

Independent voters fleeing Trump, GOP

Braun using Trump to shore up his base, but risks losing suburbanites

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – To win elections, a candidate has to carry 90% or more of his or her base. And then there are the independent voters, a group growing as polarization encroaches on the two major parties.

With a gangbuster economy and middle class wages finally going up, conventional wisdom would be that President Trump would be a mid-term Midas. But the cascading controversies have become the new norm with

President Trump just two weeks after he journeyed to Indiana to campaign in the U.S. Senate race. The question less than 60 days out from the mid-term is whether this new norm would impact voters on Nov. 6.

Two polls this week, by CNN and Quinnipiac -



suggest that they will. They come just as Pulitzer Prize-winning author Bob Woodward began making the first of dozens of TV interviews on his new book "Fear," which reveals a White House in disarray and chaos, with Trump

Continued on page 3

Tax and transparency

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

PERU – Driving back from Lake Michigan on Labor Day, the need to finish the U.S. 31 freeway was apparent, as traffic stacked up at each of the four traffic lights in Miami County, and others in Tipton and Hamilton counties. And Indiana's highway spine courses through sorghum-slow broadband areas.

So on the face of it, Gov. Eric Holcomb's announcement of a new \$1 billion investment called Next Level Connections in highways, ports, international flights and universal broadband seemed prudent.

With one exception: On the highway aspect, many of us felt that HEA1002 from 2017 had



“We felt it was important to demonstrate the president has taken command of this issue, that it’s something he cares deeply about, that the integrity of our elections are a high priority to him.”

- John Bolton, on President Trump’s order that will punish foreign assaults on U.S. elections



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set up the state's highway funding for the next two decades. We pay 10 cents more a gallon of gas, and we were supposed to get better roads.

But it is coming up short. So much so that Indianapolis Mayor Joe Hogsett and the City-County Council had to float \$120 million in bonds this week to deal with the capital city's cratering streets. We figured that multi-billion dollar effort – accomplished with gas and diesel fuel taxes along with others on electric cars – would pay for Section 6 of I-69 and the U.S. 31 stops.

But it didn't. It's kind of a bait and switch. If you're an Indianapolis gas consumer, you're now getting double-dipped. And why doesn't HEA1002 cover Section 6?

So the Tuesday surprise was that without a debate in the General Assembly or with taxpayers, with only a vote from the State Finance Authority later this month, the Holcomb administration is leveling another tax increase, this one on heavy trucks using the 157-mile Indiana East-West Toll Road. It's a 35% tax increase, this one coming on the heels of a 20-cent-per-gallon hike on diesel fuel just a year ago.

"Today we're sending a big message to the world that Indiana is making a huge investment in our quality of life and for those who aspire to join us," said Holcomb in Martinsville, home of the I-69 Section 5 Public/Private Partnership fiasco five years in the making. "We are linking Hoosiers to each other and to the world."

At first glance, this appears to be a burden shouldered by big rig truckers on the toll road. But Gary Langston, president of the Indiana Motor Truck Association, says that not only will consumers ultimately pick up the costs, what will likely happen is that truckers will opt for alternative routes of U.S. 20, SR 120, U.S. 12 in Michigan and the region, or I-94.

Langston was an early partner in HEA1002 in 2017, with the IMTA

an early and enthusiastic backer. But he feels blind-sided today. "It was a tremendous surprise last week coming out of the Labor Day holiday to hear with only an hour-and-a-half notice that the governor was going to announce something of this magnitude," Langston said.

"There's nothing more important to the trucking industry than good infrastructure. We've always been on board with efforts to make it better. We were on board," Langston explained. "It had been 30 years since diesel fuel taxes had increased. They said, 'Let's raise them 20 cents' and we said, 'Let's do that.' Let's use the money to fix the roads. That was a big



amount, the largest increase in the nation along with California. It made Indiana the fourth-highest gas/diesel fuel tax in the nation, behind Pennsylvania, California and Washington state. But we were right there with them. There were some tough negotiations, but we were proud we got that done. The governor said, 'This is a 20-year plan we got here. This is going to sustain us for ... 20 years.'

But just a year later, Holcomb was seeking even more revenue. And this time, there were no negotiations.

"To find this week, only two months after that plan was enacted on July 1, they start secret negotiations to find another billion dollars," Langston said. "And only off of trucks."

"Since I have come here, I have worked hard to establish relationships with the governor and state agencies, particularly INDOT, and we've made success and progress in that," Langston said. "We find every time when we work together, we get

a better solution and we don't spend as much money and don't have to spend as much money to do over things that weren't under consideration. For this to happen like this, you know INDOT was involved, you know the governor was involved, and according to what I read, the Indiana Toll Road Concession Company came to the governor and said, 'Let's open up negotiations' which is just unbelievable to me."

So, on Sept. 20, the Indiana Finance Authority Board will vote to approve a tax increase, with virtually no debate, effective on Oct. 5.

Asked about other financing options, Holcomb press secretary Rachel Hoffmeyer told HPI on Wednesday, "We are not discussing negotiations."

Hoffmeyer added, "Tolls paid by commercial vehicles will still be much lower than those paid in Illinois and Pennsylvania and close to those paid along the Ohio Turnpike. The Indiana Toll Road is a great value."

Isn't the tax burden falling on out-of-state truckers?

Langston explained, "There's no question the Indiana toll road is one of the primary trade corridors in the nation. Yes, there are a lot of out-state trucks that move across there. But you have to keep in mind what they're hauling. They're hauling everything that you have. At some point, it ends up on a truck. So the cost of transportation goes up. We won't absorb it. We have to pass it along. The governor believes no one else will suffer from this, and that's absolutely not true because it bounces off trucks and eventually into the pockets of consumers."

"The number of letters and phone calls I've received from Hoosiers, and Hoosier truckers and companies are giving me dollar figure impacts," Langston said. "Most truckers are independent contractors. They're the guy who buys the truck and then tries to make a living. That's who most of those on the toll road are, independent contractors. So when you raise the one-way rate from \$16 to \$34 one way, that's a lot for them. It's a direct impact on the



IMTA President Gary Langston

small business person that isn't being considered."

"This is nothing more than an additional tariff," Langston said.

He called the 35% increase "absurd," adding, "They've opened this up and added 35% on trucking. In the mid-90s, the Ohio Turnpike folks raised their rates by an absurd amount. The diversion was so great that in the late 90s that they couldn't keep up with the maintenance on the secondary roads, safety was horrible. People were getting killed because of the congestion, to the point where the state police lobbied the governor and legislature to lower the rates and get the traffic back on the toll road where it needed to be. They did, in fact, do that."

"When they raised those rates, the overall revenue decreased because of the diversion," Langston said.

Does Langston have a message for the Finance Authority? "Take a look at your own webpage," he said. "That talks about us having a strong competitive advantage when it comes to reaching North American markets. They may have to change that because our competitive mission here in the heartland is going to be changed significantly. I see this as a precursor to the \$10 million study that happens in Dec. 1, which says, 'Oh yeah, did we mention I-65 and I-70 and our plan there? I don't know that many \$10 million reports that don't describe what the person who commissioned the study is looking for."

"As Hoosiers we have to be concerned about what happened here," Langston continued. "If the governor has the authority to just arbitrarily open up this agreement and take another billion for whatever he wants the money for, why would we not think he won't do that again? We get another billion dollars and the ITRCC gets another 63 years of an absurd toll rate increase. We need to be concerned about what to expect in the future."

Holcomb has long prided his administration as one of transparency while providing good value to taxpayers. Those concepts are taking a hit this month. ❖

Independents, from page 1

trusting only a shrinking inner circle.

The CNN Poll released Monday revealed that Trump is in free-fall with independent voters. His approval among that group fell from 47% in August to 31% when the poll was taken Sept. 6-9 nationally. His job approval sank from 42% last month to 36%. That data set corresponds with the NBC/Marist Poll in Indiana last week that showed U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly with 59% of independent voters and 65% of suburbanites, two crucial voting blocs in his race against Republican challenger Mike Braun.

A new Quinnipiac Poll released Wednesday showed

women supporting congressional Democrats by a 55-35% margin. Democrats have also opened up a 14% congressional generic lead in that poll.

Trump's epic 2016 upset was fueled by independent voters. According to exit polls, 46% of independents backed Trump while Democrat Hillary Clinton had 42%. It was enough to help crack the "blue wall" in Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin.

This story overlaps the Indiana Senate race, as Braun was running a statewide TV ad with a President Trump voiceover and video from the Aug. 30 MAGA rally in Evansville, featuring the president and candidate. While Trump was getting gashed with independent and moderate

voters, Braun appeared to be shoring up his Trump base. And that came with Trump appearing in Braun's backyard in an area of the state he easily carried in the primary, as opposed to Indianapolis and the normally Republican stronghold doughnut counties that fit the "suburban" reference point.

The Quinnipiac Poll released on Tuesday showed Trump's disapprove/approve numbers sag to 54/38%, compared to 54/41% on Aug. 14. It also revealed that 55% believed the anonymous op-ed allegations by a "senior aide, as opposed to 28% who don't, while 51% believe that clandestine official should state the allegations publicly. The only group in disbelief were Republicans, 52-27%. "American voters believe those tales of intrigue coming from the Trump White House, but they think it's wrong to tell those tales anonymously," said Tim Malloy, assistant director of the Quinnipiac University Poll.

And here's another metric that should greatly concern Republicans about the Quinnipiac Poll: 70% believe the economy is either "excellent" or "good," which in normal times would be a significant tailwind for a president and his party. It matches an all-time high. In the CNN Poll, 69% believe the economy is good, including 69% of independents and 74% of moderates.

"There's a huge disconnect," Karlyn Bowman, a senior fellow and public opinion polling expert at the American Enterprise Institute, a conservative think tank based in Washington, told Bloomberg Politics. "The economy doesn't seem to be dominating in a way that it often does in elections."

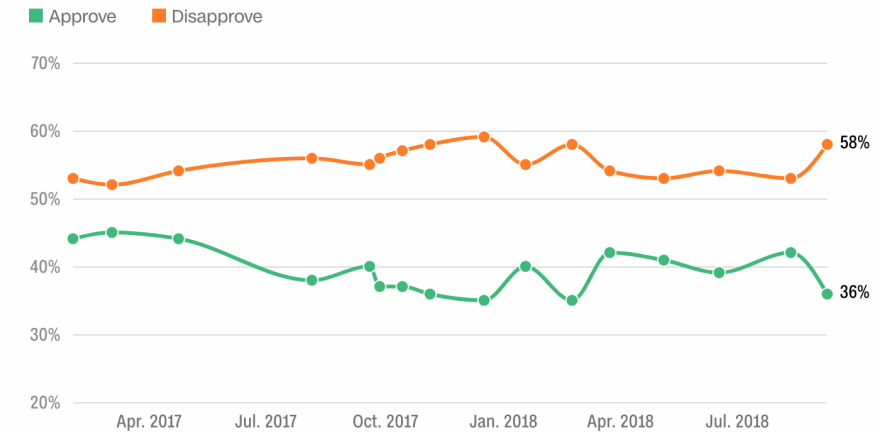
The CNN poll reveals more of why the economic numbers aren't a salve for Trump-embracing GOP candidates. On the question of whether they can be "proud" to have Trump as president, 28% of independents and 25% of moderates agreed, while 68% and 72% said no. Does Trump "respect the rule of law?" Some 61% of independents and 71% of moderates said no, compared to 35% and 26% who answered affirmatively.

CNN asked: Is President Trump "honest and trustworthy?" Only 32% of respondents said yes and 65% said no, including just 27% of independents and 24% of moderates. While Trump had an 87% approval among Republicans, only 72% believe he is honest and trustworthy with 24% saying no.

When it comes to Trump's handling of foreign trade, which would include his tariffs, CNN found 35% approving and 53% disapproving, including 35% of independents, just 74% of Republicans and 28% of moderates. Only 36% approve of the way Trump is handling foreign

affairs (including just 33% of independents and 31% of moderates). And on immigration, where the child/parent separations generated headlines since last spring, 35% approve and 59% disapprove, with only 29% of independents and 27% of moderates approving.

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling his job as president?



Last updated: September 10, 2018
 Source: CNN poll conducted by SSRS, September 6-9, 2018, sample of 1,003 adults, margin of sampling error ±3.8% pts.
 Graphic: Joyce Tseng, CNN

Only on the economy, by a 49-44% margin in the CNN Poll, did President Trump have an edge.

In both CNN and Quinnipiac polls, Trump's approval had edged into the low- to mid-40th percentile in August, while NBC/Wall Street Journal put Trump's approval at 44% and 46% in the final week of August, while Fox News had him at 45% and Economist/YouGov had him at 44%.

Over the summer, the impacts of his summit with North Korean despot Kim Jong Un, the Helsinki summit with Russian President Putin, the child separation issues, the conviction of Trump's former campaign chairman Paul Manafort and the guilty plea of his fixer/attorney Michael Cohen unfolded. The NYT op-ed and Bob Woodward's book "Fear" surfaced just before or as these polls were in the field, with the ramifications there not fully set.

Are the CNN and Quinnipiac polls the so-called outliers? It's more of a continuation, with ABC/Washington Post putting Trump's approval at 38% last week down from 44% in April, while 60% disapprove. Gallup's rolling seven-day average has Trump's approval at 40%. Rasmussen puts his approval at 47%.

Political analyst and author John Heilemann explained, "After Helsinki and the kids in cages at the border, you have the high 30s approving, which is his core. What we're seeing now as we get closer and closer to Election Day is the accumulated weight of scandals and controversies and outrages and things that for a lot of voters make the difference between being in the mid-to-low 50s as opposed to the mid-to-high 30s."

Heilemann added, "The gravity of it has sunk in

over time. The reason it is sinking in is we're getting closer and closer to a decision point. We see this in presidential years and we see it sometimes in mid-term year, especially ones that are acutely referendums on the incumbent."

Heilemann said that after Labor Day, voters "are taking stock of the totality and that is weighting him down."

The other change may be the "hold-your-nose" voters who opted for Trump in 2016 and then gave the president about 18 months to show what he could do. In his race against Democrat Hillary Clinton, they opted for Trump, but with the accumulated weight of controversy and scandal, they are fleeing the president's corner.

"Trump goes so hard for his base in the raucous rallies," notes Washington Post columnist David Ignatius. "It obviously works for the base, but it's turning people off. Trump has his base, but increasingly that's all he's got."

CNN analyst Chris Cillizza observed in late July that only two presidents have had significantly higher approval ratings on the economy as compared to their overall approval: Trump and Bill Clinton in July 1998. "The Clinton result is easily explained; he was in the midst of the Monica Lewinsky scandal," Cillizza noted. "So people liked how the economy was doing (and gave him credit for it) but were less willing to say they approved of him as heart-

Unprecedented Times

Trump is the only leader in recent history whose approval rating has lagged economic sentiment



Source: Langer Research Associates, citing Washington Post/ABC News | Bloomberg Consumer Comfort Index

ily."

Cillizza adds: "People seem to be reacting negatively to the full package of Trump, which crowds out their positive reaction to the job he is doing on the economy. If he could take the focus off his tweets, the Russia investigation and the like, and steer all of his rhetorical firepower onto the state of the economy, he and the Republican Party he leads would likely be in

a much better place today."

Indiana impacts

Two months out, HPI's Horse Race still gives all congressional incumbents in the House strong edges, and Sen. Donnelly appears to be keeping his nose above water though that race is still a pure tossup. The 2011 maps are a clear blessing for the seven House incumbents.

While we believe it's still too early to determine, one way or another, that a wave will manifest (and we are ever mindful that the 2016 "blue wave" became a red tide), from this point on we will watch to see if Trump's approval is a simple headwind, or the beginning of an accumulated millstone.

At this point, it's a fluid situation in what are abnormal times. ❖

Donnelly in a 'knife fight' with Braun

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS – The Indiana Senate race is a "knife fight," in the words of Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell. His remarks came before a Fox News Poll showed Mike Braun leading U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly 45-43% and after Donnelly took a 44-41% lead over Braun in the NBC/Marist Poll (with Libertarian Lucy Brenton getting 8%) while a CNN Poll shows President Trump's approval

is in free-fall with vital independent voters.

The Fox News Poll released Wednesday found President Trump still had a 54% approval in Indiana. It found that 33% said they will cast their Senate vote to

show support for Trump while 31% said they will vote to express opposition. One in three voters said they could change their mind before Election Day.

"Arizona, Nevada, Tennessee, Montana, North Dakota, Missouri, Indiana, West Virginia and Florida. All of them too close to call, and every one of them like a knife fight in an alley; I mean, just a brawl in every one of those places," McConnell told reporters in Louisville.

McConnell's Senate Leadership Fund is spending \$1.4 million on Braun, with the TV ad featuring President Trump with Braun at the Evansville MAGA rally on Aug. 30. Trump calls Braun a "special man" and explains, "We want people like Mike Braun." While President Trump still draws support from close to 90% of Republicans in recent CNN and Quinnipiac polls, he is flagging with only 31% of support from independents in the CNN Poll.

So at this critical stage in the race, Braun still appears to be shoring up the Trump base while independent and moderate voters are beginning to pull away from Trump after a spring and summer that saw the president



careening from summits with despots, his administration botching the immigrant child separation issue, and guilty pleas or verdicts for fixer/attorney Michael Cohen and former campaign chairman Paul Manafort, who is reportedly trying to cop a plea deal with Special Counsel Robert Mueller.

Trump chose Evansville for the MAGA rally, even though it's in a part of the state Braun carried handily in his primary against Reps. Luke Messer and Todd Rokita. The siting suggests that bringing Trump to Indianapolis might be counterproductive, with the NBC/Marist Poll showing Donnelly carrying 59% of independents and 65% of suburbanites, while Trump went from 47% support of independents in the CNN Poll to a 31%.

"All of the Hoosiers who voted for President Trump in 2016 need to show up if they want to see that agenda passed," said WTHR-TV Republican analyst Jennifer Hallowell. "They need to show up in the midterm."

"He was just here last week. Most of the time, if you are in a state you get a bump for your own popularity and that of the candidate," said WTHR-TV analyst Robin Winston, a former Indiana Democratic chairman. "He was just here last week in Evansville and nothing out of this poll to show for it."

Republican National Chairwoman Ronna Romney McDaniel said on CBS Face The Nation Sunday, "The president is a great asset for us. People are feeling good about where they are" because of Trump's policies citing his high approval rating among Republicans. "Remember, in the midterms, it's the party that's turning out their base," McDaniel said. "We have to turn out our base first."

The risk for nominees like Braun is that embracing Trump may mean alienating independents, moderates and suburbanites. But in the Fox News Poll, Braun led Donnelly with women voters by 5%, with white women by 16% and by people over age 45 by 10%.

"In an electorate that is likely to be nearly 90% white and majority female, a Democrat has almost no path to victory without at least drawing even among white women," says Democratic pollster Chris Anderson, who conducts the Fox News poll with Republican Daron Shaw. "This is a Republican state and this seat is one of the most difficult that the Democrats are defending," adds Shaw. "Donnelly is even with suburban whites and manages to get 12 percent of Hoosiers who voted for Trump, yet he's still down in the race right now."

Vice President Mike Pence is also weighing in for Braun in ads, taking aim at Donnelly, Montana's Jon Tester and North Dakota's Heidi Heitkamp on what Politico describes as "a range of highly charged partisan issues," from opposition to the GOP tax bill and Obamacare repeal



to support for sanctuary cities and Planned Parenthood funding.

As for the "knife fight" aspect of this race, there still was room for civility. In Fort Wayne, Braun said of Donnelly, "Make sure you look carefully at me and Joe Donnelly. Joe Donnelly is a good guy. He's just a guy that's made a career out of politics. I don't think we send the cream of the crop" to Congress, Braun later told news media. "I think we send people that talk a good game, forget what they mentioned, and we have the collective mess that we've got. It has not snuck up on us; it's been here a long time."

Republican Supt. Jennifer McCormick was another Republican who didn't appear to be wielding a knife at Donnelly, praising him at a school safety summit on Monday. "I'm not endorsing anyone today," she said. "What I will say is I have been Ellis Island from the beginning, come one, come all. If you're a Democrat, Republican, Independent, it really doesn't matter to me as long as you are willing to help kids" (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). Donnelly added, "We have a great working relationship because the idea is, 'How do we help our kids?' That's as political as this gets."

Donnelly's Kavanaugh vote looms

Still looming is the Senate confirmation vote on Supreme Court nominee Brett Kavanaugh. Donnelly told the Journal Gazette's Brian Francisco that in his conversation with the nominee, he wanted to be sure that Kavanaugh "would be strong on precedent" and "would stand up to protect health care" provided through the federal Affordable Care Act and Medicaid expansion. Donnelly said he reminded Kavanaugh of their Jesuit motto, "Men for Others," when the two Catholics talked in August. "I said, 'Judge, how does a man for others rule against providing health care to children?' He said, 'I don't,'" Donnelly recalled. "And so that will be part of the information that I process in making a decision." Donnelly also swatted at the notion that Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer

would dictate his vote. "I'm not even going to think about that. I'm not going to get into it. That is not even on my radar," Donnelly said in an interview last month.

At this point in the confirmation process, Donnelly doesn't look to be the decisive vote. The Daily Intelligencer reported Tuesday that Republican Sens. Susan Collins and Lisa Murkowski still haven't announced how they will vote. "To some extent this has become a game of chicken, how long can the red-state Democrats stay on the fence, and how late in the process can Collins and Murkowski delay their announcements? Murkowski has indicated she probably won't tip her hand until right before the Senate vote," the Intelligencer reported.

Vanity Fair's Tina Nguyen reported that Kavanaugh's "future inevitably hangs on the decisions of two Republicans: Susan Collins of Maine and Lisa Murkowski of Alaska. For both senators, John McCain's death changed the calculus significantly. McCain, who had been reliably absent throughout most of 2018 as he battled brain cancer, was recently replaced by the solidly Republican Jon Kyl, all but guaranteeing at least 50 votes in Kavanaugh's favor. Prior to Kyl's appointment, a "no" vote from either Collins or Murkowski would have been enough to stonewall Kavanaugh. Now, Democrats must sway both senators, and there is no guarantee that they will choose to act in tandem."

Nguyen adds, "Murkowski has a noted history of bartering with her party for concessions before committing to a vote, while Collins has previously said that she considers the judge to be 'clearly' qualified, and that she received assurances from Kavanaugh himself that he believes *Roe v. Wade* to be 'settled law.'" Collins was seen dining with Ivanka Trump Wednesday evening in Washington, according to Politico Playbook this morning.

That's a long way from another key Kavanaugh advocate, Vice President Pence, whose top career priority is to consign *Roe v. Wade* to the "dustbin of history."

Meanwhile, the Braun campaign pressed Donnelly Wednesday on one of the incumbent's campaign staples, the GOP efforts to do away with pre-existing condition protections. "Donnelly must answer if he believes Judge Kavanaugh would be a threat to coverage for pre-existing conditions," said Braun campaign spokesman Josh Kelley. "Senate Democrats believe Judge Kavanaugh is a major threat to coverage for pre-existing conditions, and Hoosiers deserve to know if Senator Donnelly agrees with his wrongheaded liberal colleagues or not. Hoosiers need to know where their senator stands on this important issue, but since Donnelly is still waiting for his marching orders from Democrat leadership, he'll probably just tell you to give his office a call."

Dems willing to cut Donnelly slack

In a recent TV campaign ad, Joe Donnelly drives his RV and talks about his support for President Donald Trump's plan to secure the country's border by building a wall (Erdody, IBJ). The ad even brags that Donnelly voted

to fund "Trump's border wall" three times and portrays the senator as being tough on immigration, typically a big selling point for Republicans. But Donnelly is a Democrat. Another campaign ad Donnelly released this summer includes a clip of Donnelly and Trump shaking hands after Trump signed the right-to-try bill, which Donnelly helped push through Congress. The measure gives terminally ill patients the OK to seek drug treatments that have not been fully approved by regulators. "I'm sure Democrats kind of wince when they hear him talk about funding the wall," said political analyst Brian Howey, who runs Howey Politics Indiana. "But they realize if he doesn't, then he'll be an ex-senator living in Granger. He's straddling a straight razor." And all of that straying from the left might be upsetting some Democrats. "Of course, there's a concern," said Christina Hale, a former Democratic state lawmaker and a candidate for lieutenant governor in 2016. "We're in a very polarized environment. People are going to sit up and take notice, especially when the senator is talking about a position that's really counter to many of the people in his base." Donnelly said he's not worried about leaning too far in one direction, because he bases his decisions on what is best for the state, not the party. "I think that my job is to represent everybody who lives in the state," Donnelly said. "It doesn't matter to me if you're a Democrat or a Republican or an independent." Robin Winston, former chairman of the Indiana Democratic Party and president of government affairs and public relations firm Winston/Terrell Group, said Democrats need to look at Donnelly's overall record rather than being hung up on one or two votes they didn't like. "You've got to look at the entire album, not just one document in it," Winston said. Howey said he thinks the party base will understand that Donnelly would hurt his re-election chances if he swung too far left. "I think they're going to cut him some slack," Howey said.

Donnelly gets FOP endorsement

Indiana president of the Fraternal Order of Police, Bill Owensby, announced the organization had endorsed Sen. Donnelly after a unanimous decision by its execu-



tive committee. The Indiana State FOP contains 14,000 members, many of whom will help Joe campaign across the state in the remaining two months of the race. Today's endorsement announcement was held at the Indiana FOP's offices; former Marion County Sheriff Frank Anderson also spoke. "Seldom do we find a candidate of your caliber who has the leadership and integrity to carry out the duties as U.S. senator for the great State of Indiana," Owensby wrote to Joe in his endorsement letter. "Your support and commitment to Indiana Law Enforcement has not gone unnoticed."

Bush43 to fundraise for Braun

Former President George W. Bush will host fundraisers for two Senate hopefuls in October, Josh Hawley of Missouri and Mike Braun of Indiana (Politico). Tomorrow, Bush will travel to Florida to hold a pair of events for Florida Gov. Rick Scott, who is in a pitched battle for a Senate seat. One of the fundraisers will benefit New Republican, a pro-Scott super PAC. "While he prefers to consider himself retired from politics, President Bush recognizes how important it is to keep the Senate and decided to help a few key candidates," said Freddy Ford, a Bush spokesman. Bush's foray comes as another former president, Barack Obama, launches a nationwide push for Democratic candidates. But unlike Obama, who's been holding public rallies, Bush's events will be closed-door affairs. Each of the fundraisers is private.

Brenton could have an impact

In an August 26–29 Marist College survey of 576 likely Indiana voters, Libertarian Lucy Brenton, who received 5.5 percent of the vote running for Senate in 2016, polled at 8 percent, compared to incumbent Democrat Joe Donnelly's 44 percent and Republican Mike Braun's 41 ("other" was 1 percent, "undecided" 6). What happens when you take Brenton's name off the poll? It's 48–42 for Donnelly, with other at 2 percent and undecided at 9. (Matt Welch, Reason) At a glance—and one should always be careful about extrapolating too much from a single poll—it would seem that Brenton is pulling support from people who are not inclined to vote Republican. This is not what I would have predicted a few months ago, given Brenton's pro-life emphasis in this Trump +19 state. But a closer look suggests some possible explanations. But let's not sleep on the other half of Brenton support, which appears to be coming from the other/undecided camp. Indiana is just a good state for the Libertarian Party—Gary Johnson received 4.9 percent of the vote there in 2016, and Donnelly's race in 2012 saw

Libertarian Andy Horning receive 5.7 percent. Brenton will also participate in both Senate debates next month. **HPI Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

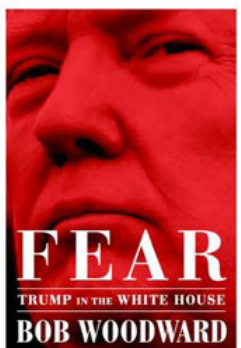
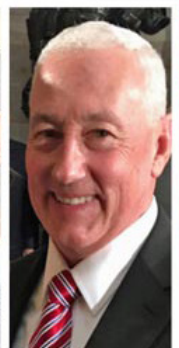
Congress

Republicans ducking debates

Eighth CD Democratic nominee William Tanoos became the latest Democratic nominee to say incumbent Republican congressmen are ducking debates, once a traditional staple of Hoosier fall campaigns. He joins 3rd CD nominee Courtney Tritch, 6th CD nominee Jeannine Lee Lake and 9th CD nominee Liz Watson in alleging that U.S. Reps. Larry Bucshon, Jim Banks and Trey Hollingsworth won't debate along with 6th CD Republican nominee Greg Pence. Tanoos said that WNIN and the Evansville Courier & Press offered three dates for debate: Oct. 22, Oct. 24, and Nov. 1. "This is a basic part of the democratic process. It is not partisan. It's about providing the voters with an informed choice, and I think it is very important to have a debate," said Tanoos about his disappointment that Dr. Bucshon declined.

Asked about debates in a Sept. 6 HPI Interview, Tritch responded, "Everywhere I go people ask me that same question and it's just sad to me. This election isn't about party. It's about who actually has a vision for this country." Banks' congressional office spokesman Matt Lahr told HPI on Tuesday that the freshman is preparing to debate. "We are working on scheduling," Lahr said. Watson campaign manager Brian Peters told HPI on Monday that Hollingsworth "has turned down about a dozen groups now. He has turned down two city chambers of commerce, he has turned down local newspapers, community groups, college students, the list goes on and on. It would be comical if this election wasn't so important. They aren't

THE ATOMIC



even pretending to consider invites now, they are just flat out ignoring everyone."

Bucshon spokesman Andrew Hansen told the Courier & Press, "Based on his ongoing direct engagement

with Hoosiers and deep public record, voters in the 8th District are familiar with Dr. Bucshon's strong record of accomplishments on their behalf and where he stands on the issues, and he does not see the utility in debates leading up to the election."

The exception are in the Senate race where Mike Braun has agreed to two Indiana Debate Commission events, and the 2nd CD, where U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski has agreed to debate Democrat Mel Hall.

3rd CD: Banks begins TV ads

The re-election campaign of Rep. Banks launched its first television ad as part of a six-figure advertising buy in Indiana's 3rd District. The message of the ad, "Give and Take," contrasts Banks' vote in support of historic tax cuts during his first term "with his liberal opponent Courtney Tritch's repeated statements in opposition." Banks said, "I am proud of efforts in this Congress to cut taxes and grow the economy to ensure that more Hoosiers can realize the American Dream. Democrat Courtney Tritch's opposition to the tax cuts that have helped spur unprecedented job growth in northeast Indiana is another sign she is too liberal and out of touch with voters in our district." "Give and Take" is the first television ad aired by either candidate in the 3rd District. **Horse Race Status:** Safe Banks.

Tritch schedules town hall

Democrat nominee Courtney Tritch has scheduled a town hall to discuss the current state of education in northeast Indiana from 6 to 7:30 Sept. 20 at the auditorium of Wayne High School in Fort Wayne. Tritch will serve as moderator, and panelists will include retired educator Meg Bloom; Chris Cathcart, vice chancellor student affairs, Ivy Tech; Shannon Gage of the Early Childhood Alliance; Fort Wayne Community Schools board member Jordan Lebamoff; parent Deb Norman; and Smith-Green Schools educator Janet Thomas of Churubusco Elementary School. **Horse Race Status:** Safe Banks.

4th CD: Baird gets Bezos funding

Amazon founder and chief executive Jeffrey Bezos and his wife, MacKenzie Bezos, are making their first major political contribution with a \$10 million gift to a super PAC focused on electing veterans to public office (Washington Post). Unlike other mega-donors who have poured tens of millions of dollars into Republican or Democratic campaigns, the Bezoses chose a group whose 2018 mission includes reversing "the trend of veteran decline in Congress." As of Wednesday, With Honor listed 33 candidates for House races nationwide. Among candidates the group is supporting are some of the most high-profile veterans from both parties this cycle, such as Democrats Mikie Sherrill in New Jersey, M.J. Hegar in Texas, Amy McGrath in Kentucky and Republican Jim Baird in Indiana. **Horse Race Status:** Safe Baird.

6th CD: Chamber endorses Pence

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce today endorsed Republican nominee Greg Pence in the 2018 general election. Vice President of Congressional and Public Affairs Ron Eidshaug said, "The American business community needs leaders like Greg Pence in Congress to build on the recent successes of tax reform and regulatory reform to keep the economy growing and businesses expanding and investing." **Horse Race Status:** Safe Pence.

9th CD: FOP endorses Hollingsworth

The Indiana State Fraternal Order of Police endorsed U.S. Rep. Trey Hollingsworth in the 9th District race for Congress. In their endorsement, the FOP praised Hollingsworth's leadership and integrity and stated that his "support and commitment to law enforcement has not gone unnoticed." **Horse Race Status:** Likely Hollingsworth.

General Assembly

SD49: Tomes refuses to debate

State Sen. Jim Tomes will not participate in a Courier & Press-sponsored debate with challenger Edie Hardcastle because it is sponsored by the Courier & Press (Langhorne, Evansville Courier & Press). Tomes, a Republican, cited the newspaper's publication of a 2016 opinion column and several letters to the editor that criticized him. "And you guys want me to do a debate?" he said. Hardcastle, a Democrat, called that a ruse to avoid facing her in a locally televised forum. "So his feelings are hurt," she said. "I think that's a poor excuse for not participating in a public debate that would be moderated by a neutral party from the media." **Horse Race Status:** Safe Tomes.

Statewides

Harper calls for debate

Democratic secretary of state candidate Jim Harper's campaign delivered a letter to Secretary of State Connie Lawson's campaign office, contending that Hoosiers deserve to hear from the candidates in a public forum. In the letter, Harper calls for multiple opportunities to debate publicly and reiterated his call for transparency in election security, saying, "At a time when the security and fairness of our elections is so critical and so endangered, I believe we owe it to Hoosier voters to discuss our plans for the future to secure their ballots and their fundamental rights to have their votes counted as cast." Harper requested three forums on terms of agreement yet to be determined by all candidates for the office. **Horse Race Status:** Safe Lawson.



Nation

Obama calls Trump ‘threat to democracy’

Former President Barack Obama assailed President Trump on Friday as a “threat to democracy” as he emerged from a period of political silence to kick off a campaign blitz intended to help Democrats take control of Congress in the November midterm elections (New York Times). In a speech meant to frame his message on the campaign trail over the next two months, Mr. Obama offered a stinging indictment of his successor, sometimes by name, sometimes by inference, accusing him and his Republican supporters of practicing a “politics of fear and resentment,” cozying up to Russia, emboldening white supremacists and politicizing law enforcement agencies. “None of this is conservative,” Obama told an auditorium of students from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Cham-

paign. “I don’t mean to pretend I’m channeling Abraham Lincoln now but that’s not what he had in mind, I think, when he helped form the Republican Party. It’s not conservative. It sure isn’t normal. It’s radical. It’s a vision that says the protection of our power and those who back us is all that matters even when it hurts the country. I’m serious here. That’s not how our democracy is supposed to work.”

Pence ‘disappointed’ by Obama’s return

Vice President Mike Pence says it’s disappointing that former President Barack Obama is back on the campaign trail criticizing President Donald Trump (Associated Press). Says Pence: “The truth is, the American people in 2016 rejected the policy and direction of Barack Obama when they elected President Donald Trump.” Pence comments in a taped interview set to air on “Fox News Sunday.” ❖

Hall talks reforms, tariffs in 2nd CD race

By **JACOB CURRY**

INDIANAPOLIS – HoweY Politic Indiana spoke briefly with 2nd CD Democratic candidate Mel Hall Wednesday evening to get a sense of where his campaign stands and to hear about his vision for congressional reform.



Just prior to the interview, Hall had hosted a town hall session in Walkerton to announce his “Reform Plan to Clean Up Congress,” emphasizing that his reform

plan reflects the attitudes of voters in the 2nd District and his own “relentless pragmatic approach.” We also touched on several other points, including Democratic leadership, President Trump’s tariffs and health care.

HPI: Give us an overview of your campaign at this point.

Hall: We’ve been at this for about 13 months; I do this 10 to 12 hours a day, seven days a week. We have a very good campaign, having come through a six-way primary aand winning all 10 counties in our district. People who watch these things say it’s never happened before. We’ve hired a very professional team, people who have vast experience with running an election and winning. We focus on listening to and responding to folks across the district. In the last 24 hours, we’ve worked on rolling out our “Hard Working Hoosiers Plan to fix Congress,” focusing on the first part, which is working. Hard work is very important to Hoosiers, on the farm or in the factory. Congress does not have that same work ethic, working

three days a week, and my plan is Congress should work five days a week, and if they don’t pass the budget, or if they shut down the government, Congress should not get paid. Members ought to report who they’re meeting with in their official capacity. Additionally, and this is particularly important in this district, Congress members should have quarterly town hall meetings; the current representative has not had a town meeting in five years, and that’s not acceptable.

HPI: There’s been some talk lately about Independents shifting away from Republicans; do you think



this plan could appeal to, or do you intend to use it, to reach out to these voters?

Hall: That’s who I’ve been my entire life, a guy who’s focused on getting something done, whether it’s on

the farm, or in the church or growing a business, so my only focus here is a relentless pragmatic approach. When it comes to Washington, it's clear that both parties are at fault. I've told Nancy Pelosi that I would not support her, because if you do the same things with the same people, you're gonna get the same results and we need different results. We can't say Washington is broken and it's one party at issue, both parties are to blame. Most people in the 2nd District are also very pragmatic and don't really care if someone has a D or an R next to their name, they're focused getting something done that best represents those who live in the district.

HPI: On that point about Pelosi, is there someone you plan to support? Do you have a name who you'd support for caucus leader?

Hall: No, I haven't thought about anyone else, I'm only thinking about this race. We need different results out of both parties in Washington and that's why I called for different leadership of my own party.

HPI: Another issue that's important in the 2nd District is the tariffs. How are voters reacting?

Hall: It's clear that China has been a bad actor. They pay their workers, particularly in steel and aluminum, pennies on the dollar. Something needed to be done to address that. A lot of farmers across our district are very concerned. One out of every three rows of soybeans goes to China, and the price of soybeans has dropped from about \$11.80 to about \$8 over the last 16 months. Not only that, but pork has dropped 44 cents, and milk has gone from about \$22/100 to \$13/100. So, farmers are really hurting. When it comes to tariffs, I think first of all "do no harm," and I don't think all the costs of tariffs have been well thought out. I think part of the challenge comes when representatives are beholden to corporate PAC money. The vast majority of Jackie Walorski's campaign contributions come from corporate PAC money, and I think we should prohibit that. We should prohibit taxpayer-funded mailing during an election year. Driving the money out of politics is what many want in the 2nd District.

HPI: Rep. Walorski indicated that VP Pence was an asset for Hoosiers on tariffs, yet in the Bob Woodward book, it appears he did little to convince Trump not to impose these shotgun style tariffs. Do you have any thoughts on that?

Hall: What we need to know is that farmers are hurting. The hurt is real, and the



tariffs have not been as well thought out as they might have been. There's not enough inclusion of farmers and/or manufacturers as we propose them.

HPI: How are you handling the Obamacare and pre-existing condition issues?

Hall: Well, Jackie Walorski has voted 11 times to defund health care and to kick people off, and as I go across the district, what I hear that that about one third of the people have a pre-existing condition. I'm getting ready to go to my ninth or 10th event of the day, we've talked to 200 to 300 folks. When I ask people "how many of you know someone who's got a pre-existing condition?" my conservative guess is that 85 to 90% know someone with a pre-existing condition. This is real. Diabetes, or some forms of cancer or arthritis, affects almost everyone. And the current representative has voted 11 times to make it

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very difficult, if not impossible, for those with pre-existing conditions to continue on health care. That is the number one issue in this district.

HPI: To that end, then, what are your solutions for evolving Obamacare?

Hall: I see health care like any sort of business problem: "What can we do to make it better?" There are two or three things we should do. One, we should increase insurance competition. Thirty percent of those who sign up on healthcare.gov live in an area where there is a single insurance carrier. Second, we should drive out waste and inefficiency in the health care industry. The American Hospitals Association reports that there is an approximately \$38 billion cost for "non-essential paperwork." That's about \$1,200 per admitted patient in the United States. It's the kind of paperwork that takes professionals away from the reason they got into health care in the first place, which is to make people's lives better. Third, we have to drive down the cost of prescription drugs. Also, I really like Joe Donnelly's bill allowing people to try drugs that have not gone all the way through safety trials.

HPI: What is your stance on immigration reform and the border wall?

Hall: We've got a group shouting real loud and another group shouting real loud on the other side, but what Hoosiers want is someone who'll get something done. I've talked about this issue with farmers and manufacturers, and my view is we can both secure our borders and have a path to citizenship for those who immigrate to our country legally without separating children from their families. We can do both of those things.

HPI: One more general question, how is your campaign handling the impeachment issue?

Hall: We don't think about that; Mueller's investigation will lead wherever it leads. That'll be a facts-based decision. I think about how to represent the people of the 2nd District.

HPI: As we're finishing up here, do you have any final thoughts to



share or topics you'd like to talk about?

Hall: I'd say again, we can do better, and we must do better in Congress. We can do that by having congressional folk work five days a week and by stopping the revolving door where you leave Congress and become a lobbyist. I think we need a five-year waiting period. I think we ought to find ways to continue to work together. We need committee chairs and ranking members to be term-limited. I will limit myself to three terms. I think the Founding Fathers had it right; you go to Washington, you serve your government, and then you get back to the real world. The last thing I'd like to mention from our Hard Working Hoosiers tour is the guaranteed mark-up in consideration for every bipartisan bill; there can't be any more hiding behind closed doors if there's bipartisanship. Again, I believe we can do better, and we must do far better. ❖



CONTENT BY CARTER
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Vice President Pence is no Gerald Ford

By MARK SCHOEFF JR.

WASHINGTON – Vice President Mike Pence is no Gerald Ford. The former president was a moderate. That species of Republican is almost extinct.



Those who are still occasionally spotted in the political wild are known as RINOs – Republican in Name Only.

Pence has staked out a position on the far right, becoming not just a darling of conservative Christians but their lodestar.

There's that word again. It's a favorite in Pence's lexicon – and it was conspicuous in the anonymous Sept. 5 New York

Times oped by a "senior administration official."

If that piece was the beginning of an attempt to pave the way for Pence to triumphantly enter the White House after a forced exit by President Donald J. Trump – either through impeachment or resignation – then Pence would do well to consider the Ford model for a vice president to succeed an ethically challenged commander-in-chief.

The New York Times piece excoriated Trump's leadership style and intellect and asserted that the writer and others in the administration are working furiously and furtively to check the president's worst instincts and decisions before they harm the country.

Recent speculation – by some Hoosier political insiders and by no less an authority than former Trump-loyalist-turned-fierce-enemy Omarosa Manigault – has centered on Pence chief of staff Nick Ayers as the author.

Pence asserted on the CBS political talk show "Face the Nation" on Sept. 9 that he is "100 percent confident that no one on the vice president's staff was involved in this anonymous editorial. I know my people, Margaret [Brennan, the host]."

Pence made that statement after he asked that he be given a chance to clarify a more tepid initial answer: "I just; I wouldn't know. And I would – I really would hope not." Pence said that he misunderstood the initial question, although Brennan clearly asked him whether he thought anyone on his staff had written the piece.

It's common for a principal to start sounding like an aide who shapes his rhetoric. Likewise, it's common for an aide to start sounding like a boss whose rhetoric he hears every day. The Ayers guesses are no worse than others that have been floated.

But if someone on Pence's staff wrote the New York Times oped, what was the motive? Was it to lay the ground work for a narrative about Pence's heroic efforts behind closed doors to try to keep the worst of Trump from undermining the best of America?

If that was the goal, it's going to be a difficult one to achieve because Pence lacks the bipartisan appeal and gravitas of Ford, the last vice president to ascend to the Oval Office under desperate circumstances.

First of all, Ford was able to achieve Senate confirmation when he was tapped by President Richard Nixon to replace Spiro Agnew as vice president because he drew bipartisan support in the chamber. During his many years as a House leader, he gained the trust, friendship and admiration of Republican and Democratic colleagues.

Of course, Pence was elected vice president. But if he were to succeed Trump after Trump's premature departure, he would hardly have a deep reservoir of Democratic support on Capitol Hill.

His years as an aggressive partisan have made many Democrats suspicious. He would start from a huge political deficit that Ford did not have when Ford began to restore American's faith in their government.

Another reason Pence will have a harder time emerging from Trump's shadow than Ford did from Nixon's is the fact that Pence's loyalty to the president borders on obsequiousness.

"The truth is I think that President Donald Trump is the most accomplished president of my lifetime and I think already one of the most successful presidents in American history in our first two years," he said on "Face the Nation."

Ford defended Nixon on Watergate until the bitter end, often by employing a see-no-evil approach, according to a biography of Ford by Douglas Brinkley. But when even Ford had to admit that Nixon had

done wrong, it didn't bring Ford down, too.

"Perhaps more so than even he realized, he fell prey to Richard Nixon's inordinate demand for loyalty at all costs," Brinkley wrote. "Doing so had ruined dozens of others – but not Gerald Ford. Over his long congressional career, Ford had built up what seemed an unassailable reputation. As [George H.W.] Bush put it in his diary on August 6 [1974], 'this era of tawdry, shabby lack of morality has got to end...I will take Ford's decency over Nixon's toughness because what we need at this juncture in our history is a certain sense of morality and a certain sense of decency.'"

Perhaps Pence should become a Gerald Ford Republican. ❖

Schoeff is HPI's Washington correspondent.





A Hoosier spy and the JFK assassination

By CRAIG DUNN

KOKOMO – President John F. Kennedy was an avid reader of the British spy novels written by Ian Fleming. Fleming’s hero, James Bond, conjured up in the President’s mind the vision of a tall, dark and handsome man, oozing charm and sophistication. When the opportunity presented itself late in 1961 or early 1962, after learning of his exploits, Kennedy summoned to the Oval Office the American James Bond.



Ushered into the Oval Office was a short, corpulent, pear-shaped, popeyed man with pigeon toes and a duck waddle. The man was William King Harvey, native son of Danville and Terre Haute, Indiana. The American James Bond was also the Hoosier James Bond.

For one brief year in Harvey’s life, he would operate at the highest levels of government with awesome responsibilities fraught with danger to himself and his country. The road to the pinnacle of professional success for Harvey had certainly been a long, bumpy and winding one. The roots of his ultimate success and failure rested firmly in the soils of the Hoosier State.

William King Harvey was born in 1915 in Cleveland, Ohio, but soon after his birth relocated to Indiana. His father was the most prominent attorney in Danville and his mother was an English professor at the Indiana State Teachers College in Terre Haute. His grandfather was the founder of the local newspaper.

While still in the process of attending law school at Indiana University, with the urging and financial support of his father and the endorsement of his grandfather’s newspaper, Harvey ran for Hendricks County prosecutor. The reality of running as a Democrat in a Republican county caught up with Harvey and he was defeated by 800 votes.

Possessing a newly minted law degree, an attractive new wife and no reason for returning to Danville, Harvey moved to the small Ohio River town of Maysville, Kentucky, where he opened a one-man law practice. Harvey lacked the friendly, back-slapping manner that was required to establish himself in a small town and quickly

learned that the practice of law was not his cup of tea. Maysville was just too sedate a place and Harvey secretly longed for action.

In 1940, Harvey surprised no one in Maysville when he left town to join the FBI. He started in the Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, office but moved to Washington, D. C., soon after the United States entered World War II, as part of a three-man FBI team targeted against our ostensible ally, the Soviet Union.

Late in the war, Harvey found himself in New York City grilling Elizabeth Bentley, the first Soviet spy nabbed in the United States. During 14 days of questioning, Bentley gave up the names of over 100 agents linked to the Soviet Union in both the United States and Canada. Twenty-seven of the individuals fingered by Bentley worked inside the U.S. government; one of these was Alger Hiss.

Harvey spent the next two years trying desperately to build a case against Hiss and the assistant secretary of the Treasury, Harry Dexter White. The stress and pressure of the high-stakes spy game of cat-and-mouse led Harvey down the path to excessive drink and that led to his undoing in the strait-laced, Hoover-led FBI.

One evening in 1947, Harvey left a booze-filled farewell party for a fellow FBI agent and began the long drive home through Washington, D. C. Somewhere along the way, in the middle of a torrential rain storm,



either Harvey’s car flooded out or he pulled off the road to sleep. Regardless, his wife called the FBI to tell them that her husband had not come home. The next morning, Harvey showed up at the office like nothing had happened. Director J. Edgar Hoover disliked Harvey and used a section of the FBI field manual to punish him. FBI policies stated that every agent must be on two-hour call. Since Harvey had been missing in action for the night, Hoover took the opportunity to transfer Harvey from the seat of action in Washington

to the relative backwater office of Indianapolis. Harvey refused the transfer and tendered his resignation.

The world was a much simpler place at that time and the good people of the United States knew nothing of the intrigues of Whitaker Chambers, Alger Hiss, Elizabeth Bentley and the massive espionage being conducted by our former friends in the Soviet Union. There was a newly formed organization that was keenly aware of the new threat posed by the Soviets and that was the Central Intelligence Agency. Harvey entered a world at the CIA that was quite foreign to him. The new CIA was formed and led by some of the bluest of the blue bloods in the United States. Most of the CIA's leadership were from wealthy families and their pedigrees included degrees from the Ivy League schools. Harvey, with his gun-toting, crude and aggressive manner seemed like a fish out of water in the halls of the agency where a poet was esteemed more than a man who could shoot straight.

Harvey's knowledge of Soviet espionage was something that the CIA was desperate to acquire and he was soon rewarded. In the world of the blind, the one-eyed man is king. Harvey knew more about the Soviets than anyone else in the CIA and he was welcomed into the brotherhood of spies.

Harvey and his wife socialized with the leading figures of the CIA at alcohol-laden events hosted in tony Georgetown. Through his drinking and socializing with British MI6 associates Kim Philby and Guy Burgess, Harvey distinctly came to smell the odor of a rat. When Burgess provoked Harvey at a party by drawing a caricature of Harvey's wife in an obscene pose, the furious CIA agent first tried to punch out the notoriously homosexual Burgess and then, later, resolved to dig a little deeper into the British agents' activities.

Convinced that Philby and Burgess were Soviet agents, he developed a dossier on the men, convinced his superiors of their guilt and wrote a report that was used as the basis for the CIA demanding the removal of Philby and Burgess from American soil. Only later would British authorities learn that Kim Philby had been spying for the Soviets before, during and since World War II and had virtually destroyed Great Britain's intelligence service.

Bill Harvey was now promoted to Berlin station chief at a time when Berlin was ground zero for the hottest U.S. and Soviet espionage, a time when a hot war could break out at any moment. Harvey amazingly hatched a plot to tunnel 700 yards from West to East Berlin, under the Soviet intelligence communications center, and to use sophisticated listening devices to intercept all Soviet radio traffic. The ploy worked incredibly well, with significant damage to the Soviets, and Harvey was hailed as an intelligence wunderkind. The tunnel came to be known as the "Harvey Hole" and it led to him receiving the Distinguished Intelligence Medal from CIA Director Allen Dulles. It solidified Harvey's reputation as a man of action.

Harvey's drinking escalated to epic proportions

during his time in Berlin. It was nothing for him to down seven double martinis for lunch and then follow that with more martinis and bottles of wine for dinner. He served martinis at his frequent parties in goblets instead of the more demure martini glasses.

In 1961, Harvey was reassigned to CIA headquarters and given command of the ZR/Rifle program, the program in charge of executive actions around the world. "Executive action" is CIA language for assassinations.



CAPTURE OF BILL HARVEY RELIEVING HIMSELF OF HIS PISTOLS AT THE LAST AS HE ENTERS THE OVAL OFFICE TO MEET PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY

Harvey's first success was the removal of Soviet ally Patrick Lumumba in the Congo. That success thrilled President Kennedy and his brother, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, who had increasingly taken a more active role in the world of international intrigue. Robert Kennedy was rumored to have blurted out, "We can kill anyone we want now!"

During the Bay of Pigs disaster, the CIA had attempted to assassinate Fidel Castro in a Keystone Cops misadventure that failed miserably. A new, tougher hand was brought in to take command of the day-to-day operations of the newly organized plan for the destabilization of Cuba. Under the overall command of Maj. Gen. Edward Lansdale and supervised by a committee consisting of Gen. Maxwell Taylor, McGeorge Bundy, CIA Director John McCone and Robert Kennedy, the working group gave William King Harvey direct responsibility for the operation's success. The effort was codenamed "Operation Mongoose."

Harvey took operational control of over 400 agents, provocateurs and insurrectionists who made their daily work the overthrow of Fidel Castro and the destabilization of the Cuban government. Operations included, but were not limited to assassination, infiltration, propaganda and terrorist acts.

Staging a terrorist act on U. S. soil and making it look like the terrorists originated in Cuba was even planned. President Kennedy and his brother Bobby were obsessed with removing Castro and no action was precluded. The operations received a written presidential order sanctioning its work. For the assassination part of the

operation, Harvey turned to organized crime for their help. The Mafia had suffered mightily at the hands of Fidel Castro. Castro had seized and closed all of the Havana casinos, costing organized crime millions of dollars. The Mafia man who was chosen to deal closely with Harvey and be the go-between with the various crime families was the suave and sophisticated Johnny Roselli. Harvey arranged for poison to be delivered to Roselli on two occasions for the purpose of being put in Castro's food. The plan never succeeded.



Attorney General Kennedy called Harvey before the working group and severely dressed him down for his failure to deliver the desired results. The tongue-lashing Harvey received was so severe that Gen. Maxwell Taylor turned to the President's brother and said, "You could sack a town and enjoy it."

In September 1962, Operation Mongoose was severely disrupted by the surprise revelation that the Soviet Union had installed offensive nuclear missiles in Cuba. President Kennedy feigned a cold and cut short a campaign visit to Chicago to return to Washington to deal with the crisis.

Robert Kennedy's bloodlust was tempered by the new Cuban reality and he ordered the CIA and its operatives to stand down in Cuba. He wanted nothing to potentially provoke a nuclear conflict with the Soviet Union. Generals in both Russia and the United States advocated for total nuclear war and Kennedy wanted nothing to be done without the president's direct order.

Whether at the direction of the military command or on his own volition, Harvey ignored Robert Kennedy and infiltrated 60 CIA commandos into Cuba. They were tasked with various missions to conduct prior to an anticipated military campaign to be launched against the island nation. When Kennedy accidentally learned of Harvey's actions he stormed into Harvey's office and started screaming and demanded to know who authorized the action. Harvey lost his temper, turned beet-red, grabbed his gun and slammed it on the table in front of him, pointed at the President's brother. Kennedy told Harvey that he had two minutes to explain himself. When Harvey was still talking two minutes later, Kennedy stormed out. Harvey was done in Washington.

The CIA Director, John McCone, transferred Harvey to Rome as station chief there. Harvey's excessive drinking escalated and he had numerous direct conflicts with the Italian security services and some of his more socially refined staff. The conflicts finally came to a head and Harvey was sent back to the United States.

The official CIA record shows that William King Harvey returned to the U.S. and finally retired in 1967. He

was called before the Church Committee in 1975 to testify about the CIA's assassination programs. He was scheduled to appear before the House Committee on Assassinations in 1976 but before he could testify, he died of a heart attack.

In 2003, CIA veteran and head of the Watergate burglars E. Howard Hunt made a videotaped deathbed confession to his involvement in a conspiracy to assassinate John F. Kennedy. In his confession he identified Bill Harvey as playing a major role in what Hunt called "the big event."

Hunt told how in 1963 he was called to a meeting in Miami, Florida by CIA agents Frank Sturgis and David Morales and informed of a plan to kill Kennedy. Hunt identified Harvey and Morales

as the key operational leaders of the plot. Harvey would arrange for the shooters and transportation of weapons to Dallas. The killers would be hired assassins from the Corsican mob led by Jean Souevre. Johnny Roselli would assist in procuring the shooters.

While Hunt's account has never been verified, there is much circumstantial evidence that lends credence to the possible truth of the story. By the time that the House Assassinations Committee began conducting hearings into the Kennedy murder, Harvey was dead of a heart attack and Johnny Roselli had been cut into pieces and dumped into an oil drum into the ocean off of Miami Beach.

Harvey had the means and the motive to coordinate a hit on Kennedy, but did he? His wife C.G., herself a retired CIA officer may have known, but she carried Bill's secrets with her to the grave in 2000. She was buried



alongside her husband in the Danville South Cemetery.

The House Assassinations Committee reported that there probably had been a conspiracy to kill Kennedy and that more than one shooter had probably been involved. Although they could not prove it, most of the committee staff investigators believed that William King Harvey was most likely the leading figure.

The Hoosier James Bond, William King Harvey, played a notable role during the Cold War and possibly in America's greatest crime. ❖

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

Politics and the golden rule

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – At my grandson’s school, students are learning to think broadly as expressed in their adoption of Buzz Lightyear’s catchphrase, “To infinity and beyond.” While every media outlet seems focused on the hijinks preceding the 2018 elections, those contests are a mere prelude to the national circus in 2020. Mega-money, now being spent by partisan groups, will not compare with the sums flowing through the political arteries two years from now.



Neglected in this process are the state legislative elections this year. The entire Indiana House and half the Senate are on

the ballot. Those elected this year could (if they have the courage) restore integrity to the House and Senate district boundaries. Establishing a justifiable system for redistricting after the 2020 Census is an imperative that informed voters cannot ignore. Elvis would croon to us, “It’s now or never.”

Next year, the money won’t be as plentiful and the press coverage will be still weaker as we neglect the local and municipal elections of 2019. Those contests will have impacts crossing city, county and state lines, shaping opportunities for every Hoosier household.

Much of Indiana has a stake in the 2019 Chicago mayoral election. Smaller cities and towns in Indiana have reason to be concerned about mayoral and councilor choices in Indianapolis, Fort Wayne, Evansville, South Bend and Terre Haute. Voter choices in Louisville and Cincinnati will resonate throughout southern and southeastern Indiana.

Similarly, the decisions made at the county and community levels will have a bearing on the larger metropolitan areas. Unless, we have more instances of the federal government setting regulations that handcuff the states where preemption of local prerogatives is a favorite legislative sport.

As has been said for generations, “We obey the Golden Rule: He who has the gold, rules.” For more than 150 years, in the public and private sectors, we have surrendered to the concept of economies of scale, the belief that larger units are more efficient than smaller ones. Much of that belief is supported by the data we collect - the recorded and filed information of a mercantile economy.

But we have not been able to formalize and convert to numeric quantities the value of convenience, trust and equity. Consolidations of schools, fire departments and

competing firms are determined by the “hard” numbers of accountants and the “softer” estimates of imaginative economists. How do we compare revenues received by cutting timber for new houses, extended urban sprawl, and a higher incidence of homeownership with the value of forests, cleaner air and water, as well as compact urban settlements?

These tough issues are decided indirectly by voters in a responsible representative democracy if they vote. If they do not vote, decision-making is left to the minority who exercise their voting rights.

But what incentive do citizens have to vote when the system is rigged toward one party because district maps have been manipulated in favor of that party? ❖

Mr. Marcus is an economist. His views can be followed on “Who gets what?” wherever podcasts are available. Or reach him at mortonjmarcus@yahoo.com

Why, Mike Pence?

By **RICH JAMES**

MERRILLVILLE – What is it with Vice President Mike Pence, who embraces evangelicalism and portrays himself as being holier than thou? Through 20 months of the Donald Trump presidency, Pence has been the tail wagged by the dog.



Whatever Trump says or does, Pence is the first to extol his virtues or be conspicuously quiet.

Even though he is a fellow Hoosier, Pence no longer should be given a pass. For example:

Why is it that Pence said nothing when Trump called his response to Hurricane Maria in Puerto Rico “an incredible unsung success” although his negligence contributed to the deaths of almost 3,000 people?

And, where was Pence when it was learned that Trump bought the silence of two women with whom he had extramarital affairs, a porn star and Playboy model? What has Pence had to say about Trump’s morality and his poor treatment of women?

Pence calls Trump a “great” leader, but refuses to criticize him for coddling up to the leaders of America’s two greatest enemies, Russia’s Vladimir Putin and North Korea’s Kim Jong-Un?

And why is it that Trump refuses to criticize Russia for interfering in the 2016 election while all U.S. intelligence agencies have blamed Russia? How about that, Mike?

And why is it that Pence is silent when Trump

repeatedly accuses the U.S. news media of printing “fake news?” And, has Pence ever intervened when Trump said Sen. John McCain wasn’t a war hero?

And, when Trump pulled the United States out of the Paris Accord on global warming, why didn’t Pence speak up and say that might be a mistake?

And has Pence ever criticized Trump for attempting to use the U.S. Justice Department as his personal law firm?

Has Pence ever vocalized a concern that it may be wrong to still use the term “crooked Hillary” almost two years after the election?

And why is it that Pence – who is a noted fis-

cal conservative – never has accused Trump of potentially weakening the economy by hiking the national debt through a massive tax cut for the wealthy?

And why is it that Pence hasn’t called out Trump for lying to the American public on a daily basis?

All I can figure is that Pence doesn’t care. He just wants to hold onto Trump’s base to help him become the nation’s next president, whenever that might be. ❖

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.

WWN and fake news!

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Maybe the Weekly World News (WWN) stopped publishing too soon. Wouldn’t that once flourishing supermarket tabloid be popular today, what with such widespread belief in fake conspiracies and pontificated falsehoods?



The WWN was a weakly weekly, in terms of journalism. In fact, it wasn’t journalism at all. It wasn’t news at all. It was fiction, strictly fiction, portrayed as news, with sensational headlines that attracted shoppers glancing at the array of supermarket tabloids at check-out lanes.

It ceased publishing 11 years ago, although it and its famous covers still can be found on-line. The WWN hit 1.2 million readership in the 1980s. There were so many memorable headlines:

“Elvis Is Alive”; “Severed Leg Hops to Hospital”; “Saddam and Osama Adopt Shaved Ape Baby.”

My favorite was the cover story about the demise of a woman with a mink coat who was bitten to death when the animals came back to life and did her in. There was a photo. Photographic proof.

I looked at the covers while in line at Martin’s Supermarket, but I didn’t want to be seen buying the tabloid. Fortunately, a colleague at The Tribune was brave enough to buy it occasionally. We enjoyed a lot of laughs about the ridiculous WWN “exclusives.”

Not all laughed. I got frequent phone calls from a nice, polite lady who wondered why I never wrote a column about WWN disclosures, such as “Five U.S. Senators Are Space Aliens!” Well, I tried to explain gently that I really didn’t have any space aliens as sources.

“Nothing but the Truth.” That was its motto. And many of its readers no doubt believed, as that lady did, that the WWN told the truth about things the mainstream

media covered up.

Alas, circulation plummeted. Why?

Some theorized that the tabloid’s defense in a libel case turned off believers. The successful defense was that it couldn’t be libel because everybody knew the WWN stories were fake. Some cited the tabloid’s decision to switch from declaring that it presented the truth to instead providing a warning: “The reader should suspend disbelief for the sake of enjoyment.” Some, Pollyannaish, thought Americans were becoming too well informed to fall for such nonsense. Or was it because the WWN, sister publication of the National Enquirer, was published without color on old presses once used by the Enquirer? It didn’t attract attention amid the more in-color sensations of competitors at the check-out lanes.

Anyway, readership fell. It halted publication on Aug. 27, 2007.

Too soon? Probably not. Potential for fake news remains. But a black-and-white WWN wouldn’t stand a chance in competition with social media. Oodles of fake news is found there without having to go to the supermarket to obtain it. And it can reach more Americans than ever read the Weekly World News.

The Russians understood the potential. In their efforts to shake belief in our institutions, sow divisiveness and influence our presidential election, they spread fake news and found believers.

One example of belief in a fake story rivaling the credibility of Senate space aliens was when a man came from North Carolina and opened fire on a Washington pizzeria after believing social media claims that the place was the site of a child sex ring run by Hillary Clinton. Real issues can be cited for deciding not to vote for Clinton; a child sex ring was not a real issue, not real at all.

The WWN of old would not have the reach or the impact of Facebook or Twitter. Just look at the reach of certain famous tweets.

Like the lady who was loyal to the WWN, there are many, many more, who would believe the tweeter if he told of a severed leg hopping to the hospital or that Senate critics were space aliens. ❖

Russ Pulliam, IndyStar: For those who don't like Vice President Mike Pence, "The Shadow President" should be a comforting book. The authors, Michael D'Antonio and Peter Eisner, find fault even with his virtues. His "niceness" isn't really nice even if people find him pleasant in manner. It's just an act to make his nasty conservative views seem nicer than they really are, according to the book. Beneath the superficial kindness lies a tendency toward "aggression." The two former newspaper reporters leave behind some of their reporting skills as they try to dissect Pence's theology and mix up Calvinism with the prosperity gospel. They write: "The theology behind this notion depended on the Calvinist belief that God elects those who will prosper on earth and that their successes prove they are His favorites." In real life John Calvin never was healthy or wealthy, and suffered the death of a young son. Calvinism doesn't promise prosperity. Some prosperity gospel preachers do promise it but rarely would they identify as Calvinists. The authors also need a fact-checking copy editor. Some examples: DePauw University is in Greencastle, not Terre Haute. George Stuteville does not spell his last name Stuteville. Indianapolis-based broadcast entrepreneur Jeff Smulyan does not spell his last name as Smolyen. The late insurance executive J. Patrick Rooney was not part of the "Christian Right." The Indianapolis business owner was a politically conservative Roman Catholic who appreciated the free market as he got older. But he never signed up with the Christian Right. Doug Coe was not part of an "elitist fundamentalism" or the Christian Right, as the authors suggest in describing the group that puts on the National Prayer Breakfast. Coe's closest ministry partners included liberal senators such as Mark Hatfield (Republican) and Harold Hughes (Democrat). Coe was basically apolitical, or nonpartisan, as an informal chaplain to those in high places, left or right politically. The authors characterize George Washington as not very religious. His religious inclinations are clear to biographers who look at him in the Anglican church context. Historian Peter Lillback wrote than 1,000 pages of research to make a case for Washington's faith in Christ in *Sacred Fire*. In political matters their reporting gets better, showing how Pence has bridged the gap between libertarians in the conservative movement and the Christian family values wing. Their subtitle is misleading, "The Truth About Mike Pence." The authors are too sloppy in research to claim "truth." ❖



Jan Brewer, NWI Times: The brutal effects of illegal immigration continue to be felt throughout the country, yet Democrats such as Sen. Joe Donnelly are standing in the way of fixing our broken immigration system. Given the urgent need to implement meaningful immigration reform, Indiana simply can't trust Donnelly to get the job done anymore. As of 2017, there were an estimated 12.5 million illegal aliens in the United States, including at least 165,000 illegals who reside in the great state of Indiana.

No country can support such an enormous population of illegal immigrants without suffering equally enormous consequences. President Trump revealed recently that in 2017, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agents "arrested over 127,000 criminal aliens ... including those charged or convicted of 48,000 assaults, 12,000 sex crimes, and 1,800 homicides." Many Hoosiers are directly familiar with the effects of our open borders catastrophe. Last week, state law enforcement officials issued an arrest warrant for an illegal immigrant who failed to appear in court after hitting a preschool teacher with her vehicle in May. The victim was seriously injured and needed surgery to survive. In February, Indianapolis Colts linebacker Edwin Jackson was killed by a twice-deported illegal immigrant in a drunk driving accident — yet another death that could have been easily prevented if our politicians took immigration as deadly serious as it has become. Sadly, for American citizens, the Democratic Party cares more about illegal immigrants than innocent lives taken by violent criminals among them — and Sen. Donnelly is no exception. ❖

Kelly Hawes, CNHI: The New York Times this week published an anonymous essay from someone who claimed to be working behind the scenes to thwart the worst instincts of President Donald J. Trump. In a note to readers, the newspaper acknowledged the move was a rare step. "We have done so at the request of the author, a senior official in the Trump administration whose identity is known to us and whose job would be jeopardized by its disclosure," the note said. "We believe publishing this essay anonymously is the only way to deliver an important perspective to our readers." The response to the essay was immediate. "It's like the horror movies when everyone realizes the call is coming from inside the house," one former White House official told the Washington Post. Some suggested the writer might be Vice President Mike Pence, but Jarrod Agen, Pence's communications director, quickly denied it. "The Vice President puts his name on his Op-Eds," Agen tweeted. "The @nytimes should be ashamed and so should the person who wrote the false, illogical, and gutless op-ed. Our office is above such amateur acts." The president took to Twitter as well. "Does the so-called 'Senior Administration Official' really exist," he wrote, "or is it just the Failing New York Times with another phony source? If the GUTLESS anonymous person does indeed exist, the Times must, for National Security purposes, turn him/her over to government at once!" He also sought to reassure his supporters. In response to a question from NBC's Peter Alexander, the president touted his accomplishments. "Nobody has ever done in less than a two-year period what we've done," he said, "so when you tell me about some anonymous source within the administration, probably who's failing, and who's probably here for all the wrong reasons. No." ❖

Chairman Brown in critical condition

ST. IGNACE, Mich. – House Ways and Means Chairman Tim Brown is in critical condition with multiple injuries after a motorcycle crash in Michigan (Berman, [WIBC](#)). Michigan State Police say Brown (R-Crawfordsville) slammed his motorcycle into an SUV that pulled into his path on U.S. 2, about 2 1/2 miles from the Mackinac Bridge. Indianapolis Rep. Mike Speedy was riding with Brown but managed to avoid the crash. Speaker Brian Bosma told HPI this morning that Brown's condition has "stabilized" and that his family is with him. Police say neither alcohol nor weather is believed to be a factor in the crash, though troopers are still investigating. The SUV driver wasn't hurt. Governor Holcomb called on Hoosiers to join in prayers for the 12-term representative, who he describes as not only "an extraordinary leader (but) a fighter." Brown often supplies a running travelogue on his Twitter feed, tweeting photos from around the Midwest with the hashtag #selfies withtimbrown. His most recent photos were posted Saturday from Notre Dame's football game against Ball State, including one posing with a portrait of his Heisman-winning namesake, the former Notre Dame wide receiver. The emergency-room physician is running for his 13th term in the House. He's chaired the powerful Ways and Means Committee, which handles budget and tax bills, since 2013. His district covers parts of Boone, Montgomery and Tippecanoe Counties.



Wages going up in Indiana

PORTAGE – Statistics released this month by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics suggest Indiana posted the ninth-highest average wage growth in the United States from 2016-2017 (Ober, [Inside Indiana Business](#)). Overall, the state ranks 34th in average wage, but University of Indianapolis Associate Professor of Finance Matt Will says "that

is only the starting point." He says, when cost of living and cost of housing numbers are factored in, Indiana fares much better. During an interview with Inside INdiana Business Reporter Mary-Rachel Redman, Will said he believes the state shouldn't get involved in trying to raise wages. He says, in other states, whenever the government gets involved, they end up creating a wage gap. The Bureau of

Labor Statistics report shows Indiana's average annual wage grew from \$44,750 in 2016 to \$46,424 in 2017. Indiana's 3.74 percent increase ranks ninth in the nation. The state ranks 34th overall, up one spot from 2016.

Young leaning toward Kavanaugh

FORT WAYNE – Democrat Joe Donnelly is not the only U.S. senator from Indiana who has yet to say how he will vote on the confirmation of Supreme Court nominee Brett Kavanaugh (Francisco, [Fort Wayne Journal Gazette](#)). Republican Todd Young stopped short of endorsing Kavanaugh's nomination during a Fort Wayne visit Tuesday – although just barely. "I'm strongly leaning toward supporting Kavanaugh," Young said in an interview while dining at Fort Wayne's Famous Coney Island downtown. "I've gone to the extent of delivering a floor speech about what an exceptional nominee he is, laid out his credentials, how I embrace his method of construing the Constitution and applying the law to the facts of a given case as opposed to injecting his own policy positions or preferences into the cases before him. "With all that said, I am reserving final judgment until the conclusion of the Senate Judiciary Committee hearings," Young said.

Daily Show films Lake in Muncie

MUNCIE – A freelance videography crew from Indianapolis

and representatives with Comedy Central's The Daily Show filmed a segment tentatively titled "Black Girl Midterm Magic" with congressional hopeful Jeanine Lake Tuesday ([Muncie Star Press](#)). The film crew shot at different locations throughout Muncie including Ball State.

Carter warns Democrats

ATLANTA – Former President Jimmy Carter sees little hope for the U.S. to change its human rights and environmental policies as long as Donald Trump is in the White House, but he has a warning for his fellow Democrats looking to oust the current administration: Don't go too far to the left ([Associated Press](#)). "Independents need to know they can invest their vote in the Democratic Party," Carter said Tuesday during his annual report at his post-presidential center and library in Atlanta, where he offered caution about the political consequences should Democrats "move to a very liberal program, like universal health care."

Mnuchin seeks China tariff talks

WASHINGTON — The Trump administration is giving Beijing another chance to try to stave off new tariffs on \$200 billion in Chinese exports, asking top officials for a fresh round of trade talks later this month, people briefed on the matter said ([Wall Street Journal](#)). The invitation from Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin comes as some Trump officials said they sense a new vulnerability—and possibly more flexibility—among Chinese officials pressured by U.S. tariffs imposed earlier this year and threats for more.