

Books recount Trump/Pence chaos

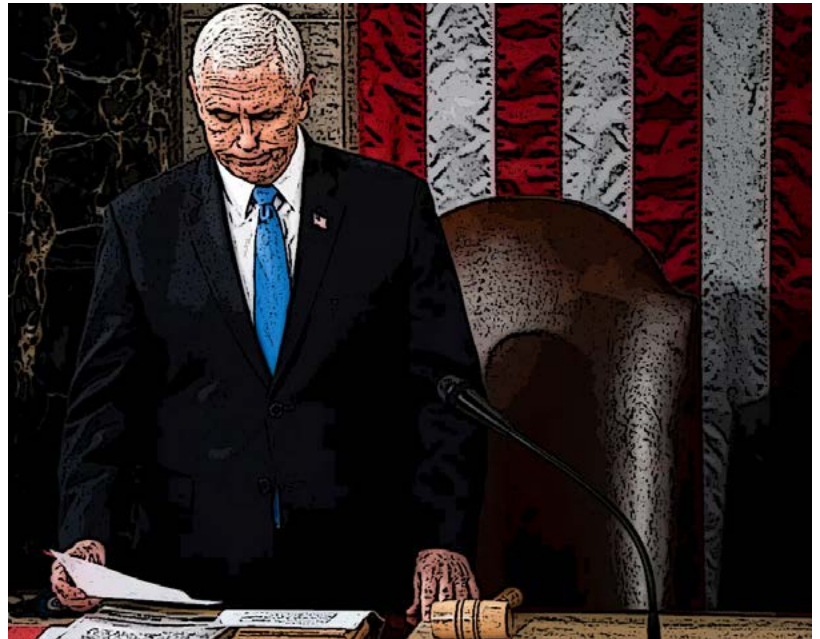
3 new books describe the weeks and hours leading up to the Jan. 6 insurrection

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Mike Pence's Washington career began in January 2001, highlighted by his refusal nine months into his first House term to abandon the U.S. Capitol as al-Qaeda terror pilots had just assaulted the Pentagon and Flight 93 was aimed toward the citadel of American democracy.

In the Sept. 13, 2001 edition of *Howey Politics*, Pence described the anger he felt pumping adrenaline through his veins on Sept. 11 as F-16s crisscrossed the sky over the U.S. Capitol seeking the rogue airliner.

He defied an order to evacuate and walked back to the landmark edifice just before 10 a.m. "I couldn't walk away from the moment," Pence thought as smoke billowed from the Pentagon. "I had to report to duty. It was like standing on the shore of Pearl Harbor. I did not feel any emotion but resolute anger until I heard the voice of my wife at 11 a.m. That's when I



heard how frightened she was; I was really overcome."

Pence's Washington career may have come to an end a little less than 20 years later, on Jan. 6 as the vice

Continued on page 3

Pence in his twilight zone

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – As the smirking Donald Trump finally gave Mike Pence his deliverance at the late, late hour of 11 a.m. July 15, 2016, tweeting that he was anointing the Indiana governor to his longshot ticket, I channeled Rod Serling:

"This is a portrait of an exposed governor named

Mike Pence, who feeds off his self delusion, who finds himself perpetually hungry for greatness in his diet. He searches for something which explains his hunger and why the world passes him by without saluting. It is something he looks for and finds at a national convention, in his twisted and distorted lexicon he calls it faith, strength and truth. But in



"This just goes to show how partisan this effort was all along, that Nancy Pelosi would take me and Jim Jordan first off of this committee, she knows we were prepared to fight to find the truth. She doesn't want to go down that path."

- U.S. Rep. Jim Banks



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Jack E. Howey
editor emeritus
1926-2019



just a moment Mike Pence will ply his trade on another kind of corner, at the strange intersection we call the twilight zone."

Pence has found his political twilight zone, coming to a head during the Jan. 6 U.S. Capitol insurrection. Unless you're an ardent supporter of Trump and back his efforts to undermine the American election process and the Electoral College, you know that Vice President Pence ended up doing the right thing, refusing in the final days to participate in Trump's coup d'etat.

But his deal with the devil - often described as Pence's "Faustian bargain" - is starting to come into focus.

Trump has expressed distinct disdain for his former sidekick, as the recent spate of books reveals. And there will be even more books and documentaries about the chaotic end of the Trump presidency over the year or so when more of the same will come to the surface.

Pence was heckled at a Family Leadership conference in Florida last month with calls of "traitor." And during an appearance at a Sioux City, Iowa GOP event last weekend, he earned this dubious Politico headline: "Pence flatlines as 2024 field takes shape."

The quotes in reporter David Siders' story were devastating.

"Who?" asked Doug Gross, a former chief of staff to Iowa Gov. Terry Branstad when asked about Pence's chances in 2024.

"It's just, where would you place him?" Gross continued. "With Trumpsters, he didn't perform when they really wanted him to perform, so he's DQ'd there. Then you go to the evangelicals, they have plenty of other choices."

And there was this merciless quote from Scott County Republican vice chair Raymond Harre: "I don't imagine he'd have a whole lot of support. There are some Trump supporters who think he's the Antichrist."

Harre said Pence "did a good

job as vice president," and he called the vitriol directed at him "kind of nutty." Still, he said, "I don't see him overcoming the negatives."

And this from Sean Walsh, a GOP strategist who worked in the Reagan and Bush41 White Houses: "He's got to justify to the Trumpistas why he isn't Judas Iscariot, and then he's got to demonstrate to a bunch of other Republicans why he hung out with someone they perceive to be a nutjob."



Gov. Pence proposed for Trump's ticket

Indiana governor expected to be join billionaire for Manhattan ticket unwavling

By BRIAN A. HOWEY INDIANAPOLIS Just two weeks ago, the notion of a possible vice presidential nomination was something Gov. Mike Pence's campaign chief was in the midst of...
Campaign 2016



Keynote speaker at the opening of the new Comfort Airport in Indiana. Pence is prepared to turn his resignation from the ticket prior to the main Friday caucuses. The Indiana Republican Central Committee will have 33 days to choose a replacement.

O'Barren died in September 2003, setting off a cascade of change in Howey politics that took a decade to play out and paved the way for a governor named Mitch Daniels. Gov. Pence succeeds to the national focus, banking from the gubernatorial nomination he has earned from voters last year.

Bay emerges from ether

By BRIAN A. HOWEY INDIANAPOLIS In a creative year of and establishment...
QUOTE OF THE WEEK



In a shocking turn of events that matches Gov. Pence's February 2016 bid to resign that prompted him to retire from the Senate just as the 2016 election was being held and an Obama-era vice president just over the horizon, Comstock Senate candidate Ryan Hill has the ticket on Monday, setting the stage for Bay and his \$20 million war chest to return to Howey political politics.



"I think it is appropriate that I make plain today that should there be a sudden need to name a new nominee for governor, I will not present myself as a candidate nor would I accept the nomination if offered." - Purdue President Mitch Daniels

There are signs that Twilight Zone realities are sinking into Pence World. Former gubernatorial chief of staff Bill Smith has closed the DC office he opened in 2017 to reap the financial advantages of Pence's veep orbit.

Pence is plodding ahead, going through the 2024 motions while laying out "policy markers" for a national race.

But as I observed in July 2016: "A spot on the ticket is not a slam dunk for success for the Indiana governor. Vice presidential nominees on tickets losing in a landslide often find themselves sliding into political oblivion. Jack Kemp, Joe Lieberman, Sarah Palin, Geraldine Ferraro, and Sargent Shriver never became

presidential-level power houses. A Trump/Pence victory certainly would place Pence into the vice presidential realm, though Walter Mondale, Dan Quayle and Al Gore never reached the White House on their own."

While Pence has moved back to Indiana, buying a Carmel mansion for \$1.9 million and has a book deal with Simon & Shuster, his political options are getting scarce.

Pence has turned his back on Indiana, except for an occasional fundraiser.

HPI asked several Hoosier Republican insiders if Pence could to revive his career in Indiana, as Richard Nixon did in California two years after losing the 1960 presidential race, and the consensus isn't promising. Could Pence win a 2024 U.S. Senate race, if Mike Braun decides to run for governor?

No, particularly if Trump were to endorse Gov. Holcomb or Attorney General Todd Rokita. It would take a grand clearing of the field for that to happen, and the dominant Indiana GOP is teeming with ambitious fresh faces.

The next two years where the 2024 presidential race will gradually be coming into focus is an eternity in politics. Right now the 2024 presidential nomination is Donald Trump's for the taking. He has a cult-like following with the 25-35% of the GOP who would decide the primary cycle. Trump can keep the field narrow ... unless he's indicted and convicted on tax fraud charges in New York (a la Capone) or election fraud charges in Georgia or Arizona.

Pence's brightest prospects appear to be to write his two books and hope the Trump fever subsides. He could follow the Nixon playbook over the next three election cycles, and hope that an element of redemption comes into play in 2026, positioning him for 2028.

The potential pitfall there is whether a Ron DeSantis or another Republican rising star becomes the next big thing. ❖

Howey is publisher of Howey Politics Indiana. Follow him on Twitter @hwypol.

Trump/Pence, from page 1

president presided over what had been known as "the peaceful transfer of power," or the congressional counting and certification of Electoral College ballots before the building was overrun by domestic insurrectionists inspired by his boss, President Donald Trump.

Three books released this past week have highlighted the final months, days and hours of the Trump presidency and have cast Vice President Pence's role in two ways: As a savior of American democracy when he refused to subvert the will of 82 million American voters; or as a subservient enabler who passively watched for nearly two months as Trump sought to "overturn" the 2020 election.

According to the new book, **"I Alone Can Fix It: Donald J. Trump's Catastrophic Final Year,"** by Washington Post reporters Carol Leonnig and Philip Rucker, Vice President Pence refused a Secret Service request that he leave the building on Jan. 6, 2021, as insurrectionists invaded the building, chanting "Hang Mike Pence!"

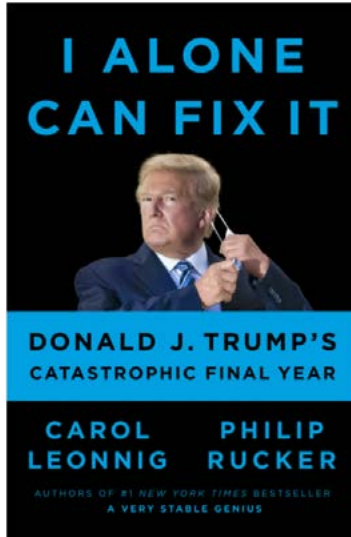


Vice President and Mrs. Pence visit the Flight 93 crash site at Shanksville, Pa., as a park ranger describes the path of the doomed jet that had been aimed at the U.S. Capitol.

At 2:13 p.m. on Jan. 6, Pence's Secret Service detail removed the vice president from the Senate floor and took him through a side door to his ceremonial office nearby, along with his wife, Karen, their daughter Charlotte, and his brother, Greg, a congressman from Indiana. The Pences were hurried across one of the Capitol's many ornate marble hallways to get there, but the path proved eerily close to danger. One or two minutes later, marauders chanting Pence's name charged up the stairs to that precise landing in front of the hallway, and a quick-thinking Capitol policeman, Eugene Goodman, led the rioters in a different direction, away from the Senate chamber. Had Pence walked past any later, the intruders who called him a traitor would have spotted him.

Tim Giebels, the lead special agent in charge of the vice president's protective detail, twice asked Pence to evacuate the Capitol, but Pence refused. "I'm not leaving the Capitol," he told Giebels. The last thing the vice president wanted was the people attacking the Capitol to see his 20-car motorcade fleeing. Leonnig and Rucker wrote:

"That would only vindicate their insurrection." The third time Giebels asked Pence to evacuate, it was more of an order than a request. 'They're in the building,' Giebels said. 'The room you're in is not secure. There are glass windows. I need to move you. We're going.' At 2:26, after a team of agents scouted a safe path to ensure the Pences would not encounter trouble, Giebels and the rest of Pence's detail guided them down a staircase

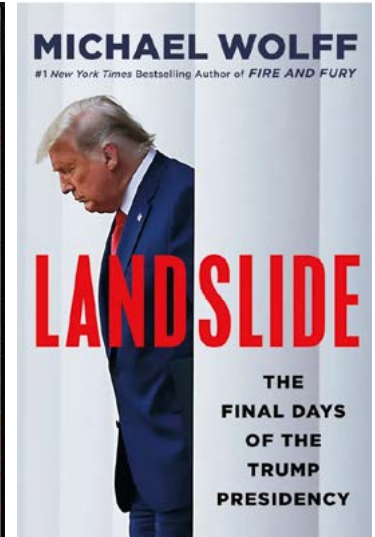


to a secure subterranean area that rioters couldn't reach, where the vice president's armored limousine awaited. Giebels asked Pence to get in one of the vehicles. 'We can hold here,' he said. 'I'm not getting in the car, Tim,' Pence replied. 'I trust you, Tim, but you're not driving the car. If I get in that vehicle, you guys are taking off. I'm not getting in the car.'"

In Wall Street Journal reporter Michael C. Bender's book, **"Frankly, We Did Win This Election: The Inside Story of How Trump Lost,"** we got this take of the moment: Secret Service agents hustled Pence off the Senate floor and into a nearby hideaway. If the insurgents had arrived on the second-floor landing just seconds earlier, he would have been within their reach. The frenzied crowd had overrun the Capitol Police and the Metropolitan Police Department, and Pence's safety – and that of just about everyone else in the Capitol – rested on the arrival of the National Guard. 'I want them down here – and I want them down here now,' Pence firmly instructed during a call with the Pentagon."

President Trump was in his White House study, doing nothing to quell the violence he had promised would "be wild," instead watching the melee on TV, essentially AWOL.

In Michael Wolff's book, **"Landslide: The Final Days of the Trump Presidency,"** the New York Times reports that his main sources seem to be a group of aides at a second or third level of celebrity, people who see themselves as "political professionals." Administration staff members like Jason Miller (communications adviser), Mark Meadows (White House chief of staff), Matthew Morgan (counsel to the reelection campaign) and Marc Short (Mike Pence's chief of staff) appear often in Wolff's accounts of White House meetings, usually attempting unsuccessfully to impose a measure of order and sanity



as the president sought to overturn the election with an unprecedented coup d'état.

"In insider political circles," Wolff writes, "almost all politicians are seen as difficult and even damaged people, necessarily tolerated in some civics class inversion because they were elected. You took it and put up with it and tried to make the best of it, not in spite of everything, but because this was what you did; this was the job you had." Or you thought you could help by "keeping it from being so much worse than it otherwise might be."

Or you persuaded yourself that you were serving a larger cause, as in the case of Marc Short: "He detested the president but saw a tight-lipped tolerance, however painful, as the way to use Trump's popularity to realize the conservative grail of remaking the federal courts and the federal bureaucracy."

Nobody holding official power in the White House or the Republican Party – in particular, Mike Pence and Mitch McConnell – took Trump's ravings seriously, so the horrifying events of Jan. 6 came as a surprise, probably even to Trump himself, Wolff observed. The various rallies that day had been organized by independent right-wing



political entrepreneurs with businesses to promote, not by the White House, and it wasn't yet clear to most Republicans in Washington how fully Trump's followers had accepted his insistence that the election had been stolen. Almost nobody in the White House was actively trying to persuade members of Congress to vote for the election challenges that were before them on Jan. 6.

According to Wolff's book, President Trump wondered how Pence "could be such a 'stiff' and a 'square'". Trump thought of Pence "as someone not tough, as someone who, he increasingly pointed out, could be 'rolled.'"

According to a review of Wolff's book in *The Independent*, during his weekly lunches with Trump, Mike Pence was afforded around 10 minutes to talk about what he was up to before Trump turned on the TV and started complaining about what was bothering him. Wolff writes that "the lunches were specifically meant to be an opportunity for Pence to tell the president exactly how hard he was working for him."

"He usually got 10 minutes to do this before Trump snapped on the television and launched into his current list of grievances," Wolff writes. The relationship between the two men grew tense after the 2020 election when Pence rebuffed the argument that he could reject what Trump thought were "fraudulently chosen electors" and stop Congress from certifying Trump's loss.

Both Trump and his personal lawyer Rudy Giuliani hoped that Pence would swoop in to declare Trump president, a solution Pence could not legally offer. Describing a Jan. 5 meeting between the two, Trump demanded that Pence work to overturn the "stolen" results. Trump maintained that Pence would have a "heroic place in history" if he did as he was asked. "Do you want to be a patriot or pussy?" Mr. Wolff writes. "Pence, not rising to the bait, repeated that, in the overwhelming opinion of those constitutional experts he had consulted, the Constitution did not give him the authority to do what the president thought he could do."

Whole world watching Pence

In my Dec. 31, 2020, column, "The Whole World Will be Watching Mike Pence," I explained reason the world would be transfixed on Pence is that President Trump has expressed his intent to "overturn" (as he tweeted) the will of the American people. "GREATEST ELECTION FRAUD IN THE HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY!!!!" this sophomoric president tweeted. He told WABC on Dec. 21, "It's the most corrupt election this country's ever had, by far."

"Big protest in D.C. on January 6th. Be there, will

be wild!" Trump tweeted that December in an appeal to his supporters. Trump's unsubstantiated allegations and his use of the Twitter pulpit have had an impact. A Fox News poll found 77% of Trump voters believe the election was stolen. A Reuters/Ipsos Poll found 68% of Republicans believe the election was "rigged."

Since the Nov. 3 election, Trump and his allies had filed more than 50 lawsuits contesting the results, winning only one case. In case after case, judges assailed the Trump campaign for providing no substantive evidence of any vote fraud. Votes in Georgia have been counted three times with no change in results. In Pennsylvania, U.S. District Judge Matthew W. Brann, the Notre Dame graduate who is a member of the conservative Federalist Society, compared the Trump campaign legal arguments as a concoction "like Frankenstein's Monster." Brann said that it "strained legal arguments without merit and speculative accusations" in its effort to throw out millions of votes.

There was a lawsuit from Texas which sought to subvert Biden's victories in Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin and Arizona that was rejected by the U.S. Supreme Court with this terse statement on Dec. 11: "Texas has not demonstrated a judicially cognizable interest in the manner in which another State conducts its elections." In amicus briefs, this "hail Mary" attempt was supported by Indiana Attorney General Curtis Hill, Attorney General-elect Todd Rokita, and U.S. Reps. Jackie

Walorski, Jim Banks, Jim Baird, Trey Hollingsworth and Greg Pence.

Attorney General William Barr doused Trump's allegation of a "rigged" election, saying in late December, "To date, we have not seen fraud on a scale that could have affected a different outcome in the election." And the *Wall Street Journal* editorialized, "Republicans should be embarrassed by Mr. Trump's Electoral College hustle. Mr. Trump is putting his loyal VP in a terrible spot, and what do Republicans think would happen if Mr. Pence pulled the trigger, Mr. Biden was denied 270 electoral votes, and the House chose Mr. Trump as president? Riots in the streets would be the least of it. Mr. Pence is too much of a patriot to go along, but the scramble to overturn the will of the voters tarnishes Mr. Trump's legacy and undermines any designs he has on running in 2024."

In January, Trump focused on Pence

Bender writes that by January, Trump's attention had turned to his vice president, who was responsible for presiding over the Jan. 6 congressional certification of the election. The two men had debated for weeks whether



Pence could reject the results. But the vice president wasn't practiced in confronting Trump, Bender wrote. The only example some administration officials could remember was in 2018, when Pence's political committee hired Corey Lewandowski, the president's ubiquitous adviser. Trump was holding a newspaper article about the hiring and said it made him look weak, like his team was abandoning him as he was probed for his campaign's role in Russian election meddling. He crumpled the article and threw it at his vice president. "So disloyal," Trump said.



Pence lost it. Jared Kushner had asked him to hire Mr. Lewandowski, and he had discussed the plan with Mr. Trump over lunch. Pence picked up the article and threw it back at Trump. He leaned toward the president and pointed a finger a few inches from his chest. "We walked you through every detail of this," Pence snarled. "We did this for you – as a favor. And this is how you respond? You need to get your facts straight."

Bender continues: "Three years later, the moment seemed to call for another get-your-facts-straight lesson from Pence. But the vice president's team believed he'd been clear with the president that he didn't have the constitutional authority to overturn the vote. 'Anything you give us, we'll review,' Pence told the president during a meeting on Jan. 5. 'But I don't see how it's possible.' Trump later insisted that his vice president never told him no. That night, after meeting with Pence, the president summoned aides into the Oval Office. He opened the door to the colonnade and told staff to sit and listen to his supporters celebrating near the Ellipse, the site of the Save America rally the following day. As aides shivered in the wintry breeze that filled the room, Trump signed a stack of legislation and bobbed his head to the classic rock blaring outside – precisely the kind of music he'd play ahead of his rallies.

"Trump praised his supporters' energy and asked his team if the following day would be peaceful. 'Don't forget,' Trump told them, 'these people are fired up.'"

In "I Alone Can Fix It," Trump faulted not only his attorney general, but Vice President Pence for lacking the bravery to do what he thought was right. "Had Mike Pence had the courage to send it back to the legislatures, you would have had a different outcome, in my opinion," Trump said. "I think that the vice president of the United States must protect the Constitution of the United States. I don't believe he's just supposed to be a statue who gets these votes from the states and immediately hands them over. If you see fraud, then I believe you have an obligation to do one of a number of things.'

The irony was lost on Trump, however, that one of the central reasons he had prized Pence as his number two was his resemblance to a statue standing adoringly at his side.

"Trump then invoked the nonanalogous example he had latched on to: "Thomas Jefferson was in the exact same position, but only one state, the state of Georgia. Did you know that? It's true. It

was, 'Hear ye, hear ye, the great state of Georgia is unable to accurately count its votes.' Thomas Jefferson said, 'Are you sure?' They said, 'Yes, we are sure.' 'Then we will take the votes from the great state of Georgia.' He took them for him and the president."

"Trump continued, 'So I said, 'Mike, you can be Thomas Jefferson or you can be Mike Pence.' What happened is, I had a very good relationship with Mike Pence – very good – but when you are handed these votes and before you even start about the individual corruptions, the people, the this, the that, all the different things that took place, when you are handed these votes ... right there you should have sent them back to the legislatures.'"

Later in the conversation, Trump again expressed his disappointment in Pence. "What courage would have been is to do what Thomas Jefferson did [and said], 'We're taking the votes,'" he said. "That would have been politically unacceptable. But sending it back to these legislatures, who now know that bad things happened, would have been very acceptable. And I could show you letters from legislators, big-scale letters from different states, the states we're talking about. Had he done that, I think it would have been a great thing for our country." But, he surmised, "I think he had bad advice."

This came in the same interview in which Trump insisted that a dream ticket of "George Washington and Abraham Lincoln" couldn't have defeated Trump/Pence in 2020. Leonnig and Rucker marveled on MSNBC's Morning Joe on Tuesday about Trump's penchant for grasping surreal alternative realities.

Jan. 6 insurrection

As the sun rose over Washington on Jan. 6, electricity hung in the air. "The big day had come," Leonnig and Rucker observed. "Thousands of President Trump's supporters began gathering on the Ellipse to stake out a good spot from which to see the president, who was scheduled to address the "Save America" rally around noon. Organizers had obtained a federal permit for 30,000 people, but it looked as if the crowd would be even larger than that. Thousands more prepared to make their way to-

ward the Capitol to protest the certification of Joe Biden's election. At the White House, Trump set the tone for the day with an 8:17 a.m. tweet: 'States want to correct their votes, which they now know were based on irregularities and fraud, plus corrupt process never received legislative approval. All Mike Pence has to do is send them back to the States, AND WE WIN. Do it Mike, this is a time for extreme courage!'

"Many of Trump's advisers knew this would never actually happen," Leonnig and Rucker wrote. "They chalked the president's tweet up to theater. Vice President Pence could have the courage of a lion, but there was no doubt that he would fulfill his constitutional duty and preside over the pro forma certification of Biden's win. As one senior official recalled, 'All of us knew this was the endgame. The clock had run out. By January 6th, it was game over ... We knew we would take the blows. This was date certain. The vice president knew this.'"

Gen. Mark Milley was watching on television from his office as well, deeply disturbed by the rhetoric. The chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff already had been on edge, Leonnig and Rucker wrote. A student of history, Milley saw Trump as a classic authoritarian leader with nothing to lose. He described to aides that he kept having a stomach-churning feeling that some of the worrisome early stages of 20th-Century fascism in Germany were replaying in 21st-Century America. He saw parallels between Trump's rhetoric about election fraud and Adolf Hitler's insistence to his followers at the Nuremberg rallies that he was both a victim and their savior. "This is a Reichstag moment," Milley told aides. "The gospel of the Führer."

According to New Yorker reporter Susan Glasser: "Before the election, Gen. Milley had drafted a plan for how to handle the perilous period leading up to the Inauguration. He outlined four goals: First, to make sure that the U.S. didn't unnecessarily go to war overseas; second, to make sure that U.S. troops were not used on the streets of America against the American people for the purpose of keeping Trump in power; third, to maintain the military's integrity; and, lastly, to maintain his own integrity. He referred back to them often in conversations with others."

Glasser continued: "As the crisis with Trump unfolded, and the chairman's worst-case fears about the President not accepting defeat seemed to come true, Milley repeatedly met in private with the Joint Chiefs. He told them to make sure there were no unlawful orders from Trump and not to carry out any such orders without calling him first – almost a conscious echo of the final days of Richard Nixon, when Nixon's defense secretary, James Schlesinger, reportedly warned the military not to act on

any orders from the White House to launch a nuclear strike without first checking with him or with the national-security adviser, Henry Kissinger. At one meeting with the Joint Chiefs, in Milley's Pentagon office, the chairman invoked Benjamin Franklin's famous line, saying they should all hang together. To concerned members of Congress, including Speaker Nancy Pelosi and Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell, and also emissaries from the incoming Biden Administration, Milley also put out the word: Trump might attempt a coup, but he would fail because he would never succeed in co-opting the American military. "Our loyalty is to the U.S. Constitution," Milley told them, and "we are not going to be involved in politics."

In a statement released on Thursday, reacting to reports about the Rucker and Leonnig book, Trump said, "I never threatened, or spoke about, to anyone, a coup of our Government." Tellingly, Trump added, "If I was going to do a coup, one of the last people I would want to do it with is General Mark Milley."



President Trump with Gen. Mark Milley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Leonnig and Rucker continue: "Trump called Pence, who was spending the morning at his Naval Observatory residence before heading to the Capitol. Pence again explained the legal limits on his authority as vice president and said he planned to perform his ceremonial duty, as prescribed by the Constitution. But Trump showed him no mercy. 'You don't have the courage to make a hard decision,' he told Pence.

Ivanka Trump, standing next to aide Keith Kellogg near a grandfather clock in the back of the room, had a hard time listening to her father badger the vice president to do something she knew was not possible. 'Mike Pence is a good man,' she said quietly to Kellogg, the vice president's national security adviser who was close to Trump. 'I know that,' he replied. 'Let this ride. Take a deep breath. We'll come back at it.' After hanging up with Pence, Trump went back into the dining room to check on the crowd on TV. Ivanka Trump followed her father and tried to convince him to see the situation rationally. But she was unpersuasive. Trump had given Pence instructions and was hellbent on getting him to follow through.

"As the Capitol was breached by the mob, back at the White House, Kellogg was worried about Pence's safety and went to find Trump. 'Is Mike okay?' the president asked him. 'The Secret Service has him under control,' Kellogg told Trump. 'Karen is there with the daughter.'

"Oh?' Trump asked. 'They're going to stay there until this thing gets sorted out,' Kellogg said. Trump said nothing more. He didn't express any hope that Pence was okay. He didn't try to call the vice president to check on

him. He just stayed in the dining room watching television.

"Kellyanne Conway tried to talk to Trump and left a message with his office, asking that her name be added to the chorus of people calling on the president to do something," Leonnig and Rucker reported. 'This is really bad,' Conway said. 'People are going to get hurt. Only he can stop them. He can't just tweet. He's got to get down there.' Alyssa Farah, watching on television from Florida, was heartbroken and reached out several times to Chief of Staff Mark Meadows, her former boss. 'You guys have to say something,' she told him. 'Even if the president's not willing to put out a statement, you should go to the [cameras] and say, 'We condemn this. Please stand down.' If you don't, people are going to die.'"

Meanwhile, Leonnig and Rucker write that it was Pence who had assumed command: At 4 p.m., Pence called acting Defense Sec. Christopher Miller from his secure location. The vice president was calm. He had no anxiety or fear in his voice. Pence delivered a set of directives to the defense chief. "Get troops here; get them here now," the vice president ordered. "We've got to get the Congress to do its business."

"Yes, sir," Miller said.

It was the sternest Miller or the other Pentagon officials listening had ever heard Pence. "Get the Capitol cleared," he told Miller. "You've got to get down here. You've got to get the place cleared. We've got to do what we have to do."

"Yes, sir," Miller answered.

At 6:01 p.m., Trump tweeted: "These are the things and events that happen when a sacred landslide election victory is so unceremoniously & viciously stripped away from great patriots who have been badly & unfairly treated for so long. Go home with love & in peace. Remember this day forever!"

At no time that Wednesday since the Capitol siege began did these government and military leaders hear from the president. Not even the vice president heard from Trump. At 8:06 p.m., an emotional Pence called the Senate back into session. "To those who wreaked havoc in our Capitol today, you did not win," he said. "Violence never wins. Freedom wins, and this is still the people's house."

At 3:32 a.m. Jan. 7, Pence cited the results for Biden's victory in Vermont, pushing the Democrat past the 270 electoral votes for Congress to confirm him as the next president nearly 15 hours after the joint session began. "Are there any objections to counting the certificate of the state of Vermont?" Pence asked. There was only silence.

"The announcement of the state of the vote by the president of the Senate shall be deemed a sufficient declara-

tion as persons elected president and vice president of the United States," Pence said at 3:41 a.m.

HPI's takeaways

What emerges from these three books on a future one by Susan Glasser and Peter Baker of the New York Times is many of those closest to President Trump saw he was irrational and dangerous. They stayed on either as so-called "guardrails," or in the case of Short and Pence, saw Trump as a means to political and policy goals. Pence ended up insuring his place in history as the last link guardian from an unprecedented coup d'état, but he has been severely burned politically.

Epilogue

Los Angeles Times editorial writer Michael McGough asks: "Was Mike Pence a hero in the siege of the Capitol? Certainly Pence was a potential victim." A few points:

- "When he issued a statement early on Jan. 6 indicating that he lacked the unilateral authority to determine which electoral votes should be counted, Pence was stating the obvious. It was a 'Profiles in Courage' moment only by the low standards of the Trump administration.

- In that statement, Pence felt obliged to provide a sop to Trump and his supporters. The letter includes this gratuitous sentence: 'After an election with significant allegations of voting irregularities and numerous instances of officials

setting aside state election law, I share the concerns of millions of Americans about the integrity of this election. ... As presiding officer, I will do my duty to ensure that these concerns receive a fair hearing.'

- "Between the election and Jan. 6, Pence offered moral support for Trump's campaign to discredit the election results, which culminated in Trump's inflammatory speech on Jan. 6. On Dec. 10, Pence, campaigning for Republican Senate candidates in a Georgia runoff election, endorsed a preposterous lawsuit filed by the attorney general of Texas asking the Supreme Court to overturn election results in four states. 'God bless Texas!' he said. (The Supreme Court rejected that suit the next day.)

- "The Democrats are right to portray Pence as a potential victim on Jan. 6. The insurrectionists' chants of "Hang Mike Pence!" were chilling. But the fact that Pence did his duty doesn't make him a hero." ❖



Pelosi bounces Banks from Jan. 6 committee

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The Jan. 6 insurrection at the U.S. Capitol was a “political” move unleashed by a sitting U.S. president seeking to overturn an election.

The U.S. Senate rejected a bipartisan Jan. 6 commission, with U.S. Sen. Mike Braun deeming it “political.”

Ditto for the U.S. House with Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy rejecting a bipartisan plan that had been negotiated by Republican U.S. Rep. John Katko.

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi created a Jan. 6 “select committee,” stocked it with Democrats and ousted GOP leader Liz Cheney. McCarthy waffled for almost a month, before making his five selections, including U.S. Reps. Jim Banks of Indiana and Jim Jordan of Ohio.

Pelosi retaliated on Wednesday, bouncing both Banks and Jordan six days before the committee was to meet for the first time.

“With respect for the integrity of the investigation, with an insistence on the truth and with concern about statements made and actions taken by these Members, I must reject the recommendations of Reps. Banks and Jordan to the Select Committee,” Pelosi said in a statement on Wednesday. “The unprecedented nature of January 6th demands this unprecedented decision.”

Banks and Jordan both voted to overturn the election results on Jan. 6 and Pelosi said their appointments could impact “the integrity of the investigation.”

Pelosi said that she was “prepared to appoint Reps. Rodney Davis, Kelly Armstrong and Troy E. Nehls.”

Appearing at a press conference with Banks and Jordan mid-day Wednesday, McCarthy said, “Denying the voices of members who have served in the military and law enforcement, as well as leaders of standing committees, has made it undeniable that this panel has lost all legitimacy and credibility. Unless Speaker Pelosi reverses course and seats all five Republican nominees, Republicans will not be party to their sham process and will instead pursue our own investigation of the facts.”

Asked at his press conference if he was still prepared to testify about his phone call with Trump during the riot, McCarthy said his phone call is “out there.”

“The question is, you make a phone call after people are in the Capitol to advise the president of what’s going on, doesn’t get to the answer of why were we ill-prepared,” he said. “That’s really playing politics, and it really shows if that’s the issue that they want to go to, before they want to drive, we don’t get all the answers.”

Banks, who chairs the Republican Study Committee, released a statement, saying, “I’m a sitting member of Congress and served my country in Afghanistan and the Speaker knows how hard I will fight for my country. We said all along that this was a purely partisan exercise by the Democrats and Nancy Pelosi’s rejection of me and Jim Jordan shows once again she is the most partisan figure in America today. The American people deserve the truth. Unfortunately, Speaker Pelosi is afraid of the facts.”

At the presser with McCarthy, Banks added, “This just goes to show how partisan this effort was all along, that Nancy Pelosi would take me and Jim Jordan first off of this committee, she knows we were prepared to fight to find the truth. She doesn’t want to go down that path. She knows we’re already asking questions during the first couple of days ... questions that Democrats never asked like why the Capitol was vulnerable that day when we had intelligence for weeks leading up to Jan. 6 that told us that something dangerous would happen on Jan. 6. She



knew we would fight back against their political games. That’s why she didn’t want us to participate.

“It goes to show this was an entirely political exercise on her part,” Banks said. “It’s a shame and the American people deserve better. They demand answers about Jan. 6 as the American people demand their leaders step up and never allow it to happen again.”

Rep. Armstrong reacted, saying, “It’s bullshit. Jim Banks and Jim Jordan have every right to serve on any committee Kevin appoints them to. Whenever Speaker Pelosi uses the word ‘unprecedented,’ it is code for her consolidation of absolute power. She is willing to do anything and everything to maintain control over her conference for the next 18 months.”

[Rep. Cheney](#) supported Pelosi, saying, “I agree with what the speaker has done. At every opportunity, the minority leader has sought to prevent the American people from understanding what happened; to block this investigation. This investigation must go forward.”

Cheney said that Banks was using the panel as a political platform, which she called “disgraceful.”

Politico reported that senior Democrats on the select committee and two close Pelosi allies — Chair Bennie Thompson and Rep. Zoe Lofgren — were dead set against having Jordan and Banks on the panel after Banks twice met with Donald Trump at the Texas/Mexican border and at Bedminster this summer.

Politico's Rachael Bade observed: "This move by Pelosi is going to be a gift to Kevin McCarthy in the long run. He wanted this panel to look partisan and political. Now it's definitely going to look partisan and political."

Pelosi spokesman Drew Hammill: "The panel is already bipartisan and has a quorum. There's nothing partisan about seeking the truth."

U.S. Senate

Young posts \$2.5 million

U.S. Sen. Todd Young's strategy heading into his first Senate reelection bid was to corral as many state endorsements as he could, see if he could swing an endorsement from former president Trump (which doesn't appear to be happening due to the senators characterization of Rep. Marjorie Taylor Greene as an "embarrassment"), and raise an unprecedented amount of money.

According to his FEC filing, Young is exceeding wildly well on the financial front. Young has \$4.529 million cash on hand; \$3.298 million total receipts; \$2.552 million total contributions; \$1.715 million itemized; \$613,983 from PACs; and \$746,365 transferred from other committees.

He also reported \$75,221 in total refunds.

His Friends of Todd Young Committee also reported \$1.147 million in total disbursements. Included are \$12,000 a month payments to Limestone Strategies (Cam Savage and Kevin Ober); \$15,000 to Bengston Cullen for political consulting. Other consultants include Daniels Spaulding; Brabender Cox LLC and Targeted Victory for digital consulting; and John Holtkamp and Jay Kenworthy (\$1,500) for communications consulting. Kenworthy also serves as Young's communications director.

As for potential Democrat challenger, Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr., his FEC committee set up for his 2020 1st CD run is minus \$846, and includes a \$42,500 outstanding loan to the candidate. McDermott did not return a text from HPI on whether he was still considering a challenge to Young.

Governor

Crouch, Doden mid-year reports

Two potential 2024 gubernatorial candidates filed state reports. Lt. Gov. Suzanne Crouch reported \$572,069 contributions so far this year and an ending balance \$1.95 million. Included were \$25,000 from Rick and Vicki James; \$10,000 apiece from Richard Kaskal Jr., Old National Bank, Barry Cox, and Karen Cinelli; \$20,000 from John Schroeder; and \$15,000 from Eric Bedel.

Eric Doden reported \$928,980 raised and cash on

hand, including \$100,000 from family members including himself, Brenda Doden, Daryle Doden and Maci Doden (all giving \$25,000 apiece).

Other big donors include: WTL Properties \$30,000; Liftoff \$12,500; Southwest Auto Sales \$10,000; Midwest Auto Realty \$25,000; Robert Lauter \$50,000; RMS Land Development \$10,000; James Sweltzer \$50,000; Thomas Longest \$15,000; Matthew Momper \$10,000; William French \$25,000; Jack Hiler \$10,000; Michel Shuherk \$10,000; Roger Musselman \$10,000; Deborah Gabe \$50,000; Mark Webb \$10,000; Ronald Turpin \$10,000; Ryan Rans \$25,000; Drake Moser \$12,500; Trout Moser \$12,500; Tim Ash \$50,000; John Hennessey \$25,000; Christy Hennessey \$25,000; Tony Hutti \$10,000; Scott Sorensen \$25,000; Susan Sorensen \$25,000; Rob Troxel \$50,000; and Loren Troyer \$10,000.

Critical race theory pitfalls

Conservatives like Attorney General Todd Rokita and Advance America's Eric Miller are seeking to exploit the Critical Race Theory issue.

According to the Purdue Exponent, a political movement aimed at "stopping student indoctrination in Hamilton county and throughout Indiana" has gained the support of 14 Indiana business owners. Scott Wolf, owner of Wolfies Grill in West Lafayette and five other locations in Indiana, was set to be the chairperson of the event. Then it was canceled. A flyer advertising the group as well as a "political advisory gathering" set for Friday at Wolfies' Indianapolis location circulated Twitter and Facebook Monday afternoon. Wolf's photo was included, and he was listed as "chairman." The event was put together by Advance America, a "pro-family and pro-church" organization that intends to educate Indiana citizens on issues of civic and governmental literacy. A representative from Advance America, whose first name is Bill, said Wolf is the acting chairperson for the panel. A statement from Wolfies Grill later contradicted Wolf's alleged involvement. The statement, sent by Aaron Smith, said the restaurant "is not affiliated with Advance America, and only served as the hosted space for the event." "Since Wolfies Grill opened in 2004, we've been proud to be known as a place where all feel welcome," he said. "Going forward, we will institute a review process to ensure future events are consistent with this sentiment."

Meanwhile, Ink Free News reports that Kosciusko County Commissioners who hosted Rokita at a public hearing earlier this month are getting some negative feedback.

Reporter Dan Spaulding: "In a stinging letter to the Kosciusko County Commissioners, Zimmer Biomet urged them to drop their interest in whether critical race theory is being taught locally, saying their actions are hurting the company's ability to recruit workers. The letter came ahead of a July 8 meeting hosted by the commissioners at which Indiana Attorney General Todd Rokita spoke. He claims critical race theory is being inserted into the public school curriculum and is part of an overall effort to divide America. In the letter dated June 30 and also sent to the mayor

of Warsaw and other economic development leaders, Zimmer Biomet said they believe "recent and contemplated actions" by the commissioners "further jeopardize our ability to continue to effectively compete in today's global environment." "We write to convey Zimmer Biomet's strong request that the Kosciusko County Board of Commissioners abandon further efforts to prepare and pass ordinances and declarations that negatively impact the business community's ability to attract and retain the best and brightest talent in the Warsaw area," the letter said.

Taylor Swift and Sen. Blackburn

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – They are never ever getting back together. Actually, Taylor Swift and Sen. Marsha Blackburn, who warns that Swift would be "the first victim" of a socialist government, never really were together.

It's just that the Republican senator from Tennessee and other supporters of Donald Trump assumed that Swift was on their side, the right side. Way on the right side. So far right that some white supremacists proclaimed Swift an "Aryan goddess," an alt-right supporter sending secret signals to her fan base, while hiding her views from the progressive music industry.



A website showed a photo of Swift wearing a shirt with the letters "JH." Obviously, for those looking for her secret signals, that stood for "Jew Hater." Then, Swift

shattered that image, happy to do so, when she called for defeat of Blackburn in Tennessee's 2018 Senate race, saying Blackburn's record in Congress "appalls and terrifies me." She later described Blackburn as "Trump in a wig."

And now, as culture wars rage, Blackburn seeks to raise fear of an authoritarian socialist society, telling musicians that "the state would have to approve your music" and warning that women entertainers wouldn't even be allowed on stage. And poor Tay Tay would be the first victim.

Swift isn't sending secret socialist messages any more than she ever sent secret white supremacist messages. But webpages "proving" conspiracy could of course cite Swift's numerous visits to Notre Dame. Her brother graduated from there in 2015, and his famous sister proudly attended commencement before flying to Las Vegas to pick up eight trophies at the Billboard Music Awards.

Why go to a Notre Dame commencement after

Biden approval at 53%

A total of 53% of Americans say they approve of the way Joe Biden is handling his job as president and 43% say they disapprove of the way Biden is handling his job according to the latest survey from the [American Research Group](#). In June, 52% approved of the way Biden was handling his job as president and 43% disapproved. When it comes to Biden's handling of the economy, 54% of Americans approve and 42% disapprove. Biden's handling of the coronavirus outbreak, 60% approve. ❖

that university had so recently invited Barack Obama to be commencement speaker? They invited him despite Trump repeatedly citing contentions that Obama was not born in America and thus was not really the president. Trump was on ground just as solid then as he is now in contending that Joe Biden is not really the president.

Hey, Swift once did hide her political views. Not wanting to mar her "good girl" image, she said she would not speak about politics. And she was applauded for that. But was it really "good" to play dumb, stay silent?

Swift decided to speak out, to be "on the right side of history." Still, she feared suffering the same fate as the Dixie Chicks, blackballed in country music after one of the singers criticized then-President George W. Bush during a London performance.

In a dramatic scene in the "Miss Americana" Netflix feature on Swift, her advisors, including her father, urge her not to post this criticism of Blackburn: "She voted against equal pay for women. She voted against the Reauthorization of the Violence Against Women Act, which attempts to protect women from domestic violence, stalking and date rape. She believes businesses have a right to refuse service to gay couples. She also believes they should not have the right to marry. These are not my Tennessee values."

"I'm terrified," her father said of the statement. But Swift, disgusted with Blackburn's claims of representing "Tennessee Christian values," told her advisors: "I live in Tennessee. I am Christian. That's not what we stand for." She released her statement. The Washington Post reported that more than 169,000 people registered on Vote.org in Tennessee in the 48 hours after Swift's post. It appeared that young fans were answering her call. But Blackburn won in Trump-supporting Tennessee.

Having found a political voice, Swift provided her "Only the Young" for Democratic political ads in 2020. Her album sales are great. And now, she is cited by Blackburn as a target in the current cultural wars. Blackburn told Fox News that she reached out to Swift to discuss their differences but they hadn't gotten together.

They are never ever getting back together. ❖

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

The fight over voting rights

By **LEE HAMILTON**

BLOOMINGTON – Call me naïve, but I’ve never quite gotten why some politicians want to limit voters’ ability to cast their ballots. Sure, I know that plenty of people like to flip the classic Clausewitz quote and say that politics is war by other means. All’s fair, etc., they insist.

But the cornerstone of representative democracy, the base on which everything else rests, is the people’s right to cast an informed vote to choose our leaders. There’s no argument about this; it’s just a basic right. Which means that the more Americans we hear from in the voting booth, the fairer and more representative the results. So, in my book, getting creative about restricting the ability to cast a ballot is pretty much an admission that you can’t win in the marketplace of ideas.



Over the course of our history, despite fits and starts, we’ve moved steadily toward expanding people’s ability to vote – from white men with property only, to allowing women, Black people, Native Americans, and people 18 and older to cast ballots. Yet here we are in 2021, still in a pitched battle over this most basic of democratic rights, fought out this year in the state legislatures, Congress, and the courts, the same venues that have seen this issue for generations.

And right now, it’s looking like as a nation we’re on a determined march backward. Thanks to new legislation in Georgia, county election officials, the backbone of our democracy, are being removed as new local and state laws take aim at elections administration in a bid, bluntly put, to put people in authority who can tilt rules and regulations in their party’s favor. Secretaries of state are losing their power as legislatures across the country move to shift power over the running of elections to, well, themselves. This does not inspire confidence in the future of American democracy.

This is not about making voting fairer or easier for Americans. It’s about putting rules in place that make it harder.

Why?

Because all these maneuvers take aim at the nitty-gritty details of running elections: Voting hours; the locations of precincts and of ballot drop boxes; making it harder or easier for eligible voters to register; what’s in voter notifications and who gets them; how often to purge voter rolls (and of whom); the ability to certify elections.

This is not about making voting fairer or easier for Americans. It’s about putting rules in place that make it harder. For a more-than-usually bold assertion of the partisan hue these moves take, you can look at Arizona. There, state legislators have introduced a bill that would take away authority from the secretary of state of the other party, until she leaves office, at which point the bill expires.


Looking to the courts for help is dicey. The U.S. Supreme Court has just signaled its willingness to allow the core value embedded in the 1965 Voting Rights Act – that what happens on the ground matters, whatever the intent – to fall by the wayside. In its decision, the court essentially said that there’s no legal recourse if you can’t prove that a legislature acted with racist intent, regardless of how things play out in real life. There are state courts pushing back against this direction. New Hampshire’s supreme court, for instance, just invalidated a law passed in 2017 because its impact fell unequally on voters. But that strikes me as a rearguard action.

When I began in politics, I thought it would be easy to protect the right to vote. I was dead wrong. One of my earliest votes in Congress was to support the 1965 Voting Rights Act, clearly one of the most important pieces of legislation in our country’s history, and the one that the Supreme Court just undermined. I am constantly amazed at how much time, energy, and effort some people put into denying other people the right to vote. This is a battle, and those of us who believe that the health of our democracy rests on ensuring fair, equal, and unfettered access to the ballot box for all eligible voters have our work cut out for us. ❖

Lee Hamilton is a senior advisor for the Indiana University Center on Representative Government; a distinguished scholar at the IU Hamilton Lugar School of Global and International Studies; and a professor of practice at the IU O’Neill School of Public and Environmental Affairs. He was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives for 34

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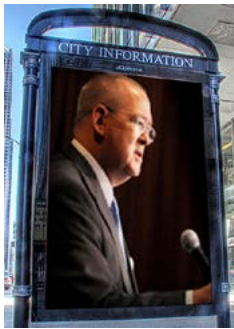
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YOUR FRIENDS ALL HANG OUT HERE... DO YOU?

Free speech and Senate Bill 414

By **MICHAEL HICKS**

MUNCIE – Earlier this year, Indiana’s General Assembly passed Senate Bill 414, which required universities to survey students about the climate for free speech on campus. Schools must then report these findings to the Commission on Higher Education. Normally I’d be reluctant to weigh in on such a law; at first blush it looks like another volley in the destructive culture wars. But, I think this survey can be enormously instructive to university leaders and legislators alike.



It should hardly surprise anyone that professors and college administrators are overwhelmingly from the political left. The balance isn’t even close. The Federal Elections Commission reports individual donations with place of employment. Since 2019, my colleagues at Ball State have contributed \$120,765 to political campaigns and political action committees. These comprised 6,100 individual donations from fewer than 50 persons. Of these donations, 90.4% of were to Democrats, Democratic Socialists or left-leaning PACs. I choose Ball State University because it is often said to be the ‘conservative’ state university. That may be true, which should raise even more eyebrows on campus and in the General Assembly.

Universities must be places where ideas flourish or die through rigorous debate and evidence, not by the whim or fashionable tastes of the majority. This is how students learn, it is how research is conducted and it is how our nation ultimately prospers. So, it is necessary to understand whether or not the undeniably real and deep imbalance of political ideology weakens free speech on campus. If done honestly, here’s what I think the survey will find.

I suspect very little indoctrination or ideology occurs in the classroom. There’s simply not time or place for much political discourse. The faculty members I know, both conservative and progressive, are far more worried about teaching the material than talking politics. This should be unsurprising. I didn’t spend nine years in college to turn my class into a political commercial for the 18-to-25-year-old crowd. Neither did my colleagues in anthropology, chemistry, accounting, nursing or any other discipline.

The best proof of my point is that for most of the past half century, college graduates voted more conservatively than those without a degree. If colleges were engines of indoctrination, progressive professors are stunningly ineffective at it. While the voting pattern of college graduates changed over the last two presidential

election cycles, that is far more likely to be connected to an individual candidate rather than progressive activism on campus.

Still, this doesn’t mean there is not a free speech problem at Indiana’s universities, but simply that I don’t believe its genesis is the classroom. Across Indiana, only Purdue receives the highest rankings by the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education (FIRE). I am pleased that Ball State ranks closely behind, having adopted the gold standard “Chicago Statement for Free Speech.” For what it is worth, that statement has long appeared in my class syllabus along with a link to the U.S. Constitution. There’s no defensible reason for any public university to earn less than perfect rankings on free speech, yet here in Indiana only Purdue bothers to do so. This rightfully causes concern by those who allocate funding to higher education, and those of us who pay tuition bills.

The origin of free speech problems on campus lie primarily outside the classroom. Of the Indiana cases reported to the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education, none involved classroom instruction. The most common complaint involve censoring or restricting student groups, or restrictions on due process. Over the past decade, there were no more than a dozen such cases in Indiana.

Today, a busy student will spend perhaps 17 hours per week in the classroom, and most spend far fewer. So, a campus culture that hinders free speech outside the classroom should be of concern to legislators, to university leaders and to those who pay tuition. If done properly, with a focus on the broader campus climate, it is inevitable that the SB 414 survey will report that some students and faculty find an environment in which their views cannot be openly shared and debated.

To be clear, not all ideas are good, and none should be protected from debate or vigorous criticism. But of all places, America’s universities must be one where ideas are confronted by data, reason and facts, equally and without favor. I don’t believe Indiana’s public universities have a unique problem, but this survey will almost surely offer insights that thoughtful university leaders should use to improve the environment of free speech.

The stunning political imbalance among university employees certainly risks short changing students. Conservative student organizations have fewer advisors from which to choose. The partisan imbalance of faculty risks influencing the choice of speakers invited to campus and the books chosen for freshman reading lists. The rarity of conservative faculty members risks limiting student internship opportunities in business, government and not-for-profit groups. With a tiny fraction of conservative faculty, there will be too little research performed on issues that matter to half of Hoosier taxpayers. University leaders should be as worried about the effects of a lack of ideological diversity as they are about a lack of ethnic, gender or racial diversity.

Students are not the only affected persons on

campus. Faculty and staff should be able to thrive in an environment of open inquiry. So, along with the student survey, universities should also be asking questions about their own support for diverse ideas. Are campus initiatives informed by a broad set of perspectives? Are departments inviting speakers with diverse opinions on a broad set of topics? Do colleges support faculty members of disparate views in research centers and in administrative positions? I doubt any school does these things effectively. This rightfully invites more legislative scrutiny.

My hope is that Senate Bill 414 leads to a healthier environment for free speech on campus, but it will take some concrete actions. Knowing someone's political position is not always easy. We'd be wise to avoid asking the political views of employees in the same way that we now gather information on race, ethnicity, gender or disability status. But, it is naïve to suppose that these sorts of pressures aren't possible, nor that they are wholly partisan. If 90% of faculty donated to the Trump campaign,

I'm confident progressive lawmakers would be vigorously pursuing more ideological balance.

In the end, this legislation gently pressures state universities to better understand the ideological imbalance of faculty and staff. It should also cause them to honestly reckon with its influence on the climate of free speech, student support and the type of research funded on campus. Ultimately, how well universities confront these issues reflects their seriousness towards their core academic mission and their commitment to the taxpayers of Indiana. ❖

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

Where are the wanted?

By **MORTON J. MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – As you probably heard, Indiana is looking for people. Not just any kind of people, but the right kind of people. Educated, skilled, mobile folks. We may not really know what they want, but maybe we could figure out how to find them.



From what we believe to be true, educated and skilled people are highly mobile, moving to the growing places where there are opportunities. Remember, our efforts must be "data driven" to satisfy what the state is asking of regions seeking part of that tempting half-billion-dollar bucket. This suggests we look where large numbers of people have been moving from other states.

Sadly, we'll have to wait for the 2020 Census in its full, great detail, state-by-state, even metro area-by-metro area. That's two, maybe three, years away. But we do have the 2019 American Community Survey (ACS) which might be a good proxy for our purposes.

Nationally, 7.4 million Americans moved from one state to another between 2018 and 2019. As you expected, Florida, Texas and California pulled in the most people, each over 480,000 persons. (Indiana attracted 151,400).

Wyoming, North Dakota and Alaska had the highest percentages of their 2019 populations from other states, but the numbers of persons were low. You don't go hunting where the herd is small.

Yet there is another consideration. The Hoosier

state drew over 150,000 to our state, but we realized a net gain of only 9,000 as 141,000 persons left this "State That Works." Perhaps we need to consider those states that had major net inflows of inter-state movers, plus those states with major outflows from Indiana.

Four states (New York, California, Illinois and New Jersey) had the greatest net inflow of interstate movers ranging from 185,000 to 80,000. Add to those, four states with major outflows from Indiana: Florida, Ohio, Kentucky and Michigan, ranging from 18,000 to 11,000.

Illinois and Indiana exchanged a total of 53,000 residents with two-thirds of those persons coming to the Hoosier state. Illinois led all states sending residents to Indiana and was second only to Florida in receiving Hoosiers.

Florida and Texas are excluded from consideration because both states had net outflows of movers despite receiving much attention for their inflows of retired persons. Maryland is a good candidate to replace Florida.

So there we have it; the data drives us to understand Indiana's regions should be looking to lasso those educated, skilled persons and their families from our four surrounding states and four coastal states.

What will entice these prize persons? That's the half-billion-dollar question. It might be superior education from Pre-K through 12th grade. Or upgraded housing that replaces rundown dwellings. Certainly, high-speed internet everywhere. And particularly, employers and legislators who have emerged from the mid-20th century. ❖

Mr. Marcus is an economist. Reach him at mortonj-marcus@yahoo.com.

Voting rights battle will likely continue

By **KELLY HAWES**
CNHI News

ANDERSON – President Joe Biden describes the protection of voting rights as “the test of our time.” Sherrilyn Ifill, president of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, says the threat is imminent. “Our backs are against the wall,” she says. “This is the moment. We have no more time. I told the president, ‘We will not be able to litigate our way out of this threat to Black citizenship.’”



And then there’s this from Karen Hobert Flynn, president of Common Cause: “Administrative action, litigation and organizing are critical to combat this, but these tactics are not a substitute

for congressional action on the For the People Act and John Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act,” she said. “As the president ramps up his use of the bully pulpit and engages with senators, we urge him to make clear that the Senate minority’s use of the filibuster – a Jim Crow relic, in the words of former President Obama – must never stand in the way of the freedom to vote.”

An editorial in The Dallas Morning News finds it all a bit dramatic. “Hyperbole,” the headline says, “is drowning the facts.” The editorial does take issue with Republican claims of voter fraud in the 2020 election. “And Gov. Greg Abbott’s insistence that this legislation sit at the top of the state legislative agenda is nothing if not political theater,” it says, “but so is the Democrats’ overreaction to the Republican bills under consideration in Austin.”

Democrats at the national level have called their Texas counterparts heroes for flying to the nation’s capital in an effort to deny Republicans the quorum they need to

act on voting legislation, but The Morning News doesn’t buy it.

“The Democrats’ move is not only a tactical mistake but an abdication of their duties,” it says. “We wish they had stayed in Austin and kept fighting for their constituents in the statehouse, where they have already shown they can make a difference. Yet the message that state Democratic House members are sending by denying their chamber a quorum for the rest of the special session is that they’re unwilling to participate in the democratic process if they’re losing.”

Mistake or not, the maneuver is far from unprecedented. It’s the sort of thing both parties have done to head off legislation they found particularly egregious. It’s not so far removed from the filibuster, the tactic Senate Republicans have employed to block passage of voting reforms at the national level.

The Texas delegation’s leader, State Rep. Chris Turner, acknowledges his caucus is fighting an uphill battle. “We can’t hold this tide back forever,” he says. “We’re buying some time. We need Congress and all of our federal leaders to use that time wisely.”

Moderate Democrat Joe Manchin put forward what he thought might be a bipartisan proposal last month, but Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell immediately came out against it. Among other things, McConnell criticized the bill’s redistricting provisions and what he termed an assault on the idea that states, not the federal government, should decide how to run their own elections.

Part of the challenge is defining the problem. Democrats see it as voter suppression. Republicans see it as election security. So where do we go from here?

Though some have called on Biden and the Democrats to get rid of the filibuster if that’s what it takes to protect voting rights, Karine Jean-Pierre, the deputy White House press secretary, says the president is not ready to take that step.

“The president believes that we have to make the filibuster work the way it used to,” she says. What that might ultimately mean is that both sides will end up taking their arguments to the voters in next year’s election. ❖



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Lessons from Indiana shape redistricting

By **KYLE KONDIK**

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. – In 1981, Indiana Republicans enacted a partisan gerrymander of the Hoosier State designed to help Republicans net several seats. “Even the Democrats here concede that the newly drawn congressional district lines are a political masterpiece and that they face a much tougher task now in retaining their one-vote majority in Indiana’s congressional delegation,” reported the Washington Post.

But that following year, Republicans failed to make significant inroads in Indiana – the delegation went from 6-5 Democratic to a 5-5 split after the state lost a district because of reapportionment. By the end of the decade, Democrats held an 8-2 edge in Indiana, despite the Republican gerrymander.

Three decades after the creation of that failed GOP gerrymander in Indiana, a new Republican-controlled state government sought to create a 7-2 Republican map. Republicans held a 6-3 edge at the time after netting two seats in the 2010 Republican wave. The new map worked. While then-Rep. Joe Donnelly (D, IN-2) ended up running for U.S. Senate – and he surprisingly won – now-Rep. Jackie Walorski (R, IN-2) narrowly won a more Republican version of Donnelly’s old seat. Indiana elected seven Republicans and two Democrats to the House for the entire decade.

To the extent that partisan gerrymandering is a problem in American democracy – and not everyone believes that it is a problem – it’s not necessarily because the intent of would-be gerrymanderers has become more nefarious, but rather because their handiwork is arguably more effective now than it’s been in the past.

It’s not hard to find examples from the last half century, like Indiana Republicans in the 1980s, who tried and failed to gerrymander. One study of 1970s congressional redistricting found that of seven attempts at partisan gerrymanders, only one was a clear success. But it’s harder to find such examples recently, as some of the factors that once insulated House members from gerrymandering threats – such as ticket-splitting and the power of incumbency – have waned in, respectively, prevalence and strength.

Some partisan gerrymanders from the 2010s – such as the one mentioned in Indiana and other Republican-drawn maps in Missouri, Ohio, and Wisconsin, as well as a Democratic gerrymander of Maryland -- behaved exactly as designed the entire last decade, though there were some close calls for the gerrymandering party in some of these states.

North Carolina Republicans drew two immensely

efficient gerrymanders before Democratic-controlled state courts forced a third remap that cut the GOP edge from 10-3 to 8-5 in the 2020 election.

An Illinois Democratic gerrymander was designed to produce, ideally, a 13-5 Democratic delegation. It did, eventually, in 2018, but Democrats ended up winning two suburban/exurban seats in the Chicagoland orbit that were designed to be won by Republicans, while two downstate districts Democrats hoped to win remained in Republican hands.

A brutal Republican gerrymander of Pennsylvania worked as expected for three cycles, producing a lopsided 13-5 Republican edge in an otherwise competitive state, but the gerrymander began to show signs of strain when now-Rep. Conor Lamb (D, PA-17) won a special election in early 2018, and then the Democratic-controlled state Supreme Court imposed a new map that produced a 9-9 delegation in both 2018 and 2020.

Democrats eked out a 7-7 split on a Michigan map designed to be 9-5 Republican, largely because of GOP suburban problems that helped now-Reps. Elissa Slotkin (D, MI-8) and Haley Stevens (D, MI-11) win in the last two elections.

The bottom line on redistricting last decade is this: The maps did not always perform the way they were designed to for the entire decade, and courts also intervened to take the edge off of some Republican gerrymanders. But no state backfired on the line-drawing party as much as, for instance, Indiana did in the 1980s, which underscores the likelihood that modern gerrymanders are more foolproof than ones from several decades ago (computing advances might have helped the effectiveness of modern gerrymanders, too).

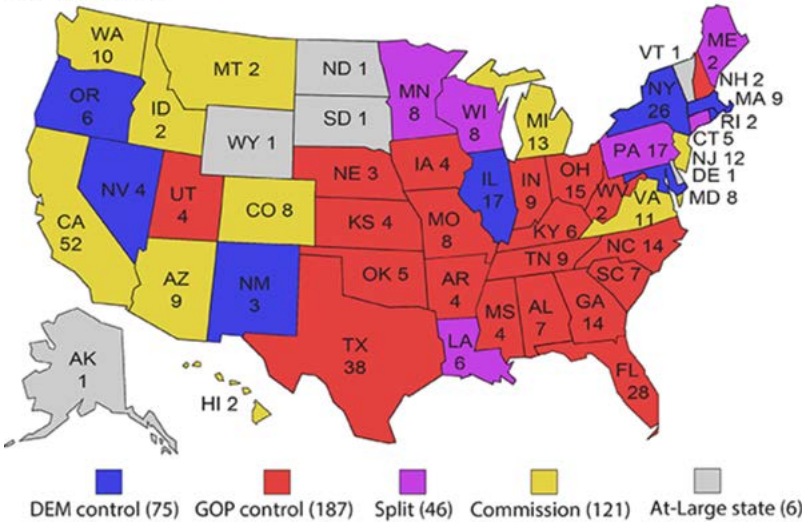
A few decades ago, Democrats often exerted more power over redistricting in more places than Republicans, frustrating the GOP. Back then, Republicans sometimes pressed for the kinds of reforms that Democrats, now on the wrong side of redistricting wars, want today. In 1989, President George H.W. Bush proposed federal legislation to outlaw partisan gerrymandering, but nothing ever came of it in the then-Democratic-controlled Congress.

The Democrats’ signature “For the People Act” would mandate the creation of independent redistricting commissions in all states. That bill passed the House but has stalled in the Senate, and it appears very unlikely to pass so long as the filibuster exists.

Table 1 and Map 1 illustrate the Republican redistricting edge at the start of this decade’s process. Republicans control the drawing of 187 of the 435 seats, or 43% of all the districts, while Democrats have control over just 75 districts, 17% of the districts. Meanwhile, 46 districts (11%) are in states with divided government while 121 (28%) are in states with nonpartisan/independent commissions. The remaining six districts (1%) are in states with just a single, at-large congressional district.



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Map 1 and Table 1: Post-2020 redistricting control

The number of states that use independent/bipartisan commissions has increased in recent years: a little more than a quarter of the total seats in the House are in states that use some sort of commission. Colorado, Michigan, and Virginia are all decent-sized states that have implemented some form of commission system in recent years.

Specifically, there are 10 states that use a commission to draw the lines: Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Michigan, Montana, New Jersey, Virginia, and Washington. If those commissions did not exist, and redistricting power was instead given to the state legislature with the possibility of a gubernatorial veto, Democrats would have the power to draw the maps in six of these 10 states (California, Colorado, Hawaii, New Jersey, Virginia, and Washington), Republicans would have the power in three (Arizona, Idaho, and Montana), and there would be divided government control in Michigan (Democrats hold the governorship, Republicans hold the state legislature).

Instead of Republicans holding a 187-75 edge, their advantage would be a more modest 200-170 under this scenario, with the remaining 65 districts either in one-district states or in ones with divided government.

So in some states, Democrats may be, or are, kicking themselves for backing redistricting commissions. Both parties supported a 2018 Colorado ballot issue that created an independent redistricting commission for congressional maps. Had it not passed, Democrats now would have gerrymandering power in the Centennial State and drawn themselves a better map than a draft the commission released a few weeks ago, which likely will result in a 5-3 Democratic delegation but could split 4-4 in a strong Republican year. "We're (expletive) idiots," said one anonymous state lawmaker, as quoted by the Colorado Sun.

Still, Democrats have sometimes benefited from commissions. Voters in California, the state that still has by far the largest House delegation despite losing a seat

in the 2020 reapportionment, created a commission system prior to the 2010 redistricting round, and the commission produced a map where Democrats thrived over the course of the decade, netting eight seats to move from a 34-19 edge to 42-11 (and that's after Republicans clawed back four seats in 2020). A ProPublica investigation from 2011 found that Democrats figured out ways to surreptitiously influence the commission. Regardless, we doubt a Democratic gerrymander would have performed as well for Democrats as the actual map in the nation's largest state did over the course of the 2010s.

Additionally, there can be and perhaps will be constraints on redistricting in some of the states where one party holds sway on paper. For instance, Oregon Democrats gave Republicans a greater role in redistricting in exchange for Republicans cutting down on obstruction tactics regarding other legislative matters.

In four big states where Republicans hold sway – Florida, North Carolina, Ohio, and Texas – court action, or the fear of court action, could take some edge off GOP mapmaking. State courts weakened Republican gerrymanders in Florida and North Carolina last decade, although there are some questions about whether those courts would do so again as currently constituted (and while North Carolina has a Democratic governor, Roy Cooper, he has no say in redistricting matters). Ohio has an untested new process that places some constraints on gerrymandering and incentivizes minority party buy-in, although Republicans could get around that by imposing a map that lasts for just four years, instead of the customary 10 (although the courts are a wild card there, too). And even in Texas, Democrats have been able to trim Republican gerrymandering to some extent through racial redistricting lawsuits, although Republicans still hold an impressive 23-13 edge there (it was 25-11 before 2018), and they will hope to expand on that advantage as the megastate adds two additional seats.

One big difference between this cycle and the last one, though, is the U.S Supreme Court's *Shelby County v. Holder* decision from 2013, which threw out the federal preclearance formula for congressional redistricting and other voting-related matters in states and other jurisdictions with a history of discriminatory voting laws (a list that included Texas). Still, it's reasonable to expect lawsuits in Texas and elsewhere. The U.S. Supreme Court, in 2019's *Rucho v. Common Cause*, once again declined to place constraints on partisan redistricting.

Some of the most important questions in redistricting involve smaller states. Republicans may specifically target single Democratic-held districts in Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Missouri, and Tennessee, and Democrats may do the same in Maryland and New Mexico. How aggressive the majority party in each state is will help determine who wins the House majority in 2022 – and whether the intensity of partisan gerrymandering is increasing. ❖

Paul Waldman, Washington Post: Mike Pence probably believes it would be crazy for Republicans to nominate anyone other than him for president in 2024. After all, he's got all the qualifications. He was a congressman, then a governor, then vice president to the most revered personage in the Republican Party. He has a bond with the party's evangelicals, yet believes with all his heart in the policy preferences of the party's wealthy funders. If you tell him that this week he's supposed to pretend to be angry about critical race theory or Dr. Seuss or gender-neutral meerkat enclosures at the local zoo, he'll be there to talk. Like. This. To. Show. His. Resolve. But Pence can't get any respect. There was a time when he was just the kind of politician his party would nominate, but that time is past. These days, he seems more like the kind of politician Democrats nominate. As we begin to move toward 2024 and Pence starts making more public appearances, things haven't gone well. He was heckled at the Faith and Freedom Coalition conference last month by someone calling him a "traitor." Former president Donald Trump says he was "disappointed" with Pence for failing to help steal the election on Jan. 6, a moment of genuine commitment to his country that continues to haunt Pence. As he makes the rounds, Pence is not exactly winning converts. The most loyal Trump voters, for whom nothing is more important than their conviction that Trump's loss was illegitimate, hate Pence for not trying to make a futile attempt to overturn the results. For others, he lacks "the wow factor," as one sympathetic Republican put it. But not long ago, the standards for selecting a GOP nominee would have fit Pence perfectly. The party's two nominees before Trump, Mitt Romney (2012) and John McCain (2008), didn't set the primary electorate aflame; they mostly plodded along while their opponents flared out. It had long been conventional wisdom that Republicans chose the person whose "turn" it was, which usually meant a vice president or someone who had run before and come in second (such as Romney, McCain, and Bob Dole). Trump has changed that calculation by making everything about him and other politicians' relationships to him: Even if he doesn't run in 2024, every Republican contender will be judged by whether Trump likes them and how loyal they've been to Trump. But just as important, he created an expectation of emotional intensity that a glass of warm milk like Pence can't hope to satisfy. ❖



Indiana Citizen: One way of looking at Indiana's 2011 redistricting is from the perspective of what's happened since – a decade of Republican supermajorities in the General Assembly and a GOP lock on seven of the state's nine congressional districts. But Dan Domezich sees it in a different light, looking back to what happened 10 years before. "When I read how Democrats whine about the 2011 maps I have to laugh," says the former Indiana legislator. "When the Democrats drew the maps

in 2001 they drew my district so I wouldn't want to run again." A Republican in heavily Democratic Lake County, Domezich was appointed in 1999 to an open Indiana House seat representing District 15, which included areas around his home in Schererville where Republican strength was sufficient to elect him to a full term in 2000. It was his only full term. In 2001, Democrats held the House majority, and passed a redistricting plan that's been criticized as gerrymandering by observers such as the Cook Political Report, and even by some of their own caucus. The 2001 redrawing created a more rural and far-flung District 15. While still leaning Republican, it placed Domezich's home base on the northern periphery. Domezich describes the dimensions of the rest of the district beyond Schererville: "A straight line 80 miles south and then 80 miles east. A giant 'L,' in fact." Of his time in the General Assembly, Domezich, now "happily retired," says of House Democrats, "Their main objective was protecting the incumbent Lake County Democrats. I didn't complain. "Politics is a full contact sport. They should shut up and eat what they served." ❖

James Briggs, Indystar: After weathering a series of crises, most of which are still playing out, Indianapolis Mayor Joe Hogsett has reached the annual mid-summer government lull with a precious gift: A chance to reclaim his second term and craft a legacy based on action rather than response. Hogsett on Aug. 9 will introduce his 2022 budget to the City-County Council, launching a two-month series of hearings. Between now and the budget presentation — a matter of less than three weeks — Hogsett's administration must hammer out a vision for what to do with some \$400 million in pandemic relief from the federal American Rescue Plan. Those decisions could change the course of Indianapolis. It is hard to talk about government money without causing eyes to glaze over, but if you have never cared about municipal budgeting, this is the time to make an exception. Not since the onset of Unigov more than 50 years ago has Indianapolis had the (some-what) unfettered resources to make major investments in the city's future without privatizing a service, issuing bonds or coming up with some other financing scheme. "One of the things we've heard from the White House is that they want this to fit within the framework of COVID impacts, but also to be setting cities up for success in the longer term," Taylor Schaffer, Hogsett's chief of staff, said. "We've tried to take that seriously as we're thinking about programming. This is a probably once-in-a-lifetime cash infusion for Indianapolis. It represents a third of our annual budget." Hogsett has survived the bad luck while also demonstrating what good government looks like. Most days, that's all you can ask for of a mayor. But, thanks to Congress, Hogsett now has money on a scale that most of his predecessors couldn't fathom. That money raises the stakes, as well as the expectations. ❖

COVID cases triple over 2 weeks in U.S.

MISSION, Kan. — COVID-19 cases nearly tripled in the U.S. over two weeks amid an onslaught of vaccine misinformation that is straining hospitals, exhausting doctors and pushing clergy into the fray (AP). “Our staff, they are frustrated,” said



Chad Neilsen, director of infection prevention at UF Health Jacksonville, a Florida hospital that is canceling elective surgeries and procedures after the number of mostly unvaccinated COVID-19 inpatients at its two campuses jumped to 134, up from a low of 16 in mid-May. “They are tired. They are thinking this is déjà vu all over again, and there is some anger because we know that this is a largely preventable situation, and people are not taking advantage of the vaccine.” Across the U.S., the seven-day rolling average for daily new cases rose over the past two weeks to more than 37,000 on Tuesday, up from less than 13,700 on July 6, according to data from Johns Hopkins University. Health officials blame the delta variant and slowing vaccination rates. Just 56.2% of Americans have gotten at least one dose of the vaccine, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

Indiana COVID cases creeping up

INDIANAPOLIS — There were 731 new Indiana coronavirus cases, the second straight day over 700 and most since May 21. There were 4.4% of today’s batch of tests came back positive. The 7-day positivity rate, which runs a week behind, continues a three-week climb to 5.2%, highest since May 14 (Berman, WIBC). Forty counties, including Lake, Marion, Hamilton and Hancock, are rated blue (low risk), down from 67 a week ago. The other 48 are yellow (moderate

risk). Perry and Crawford Counties are above the 15% high risk line in today’s data, which are 5 days behind those used to calculate the risk scores; Perry is the state’s highest at 20%. Switzerland County has zero positivity but has three cases which haven’t hit the average yet. There were 11,628 newly reported COVID vaccinations (about half of them yesterday), including 5,833 now fully vaccinated. Indiana should reach half of all eligible Hoosiers fully Wednesday.

Holcomb to hold inaugural ball

INDIANAPOLIS — Governor Holcomb is holding his inaugural ball — seven months late. Holcomb was sworn in for a second term in a low-key ceremony January 11 (Berman, WIBC). The usual pomp and circumstance was shelved because of the coronavirus pandemic. But Indiana Republican Chairman Kyle Hupfer, Holcomb’s campaign manager, says with gathering restrictions lifted, supporters expressed interest in a belated celebration. The campaign will host the traditional black-tie gala August 21 at the JW Marriott in downtown Indianapolis, with tickets at \$150 a person. It’s also sponsoring a concert by country stars Big and Rich in White River State Park. Tickets for that event go on sale Friday. Hupfer says the move from January to August made it possible to book a bigger-name concert, and outdoors instead of indoors. Hupfer expects about 2,000 people for the gala, about the same or slightly less than Holcomb’s first inaugural four years ago. The announcement comes with COVID-19 cases rising again as the more infectious Delta variant gathers momentum.

State to get \$507M in opioid settlement

INDIANAPOLIS — Indiana will receive \$507 million as part of a multi-state agreement to settle a lawsuit against opioid distributors designed to bring relief to people

struggling with addiction to the drug, officials said Wednesday (AP). Attorney General Todd Rokita said the settlement marks a step forward in efforts to end the opioid epidemic and provide justice to families affected by opioid addiction. “While no amount of money will ever compensate for the loss and pain that’s resulted from the scourge of addiction across our state, this significant settlement will go a long way in preventing a crisis of this kind from ever happening again,” Rokita said.

Infrastructure vote fails in Senate

WASHINGTON — Senate Republicans rejected an effort Wednesday to begin debate on the big infrastructure deal that a bipartisan group of senators brokered with President Joe Biden, but pressure was mounting as supporters insisted they just needed more time before another vote possibly next week (AP). Republicans mounted a filibuster, saying the bipartisan group still had a few unresolved issues and needed to review the final details. They sought a delay until Monday. “We have made significant progress and are close to a final agreement,” the bipartisan group of senators, 11 Republicans and 11 Democrats, said in a joint statement after the vote.

Biden resists ending filibuster

CINCINNATI — President Joe Biden said Wednesday that scrapping the filibuster would “throw the entire Congress into chaos” and that “nothing at all will get done” (Politico). Biden said, “There’s no reason to protect it other than you’re going to throw the entire Congress into chaos and nothing will get done. Nothing at all will get done. And there’s a lot at stake. The most important one is the right to vote,” Biden said. “Wouldn’t my friends on the other side love to have a debate about the filibuster instead of passing the recovery act?”