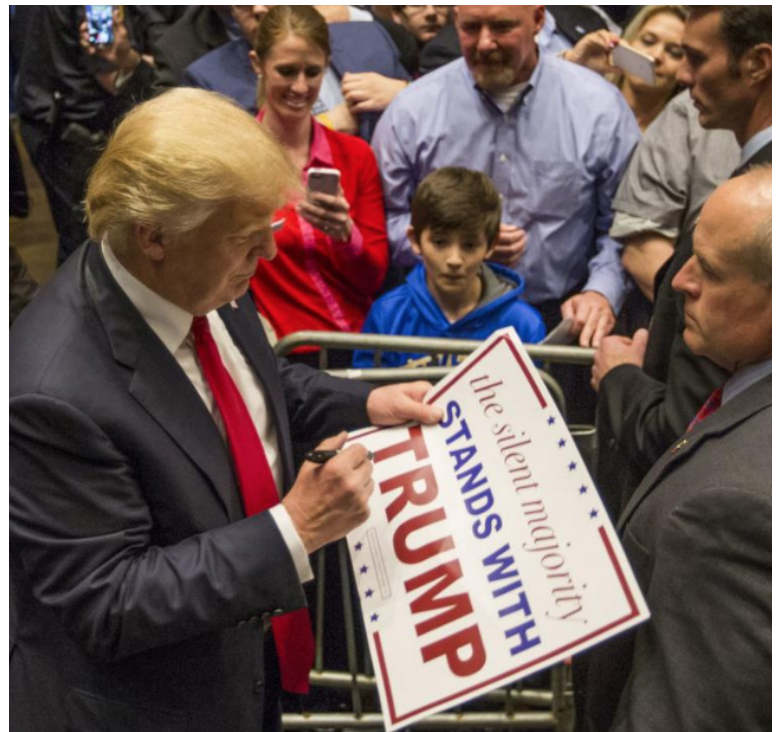
And why did the same poll that showed 52% viewing Donnelly favorably show him losing the race? It suggests that even though Donnelly is likable and viewed favorably as a senator, they want Republicans to control the Senate. That also is what seems apparent when talking to voters. As Election Day gets closer, the polling becomes more accurate and seeming poll contradictions can more easily be reconciled if supplemented by listening to voters, as well.

**Mike Braun, like some other** candidates, has been shielded from intense cross-examination. I would suggest that most Harvard graduates who build highly successful businesses are not stupid, incapable of answering questions. The problem was more that Braun is likely blunt and inexperienced in the nuances of campaigning. He also may be warm with his family and people he trusts, but no one is calling him gregarious and chatty. In other words, had I been his campaign manager, I too, would have stressed a simple strategy: Don't make mistakes.

It appears to me that Mike Braun will win because he didn't make any significant mistakes in a heavily con-

servative state that also is a strong pro-Trump state. Turnout will decide it, but President Trump has done everything he possibly can to boost it. In the critical Republican area of northeast Indiana, the Democrat candidate for Congress has turned out to be very weak compared to Congressman Jim Banks. She raised lots of money, but a big win by Banks would likely back-off Democrats from repeating such a mistake again. Donnelly has no ballot assistance here, at any level, and the congressional candidate will likely be a drag on his vote here.

Furthermore, Sen. Lindsay Graham, a month ago, was announced as speaker for the Allen County GOP Bean Dinner that was being held five days before the election. It was immediately sold out. Now with President Trump is



also appearing here Monday night, a few days after Graham. Media coverage of the Trump event has been non-stop every day since the announcement. If these events, plus Congressman Banks and down-ballot GOP strength in all the region's counties, don't propel turnout, it is not clear that anything would have.

If Republican turnout holds, President Trump will have gambled correctly. So, will Vice President Pence.

**Indiana, on the other hand**, is more like North Dakota than larger pivotal states like Florida, Pennsylvania, or even other neighboring states like Ohio and Michigan. There will be many, many voting results that will be analyzed for months starting next Tuesday evening.

Politics is not going to end Tuesday night: A little election will have been decided, but the major political war will just be beginning. ❖

**Souder is a former Republican congressman from Indiana.**

# INSen, from page 1

Fully 88% of Democrats back him vs. 80% of Republicans for Braun. In addition, nearly 1 in 10 Republicans go for Donnelly. Independents are about twice as likely to support the incumbent. But 19% said they could change their mind.

The [FiveThirtyEight](#) metrics were also slipping, with Donnelly going from an 80% chance of winning last week, to 67.1% on Wednesday and then 71.3% this morning. It projected a Donnelly win with 50.5% of the vote, Braun at 47.0% and Libertarian Lucy Brenton at 2.5%, which is well below how she's been polling. The Real Clear Politics polling composite today gives Donnelly a 0.8% lead. While Braun has released internal American Viewpoint polls showing 4% leads, Donnelly said Tuesday night that his internals showed him with the advantage.

**As of Oct. 17**, Donnelly had raised \$9.692 million in individual contributions (65% of all such contributions to the major-party candidates); Braun had raised \$5.288 million (35%).

But this is the era of President Donald J. Trump, where anything can happen and it almost always does. In the final weeks of his epic 2016 upset, Trump settled down, aides kept him away from Twitter, and running mate Mike Pence made the clarion call for Republicans to "come home." And they did.

Steve Kornacki said on MSNBC said that the Pittsburgh massacre and the bombs may be moving the numbers toward Donnelly and other Democrats. "Donnelly has consistently had a slight edge. There is a scenario that Donnelly hangs on there," Kornacki said this morning.

Trump's response to those acts of violence could "potentially" be changing the dynamic. The Fox News Poll shows Trump's approve at 50% while 48% disapprove. "In 2016 he put it together in the closing days. I think what we forget in 2016, Trump was a disciplined candidate," Kornacki said. "He was not on Twitter. He was not getting distracted. That lasted for about 10 days. Those reluctant Republicans who found him distasteful but didn't want to vote Democratic. They came home again." But the Trump of 2016 has been replaced by President Trump this week who is flailing away about the caravan and making controversial comments in the wake of bombers and shooters.

**In the final homestretch of 2018**, President Trump is unchained and bellowing as events churn around him. Those include the 14 bombs sent to Trump critics by Cesar Sayoc, with video surfacing of the bomber under a "CNN Sucks" sign at a Florida MAGA rally in 2016. There was yet another massacre, this time at a Pittsburgh synagogue on Saturday. A few hours later, Trump landed in

Indianapolis and told Future Farmers of America conventioners that he was having a "bad hair day."

**On Tuesday, he told Axios** he could essentially end by presidential order the Constitution's 14th Amendment which allows birthright citizenship. "It was always told to me that you needed a constitutional amendment. Guess what? You don't," Trump said. Critics, including George Conway (husband of Kellyanne) bluntly reacted, saying, "Such a move would be unconstitutional and would certainly be challenged. And the challengers would undoubtedly win." (See more of that column on Page 20).

President Trump also announced he was sending

DATES	POLLSTER	SAMPLE	WEIGHT	DONNELLY		BRAUN	MARGIN	ADJUSTMENTS			
				LIKELY VOTER	TIME-LINE			HOUSE EFFECTS	ADJUSTED MARGIN		
OCT 27-30	Fox News	722 LV	2.19	45%	38%	D+7.0	—	<0.1	<1.5	D+8.5	
OCT 24-28	Marist College	496 LV	1.45	47%	44%	D+2.5	—	<0.1	0.6	D+1.9	
OCT 26-27	Cygnal	505 LV	1.24	46%	49%	R+2.9	—	<0.1	<3.8	D+0.9	
OCT 23-26	YouGov	975 LV	1.80	43%	46%	R+3.0	—	<0.1	<2.3	R+0.7	
OCT 15-20	Mason Strategies	600 LV	0.82	43%	47%	R+4.0	—	<0.1	<2.8	R+1.3	
OCT 14-17	American Viewpoint <b>R</b>	800 LV	0.47	40%	44%	R+4.0	—	<0.1	<5.2	D+1.1	
OCT 12-16	Gravis Marketing	377 LV	0.43	44%	40%	D+4.0	—	<0.1	<1.5	D+5.4	
OCT 12-16	SurveyUSA	816 LV	1.16	41%	40%	D+1.0	—	<0.1	0.2	D+0.8	
OCT 13-15	Vox Populi Polling	783 LV	0.68	55%	45%	D+10.0	—	<0.1	<0.7	D+10.6	

15,000 American troops (up from 5,200) to the Mexican border to thwart the migrant "caravan" still a thousand miles away, tweeting, "This is an invasion of our Country and our Military is waiting for you!" That story, hyped often by Fox News, was tamped down by network anchor Shep Smith, who said on Monday, "There is no invasion. No one's coming to get you. There's nothing at all to worry about. Tomorrow the migrants, according to Fox News reporting, are more than two months away — if any of them actually come here. But tomorrow is one week before the midterm election, which is what all of this is about."

Trump lashed out at targets of the bombings, CNN, and even a World Series pitching change. While Trump allies and insiders like Pence bristled at commentary that Trump's "dog whistles" encouraged isolated, white, male bombers and shooters into deadly action, CNN unearthed an April 2016 interview of candidate Trump with Washington Post's Bob Woodward and Robert Costa, who asked him if he needed to tame the rage in the GOP. Trump responded, "Yes, yes, but I bring that out in people. I do. I'm not saying that's an asset or a liability, but I do bring that out. I bring rage out. I do bring rage out. I always have."

Trump is now preparing to land on Mike Braun's

doorstep, with rallies scheduled for Southport on Friday and Fort Wayne on Monday. Braun will appear with him twice. His base, particularly in rural and small town Indiana, is already invigorated by the "Kavanaugh effect." The Trump base is voting early. But Trump with Braun could stir the suburban and female voter Donnelly absolutely needs to hold onto his seat.

## Debate and policy

During the final debate between Braun and Donnelly Tuesday night, Trump rarely came up. It was peculiar, since Trump has literally asked voters to make this mid-term election a referendum on his first two years in office. Braun did praise him for acting on border security issues and added, "We've now regained strength in the world. We draw a red line and stick with it. I do support his leadership."

But when the birthright citizenship proposal came up, Donnelly said the issue should be "handled by Congress." Braun praised Trump as "a leader in the White House doing something about it. There will be legislation on it."

HPI asked Donnelly how he will react to the full brunt of Trumpism aimed directly at him. "The president's always welcome to come to Indiana," Donnelly said. "We're proud of our state and the president is always welcome to come." Pushed further, Donnelly reminded reporters that, "I've voted with President Trump 62% of the time."

Asked if marquee Democrats like Joe Biden or President Obama would come to his aid, Donnelly said, "I'd keep my ears open." On Wednesday, Donnelly appeared with former Republican senator and Defense Sec. Chuck Hagel. On the same day, the Donnelly campaign announced that Obama will appear at a Sunday rally in Gary with the senator.

Donnelly and Braun sparred on what has become a predominant issue (beyond Mexico Joe and China Mike), health care and preexisting conditions. As he did during the first debate, Donnelly came out swinging, citing the Texas v. United States lawsuit that would end those Obamacare protections. In his opening statement, Donnelly said of Braun, "He supports a lawsuit that takes away your coverage of preexisting conditions. Mike's after your health care, your Social Security and Medicare. That's what this election is about."

Braun said later in the debate that "Joe was for the Affordable Care Act. It's the unaffordable care act. I would never be for any replacement that doesn't cover preexisting conditions." Once again, Braun did not disavow the Texas v. United States lawsuit.

Donnelly retorted, "Here's what Mike knows: Mike supports a lawsuit that would end the ACA and end preexisting conditions. If you have someone in your family with

diabetes, asthma ... their coverage goes away. Those are the facts and he can't deny that."

Braun added that he solved health care issues at his company, Meyer Distributing. "My policy costs one-fourth of what Obamacare costs," he said. Donnelly shot back, saying that Meyer employees "don't get an aspirin" until their deductible hits \$10,000. Braun responded saying that his employees pay a premium of only \$70 a month.

In the post-debate press conferences, that Braun once again skipped, Donnelly kept up his assault. "It is really clear what's going on here. On the stage that we were just on, Mike Braun denied that he was in favor of the lawsuit that takes away coverage on preexisting conditions. He denied it on stage," he charged. "He's probably done interviews with many of you in which he said he was for it.

He said he was for it time after time after time. He's for the Senate legislation that would have taken health care away. He's for the House bill that would have taken health care away. You cannot trust what Mike Braun says."

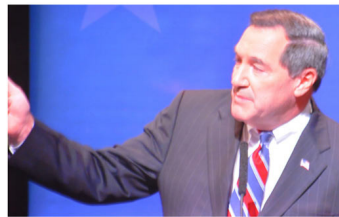
Donnelly then brought up Social Security and Medicare, which Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell is blaming for the skyrocketing federal budget deficits (and not the recently passed tax reforms). "Mike Braun has refused to say he won't touch Social Security and Medicare," Donnelly charged. "I've said from the start I will protect Social Security and Medicare. Mike Braun is an errand boy for Mitch McConnell."

The sparks flew on the abortion issue, with Braun asserting that he had the endorsement of Indiana and national Right to Life groups as well as the Susan B. Anthony Fund, with the nationals giving Donnelly an "F" grade. Had Richard Mourdock stuck to those talking points in the final 2012 debate with Donnelly, he would have won the debate and, perhaps, the election. Donnelly's gambit here is that Braun already has the overwhelming majority of the anti-abortion vote. The incumbent needs females, Millennials, union voters (which Republican sources tell HPI are still significantly backing Braun).

Donnelly called Braun "more radical" on abortion than Mourdock. "Even Richard Mourdock believed in an exception for the life of the mother," Donnelly said. "I have no role in that and Mike Braun believes he should enforce and tell that family what to do. It takes your breath away, the presumption being made there. If that's what he thinks the role of a U.S. senator is, he's way off."

## HPI penultimate forecast

We still classify this race as a "Tossup" even with the last two polls showing Donnelly up. Twenty-four hours ago we were giving Braun a very slight advantage. Then came the new Fox and NBC/Marist polls. Donnelly's 7% lead in the Fox Poll is an outlier at this point, but overlaid



with Trump's decline in the Gallup tracking and this could be a new trend. The biggest factor in the final five days is President Trump, who remains very popular in Indiana even as he slips nationally. Gallup on Monday reported Trump slipped from 44% to 40% in its weekly tracking, which corresponded with his rhetoric on the Sayoc bombs and the Pittsburgh atrocity. Presidents Clinton and Obama lost more than 40 House seats when their approval stood at 45%. The Ball State Bowen Center's Hoosier Survey had Trump's approval at 53% with 39% who disapproved. "These survey results add to the evidence that the president's approval is beginning to rebound, just in time for the midterm elections," said Chad Kinsella, a political science professor and survey analyst.

**Trump will get comprehensive** statewide MAGA rally media coverage on Friday and again on Election Eve with his Southport and Fort Wayne rallies, which will likely have a greater impact than President Obama's rally in Gary on Sunday for Donnelly.

In the primary, Braun overperformed perceptions, winning a "tossup" race against Reps. Todd Rokita and Luke Messer with 41%, more than 10% ahead of the two congressmen. The general perception is that Braun's fall campaign has been lackluster, and his optics and TV ads haven't been nearly as good as his primary triumph.

Some have questioned Braun's ground game. But in HPI talks with Republican legislative campaign operatives, they describe a greatly enhanced Republican State Party voter drive. "We've never seen that kind of effort in Indiana like we are this year," our House Republican Campaign Committee source said on Tuesday. "HRCC used to have to get our own people out. In the old days we were it. This effort is awesome."

In an HPI Interview earlier this year, Republican Chairman Kyle Hupfer had vowed to run a state-of-the-art GOTV effort. HRCC and U.S. Rep. Jim Banks are now saying they are seeing this effort on the ground and in real time. It's something the Braun campaign did not have to create on its own.

**Donnelly faced towering** disadvantages. The fact that he's even within the margin of error (with the exception of the Fox Poll) – and leads in the credible FiveThirtyEight metrics – speaks to his dogged campaign style.

Having said that, this is the era of President Trump, where, you know, anything can happen. Republicans we know were taken aback by his pronouncement on birthright citizenship. Many are skeptical of the "caravan" but see it as a brazen campaign ploy likely to work. Trump deftly read the politics and made shrewd moves that gave him the most stunning upset in presidential history.

History is replete with victorious leaders who succumb to hubris after making Shakespearean miscalculations. Is President Trump capable of such an act? If such a churn of events comes in the next five days, our forecast could change. Check back with us on Monday.

**Horse Race Status:** Tossup. ❖

## Hagel, Sexton parents stump for Donnelly

By JACOB CURRY

INDIANAPOLIS – Former Defense Sec. Chuck Hagel endorsed U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly at the Fort Harrison Veterans Center Wednesday. They were joined Jeff and Barb Sexton, the parents of Jacob Sexton, for whom Donnelly's Jacob Sexton Military Suicide Prevention Act, enacted in 2013, was named.

Before introducing Secretary Hagel, Donnelly spoke about the importance of bipartisanship when tackling and respecting veterans' issues. "There's no Republican, there's no Democrat on veterans. There's no Republicans or Democrats when it comes to America. There's no red or blue, it's about the red, white, and blue. That's what this nation is about," the senator said.

The particular issue on Donnelly's mind was mental health. He spoke proudly of his work on the Military Suicide Prevention Act and the Veterans Choice Act, and also touted the arrival of new veterans' health centers in several locations across the state. But Donnelly didn't take all the credit. He finished his remarks with an address to the gathered group of veterans, telling them it's "because of you" that these feats were accomplished.

Hagel, who had also served as a Republican



senator from Nebraska from 1997 to 2009, lamented a "record lack of civility" in politics, something he said undermines the "glue

which holds society together." Hagel said he didn't see that lack of civility in Donnelly. "We need to keep people in office who put a premium on civility, decency, respect for others, listening to others. I don't know a senator who does it better than Joe Donnelly." Indeed, Hagel gave a glowing endorsement of Donnelly as both a senator and a person. Relating what he considered the three "indispensable requisites in life" – character, courage and judgment – the former secretary said he saw all of them displayed in Donnelly.

**Speaking briefly,** an emotional Jeff Sexton praised Sen. Donnelly's work. He told the story of how the questions at the hearing prompted him to get in touch with the senator's office to see what he could do to advance the issue and related his surprise at receiving a personal call from Donnelly later that day. Sexton said he had previously had little success with congressional offices in the four years prior. "That's the way Sen. Donnelly has been working every day. He works for the military, he works for veterans. He takes care of all of us." ❖

# Democrats losing 2018 CD races with the maps of 2011

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The crucial days for the 2018 midterms actually occurred seven years ago. Those were the days of reapportionment, when House and Senate Republicans and then-Gov. Mitch Daniels developed and approved congressional and General Assembly district maps.



Now four campaign cycles in, those maps which were disguised as the antithesis of gerrymandering for their compact shapes and respect for county lines and “communities of interest” have created a scenario where there are just eight tossup legislative races and no such congressional races.

On the congressional front, we’ve watched Democrats Mel Hall in the 2nd CD, Courtney Tritch in the 3rd CD, and Liz Watson in the 9th CD all raise handsome amounts of money in their challenges to U.S. Reps. Jackie Walorski, Jim Banks and Trey Hollingsworth. We rate Banks as “Safe” on next Tuesday, while Walorski and Hollingsworth are “Likely” winners. There is nothing that has a whiff of a tossup.

**CNN election analyst** Harry Enten agrees, projecting Walorski will defeat Hall by 10% and Hollingsworth will dispatch Watson by 9%. There are similar projections and ratings by Sabato’s Crystal Ball, Cook Political Report



Republican U.S. Reps. Jackie Walorski, Jim Banks and Trey Hollingsworth are all heavy favorites on Tuesday despite well-funded challengers.

and Inside Elections by Nathan Gonzalez.

These projections are backed up by the fact that the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee is not rushing resources – money or talent – into the Watson and Hall campaigns. We’re not seeing high-profile Democrats making campaign stops in South Bend, and while U.S. Sen. Bernie Sanders campaigned for Watson at Indiana University in Bloomington, the Vermont socialist is not likely to bring Watson a groundswell of support beyond ol’ B-town.

**Our original analysis in 2011** was that of the seven CDs that were held by Republicans, the 9th might come into play by this cycle as a migration of more moderate to liberal voters filtered out of Louisville and Indianapolis into the Floyd, Clark and Johnson county suburbs. But all three counties are still cherry red, perhaps even redder than they were seven years ago.

Mitch Daniels, he noted in a 2017 Ian Rolland address in Fort Wayne that the uncompetitive districts are creating a new dimension of tribalism across Indiana and America, and suggested that the forged maps of 2021 might need to look like “salamanders” once again. ❖

# Four tossups, two ‘leans’ in Senate races

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – While the nine Indiana Senate Democrats had hoped that a “blue wave” would allow them to grow their tiny caucus, our analysis shows only four “Tossup” races and only two in the “Leans” category. Any Democrat gains will be very modest. Our tossup races include the J.D. Ford rematch with Sen. Mike



Delph, Sen. Jon Ford’s efforts to turn back Democrat Chris Gambill, the open SD26 in the Delaware/Madison county area, and Anna Murray’s challenge to Sen. Ron Grooms in

the suburban Louisville area.

The “Kavanaugh effect” has probably helped several other potentially vulnerable Republicans, but it could be backfiring in a couple of Indianapolis suburban races involving Delph and Sen. Jim Merritt. Of those two, Merritt appears to be on safer ground than Delph, who is in a true dogfight. Republican sources are telling HPI that while the Kavanaugh issue has motivated suburban women voters, which could hurt Delph, Merritt and Grooms, it has also heightened interest from independent and Republican male voters who believe Justice Brett Kavanaugh was on the receiving end of unfair allegations coming from his high school days. Sources also tell HPI that President Trump is extremely unpopular in Merritt’s district. And that could be a factor in the Louisville suburb races, though Republican sources seem less animated about losing those seats than the two Indianapolis/Carmel seats.

Senate Republicans have a 41-9 super majority. At

this writing, we believe Democrats have an opportunity to pick up between three, maybe four seats, if they run the table. President Trump is conducting MAGA rallies in Fort Wayne and Indianapolis and those will help energize the GOP base, but could also spark a counter reaction from women concerned about Trump's attitude toward women, immigrant family separations, and his incendiary rhetoric, which some have connected to Cesar Sayoc's mail bomb spree and the Pittsburgh synagogue massacre.

So here is our third forecast for the Indiana Senate. These include races in the "Likely" to "Tossup" range. All others are deemed "Safe" for the incumbent.

**SD11: Republican:** Linda Rogers. **Democrat:** Ed Liptrap. **Analysis:** Rogers upset State Sen. Joe Zakas 66-33% on May 8. In 2014, Zakas ran unopposed, carrying 19,924 votes. Rogers began with a \$34,272 balance, raised \$214,104, spent \$185,050 and had an ending balance of \$63,326. Late money has been spilling into her campaign, including \$48,700 from the Indiana Republican Party. Liptrap has raised only \$28,044, spent that amount and had no cash end balance. This was supposed to be a lock for the GOP, so it was curious to see funds coming in from the state GOP. But we believe this will stay in the GOP column. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Rogers.

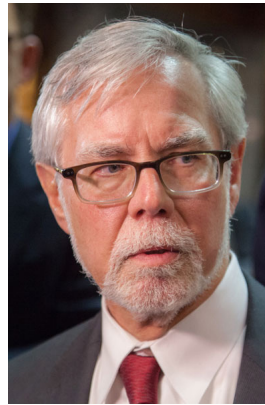
**SD17: Republican:** Sen. Andy Zay. **Democrat:** Gary Snyder. **Analysis:** Republican State Sen. Jim Banks ran unopposed in 2014 with 20,013 votes in what is a very Republican district. Zay began the cycle with \$50,000, raised \$115,082, spent \$80,892 and had an ending balance of \$84,254. Snyder raised \$9,910, spent \$8,176 and had an ending balance of \$2,300. He is drawing no late funds. Without an emphatic Democratic wave, there is virtually no chance this seat will flip and even if there is such a wave, the Republican nature of this district should hold for the majority caucus. **Horse Race Status:** Safe Zay.

**SD22: Republican:** Sen. Ron Alting. **Democrat:** Sheryl Shipley. **Analysis:** This district made our forecast cut because it fit the suburban designation that was theoretically in play this cycle. Sen. Alting began the cycle with \$342,154, raised \$205,729, has spent \$116,934 and had an ending balance of \$430,949. He received a large contribution from the Cold Beer PAC of \$2,500.

Cheers! Shipley, who began this cycle as a 4th CD candidate before opting for what some believed to be a competitive race, began the cycle with \$1,999, raised \$34,835, spent \$30,982 and reported an ending balance of \$5,852. While there has been heavy early voting in Tippecanoe County which might be to Shipley's benefit, Alting appears to be in good shape for reelection, otherwise we'd be seeing Senate Majority Campaign Committee

funds coming into this race. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Alting.

**SD25: Democrat:** Senate Minority Leader Tim Lanane. **Republican:** Zaki Ali. **Analysis:** Lanane began the cycle with \$78,095, raised \$152,295, spent \$125,195 and had an ending balance of \$105,195. Lanane has



received only a few late donations, including \$2,500 from the Cold Beer PAC and \$4,500 from I-PACE. Ali has raised \$88,700, spent \$57,103 and had an ending balance of \$31,597. He received a late contribution from the Indiana Republican Party at \$6,025. There have been rumblings that Lanane has gotten sideways with African-Americans on the west side of Anderson after defeating Anderson Councilwoman Tami Dixon-Tatum with 65% in the primary, including

64% in the city of Anderson. There have been an array of local issues impacting this race, including an Anderson City Council budget showdown and a DUI for Mayor Broderick's son, who resigned as an employee under Lanane's direction. Ali brings some name ID into this race with past advertising for his law practice. This is a Democratic district, but Lanane faces a more prominent Republican. Our sense is that while this race tightened, Lanane will survive. If he was truly in trouble, we'd be seeing more Senate Democrat and state party funds spilling into this race. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Lanane.

**SD26: Open** (Sen. Doug Eckerty retiring). **Republican:** Madison County Councilman Mike Gaskill. **Democrat:** Anderson Fire Chief Dave Cravens. **Analysis:** Cravens reported a beginning balance of \$75,007, had \$153,077 in contributions, spent \$186,882 and reported an ending balance of \$41,202. Mike Gaskill reported \$180,640 in contributions, \$152,195 in expenditures and had an ending balance of \$28,446. The key question is whether Gaskill will get support from the Madison County GOP. It's been a somewhat tortured relationship, with Gaskill appointed to the county council in 2014, only to be defeated



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that November. He returned to the council in the 2016 election. There's been a long-running feud between Gaskill and Republican Chairman Russ Willis, who backed Owens in the primary. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

**SD29: Republican:** Sen. Mike Delph.

**Democrat:** J.D. Ford. **Analysis:** Delph has spent more than \$463,311 in his reelection bid and posted an ending balance of \$113,050. Delph started the year with \$207,388, but spent much of that during his primary. He has raised \$368,938. Delph has had two fundraisers during the fall campaign as he seeks to thwart a vigorous rematch challenge from Democrat J.D. Ford, who has raised \$347,760 for the cycle after beginning the year with \$63,040. Ford has spent \$271,631 and posted an ending balance of \$139,168. Delph received \$2,000 in late money from Todd Rokita, \$38,887 from the Republican State Committee, a little over \$40,000 from the SMCC, and \$2,000 from Dana Dumezich. Ford is also receiving late money, including \$53,000 from Senate Democrats, \$2,500 from LAW PAC, \$60,586 from the Indiana Democrat Party, and a little over \$5,000 from ACTBLUE. Delph seems to be the most vulnerable Republican, with a Democratic poll last month showing Ford up by 9%. Delph acknowledged in September he is in a tossup race, but has been advertising heavily on cable. Ford, too, has been running TV. This is a district where the so-called "Kavanaugh effect" is actually helping Democrats, as suburban females are motivated to vote. Delph won this match-up in 2014 by 15,140 to 12,744. He won a bruising primary battle with Corrie Meyer, 58-42%. Delph withstood more than \$200,000 in an advertising blitz that included \$100,000 in late money from some heavy-hitting individual donors and business groups, as well as an array of influential district mayors and former officeholders conspicuously backing Meyer. This is the lone Republican-held district that Hillary Clinton carried over Donald Trump in 2016 and Delph said that both President Trump and Senate nominee Mike Braun are underperforming in his district. Delph has a wide grassroots network and he hasn't lost a race since the 2002 convention floor secretary of state race. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

**SD31: Republican:** State Sen. Jim Merritt.

**Democrat:** Derek Camp. **Analysis:** Merritt began the cycle with \$60,482, raised \$274,973, spent \$288,077 and had an ending balance of \$47,378. He is getting late money from Senate colleagues, including \$3,000 from Ryan Mishler, \$10,000 from Mark Messner and \$5,000 from Hershman for Senate, while the Senate Majority Campaign put in \$11,000, Indiana Business for Responsive Government \$15,000, another \$5,770 from the Republican State Committee, \$2,500 from KRG Finance and \$1,500 from Catalyst Public Affairs Group PAC. Camp has raised \$48,473, spent \$31,151 and had an ending balance of \$17,322. Senate Democrats gave him \$3,500 while the Indiana Democratic



Republican incumbents (top) Sens. Mike Delph, Jim Merritt and Jon Ford are seeking to ward off challenges from Democrats J.D. Ford, Derek Camp and Chris Gambill.

Party gave \$37,101 for mailers. This is a district where Republicans must be concerned about the suburban female vote. As in SD29, the so-called "Kavanaugh effect" may be working in reverse, and President Trump is sideways, so Sen. Merritt is not likely to benefit from the MAGA rally in Southport on Friday. This is a Democratic county, and this is a district where a Democratic wave and angry suburban female voters could turn out. Camp is campaigning on reforming legislative maps to prevent gerrymandering and creating living wages for workers. Merritt is Marion County Republican chairman and is preparing a 2019 Indianapolis mayoral run against Mayor Joe Hogsett, so Democrats have incentive to turn out and, potentially, defend Hogsett from his most credible challenger. Hogsett has yet to declare for reelection, but we are not detecting other Democrats preparing campaigns in his absence. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Merritt.

**SD38: Republican:** State Sen. Jon Ford.

**Democrat:** Chris Gambill. **Analysis:** This is a pure tossup race with a lot of late money. Sen. Ford had \$115,124 beginning, total contributions of \$358,838 and an ending balance of \$230,209. Gambill raised \$260,791, spent \$212,551 and had an ending balance of \$48,239. The Senate Majority Committee pumped \$45,000 into this race on Monday, while the Republican State Committee put in \$63,329 on the same day. Sen. Mark Messmer put in \$10,000, Sen. Ryan Mishler put in \$3,000, \$2,500 from the Indiana Manufacturers PAC, \$1,500 from the Wine & Spirits Distributors of Indiana PAC. Gambill has received \$54,428 from the Indiana Democratic Party, \$75,977 from

Senate Democrats, \$5,000 from the Lawyers PAC. Sen. Ford pulled off one of the big upsets in 2014, defeating Sen. Timothy Skinner 13,585 to 12,580. This one looks like it's going down to the wire. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

**SD45: Republican:** Chris Garten. **Democrat:** Jeffersonville Councilman John Perkins. **Analysis:** This is an open seat, vacated by the retiring State Sen. Jim Smith, who defeated Democrat Julie Berry 19,827 to 16,994. Garten began the year with \$37,208, he raised \$132,052, spent \$50,077 and had \$119,182 ending balance. Late contributions have come in from the Republican State Party (\$13,170), Indiana Business for Responsive Government (\$4,000), and Indiana Multi-Family Housing (\$1,000). Perkins has raised just \$14,520, spent \$6,971 and had an ending balance of \$7,548. Garten is a Scott County native from Lexington, a former Marine who did two combat tours in Iraq, enlisting in December 2001 after the Sept. 11 terror attacks. Garten is a small businessman. Perkins is a retired teacher and served 20 years on the Jeffersonville City Council prior to being appointed to fill the Clark County Commissioners seat vacated by Mike Moore after Moore became Jeffersonville mayor in 2012. The lack of money coming into this race is a telltale it will stay in the GOP column. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Garten.

**SD46: Republican:** Sen. Ron Grooms. **Democrat:** Anna Murray. **Analysis:** Sen. Grooms won reelection in 2014 with a 16,950 to 13,168 win over Chuck



Freiberger in a rematch. Murray is a Jeffersonville attorney running for office for the first time. She is running on workforce and infrastructure issues. Sen. Grooms is a pharmacist with a degree from Butler University and has served two stints on the Jeffersonville City Council between 1984 and 2010, the year he was first elected to the Senate. Sen. Grooms began the cycle with \$41,978, raised \$106,798, has spent \$110,902 and had an ending balance of \$37,874. The Republican State Party made a \$31,411 contribution on Tuesday. Murray has raised \$71,920 after a beginning balance of \$3,620, has spent \$47,216 and had an ending balance of \$28,693. Late money is coming in for her, including \$31,500 from Senate Democrats, \$2,000 from the candidate, and \$1,000 from the Indiana 9th CD Committee. This district fits the suburban profile we've written so much about. Republicans seem to be matching the late money coming in for Murray. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup. ❖

## Only a handful of House seats in play

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The battle for the Indiana House is conforming to some of our earliest forecasting, in that there are only a handful of seats that appear to be in play in the final days of the campaign.

Howey Politics Indiana has Democratic challenges to Republican State Reps. Julie Olthoff, Dale Devon, Sally Siegrist and Martin Carbaugh in its "Tossup" category, while the open HD71 being vacated by Democratic State Rep. Steve Stemler looks to be a pickup opportunity for Republicans.

Our "Leans" category includes only one race, that of State Rep. Cindy Kirchhofer, who faces a rematch with Democrat John Barnes.

So, the "blue wave" doesn't appear to have materialized in an election crucial for Indiana Democrats who languish in super-minority status in the 70-30 split Indiana House. The party's best-case scenario now appears to be a 66-34 House, which hardly positions Democrats for the crucial 2021 reapportionment. It could also hamper the party in its search for a viable challenger for Gov. Eric

Holcomb in 2020.

Both caucus leaders, House Speaker Brian Bosma and Democrat Terry Goodin, are included in this forecast. Both appear to be in good shape, although now faces a formal ethics complaint from an intern from an incident two decades ago (see Page 21). Bosma began TV advertising this week. Some observers attempted to link that to IndyStar reporting on \$40,000 in legal expenditures from his campaign fund, but an informed and reliable GOP source told HPI on Tuesday, "The speaker's numbers are pretty strong. But we figured that every day that goes by you lose, so we decided to be proactive." The TV ad "spreads a very positive message on what Republican leadership has done in Indiana. We also wanted to prevent a surprise attack."

The Olthoff, Devon, Siegrist, Carbaugh and open HD71 seat being fought by Democrat Dr. Rita Fleming and Matt Owen all fit the "suburban" designation that has been the topic of much political reporting both here and across the nation. That storyline is that President Trump's history with women and minorities, as well as the immigrant child separations, are motivating suburban women to vote in droves. "It's definitely out there," the GOP source said. "Our numbers with women are not where they've been in previous cycles. At the same time, we're doing very well with independent men."

That could be some of the fallout over the Justice Brett Kavanaugh allegations and sensational testimony in early October. Many men HPI have talked with believe that



raising uncorroborated high school or college-era behavior was unfair. "Interest levels are up very strongly for independent and Republican men," the GOP source said. "The union vote coming out early is going our way as well." That could be bad news for U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly, who needs not only suburban women, but also the union vote that President Trump won over in 2016.

In September, we had Dr. Fleming as a "likely" winner in the open HD71. "The Stemler seat environment improved quite a bit since early September polling," our GOP source said.

Thus, we see at this point a potential four-seat Democratic pickup in the House, but only if they run the table. President Trump will campaign Friday in Southport, which should help Rep. Kirchhofer, and in Fort Wayne on Election Eve, which should benefit Rep. Carbaugh. So, "running the table" for Democrats could be a real reach. Sources tell HPI that Democrats had an initial edge in absentee ballots, but Republicans have been early voting at a vigorous pace.

Included in this forecast are 20 House races. The other 80 seats are considered "Safe" for the incumbent parties.

**HD4: Republican:** Rep. Ed Soliday. **Democrat:** Frank Szczepanski. **2016 Results:** Soliday 17,272, Fish (D) 14,311. **Analysis:** Soliday posted \$105,040 in contributions after beginning the cycle with \$47,385, spending \$112,041 and had an ending balance of \$40,383. Szczepanski raised only \$20,152, spent \$19,162 and had \$2,103 ending balance. While this district fits the "suburban" definition that was supposedly in play this cycle, our sense is that Soliday survives this challenge. The lack of late money is indicative of that. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Soliday.



**HD5: Republican:** Rep. Dale DeVon. **Democrat:** Donald R. Westerhausen. **2016 Results:** DeVon 19,177. **Analysis:** Devon reported a beginning balance of \$7,481, contributions of \$213,036, expenditures of \$212,051 and an

ending balance of \$1,126. Devon has received late contributions of \$75,000 from the House Republican Campaign Committee (HRCC), a key indicator that this seat is truly at risk. Democrat Donald Westerhausen reported a beginning balance of \$18,628, contributions of \$120,459, expenditures of \$112,176 and an ending balance of \$26,911.

**Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

**HD11: Republican:** Rep. Michael Aylesworth. **Democrat:** Delano Scaife. **2016 results:** Aylesworth 18,163, Metro (D) 11,852. **Analysis:** Rep. Aylesworth has raised \$27,642, has spent \$29,774 and had an ending balance of \$212. But he received \$8,000 in late money from

HRCC. Scaife has raised just \$1,937. Not much of a race. **Horse Race Status:** Safe Aylesworth.

**HD15: Republican:** Rep. Hal Slager. **Democrat:** Chris Chying. **2016 Results:** Slager 16,152, O'Donnell 13,581. **Analysis:** For a race supposedly in play, this one hasn't drawn big money. Slager began the cycle with \$13,932, raised \$45,045, spent \$40,553 and had an ending balance of \$18,424. We could not access a finance report for Chying. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Slager.

**HD19: Republican:** Rep. Julie Olthoff. **Democrat:** Lisa Beck. **2016 results:** Olthoff 15,236, VanDenburgh (D) 14,895, Demaree (L) 1,288. **Analysis:** Rep.



Olthoff began the cycle with \$11,828, raised \$131,975, spent \$135,435 and had an ending balance of \$8,368. She has received late contributions of \$50,000 from HRCC, \$10,000 from the Indiana Business for

Responsive Government PAC, and \$5,000 from the National Federation of Businesses. Beck began the cycle with \$9,677, raised \$98,001 and had spent \$47,106 at the Oct. 19 reporting deadline. She reported an ending balance of \$60,571 but had four large contributions, including about \$9,000 from I-PACE, \$1,000 from the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Trainmen, and \$5,000 from the Lawyers Political Action Committee of Indiana. President Trump is still popular with many union members and this is a real race. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

**HD24: Republican:** State Rep. Donna Schaibley. **Democrat:** Naomi Bechtold. **Libertarian:** Donald Rainwater III. **2016 result:** Schaibley (R) 29,297, Cetinok (L) 6,450. **Analysis:** This seat fits inside SD29 where State Sen. Mike Delph is in a tossup race against Democrat J.D. Ford. Schaibley has raised \$42,771, spent \$38,654 and reported \$22,042 cash on hand. She received a late contribution of \$1,000 from the Indiana Realtors PAC. Bechtold has raised \$93,823, spent \$68,968 and had an ending balance of \$30,135, but she's received only \$1,000 in late money, which tells us that Schaibley looks to be in good shape down the homestretch in this Indy suburban district. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Schaibley.

**HD26: Republican:** Rep. Sally Siegrist. **Democrat:** Chris Campbell. **2016 Results:** Siegrist 11,067, Woeste (D) 9,980.



**Analysis:** In one of the key showdown races, Siegrist has raised \$141,561, spent \$165,278 and had \$4,174 cash on hand. HRCC pumped

\$20,000 into her campaign on Oct. 26 and Indiana Business for Responsive Government put in \$10,000. Campbell was slated in June, has raised \$78,952, spent \$66,023 and had \$12,928 ending balance. She is getting late money from Lawyers PAC of Indiana (\$2,500), the House Democratic Caucus (\$37,000), \$5,000 from Rep. Terri Austin, \$1,000 from Pierce for State Rep. With money spilling in from both parties, this looks to be a pure tossup. It is a district that Hillary Clinton carried in 2016. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

**HD33:** Open (Rep. Greg Beumer (R) is retiring). **Republican:** John Prescott. **Democrat:** Winchester Mayor Shon Byrum. **Libertarian:** Dale Arnett. **2016 results:** Beumer (R) 21,446. **Analysis:** Democrats think this race is in play, saying that Joe Donnelly carried the district in 2012. Prescott has raised \$53,396, spent \$41,172 and had \$16,762 ending balance. Mayor Byrum had raised \$28,759, spent \$25,599 and had an ending balance of \$8,226. Byrum lost to Rep. Beumer in 2014 with the incumbent getting 60%. We believe this stays in the GOP column. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Prescott.



**HD42:** **Republican:** Rep. Alan Morrison. **Democrat:** Evelyn Brown. **2016 Results:** Morrison 14,901, Skinner (D) 11,434. **Analysis:** Morrison benefited from the Donald Trump wave, defeating former state senator Timothy Skinner in a race that many believed would go down to the wire. This is heavy Trump country and Morrison's early polling looks good for his reelect. Morrison has raised \$50,198, spent \$29,082 and had an ending balance of \$23,966. He is not receiving late contributions. Brown has raised \$54,868, spent \$37,753 and had an ending balance of \$17,115, but is not receiving late money. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Morrison.

**HD43:** Open (Rep. Clyde Kersey (D) retiring). **Republican:** Darrell Felling. **Democrat:** Tonya Pfaff. **2016 results:** Kersey 16,454. **Analysis:** This is a Democratic-leaning open seat. Pfaff is the daughter of Fred Nation, former press secretary to Gov. Evan Bayh and a former Terre Haute mayoral nominee. She has raised \$24,083, spent \$18,839 and had \$21,165 ending balance. Felling, the Terre Haute city attorney, has raised under \$5,000 and had an ending balance of \$5,998. Looks like this one will stay in the D column. **Horse Race Status:** Safe Pfaff.



**HD45:** **Republican:** Rep. Bruce Borders. **Democrat:** Jim Exline. **2016 results:** Borders 19,193. **Analysis:** This seat has flipped back and forth and could

be competitive if Exline, who publishes the Sullivan Times, proves to be a strong first-time legislative candidate. Borders has raised just \$19,250 after reporting a beginning balance of \$14,536, has spent \$16,392 and reported an ending balance of \$17,394. He is not receiving late contributions. Exline has raised \$37,980, spent \$20,958 and had an ending balance of \$20,288. He received \$2,500 from I-PACE on Oct. 22. Republicans seem confident that "Elvis" will hold this House district where President Trump is very popular. "They love the president," our GOP source said. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Borders.

**HD59:** Open (Rep. Milo Smith (R) retiring). **Republican:** Ryan Lauer. **Democrat:** Dale Nowlin. **Libertarian:** Clyde Myers. **2016 results:** Smith 16,118, Pitman (D) 10,205. **Analysis:** Lauer is the former Bartholomew County Council president who challenged and lost to Rep. Smith in 2016. He won a six-way primary, topping Indiana Chamber-backed JoAnne Flohr, who raised a decent amount of late money. Lauer has raised \$42,280 on top of a beginning balance of \$11,754, has spent \$25,892 and reported an ending balance of \$18,142. Nowlin is a Columbus North HS teacher who defeated community activist Mary Kohen and has raised \$30,647, spent \$27,335 and reported \$4,298 ending balance. This is a Republican district, the home of Vice President Mike Pence, and should hold in the GOP column. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Lauer.

**HD62:** **Republican:** Rep. Jeff Ellington. **Democrat:** Amy Swain. **2016 Results:** Ellington 16,724, Lindsey (D) 11,589. **Analysis:** While John Gregg and



Joe Donnelly have carried this district, Republicans believe that Ellington will keep it in the GOP column with strong support from western Monroe County and in Greene County where President Trump

remains popular. Swain is a former Indian Creek Township official who voted to establish fire protection and EMT services and her husband is the Monroe County sheriff. She has raised \$50,530, spent \$21,910 and had an ending balance of \$28,419. Ellington has raised \$34,172, spent \$31,693 and had an ending balance of \$2,903. There has been no late money coming into this race. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Ellington.

**HD66:** **Democrat:** House Minority Leader Terry Goodin. **Republican:** Mike Bowling. **2016 Results:** Goodin 10,822, Shadday (R) 7,566. **Analysis:** This is a district that is trending Republican and President Trump won this district with 65%. Bowling is with the Clark County Sheriff Department and Republicans have placed a field manager in the district. The Goodin name is a popular political brand in this Scott and Jackson county district and Goodin's brother is running for Scott County sheriff, which should help him. Goodin has raised \$107,636 on top of a beginning balance of \$27,237. He has spent \$92,853 and

had an ending balance of \$42,020. Goodin received late money from I-PAC (\$1,500), Eli Lilly PAC (\$1,000), Wine & Spirits Distributors of Indiana PAC (\$1,500), and AFSCME (\$1,500). Bowling has raised just \$5,795, spent \$3,196 and had an ending balance of \$2,598. He has not received late funding. **Horse Race Status:** Safe Goodin.

**HD71:** Open (Rep. Steve Stemler (D) is retiring).

**Republican:** Matt Owen. **Democrat:** Dr. Rita Fleming.



**Libertarian:** Thomas Keister. **2016 results:** Stemler 18,728, Keister (L) 4,578. **Analysis:** Fleming has raised \$65,528, spent \$44,844 and had an ending balance of \$27,684. She received \$133,000 from the House Democrat

Caucus, \$1,000 from the Lawyers PAC, \$6,000 from Rep. Austin, and \$5,000 from Rep. Phil GiaQuinta. Owen won the primary with \$50,000 from the Indiana GOP and has raised \$76,842, spent \$83,343 and had an ending balance of \$4,402. HRCC pumped in \$17,000 on Oct. 29, so Republicans still believe this could be a pickup. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

**HD81:** **Republican:** Rep. Martin Carbaugh.

**Democrat:** Kyle R. Miller. **2016 results:** Carbaugh 13,925, Haddadd (D) 8,938. **Analysis:** This is a potential Democratic pickup. Carbaugh started the cycle with \$44,029, raised \$166,699, spent \$163,212 and had an ending balance of \$47,515. HRCC has put in \$28,354, another



\$10,000 from Indiana Business for Responsive Government, \$3,404 from Cherry Communications, \$1,000 from Selective Insurance, and \$2,599 from the Northeast PAC for Better Government. Miller has raised just \$22,301, spent \$20,090 and had an ending balance of \$2,331. Republicans are pouring a lot of late money into this race, so they are seeing some real vulnerability with Miller. President Trump campaigning in Fort Wayne on Election Eve should help Carbaugh. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

**HD88:** **Republican:** Speaker Brian Bosma.

**Democrat:** Poonam Gill. **2016 Results:** Bosma 24,550, Black (D) 13,059. **Analysis:** Bosma now faces a formal ethics complaint from a former House intern, the IndyStar is reporting today (See Page 21). Bosma began running ads Monday on broadcast TV. "We've balanced your budget and lowered your taxes," Bosma says in

the spot, adding that he helped raise education funding and "we've even built a long-term transportation plan." Bosma is facing Democrat Poonam Gill. The House Republican Campaign Committee began funneling more than \$20,000 in funds last week. Reports over the weekend are that HRCC was polling in HD88, though our sources there say Bosma's numbers are good. Pre-general election campaign finance reports show that Bosma had an ending balance of \$1.53 million. In contrast, Gill has raised \$129,389 and had an ending balance of \$74,914. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Bosma.

**HD89:** **Republican:** Rep. Cindy Kirchhofer.

**Democrat:** John F. Barnes. **2016 Results:** Kirchhofer 13,683, Burke (D) 11,367. **Analysis:** This is a rematch from 2010 when Kirchhofer upset Barnes, a social studies teacher. In 2012, Barnes unsuccessfully sought SD32. This Marion County district is competitive but is trending Democratic and Barnes has high name ID. Kirchhofer began running network TV ads in



early October (debuting on "Survivor"). Kirchhofer raised \$156,871, has spent \$194,445 and had an ending balance of \$14,281. HRCC has pumped in more than \$35,000 and Kirchhofer has received \$4,000 from various health-related PACs. Barnes has raised \$55,435, spent \$31,413 and had an ending balance of \$38,281, which suggests he will be advertising late. I-PACE has pumped in almost \$14,000 for Barnes in late funds. This has the potential of being a Democratic pickup. But President Trump's MAGA rally in Southport should help Kirchhofer. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Kirchhofer.

**HD90:** **Republican:** Rep. Mike Speedy. **Democrat:** Tim Jeffers.

**2016 results:** Speedy 19,019, Hollings (D) 9,515, McNaughton (L) 1,348. **Analysis:** This seat is a Republican stronghold, and Jeffers, who was the 1994 Democratic nominee for secretary of state, is Speedy's first credible general election challenger. Speedy has raised \$14,250, spent \$23,233 and had an ending balance of \$13,000 while receiving \$2,600 in late funding. Jeffers has

raised \$33,276, spent \$17,857 and had \$15,418 ending balance. We included this race as a "blue wave" outlier, but the lack of late money tells us Speedy is racing toward another term. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Speedy. ❖

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# The blue wave may be finally materializing

By **CHRIS SAUTTER**

WASHINGTON – Unforeseen events and dramatic moments can wreak havoc with political forecasts. Talk of a “blue wave” dominated discussions about the midterm elections until the Kavanaugh Supreme Court confirmation hearings woke up the Republican base. Suddenly House races that favored Democrats tightened and toss-up Senate races in red states began to trend toward the Republican candidate.



Now another series of unforeseen events is changing the dynamics. The package mail bombs sent by a Trump supporter to prominent Democrats followed by the massacre of eleven at a Pittsburgh synagogue have

changed the national conversation. President Trump’s favorability ratings dropped four points in a week back down to the low 40s. There is turmoil and ugliness in the country and Republicans are in control. Voters are again considering whether to elect Democrats as a check on the excesses of a divisive President and a supplicant Congress.

The inevitable question, then, is: Do Trump’s falling favorable numbers mark the return of the blue wave?

Four former U.S. House members gathered at a forum hosted last week by the National Archives in Washington, D.C. to discuss wave elections. Of the four former members participating — Jim Blanchard from the Watergate class of 1974, Marjorie Margolies of the “Year of the Woman” class of 1992, Tom Davis of the “Republican Revolution” class of 1994, and Ann Marie Buerkle of the huge Republican class of 2010 — only Blanchard sensed that he was part of a wave before the votes were counted. Margolies, who won an open seat in the Philadelphia suburbs by just 1,373 votes, remarked that she was completely surprised she even won.

**All four agreed that** a pick up of 35 or more seats in the House would constitute a wave, although they split on partisan lines in their predictions as to whether Democrats would take control at all. Blanchard, who was elected governor of Michigan in 1982, predicted a Democratic pick-up of 40 while Margolies predicted a margin of 50 seats.

Blanchard pointed to the LBJ landslide of 1964 as proof that wave elections can make a critical difference in the direction of the country. Landmark legislation including Medicare, Medicaid, the 1965 Voting Rights Act, the Higher Education Act, and the Freedom of Information Act were all made possible by the wave election of 1964 that gave Democrats a two-thirds majority in both the House and

Senate.

Among the notable freshman in that 1964 class was Indiana’s Lee Hamilton, one of the most respected and thoughtful members to have served in Congress. Hamilton has remarked that he too was surprised to have been a part of a wave when he defeated Republican incumbent Earl Wilson by a little more than 12,000 votes. Hamilton has added that the votes he cast that first year he served in 1965 were the most significant ones during his entire 34-year career in the House.

**Another beneficiary of an** election year wave was Phil Hayes of Evansville who defeated incumbent Roger Zion in the 1974 Watergate election that gave Democrats a net gain of 49 seats. In an interview, Hayes said he decided to run for Congress in early 1973 as the Watergate scandal began to bubble up and the Vietnam War continued to drag. “It was obvious that this (Watergate) was going to get bigger. But I also saw it as a personal opportunity.” At the time, Hayes served as a state Senator in an at-large district that represented 40% of the 8th district population. In addition, while in the Senate, Hayes had achieved a strong legislative record, becoming involved in several high profile reform issues of the time, including co-sponsoring passage Equal Rights Amendment in Indiana.

Hayes, like Michigan’s Jim Blanchard, said he felt relatively confident he would win in the fall of 1974 after President Gerald Ford pardoned the disgraced former President Richard Nixon. “Republicans were in denial,” he said. “They were certain they could get by because they were raising five times the money we (Democrats) were.” Hayes said he won 54% to 46% because of the culture at that time. “Money wasn’t really a factor,” he said. “Local TV news coverage was important then, which isn’t the case anymore. Newspaper endorsements carried weight.”

**Twenty-eight year** old David Evans, a public school teacher, spent only \$14,000 in knocking off incumbent 12-term incumbent William Bray in an Indianapolis area district in 1974. Evans, who had lost badly to Bray in 1972, decided immediately after losing that he would challenge Bray again. “That’s when I went full out and starting knocking on what would be 55,000 doors,” he said in an interview.

Evans said that the turning point in the campaign came three weeks before the election when the state Republican Party attacked him and his campaign for selling raffle tickets allegedly in violation of state law. The story ran on the front page of the Indianapolis Star and was covered on local television news. Evans rebuffed the attack by noting that congressional elections are governed by federal not state law. Evans said the story immediately boosted his name recognition, so much so that voters began calling out to him on the street, “Hey Dave, do you have any raffle tickets?” After the election, one Republican insider lamented that the GOP attack clearly backfired and cost them the seat. Evans garnered 52% to 48% for Bray, who had completely dismissed him as a serious challenger

throughout the campaign.

Nearly all Democratic candidates running in the 1960s and early 1970s were influenced by the idealism of John and Robert Kennedy. In early 1960, Lee Hamilton agreed to hold a fundraising event in Columbus for a presidential candidate he admits he had not even heard of Sen. John F. Kennedy. Ted Sorenson, Kennedy's speechwriter, later joked to Hamilton that his was the worst event of the entire 1960 campaign. Despite the fundraising debacle, Hamilton was inspired by the young president to run for Congress four years later.

**Dave Evans said JFK** was his inspiration as well. "It was my ambition since high school in Shoals to be both a school teacher and to serve in Congress," he said. Evans served four terms until the Republican controlled General Assembly gerrymandered him into a district with fellow Congressman Andy Jacobs. Jacobs would defeat Evans in the 1982 Democratic primary.

Reflecting on his motivation to run for office in the early 1970s, Phil Hayes pointed to Robert Kennedy's 1968 Indiana presidential campaign when Hayes served as RFK's Vanderburgh County coordinator. "Having a responsible position in a campaign like that was critical," he said. "Distributing petitions for Kennedy and managing

the campaign in southwest Indiana, I was put in a one-on-one position with voters. I got to know constituencies, including union leaders and union members who were very important at that time. Most of all, what I learned from Bobby Kennedy was not to be afraid in politics: don't be afraid to say and do what you believe."

**That lack of fear may** have contributed to Hayes' decision after just one term to challenge incumbent Democratic Senator Vance Hartke, whom many Democrats believed would be a drag on the ticket in 1976 "Hartke was already down by 20 points against Lugar when I decided to get in," Hayes said. "I lost the primary against Hartke by just 5,000 votes, winning every county but two—Marion and Lake. I might have actually won those as well," Hayes joked referring to their reputations at the time for manipulating election outcomes. Richard Lugar would defeat Hartke 59% to 40% in the 1976 general election.

Hoosier Democrats gained five seats in 1974, one of the largest pickups of any state in the country. That is not remotely likely this year as only a couple of districts are being seriously contested. Then again wave elections are called waves because they usually sweep into office candidates no one thought had a chance. ❖

## Unlikely the 2nd CD changes its color

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Let's look at the color of the counties, all 10 in Indiana's 2nd CD. In 2016, nine were red and one was blue. That combination gave the district a



deep red hue as Republican Congresswoman Jackie Walorski won big in reelection to her third term.

Only St. Joseph County was blue that night. And even so it was a very pale blue. Walorski darn near carried the largest and most Democratic county in the district. She also won big, very big, in 2014, with a similar color scheme across the district, nine red counties, one blue.

It will be a closer race this time, as Democrat Mel Hall, unlike her two prior Democratic challengers, has the resources and organization to threaten a possible upset of the entrenched incumbent.

**Walorski, realizing** the threat and responding to it, agreed to two televised debates this time — winning the first, losing the second — and has found it necessary to hit her opponent with negative TV ads to counter the positive image Hall established earlier in the race.

Could the district change its color? National analysts think it unlikely. But the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, which didn't waste resources on doomed Democratic challengers in the two prior elections, now designates the 2nd CD as part of its "Red to Blue" program. That's the effort to flip districts from Republican incumbents to Democratic challengers in the quest for control of the House.

**The designation may** have come on late, but it is significant. The DCCC doesn't spend a cent in a district, no matter how great the party's nominee seems personally, if there's no chance to win. Decisions are pragmatic, not sentimental. The candidates have polls, but they won't divulge results publicly. However, the Hall campaign provided results of its professional poll to the DCCC before the committee decided that Hall was close enough to merit priority consideration. If Hall is to win, he needs to do a lot of coloring. He must turn St. Joseph County from pale blue to bright blue, and turn the portions of LaPorte County and Starke County from red to blue. Elkhart County, which in 2016 provided Walorski with a plurality nearly 10 times the size of the Democratic margin in St. Joseph County, will nearly guarantee a Walorski win if it remains such a vivid shade of red. Hall needs both a blue tsunami in St. Joseph County and a way to hold back some of Elkhart County's crimson tide.

The other six counties, Fulton, Kosciusko, Marshall, Miami, Pulaski and Wabash, have been voting strongly Republican in congressional contests, just as Republicans envisioned in the Republican-controlled redistricting process. While some of these counties are

relatively small in population, each one of them provided a bigger Republican margin than the Democratic margin in St. Joseph County during the last election.

**It's highly unlikely** that Hall will carry any of these six counties. And he certainly won't carry Elkhart County. His hope in campaigning in those areas is to add a little blue coloring to turn some key areas a bit purple.

His plan relies on a lot of moving parts: Swing voter issues, especially health care; reaction to negative TV ads, which usually work; views on President Trump,

whether to empower or restrain him; and the Senate race, particularly whether Sen. Joe Donnelly runs strong in his former House district.

How the 10 counties are shaded, and whether those reds and blues are vivid or pale, will determine the color of Indiana's 2nd CD when the TV networks light up the map on election night. ❖

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

## What does tolerance cultivate in our society?

By **GURINDER SINGH KHALSA**

INDIANAPOLIS – The tragedy of last week's massacre at the Tree of Life Synagogue in the Squirrel Hill neighborhood of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania was a striking reminder of another intentional crime of hate delivered at the hands of one whose intent was to send a message of terror.



It is another headline which comes on the heels of two other hate-motivated attacks last week, with the murder of two African-American males in Kentucky and the delivery of 14 packages containing pipe bombs mailed by a confirmed white supremacist.

We have also witnessed a series of events which have unfolded over the years, including the murder of nine African-Americans during a prayer service at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charlestown, South Carolina, and the murder in Oak Creek, Wisconsin, where there were Sikh Americans who were in their own house of worship, a Sikh gurdwara, when another neo-Nazi gunman with white supremacist ties walked in and murdered six Sikh Americans and injured several more. Sadly, I am afraid we have become more callous and insensitive to such acts as these crimes continue to develop in our society.

**Hate, division, and apathy** are becoming all too common in our daily American mentality. Rarely does a day pass when we are not inundated with another breaking news headline, highlighting acts of fear and intimidation.

As I joined with hundreds of others from throughout central Indiana at a memorial service a few days ago, I witnessed people from all faiths and walks of life standing together with the Jewish community as we reached out in compassion and love toward our neighbor. Instead of allowing the crimes of hate to further divide us, we stood together as a community of "we."

As I joined with hundreds of others from throughout central Indiana at a memorial service a few days ago, I witnessed people from all faiths and walks of life standing together with the Jewish community as we reached out in compassion and love toward our neighbor. Instead of allowing the crimes of hate to further divide us, we stood together as a community of "we."

I came to America years ago because I sought the variables which have brought many others over the past centuries to this beautiful country. Those variables included several shared philosophies.

First, I looked for safety and security for my family, the freedom to worship and practice our faith freely. Second, we value the education and economic opportunities which abound in the United States unlike anywhere in the world. And, third, I wanted a place to live and raise my family in a culture of dignity and respect, no matter what your faith, ethnicity, gender, or other beliefs are.

**Celebrating diversity** and living out the practice that people matter are central to the values I share with many. I am an American by choice and I value this choice in how I stand for what makes us the greatest country. The daily headlines we see today are paving a dangerous path that will leave lasting imprints on American history and set examples that will reverberate into our future. This upcoming election will portray us in ways which will set us on a course of how we define ourselves as a country more than ever before. We need to seek to elect people who will lead us in cultivating compassion and love rather than stir up fear, hate, and intimidation.

As a civilized society, as human beings, we need to stand together above the indifference. Tolerance is no different than hatred. You cannot make progress only by choosing to tolerate those around you. Fear is the unknown. Allowing yourself to only be tolerant rather than loving, open-minded, and accepting towards those around you is allowing the fear and intolerance to control your life and actions.

From tolerance, you will not find love. Love is born from sharing, growing, and learning. Love is born from asking questions, being a leader, and having a voice for those who are not able to speak for themselves. Loving and respecting the differences of those around us is the first step toward making our world a better and more educated place.

We need to move from the mentality of "us vs. them" and instead, celebrate living as WE. A world that is tolerant remains stagnant and will deteriorate. A world that is loving will grow and become better every day. ❖

**Khalsa is chairman of the Sikhs Political Action Committee of Indiana.**



# Stability amid turmoil

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – Most folks think the Clarendon girls are twins. They are dressed alike by parents who insist neither Carla nor Clara should have an experience denied to the other.

"What in this world is important?" Carla asked. It was a strange, philosophical question for a 12-year-old. But I was ready.

"GDP," I answered without hesitation.

"You've surrendered to Mammon," Clara accused me.

"No!" Carla asserted. "He's just reciting the received dogma of his profession."

"Untrue," I responded. "Most economists know GDP (Gross Domestic Product) is only an approximation of the performance by the market economy satisfying the demands of the public."

"He's a corporate colluder," Clara snickered.

"No way," Carla giggled. "More likely he's a socialist sympathizer."

"Ladies," I pleaded, "GDP leaves out much that is of great value to society. We still have no agreed measure of that value. The work each of us does at home or voluntarily - coordinating, cleaning, cooking, and caring - is not included in GDP. But that does not invalidate what we do have."

"He wants to dictate how our economy should work," Clara said behind her hand.

"He's determined to undermine capitalism," Carla muttered to her sister.

"GDP figures are produced by Bureau of Economic Analysis quarterly, revised, corrected, and augmented frequently," I said. "They tell us how we're doing. They show the very different experiences of our 50 states."

"So how are we doing?" Clara challenged me.

"**Highly variable,**" I said calmly. "During the first half of the past 10 years (2007 to 2012), North Dakota, Alaska, and South Dakota were the top three leaders in GDP growth. But during the on-going expansion (2012 to 2017) the leaders were Washington, California, and Utah."

"Yet that doesn't begin to tell the story. The Great Recession ('07 to '10 depending on how you look at it) meant a state like Indiana climbed from 38th in growth rate to 19th by the end of the period."

"Yes," I continued, "Florida had the biggest bounce back, going from 49th in growth ('07-'12) to seventh ('12 to '17), contrasting with Alaska which went from second to 50th in growth."

"What use are all those numbers?" Carla asked none too politely.

"Well," I hesitated, "they are very interesting."

"Verry inte-rrres-ting," Clara mocked my imitation of Arte Johnson from Laugh-in. "What do they tell us?"

"They tell us," I declared, "that with all the turmoil of the past 10 years, the dramatic swings and surges that caused seasoned observers to declare they'd never seen anything like it before. After all that, 25 of our 50 states occupied exactly the same rank in GDP in 2017 as they did in 2007. The greatest shifts were four places up by Colorado and North Dakota and four places down by Arizona."

"Our nation has remarkable stability," I called after them as they left, the brats. ❖

**Mr. Marcus is an economist. Reach him at [mortonj-marcus@yahoo.com](mailto:mortonj-marcus@yahoo.com). Follow his views and those of John Guy on "Who gets what?" wherever podcasts are available.**



# Lake retirements are never final

By **RICH JAMES**

MERRILLVILLE – You can say one thing about Lake County Democratic elected officials – retirement is



never final. For instance, Lake Circuit Court Judge Lorenzo Arredondo, 77, stepped down from the bench 10 years ago only to run an unsuccessful campaign for attorney general two years ago. But he's back and is unopposed to become clerk of the Lake Circuit Court.

One can say much the same about Frances DuPey, 79, who retired a few years back as a county commissioner. She is back on the ballot running for St. John Township Board, which is controlled by Republicans, as a Democrat. She was a resident of North Township when serving as commissioner.

And speaking of longevity, U.S. Rep. Peter Visclosky is a lock to win a 13th term in the House of Representatives. He would become the longest serving congressman in the state of Indiana, surpassing Lee Hamilton and Ray J. Madden. Visclosky also sits near the top of the Appropriations Committee when it comes to seniority.

In terms of statewide races, there is a stronger Northwest Indiana presence.

Former East Chicago resident John Aguilera, a Democrat, who served on the Lake County Council and was a state representative, is running for state treasurer

against incumbent Republican Kelly Mitchell, a Valparaiso University graduate.

Valparaiso attorney Jim Harper, a Democrat, is challenging Republican Secretary of State Connie Lawson.

**Locally, Democrat** Lisa Beck is challenging Republican Rep. Julie Olthoff in the 19th District that previously was represented by Shelli VanDenburgh. The district in mid-Lake County is one of the most notable swing districts in the state.

For the first time ever, Democrats are enthused about having a chance in the Lake County Council 7th District race.

Republican Eldon Strong, the incumbent, was ousted in the primary by two votes by Christian Jorgensen.

Democrats feel they have a chance with Phillip Kuiper, a former Lowell town councilman.

In Porter County, the current and former county prosecutors are facing off. Incumbent Republican Brian Gensel is seeking a fourth term and is challenged by Democrat Gary Germann, who served as prosecutor for one term when he was elected in 1978.

Perhaps the most interesting race in LaPorte County is for county commissioner. Former Michigan City Mayor Shelia Brillson, a Democrat, is hoping to get back in elected office and is challenging incumbent Republican Connie Gramarossa, who was named to fill a commissioner vacancy in the spring. ❖

**Rich James has been writing about politics and government for almost 40 years. He is retired from the Post-Tribune, a newspaper born in Gary.**

## China is a poor, backward nation

By MICHAEL HICKS

MUNCIE – With both the United States and China doubling down on a trade war, and heated electoral rhetoric giving way to full fabrication, it's time to write a bit about China. Today and well into the future we should all understand some of the economic and security issues that form our relationship. To do so, we must also untangle some of the fabulist lies told about the Chinese economy.



I will begin with some bona fides on the topic. Most readers will know I am an economics professor, but for most of my life, I was also a soldier. From 2003 through 2009, I served as a reserve infantry lieutenant colonel

on the operations and planning staff of U.S. Army Japan and the U.N. command in Korea. I cannot say more than what should be obvious that both North Korea and China were much on our minds. It is worth noting that I squared off against Chinese tanks and faced fire from Chinese rockets in Iraq in 1991, so my experience is a bit different from that of a marginally informed citizen or detached academic. I am a fierce but realistic critic of China, but that isn't the same thing as fearing them.

**China may ultimately** prove a significant strategic threat to the United States. The nation is poorly led, and so wholly ensnared in the failed dogmas of Lenin and Mao that we must view it as a potential long-term adversary. The reason we must view them as a security concern is not that they are an economic dynamo, but rather

because their economy is so desperately bad and likely to remain so throughout this century.

China is a poor nation, which exaggerates its economic performance. By some measures, their GDP per capita is now at levels last seen in the U.S. before our civil war. I suspect conditions are a bit better, with standards of living more like ours at the turn of the 20th century. That is still bad, and means crowded, disease ridden, densely populated tenements, and factories like those described by Sinclair Lewis in "The Jungle," and lived by the victims of the infamous Triangle Shirtwaist Fire. Chinese workers die on the job at more than three times the rate of the developed world, if they are telling the truth.

**Like all Leninist-Maoist nations,** China can put on a show. Bright gleaming factories, cheerful workers and efficient transport systems are hallmarks of Chinese propaganda. To get these shiny factories, and raise their standard of living to that of late 19th century Europe, the Chinese have been crushingly authoritarian. Though they try to avoid any visible semblance to the Maoist debacles, they have purged entrepreneurial spirit and succumbed to the worse examples of central planning. In a nation living in cramped, multi-generation apartments, newly constructed cities capable of housing one million workers sit empty.

Their recent reforms have largely failed. For anyone who was a college student in the 1980s and early 1990s, Chinese graduate students were feared for their unequalled preparation. Only the top students from the world's most populous nation came here to study. Today, it is mostly the children of the party elite who fill American schools, and the change is obvious.

Let me say it plainly. China is a large, poorly led nation with a military that is decades away from the expertise of Saddam's army and an economy that is more than a century behind ours.

When you hear a politician telling you that China's economy is just a few years away from surpassing ours,

he is simply lying to you. No one living now will see the Chinese standard of living catch up to ours, and I would wager they won't equal America's current standard of living in the balance of this century.

**To be clear, China's weak** economic performance is not a good thing. In the short term, the U.S. and China share many common concerns, not least among them the special sort of crazy known as North Korea. We would be better off if they had a more robust capacity to deal with that problem.

Over the long run, continued poor economic performance likely increases rather than lessens the risk of conflict. A growing economy and a growing middle class are the most helpful antidotes to Chinese aggression in the decades to come. Any movement toward modernity in China will come from within. This won't be possible until its economy has made more gains.

Our challenges with China aren't easy, or primarily commercial. In fact, the Trans-Pacific Partnership was the ideal platform from which to challenge a China unconcerned with property rights and worker protections. Instead, we descended into an irrational and counterproductive trade war, which is precisely the wrong approach. It won't make us safer, wealthier or stronger. Perhaps the only good thing to say about it is that the unfolding economic disaster of tariffs will teach the current generation a lesson in the cost of trade wars. ❖

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

**Photography With Punch**

Mark Curry On Indiana Politics

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**Tim Swarens, IndyStar:** With Matt Tully's death, after a more than two-year battle with cancer, our community has lost a strong and passionate advocate for those whose needs are often overlooked, especially children. Matt's family, friends and colleagues have lost even more. We'll miss his ready smile and laugh. We'll miss conversations about his beloved Cubs and his devotion to Elvis. We'll miss seeing the obvious pride and love of a devoted father for his son. We'll also miss Matt's passion for his vocation. Matt Tully's call as a journalist was built on serving others. And on working tirelessly to make the nation, state and city he loved stronger. I had the honor of serving as Matt's editor for 12 years. Matt and I came from different backgrounds and perspectives. He was on the left politically and socially. I'm on the right. But we worked well together because Matt's devotion to pursuing fairness, justice and the truth was so obvious. I admired that devotion. ❖



**George Conway and Neal Katyal,**

**Washington Post:** Sometimes the Constitution's text is plain as day and bars what politicians seek to do. That's the case with President Trump's proposal to end "birthright citizenship" through an executive order. Such a move would be unconstitutional and would certainly be challenged. And the challengers would undoubtedly win. Trump has long argued that birthright citizenship for the children of parents not legally in the United States should be abolished. "It's ridiculous. And it has to end," he told Axios in an interview released Tuesday, in which he disclosed his plan for the unilateral action. But at its core, birthright citizenship is what our 14th Amendment is all about, bridging the Declaration of Independence's promise that "all men are created equal" with a constitutional commitment that all those born in the United States share in that equality. Birthright citizenship sprang from the ashes of the worst Supreme Court decision in U.S. history, *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, the 1857 decision that said that slaves, and the children of slaves, could not be citizens of the United States. The blood of hundreds of thousands of Americans was shed to repudiate that idea. Afterward, the drafters of the 14th Amendment declared in their very first sentence, "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States." The drafters were motivated by their utter revulsion toward slavery and a system that relegated people to subordinate political status because of their birth. They weren't thinking of, or concerned with, any exceptions to birthright citizenship other than the absolutely essential. And what they wrote was simple and clear. Both proponents and opponents of the language at the time knew exactly what it meant: Virtually anyone born in the United States is a citizen. In 1898, the Supreme Court affirmed just that: It held that the "Fourteenth amendment affirms the ancient and fundamental rule of citizenship by

birth within the territory" — "including all children here born of resident aliens." The exception? "Two classes of cases" in which the United States could not apply its laws to foreigners under historic Anglo-American legal principles: "children born of alien enemies in hostile occupation, and children of diplomatic representatives of a foreign state." ❖

**Tony Mecia, Weekly Standard:** Long before Donald Trump, birth tourism, and today's debate over birthright citizenship, there was a son of Chinese immigrants named Wong Kim Ark. And the story of Wong Kim Ark shows why many legal scholars think Trump probably won't succeed in his plans, revealed Tuesday, to end the practice of bestowing U.S. citizenship to babies born on U.S. soil. Ark's fight wound up being the basis of a little-known Supreme Court case that has an outsized effect on the debate over birthright citizenship. Ark's story starts in 1873, when he was born in San Francisco's Chinatown neighborhood to Chinese parents. His parents were permanent residents but not U.S. citizens. They were in the U.S. to work. By the late 1800s, with big waves of immigrants arriving in the U.S. from China, California and the federal government passed a series of laws discouraging Chinese immigration, which politicians and labor leaders blamed for low wages. That wound up being a problem for Ark. At age 21, he visited China. Upon his return by steamship a year later, port officials wouldn't let him enter. They said he wasn't a citizen and that the law forbade Chinese immigrants from entering the country. He sued. At issue, then as now, is this wording from the 14th Amendment: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." In a 6-2 decision, the Supreme Court in 1898 found that Ark was, indeed, a citizen and should be allowed in the country. It wasn't exactly a period of racial enlightenment, either: Just two years earlier, the court ruled in *Plessy v. Ferguson* that racially segregated public facilities were legal. But in reviewing Ark's case, *U.S. v. Wong Kim Ark*, the court examined the plain meaning of the 14th Amendment and its legislative history and found no basis to conclude that Ark wasn't a citizen: "To hold that the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution excludes from citizenship the children, born in the United States, of citizens or subjects of other countries would be to deny citizenship to thousands of persons of English, Scotch, Irish, German, or other European parentage who have always been considered and treated as citizens of the United States. ... Whatever considerations, in the absence of a controlling provision of the Constitution, might influence the legislative or the executive branch of the Government to decline to admit persons of the Chinese race to the status of citizens of the United States, there are none that can constrain or permit the judiciary to refuse to give full effect to the preemptory and explicit language of the Fourteenth Amendment." ❖

## Former intern seeks Bosma ethics probe

INDIANAPOLIS – A former Statehouse intern who says House Speaker Brian Bosma tried to silence her account of an alleged decades-old sexual encounter is urging a House ethics investigation, saying she worries other powerful male politicians may be encouraged to use similar tactics ([Indy-Star](#)). In a letter Wednesday from her attorney to ethics committee leaders, the former intern, Kandy Green, also calls for Bosma's handpicked ethics committee chairman, Rep. Greg Steuerwald, to recuse himself from any investigation or hearing. Bosma, who has denied the sexual encounter took place, responded Wednesday with a written statement suggesting that Green's efforts were politically motivated. The letter, coupled with a Democratic lawmaker's request last week for a public ethics hearing, puts Bosma and his fellow Republicans in a difficult position, just days before Tuesday's election. Bosma, a Republican and a heavy favorite, is facing political newcomer Poonam Gill.

Green says she never sought to share her story publicly, but when a reporter contacted her about the alleged incident last year, she told the truth. Shortly after that, according to the letter, she became aware that Bosma's attorney, Linda Pence, and her investigators were looking into Green's private life.

## Obama to rally for Donnelly on Sunday

GARY – Former President Barack Obama is holding a get-out-the-vote rally Sunday for U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly, D-Ind., and the other Hoosier Democratic candidates at the Genesis Center in Gary (Carden, [NWI Times](#)). Doors for the event will open at 12 p.m. Region time. Free tickets are required for entry. Each attendee must register for a ticket online at [INDems.org/Obama](#). The 44th president is expected to encourage Hoosiers attending the rally to vote on or before

Election Day, and to volunteer Tuesday to help bring voters to the polls in association with the Indiana Democratic Coordinated Campaign.

## Details of Trump Fort Wayne rally

FORT WAYNE – President Donald Trump's campaign rally remains on schedule Monday at Memorial Coliseum after discussions about possibly moving it to Fort Wayne International Airport, the Allen County Republican Party chairman said (Francisco, [Fort Wayne Journal Gazette](#)). The airport option "was immediately nixed" Wednesday morning after the advance team learned an available hangar could hold only a fraction of the 11,000 people expected at the Coliseum. Doors for Trump's rally for Republican candidates at the Coliseum will open to the public at 3:30 p.m., with the rally planned to begin at 6:30 p.m. Randy Brown, general manager of the Coliseum, said nearly 9,000 free tickets had been reserved through [www.donald-jtrump.com](#) as of 1 p.m. Wednesday.

## Donnelly walks back staff comment

INDIANAPOLIS – Sen. Joe Donnelly made a cringeworthy and puzzling statement about some minorities on his staff during a debate Tuesday night ([Washington Post](#)). To begin, here's a quick vocab refresher. The definition of the word "but," according to Google, is "to introduce something contrasting with what has already been mentioned." So it was strange when Donnelly, in what seemed like a genuine effort to compliment his aides, said this when asked how he would bring diversity into his staffing: "Our state director is Indian American, but he does an amazing job. Our director of all constituent services, she's African American, but she does an even more incredible job than you could ever imagine." Donnelly followed that

bizarre phrasing with a sentiment about inclusiveness and diversity. "It isn't their race or their religion. It's the incredible person that they are," he said. "But at the same time they have to have a chance, they have to have an opportunity, and that's my responsibility. And I've done it in every office I've had and I've done it in every campaign I've had because my campaigns and our Senate office should reflect the face of Indiana." In a statement to the Fix, Donnelly claimed a conjunction mix up, saying he "meant to say 'and' instead of 'but'."

## .School to honor Gov. Orr's legacy

EVANSVILLE – EVSC Foundation, in partnership with the Evansville Vanderburgh School Corporation, is taking the opportunity to honor the legacy and memory of former Indiana Governor Robert D. Orr by creating a state-of-the-art learning commons in the new McCutchanville Elementary School. The new north side elementary school is built near the location of where the Orr family lived for three generations. "Bob Orr believed that Indiana should strive toward broader horizons," said Randall T. Shepard, retired Chief Justice of Indiana and former Evansville resident and friend. "He viewed education as crucial to building a better future, and his work as our state's leader led him to be called the first 'education Governor.' Leading Evansville business men, Robert E. Griffin of Escalade; Robert Koch of Koch Enterprises; Honorable Chief Justice Randall Shepard; Dan Carwile of Old National Bank; along with Indianapolis business leaders John Hammond, partner Ice Miller, and Bob Grand, managing partner Barnes & Thornburg LLP, generously kicked-off this effort to honor Robert D. Orr and fully equip the commons.

