



HPI Horse Race: Braun/Donnelly tossup

Morning Consult
reelect numbers,
Donnelly appeals
reflect epic dogfight

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

NASHVILLE, Ind. – As Indiana Democrats gather for their biennial convention in Indianapolis Friday, the blunt force reality is that their hold on the only office voted on by all Hoosiers, the U.S. Senate seat, is now a tossup.

The Morning Consult "2018 Midterm

Wave Watcher" supplies some statistical gist: Donnelly's approve/disapprove stood at 41/34%, down from 43/30% in January. But the real heartburn for Democrats is that 44% said it's "time for

a new person" while 31% said Donnelly "deserves reelection."

The Donnelly campaign's fundraising appeals are



U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly (left) and Republican nominee Mike Braun are now in a tossup race. (HPI Photos by Mark Curry)



also fraught with angst. "We know our emails have been a little panicky lately, but we're not exaggerating when we say that Joe's chances of winning in November are no better than a coin flip," read one Team Donnelly fundraising appeal last week.

Another notes: "Here's the deal ... The pollsters are calling this race a toss-up, and that means we've got

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No arcane fights for Dems

By **SHAW FRIEDMAN**

LaPORTE – Despite some wishful recurring thinking from my brethren on the other side of the aisle about some kind of Bernie vs. Hillary battle for the soul of the Democratic Party supposedly playing out, real insights by those who know organizing Indiana political campaigns realize that's just not the case across much of Indiana.

Unlike Hoosier Republicans, who it appears spent a good deal of energy fighting this past weekend at their convention about competing platform planks and do seem to have some real philosophical splits playing out between social conservatives and the



"Just landed - a long trip, but everyone can now feel much safer than the day I took office. There is no longer a nuclear threat from North Korea."

*- President Trump,
tweeting after his summit
with Kim Jong Un*



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more moderate wing of the GOP, most Hoosier Democrats understand we're not in any position to have these arcane fights about who is sufficiently purist to pass any kind of label to be a Democrat.

With control of the White House, both houses of Congress, the governorship and the legislature in Republican hands, most Democrats I speak with around the state are ready to come to Indianapolis this upcoming weekend with a needed show of support for our newly minted state ticket and to go out from there working to make some gains both in the partisan makeup of the legislature and in picking up another seat or two in Congress.

Frankly, the enthusiasm building around 2nd Congressional District nominee Mel Hall (who won all 10 counties over his primary challengers) and Liz Watson in the 9th (who many believe will send Trey back to Tennessee) has been contagious. While there were some minor philosophical disputes that played out in both primaries between contenders, there was no bridge-burning that we saw that would poison one segment of the party against another. There are solid nominees for the party as well in places like the 3rd District – Courtney Tritch – who could break through if the wind is at our backs as many anticipate.

There seems to be a sense that having U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly at the top of our state ticket will be a big help to Democrats running not just for Congress and legislature but also for Democratic county candidates around the state. No matter how many times Republicans may chant, "Send Joe Home," most seasoned Republican operatives will confess over a beer that Joe Donnelly is one of the most experienced and hard-working campaigners they've ever seen. Always the "Happy Warrior" who seems to thoroughly enjoy and relish his time

on the campaign trail, he has thrived and flourished in his role as a U.S. senator, maintained a sense of decency and purpose advocating for Hoosiers, and cast common-sense votes that are squarely in the mainstream of Hoosier thinking. With the vitriol and nastiness that dominated the GOP Senate primary making it one of the most bitterly contested in the nation, that's not easy to paper over on the other side, and the recurring absence of Congressman Luke Messer at various party functions speaks volumes that indeed "all is not forgiven."

Democratic State Chairman John Zody is being widely praised for constructing a state ticket composed of Valparaiso attorney Jim Harper for secretary of state, former State Rep. John Aguilera of East Chicago for treasurer and Joselyn Whitticker of Marion for auditor. Harper comes from a family of lawyers in Porter County and seems articulate in espousing



Liz Watson (left) and Mel Hall

more open and increased voter access and participation. Aguilera served four years in the Indiana House and was a productive member of the Lake County Council. He's a former president of the Indiana Latino Institute. Ms. Whitticker is a small business owner and former school teacher and administrator. She's a branch leader for the NAACP and was elected to serve on the Marion city council.

Democrats know that to compete and win this year statewide, minor stylistic differences are going to have to be put aside and all segments will need to put their shoulders to the

wheel and advocate positions that resonate with hard-working Hoosier families.

That’s why I wouldn’t expect the kind of fight that Republicans witnessed at their state convention occurring this next weekend. Instead, I would anticipate Democrats taking a strong stand in defending the Affordable Care Act, on which there is agreement across all segments of the Democratic Party has been generally positive for Hoosiers and yet which Republicans keep trying to kill because it emerged under President Obama. Most alarming was the brief filed by the Trump-Pence Justice Department just days ago that seeks to kill of one of the most popular parts of the act, that of preserving insurance coverage for those with pre-existing conditions.

Despite the notable success of the Affordable Care Act in not only expanding Medicaid coverage to 400,000 needy Hoosiers, the ACA brought peace of mind to an estimated 1.5 million Hoosiers in the private insurance marketplace who feared being denied coverage because of pre-existing medical conditions like heart disease, cancer and diabetes.

Republicans campaigning in 2016 were aware of just how popular those guarantees were and Indiana GOP congressional candidates as well as the Trump/Pence ticket made numerous assurances to voters that even if they

were successful in repealing the ACA, they’d keep those protections. The lawsuit filed by Indiana Attorney General Curtis Hill and the position taken this past week in a legal brief by the Trump-led Justice Department have demonstrated how fleeting and illusory those promises were. (Hill represents the far right wing of his party and his extremism has butted up against the more moderate and consensus-building governor on several issues, whether they be needle exchange programs or CBD oil, showcasing the sharp differences that exist between the two factions that were on display this past weekend.)

Democrats know that protecting guarantees for Hoosiers that their pre-existing health conditions will not be used as a basis to deny insurance coverage, and fighting to preserve the ACA, are key mobilizing issues on which all Democrats – no matter where they fall on the spectrum – can agree. I anticipate a highly unified and energized group of Democrats leaving the Indiana Convention Center when all is said and done on Saturday afternoon. ❖

Shaw Friedman is a LaPorte attorney who is a former county Democratic chairman and who also served as legal counsel for the Indiana Democratic Party from 1999 to 2004.

Senate race, from page 1

an equally good chance of losing as we do of winning. I’ve heard that before, though. After all, no one thought we’d win in 2012.”

The “blue wave” that had been a double-digit advantage for Democrats until May, has turned into a “blue ripple,” as Republicans noted last week in Evansville. On Wednesday Rasmussen Reports puts the congressional generic at 44-40% favoring Democrats, Economist/YouGov has it 43/37% and PPP puts it at 46/40%. Interestingly, Fox News had the widest margin at 48/39% last Friday.

And there’s the emergence of Mike Braun as the GOP nominee. HPI always believed he was the GOP’s best-case scenario given the low congressional job approval that would have hounded Reps. Luke Messer and Todd Rokita. On Wednesday, PPP had it at 6% approve, 75% disapprove while Rasmussen had it at 13% approve. Braun is not only unhampered by the abysmal congressional approval, he will turn the tables, using it against Donnelly.

Part of our rationale for keeping the Senate race in a “Leans Donnelly” assessment is we wanted to watch

Braun’s first month as a nominee. He has avoided all the blunders that Richard Mourdock committed in 2012 when he alienated the Lugar wing of the party, as well as the incendiary rhetoric that prompted the National Republican Senatorial Committee to assign handlers and keep him out of joint appearances. Braun has financial resources. He’s already running his first statewide TV ad for the general

featuring his business and employees as an inoculation against Democratic attacks that have already been unleashed.

The Mike Braun we saw in Evansville was on message. While he did embrace the 2014/2016 platform language on

marriage, and Donnelly will likely attempt to use that against him, it will not be a determinate factor next fall. This election will be a referendum on President Trump, the economy, and how both the North Korean talks and Trump tariffs fare.

So HPI is reclassifying this race. Donnelly is a strong campaigner, many Republicans have been telling us they could vote for him. But many of those Republicans will return to the party if the Indiana seat is deemed the race that could determine control of the Senate. We don’t know whether a report from Special Counsel Robert Mueller will be damning on Trump and the GOP, and we don’t

We know our emails have been a little panicky lately, but we’re not exaggerating when we say that Joe’s chances of winning in November are no better than a coin flip. Here are 5 reasons why we’re worried:

know the impacts of the Trump tariffs. There are a number of scenarios where Donnelly could be reelected.

But this is going to be a pure dogfight, between two extremely credible and well-finance candidates. **HPI Horse Race:** Tossup.

Braun's first TV ad

Braun released his first television advertisement of the general election, titled "[Here at Home.](#)" The ad will air across the state. Filmed in his hometown of Jasper, the ad features Braun discussing Meyer and why it goes "the extra mile to protect its employees." Braun says in the ad, "Here at home, our business means jobs for neighbors. Better paychecks means stronger families and stronger communities. Our responsibility is to each other and Washington shirked its responsibility to us. You know, nothing changes and the politicians stay the same. It's time we change that. At Meyer, we create paychecks for families, provide excellent health care and nearly double the minimum wage. My employees are proud to call Meyer home because we treat them like family. Special interests, funded by Schumer's money and aligned with Donnelly, insult my employees when they smear Meyer. It's a disgrace, but it's what you come to expect from a career politician fighting for his political life."



Indiana Democrats convene

Hoosier Democrats convene for what will be their most critical election cycle since 2010 when U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh's bolt from the ticket began the party's descent into super minority status and, perhaps, since 1986 when a young Bayh emerged as the secretary of state nominee. Two years later, Bayh would end a generational Republican stranglehold on the Statehouse.

On Saturday, Democrats will nominate Jim Harper of Valparaiso for secretary of state, former East Chicago legislator John Aguilera for treasurer and former Marion City Council President Joselyn Whitticker for auditor. All will be distinct underdogs in their races against Secretary of State Connie Lawson, Treasurer Kelly Mitchell and Auditor Tera Klutz.

Former U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder will address the convention at 2:30 p.m. Saturday. Holder is chair of the National Democratic Redistricting Committee, a collaborative effort to end gerrymandering. "Indiana is ground zero for the fight to ensure fair elections and redistricting reform," Indiana Democratic Chairman John Zody said. "I know Hoosier Democrats will be excited to hear At-

torney General Holder's focus on ending gerrymandering." But that will hardly be a clarion issue for voters in the fall.

Democrats do have some positives going into this cycle. They recruited 103 General Assembly candidates, compared to 83 in 2014. There are three female congressional nominees and one, 9th CD nominee Liz Watson has a shot at winning, particularly if a Democrat wave develops. When HPI presented its initial House and Senate forecasts in May, most of the candidates had websites and Facebook pages, a departure from past cycles when a number of nominees had no online presence. Democrats have 52 female legislative candidates, up from 22 in 2014, and have 27 Millennial candidates, up from nine in 2014.

While Democrat insiders insist that this weekend is all about the 2018 mid-terms, the sub-plot will be who is likely to emerge for the 2020 gubernatorial race. Thus far, only 2012 and 2016 nominee John Gregg has been active on social media and stumping for candidates this year, though 2016 lieutenant governor nominee Christina Hale has been active on the county dinner circuit. South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg is preparing for a presidential run, having met with former President Barack Obama, who has reached out to nine potential contenders. Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott, Jr. did not respond to an HPI inquiry on whether he might seek the nomination. Other potential contenders would include Indianapolis Mayor Joe Hogsett and former Evansville mayor Jonathan Weinzapfel.

Earlier this year, Chairman Zody said that a serious 2020 gubernatorial nominee should be out stumping for mid-term candidates. Thus far, only Gregg and Hale are working that circuit.

Buttigieg getting married Saturday

South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg, a rising star in the Democratic party, will marry his partner Chasten Glezman on Saturday, as the city's LGBT Pride week comes to an end ([IndyStar](#)). The 36-year-old also will be notably missing from the Indiana Democratic Party State Convention, which is the same day in Indianapolis. The couple is getting married at The Cathedral of Saint James Episcopal church at 4 p.m. Saturday. The ceremony will be carried on the church's live stream. (Search "St. James South Bend" at youtube.com.)

Congress

4th CD: Baird attends White House signing

State Rep. Jim Baird (R-Greencastle) was at the White House Wednesday when a new VA bill was signed into law (Greencastle Banner-Graphic). President Donald Trump signed the VA Mission Act of 2018. Besides being the state representative for District 44, Baird is also the

Republican nominee to be the next U.S. congressman from Indiana's 4th District. In November, he will face off against Democrat Tobi Beck of Avon. **Horse Race Status:** Safe Baird.

8th CD: Tanoos calls for reefer legalization

William Tanoos, Democratic candidate for Congress in Indiana's 8th District, has come out in favor of the legalization of marijuana (Taylor, Terre Haute Tribune-Star). His opponent, incumbent U.S. Rep. Larry Bucshon, R-Newburgh, made it clear he remains opposed. Tanoos, a Terre Haute attorney, has stated his position in a video on his campaign website in which he expressed the belief the action would help fight the opioid crisis and provide a boost to Hoosier farmers. "Taxing and regulating [marijuana] is the safe and fiscally responsible thing to do," he added. "It will alleviate the burdens of our criminal justice system." Tanoos concluded the 30-second video, produced as a campaign commercial that also appears on YouTube, by saying legalizing marijuana could help a veteran and is "simply ... the right thing to do." In an interview this week, he called marijuana legalization "a matter of common sense policy." **HPI Horse Race:** Safe Bucshon.

9th CD: Hollingsworth mum on debating

Democrat Liz Watson's campaign is saying U.S. Rep. Trey Hollingsworth is ignoring its call for debates. "Back on May 23rd the Liz for Indiana campaign officially invited Trey Hollingsworth to debate Liz in all 13 counties," campaign manager Brian Peters told HPI. "We got a reply on June 1 saying the congressman was interested in debating, and that they would take a serious look at every invitation. We have sent the Hollingsworth campaign seven dates. We made sure the dates were on days where no votes are scheduled, and we have reached out to a few of you to partner up. My plan was to partner with local media to make sure the debates were fair to both campaigns. We have gotten zero responses. We will continue to reach out to his campaign because this election is important." **Horse Race Status:** Leans Hollingsworth.

General Assembly

HD26: Democrat emerges

State Democratic Party leaders on Tuesday called for a June 27 caucus to slate a vacancy in Indiana House District 26 in the November election, signaling that Chris Campbell of West Lafayette plans to run (Bangert, Lafayette Journal & Courier). Campbell will challenge first term Rep. Sally Siegrist. John Zody, chairman of the Indiana Democratic Party, said Campbell, a member of the West Lafayette Redevelopment Commission, would file her candidacy Wednesday. On Tuesday, Campbell removed her name as a candidate for the Wabash Township Board. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Siegrist.

Bray's pro tem margin was 27-14

Multiple sources have refuted a report that Sen. Rodric Bray defeated Sen. Travis Holdman by a single vote for the Senate president pro tempore position on May 14. A source told HPI after sine die that the margin was a single vote. But several informed and reliable sources say the final margin was 27-14. Senate President Pro Tempore David Long participated in the vote, which came even though there will be four new senators when the official vote occurs the day after the November election. Democrats will participate in that vote.

Local

Hermann, Levco clash in Vanderburgh

Stan Levco and Nick Hermann will trade stinging critiques of their respective tenures in the Vanderburgh County prosecutor's office as they battle for a third time to become the people's advocate in court (Langhorne, Evansville Courier & Press). That much was clear from Democrat Levco's brief announcement at the Old Courthouse that he will challenge Republican prosecutor Hermann this year, and from Hermann's response immediately afterward. The men are longtime antagonists. Hermann unsuccessfully challenged Levco when the latter was in office in 2006. In 2010, he succeeded in ousting Levco. Now, after several years as a statewide special prosecutor, Levco is the one challenging Hermann. He took to that task with a whoop and a holler Thursday, calling Hermann incompetent, ineffective and a self-promoter. "One thing I believe Mr. Hermann has done well is to promote himself. He's buried the ineffectiveness of his office in commercials, publicity efforts and We Tip promotions. It doesn't matter how many tips he gets if he can't convict," Levco said. "... I will devote my efforts to effective prosecution, not self-promotion." Shortly afterward in his office, Hermann said voters rejected Levco in 2010 because the Democrat wasn't aggressive enough in charging decisions and at trial. "The reason I left his office (as a deputy prosecutor in 2004) was, I had a big case, something I had been working on, and it was taken in and pleaded without my knowledge, without the case file, by another attorney the day before we were supposed to go to trial. I was reading about it in the paper," Hermann said.

Mayor: Valparaiso councilwoman running

With a platform of making Valparaiso more welcome to all, City Councilwoman Deb Porter announced her candidacy for mayor Monday evening on the steps of City Hall (Lavalley, Post-Tribune). Introduced by fellow Councilwoman Diana Reed, D-1st, and surrounded by about three dozen supporters, including members of the Portage City Council, Porter pledged to increase accessibility throughout the city for people seeking affordable housing and those with disabilities, as well as tackling the community's ongoing opioid epidemic and making city government more responsive.

Mayor: Jensen declares in Noblesville

Chris Jensen, a life-long Noblesville resident, officially announced his candidacy for mayor of Noblesville.



Jensen made this special announcement to a group of supporters which included guest speakers State Sen. Luke Kenley and State Rep. Kathy Richardson at BlueSky Technology Partners. "Our city is growing and is facing new opportunities and challenges. I believe I am the right person to lead our city into its next chapter," said Jensen. Currently, Jensen is the Noblesville Common Council President, and has served on the finance, parks, economic development and roads committees over the last two years.

As mayor, Jensen would bring transparency and a fresh vision. His background in the public and private sectors, working closely with government entities, have played a strong role in his decision to run for mayor. Prior to his current role as a client service manager for Lochmueller Group, Jensen served many years in the office of former Lt. Governor Becky Skillman as special assistant and director of intergovernmental affairs. Jensen was also executive director of the 2016 Indiana Bicentennial Commission.

National

Sen. Young eyes NRSC helm

Sen. Todd Young, a freshman senator from a battleground state, is talking to colleagues about becoming the next chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, according to Republican sources (The Hill). Young helped Republicans keep their majority two years ago by defeating former Democratic Sen. Evan Bayh, who was the heavy favorite initially, to win election to the Senate in the 2016 cycle. Bayh had an early 20-point lead in the race as well as more than \$9 million in his campaign account from his previous time in the Senate. Young defied early predictions by defeating Bayh by 10 points, 52 percent to 42%. "There are a lot of members who really like the idea of him doing it. He's the giant-killer, he knocked off Evan Bayh when nobody thought he could do it with less money," said a GOP source.

Pence raises \$3.2M

Vice President Mike Pence and House Majority Leader Kevin McCarthy raised \$3.2 million last night in their "Protect The House" program. Protect the House is a committee designed to help vulnerable House Republicans.



Trump's mission accomplished

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

NASHVILLE, Ind. – Some how, some way in the curiously twisted mind of President Donald J. Trump, Canada is deserving of disrespect, derision and PM Justin Trudeau has a "special place in hell" awaiting him.



And Kim Jong Un is to be trusted. "He trusts me and I trust him,"

Trump told ABC's George Stephanopoulos. This comes after decades of North Korean deception, lies, brutality and evasions. This is the same Kim who ordered the murders of his deputy premier for education (by firing squad), Gen. Hyon Yong-chol (executed by an anti-aircraft gun), his brother Kim Jong-nam (assassinated in a Malaysian airport) and uncle

Jang Song-thaek (killed by anti-aircraft gun and incinerated by flamethrowers) while 120,000 endure torture and hard labor in four political prisons.

Trump also trusts Russian President Vladimir Putin, who has been implicated in the murders of dozens of political opponents and journalists, annexed Crimea, invaded Ukraine while shooting down a commercial airliner and runs a kleptocracy. Oh, and Putin orchestrated the meddling in the 2016 U.S. election.

New York Times columnist Thomas Friedman observes, "Trump just picked a fight with our closest NATO allies, including Canada's Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, whom Trump's team said 'stabbed us in the back' after Trudeau's mild-mannered defense of his own country's trade policy on dairy imports. This after Trump has had nary a word of censure for Russia's President Vladimir Putin, who stabbed us in the chest with the biggest cyberattack on our democracy ever."

Trump had his Bush43 "mission accomplished" moment when he tweeted, "Everyone can now feel much safer than the day I took office. There is no longer a nuclear threat from North Korea." After just one meeting!

Just like "mission accomplished" came back to haunt Bush by the 2006 mid-terms when the Iraq insurgency went haywire, Trump has set himself up for embarrassment if Kim follows the model of his father and grandfather. The Trump campaign declared, "History will demonstrate that the historic summit ... was an end product of President Trump's bold and vigilant leadership."

The Weekly Standard's Stephen Hayes observes, "We can all hope that history records the summit this way. But the certitude in the Trump campaign statement, like the cocky assurances from the president himself, ignores the recent history of negotiations with North Korea. And another failure, with the president having staked so much of his credibility and that of the United States, could be catastrophic." ❖

That wild 1968 Indiana Democrat convention

By **TREVOR FOUGHTY**

EVANSVILLE – For political junkies, it’s the 1968 Indiana Republican Convention that best exemplifies a sort of golden age for state convention floor fights. The gubernatorial battle on the GOP side that year is well-remembered because it was a hotly contested race between the sitting secretary of state (Edgar Whitcomb) and the sitting speaker of the Indiana House (Otis Bowen), both of whom would eventually become beloved governors (less well-remembered is that future U.S. Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz was a third candidate in that race).



It’s also remembered because it marked a sort of statewide coming out party for Keith Bulen, who helped engineer a coalition of large county delegations that backed a successful slate of candidates led by Whitcomb. Bulen had made a name for himself in Indianapolis after winning election as a state representative in 1960, wresting control of the Marion County party from the iron grip of Dale Brown in 1964, and orchestrating a mayoral victory for an untested young candidate named Dick Lugar in 1967, but his sights were set much higher. The 1968 convention would end with Bulen being named the Republican national committeeman from Indiana, which in turn would build his profile nationally and place him in the orbit of Presidents Nixon and Reagan. The 1968 Republican race for governor stands out as much for its place in the significant Bulen mythology that would build over the subsequent three decades as it does for any candidates involved.

But while most people might best recall the Republican convention, it wasn’t as dramatic as most think. Whitcomb won on the first ballot with 1,260 votes, with Bowen and Butz finishing well behind with 527 and 429 votes, respectively. In truth, it was actually the 1968 Indiana Democratic Party convention that produced a floor fight to be remembered, both because it featured a colossal upset and because it ended with what’s probably the narrowest margin of victory ever seen in a state convention.

That race featured a matchup between heavy favorite Dick Bodine, who was



House Minority Leader Dick Bodine (left) and Lt. Gov. Robert Rock riding donkeys at the Indiana State Fair.

then minority leader in the Indiana House (and had been speaker just two years prior), and sitting Lt. Gov. Robert Rock. While serving as speaker in 1965, Bodine had attracted the support of Indiana Democratic Party Chairman Gordon St. Angelo, who deemed Bodine a better successor to popular Democratic governor Roger Branigin than Rock. For the next three years, St. Angelo and other Democratic officials effectively put the full weight of the state committee behind Bodine, even going so far as to endorse a slate of candidates headed by Bodine in the days leading up to the convention.

Given this longstanding establishment support, coupled with Bodine’s high profile as a House speaker, it was easy to see Rock’s candidacy as the quixotic efforts of a jilted lieutenant governor. But what was expected to be a relatively easy victory for Bodine at the June 21 convention ended up shocking the Hoosier political world when Rock narrowly edged Bodine 953-951 for a two-vote victory. Adding insult to injury, 28 delegates failed to vote at all, with most of them coming from the Lake County delegation that favored Bodine.

In one apocryphal accounting of how such an upset could occur (oft-repeated amongst Democrats and published in a 2002 edition of Howey Politics Indiana) 23 Lake County delegates were so confident in Bodine’s victory that they skipped out on the convention to hang out at the hotel pool. While such a version of events makes for a good story, it’s tough to verify. Newspaper coverage of the convention noted the missing delegates but didn’t speak to where they might have been. Additionally, neither campaign pointed to the missing delegates at all in their



post-race analysis.

More importantly, though, the “swimmin’ delegates” theory fails to address why such a presumptive favorite ended up in such a close contest. Fortunately, that answer is easier to verify; according to lieutenant governor nominee James Beatty at a press conference after the event, “It was obviously more of a vote against Gordon than against Dick.” Many delegates were apparently bothered that the state chairman would endorse a slate of candidates and try to force his will on the convention, so they turned the gubernatorial race into a bit of a protest vote.

Also, news reports surfaced just days prior to the convention that alleged St. Angelo had cut a deal with the Marion County party. In exchange for getting the Marion County delegates to vote as a bloc for the slate, the state party would forgive tens of thousands of dollars in outstanding assessment fees the local party owed. And, just for good measure, St. Angelo also put the Marion County chairman, Beatty, on the slate for lieutenant governor. While St. Angelo and Beatty both denied any such deal existed, the reports created backlash in two ways: First, out-state delegates resented Marion County getting a special deal on paying hefty assessments; and second, after Beatty failed in his attempt to cast the Marion County votes as a bloc, many of “his” delegates revolted against being told how to vote. The Marion County impact hit especially hard. While Bodine was expected to carry most of the delegation, the final tally showed more than a third of the 262 votes going for Rock.

While the delegates bristled against St. Angelo’s heavy-handedness on the state races, it was his handling of the presidential race that caused the most backlash. St. Angelo was close to Lyndon Johnson’s White House and he hoped to play a critical role in nominating Vice President Hubert Humphrey at the national convention once Johnson declined to run for reelection. But Humphrey wasn’t yet an announced candidate when Robert Kennedy entered the race and made Indiana the first state in which he would be on the primary ballot. In an effort both to deny Indiana’s delegates to Kennedy and to promote Branigin as a potential vice presidential pick, St. Angelo convinced Branigin to run for president in the Indiana primary as a “favorite son” candidate.

While this plan failed when Kennedy won the primary and Branigin, widely seen as a Humphrey stand-in—only garnered about 3% of the vote, RFK’s assassination a month later



Longtime Democratic Chairman Gordon St. Angelo.

essentially freed the Kennedy delegates. Two weeks later, supporters of Eugene McCarthy, the runner-up and only other serious candidate in the Indiana primary, flooded into Indianapolis to demand the convention send McCarthy-aligned delegates to the national convention in Chicago instead of Humphrey-aligned delegates.

Despite demonstrations and protests both inside and outside the convention hall that would foreshadow the riots to come in Chicago that August, at one point a group of McCarthy supporters violently stormed the stage in an attempt to take control of the convention. St. Angelo manipulated the convention to ensure the vast majority of delegates would be Humphrey loyalists. While St. Angelo would make a point of saying he would give the McCarthy forces four or five delegates, that gesture was seen as hollow and the McCarthyites were set on making him pay. They would exact their revenge on Bodine, with McCarthy’s Indiana spokesman taking credit for Rock’s victory once the convention ended.

Though bruised, neither St. Angelo nor Bodine was beaten. St. Angelo would spend the rest of the year as co-campaign manager for Humphrey’s campaign and help him secure the nomination. He continued to serve as the state chair until 1974 and ended his 10-year tenure as the longest serving chair in state history. Bodine wasn’t a candidate for the state legislature in 1968 because of his gubernatorial bid, but he won back his seat in 1970 and was immediately re-installed as minority leader.

Rock would lose to Whitcomb in November, Bowen would succeed Whitcomb, and Bulen would help ensure that Republicans would hold the governor’s office for 20 years straight. As a result, popular history has mostly forgotten about the Democratic convention of that year and made the Republican convention more monumental in hindsight. Whether you prefer the hotel pool or the convention floor, if you’re a political junkie then the Democratic convention had most of the action. ❖

Foughty is an Indiana University employee and blogs at CapitolandWashington.com.



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Highlights from the GOP convention

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

EVANSVILLE – Indiana's Republican Convention was a streamlined event that accentuated its "Party of Purpose" slogan. For the second consecutive mid-term cycle, it nominated an all-female statewide ticket.

U.S. Senate nominee Mike Braun traced his business roots from Wabash College, Harvard Business School and back home again to Jasper and was lauded by Gov. Eric Holcomb, and GOP Chairs Kyle Hupfer and Ronna McDaniel.

Party leaders paid homage to President Trump and Vice President Pence, with McDaniel asserting, "He's improved our standing as a global leader by pulling out of Syria and ending the Iran deal" at the very time Trump was lashing out at Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and bolting from the G-7 communique.

But it wasn't all smooth sailing. Holcomb and Hupfer tried to engineer a new "Strong Families" plank that recognized single parents, grandparents and non-traditional parents (i.e., gays) that was vociferously opposed by the GOP's obviously dominant social-conservative wing. A voice vote on the convention floor wasn't even close as the delegates upheld Pence-era language on marriage between a man and woman.

Same-sex marriage has been legal in Indiana and the U.S. for four years. There was speculation that Holcomb sought the nuanced change while Indianapolis is in the running for the Amazon HQ2. So, the impact could be negligible and confined to several news cycles, or it could be profound if Amazon opts for a more liberal to moderate region. If that story line were to emerge, it could have broader political ramifications.

Here are convention highlights:

Braun cites his roots

GOP Senate nominee Mike Braun vowed to retire U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly when he addressed the Indiana Republican Convention Saturday morning. Braun called the tax reforms passed last December the "signature piece of legislation" of this generation. He noted that Donnelly voted against the reforms. Donnelly has insisted that the reforms favored the rich over middle-class Hoosiers.

"Joe Donnelly will vote with Nancy Pelosi and Chuck Schumer," said the Jasper businessman who won an

intense primary in May. "You can count on me. I'm going there for the right reasons, not for the perks and pay. I'll get a raise if I go to the U.S. Senate. Let the Democrats chew on that one. You'll be proud of me when I retire Joe Donnelly." Delegates began chanting, "Send Joe home! Send Joe home!"

Off in the wings as Braun spoke was U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita, one of two congressmen he defeated in the primary. U.S. Rep. Luke Messer was not on hand, thus denying the unity optic.

Braun recounted growing up in Jasper, graduating from Wabash College and Harvard Business School, then returning home to go into business. He called Jasper a city "where the schools are great and you really don't lock your



Gov. Holcomb and Chairman Hupfer laud the Republican ticket of Kelly Mitchell, Tera Klutz, Connie Lawson and Mike Braun. (HPI Photos by Mark Curry)

doors. It was the smartest thing we ever did. I avoided Wall Street and big corporations. I was hired at a company and the guy said, 'You stick around and you'll run it some day.' In 1981, Braun bought a flagging company housed in a building built in 1937. His office was in a mobile home outside "and we kept our records in a bathtub." That business was doing \$26 million a year when he bought it, and now it turns \$2.7 billion annually. Braun added, "We've got to undo one of the biggest boondoggles in government, which is Obamacare, but we have to have a plan to replace it."

Strong families plank

Party moderates attempted to change the plan reflecting more family combinations, including single parents, grandparents and gay couples. By an emphatic voice vote, the social conservatives easily prevailed. Holcomb said on Thursday, "The Indiana Republican Party is big and diverse, with many different perspectives on issues we all care about. The debate over the past week regarding this year's party platform only reinforces that fact. Ultimately, though, the process of adopting a platform will end the way it always ends, with the delegates who attend and

participate making the final decision.”

Permanent Chairman Ed Simcox allowed only two advocates on the two proposed planks to have a minute and 15 seconds to present their case.

Porter County Chairman Mike Simpson told the convention, “There are many strong families not centered on a man and woman,” citing “grandparents, single parents.” He called the first option “more inclusive, by not ignoring any family, without the exclusion of man and woman. We can continue to litigate this issue convention after convention or we can stand up for this ideal.” But Morgan County Chairman Daniel Elliott said of the 2016 version, “The 2016 strong families language supports strong families, as man and woman, as well as single parents, loving adults. Most families are headed by married couples. This language has been vetted by 2016 and 2014 delegates. It is an important part of who we are.”

The social conservatives’ Victory Committee rallied to a packed conference room Friday night, drawing Senate nominee Mike Braun, Attorney General Curtis Hill and U.S. Reps. Todd Rokita and Jim Banks.

The voice vote was overwhelmingly for the 2014 and 2016 language, which reads: “We believe, in strong families. We believe that strong families, based on marriage between a man and a woman, are the foundation of society. We also recognize that some families are much more diverse and we support the blended families, grandparents, guardians, single parents and loving adults who successfully raise and nurture children to reach their full potential every day.”

Indiana Democrats said that Holcomb and Hupfer were “out-muscled” by the conservative advocacy groups. “Holcomb’s hand-picked party chairman had earlier maneuvered to remove the language but was outflanked by hardline Republicans including Rep. Mike Braun, Attorney General Curtis Hill and Speaker Brian Bosma,” the party said. Indiana Democratic Chairman John Zody said he was surprised the first-term governor ceded his role as leader of the Party so easily. “He’s either unwilling or was out-muscled, but at a critical moment to lead his party, Gov. Holcomb stepped back.”

Another all-female statewide ticket

Republican delegates officially christened its second consecutive mid-term slate of female statewide candidates. Chairman Hupfer said, “We are lucky this weekend to be making Hoosier history in two different ways. First, we are hosting our convention in Evansville for the very first time – only the second time it’s ever been held outside of Indianapolis. But, more importantly, we are nomi-

nating for a second time an all-female statewide ticket. We did this four years ago, too, but the ticket looked just a little different then. It still had Connie Lawson and Kelly Mitchell, but instead of Tera Klutz, there was Suzanne Crouch. And she’s turned out all right, hasn’t she?”

All three statewide candidates were unopposed and unanimously confirmed. Lawson will face Democrat Jim Harper of Valparaiso. Mitchell will be opposed by former legislator John Aguilera of East Chicago while Klutz will face Democrat former Marion Council President Joselyn Whitticker.

Lawson said of the state culling voter lists, “Some



The Brauns along with Attorney General Curtis Hill and attorney Jim Bopp Jr., at Friday night’s rally supporting the 2014/2016 family plank.

Democrats are attacking me, saying we are suppressing the vote. Not one single person has come forward to say they were removed improperly. Every eligible citizen who takes on responsibility deserves to have that vote counted, counted accurately and not have it diminished by fraud. We won’t stop. Every vote matters and I need your help.” Permanent convention Chairman Ed Simcox said, “She is one of the best secretary of states ever to serve. Maybe the best.”

Tera Klutz’s convention video, revealing an over-caffeinated CPA startling Hoosiers with her sheer enthusiasm, was one of the best we’ve seen in recent years. And

Treasurer Mitchell recounted her family’s circus history, telling delegates that a forward flip on the high-wire is harder than a back flip. “I come from a family that owns circuses,” she told delegates. “My grandfather was one of five men in the country that could do a back and a front flip on the high-wire. Do you know that the front flip is harder? Do you know why? You can’t see where your feet are going. Well I can tell you, and



anyone in here who has run for office can tell you, running for office is a front flip.”

Holcomb’s convention as governor

“I’ve stood before this convention many times before obviously wearing many hats. Never have I been as excited as standing before you as governor,” said Gov. Holcomb, addressing the GOP convention for the first time as Indiana’s chief executive. He was lieutenant governor in 2016 when he was nominated along with Gov. Mike Pence, who then was chosen by Donald Trump for the national ticket. Holcomb said, “This has never been a more exciting time to be a Hoosier. We are rowing in the same direction. That’s why we are all here. We know what it’s going to take if we’re going to take Indiana to the next level.”



for the first time since removing himself for consideration for the gubernatorial nomination in July 2016 after Gov. Mike Pence withdrew to accept the vice-presidential nod. Prior to Pence’s withdrawal, Bosma would have been considered a strong contender in a Republican primary in 2020, given his fundraising prowess and his statewide network of 70 House members. But the 2016 nomination was decided by

the Republican Central Committee, where Bosma and Senate President David Long had ruffled enough members that his candidacy and quest for 12 votes was a non-starter.

Bosma compared the pre-Mitch Daniels era of Indiana in 2004 to the present, noting that the state was tops in bankruptcies and had a combined “deficit of \$1.3 billion.” Bosma said the state’s business climate is “best in the Midwest and fifth in the nation. We’re second in the nation in increase in software jobs, second in the nation in the small business index.” He cited Forbes magazine’s designation of Indianapolis as tops for technology jobs. “We are the only state in the nation with a fully funded 20-year construction plan without debt on ourselves or our children,” Bosma said. And he cited U.S. News & World Report that “says we’ve got the best state government in the nation. You have to have strong majorities and super

Hupfer boasts of party finances

Chairman Hupfer made this astonishing claim while introducing Chairwoman McDaniel: “The Democratic National Committee has less cash on hand net than our Indiana Republican Party.”

Bosma’s assessment

Speaker Brian Bosma addressed the convention

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majorities in the House and Senate to make this happen," Bosma said as delegates roared with approval.

John Hostettler's impact on the GOP

We didn't see former congressman John Hostettler in Evansville last weekend, but his impact on the Indiana GOP has been profound. It includes Gov. Holcomb, U.S. Rep. Jim Banks, financier Jeff Knight, Curt Smith of the Indiana Family Institute, Evansville Deputy Mayor Steve Shaefer, Gibson County Prosecutor Rob Krieg, State Rep. Thomas Washburne, Evansville attorney and HPI columnist Joshua Claybourn, and Chris Crabtree, current aide to Banks and former aide to Gov. Mike Pence.

The Sikhs debut

The recent Indiana Republican State Convention holds the distinction of having the first two delegates from the Hoosier Sikh community. SikhsPAC Chairman Gurinder Singh Khalsa and his wife, Gagandeep Kaur, represented the Sikh community throughout the event. "As Sikhs, we believe passionately in the importance of serving our community and our fellow citizens," said Khalsa. "Gagandeep and I were honored to be the first representatives of Hoosier Sikhs to participate in this important event, and we know that being active in politics and government is



a positive, productive way to give back to the United States and to protect our great democracy. We're also pleased to help the GOP expand its reach as far as diversity and inclusiveness, which is necessary in today's world." Khalsa emphasized the Sikh community's focus on improving Indiana through hard work

and dedicated action. "We are Hoosiers. We're committed to making this state a better place to live, to work, and to raise families. We do this with open, honest hearts and a commitment to the well-being of our neighbors," he said.

Evansville shines

The convention was a splendid showcase for Evansville Mayor Lloyd Winnecke and his right-hand man, Deputy Mayor Steve Schaefer. Aarazu on Main had terrific Mediterranean cuisine. The breakfast at Comfort by Cross-eyed Cricket was excellent and we ended our stay at the riverfront pub by USS LST 325 as gales lashed and white caps stormed across the Ohio River. The Ford Center is a true gem, the city is looking good and by the time the new Hyatt Hotel and the medical campus are complete, Evansville is poised to be a fabulous regional hub and the pride of Indiana. As we expected, all the folks we met in Evansville gave us a tremendous dose of Hoosier Hospitality. We can't wait to come back! ❖

RNC Chair McDaniel takes aim at Donnelly

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

EVANSVILLE – Republican National Committee Chairwoman Ronna McDaniel sought to energize Hoosier Republicans in Evansville Saturday morning. At one point



she urged delegates to reach for their smartphones. "We can use your help: Go to GOP.com and volunteer. If you have a phone, get it out, text RNC80810. This will be a great way for us to energize you and this is how we'll elect Mike

Braun."

McDaniel, niece of 2012 Republican presidential nominee Mitt Romney, told delegates she came up through the precinct ranks to chair the Michigan GOP. Michigan, along with Wisconsin and Pennsylvania, turned out to be pivotal as the so-called "blue wall" cracked in 2016, giving the presidency to Donald Trump in stunning fashion.

She called this November's election "historic" saying, "All the gains we've made can be erased. We have our work cut out for us to make sure Nancy Pelosi doesn't become speaker. Our first order of business is to send Mike Braun to the Senate. Our president needs more help. It's time to send Joe Donnelly home."

She added, "Donnelly was rated the least effective Democrat. He has not passed a single bill. He says he's pro-life, but then sends money to Planned Parenthood. Mike Braun does not out-source jobs to Mexico. Mike Braun supports President Trump's tax cuts while Donnelly opposed the tax cuts."

"Mike Braun is ready to fight for you in Washington and President Trump needs him in Washington," the former Michigan Republican chair said.

She told delegates, "I wake up every day thinking, I am so glad Hillary Clinton is not our president. And



I have a second thought, I am so glad Donald J. Trump is our president. We celebrated his first 500 days in office and a lot has happened to make our country greater."

She ticked off a list of accomplishments: A strong military, "he's taking care of our veterans, that's why he passed the

Veteran's Accountability Act. He's improved our standing as a global leader by pulling out of Syria and ending the Iran deal. Our economy has been kicked started with three million new jobs. GDP is up, consumer confidence is up. People are feeling better because they have more money

in their paycheck.”

After her convention speech, she fielded questions from the Hoosier press:

Abdul Hakim Shabazz

of Indy Politics: President Trump gave out a shout-out to Sen. Donnelly when he signed the Right to Try legislation earlier this month. You said Donnelly hadn’t passed a bill.

McDaniel: The reality is Joe Donnelly would vote for Chuck Schumer to be Senate majority leader. Chuck Schumer is far from Indiana values. Joe Donnelly may act like he’s the president’s friend right now when he’s got to get elected, but when it comes down to it, he’s with the most liberal New York senator in charge of the Senate and I don’t think that’s what Hoosiers want.

HPI: How are you going to get the Republican Party energized? I saw you wanted delegates to text to the RNC to get on their volunteer lists.

McDaniel: We want to reach out to voters via texts, but it’s going to be about ground game. We’ve already got 27 staff on the ground here in Indiana. We’re building a full field program out. We’re using our data to determine who our likely voters are, who our persuadable voters are, and we build a field program to engage and talk and persuade those voters to go vote Mike Braun.

HPI: How many points of contact have you made in Indiana thus far? And what’s your goal by November?

McDaniel: I had said in there we already had 210,000 voter contacts. I expect to have significantly more once we build out our full state operation. Part of that has been our training of our Allied Fellows, our volunteers over 800. They will help knock on doors, hold rallies or host meetings. Those are the things they’ll do to engage voters in their communities.

Abdul: How important is Indiana going to be in the race to control the U.S. Senate?

HPI: Indiana is key to Republicans expanding our majority in the Senate. We think this is one of our best opportunities and the RNC will be all in and fully invested to bring Mike Braun into the Senate and to retire Joe Donnelly.

Abdul: What’s going to make a difference? It looks like everybody is going to spend a ton of money here.

McDaniel: It’s going to be turnout. In mid-terms, it’s turnout, turnout, turnout. In presidential years, you’re going to have a naturally higher turnout. In the mid-terms, there’s going



to be a drop-off so it’s about which party can energize their voters to get them to actually go vote. That’s why you have to build an infrastructure and that’s why the RNC being in this state early, emphasizing the building of that infrastructure, is going to be important.

HPI: What does Vice President Pence mean here in Indiana? The impact here and also nationally?

McDaniel: I think having Vice President Pence coming back to Indiana, coming back to his home state to share with voters the importance of needing another Republican in the Senate, of electing Mike Braun, will be a huge asset for us in turning out our vote and keeping that energy into November.

HPI: I’ve heard him describe himself as the “tip of the spear.” Is he literally going to be the point man for the RNC?

McDaniel: Yes. The vice president has an exhaustive schedule planned to get out and campaign across the country. But I think Indiana is going to be a state near and dear to his heart, with his brother running here, and then the possibility of picking up a Senate seat. Nobody knows better than the vice president how narrow those margins are in the Senate when he’s often the tie-breaking vote, being the president of the Senate. This is something he’s going to have to help with as much as possible.

Abdul: How will Indiana be different than some of the special elections in Alabama and Pennsylvania with that House seat? How are you going to avoid what happened there from happening here?

McDaniel: Some of those are anomalies. Special elections are special because they happen on different

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dates and new candidates. This will be a more traditional mid-term when you're going up and down the ballot and every single candidate will be helping drive turnout. You want to make sure all the candidates are driving turnout in their congressional districts down to the school board level. Obviously, having a strong top of the ticket is going to be pivotal in being successful in our congressional seats, as well.

HPI: Was Mike Braun your best-case scenario for the general? This is not meant to diss Reps. Rokita and Messer, but they had lengthy records in Congress and Congress is not popular with voters.

McDaniel: I can't get into that. That's tough!

HPI: I'm talking about the caliber of candidate ...

McDaniel: They were all good candidates.

HPI: ... but the caliber of Mike Braun, being an outsider with no congressional record to defend

McDaniel: I think there's a reason Mike Braun was selected by Hoosiers to represent the state. They like that he was a businessman first, similar to Donald Trump, someone who isn't seen as a Washington person. Someone who is going to be a change agent. That was something that appealed to voters here. He's going to be a really strong candidate to send Joe Donnelly home.

HPI: Do you want to see Uncle Mitt in the Senate?

McDaniel: Yeah ...

HPI: I had to ask.

McDaniel: I'm neutral, I'm neutral! The latest poll had him up 43%.

HPI: What do you bring to a crowd like this?

McDaniel: I want to make sure the crowd understands the urgency of this, especially at a convention. These people are the backbone. These are the people who knock on doors, these are the people who work every day until Election Day. One is just to thank them and tell them what a difference they can make. Indiana is so great to nominate three women here for statewide office and to have a lieutenant governor who's a woman. Your state really champions women and I credit your party for recognizing women in those leadership roles. This is something that is happening across the country. I'm only the second woman to chair the RNC and this is going to be an election where we have more women running for congressional seats than they do. We have double what we had in 2016. That's a great thing.

HPI: And what about the so-called blue wave?

McDaniel: What we've seen with the Democratic Party with this blue wave has really become a ripple. They didn't perform well in California. More Republicans turned out in those key races. Voters are really taking stock in things. Republican leadership is causing bigger paychecks for families, higher wages, more jobs and Democrats are the party of no. They really aren't championing anything other than being against Donald Trump. That's not a winning message. ❖

Mayor Winnecke touts Evansville's progress

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

EVANSVILLE – After all the GOP functions subsided Friday night prior to the state convention, we met up with Evansville Mayor Lloyd Winnecke at Comfort by Cross-eyed Cricket, a new restaurant and bar in a downtown that is rapidly evolving in Indiana's third-largest city.

Winnecke and Deputy Mayor Steve Schaefer are leading a revival that has brought the Tropicana Casino inland. There is a new multi-building medical campus he orchestrated with Indiana University, University of Southern Indiana and the University of Evansville that will bring more than a thousand students downtown. The regional airport is expanding with more direct flights. And there is innovation, with Michael Cunningham's BruBurger nestled in the art deco Greyhound Bus Station that will be part of a technology innovation center with Vectren, General Electric and the Chinese manufacturer Qingdao Haier.



All of these projects have been part of the Regional Cities funding that Winnecke helped land with Vanderburgh, Warrick, Posey and Gibson counties. There will soon be a new Ohio River crossing, one of the missing links that will connect Canada and Mexico via I-69.



Winnecke is a former TV news and Fifth Third Bank executive who moved into the political realm in 1999 when he replaced Mayor Russel Lloyd, Jr. on the Vanderburgh County Council. He was reelected in 2002 with 61% of the vote. He was elected (running unopposed) to the Vanderburgh Commissioners in 2008. In 2011, he defeated Democrat Rick Davis 54-46% for mayor, then ran unopposed in 2015. He is preparing for a reelection bid in 2019 and there is no clear Democratic challenger in the offing.

We took the opportunity to drink a beer with Mayor Winnecke and find out why the state's third largest city is literally a hopping place. It was easy to figure out on Saturday with a flawless GOP convention taking

place in a city that is hitting on all cylinders. Or as Gov. Eric Holcomb put it, "I don't think Evansville has ever looked better."

We couldn't agree more. Here is our HPI Interview with Mayor Winnecke.

HPI: What excites you about Evansville right now? What should Hoosiers across the state know about your city?

Winnecke: There's a sense of excitement and vibrancy that exists today that did not exist when I started in 2012. What I've seen in the last six-plus years is a community pulling together that wants to act, walk and talk like the third largest city in the state. I think we're doing that. We're seeing collaboration at a phenomenal level. In 2016, we were named a Promise Zone City. When HUD Secretary Julián Castro called me, I asked, "Why Evansville?" Because there were South L.A., San Diego, Nashville, Atlanta and Evansville. He said the "level of collaboration is phenomenal enough, you deserve this designation."

HPI: What does that designation mean?

Winnecke: As a Promise Zone City, you're one of 22 cities that has this designation for 10 years. As we apply for federal grants with certain federal agencies, you get extra points in your grant applications for being a Promise Zone. So, you're servicing the highest poverty areas in the city, the highest crime rates, the highest levels of worst access to health care or education. When he said this, my takeaway was when writing a grant application, we were able to convey how collaborative we are. So, when all the HUD people come in from Chicago or Washington and they see it in action, frankly they're blown away. We're seeing that in all sectors of the city, from the business community, the not-for-profits, to the public sector. There's a bind here that did not exist five or six years ago.

HPI: So, you've got this new medical center that's just about to open.

Winnecke: It's a collaborative educational partnership between IU, University of Southern Indiana and the University of Evansville. They've created a complimentary arrangement. They are normally competitors, but in this really unique setting they'll be working together. It's a model we went to Grand Rapids to see. Several years ago, Michigan State University wanted to expand its medical education program and found this new model and took it to Grand Rapids and they got multiple educational institutions to come together, they got multiple



health care institutions to come together and what we see there is the Medical Mile. A number of us went up there in 2012 and 2013 and thought, "We can do that." We were able to convince the universities that this is the model for the future. What you're going to see on Aug. 6 when classes open in the first building on campus, you're going to see a really phenomenal partnership.

HPI: In five years, how many students with medical degrees will be coming out of that institution? We keep hearing there will be doctor shortages across the state over a number of disciplines.

Winnecke: IU has a medical school here now. It's on the University of Southern Indiana campus – about 120 students there. On this campus, there will be roughly 500 between the three schools. We'd like to get Ivy Tech on this campus to bring their health-science curriculum from the north-side campus downtown. If we are able to do that, another 1,500 students or so will be in the downtown area. University of Evansville has created a graduate PA program. USI is going to bring its nursing



program from the west side downtown. It's a cool partnership.

HPI: So, you were part of Gov. Pence's Regional Cities program. What's going on with that?

Winnecke: It's pretty cool. So, when the Regional Cities was announced, pushing regions working together, we'd been doing that for a number of years. It was pretty easy for us to sit down with our neighbors from Warrick, Posey and Gibson counties and come up with a plan. We

asked Greg Wathen from the Economic Development Coalition of Southwest Indiana to kind of ride herd on that. We put together this phenomenal plan. There was this cattle call of projects and there was a local team who evaluated all the projects people wanted to do, so we came up with a specific list of projects related to the medical school; the second building on the campus opening later this year or early next year will house clinical research. We're using Regional Cities money for the clinical research. The Bruburger block is really phenomenal project.

HPI: There's a Bruburger right across the street from HPI's North American headquarters in Indy. Congratulations for landing that one.

Winnecke: We are darn happy to have Michael Cunningham down here. That block is the best Regional Cities project in the state. It's a collaboration between Vectren and Qingdao Haier, the Chinese manufacturer. They've since merged with General Electric. Vectren wants to test new sources of energy and Haier/GE wanted to test their smaller appliances, so we agreed to build this apartment complex of 150 units with real time connectivity between Vectren and Haier testing all the new stuff they need to test in a dynamic, urban-living arrangement. Construction begins in August. Scannell out of Indianapolis is the developer on that. It's a really great project. We're using Regional Cities money to help fund the major renovation of the regional airport. We made a major announcement today that Allegiant is adding a new flight destination. Over 220,000 people flew out of Evansville last year. Since 2009, we're up 34%. Our growth surpasses most peer airports and many larger ones.

HPI: Where does I-69 end up going over the Ohio River?

Winnecke: What we're working on right now is a new Ohio River crossing. It's great that we can get to Bloomington in an hour and 35 or 40 minutes ...

HPI: Following applicable speed laws.

Winnecke: Well, if you say. They're just kind of guidelines, but anyway, what we're really working on is lobbying the state legislatures in Kentucky and Indiana and the federal government to fund a new Ohio River crossing between Henderson and Evansville. Kentucky has improved the Pennyrile Parkway to interstate standards almost to Tennessee. So, the missing link is the bridge. The existing bridges are really aging. One opened in 1932 and the other in the mid-1960s. There's an environmental impact study underway now. There will be a recommended route by the end of the summer and a decision within a year. Hopefully in that time we'll figure out a way to fund all of that. We have a monthly meeting with our partners in Henderson, Ky., so there is literally bi-state cooperation.

HPI: Your city council is, what ...

Winnecke: Five to four Democrat. It was eight to one Democrat in my first term.

HPI: So, you've worked in a bipartisan model. Is

that a message that should be conveyed to the rest of the state?

Winnecke: Yeah. If you look at Evansville today compared to 10 years ago – not that other people didn't work collaboratively – given the fact that I'm a Republican mayor in what is essentially a Democrat city, we've enjoyed all the success because we've gotten people to work together. That's what it's about. It doesn't matter who gets the credit. I don't care if I get the credit. It works itself out. We've convinced people to just help us. That's how my mom and dad raised me. This is going to sound really cheesy, but if you treat people with respect, good things happen.



HPI: You and I have had discussions about the meth problem and it seems the law Gov. Pence signed in 2016 is really impacting at least the domestic manufacturing of the stuff. What are your biggest stressors? What keeps you up and night?

Winnecke: We've had an uptick in gang activity, though not at the level of other cities in the state. Our police department has done a nice job of reallocating resources and developing, new strategies. They look like they're working. The opioid crisis is here, and we have a substance abuse task force that is taking some strategies that are beginning to help. One community can't do it on its own, but we've got a lot of people at the table. The thing that doesn't really keep me up at night – but I think about it the most – is the water and sewer utilities. We're under a consent decree from the EPA. We've got to spend \$729 million in two and a half decades. That means we have to raise sewer rates every year for a long time. And, not just because the government says we have to; for decades and decades and decades, it was ignored. On the water side of the utility, we are not under a federal mandate. We'll have 300, 400, 500 water-main breaks a year, depending on the weather. Our water treatment plant opened in 1900. It's a great looking building. If you went in there, you'd say, "This would make a great set for a Batman movie." It's really an awesome building, but it opened in 1900. We've upgraded technology inside of it, but we have a thousand miles of water lines and 90% of them are cast iron, 80 or 90 years old. So, we're not on a federal consent decree on water, but last year we set up the first-ever water line replacement project. We're trying to replace 15 miles of water line a year. We know where

the highest incidents of water main breaks are and we're just replacing water lines as fast as we can. So, to the people living on the brink financially, our water and sewer rates are going up. Relatively speaking... what's going to happen over time is they are going to continue to rise. There's going to be a great burden on them. That's what bothers me.

HPI: I reported years ago the total price tag on combined sewer replacement statewide was in the \$15 billion range. We didn't use Nixon's Federal Revenue Sharing funds to replace them and so 90% of all CSOs are in Indiana and Ohio. We were part of the country that didn't get with the program and now we're paying for it.

Winnecke: I get it, because you're doing stuff underground. Who wants to raise water and sewer rates? There's nothing sexy about it. It's not like you're building a medical school. But, what we've done is we've challenged our utility leadership team that we're making millions of dollars of investments in the ground, what are we going to do above that? Like improving the aesthetics of the city, like making it a destination point. We have some unique things that do two things: They respond to the demands of the federal government by decree, but we want to leave behind some really great green space. There will be quality of life things, as well as functionality.

HPI: What's in your political future? A third term?

Winnecke: That's what we'd like to do. It's our intention to run for a third term next year. We've made no bones about that. I've still got great passion for it. We're going hard, 70 to 75 hours a week. But it's exhausting and exhilarating at the same time. We'll see after that.

HPI: The Indiana Republican Party is in your city tonight, only the second time it's convened outside of Indianapolis. Should we be looking at Lloyd Winnecke in, perhaps, a statewide context?

Winnecke: No, no, no. The thing about Lloyd Winnecke is I like what I like, and I like to stay in my lane. I really like what I'm doing. My sisters live in other cities, but my 88-year-old father is here and I take that role more seriously than I take my role as mayor. I hope he's around for a long time. I enjoy this job and that's all I want to do.

HPI: Anything you want to add that I haven't asked?

Winnecke: We're excited about this convention. It brings in policy leaders and thought leaders from around the state and they see what we're doing with the things we asked for. So, when they see me at the Statehouse I hope they say, "Wow, Lloyd Winnecke and the people in Evansville are taking good advantage of the resources we're providing." I hope they look around this weekend and say, "We need to be considerate of their requests."

HPI: It's great to be back in Evansville and see our third largest city thriving. You've got a great team here.

Winnecke: We do have a great team. Steve Schaefer does a phenomenal job. He's really done a great job working with the convention. We have a great committee of people raising money and doing the logistics, but Steve is driving this bus and has just done a phenomenal job. ❖

It was worse in 1968

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – With the nation split, angry and fearful even for safety of kids in their schools, with faith in institutions and the rule of law eroding, with the threat of trade wars and real wars from Korea to Iran and with a president relishing divisiveness as a sign of successful disruption, some Americans ask if these are the worst of times. Oft heard is the question: Have you ever seen it this bad?



Yes. Worse.

We would not have to go back to the Civil War to find a time when the nation was torn more by internal disagreements and filled with more trepidation. Just go back to 1968.

That year is getting a lot of attention in TV documentaries and national publications because it now is the

50th anniversary of events then that shook the nation. The split in 1968 was worse because it involved a terrible war with casualties mounting in Vietnam. Escalation was bringing higher casualty counts rather than the victory promised by the Pentagon. Sentiment was growing that it was a no-win war with useless loss of limbs and lives.

Young men were drafted. Many resisted. Protests grew on college campuses, sometimes turning violent, building toward the later tragedy in which unarmed college students were gunned down by the Ohio National Guard at Kent State. Protests were not the peaceful variety of the women's marches last year or the marches now of nice-mannered kids against gun violence. Angry protests then often turned into riots with injuries and extensive property damage.

There was not just character assassination but actual assassination, the killing of Martin Luther King Jr. and Bobby Kennedy.

Hatemongers didn't just use code words to promote discrimination and stir bigotry. They called blatantly for rigid racial segregation, resorting to violence to enforce it. Alabama Gov. George Wallace launched a third-

party presidential effort based on segregation.

Politics also was nasty then, not with tweets but in the streets.

It the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, bloody confrontations erupted between demonstrators and Chicago police. Each side sought blood. National Guard troops with bayonets fixed and machine guns mounted on jeeps blocked Michigan Avenue, separating anti-war demonstrators in Grant Park from delegates at the Conrad Hilton Hotel. Reporters trying to report on the event weren't treated very well then either, by either side, inside and outside the embattled convention center.

The president, Lyndon B. Johnson, was unpopular, so much so that he decided not to seek reelection. No presidential candidate was viewed as a popular, unifying leader, except perhaps Bobby Kennedy, who was slain. Richard Nixon, the Republican nominee, wasn't exactly beloved even in GOP ranks. Hubert Humphrey, the Democratic nominee, emerged weakened from the Chicago convention madness. He wasn't that popular either.

Rioting in the cities amid rage over the assassination of King finally subsided, though anger remained and racial conflict was not ended. Americans asked where it all would end, or if it would. When 1968 ended, divisiveness didn't.

Somehow, the nation got through it. More years were needed to end the war in Vietnam and to find that Nixon wasn't the one to provide solid, stable leadership. Problems remained, as they always will, but the Constitution prevailed, American prosperity grew, divisiveness seemed to lessen, and the nation's power and prestige in the world, questioned during Vietnam, was restored.

If America could survive 1968 and come out better, it can survive the divisiveness now and come out better again.

Overly optimistic? I don't mean to be. I'm saying that we can come out better, not that we will automatically or quickly. The nation didn't heal automatically or quickly after 1968. And while things were much worse then, we can't assume that we have yet seen the worst of our present divisiveness.

War in Korea? With Iran? Another draft? Protests less peaceful? A constitutional crisis? We hope all of that is averted, that we do not replicate the rage of 1968 before things do get better. ❖

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

GOP remains in closet

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – Indiana's Republican Party reminds me of the gay who wants to come out of the closet but can't quite bring himself to do it. Such was the case a week ago at the state convention in Evansville. The party voted overwhelmingly to include language in its platform that marriage is a commitment between a man and a woman – nothing less.



The party defeated an effort by Gov. Eric Holcomb to support a "strong families" stance that says, "We support traditional families with a mother and father, blended families, grandparents, guardians, single parents and all loving adults who successfully raise and nurture children to reach their full potential every day."

Just when one thought Indiana Republicans were changing for the better with Gov. Eric Holcomb replacing Mike Pence, such was not the case when it came to the party platform. It was Pence while governor who embarrassed himself and the state on national television by remaining steadfast that marriage was between a man and a woman. Pence lost all credibility when he kept contending that despite the party's stance, the state was open

to all forms of marriage.

While the Pence faction came out the winner last week, there were some significant things said by some party leaders about the future. One of them is Porter County GOP Chairman Michael Simpson. In a speech from the floor, Simpson said that a broader understanding of family "is the best platform for our party and the best way for us to grow." Simpson went on to say, "We're going to continue (in Porter County) on our inclusive processes and try to bring everybody in and make them feel welcome and be a part of the team."

Not only did Simpson have the guts to speak out about the party's future, so, too, did state GOP Chairman Kyle Hupfer, who said that at the next convention in two years the delegates should be more varied. While Holcomb has more vision than previous Republican governors, so, too, does Hupfer when it comes to state chairmen. "We must recognize that Indiana is becoming more diverse, more urban and as is always the case, every year another set of young voters cast their first ballots," Hupfer said. "It is imperative that our party grow and evolve at this same pace."

Simpson and Hupfer have a lot of work ahead of them. The party seems perfectly content to keep the closet door locked. ❖

Rich James has been writing about state and local government and politics for more than 30 years. He is retired from the Post-Tribune.

Kelly Hawes, CNHI: So Rudy Giuliani says the special counsel is trying to frame the president. "They don't have a crime, and that's why I say they're trying to frame him," Giuliani told the Washington Post. "Because if they had any sense, they would realize they're trying to put together a case on an innocent man. And that's what we call in America framing somebody." In a normal world, an outlandish claim like that would make headlines, but in the world in which we now find ourselves, the statement didn't even make the lead of the story. The former New York mayor's observations on foreign policy drew most of the attention. Still, the comment is an illustration of the president's strategy. He has solid support among his base, the economy is going great and all that noise the Democrats and the evil news media are making about the special counsel's investigation is just that. Noise. The president has done nothing wrong, and all of his actions have been entirely proper. He and his lawyers are certainly not trying to tear down the institutions that support our democracy. They're simply defending the president from unwarranted attacks. "We're trying to purify institutions," Giuliani told the Post. ❖



Anne Applebaum, Washington Post: A series of U.S. and North Korean flags, side by side, lined up across a stage. The two men approach the stage from opposite sides, and then shake hands. They pose for photographs. They walk off again. This is the image, the picture, that both men wanted to project around the world. But why? For Kim Jong Un, this moment is vindication. The wisdom of his nuclear policy has been confirmed: His tiny, poor, often hungry country, where hundreds of thousands have perished in concentration camps that differ little from those built by Stalin, has been treated as the equal of the United States of America. If Kim hadn't continued the missile program, if he hadn't enhanced his missile delivery capability, President Trump would not be there. The photographs will also help Kim solve an important problem. All dictators are insecure, and absolute dictators are absolutely more insecure than the rest. Several years ago, Kim staged the elaborate murder of his uncle, forcing the rest of the elite to watch as his rival was ripped apart by anti-aircraft machine guns. Fear and terror are one way to transmit messages of power; the inspiration of admiration and awe are another. The flags and the handshake will reinforce Kim's legitimacy and make him harder to depose. For Trump, this image addresses the somewhat different problem of his personal feelings of insecurity. Legally, his legitimacy is not in doubt. Yet Trump often seems to worry that it is. Elected without a majority, Trump repeatedly claims he has one. With no political, educational or any other qualifications, Trump ascribes to himself almost mystical, intuitive qualities instead. So far, these have failed him. In the complicated, nuanced worlds of economics and security, he has achieved nothing except destruction: of

previous agreements, of institutions, even of an anodyne G-7 statement just days ago. But in Singapore, he could achieve something without discussion of complex issues, without any intellectual effort at all: a photograph, a "breakthrough," the image of the intuitive deal-maker who wants "peace." The images coming out of Singapore are also important to Trump because he has created them. When meeting with allies, Trump does not control the narrative, nor does he decide what people will see. Indeed, the image that came to symbolize that disastrous, angry G-7 meeting was not his own creation: It was taken by a German photographer, and it showed Chancellor Angela Merkel leaning over a table and talking down to the American president, like a parent to a child. In Singapore, by contrast, Trump controlled the optics, even deliberately giving priority to a Singaporean television station rather than the White House pool. He reveled in that ability. ❖

Stephen Hayes, Weekly Standard: It is disconcerting to watch the president's eagerness to serve as a character witness to Kim Jong-un. "He trusts me and I trust him." So declared President Donald Trump to ABC's George Stephanopolous after meeting North Korean dictator Kim Jong-un. Even allowing for Trump's characteristic hyperbole and the niceties of diplomacy, it's an absurd thing to say about the leader of a regime defined over the last 30 years by its mendacity. And it was one of many bizarre and troubling things to come out of the disastrous Trump-Kim face-to-face meeting in Singapore on June 12. Trump and Kim signed an agreement committing North Korea to denuclearization and the U.S. to "security guarantees" for North Korea. In substance, the 403-word document, which Trump called "very comprehensive," doesn't differ much from the many previous agreements—written and oral—between the two nations. And while it's possible that Kim Jong-un is suddenly willing to give up the nuclear weapons that won him an audience with the leader of the free world, the greatest difference between this summit and those in the past was the unrestrained optimism of the American side and fulsome praise for the brutal dictator from the U.S. president. ❖

Isaac Dove, Politico: The final GOP holdouts to Donald Trump whimper into oblivion: "Put a blond comb-over on the elephant. Take down the pictures of Abraham Lincoln and Ronald Reagan. It's over. It's Donald Trump's GOP. The anti-Trump candidates are fleeing, and the ones who stick around are getting trampled. The chill has gone out among whoever's left: there's no more speaking up, and if there is, it's just for the sake of a speech, a protest quote that quickly disappears. They chalk it up to party loyalty, or staying unified for the midterms. They say they still believe in the principles, but they don't tend to do more than say the words. Then, when the microphones are off, they confide. They complain. ❖

Primary turnout was just 20%

INDIANAPOLIS – Just 1 in 5 registered Hoosier voters cast a ballot last month in the Republican and Democratic primary elections, according to data released Wednesday by the Indiana secretary of state (Carden, [NWI Times](#)). The 20 percent voter turnout was an increase compared to the 13 percent participation rate tallied in 2014 at the most recent state primary election without a presidential race on the ballot. State records show primary election turnout was 21 percent in the 2010 midterms, 20 percent in 2006 and 22 percent in 2002. This year, 870,336 ballots were cast in the May 8 races that included a hotly contested Republican U.S. Senate primary won by former state Rep. Mike Braun, R-Jasper. Eighty percent of those ballots were marked on Election Day, while 20 percent were submitted through either early or absentee voting.



Sanders, Shah to leave White House

WASHINGTON – Two of the most visible members of the Trump administration are planning their departures, the latest sign of upheaval in a White House marked by turmoil ([CBS News](#)). Press secretary Sarah Sanders and principal deputy press secretary Raj Shah are both heading for the exits, according to sources inside the White House and close to the administration. Sanders ... has told friends that she plans to leave the administration at the end of the year. Shah is also considering his exit, but he has not yet settled on an exact date..

Braun lauds Trump, Kim summit results

JASPER – As President Trump touts the historic nature of his meeting with North Korean dictator Kim Jong Un, calling it the start of a “terrific relationship,” lawmakers on both sides of the aisle are sounding more cautious notes

(Real Clear Politics). Lawmakers urged the administration to continue a “maximum pressure campaign” against North Korea, a term the president shunned in the days before the meeting. And many argued that there must be congressional buy-in on any official deal that emerges. Meanwhile, some Republican candidates running for Congress embraced the meeting. “President Trump has accomplished

what Barack Obama never could, and as a result we are beginning a path towards a safer Pacific region and a safer United States,” said Indiana Senate hopeful Mike Braun. Though it is too early to assess what kind of impact the summit could have on the midterm elections, and whether it will influence voters’ overall feelings of security, for now “the reality is: Where we are now in the conversation is far better than where we were six months ago,” says Lanhee Chen, a research fellow at The Hoover Institution and a policy adviser to Republican presidential campaigns. “It may be one of those situations where Republicans end up benefiting, but it’s a very tricky dynamic because of the history.”

Buttigieg skeptical of summit results

SOUTH BEND – South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg spoke with Powerhouse Politics podcast hosts Rick Klein and MaryAlice Parks right after the historic summit between President Donald Trump and North Korean leader Kim Jong Un – and the small-city mayor weighed in on the biggest foreign policy story going ([ABC News](#)). “This president seems committed to talking to our enemies but seems to have a little more trouble talking to our friends,” the mayor told Klein and Parks. “I’m not totally convinced that the United States has a foreign policy right now.” Buttigieg expressed skepticism about Kim’s recently proclaimed commitment to denuclearize the Korean peninsula, explaining that the dictator’s move reflects previ-

ous claims made by North Korea in the 1990s, which ultimately fell through. “I’m having a hard time figuring out what we got in exchange for legitimizing the North Korean regime. We’ve put an American flag next to a North Korean flag and basically treated a dictator like an equal.”

Holcomb signs offender bill

INDIANAPOLIS – A bill authored by State Sen. Mike Bohacek, R-Michiana Shores, that prevents sex offenders from living near victims was ceremonially signed into law Monday by Gov. Eric Holcomb ([LaPorte Herald Argus](#)). Senate Enrolled Act 12 makes it unlawful for a sex offender to intentionally establish residence within one mile of their victim.

Pence addresses Southern Baptists

WASHINGTON — In the latest sign of the Trump administration’s outreach to religious conservatives ahead of a critical midterm election, Vice President Mike Pence told a large gathering of pastors Wednesday that the White House would continue to fight for evangelical priorities ([New York Times](#)). He appealed for the community’s continued support, even as his appearance led to complaints that a religious event was being used for political gain. “This is a pivotal year in the life of our nation,” Mr. Pence told the Southern Baptist Convention, where nearly 10,000 evangelical pastors gathered in Dallas. “Be assured of this, President Trump and I are going to continue to fight for what we know is right. This progress, is the result of the support of men and women like so many of you, who supported our president not only in 2016 but every day since.”