



The Joseph Albert Hollingsworth III effect

A millionaire walks into a congressional district and creates a tossup race

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

FRANKLIN – The credible Republican 9th CD field is a study of contrasts.

There is two-term Attorney General Greg Zoeller who served as an aide to Vice President Dan Quayle and deputy to his predecessor, Steve

Carter. There is State Sen. Brent Waltz, the former Johnson County Council president and a four-term senator. And, State Sen. Erin Houchin, a former child protective services worker, a former 9th CD Republican chairwoman, and

a staffer for U.S. Sen. Dan Coats. They have all come up through the party ranks, attended dozens if not hundreds of county Lincoln Day dinners, marched in scores of parades, served as legislative and congressional interns, and



have been delegates to state and national conventions.

And then there is Joseph Albert Hollingsworth III – or “Trey” (get it?) – a millionaire still registered to vote in Tennessee, who moved to Jeffersonville last September after he hired a national political media consultant and pollster, who registered to vote in Indiana last October, and is in the process of spending what will probably be more than \$1 million to essentially buy an open congressional seat.

When Hollingsworth was introduced at the Orange

Continued on page 3

A huuge RNC 2nd ballot

By **CRAIG DUNN**

KOKOMO – It’s looking more and more each day as if the Republican candidate for president of the United States will be decided at a contested Republican National Convention in Cleveland, this July. With each passing

primary the likelihood of any of the three remaining candidates locking up the 1,237 votes necessary to win the first ballot seems more remote.

Kasich is mathematically unable to get to 1,237. Cruz would have to just about complete a clean sweep of the remaining primaries. Trump had the best chance of doing it, but a variety of forces have come together in the past two weeks



“As my grandpa used to say, ‘You ain’t got no socks, you can’t pull ‘em up.’”

- Rexford Early, Donald Trump’s Indiana chairman, on Gov. John Kasich’s viability at the GOP National Convention





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to make his task an extremely chal-
lenging one.

Let's recite the rules one more
time so that everyone can get on
board with the process. The Repub-
lican National Committee rules have
always required a majority of the del-
egate votes to secure the nomination.
Even Abraham Lincoln needed three
ballots to rise from second place to
lock in his nomination. Dwight Eisen-
hower received 700,000 fewer primary
votes than his opponent, Sen. Robert
Taft, but with judicious convention
strategy was able to defeat Taft.

Just in case anyone was
sleeping, I'll state it again; in order to
lock up the Republican nomination for
president, you must have a majority
of delegate votes and that magical
number is 1,237. What happens if
no one receives 1,237 votes on the
first ballot? Well, this is where it gets
interesting.

Each state has its own rules
regarding delegate fidelity. Most
states, but not all, require that their
state's delegates vote according to
their rules on the first ballot. Some
states require candidate loyalty
through two ballots and a few states
require delegate fidelity to
the bloody end. Indiana is
one of the states that has a
specific method of award-
ing delegates and requires
its delegates to vote in that
method on the first bal-
lot. After the first ballot, all
delegates are freed to vote
their conscience.

Indiana's method
of awarding delegates is
simple. We award three
delegates for each congres-
sional district won, and our
30 at-large delegates are all
awarded to the candidate
who wins the overall vote.

We are a winner-takes-most, if not
-all, state.

In Tampa, Florida, where I
served as a delegate to the Republican
National Convention in 2012, I never
was asked to vote for Mitt Romney.
Republican Chairman Eric Holcomb,
yes, the same guy we now call Lt.

Gov. Holcomb, called out the Indiana
vote without so much as a glance my
way. He didn't need to count votes.
The rules were clear. Romney got
them all.

Four years later, we may be
confronted with an entirely different
set of circumstances. The Republican
Party faces the very real possibility of
a contested convention in Cleveland.
Notice that I didn't say "brokered"
convention? Contested and brokered
conventions are two different animals.
Contested conventions exist when no
candidate has a lock on the first ballot
victory. The last time we saw this hap-
pen was at the Republican Convention
in 1976 between Gerald Ford and Ron-
ald Reagan. It was a tough battle, but
Ford was able to win on the first bal-
lot. If he had not received a majority
of the votes, there would have been a
second ballot. No big conspiracy here.

Brokered conventions are a
quaint thing of the distant past. They
existed before the days of 24-hour
cable news channels, internet news
and social media. The lack of trans-
parency allowed a few key leaders in
both political parties to wield outsized
influence over the convention process



Then Indiana GOP Chairman Eric Holcomb announces the delegation vote for Romney in Tampa in 2012. (HPI Photo by Randy Gentry)

and how the delegates voted. The
Republican Party doesn't have those
all-powerful influence peddlers any
longer.

You can't turn on the televi-
sion or read an internet blog without
seeing someone railing at the Repub-
lican Establishment for trying to inter-

fere in the nominating process. Please let me assure you that there is no Republican Establishment trying to guide the nominating process in one direction or another. What is my proof? What "establishment" with half a brain would have created a system that would see 15 initial candidates, 12 circus debates, name-calling and a convoluted nomination process that would lead to a possible contested convention? Big shot string pullers, lighting cigars with \$100 bills, would be a lot tidier than that.

No, our current nomination process, for bad or good, is an honest one. The rules were clear at the very beginning. Win 1,237 votes on the first ballot or face the political winds of a second ballot!

Who will the delegates be who may be called upon to cast a vote on the second or subsequent ballots? For the most part they will be people who have a long track record of supporting the Republican Party. They won't be delegates who just show up every four years. They will be the folks who serve as precinct chairpersons, help get commissioners and councilmen elected, help raise money for auditor and coroner races, and who do the hard work of running the party when no one is watching. They may differ with each other philosophically, but they will be

unanimous in their steadfast support for the Republican Party. Second ballot votes, if needed, will be cast for the person who each delegate deems to be the best person to represent our Republican Party next November.

Herein lies the problem for Donald Trump. The party has worked very hard under the leadership of National Chairman Reince Priebus to expand by reaching out to women, young people, people of color and groups who may share much of our vision but not all. Many of the Republican delegates will see Trump as a serious danger to down-ballot races and to the future of the Republican Party. Those delegates, and there will be "huuuuuuge" numbers of them who will relish with glee the opportunity to cast a second ballot vote.

My mother used to have a saying for those people who were rude, mean, uppity, bullies, crude, dishonest or just plain cooties. She liked to say, "What goes around, comes around." If I get a chance to cast a second ballot vote at the Republican National Convention, that saying will be foremost on my mind. ❖

Dunn is chairman of the Howard County Republican Party

Joseph Albert III, from page 1

County Lincoln dinner earlier this week, the room was still. No one knew him.

When Clark County Republican Chairman Jamey Noel was first contacted by Joseph Albert Hollingsworth III, the future candidate refused to tell him his name. Noel, who is sheriff of Clark County, did a background check on the candidate. "I have never seen anyone as clean as this guy," said Noel, referring to a lack of much documentation about the man.

"I had never heard of Hollingsworth until October," said Zoeller, who like Waltz and Houchin had heard rumors of a self-funder coming to the race last fall. "He doesn't have any relationships. I've had relationships with people in these counties my whole life."

Said Waltz, "He's still registered in Tennessee. He has no ground game."

On Tuesday, Houchin tried to call him out. "I'm calling on Trey Hollingsworth to come clean on his

shady attacks on Greg Zoeller," Houchin said while seated in a Franklin City Hall conference room. "These anonymous attacks aren't anonymous to Trey Hollingsworth. He knows who is behind them. Since Trey has no donors to his campaign, and no support in Indiana, it's unfathomable that his super PAC would be funded by anyone other than himself, his family, or his close associates. Trey Hollingsworth should immediately disclose whether or not he is funding these attacks out of his own pocket, or who is behind them."

Zoeller, the target of a widely run TV on behalf of Hollingsworth assailing him for supporting "amnesty" on immigration, decided to call Hollingsworth a "political scam artist" during National Consumer Protection Week in March. "We were talking about the red flags associated with a scam," said Zoeller, who as attorney general has been vigilant over the past seven years trying to protect consumers. "We've been warning, beware of the scam artist. If you show up from out of state, if you have no one who can give you a reference, if there are no bona fides, the red flag goes



State Sen. Erin Houchin calling on Hollingsworth to reveal his funding sources at the Franklin City Hall on Tuesday. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howe)

up. If the claim appears too good to be true, the red flag is going up. I've got a political scam artist here."

"If you thought about running for Congress for a long time, you might have had an opportunity to create a super PAC with a much larger collection of donors," Zoeller said on Tuesday morning. "If you show up in my state in September and write your check for \$680,000, did the super PAC have any lead time? Or is there a very big supporter who wrote a very big check?"

Houchin, whose husband Dustin is Washington County prosecutor, told HPI, "This is not how Hoosier conservatives conduct themselves, though I wouldn't expect Trey to know that, given he only moved to Indiana a few months ago to try to buy this seat in Congress."

In the wake of the U.S. Supreme Court's Citizens United decision, super PACs can spend an unlimited amount of money on a congressional candidate. But it is illegal for a candidate or campaign to coordinate in any way with them. It's the biggest wink-wink, nod-nod in American politics in this era.

When State Sen. Mike Delph pondered a U.S. Senate bid last year, he told HPI that Terre Haute attorney Jim Bopp Jr., who waged the Citizens United case before the Supreme Court, urged him not to declare his candidacy until after he had met with Washington super PACs.

Indiana Jobs Now is the super PAC which has spent more than \$200,000 on behalf of Hollingsworth and then leaked a National Research Inc. live caller February poll to Roll Call showing the Tennessean's name ID stood at 61%, compared to 70% for Attorney General Zoeller. In head-to-heads, Hollingsworth had 17%, Zoeller 16%, Houchin at 9%, Waltz at 4% and Bloomington engineer Robert Hall at 3%. There has been no credible public polling in the race.

The Hollingsworth campaign doesn't return media phone calls. He doesn't appear to have relationships with county chairs, precinct officials or other officeholders. In the one known sit-down interview in March with the IndyStar's Matt Tully, who called him the "most mysterious candidate," Hollingsworth said, "First and foremost, I am a businessman by trade. ... It's my experience as a businessperson that has shaped me into who I am. I think people

are focused on experience. When they look at me, they see a genuine, decade-long tradition of doing work and creating jobs in Indiana. I get the sense from talking to people that this should be about who has the right experience to solve some of these problems facing us. I don't

think it's about being in politics your whole life."

He dodged Tully's questions about the Super PAC funding.

His campaign website has no phone number, no "contact" information and lists a post office box in Jeffersonville as an address. "I find it odd that a congressional candidate has had limited media contact," Noel said.

There was no grand opening of a campaign headquarters. He filed his candidate financial disclosure late, and he presides over a labyrinth of compa-

nies here in Indiana and several other states.

On his campaign "bio," Hollingsworth explained, "Right out of school, I started HCP, a company that rehabilitated abandoned warehouses and manufacturing sites in Indiana and across the country. Because of the productivity of the American worker, the ingenuity of American companies, and the durability of the American economy, I believed American manufacturing could compete with anybody in the world, even as others rushed to the exits. I renovated facilities enabling companies to expand, start, and grow in their new, American locations. Today, my firm is one of the fastest growing private companies in the country with over 65 facilities that are home to thousands of employees."

As for "what I believe," he says, "there is a big difference between people in the private sector earning a living and politicians living off our earnings. In my opinion, you shouldn't ask for the right to spend our tax dollars until you have had to honestly earn them from outside government." He believes in term limits, shrinking the size government, Christian family values and "I believe in America," he says.

How the 9th is shaping up

The candidates who are talking to media – Zoeller, Waltz and Houchin – all believe the race is a pure tossup.



State Sen. Brent Waltz believes his ground game will yield a win on May 3.

Waltz, who upset legendary Indiana Senate Finance Chairman Larry Borst in 2004, in a campaign he intricately laid out for Howey Politics during the summer of 2003 when many Republicans leaders thought he was committing political suicide, said Tuesday, "Eight months ago, Zoeller wins this race based on his name ID. A month ago, Hollingsworth would win after spending \$1 million. Right now I see it as a tossup. With my ground game, I think we'll be there."

Waltz puts the magic number at 20,000 votes, a total Houchin would not dispute.

Waltz believes he will carry his home of Johnson County as well as Morgan and Brown counties, and will do very well in Clark, Floyd and Monroe, where he dispatched a field director this week. "My ground game wins elections," Waltz said. "I've spent 14 months developing a good ground game. We are actively engaged in all 13 counties. Last weekend, we had five sign crews in eight counties. We are walking in four counties and those will be increasing. From that perspective, I feel very comfortable." And it's true, there are Waltz banners and yard signs spackled throughout Johnson and Brown counties, as witnessed by HPI.

As for Hollingsworth, Waltz observed that the Tennessean has a "high burn rate" saying that he has been using network TV "as a nuclear weapon when he needs a fly swatter." Waltz continued, "There is only so much cable you can buy, only so many mailers you can do. He has no ground game, no local support, no political network he can draw on, but he's got a ton of money." And, for that matter, so does Waltz, though he is much more inconspicuous about it.

Zoeller, who has Anne Hathaway as his media consultant, started with the highest name ID due to his two attorney general terms. He has been in the news constantly in that role. "We're getting earned media," he said. That will continue as a spate of bills passed by the General Assembly and signed by Gov. Mike Pence, including a controversial abortion bill, are headed for the courts, with Zoeller defending the state and potentially making more headlines (See Ticker Tape on page 20).

"We started with a campaign plan and we got it mostly funded," Zoeller said. "At this point we're executing the plan. I'll admit the super PAC attacks on me were not part of that plan and we're doing some things to counter criticism that I've taken."



Attorney General Greg Zoeller is counting on his name ID after two terms at the Statehouse, and his long ties to the 9th CD.

Zoeller has been meeting with former congressman Mike Sodrel several times a month. He said he hasn't made a practice of giving or receiving endorsements, though he has the backing of Indiana Right to Life and the Fraternal Order of Police. "I'll go into neighbor-

hoods, restaurants and people recognize me," Zoeller said.

"I feel pretty good about the connection to people in the 9th CD." But he acknowledges this Trumpian election cycle is breaking the mold. "Who shows up, and the traditional GOP primary, and where do the new voters come from?" he asks. "There are a lot of unknowns. Having name ID will be good."

On the "who shows up" question, Waltz notes that there are 2,000 newly registered voters in Johnson County, and he believes there have been similar increases in many of the other 9th CD counties. Some may be part of the Donald Trump

phenomenon, some may be Bernie Sanders supporters. No one seems to know for sure, he says.

Houchin has a slew of endorsements and beyond Hollingsworth, reported the most money in her year-ending FEC report, \$111,000 to \$101,000 for Zoeller. Hollingsworth kicked in \$680,000 to his campaign and raised less than \$10,000 from others. "We continue to raise money," she said. "We feel real good." She sent out a mailer this week, as did Hollingsworth.

Like Waltz, Houchin won her Senate seat defeating long-time former Senate Minority Leader Richard Young by an impressive 21,395 to 15,419 in the 2014 mid-term elections. She represents four of the counties, and believes she will do well in her home county of Washington, as well as Clark, Floyd and Harrison. She also believes she will find traction in Johnson County, where Greenwood Mayor Mark Myers is a campaign co-chair, and she has the support of Sen. Brent Steele in Lawrence County. She, like Waltz, maintains she has a strong ground game.

As for Hollingsworth, Houchin says many voters she talks with believe he is a classic carpetbagger. "They are not happy about him," Houchin said. "They say, 'Who is this guy?' Once they learn he has no ties, one donor and only 1% of his money from Indiana, they don't believe he is a Hoosier. Voters are leery."

"We will be running through the tape," Houchin said of May 3. "The race is wide open."

Clark Chairman Noel agrees, calling the race a tossup. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup ❖

Sandlin v. Shreve race about life experiences

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The race for the open SD36 comes down to Indianapolis Councilman Jack Sandlin and his former colleague Jefferson Shreve in the Republican primary, both of whom believe they will bring a different set of life experiences that will be helpful to the Senate.



For Sandlin, it is his career in law enforcement where for years he focused on public corruption investigations. "No one in the Senate has the kind of urban

policing experience that I have," Sandlin said. "I can bring a different level of discussion to the legislature."

For Shreve, it is his business experience that has seen him forge self-storage units in 66 of 92 counties along with several other states. "I know our state," said Shreve, who served part of Indiana Republican Chairman Jeff Cardwell's south side council term, opting not to seek reelection in 2015 so he could run for the Senate. "I've made investments all across Indiana. I think I know our state better than anyone. I want to be a community connector."

Normally contests for the nomination end at the Marion County slating convention in February. Like his council caucus, Shreve won the SD36 slating with about 70% of the precinct committeeman vote. Sandlin opted to stay in the race, saying that voters in Johnson County, which makes up around 18% of the district, had no say in the slating.

Shreve, who spent his early years growing up on the south side, noted the contrast with Sandlin. "Our life experiences are different," he said. "I think I have more to offer. I know he knows some more on public safety because of his experience. I know a lot of K-12 and higher education funding, which makes up 60% of the state budget, Medicaid takes 25% and is the fastest growing part of the budget. I know more about infrastructure. I don't think Jack's life experiences are as good."

And he points to Sandlin's decision to seek reelection in 2015, while Shreve opted to focus on his Senate bid. "I didn't run for reelection. Jack's hedged his bet. He

ran in May, announced his Senate candidacy last summer, ran in November and was sworn in in January. If he wins, we'll have to hold a special election to fill his seat."

Shreve counts Purdue President Mitch Daniels as a political role model. "Fiscal policy is really important," Shreve said. "I've heard Gov. Daniels say again and again, 'You'll always be amazed at how much government you'll never miss.'" He said a goal is to "hold the line or reduce the amount of spending and regulation."

Having said that, Shreve backed tax hikes while on the City-County Council, one that closed a vital funding gap for public safety. So did Sandlin, who explained, "I agreed we needed to raise the public safety tax. There was a good public discussion on how it was going to be applied. When we got to final analysis, we weren't creating a slush fund. I think if you're forthright with voters, they'll understand."

Sandlin, who retired as the Indianapolis Police Department's deputy chief of investigations and then spent 14 years in community policing in Southport, said he will bring a unique skill set to the Senate. "We have created a system that inhibits communication between law enforcement agencies. One thing we learned after 9/11 was that agencies weren't talking with each other," he explained. "The way we have forfeitures structured, we have created an incentive for police agencies not to talk with each other. If they start talking during the course of investigations, they have to share forfeitures. We have incentivized them

to withhold information."

On the education front, Sandlin believes in funding pre-K education. "The state needs to step up and take a harder look at funding pre-K," he said. "Education is one of the greatest ways to break the cycle of poverty. If we don't address poverty, particularly in urban areas, we're going to be raising a whole group of people who are doomed. Early end education is a good time to start that process."

His third major issue is infrastructure, and he supports finding a long-term funding mechanism to maintain the state's roads and bridges. "If we can improve roadways with gas tax, I'd be in favor of that. I'm telling you as a conservative Republican, it's a last thing I'd want to do, but I won't take a pledge never to raise taxes," Sandlin



Indianapolis City-County Councilman Jack Sandlin (left) and his former council colleague Jefferson Shreve are battling for the SD36 nomination. (HPI Photos by Mark Curry and Brian A. Howey)

said, adding that citizens can support funding mechanisms that result in good roads.

On civil rights expansion, Sandlin noted that President Clinton backed religious freedoms and believes that federal laws protect the "homosexual community. If someone were to fire someone, there are protections under federal law. There are also protections on housing released issues."

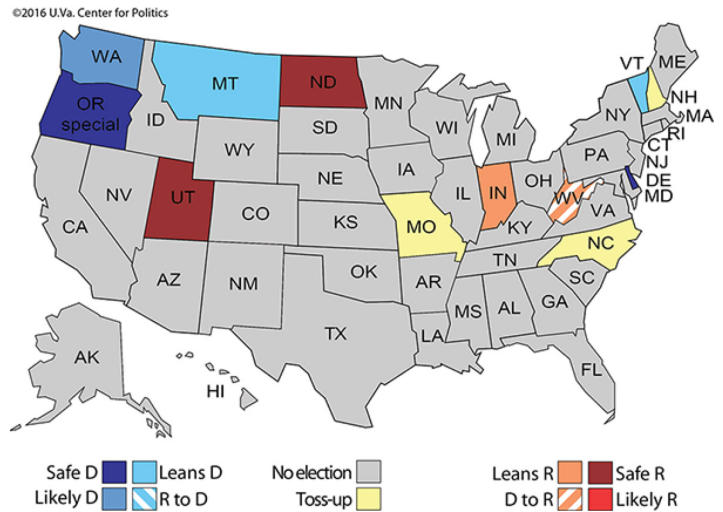
Shreve said that in his extensive door-to-door conversations, the LGBT civil rights expansions have not been mentioned. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Shreve.

Governor

Sabato moves race to 'leans' Pence

One of the surprising margins on Election Night 2012 was now-Gov. Mike Pence's closer-than-expected win over former state House Speaker John Gregg (Sabato's Crystal Ball). Pence won by just three percentage points and ran about 4.5 points behind Mitt Romney, who easily carried the state in the presidential race after Barack Obama very narrowly won it in 2008. Gregg is running

Map 2: Crystal Ball 2016 gubernatorial ratings



again. Since winning, Pence has had some shaky moments, most notably a controversy over a 2015 bill that some believed would legitimize discrimination against gays and lesbians. More recently, Pence signed a bill that made Indiana just the second state (along with North Dakota) to outlaw abortions that parents seek because the fetus

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has been diagnosed with a disability. Gregg, who opposes abortion rights, argues that the bill goes too far. While Indiana is the most conservative state in the Midwest, it's fair to wonder whether social issues could hurt Pence in his reelection bid. But the bigger problem for Pence is one he shares in common with the other incumbents discussed here: The GOP's problems at the top of the ticket could potentially trim the Republican presidential nominee's margins in Indiana, or even allow the Democratic nominee to carry the state, as Obama did once. Obama's 2008 victory didn't prevent Pence's predecessor, Mitch Daniels (R), from easily winning reelection with 58% of the vote, but Pence isn't Daniels, and he has not yet displayed the kind of crossover appeal that his predecessor enjoyed. Pence remains a favorite in his rematch with Gregg, but we're moving the race from Likely Republican to Leans Republican.

'Periods for Pence' creates social media wave

A social media movement opposing a controversial abortion bill is gaining attention beyond Indiana (Heinz, WRTV). The Facebook page "Periods for Pence" launched last week. It's already drawn more than 18,000 people to "like" the page, and the number keeps growing. In post after post, supporters of "Periods for Pence" share details of their phone calls to the governor's office. Many include personal details of the women's menstrual cycles. "This

is a new time for us," said page supporter Kelly Kerr. "We have not had to deal with these kinds of draconian measures in over 40 years. And to be able to participate in the discussion and the dissent online is really a great opportunity." The IndyStar reported today that there have been 19,000 likes. Gov. Pence ended the 2012 election cycle hemorrhaging female support after Richard Mourdock's debate "rape" remarks and it almost cost him the election to John Gregg. Since then, he has dumped Lt. Gov. Sue Ellspermann from the ticket, is facing a potential top-of-ticket millstone with Donald Trump as the presidential nominee who is completely under water with women voters, and now he finds the "Periods for Pence" Facebook campaign by women upset by his signing HEA1337, which appears to be gaining social media momentum. A similar social media movement was a key ingredient in Glenda Ritz's upset victory over Supt. Tony Bennett in 2012.

On the education front, the Fort Wayne Journal Gazette's Niki Kelly reported that Gregg reported a \$150,000 donation from education advocate Christel DeHaan on March 24. She has given millions to GOP candidates over the years but seems to have chosen a Democrat for governor over incumbent Republican Gov. Mike Pence. She also gave Gregg \$50,000 in 2015, bringing her total support to \$200,000 for Gregg this campaign cycle. According to the campaign finance database, DeHaan gave \$20,000 total to Pence in 2011 and 2012 but none so far

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in this race.

Gov. Pence spent the week making headlines signing the Regional Cities Initiative bills at Evansville and Elkhart. It brings about \$130 million to projects in three regions of the state, and will generate a slew of potential ribbon cuttings in the coming months ahead of the November election. "Through the Indiana Regional Cities Initiative, we have seen regions across the state working in partnership to inspire and generate the development of long-term and dynamic plans for the future," Pence said in Evansville. "Indiana's Great Southwest plan will be key in attracting and retaining a skilled workforce and cultivating a strong business climate for long-term economic development and improving quality of life for the benefit of Hoosiers."

Pence visits to Elkhart County up

Elkhart County has become a home away from home for Gov. Mike Pence. Since June, the Republican governor has made six visits to the Elkhart County area, including stops Wednesday in Middlebury and Goshen. Prior to that, he had stopped here just twice in his first 2½ years as governor — on April 18 and Oct. 2 in 2013 — according to a review of his online public schedule (Vandennack, Elkhart Truth). Pence says the flurry of visits — four since December — stem from his "excitement" over the various developments in the region. "To see the rebound in the economy here in Elkhart County and all across the region, I think it's a real testament to the resilience of the people of this area," he said in Middlebury on Wednesday, after ceremonially inking "Kirk's Law," which creates a public online registry of child abuse perpetrators. His Democratic foe in the governor's race this year, though, puts a political slant on things. "We've noticed the governor traveling a great deal more than he had previously," Jeff Harris, spokesman for the John Gregg gubernatorial campaign, said in an email. "It's clear that Gov. Pence is utilizing the trappings of his office to bolster his re-election efforts." **General Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

U.S. Senate

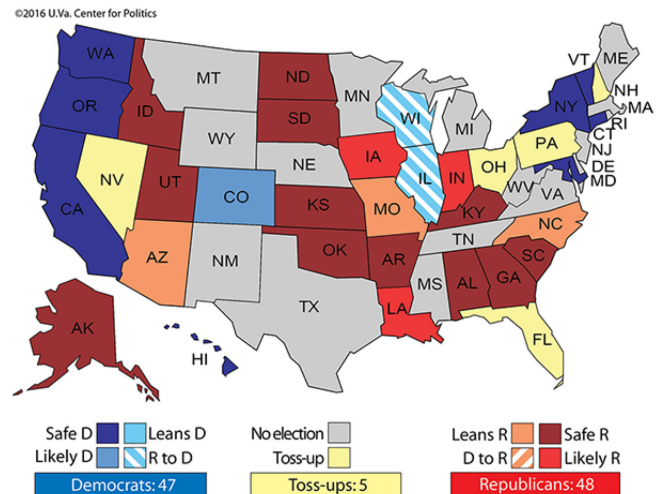
Stutzman, Young get A+ from NRA

U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman received an A+ rating from the NRA Political Victory Fund. Stutzman was co-author of Indiana's lifetime concealed carry permit and has a strong record of defending the 2nd Amendment. Stutzman has also received the exclusive endorsement of Gun Owners of America for his strong stance defending the 2nd Amendment (Howey Politics Indiana). "Hoosiers enjoy a natural right to self-defense preserved by the 2nd Amendment. This liberty should not be forfeited when state lines are crossed. Unfortunately, this fundamental right has been under attack from the anti-gun lobby on both the federal and state levels," Stutzman stated. U.S. Rep. Todd Young also picked up an A+ grade from the NRA.

Chamber nods 'overwhelming' for Young

The decision to endorse Rep. Todd Young, R-9th, rather than Marlin Stutzman, R-3rd, for a Senate seat was "overwhelming," representatives of the Indiana and U.S. Chambers of Commerce said Thursday (Francisco, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). "It was a landslide. Overwhelming. Not one member reached out to me in support of Marlin Stutzman. And I think that's telling," Rob Engstrom, national political director for the U.S. Chamber, said in Fort Wayne. He said the business advocacy organization's public affairs committee, which numbers about 60 people, made the endorsement for Indiana's May 3 Republican primary election. Caryl Auslander, a vice president for the Indiana Chamber, said Young and Stutzman met twice each with that group's congressional affairs committee, which

Map 1: Crystal Ball 2016 Senate ratings



has three dozen members. "And the vote was overwhelming. Todd Young was the candidate for us," Auslander said. Auslander, Engstrom and Young had a news conference at Fort Wayne Metals as part of a two-day media blitz across the state to endorse Young. Engstrom said Stutzman's criticism this week of the endorsements was "sour grapes" as Stutzman had met with him and sought the U.S. Chamber's backing. Stutzman said Thursday in an email that "it should come as no surprise to Hoosiers that these groups would endorse a moderate establishment candidate like Todd Young" because of the groups' moderate stances on education, religious freedom, immigration and federal spending. "It is clear the Washington, D.C., insiders and crony capitalists are circling the wagons to save establishment Todd Young because I am winning this race," Stutzman said. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Young

Hill forms advisory council

Democratic U.S. Senate candidate Baron Hill released the starters on his team of advisors who will help him win in November. Hill's advisory council consists of business owners, union members, community leaders, civil rights activists and advocates for the disabled. "Since I'll

be representing all of Indiana in the Senate, I want my advisory council to reflect all of Indiana as well," Hill said. "Winning takes teamwork, and I'll be counting on this team and listening to folks across the state to help me win this election and ensure that Washington reflects Indiana's values."

The League of Conservation Voters (LCV) Action Fund, which works to elect candidates who will implement sound environmental policies, today announced its endorsement of former Congressman Hill for U.S. Senate from Indiana, saying, "Through a long and distinguished career in public office, Hill has fought to grow Indiana's clean energy economy and is committed to addressing climate change."

3rd CD

Banks airing second TV ad

State Sen. Jim Banks, Republican candidate for Indiana's 3rd CD, will begin airing his second television advertisement of the race tomorrow with a spot titled, "Battle-Tested." The advertisement focuses on the growing threat posed by radical Islamic terrorists and how Jim will use his experience as an Afghanistan war veteran to defeat our enemies. "I will work to ensure our military personnel have the weapons, training and technology they need to defeat our enemies," said Banks. "The federal government has no greater duty than to provide for the common defense of our citizens. Rebuilding our military and restoring American greatness will be top priorities for me in Congress." The ad can be viewed by clicking <https://youtu.be/rdXAM33GGso>. Here is the script: "Voiceover: Radical Islamic terrorists are attacking. But, one battle-tested conservative leader has a plan to defeat them: Jim Banks. Navy Reserve officer. Afghanistan War veteran. Husband and father of three. Jim Banks will give our military weapons and training needed to defeat our enemies. Endorsed by Combat Veterans for Congress, Jim Banks will fight to reverse Obama's failed policies and restore America to greatness. Defending our families, our values, and America. Jim Banks for Congress. Jim Banks: I'm Jim Banks and I approve this message."

NRA grades candidates

The National Rifle Association's Political Victory Fund has given high grades to Republican candidates running for congressional seats that represent northeast Indiana (Francisco, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). State Sen. Jim Banks, R-Columbia City, and former Wisconsin state senator Pam Galloway of Warsaw also received an A+. They seek the Republican nomination for Stutzman's 3rd District seat. Also in the 3rd District, Republican farmer Kip

Tom of Leesburg received an A and state Sen. Liz Brown, R-Fort Wayne, received an A-. Tom's grade was based on his answers to an NRA-PVF questionnaire because he does not have a legislative voting record.

Anthony Fund endorses Brown

The national pro-life organization Susan B. Anthony List (SBA List) announced its endorsement of State Sen. Liz Brown, who is running for Congress in Indiana's 3rd Congressional District. The seat is being vacated by Rep. Marlin Stutzman, a dependable pro-life ally in the U.S. House of Representatives. "Susan B. Anthony List is proud to endorse Liz Brown in Indiana. If elected, Brown will be a champion for unborn children and women, as well as for pro-life taxpayers," said SBA List vice president for government affairs, former Congresswoman Marilyn Musgrave. "State Sen. Brown has been one of our strongest allies in Indiana, advocating much-needed legislation to protect the lives of the most vulnerable as well as their mothers. We look forward to having her strong leadership in Washington." **Primary**

Horse Race Status: Leans Banks.

General Assembly

Long, Miller, Kenley receive NRA nods

Senate President David Long in SD16, Sen. Luke Kenley in SD20, and Sen. Pete Miller all received A grades from the NRA. Long's opponent, IPDW Prof. Kessler, received a C grade. Kenley primary challenger Scott Willis did not fill out the survey.

In SD22, Sen. Miller received the Indiana Right to Life endorsement. His opponent, John Crane, is working the grassroots as are Kessler and Scott Willis. Outside of two mailers from Kessler against Long and Crane's positive digital advertising, there have not been signs of real money in these races. The Senate Majority Campaign tells HPI that it is expecting attack ads to be launched against Long and Miller in the near future.

SD20: Mayor Brainard backing Willis?

Hamilton County Republican sources are telling Howe Politics Indiana that they believe Carmel Mayor Jim Brainard is backing Scott Willis over Sen. Luke Kenley. They point that long-time Brainard political ally Alan Sutherlin is running the Willis campaign. And they point to Brainard's displeasure with Kenley, who chairs the Senate Appropriations Committee, over past TIF legislation. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Kenley ❖

Battle for the White House					
RCP Poll Averages					
	National	Delegates		Wisconsin	
	Trump 40.4	Trump 740		Cruz 39.2	
	Cruz 32.8	Cruz 514		Trump 34.5	
	Kasich 20.6	Kasich 143		Kasich 20.0	
	New York	Pennsylvania		California	
	Trump 53.3	Trump 39.7 ↘		Trump 35.4 ↗	
	Kasich 21.3	Cruz 26.3 ↗		Cruz 27.2 ↗	
	Cruz 19.0	Kasich 25.3 ↘		Kasich 16.0 ↗	
	National	Delegates		Wisconsin	
	Clinton 50.2	Clinton 1274		Sanders 47.9	
	Sanders 42.8	Sanders 1025		Clinton 45.3	
	New York	Pennsylvania		California	
	Clinton 53.5	Clinton 52.7 ↘		Clinton 49.3 ↗	
	Sanders 42.5	Sanders 35.0 ↗		Sanders 38.7 ↗	
General Election Match-Ups					
	Clinton 49.4	Clinton 46.1		Kasich 47.3	
◀	Trump 38.6	Cruz 43.0		Clinton 41.0	▶
	Clinton +10.8	Clinton +3.1		Kasich +6.3	

The meaning of the word 'establishment'

By PETE SEAT

INDIANAPOLIS - What is the establishment? It's the dirtiest word in politics today – even worse than that naughty rabble-rouser "compromise." Makes you sick just reading it, no? But do people know what the word really means?

Here are four things you need to know about the establishment before the next time you use the word:

There's a Republican establishment and a Democrat establishment. First, before anyone's head explodes, let's clear the air and understand that both major political parties have an establishment, regardless of the other points below. There are Republicans and Democrats who court candidates, raise dough and sway votes. There's no mutual exclusivity here. So when you hear a Republican scream about the establishment, remember it goes the other way, too.



The establishment is engaged, outsiders are disengaged. The folks who will attend tonight's Vigo County Lincoln Day Dinner (at which I am the keynote speaker) and the Lake County Lincoln Day Dinner on Saturday (which I will attend) are the establishment. What?! It's true. They may not agree with my assessment, but that's what they are. And it's not because they are rich and powerful and dictate how the system works, it's simply because they got off their couches and got involved.

I know this because I have been party to this part of the establishment since 2001. It was a Saturday morning in Tucson, Arizona, when I, an 18-year-old college freshman, showed up to walk door-to-door in a city I knew next to nothing about for a candidate I had never heard of before. It was on that morning that I signed my oath to the politically engaged. For years of Saturdays to come, and countless evenings, I volunteered my time to get Republicans elected to office. It made no matter to me if a candidate was running for governor or city council; I did not discriminate when it came to helping elect good people to public office. Those efforts led to an internship at The White House which later led to a full-time job in the George W. Bush Administration.

I know this because I have been party to this part of the establishment since 2001. It was a Saturday morning in Tucson, Arizona, when I, an 18-year-old college freshman, showed up to walk door-to-door in a city I knew next to nothing about for a candidate I had never heard of before. It was on that morning that I signed my oath to the politically engaged. For years of Saturdays to come, and countless evenings, I volunteered my time to get Republicans elected to office. It made no matter to me if a candidate was running for governor or city council; I did not discriminate when it came to helping elect good people to public office. Those efforts led to an internship at The White House which later led to a full-time job in the George W. Bush Administration.

Now, here's what the establishment is not: the Monday Morning Quarterbacks who enjoy complaining about how bad the process is but don't take the time to be a part of the process. They are the same people who stay home. The same people who always have something better to do and prioritize other pursuits above active partici-

pation in this great American experiment of ours.

In the outsiders, we find what happens when one refuses to get involved. Had those who willingly chose to disengage from the process taken a different path, the make-up of the establishment would be different and perhaps the political climate cool to the touch. Instead, the anti-establishment forces, rather than infiltrate and re-brand from within, chose to scream from beyond their self-imposed barrier for fear of becoming the dreaded establishment.

The establishment wins. I can't begin to count the number of candidates who cry out, "I'm an outsider," when the only reason they are an outsider is because they lost all their previous bids to be an insider. Losing campaign after campaign is not an attractive electoral resume builder.

Running, winning and governing, however, is the name of the game. And those who are considered the establishment are the establishment because they ran and won.

The establishment is not ideological, it is generational. This is something I addressed in my book, "The War on Millennials," which was published two years ago this week. Without a doubt, there are ideological fault lines within the Republican Party. We see this in the Donald Trump versus (I Pray For) Anyone But Trump race. Some of that is based on ideological considerations, some of that is based on personality, but where the true divide lies is in the generations.

Older Americans are the ones who have worn out their shoe leather as well as worn out their welcome on the political stage. Yes, they consistently show up to vote, consistently run for office and consistently win office compared to my younger cohorts, but they also consistently make poor decisions that shackle the futures of Millennials such as me. When given the opportunity to pass bills that secure long-term benefit, they time and time again take the short-term path.

On two of the three points, I'm guilty as charged. And, as such, I'm not ashamed to carry the label as a meritorious award for my efforts and neither should anyone else be ashamed.

We spend so much time arguing over labels when we could accept the truth and move on to the issues that matter to our future rather than reward people who are proud of their disengagement from the world around them. ❖

Pete Seat is senior project manager at the Indianapolis-based Hathaway Strategies and author of the book The War on Millennials. He was previously a spokesman for President George W. Bush, U.S. Sen. Dan Coats and the Indiana Republican Party.

Hoosier Republicans on Trump straight razor

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The Marlon Brando character in “Apocalypse Now,” playing the rogue Col. Walter E. Kurtz, famously told Capt. Willard: “I watched a snail crawl along the edge of a straight razor. That’s my dream; that’s my nightmare.” And so it goes with Hoosier Republicans. As the Donald J. Trump Political Reality Show heads our way, there is palpable fear prompting an epic straddle.



Indiana Republicans would never conduct themselves the way Trump has. They would never talk about punishing a woman for having an abortion, even the most ardent Right to Life supporter. They would never make fun of a disabled reporter.

They don’t use profanity in public. Gov. Mike Pence would never talk about punching someone in the face like in the good ol’ days. The cruelest thing Pence could ever conjure is that poor turtle on the fencepost. Marlin Stutzman would never brag about paying legal fees for a violent supporter assaulting a black protester at a rally.

Hoosier Republicans don’t make fun of their opponents or call them degrading names. They would never tweet a risqué photo of an opponent’s wife, or take on the Holy See.

But here we are, with Trump still a very likely presidential nominee, or, if denied, the steward of a revolt on the Mistake on the Lake, or a third party insurgent that will destroy any chance of Republicans keeping the governor’s office for a fourth straight term, regaining the White House, maintaining a Senate majority, not to mention decimating the conservative wing of the U.S. Supreme Court.

To date, Gov. Pence and Reps. Todd Young, Marlin Stutzman, Todd Rokita and Jackie Walorski are vowing to support the Republican presidential nominee, even if it’s Trump.

To them, picking up the Col. Kurtz narrative, they will be . . . “Crawling, slithering, along the edge of a straight razor... and surviving.”

Good luck with that, particularly when it comes to female voters.

Recent national polls reveal a staggering disapproval from women voters, perhaps the most important voting bloc: 67% (Fox News), 67% (Quinnipiac University), 70% (NBC News/Wall Street Journal), 73% (CNN/ORC) and 74% (ABC News/Washington Post). “Those are stunningly unfavorable numbers. It would be tremendously difficult for Donald Trump to win the general with those kinds of numbers,” Tim Malloy, assistant director of the

Quinnipiac University poll, told Politico. “Historically, I can’t imagine anyone having worse numbers with women. But historically, there’s never been anyone like Donald Trump.”

Trump is oblivious, with his spectacular brain dismissing the polling with his biting tongue, while claiming he will be “the best thing that ever happened to women.”

These are the kinds of numbers that will have Gov. John Gregg, U.S. Sen. Baron Hill and U.S. Reps. David Orentlicher, Lynn Coleman and Shelli Yoder celebrating next January.

Coleman, the Democrat who is challenging Walorski in the 2nd CD, gave a preview of what’s ahead for Hoosier Republicans tethered to a nominee Trump. “The voters of the 2nd District deserve to know if Jackie Walorski agrees with Trump’s statements, and why we should see her silence as anything but standing in agreement with Donald Trump,” Coleman said following Trump’s statements last week on MSNBC on punishing women who have had an illegal abortion. It was a statement that Trump quickly backtracked on, but his first take was revealing. “Hoosiers deserve to know if Jackie Walorski will support the presumptive nominee of the Republican Party. Instead, Jackie Walorski has remained silent, even as Trump’s rhetoric climbs higher and higher on the scale of the absurd.”

Walorski told the Elkhart Truth on Tuesday, “Of course, I’m going to support the Republican nominee. I’m not going to vote for Hillary Clinton. The presidential (race) is going to run its course. What these folks say in the rhetoric of politics is what they choose to say.”

If you’re Walorski, Young and Stutzman, finding themselves in the midst of contested primaries, the fear and caution are real. They can’t afford to alienate the potential scores of new Trump voters. Attorney General Greg Zoeller, running in the crowded 9th CD field, told HPI on Tuesday that Trump could carry the 9th CD “by a two-to-one margin.” State Sen. Brent Waltz notes 2,000 new voters have registered in Johnson County this cycle.

“There’s a little bit of a protest vote going on,” Zoeller said. “The fact that he makes the Washington establishment nervous, he gets on the nerve of the press, all of that is kind of popular. I hear it all the time. People are saying, ‘I think he will shake things up.’”

In Wisconsin, the upper Republican echelons have responded to Trump. Gov. Scott Walker (not on the ballot this year) endorsed Cruz on March 23, saying, “After all these years of the Obama-Clinton failures, it’s time we elect a strong new leader and I’ve chosen to endorse Ted Cruz.” When Walker dropped out of the presidential race in September, he said, “I encourage other Republican presidential candidates to consider doing the same so that the voters can focus on a limited number of candidates who can offer a positive, conservative alternative to the current front-runner. This is fundamentally important to the future of our party, and, more important, the future of the country.”

House Speaker Paul Ryan, without mentioning Trump by name, though it was clear who he was talking

about, said last month, "We shouldn't accept ugliness as the norm. Instead of playing to your anxieties, we can appeal to your aspirations. Instead of playing the identity politics of our base versus their base, we unite people around ideas and principles. And instead of being timid, we go bold. We don't just resort to scaring you, we dare to inspire you."

Trump had appeared in Janesville, Ryan's hometown and trashed the Speaker. Ryan responded, saying, "We are slipping into being a divisive country. We are speaking to each other in echo chambers, where we only talk to people who agree with us and we think that there is something wrong with people who don't agree with us."

And then there are Hoosier Republicans who aren't facing a primary (Pence, Reps. Luke Messer or Todd Rokita) who might have an opening to avert a Trump primary win here by endorsing Cruz or Ohio Gov. John Kasich, create an open convention that might yield a dark horse (new face) nominee like Speaker Ryan, and stave off an autumn GOP catastrophe.

Sen. Waltz, one of five running in the 9th CD pri-

mary, observed, "Here is the problem of lot of those people have. We know there's an anti-establishment leaning, possibly a tsunami developing across the U.S. People are leery of anyone who is part of the establishment. There is a real danger in somebody like Mike Pence or Luke Messer attacking Trump and disavowing him. The narrative then becomes 'so and so is part of the establishment.' Gov. Pence really finds himself in a very awkward position."

It comes down to angering and alienating Trump supporters in the Spring, or experiencing the wrath of female voters completely repulsed by Trump in Autumn. As Sen. Lindsey Graham might say, pick a gunshot to the cerebellum or poison.

"The good news for Indiana," Waltz continued, "is that Indiana seems far more selective. Voters switch back and forth. Evan Bayh can be elected governor while a Republican vice president from Indiana is elected at the top of the ticket. Barack Obama can win Indiana and Mitch Daniels can win reelection."

That seems to be the game plan: Slithering, slithering on the edge of that straight razor ... and surviving. ❖

The perils of coattails

By **MARK SOUDER**

FORT WAYNE – All victorious candidates for public office believe that success was due to their own hard work, thousands of volunteers, and brilliant strategy. Losses, of course, are due to other factors.

Few in election night victory speeches confess they won because of their party label, strong candidates on the ticket that helped pull them through, the economy, the failures of their opponent, or the fact they had more money. I was not one of the few.



For all the negative talk about worthless political parties, the fact is that a strong team helps pull along the group as a whole. Parts of the team hopefully pull friends, ideological allies, a demographic

cluster, or attract fundraising that helps build the vote base of the party ticket.

Presidential candidates certainly influence races. In my 2008 race, many (actually most) commentators wrote me off. The national GOP was panicked; 2008 was an awful year for congressional Republicans. The economy in my region, especially the RV industry in

Elkhart County, was in terrible shape. My chief of staff, Renee Howell (Hudson) prevailed upon me to hire a pollster. We hired David Winston, who I believe to be the most useful Republican pollster because of how he does his work. David was also the Republican pollster for CBS. We were friends who had worked together when he was polling for Speaker Newt Gingrich and I was on the speaker's planning team.

The Democrat CBS pollster kept telling David that I was a goner, that I was "dead meat," and even panicked David about the need to do one last poll. It again showed me with a solid lead. I had insisted that with a 15-point lead in Allen County, plus what we felt on the ground, that we were in no danger in spite of the widespread panic. I won by 15%.

The problem in the most polls, and perceptions, was the negative coattail effect. In the South Bend-Elkhart television part of the district (around a third of the population), presidential candidate McCain was getting pounded, as in below 30%. While I was running well ahead of McCain, I was still below 50% in what should have been the strongest part of the district.

But my assumptions proved to be true: 1.) I believed that ultimately the Elkhart-Kosciusko region would vote Republican (an advantage of straight tickets); and 2.) holding Allen County by 15 anchored winning the district by 15%. I also knew that working jointly with then-Congressman Joe Donnelly (who also represented part of Elkhart County) on the region's economy and veterans' issues, would help both of us at different times.

There are several pertinent points to this specific example: 1) polls aren't always right in the head-to-head,

you have to analyze the numbers underneath the top numbers; 2) almost any nominated candidate can win when the winds are blowing right; the skill is to win when they are blowing against you; and 3) excessive partisanship and ideology is especially dangerous if you face a headwind.

One would think that 2016 should have been a slam-dunk Republican year. Look at the variables: A prolonged stagnant economy, the world in chaos, the deficits extraordinary, the nation is a mess, and many, many people are mad.

Astoundingly, the Democrats are determined to run candidates already rejected by the voters (Hillary nationally, Gregg and Hill in Indiana). It is just inconceivable that to address the problems we face in this state, the Democrats would nominate failed re-treads whose public careers were mostly in the last century. Furthermore, Clinton can't even put away a self-proclaimed socialist. Hillary can't seem to inspire people, especially those under 50, and may be soon indicted.

Yet here we are. The Republicans seemingly have been intent on nominating a presidential candidate who could seize – not snatch – a crushing defeat from the jaws of what should be an easy victory. At this point, if Trump wins the nomination, the entire party may crash and burn. If Cruz wins the nomination, Trump is more likely than not to run as an independent.

Cruz would likely have difficulty defeating Hillary in the fall anyway. Kasich or another candidate could only be nominated by over-riding the clear choices of the Republican primary voters. While Kasich, Rubio or Ryan would increase chances of winning, it is still likely they would lose, assuming Trump would run as an independent or support Hillary. It would again be labeled by many conservatives as yet another defeat of the Republican establishment, who “stole” the nomination. The only counter-balance to that argument is that if Cruz or Trump loses, it will be blamed on the “establishment” anyway.

It should also be noted that when John Kasich, Mike Pence, and Dan Coats are now the “Republicans in name only”

Election	Presidential winner	US Senate	US House	Governor
1948	Harry Truman (D)	+9	+75	+5
1952	Dwight Eisenhower (R)	+2	+22	+5
1956	Dwight Eisenhower (R)	0	-2	-2
1960	John Kennedy (D)	-1	-21	+1
1964	Lyndon Johnson (D)	+2	+37	-1
1968	Richard Nixon (R)	+5	+5	+5
1972	Richard Nixon (R)	-2	+12	-1
1976	Jimmy Carter (D)	0	+1	+1
1980	Ronald Reagan (R)	+12	+34	+4
1984	Ronald Reagan (R)	-2	+16	+1
1988	George H.W. Bush (R)	-1	-2	-1
1992	Bill Clinton (D)	0	-9	+2
1996	Bill Clinton (D)	-2	+2	0
2000	George W. Bush (R)	-4	-2	-1
2004	George W. Bush (R)	+4	+3	0
2008	Barack Obama (D)	+8	+21	+1
2012	Barack Obama (D)	+2	+8	-1

– the moderate establishment – many in the Republican Party have lost touch with the middle. And to snarky Democrats: Here is back at you. The people backing Bernie Sanders have lost touch as well.

What does matter to the Republican Party and conservatives long-term is that we save as many of the positions we currently hold as we can. A candidate can face a presidential loss, say with Cruz as the candidate, and win, as I did in 2008. For Republicans in Indiana, the key is to have strong congressional incumbents,

and then add a well-qualified solid conservative but less risky Senate candidate like Todd Young and other dynamic statewide candidates such as Curtis Hill for attorney general to help Gov. Mike Pence hold the state for the GOP.

With the right team, perhaps we even survive a national Trump debacle. But we cannot take big risks because there is no margin for error. We need our best candidates who can help hold those who otherwise will reject the party. Both parties need to hold their base, but in fact, elections are won by persuading less ideological swing-voters to join with you. It is the dominant lesson of American politics. ❖

Souder is a former Republican congressman from Indiana and a regular HPI contributor.

Photography With Punch
 A Fresh Look At Indiana Politics
 Through The Lens Of Mark Curry
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GOP facing marriage platform fight

By MAUREEN HAYDEN
CNHI State Reporter

INDIANAPOLIS – Already fractured Republicans are facing a new fight over whether to keep language defining marriage in the state party's platform.



Activists who fought lawmakers' attempts to ban same-sex unions now want to strike wording that describes marriage as "between a man and a woman" from the state GOP's policy statement. A similar debate is brewing on the

national level.

The division pits social conservatives against moderates who see the issue as unnecessarily divisive at a time when Republican unity is already strained. "The platform is something that's supposed to be bring everybody together," said Megan Robertson, a political organizer who wants one-man, one-woman language removed from both the state and national platforms. "The platform needs to be something we can all point to and say, 'This is why I'm a Republican,'" she said.

Jim Bopp, an influential conservative, said traditional marriage is a key Republican tenet, and the language needs to stay. "They represent an extreme minority in the party," he said of its opponents.

Debate is heating up over what, if anything, to say about marriage as the party's summer conventions draw near. State delegates are scheduled to vote on a platform at a June 10 meeting in Indianapolis, after a series of public hearings that began Wednesday.

The national platform goes to delegates at the Republican National Convention in Cleveland in July.

Robertson co-managed the bipartisan Freedom Indiana coalition that stopped lawmakers from passing a same-sex marriage ban in 2014. She's now part of a new group called Enterprise Republicans, founded by former Angie's List CEO Bill Osterle, who also ran Republican Gov. Mitch Daniels' first campaign.

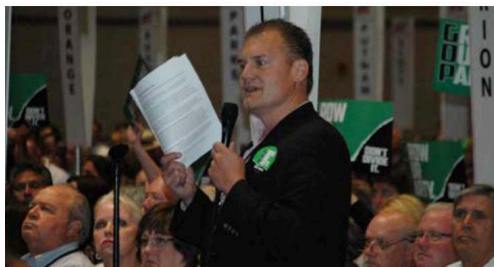
Robertson said Enterprise Republicans and its supporters aren't asking the state party to include language supporting same-sex marriage. They just want to remove

an endorsement of marriage between a man and woman as "the foundation of society." Robertson said the phrasing is too divisive. "The job of the party is to win elections," she said. "We need to bring more people into the party, not alienate them."

Efforts to change the platform to avoid the marriage issue have precedent. The state GOP struck one-man, one-woman language from its 2012 platform in hopes of keeping its message focused on the economy and jobs. But the language went back into the 2014 platform, as a nod to social conservatives who were unhappy that lawmakers didn't pass a law banning gay marriage.

Bopp said the effort to remove the language is overblown by the media. He was quoted in a Politico story, published Monday, about Republicans behind the American Unity Fund, a group encouraging delegates to the national GOP convention to adopt language that accommodating same-sex marriage.

"Conservative forces need to understand there is a serious challenge, and they need to take it seriously," Bopp was quoted as saying.



Tom John of Marion County (top) and Rush County Chairman Michael Dora wage a floor fight on the marriage issue at the 2014 Indiana Republican Convention in Fort Wayne. (HPI Photos by Brian A. Howe)

Pulling marriage language out of the state platform may prove difficult. Rep. Eric Koch, who supported efforts to lock a same-sex marriage ban into the state Constitution, leads the party platform committee that is holding hearings and taking input online.

He was appointed by state GOP Chairman Jeff Cardwell, a close ally of Gov. Mike Pence. The governor, a social conservative and gay-marriage opponent, stood against efforts this year to extend Indiana's civil rights law to cover gay and transgender Hoosiers.

Robertson said the platform process is rigged to discourage opposition – a charge that Koch rejects. Koch said opinions are being gathered from all members of the party and will be given fair consideration.

Some party leaders who support removing the language say it will be a tough haul. State Republicans are weary of the debate, worn out by a contentious presidential primary season, and would prefer to skip it.

Craig Dunn, Howard County Republican chairman and member of the state committee, predicted that there won't be enough support to remove the marriage language. "I just don't think we have the stomach for a fight," he said. ❖

Maureen Hayden covers the Indiana Statehouse for CNHI's newspapers and websites. Reach her at mhayden@cnhi.com

Pence-Gregg rematch will be different

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Although the ballot this fall will list the same candidates as four years ago for governor of Indiana, Democrat John Gregg vs. Republican Mike Pence, Gregg says he challenges a different opponent this time.



Now, Pence is the governor. Now, says Gregg, Pence “will have to run on his own record,” not on the record of former Gov. Mitch Daniels, the popular two-term Republican governor who preceded Pence. Now, Gregg contends, voters know that Pence is no Mitch Daniels. Back in 2012, Gregg says, Pence won their close race with support of Republicans “who wanted a third term of Mitch Daniels.”

“This race is about Mike Pence and his record,” Gregg says. He predicts that many Republicans as well as Democrats will find that record one of “divisiveness and no leadership.”

The governor has a different view of that record, and he will be a different candidate this time. He will hit back. Last time, Pence prided himself on running a positive campaign, concentrating on promoting his “roadmap for Indiana” rather than going on the attack against Gregg. Few voters paid any attention to that stuff about a roadmap. Pence, who began with a big lead against the underfunded Gregg, began slipping in the polls and won narrowly as the entire Republican ticket was hurt by losing GOP nominees for the U.S. Senate and state school superintendent.

Pence signaled the different style for his 2016 campaign when he dumped Lt. Gov. Sue Ellspermann as his running mate for the rematch with Gregg. She resigned amid differences with Pence over how to respond to the controversy over “religious freedom” legislation that was denounced as “freedom to discriminate.” Ellspermann favored expanding civil rights protections in response. Pence sought no action in the 2016 legislative session on the divisive issue. And Pence replaced Ellspermann as lieutenant governor and as run-

ning mate with Eric Holcomb, a former state Republican chairman who is better suited than Ellspermann to confront Gregg and Democrats in political combat.

Pence knows the race will be different this time. He knows he must defend his record, and he’s stressing the lower unemployment and additional jobs in Indiana and contending that his tax and budget policies have helped to spur the economy. Instead of ignoring Gregg, he will hit at what Gregg proposes to do differently.

Gregg is citing Pence’s budget priorities as leaving Indiana with lagging road repairs and serious problems with education. He says improvements in the national economy and efforts of individual Hoosiers rather than Pence initiatives have brought the additional jobs.

Education will be a major issue, with Glenda Ritz, the state school superintendent, again right in the middle. Ritz pulled a 2012 upset, defeating Republican Supt. Tony Bennett in a teacher-led backlash against Republican education policies in Indiana. She and Pence have battled ever after, with the governor seeking to diminish her power as superintendent and Ritz seeking education approaches different from those favored by Pence.

As they campaigned together in South Bend on Dyngus Day, Gregg and Ritz, who once was planning to run for governor, were campaigning together and stressing that they share the same campaign headquarters. The message was clear. They would work together, not battle over education philosophy. Republicans portray Ritz as a troublemaker and will contend that she and Gregg, if both win, would set back education reform.

While Pence won’t present a “roadmap” this time, he will stress that he and Republican-controlled legislature



found a way to spend an extra billion dollars on roads. Gregg counters that the budget still is woefully inadequate for roads and other infrastructure needs.

Gregg is a different candidate this time, too. He’s better-funded and better-known. Also, however, he will be in the spotlight, having to

explain and defend his proposals, no longer able to move up almost unnoticed, as he did four years ago to the brink of victory. ❖

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

Middle class loses income to the wealthy

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – Let me not be a spoilsport. But why are we now talking about income disparities when the problem, if it is a problem, has been with us and growing for more than 40 years?

I wish I knew the answer. Maybe the Great Recession actually was the Great Reawakening. Maybe America woke from the Great Delusion that all was just fine if more people moved into single family homes, had retirement plans, and unlimited sports programming on TV.



The economic downturn of 2007-09 demonstrated that even those who felt quite secure were vulnerable to an economy built on hope turned to hype. The working class, who were now called “middle class,” found themselves immersed in a crisis

formulated by the wise guys of the financial industry. Yet, those underwater on their mortgages and credit cards knew they too were culpable for applauding and encouraging obsessive optimism.

Enough conjecture. Let’s look at the facts as reported by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. In 1974, the lowest fifth of all American households received just 4.3 percent of money income. The top fifth of all households got 43.5 percent of that income. By this time, the War on Poverty was nearly a decade old.

Come forward to 2014. Now the lowest fifth received 3.1 percent and the top fifth enjoyed 51.2 percent of money income. What’s going on? The top fifth’s share of money income went up 7.7 percentage points, while the lowest fifth’s share declined by 1.2 percentage points. Where did the top households get their shares from?

It turns out the lower 80 percent of all households, which includes many very well-off people, lost income shares to the top 20 percent. To put it simply, the overwhelming majority of American households lost ground to their most wealthy neighbors.

There has been, however, no acceleration in this trend of the rich getting a greater share of income and the poor getting a lesser share. If anything, the pace of change in income shares declined sharply from the 1974 to 1994 period to the more recent 20 years, 1994 to 2014.

For example, the share going to the top fifth of households rose by 5.6 percentage points from 43.5 percent in 1974 to 49.1 percent in 1994, but only by 2.1 percentage points during ‘94-‘14. Likewise, for the other, lesser income groups, the pace of decline in their shares slowed as well.

With this slowing of change in income shares in

the past 20 years, why is this a hot topic today? How can Bernie and Donald exploit the idea that the drift of income upwards is speeding to catastrophe?

Perhaps actual income disparities are not truly important. What matters most may be absolute standards of living which have improved for almost everyone in the past 40 years. Perhaps “income equity” is mostly a perceptual problem that blinds many to reality. ❖

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

Worker problems fueled by tax Incentives for Capital

By **MICHAEL HICKS**

MUNCIE – Countless issues fuel the populist wave that animate this election cycle. Many of the concerns are easily refutable by facts, but there is one issue that is the main policy contribution to the lagging labor markets, the rising wealth inequality and the unease among so many workers. It is the very unequal way we treat workers and investors.



Workers and investors contribute labor and capital to the economy, accounting for about 85 percent of the input share of GDP. Entrepreneurs pull them together to make a profit.

Industries use labor, capital, and entrepreneurship in different proportions. Over time, technology change, cost and relative productivity cause businesses to change their mix of workers and capital.

Typically the shifting mix of capital and labor is slow, giving workers years if not decades to adjust. But, since the rocky 1970’s federal, state and local governments have increasingly subsidized capital investment, while increasing the cost of labor.

At the federal level, taxation strongly favors capital, both in the general tax schedule and more painfully in the raft of government giveaways; think Solyndra, Tesla and GE. At the state level, Indiana is a prudent actor, although many states (e.g. New York) feature hefty capital giveaways. At the local level, property tax abatements are stunningly heavy. Here in Indiana, roughly \$8 billion per year in new capital (more than \$2,500 per family) is abated from local property taxes. This trims the typical

new factory's property tax bill to less than 1 percent over its lifetime.

In contrast, labor gets walloped. Payroll taxes shave \$1 out of every \$7 off of take home pay, and mandated health care payments are more than \$6 an hour. All sorts of policies simply make it more expensive to hire people than to buy equipment to replace them. The effects are beginning to show.

Since 1990, the ratio of capital to labor has doubled and the demand for labor in many industries has declined. Nearly all GDP growth since 1990 is caused by capital investment. This is partially fueled by tax incentives, creating stagnant wages, especially among low income workers. On the flip side, the benefit of higher demand for capital accrues to those who invest and those who transact capital investment.

The sum of this is that labor income as a share of the economy is down over the past 25 years, while wealth inequality has been fueled by huge capital gains. Those who work on these capital transactions, from local devel-

opers to bond attorneys, are also outsized beneficiaries. That is why so many peddle rampant untruths about the benefits of tax incentives.

These concerns aren't repackaged Marxism or latent populism. I hold neither in high regard. Simply put, market economies should not value capital over labor, or vice versa. The huge web of tax incentives and abatements we now have is a prime source of worker unease and wealth inequality. The initially well-meaning subsidies for capital investment have been corrupted beyond recognition. It is time to rethink them at every level of government. ❖

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.

Gregg running mate not likely from Lake

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – Talk is increasing over Democratic governor candidate John Gregg's selection of a lieutenant governor candidate. It has been tradition for the governor candidate to select a running mate from a different geographic part of the state.



The thinking, of course, is that a ticket with geographical balance has the best chance of wooing the most voters. And, because Gregg is from Sandborn, a town of 415 people in far southwest Indiana, he has a lot of state left to form geographical balance with his selection of a lieutenant governor candidate. Because Northwest Indiana is far from Sandborn, and is a heavy Democratic area,

there has been speculation that Gregg will look to that part of the state for a running mate.

The most recent name to surface was that of Gary Mayor Karen Freeman-Wilson. She said she was honored to be mentioned but had work to do in bringing back her city. Freeman-Wilson has statewide experience in that she was named by then-Gov. Frank O'Bannon to fill the vacancy created by the departure of Attorney General Jeff

Modisett. She was defeated by Republican Steve Carter when she sought reelection in 2000.

There is a greater reason why Gregg's running mate shouldn't be a resident of Northwest Indiana. It appears that Lake County resident Lorenzo Arredondo will be unopposed at the June 18 state convention for the attorney general nomination. Arredondo retired six years ago as Lake Circuit Court judge. It's also pretty rare to have a Lake County resident on the ballot for a statewide office. And to have Arredondo and a Lake County lieutenant governor candidate on the same ballot would be unprecedented and likely not good for the Democratic Party.

The only other statewide office to be nominated this year is superintendent of public instruction, and incumbent Democrat Glenda Ritz is seeking reelection.

Meanwhile, Gregg continues to spend a considerable amount of time in Northwest Indiana, rallying the troops and raising money. He did fundraisers in Lake and Porter counties a week ago. Lake County Sheriff John Bunch, who is Democratic chairman, has worked tirelessly for Gregg. Porter County Sheriff David Reynolds hosted a Gregg fundraiser last Saturday.

Meanwhile, speculation continues over Gregg's selection of a running mate. It's a pretty good time to rule out Lake County. ❖

Rich James has been writing about state and local government and politics for more than 30 years. He is a columnist for The Times of Northwest Indiana.

Nolan Finley, Detroit News: In the early 1990s, when Kmart Corp. was rapidly unraveling, then Chairman Joe Antonini was a frequent visitor to our offices, each time bringing another big idea for brightening the fading image of the giant discount retailer. With Target stealing his customers on one end and Wal-Mart on the other, Antonini was frantically trying to make Kmart hip to shoppers who scratched off the store's label to hide where the purchases came from. He remodeled stores and brought in domestic goddess Martha Stewart, supermodel Kathy Ireland and other big names in hopes of changing the perception of Kmart. Evidence that celebrity endorsers and new signage weren't going to save Kmart came when Antonini offered to buy the entire output of a Texas jeans factory that Levi Strauss & Co. had slated for closure. Levi chose to shutter the plant rather than see its brand in Antonini's stores. Kmart just wasn't cool. I thought about the Kmart experience a few weeks ago while reading a survey in which a majority of young, single Republican men said they don't reveal their political affiliation on a first date. They don't want their amorous prospects hurt by the negative assumptions attached to the GOP. Republicans are the blue light party. The brand is tainted, perhaps irrevocably. Instead of being identified as the party of entrepreneurs, of efficient government, of rational taxes and of strong national defense, it is widely viewed as the place for the angry, the intolerant, the extremists and, as much as party regulars are fighting it, the party of Donald Trump. Part of this is self-inflicted. The GOP is consistently on the losing side of the culture wars, and as such has established itself as out of step with modern values. ❖



John Krull, Statehouse File: The waitress at the restaurant rolls her eyes. I'd just asked her about the emergency session North Carolina legislators — like Indiana's lawmakers, a very conservative and heavily gerrymandered Republican bunch — had convened to adopt a measure banning transgender people from using any restroom that does not conform with the gender of their birth. The North Carolina lawmakers — who, again, like their Hoosier counterparts like to boast that they believe in limited government and respecting boundaries — also banned local communities from adopting different ordinances. So much for local control and returning power to the people. North Carolina Gov. Pat McCrory, a Republican, signed the bill into law as soon as the printer spat it out. Almost as soon as McCrory put his pen down, at least one North Carolina community filed suit against the state government for exceeding its authority. "Idiots," the waitress says. I ask her if she's talking about the governor, the legislators or the social conservative activists pushing the bathroom bill. "All of them," she snorts. "We could use that money here." I ask if she's talking about the \$40,000-plus the legislators spent on the emergency session or the business

the state appears poised to lose because of the new law. The National Basketball Association has threatened to pull its All-Star game out of nearby Charlotte next year. Financial analysts say that could be a \$100 million hit for the city and state.

Gary Welsh, Advance Indiana: Gov. Mike Pence's Regional Cities Initiative is nothing but pork barrel politics at its worst. Public dollars are being passed out to bolster Pence's re-election without any regard for the public benefit those dollars provide. The best example of this is the \$2.8 million that has been awarded to Fort Wayne's Skyline project by the Northeast Indiana Regional Development Authority from Pence's original \$42 million Regional Cities Initiative, which got doubled during this year's legislative session. The City of Fort Wayne had already approved the \$98 million Skyline downtown project and kicked in \$39 million in local money for the project. So why is nearly \$3 million of our state tax dollars being handed out to a private developer for a project already under construction? So much for Mike Pence being a fiscal conservative. He's a tax-and-spend pork barrel politician who thinks our public tax dollars are fungible when it comes to running his re-election campaign. ❖

Doug Ross, NWI Times: When you're working in the trench, your view of the big picture can be obscured. So can the fact that the picture sometimes changes. U.S. Attorney David Capp adjusted that picture last week, discussing trends in gangs, drugs and public corruption with The Times Editorial Board. If your idea of drugs was rolling a few joints in college in your bifold LP album cover, you might not know how much things have changed. Illegal drugs, even marijuana, are far more potent today than they used to be. For marijuana, the THC content — that's the active ingredient — is far higher today, the result of selective breeding over the past few decades. If you smoked it when you were a teen, you might not know how much more dangerous it is for teens today. It's not the same organic product you smoked. Heroin is different today, too. Back in the day, police made a big deal out of a drug bust in which the heroin being seized was 6 percent pure. Now, it's 10 times more potent. Police today often find heroin that is 67 percent pure. The drug world isn't the only area where Capp is seeing change. Gangs, too, have been evolving. It's difficult to compare them to respectable entrepreneurs, but one thing gangs have in common with successful businessmen is they know to read the trends in the market and adapt accordingly. The U.S. attorney's office in northern Indiana has taken 65 gang members off the street in recent years. These are major gangs, too, not just wannabes. Capp's team is using the Racketeer Influenced Corrupt Organization statute to go after gangs, and other U.S. attorneys are paying attention to the results here. ❖

Legal test likely for abortion law

By MAUREEN HAYDEN
CNHI State Reporter

INDIANAPOLIS – New abortion restrictions, already the subject of public protests, are headed for a court fight. Opponents of the limits - deemed among the most restrictive in the country - are expected to try to stop the law before it takes effect July 1. They call the restrictions unconstitutional and part of a continuing effort to narrow abortion access at the state level after failed attempts to overturn the U.S. Supreme Court's 1973 decision in *Roe v.*

Wade legalized abortion nationally. The American Civil Liberties Union and Planned Parenthood are preparing a lawsuit to file in federal court. It could come by the week's end. Experts in constitutional law say the rules' sweeping language prompts the challenge. "I couldn't believe how far and wide it went," said Dawn Johnsen, a constitutional law professor at Indiana University and head of the U.S. Justice Department's office of legal counsel during the Clinton administration. "They're enacting something groundbreaking, and it's unknown what its consequences will be," she said.

The law, signed two weeks ago by Gov. Mike Pence, caused an outcry from abortion rights advocates who are planing a rally at the Statehouse on Saturday. Opponents of the law also have been calling Pence's office daily to express their displeasure by reporting on details of their menstrual cycles. The law expands Indiana's already restrictive abortion laws by banning the procedure if based solely on a mother's objection to a fetus' race, gender, disability or other anomaly, such as the detection of Down syndrome. It holds doctors liable if a patient has an abortion for those reasons. In the past 30 years, prenatal diagnosis tests for Down

syndrome and other conditions have increased, and the accuracy of those screenings has improved dramatically. A 2012 study, published in the *Journal of the International Society for Prenatal Diagnosis*, found that more than 60 percent of mothers terminate pregnancy when Down syndrome is detected in the fetus.

Pence signs RCI in Goshen

GOSHEN — Elected officials and business leaders from St. Joseph, Elkhart and Marshall counties gathered once again on Wednesday to celebrate the area's winning application for a \$42 million grant from the Indiana Regional Cities Initiative (Allen, South Bend

Tribune). And this time, everyone at the party could be sure the region really will get the money. Gov. Mike Pence announced in December that three areas of the state had been selected to receive \$42 million grants through the Regional Cities program. The other two are centered around Evansville and Fort Wayne. But the Indiana General Assembly still needed to appropriate one-third of that grant money during this year's legislative session. State lawmakers — after some negotiations — approved the Regional Cities boost last month.

"There were some uncertain moments during the course of this last session, when we weren't quite sure we were going to get all the way there," Pence said on Wednesday before ceremonially signing the measure, House Enrolled Act 1001, in front of an audience at the Goshen Theater.

Early says Trump serious about state

INDIANAPOLIS – Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump has set up a campaign operation in Indiana ahead of the state's May 3 primary election (Kelly, Fort Wayne *Journal Gazette*). Rex Early, a former Indiana Republican Party chairman,

has been named chairman of Trump's campaign in the Hoosier State. The Trump campaign also appointed Suzanne Jaworowski as its Indiana director and Tony Samuel as a vice chairman. Jaworowski had worked on Carly Fiorina's presidential campaign until Fiorina quit the race in February. Samuel runs a consulting and public relations firm. Samuel said at a Wednesday news conference in Indianapolis that Trump and his campaign "are taking Indiana very seriously" and that the New York real estate developer plans to visit the state multiple times. "He'll be here. (We are) going to try to get him in several times," Samuel said. The campaign will open at least three offices in the state, he said. "I think they really dislike each other. That's not a show," Early said Wednesday about the rivalry between Trump and Cruz. Early said he did not think Kasich had enough delegates to compete for the nomination. "As my grandpa used to say, you ain't got no socks, you can't pull 'em up," Early said.

Sanders says Clinton unqualified

NEW YORK— On Wednesday night, Bernie Sanders laid into Hillary Clinton with a harsh attack on her qualifications for the presidency (CBS News). "I don't believe that she is qualified," Sanders said to a cheering crowd of more than 9,000 people in Philadelphia. Sanders then listed the reasons behind his assertion that she's unqualified, pointing to her super PAC's acceptance of millions from special interest groups; he attacked her prior support for trade agreements, her vote for the "disastrous" Iraq War and her support of the Panama free trade agreement. "I don't think you are qualified if you supported the Panama free trade agreement. Something I very strongly opposed and which as all of you know has allowed corporations and wealthy people all over the world to avoid paying their taxes to their countries," Sanders said. The crowd booded.

