

Cruz goes Carly, Trump gets Knighted

Underdog attempts to alter Trump victory narrative with veep choice; Trump rallies with Coach Knight

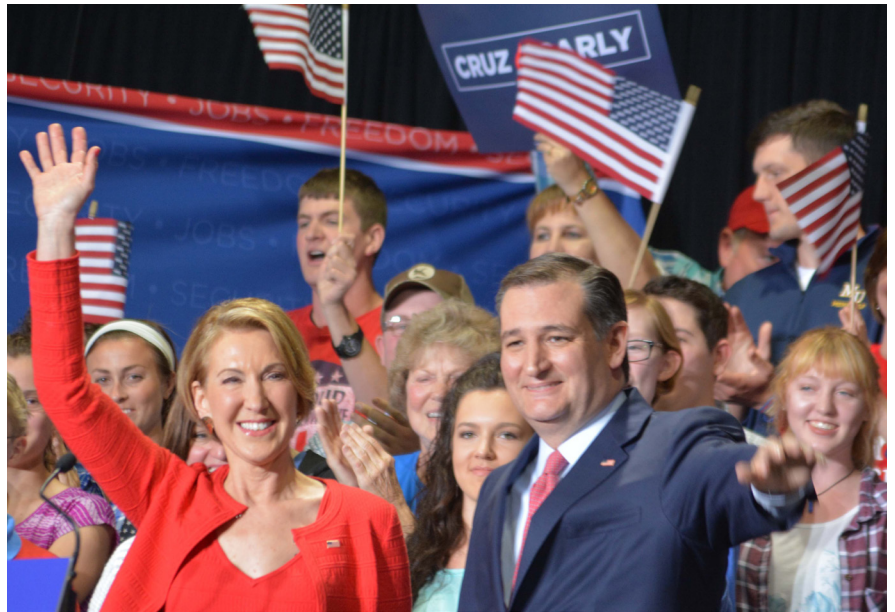
By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – In a bold attempt to reset the narrative after a string of emphatic mid-Atlantic primary losses Tuesday night, U.S. Sen. Ted Cruz announced Carly Fiorina will be his running mate.

"This is the fight of our time," said Fiorina, who competed against Cruz and then endorsed him seven weeks ago. Fiorina said that frontrunners

Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton "are not going to challenge the system. They are the system."

In announcing the decision at the Pan Am Plaza in downtown Indianapolis, Cruz said, "Nobody is getting to 1,237 delegates. I am not and Donald J. Trump is not go-



Sen. Ted Cruz announces Carly Fiorina as his vice presidential choice, prompting disdain from Donald Trump. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

ing to get to 1,237."

Cruz then rhetorically asked, "Why now?"

"If we are to win, No. 1 win the nomination, but

Continued on page 3

'The deal' trumped

By **MARK SOUDER**

FORT WAYNE – In this absurdist comedy named the "Republican Farce," which is being directed and controlled by Donald Trump, nothing is as it seems.

Ben Carson is on the ballot, still, but gets some concessions from Trump in return for his support. Classic deal-maker Chris Christie, still on the ballot, becomes "inactive" (i.e. cancels appearances, doesn't campaign) in return for who knows what. Will Christie be attorney general in a fantasy Trump Presidency?

The Donald knows how to cut deals. You do it in private. As he eloquently states, what you say in public is not what



"I want to thank you for the opportunity I had to coach in this state and it will always be something I cherish. Remember this, those players, on their shirt, wore one word, and it was Indiana." - Bobby Knight, campaigning with Donald Trump



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you say in a room of 10 people when you are cutting the deal.

The Cruz-Kasich "deal" – which Trump calls corrupt, collusion, weak, pathetic, and people would go to jail for in the non-government world (all 100% false) – is very public and not collusion. Christie and Carson, who actually made "deals" and did not release specifics (Carson appears to have wanted access and allies given access; Christie likely has a tacitly acknowledged real deal which would be illegal if it was binding), colluded with Trump.

Kasich and Cruz merely agreed to focus on where they were strongest. But the Donald out-maneuvered them once again. Somehow, using the media effectively again, Trump has managed to convince people that Kasich/Cruz cut a private deal while it was Trump who actually did so multiple times. In other words, Trump again is by far the most political while insisting that he is not.

At our house, we received this nasty anti-Kasich mailer (pictured right) from the Cruz campaign (not a surrogate, paid for by "Cruz for President"). The television stations in Fort Wayne have as many anti-Kasich ads from Cruz allies as ads of any other type. WOWO radio is airing a barrage of anti-Kasich ads. This is a truce? Three knives in the back as opposed to five knives in the back is apparently what passes for "collusion" in politics these days.

Re-focusing campaigns is not some corrupt bargain. Announcing it publicly, like it was a "deal" was just stupid politics. Trump is the slick politician right now; Kasich and Cruz look like bumblers.

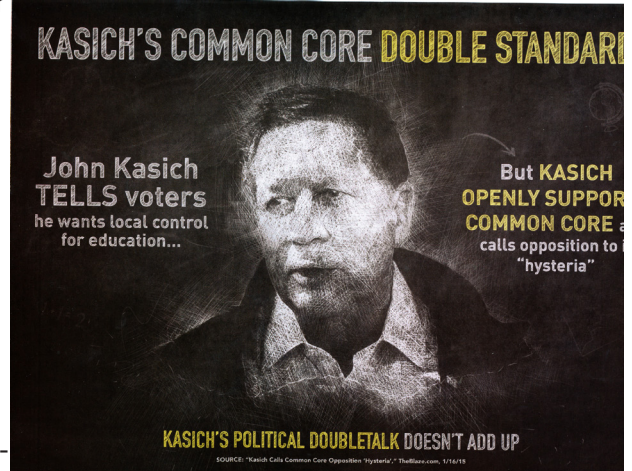
Even the attempts to corral delegates for the convention by Cruz and Kasich is not "corrupt" nor "secret." Their efforts might as well be conducted live on national television. Actually they basically are. The only illegal delegate buying has been suggested by Trump himself on how he

might proceed. This is just crazy.

Furthermore, the Cruz strategy of attacking Kasich was highly questionable in the first place. Do they not understand that in Indiana we have been waging a "culture war" even inside the Republican Party? With the Trump momentum nearly having cinched the nomination for him already, do they not understand that continuing to attack each other is counter-productive?

To take just one example, last week while picking up birdseed, the local shop owner and I discussed politics. He is for Kasich. He doesn't like Cruz because he's too preachy, trying to "impose his religious views on others," as many express it. But to stop Trump he was considering voting for Cruz. That's not likely to occur after the anti-Kasich blitz from Cruz.

This is the political dilemma that the Cruz forces have been dealing with for some time now. The Kasich voters, by and large, don't like Cruz. But they hate Trump more (Cruz is at



least a conservative and a Republican). Cruz fears that if the convention is deadlocked, Kasich could emerge as the nominee since party leaders like him, apparently, more than Republican primary voters do.

First of all, the best way for Cruz to make sure that Kasich is rejected would be for Cruz to win more states. The second most important thing is not to tick off Kasich people. They are not unrelated goals. However, understanding how those who disagree with him think is not one of

Cruz's strengths. "My way or the highway" is not a path to gaining allies.

Perhaps the most interesting comment after the Trump crushing of Kasich/Cruz Tuesday came from Nate Silver on the website FiveThirtyEight. He pointed out that the Republican voter turnout Tuesday was the lowest yet. Trump's margins actually increased with the lower turnout. Silver suggested that perhaps the non-Trump people are becoming discouraged because of the increasing inevitability of a Trump nomination.

However, I tend to think that early indications are that Indiana turnout will be very high. Trump supporters are becoming more excited and bolder than ever. Every

non-Trump person realizes that Indiana is the last chance to perhaps stop him. If Trump wins here statewide plus a few districts, barring a California meltdown, a first ballot win is likely. So they are motivated.

But most of all, even compared to 1976, this is the most an Indiana primary has ever mattered. This is the closest we will likely ever be to simulating Iowa or New Hampshire primaries.

Loving your few minutes of fame is universal. ❖

Souder is a former Republican congressman from Indiana.

Cruz-Fiorina, from page 1

No. 2 win the election, we must unite," Cruz said. "Carly is a vice presidential nominee who is superbly skilled, superbly able to unite this party. Voters deserve to know."

Earlier in the day, Trump said, "To me this is ridiculous, he's not going to get the nomination." The Cruz/Fiorina ticket came just two hours before Trump was scheduled to appear with former Indiana University coach Bobby Knight at the Indiana State Fairgrounds.

Fiorina declared, "This is a fight for the soul of our party and for the future of our nation. I've had tough fights all my life. Question is, is this a fight worth fighting? This is a fight for all of us, for our party, for our children's future. Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton will be a disaster for our country. They are two sides of the same coin. Both are liberal."

Cruz said that as the two campaigned together, to the point where Fiorina texts with Cruz's two young daughters, he acknowledged, "We have marveled at this crazy wild journey."

The selection comes after Trump swept Cruz in the mid-Atlantic states, something not expected, but it changed the narrative as he reached 949 delegates, compared to 544 for Cruz. Fiorina brings no delegates to the ticket, and little money. But what it does is take some of the thunder away from Trump at a time when he has been emboldened by Tuesday's victories.

If Cruz can upset Trump in Indiana, then the Manhattan billionaire must win California, Fiorina's homestate, and win big, in order to secure a first-ballot nomination. So the stakes in Indiana are high.

Fiorina was well-received in 2015 at a Lugar Series event, and had picked up the endorsement of former Lt. Gov. Sue Ellpsermann, whom Gov. Mike Pence has subsequently dropped from the ticket. So it is unclear what Fiorina brings to the race in Indiana, other than to exploit Trump's poor standing with women, as well as bring a high-stakes decision to the Hoosier doorstep.

In the WTHR/Howey Politics Poll, Trump's fav/unfav with female voters was 52/43%, compared to Cruz who stood at 53/36%. With independent women, Trump's fav/unfav stood at 51/43%, compared to 47/38% for Cruz. On the Republican primary over sample, Trump stood at 36% favorable with women.

Trump endorsed by Bobby Knight

The chant went out across the Farmers Coliseum, "Bob-bee, Bob-bee!" Presenting him was Donald Trump, who introduced the former Indiana University coach as "the great Bobby Knight, what a guy."

Knight delivered for Trump. "You folks are taking a look at the most prepared man in history to step in as President, that man," Knight said. "There has never been a presidential candidate prepared to the length this man is."

Knight promised that Trump would take care of the military. He said that a fiasco like Benghazi would never happen again. And then Knight did something many Hoosiers had hoped would happen at Assembly Hall in Bloomington. "I want to say to you Indiana people, I owe



Former IU coach Bobby Knight endorsed Republican Donald Trump at the Indiana Fairgrounds on Wednesday. (HPI Photo by Mark Curry)

you a big, big debt of gratitude. Nowhere in the world is a sporting group ever followed as well as in Indiana. I want to thank you for the opportunity I had to coach in this state and it will always be something I will cherish."

Knight then said, "Remember this, those players, on their shirt, wore one word, and it was Indiana."

Trump told the thousands gathered that Knight had called him before he even announced. He wrote his phone number down, then filed it away. And he dug it back up a couple of weeks ago when the Indiana presidential primary rose in significance. "You don't know how important you are," Trump said. "We're just about ready to put it away. I have so many friends from Indiana. It looks like Indiana is going to be really, really important. Usually when the race gets here it's been decided. To have this endorsement is an honor."

"When I get endorsed by the tough ones, I like it," Trump said. "If I win Indiana, it's over, it's over."

Trump began the speech, saying, "We had a big, big, big night last night. We had five land-slides. That was a biggy."

He then talked about Carrier leaving Indiana. He talked about how bad an eater Gov. John Kasich is. He talked about how Ted Cruz is a liar. He talked about how Kasich and Cruz have "colluded" with each other, saying that in business you go to jail, but in politics, it's okay. It continues the narrative that's resonating, that the system is "rigged." He ignored Fiorina.

Trump recalled Sunday night. "I got a phone call, and they said, 'Cruz and Kasich have formed an alliance.' I said, 'What about all the people working for him? What happens to them? They can't keep a deal and they treat their people very badly.'"

"It shows total weakness," Trump said. "Neither of them have a path to victory. I'm a little afraid to be too presidential, because I want to win," Trump continued. "But it's just about over."

On the Cruz/Fiorina hypothetical ticket, Trump said

at the fairgrounds, "He's the first presidential candidate to nominate a vice president after he's been mathematically eliminated."

Hillary stumps at Hammond, Mishawaka

After touring the AM General's Commercial Assembly Plant Tuesday, Democratic presidential candidate Hillary Clinton stated that she wants to take the model used in Mishawaka and make it national (Julie Crothers Beer, Goshen News). "I know what a success this is and I want more people to know how it happened, how it keeps going and how we can do more to make manufacturing really the key it must be to restore the middle class, to provide working families the opportunities that are deserved," Clinton told a crowd of several hundred people gathered inside the plant.

Clinton's message on Tuesday shifted considerably from her recent talks about gun control

and criminal justice, moving instead to jobs, the economy and Indiana's manufacturing industry. "We've got to support organized labor and the skilled workers that unions represent," Clinton said Tuesday, eliciting applause from the audience of plant employees and union representatives. "... Workers are one of the principle assets of our economy and for any business, they are the top asset."

U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly took the stage before Clinton's speech to thank the team at AM General for their tenacity. AM General LLC, headquartered in South Bend, designs and manufactures vehicles for military and commercial customers worldwide. "This is a big thank you from the entire community because in the toughest times, you stuck with us every day and we worked together," Donnelly said. Mishawaka was Clinton's second stop of the day after visiting Munster Steel Co. in Hammond.

Bill Clinton gets wonkish

Former President Bill Clinton rallied about 400 Indianapolis Democrats to his wife's cause in her sweltering Indiana headquarters Tuesday, cramming more policy in his hour-long talk than most of her GOP rivals. "As secretary of state, everything she did had significant Republican support," Clinton said of nuclear legislation with Russia that drew the support of then U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar, and her work with former House Majority Leader Tom DeLay on foster children and adoption. "She's the best single change-maker. Please, please, please be there for her. Indiana is a poster child for all the success of America. Indiana symbolizes what we need."

On the student debt crisis, Clinton urged a restructuring much like a mortgage. He said Hillary Clinton backs



U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly makes the pitch for Hillary Clinton at AM General in Mishawaka on Tuesday. Former President Clinton campaigns in Indianapolis (Goshen News Photo; HPI Photo by Mark Curry)

a \$23,000 tax credit based on such student debt, which he said averages a 9% interest rate. "A college loan is the only kind of debt you can't refinance," the former President said. He said there are more Flint, Michigans out there with lead in water pipes. "How many jobs can be created to tear out the old pipes and put in new ones?" Clinton asked.

He said that Mrs. Clinton favors a 15% tax credit for companies such as Indiana's Nucor that share profits with employees. "If you reduce the power of the hedge funds ... you reduce the power of the shareholders," Clinton said, noting that Carrier is leaving Indianapolis for Mexico to save \$65 million a year when the company made \$2.9 billion in profits. The former President said that many companies "pay their stockholders and bonuses to their executives instead of money for its workers."

Sanders calls for free tuition at Purdue

One of the loudest applauses of the afternoon came when Democratic presidential candidate Bernie Sanders discussed education reform in a campaign appearance at Purdue University Wednesday afternoon (Kim Dunlap, Logansport Pharos-Tribune). "If we must have a well-educated work force, why are we punishing people for getting an education? We should reward them," Sanders said. "Make public colleges and universities tuition-free." He went on to say he's talked with students all across the nation who are in severe debt after college and explained how that debt carries over into their careers.

Drug reform was another crowd-rousing topic. With drug reform comes criminal justice reform, he told the cheering crowd. And that means rethinking the war on drugs, he said. "We have a major



U.S. Sen. Bernie Sanders campaigns at Purdue University on Wednesday (AP Photo)

crisis in opioid addiction, drug addiction and heroin addition," Sanders said. "In my view, the best way to address that crisis is to understand that drug addiction is a health issue and not a criminal issue. We need a revolution in mental health treatment in this country."

Sanders also took some time to share his differences with his presidential rival, Hillary Clinton. He mentioned how he opposed certain trade agreements; Clinton did not. He also said if he were elected president, he would put a tax on carbon; Clinton would not. He would put a ban on fracking; Clinton would not.

"Next week here in Indiana on May 3, there is going to be a very important primary," he said. "Next Tuesday, please come out and let us have the largest Democratic primary in Indiana history. Let Indiana join the ranks

of so many other states who are saying we need a political revolution."

State	Date	African-American %	Democratic %	Predicted Clinton %
Indiana	5/3/2016	17	67	47
West Virginia	5/10/2016	3	78	50
Kentucky	5/17/2016	9	84	55
Oregon	5/17/2016	3	71	46

African-American turnout projections

Here are Sabato Crystal Ball forecasts of Hillary Clinton's vote share in the four Democratic primaries coming up in the month of May: Indiana on May 3, West Virginia on May 10, and Oregon and Kentucky on May 17. Based on the African-American share of the electorate in 2008, the Democratic share of the electorate in 2008, and the fact that all three states are located outside of the South, the model predicts Sanders victories in Indiana and Oregon, a Clinton victory in Kentucky, and a tie in West Virginia. The main reason why Sanders is favored in Indiana and Oregon while Clinton is favored in Kentucky is that the Democratic share of primary voters in Kentucky was much higher than in Indiana or Oregon in 2008. While Oregon's primary, like Kentucky's, is technically closed, self-identified independents made up a much larger share of Oregon's Democratic primary voters in 2008, and I assume that this will also be the case in 2016. And while West Virginia holds an open primary, Democrats made up almost 80% of the voters in 2008. While the model predicts that Bernie Sanders has a chance to win three of the next four Democratic primaries and is clearly favored in two, the relatively small numbers of delegates at stake in these three states and the expected closeness of the predicted margins indicate that he is unlikely to gain much ground in the overall delegate race. As a result, Hillary Clinton's substantial lead over Bernie Sanders in pledged delegates is unlikely to change very much in the next month.

HPI presidential forecast

Trump entered Indiana with considerable momentum after his mid-Atlantic sweep. His Hoosier crowds have the intensity. The Knight endorsement has significance, particularly after The General said he "cherished" his Indiana legacy after ignoring it for more than a decade.

Cruz's basketball gaffe in Knightstown did not help his cause. His selection of Fiorina is likely to be a wash. Cruz is drawing smaller crowds and while enthusiastic, they don't match the Trump intensity. His "deal" with John Kasich at this point is being viewed with considerable cynicism. At this writing, we believe Trump secures the nomination with a win here in Indiana.

We think Clinton prevails. The news of Bernie Sanders reducing staff is an ominous sign for a dying campaign. So what we're likely witnessing this week is a preview to what will be a sensational fall matchup. ❖

Cruz hopes in a state open to voting Trump

By **KYLE KONDIK** and **GEOFFREY SKELLEY**

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. – One could not be blamed for looking at the Republican primary results over the past 10 days and questioning how someone could stop Donald Trump from being the Republican nominee.

But a look at the delegate math suggests that the race is not over yet. As we laid out after New York, the

roadmap to a Trump delegate majority involved big wins in the Northeastern and Mid-Atlantic states that voted this past Tuesday. To be sure, Trump's wins were larger than the polling averages suggested, just like the Empire State primary a week earlier: He generally ran several points ahead of his polling in these states and ran slightly ahead of our delegate roadmap. But as things stand, all paths to 1,237 delegates for Trump run through Indiana and California. And the Hoosier State primary on May 3 is ground zero

for the anti-Trump forces if they want to trip up the real estate mogul and reality TV star. If Trump wins statewide in Indiana, which is winner-take-all statewide and by congressional district, he would remain on pace to cross the majority threshold. However, if Ted Cruz wins, it would become harder for Trump to actually hit his target.

For Cruz, he needs a repeat of his victory in Wisconsin on April 5, when he unified anti-Trump Republicans and scored a strong, 13-point victory. But Indiana is not Wisconsin.

Prior to the Wisconsin primary, Craig Gilbert of the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel used months of Marquette Law School polling to document Trump's horrible personal favorability ratings amongst Republicans in the Milwaukee area. Sure enough, this translated to Election Day: Trump got below 30% of the vote in just five counties, all of them in the Milwaukee media market. These counties cast close to one-third of all the votes, and together they accounted for 80% of Cruz's statewide plurality. In other words, Cruz only won the rest of the state narrowly, but he cleaned Trump's clock in Milwaukee and a few of its surrounding counties. Overall, Gilbert found that Trump's statewide GOP favorability in Wisconsin was 40% positive and 47% negative, very poor numbers that presaged his 35% statewide performance. To date, Trump has only lost two primaries east of the Mississippi: Wisconsin and John Kasich's home state of Ohio.

But according to a WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana poll, 56% of Republicans there view Trump favorably and 40% unfavorably, not bad compared to Wisconsin (Cruz, Trump's top rival in Indiana, had similar numbers). Brian

Howey, a keen observer of Hoosier State politics and friend of the Crystal Ball, provided us with the crosstabs of the polls, and there does not appear to be a major regional variation in Trump's favorability. He is a little weaker in the central part of the state (54% favorable), which is where Indianapolis is, than in the east (57%), northwest (59%), and south (60%), but that's not a dramatic difference – certainly nothing like the huge gap in favorability we saw in Wisconsin between the heavily populated southeast and the sparsely populated northwest. The few polls we have of Indiana suggest that Trump's ceiling is higher than it was in Wisconsin, a view bolstered by these improved favorability ratings.



Reinforcing those findings is a congressional district model the Crystal Ball put together based on key demographics and other factors that appear to impact Trump's support levels, including ethnic background, median income, education level, marriage rates, contest type (primary or caucus), voter access (closed primary/caucus or not), the number of candidates in the race, and region. Overall, if the share of the vote from each congressional district is similar to

the 2012 GOP primary – not a certainty, of course – the model finds Trump at 42% statewide, close to his polling average of 39%. Thus, much like in Wisconsin, the question becomes whether or not anti-Trump forces can coalesce around Cruz, who clearly is in the best position to challenge Trump in the Hoosier State. That was the whole point of the supposed Cruz-Kasich détente: Kasich recognized he couldn't win Indiana, so he is grudgingly ceding it to Cruz in order to fight another day. Cruz pulling back in New Mexico and Oregon is not all that meaningful, given that those states award their delegates in a proportional manner and aren't overly important in Trump's quest for 1,237. But Indiana is a state where the statewide winner will take the lion's share of the delegates, and Cruz needs to absorb as much of the Kasich vote as possible to overcome Trump. One other thing: This model generally underestimated Trump's performance in the recent Northeastern and Mid-Atlantic primaries. That could be because Trump had a homefield advantage and also did not face much competition from his rivals in those states, or it could be because resistance to Trump is fading. If so, perhaps Trump will outperform the model again in Indiana, something he may need to do in order to finish ahead of Cruz.

Cruz's pressing need to win Indiana is obvious: Not only does it justify the Kasich deal, but it also partly explains Cruz's late Wednesday announcement of Carly Fiorina as his running mate. After getting blown out in the Northeast, Cruz had to change the narrative with only days to go until Indiana voted, and naming a running mate was one of the few cards he had to play. It's very

rare for someone who is not the presumptive nominee to name a running mate in advance – the only other example we could think of is Ronald Reagan naming Pennsylvania Sen. Richard Schweiker as his running mate in advance of the 1976 Republican convention, a contest Reagan lost to President Gerald Ford. We doubt the Fiorina pick moves the needle that much, whether in Indiana or in California, where Fiorina unsuccessfully ran for the Senate in 2010. However, every little bit might help. Fiorina did do well at times during her own presidential campaign, and she could be an effective attack dog against Trump, who has said many controversial things about women, including about Fiorina herself. If Cruz does win the nomination, though, Fiorina has plenty of baggage from her time as the former CEO of Hewlett-Packard that Democrats could exploit.

Individual congressional districts are pivotal to the delegate math in Indiana (27 district delegates, three per district; 30 delegates go to the statewide victor), so the outlook in each is important to note. Trump appears strongest in the Sixth Congressional District, which is the most Southern-like district in Indiana. Located in the southeast corner of the state, it abuts southern Ohio and northern Kentucky, both areas where Trump performed fairly well (outside of Hamilton County in Ohio, where Cincinnati is). In the horserace, the Howey poll showed southern Indiana was Trump’s second strongest region in the state. The strongest was the northwest part, near Chi-

cago, which agreed with our model’s finding that the First Congressional District is Trump’s second-strongest district.

The western TV market in Indiana is the area that had the highest unfavorable rating for Trump; this includes cities such as Lafayette and Terre Haute. In our model, the corresponding Fourth and Eighth congressional districts were two of the weaker Trump districts. But by far the weakest Trump district in the model was the Fifth, which mostly encompasses suburbs and exurbs north of Indianapolis. We’ll see if the model works out, but Trump’s numbers in that part of the state aren’t notably bad, though his horserace performance in the central region of the state, where this district lies, is his worst in any region. Remember, dear reader, no model is perfect.

The Hoosier State now faces the choice that the Badger State faced several weeks ago: Does it want to vote to bring this race to a close, or does it want the anti-Trump forces to fight on? Wisconsin overwhelmingly chose the latter option, and Cruz is hoping Indiana does as well.

Cruz probably should win Indiana, but to us it’s very much an open question as to whether he will. If Cruz doesn’t, all of his maneuvering behind the scenes to secure the support of delegates who could support him on a second ballot at the convention might be for naught, because there might not be the need for a second ballot: Trump could be wrapping it up on the first. ❖

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Claims of Hoosier hoops clank off 'ring'

By **CHRIS SAUTTER**

WASHINGTON – Basketball is the closest thing in Indiana to a state religion. Or, as Phillip M. Hoose wrote in his wonderful look at heartland America, *Hoosiers: The Fabulous Basketball Life of Indiana*, "Indiana is basketball's hometown."

So it is not surprising candidates in next Tuesday's Indiana primary would try to lay claim to the Hoosier state's hoops tradition. Nonetheless, it has been a bit amusing to watch some out-of-staters fumble the ball.



Last night, former Indiana basketball coach Bobby Knight returned to Indiana to campaign in Indianapolis with Republican frontrunner Donald Trump. Knight led the Hoosiers to three national championships and

arguably could have been elected governor of the state around that time. But Knight is now regarded by many Hoosiers as every bit a bombastic, sexist, and polarizing a figure as Trump. Knight's introduction of Trump consisted mostly of a nonsensical rant about longhaired teens and predictable complaints about the dearth of great leaders in America. By bringing in Knight, Trump has a speaker who is essentially preaching to the choir rather than expanding his base. But because Indiana is an open primary state, Knight could possibly help attract some voters who would usually stay home on primary election day.

Some may remember that Knight made a television commercial for former U.S. Senator and liberal Democrat Birch Bayh during Bayh's 1980 re-election campaign. Knight is nothing, if not loyal, and Bayh had helped Knight escape from Puerto Rico when he got in trouble there for punching a police officer while coaching the American Pan Am basketball team in 1979. Although it aired during the height of Knight's popularity, there is no evidence the spot worked as Bayh lost to Dan Quayle, who rode the coattails of Ronald Reagan's landslide Indiana win.

Texas Senator Ted Cruz kicked off his week of desperation in Indiana by holding a press event Tuesday campaigning as the underdog at the famous Knightstown high school gym where much of the 1986 David v. Goliath basketball classic *Hoosiers* was shot. Cruz claims to be a film buff and has quoted from the movie before on the

campaign trail. This time, however, he stumbled when he referred to the basketball hoop as a "ring," unleashing a torrent of taunts on social media. Cruz has tried to make up for it by referencing his high school basketball coach. In any event, it is doubtful the event invoking the Hoosier pastime is helping Cruz achieve his own personal hoop dreams any more than his choice of Carly Fiorina as his vice presidential running mate will.

Some candidates look comfortable with a basketball. Bernie Sanders has always had a soft spot for the sport, played on his high school team, and once even played pro Connie Hawkins one-on-one in New York. On Wednesday, Bernie Sanders toyed with NBC's Chris Jansing on a West Lafayette basketball court. If only his campaign was as adept at winning delegates as Sanders was hitting layups against Jansing.

There is nothing in Hillary Clinton's history to suggest she should get out on the floor and start shooting hoops. But Hillary is a huge proponent of Title IX — authored by Birch Bayh — and of equality for women. A Clinton photo op with women players might be a good idea since girls basketball is as big in some parts of the state as boys basketball. The Notre Dame's women's basketball squad is a perennial top team nationally and sometimes draw as many fans as the men's team.

The one candidate on Tuesday's Indiana ballot who has a legitimate claim to Hoosier Hysteria is former Congressman Baron Hill, an unopposed candidate for the Democratic nomination for U.S. Senate. Hill was a gifted high school athlete, All State in football and basketball at Seymour High School, where singer songwriter John Mellencamp was a Hill classmate and neighbor. Hill still holds the state record for the 100-yard dash, a record he will hold in perpetuity as it turns out since the race is no longer run. Hill was inducted into the Indiana Basketball

Hall of Fame in 2000, the same year as Larry Bird, considered along with Oscar Robertson to be the two greatest home grown Hoosier ballers ever. Hill will occasionally mention his connection to the 'Hick from French Lick' in speeches. Bird himself used to attend Orange County Democratic bean suppers in his hometown, but there is no reason to expect he will involve himself in the Indiana primary this year.

"We're in Indiana," Bernie Sanders told NBC's Chris Jansing, "we have to play basketball!" But as popular as basketball is, it is unclear that a candidate putting himself in a basketball setting or with a legendary coach provides any real boost. Time will tell if these contests on Tuesday turn out to be barnburners or old fashioned routs. ❖

Sautter is a Democratic consultant based in Washington.



Senate race Young's to lose; 3rd leans Banks and 9th CD tossup

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**
and **MARK SOUDER**

FORT WAYNE – U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman has been remarkably silent in his home base during the Senate campaign, in paid advertising and visibility. He is obviously low on ad funds, and receiving little help. He appears to have a strong home base.

Other than on WOWO – which is like a verbal war zone right now with ads for presidential candidates, Senate, Congress, the state legislature, and even county surveyor, because talk radio is a virtual Republican primary – U.S. Rep. Todd Young is also mostly missing in action in the media here.



I believe that Stutzman could peak at 85% as a high, 65% as a floor, in this district. He has never been challenged, so he has few negatives. If Stutzman drops closer to 65% in this area, which may be happening for a variety of reasons including his support being a mile wide and not very deep (especially in Allen County), Young's statewide margin may top 10%.

Young has forged a 43-31% lead over Stutzman in the WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll released on Monday. If there is a silver lining for Rep. Stutzman, it is that 26% are undecided.

The Senate Leadership Fund launched its third and final television ad on behalf of Young. The ad, titled "Works for Him," shows how career politician Stutzman plays a conservative in his TV ads, but has actually made big government work for himself. The ad will run through the election on Indianapolis broadcast and cable TV and will also have a digital component targeting likely Republican primary voters in the Indianapolis market. The ad comes on the heels of a new poll showing that Todd Young leads Stutzman 43-31 going into the final week before the May 3 election.

The Tea Party Express, the nation's largest Tea Party political action committee, endorsed Stutzman, with executive director Taylor Budowich saying, "The Indiana Senate race is a clear example where the politicians and lobbyists in Washington have picked one candidate while the grassroots of Indiana have picked another candidate. We want to stick with the grassroots in Indiana and support Marlin Stutzman for U.S. Senate."

Stutzman also announced the endorsement of a number of legislations, including State Sens. Mike Delph, Greg Walker, Scott Schneider and Jeff Thompson, and

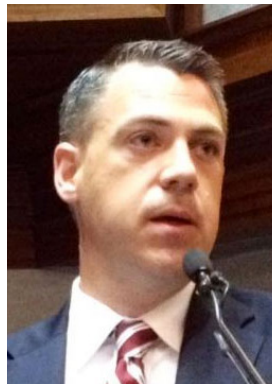
State Reps. Mike Braun, Michael Speedy, Peggy Mayfield, Tom Dermody, Dale Devon, Alan Morrison, Rhonda Rhoads, Bob Heaton and former State Rep. Matt Ubelhor.

Young campaign manager Trevor Foughty told HPI on Wednesday, "It's all about the ground game now. The presidential campaign is sucking all of the oxygen out of the room. All the ads are bought."

Meanwhile, Democrat Baron Hill pressed Young and Stutzman on Donald Trump. Hill said, "Donald Trump is getting closer and closer to winning the GOP nomination, yet my Republican opponents refuse to challenge their party's leader for the disgusting and terrible things he says about women, minorities, veterans, and folks living with disabilities. If Congressmen Stutzman and Young don't have the courage to stand up to Donald Trump, then we can't trust them to lead on the serious issues that Hoosier families face. It's time for my opponents to make clear once and for all: Do they support Trump and his message of hate or do they stand for Hoosier values?" In the WTHR-Howey Politics Indiana Poll, Hill trails Young in a general election matchup 48-30%, and Stutzman leads Hill 39-36%. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Young.

3rd CD: Banks, Tom TV blitz

The 3rd CD race appears to be a solid, possibly narrow, win for State Sen. Jim Banks (pictured). While Kip Tom continues to pour on the television blitz, Banks' own advertising plus his conservative movement allies, are matching him. Pam Galloway is heavily advertising on WOWO and social media, but is invisible on television. State Sen. Liz Brown personally injected large sums of her own money, so is up on television and radio though less intensely. Banks seems to have the strongest grassroots activist support, but Brown has clearly the second largest group. Tom has almost zero support at the local level beyond a cluster of business people who, like him, receive government assistance. However, Tom is hammering hard at Banks in particular for being a politician.



All polls HPI has seen show Banks ahead by five points or more. Banks leads in a IPFW poll released Monday 29.3% to 23.3% for Tom and 21.8% for Brown. The Downs Center said in a news release that between one-fifth and one-fourth of the support for the three in the six-person race "is not strong. This suggests some volatility in the electorate even at this late date."

While Banks, Brown and Galloway are dividing the larger conservative vote, which theoretically helps Kip Tom, Brown may actually slip past Tom yet. While that could lower Banks' margin, a win is a win.

Three candidates have poured their own money into their campaign (Francisco, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). Tom has lent his campaign \$150,000, Brown has lent hers \$100,000 and Pam Galloway has lent hers

\$50,000, according to pre-primary campaign finance reports filed with the Federal Election Commission. The reports cover the first two weeks of April. Tom, who heads a Kosciusko County-based family farming operation, said Thursday night in a statement that he had lent money to his campaign "because this race is so close and the stakes are so high." Before her latest loan, Galloway had lent her campaign \$200,000. Brown, a mediator, previously had contributed more than \$75,000 of her own money to her campaign.

Banks spent more than \$262,000 in the first half of April, compared with nearly \$81,000 for Brown's campaign, \$75,000 for Tom's and \$63,000 for Galloway's, according to their FEC reports. Heading into the final 20 days of the campaign, Tom reported having more than \$199,000 in cash on hand, compared with nearly \$113,000 for Brown, about \$94,000 for Banks and nearly \$42,000 for Galloway. Combined, the four candidates had raised close to \$2.3 million for their primary contest as of April 13, topped by Tom's receipts of \$894,000. Banks was next with nearly \$755,000 in campaign receipts, followed by Galloway with nearly \$373,000 and Brown with more than \$261,000. The House Freedom Fund spent \$100,000 on ads touting Banks' conservative credentials, part of the more than \$400,000 in advertisements and mailings spent by outside groups to help Banks (IndyStar). In addition,

the Club For Growth has boosted Banks' fundraising with more than \$187,000 in contributions from members. Supporters of the Senate Conservatives Fund have given Banks \$49,215. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Banks.

9th CD: Can Trey be trumped?

The campaign of Joseph Albert "Trey" Hollingsworth III pumped another \$500,000 of his own money into the 9th CD Republican nomination he is trying to buy. Between the candidate and his father, who is funding via a super PAC, the pair have donated or loaned \$2 million.

Observers on the group tell HPI there is the sense that the more voters learn about Hollingsworth's mysterious background and his attempt the buy the election, the more they are turned off. Having said that, he's purchased \$2 million in name ID. One Republican source believes Hollingsworth has a "small lead," but added, "He once had a really big lead. Erin Houchin is licking at his heels."

Competitive U.S. House races tend to break late as voters pay more attention. State Sen. Houchin has found the most money traction beyond Hollingsworth, while State Sen. Brent Waltz has demonstrated a vigorous ground game and has the ability to self-fund a late spending home stretch. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.



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Upset watch for Sen. Miller, Reps. Cox and Washburne

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS – When it comes to political forecasting, we prefer “instrument flight rules” but at the Indiana General Assembly level, there is almost no reliable polling available. So this is “visual flight rules” on these legislative primaries.



Any intensity in this race seems to be with the number of new Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders voters that are flooding

into the system. This tends to alter, potentially significantly so, conventional wisdom. So our forecasting is somewhat by gut instinct.

Most informed and reliable sources believe that Senate President David Long and Senate Appropriations Chairman Luke Kenley will turn back their primary challengers. There is less certainty with Sen. Pete Miller.

If there are upsets brewing, keep an eye on challenges to State Reps. Casey Cox and Thomas Washburn.

Here is our race-by-race overview of Senate primaries:

SD3: For the seat of the retiring State Sen. Earline Rogers, four Democrats are running, including Darren Washington, Ethel Williams, David Spott and Eddie Melton, who has been endorsed by Sen. Rogers. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Melton.

SD16: Senate President Pro Tempore David Long has a \$300,000 war chest and he is spending it against IPDW Prof. John Kessler. He’s running more TV ads than the presidential candidates and the 3rd CD field, featuring his wife, Melissa, a long-time TV anchor in the Fort Wayne market. Kessler has run an extensive volunteer door-to-door campaign with evangelical Republicans such as Monica Boyer who are upset with Long over the LGBT legislation this past session. But just about every local and Statehouse observer in the know doesn’t believe that Long is in serious jeopardy. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Long.

SD20: Senate Appropriations Chairman Luke Kenley is facing a challenge from Westfield businessman Scott Willis, but as in the Long challenge, we’re not finding many local Republicans who sense that Kenley is in danger of an upset. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Kenley.

SD22: John Crane is challenging State Sen. Pete Miller and has the backing of the Indiana Family Institute and other pro-family groups. Crane allies are fuming about “rumors” that one of HPI’s competitors has published. The Senate Majority Campaign Committee tells HPI that Crane voted in the 2008 Democratic primary. “Since Mr. Crane now claims that he has always opposed President Obama’s liberal agenda, the only possible remaining factual outcome is that he supported Hillary Clinton’s liberal agenda instead,” the SMCC observed. “We sometimes get our left-wing socialists mixed up, since they all sound so much alike.” Curt Smith of the Indiana Family Institute reacted to the SMCC statement, saying today, “In case the presidential politics are over-shadowing this, the Senate Majority Campaign Committee has been caught in a bold-faced lie and is trying to squirm out of it. The mail continues claiming wrongly (and now, knowingly wrongly) that John Crane

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- Who is the candidate that abolished Common Core in Indiana and stopped Obama’s takeover of our schools? **David Long**

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These are the direct mail pieces that are being sent to voters in SD16 where Senate President David Long is seeking to fend off a challenge from IPFW Prof. John Kessler.

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Professor John Kessler is an economist who values liberty and justice for all. That means John will go to battle against the entrenched special interests that

voted for Obama. How do they know how anyone ever voted? Maybe he didn't vote? Pete Miller is showing signs of desperation." **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Miller.

SD32: In the open seat of retiring Sen. Patricia Miller, Councilman Aaron Freeman was slated and should easily prevail over Zachary Taljonick. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Freeman.

SD36: Former Indianapolis Councilman Jefferson Shreve was slated by Marion County Republicans but is running against Indianapolis Councilman Jack Sandlin, who entered the race because Johnson County Republicans were not involved in the slating. On Wednesday, Sandlin accused the Marion County GOP of playing dirty, accusing him of being a "career politician." Sandlin reacted, saying, "I'm outraged at how far the downtown Republican establishment will go to protect their power and preserve their ability to continue spending taxpayer money. The recent mailer against my campaign was a blatant attempt to create false impressions among the voting public, and it was especially mean-spirited in attacking my wife." Shreve has been running TV for several weeks, and Sandlin went up with a TV ad this week. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Shreve.

SD40: State Sen. Mark Stoops faces a Democratic challenge from Tom Pappas. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Stoops.

SD44: In the seat of retiring State Sen. Brent Steele, State Rep. Eric Koch is facing Bedford pharmacist Josh Anderson. Koch has served this area in the House for 14 years and will be tough to defeat, even with some outside money coming into the race late. The winner will face former legislator and Democrat Linda Henderson. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Koch.

Here is our overview of House primaries:

HD2: In the seat of the late State Rep. Earl Harris and subsequently his wife State Rep. Donna Harris, who declined to seek a full term, the field includes former Purdue basketball star Drake Morris, Tammi Davis, Rosa Rodriguez and Earl Harris Jr., who will be favored. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Harris.

HD3: State Rep. Charlie Brown is facing a challenge from Antuwan Clemons. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Brown.

HD17: Republican Jesse Bohannon is facing Jack Jordan. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

HD26: In the Republican primary race to replace retiring State Rep. Randy Truitt, Tippecanoe County Councilwoman Sally Siegrist is facing West Lafayette Councilman Gerry Keen. Siegrist is running TV ads and has been sending mail. On the Democratic side, Vicky Woeste is a research professor at the American Bar



Foundation in Chicago and she is facing Deanna McMillan, an engineer and adjunct professor. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Republican, Leans Siegrist; Democrat, Tossup.

HD24: State Rep. Donna Schaibley is facing Tea Party activist Greg Fettig. Schaibley was appointed to this seat and is running in her first election. She has many volunteers and has been sending out mail. The district, based in Zionsville and Carmel, seems to be a better match for Schaibley. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Schaibley.

HD28: State Rep. Jeff Thompson is facing Luke Stephenson, a member of the Danville School Board, elected in 2012 at age 19. Sources tell HPI that Stephenson has been sending out direct mail taking Thompson to task for supporting a gas tax increase, but has not filed any campaign finance report. Stephenson has been campaigning mostly on education issues. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Thompson.

HD39: State Rep. Jerry Torr, R-Carmel, is being challenged by Tom Linkmeyer, principal at Crestview Elementary School in Lawrence Township MSD. We haven't detected much of a campaign from Linkmeyer. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Torr.

HD50: State Rep. Dan Leonard, R-Huntington, is challenged by Ted Harber. This appears to be more of a gadfly challenge to the incumbent. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Leonard.

HD54: State Rep. Tom Saunders is facing Jeff Embry, a truck driver. Embry has not conducted much of a campaign. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Saunders.

HD55: State Rep. Cindy Ziemke, R-Oldenburg, is facing Danny Ball, who doesn't appear to have run an active campaign. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Ziemke.

HD59: State Rep. Milo Smith, R-Columbus, is being challenged by Bartholomew County Council President Matt Lauer and Bartholomew County Assessor Lew Wilson. In 2014, Smith defeated Lauer 4,239 to 2,895. Lauer has been sending out direct mail and he is responding in the same mode. We believe the three-way race favors Smith, but this is one of those seats where an influx of unpredictable new Trump voters could have an impact. The winner faces either Democrat Bob Pittman or Dale Nowlin. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Republican, Leans Smith; Democrat, Tossup.

HD62: State Rep. Jeff Ellington, R-Bloomington, is facing Sawyer Sparks. Ellington was just appointed to that seat by caucus after State Rep. Matt Ubelhor resigned. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Ellington.

HD64: State Rep. Thomas Washburne (pictured left), R-Washington, is being challenged by Ann Ennis, a former director of Keep Evansville Beautiful who has long been involved with local nonprofits. Washburne was one of 30 applicants to the open Indiana Supreme Court.

Ennis has allies with ISTA and has sent out two pieces of mail hitting him on the PSE issue as well as the school funding formula. So this race worth watching because Ennis is a challenger with higher name ID and a potential influx of new voters. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Washburne.

HD65: In the seat being vacated by State Rep. Eric Koch who is running for SD44, those running include Jim Pfaff, Brown County Councilman Darren Byrd, Franklin Andrew, Lawrence County Councilman Mark Mathis, Jacob Franklin and Christopher May. Andrew is a Monroe County cattle farmer. Andrew called tax referendums a "bottom up" approach, not a "top down" solution to help fund schools, a need chosen by a community and its taxpayers. School boards and corporations need more localized control over their current funding, he said (Tonsing, Bloomington Herald-Times). "I will work with the school districts to draft legislation to permit better use of existing funding to match the needs of the district. A one-size-fits-all approach is not working," Andrew stated. Byrd Frustrated by what he calls an inability to exercise decisions and policy at the local level, Darren Byrd now seeks a state office after his 2014 election to the Brown County Council. "Education is, in its simplest form, conveying our collective knowledge to the next generation; that requires a good teacher, an involved family, books and paper," Byrd stated.

Monroe County's Jacob Franklin credits his years of county government work with shaping his sense of diplomacy and sharpening his communication skills. He supports House Bill 1005, which allows tax credit for teachers who purchase up to \$200 in school supplies; Senate Bill 330, which allows for certain transfers from the state tuition reserve account to the state general fund; House Enrolled Act 1002, which established the next generation Hoosier educators scholarship program; and House Enrolled Act 1003, developed to shield schools and teachers from the financial fallout associated with 2015 ISTEP scores. Pastor and gun shop owner Mark Mathis, of Lawrence County, homeschools his nine children. That doesn't mean he doesn't believe in public education: He thinks parents should have the final say on where their children receive education. Mathis also wants to reinstate paddling. "The threat of a paddling was a major player in maintaining discipline in the classroom for the last 200 successful years of American public education," he said. "The inclusion of corporal punishment would be a major step toward restoring respect, honor and discipline in the public schools, thus enhancing student performance."

Chris May, of Lawrence County, is a three-term commissioner who believes education is not a one-size-fits-all model. He should know; his wife, Amanda, is the principal at Parkview Intermediate School in Bedford. "Public education is obviously of utmost importance to me personally," he previously told the Bedford Times-Mail. "Seeing the challenges that my wife faces each day, as well as the programs that are successful for her school, puts me at a unique advantage in being able to fight for

what educators want and need." Monroe County's Jim Pfaff knows the Washington, D.C., ropes. The conservative grassroots organizer served four years as chief of staff for U.S. Rep. Tim Huelskamp, R-Kansas. His plans for education include reclaiming state sovereignty. That means abandoning Common Core, freeing the school voucher system from federally mandated standards and more. "Common Core is nothing more than education requirements dictated by Washington, D.C. Hoosiers should be able to determine education for our children," Pfaff said. The Indiana Right to Life Political Action Group has sent letters of endorsement to Mathis, May and Pfaff. Pfaff has also been endorsed by the American Family Association of Indiana PAC. The Indiana Business for Responsive Government, the nonpartisan political program of the Indiana Chamber of Commerce, endorsed May. So did state Sen. Brent Steele, who once held the District 65 House seat. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

HD69: State Rep. Jim Lucas, R-Seymour, is facing Nancy Franke, a teacher at St. Peter's Lutheran School in Columbus. This is another educator challenge to an incumbent. Lucas has been sick lately and has been working the phones. Sources say that Franke has not waged an active campaign. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Lucas.

HD73: State Rep. Steve Davisson, R-Salem, is facing Paoli Council President Michael Harkness, a small business owner. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Davisson.

HD77: On the Republican side in the seat being vacated by Democrat State Rep. Gail Riecken, Billy Garrett, Henrietta Jenkins and Johnny Kincaid are running, with Vanderburg County Republican Chairman Wayne Parks endorsing Kincaid. On the Democratic side, Brandon Lee Ferguson, Ryan Hatfield and Lori Sherman are running. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Republican, Leans Kincaid; Democratic Tossup.

HD85: State Rep. Casey Cox, R-Fort Wayne, is being challenged by David Heine, a former Do It Best executive, and Denny Worman, a real estate agent who has run for the seat several times. Heine challenged Cox for the seat after State Rep. Phyllis Pond died. If there is a legislative primary upset, this is where it could occur. Heine's campaign report lists a number of local donors, and he is running an aggressive and extensive radio and TV campaign. The wild card here is what do all the new Trump voters do in this race? Allen County Right to Life is advertising on behalf of Cox. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Cox.

HD91: State Rep. Robert Behning, R-Indianapolis, the House Education Committee chairman, will face Jim Grimes, who has worked as a forklift operator, manufacturing supervisor, purchasing manager, CEO of 10 real estate companies, and deputy sheriff. Behning has staved off primary challenges before. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Behning. ❖

Mechanisms for consensus dwindling

By LEE HAMILTON

BLOOMINGTON – We don't have many consensus-building mechanisms in our political culture. A lot of groups that used to help do this are weaker now.

We may not know who our next President is going to be, but here's one thing that's almost certain: He or she will take office with roughly half of the electorate unhappy and mistrustful. The notion that the President speaks for a broad coalition of Americans who are willing to set aside their differences on behalf of a compelling new vision for the country? It's vanished.

I've spent a lot of time pondering where it went, and though I still haven't found an answer, I do know this: it's not only Washington's — or even the political class's — fault.

Let's start with a lament I hear frequently about this year's crop of presidential candidates: "Is this the best we can do?" I used to believe that the popular argument that the best among us do not seek political office was wrong, that there were plenty of standout Americans who went into politics. And there are. But there are also a lot of talented people, the kind who could lead us beyond our tired political discourse, who take a look at politics and turn the other way. They don't want to spend their

waking hours grubbing for donations. They don't want to put their families through the attacks and vitriol that so often show up in political campaigns now. They believe they have better ways of spending their time than subjecting themselves and everyone they know to the kind of scrutiny that has become part and parcel of political life.

I've known a lot of very good people in politics. They were motivated by a true interest in improving the country, were fair-minded, respected other points of view, were skillful consensus-builders, and took the time to develop genuine friendships across the political divide. They saw politics as a competition of ideas, not a mean-spirited clash of ideologies.

I see less of this today. Many politicians seem genuinely not to like one another. Backed all too often by their constituents and contributors, they distrust the other party's members, and see a victory by the other party as a threat to the well-being of the nation.

This is a departure from the past, and it's not a healthy one. There was a time when the parties played a significant role in the system by serving to build consensus. They were collections of diverse constituencies that

had developed the capacity to meld disparate interests together, not always harmoniously, but usually effectively. They helped build a unity of effort in the government, as did a variety of public and private organizations, such as unions, charitable institutions and the like.

This was vital; we don't have many consensus-building mechanisms in our political culture. But a lot of groups that helped do this are weaker now than they were.

Which is a shame in a year like this, when voters are angry and distrustful. Much of this, I believe, stems from economic insecurity. Incomes remain stagnant, and many of the jobs being created are low-wage jobs. A lot of Americans have lost confidence that their children will have a better life than they had.

This doesn't mean that fear of terrorism and a general feeling that society is heading in the wrong direction don't matter this year. Nor does it mean that there aren't plenty of people who are reasonably satisfied with their lives, and who recognize that the U.S., especially in comparison with other countries, is doing reasonably well. But overall, economic malaise seems to be front and center in voters' minds.

This may help explain why voters this year seem not to have much appetite for the substance and complexity of policy. Many of them have responded enthusiastically to candidates who lay out a straightforward vision but don't bother much with the details of policy. And a lot of voters seem to relish the clashes that this year's campaigning has produced, and are uninterested in talk of finding common ground.

It's a campaign year, of course, so a certain amount of this is to be expected. But if the voters' surly mood and mistrust carry over after November, it's going to be very hard for the next President, and politicians in general, to govern effectively. ❖

Lee Hamilton is a Senior Advisor for the Indiana University Center on Representative Government-International Studies was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives for 34 years.



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The future of Ivy Tech

By MICHAEL HICKS

MUNCIE – In the darkest days of the Great Recession, enrollment at Ivy Tech exploded, allowing perhaps one in three unemployed Hoosiers to pursue an education.



The women and men who made that happen in the classroom and administrative offices deserve our thanks. But, in 2016, not all is well in what might be our most important college.

Unfortunately, the Ivy Tech system responded to this huge rush of students with an overabundance of construction. Ivy Tech now has more than twice the physical space it could possibly need scattered on more than 110 sites around the state. What started

as an ambitious effort to offer a wide course of study turned into an overpromise and underdelivery of services. Sadly, graduation rates are in the single digits, and worse still, the school has struggled to recruit and retain its most important contribution to success, its faculty.

This column is not about casting blame. Nearly everyone in Indiana has a stake in Ivy Tech's success and has shared their opinion. And this economist won't speak ill of anyone who forecasted poorly through the Great Recession. Still, the time has come for Ivy Tech to embrace a new model.

Around the nation, the two-year college serves many roles from mitigating poor high schools to offering a gateway to a four-year degree. But, here in Indiana, it seems clear that Ivy Tech has to be something different. Indiana needs a community and technical college system that can deliver a career-focused education (not necessarily a degree) across two- or three-dozen occupations in 50 different locations to 40,000 young people each year without burdening them with a car payment-sized debt.

This is simple, but not easy. To do this, Ivy Tech has to nurture its most important asset, its faculty, while divesting itself of unneeded facilities. Ivy Tech will also have to listen closely to both businesses and students about their needs. Fortunately, Ivy Tech has a model for this transformation. It is in Tennessee. I am familiar with their system based on my experience teaching economics at two of Tennessee's community colleges in the mid-1990s, and I have followed their later success.

Over the past 20 years or so, the Tennessee system (TCAT) has built what is almost universally regarded as the nation's best community technical college system. The TCAT graduation rate exceeds 90 percent. Their median educational debt is a stunning zero dollars and nearly all graduates take jobs in their chosen occupation. James King, the man who designed and led this transformation, is

now a compelling finalist for the top job at Ivy Tech.

Tennessee's stunning record is due to leadership that focused on student success while empowering the faculty to make a difference in the lives of their students. The triumph of these efforts mean that businesses are heavy supporters of TCAT, including the highly respected 'Volkswagen University.' This makes TCAT among the least expensive community colleges (for taxpayers and students) in the country. Indiana does many things well, but we desperately need this model from Tennessee. ❖

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.

Visclosky faces a rare primary challenge

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – If there is anyone in the U.S. House of Representatives who has an easy path to victory in Tuesday's primary election, it's Rep. Peter Visclosky, a Merrillville Democrat who represents the state's 1st District.

Visclosky has a rare primary challenge from Wil-



lie "Faithful and True" Brown, whose name will appear on the ballot just like that. Brown, of course, has virtually no chance of winning, largely because Visclosky has done an excellent job serving the district. Brown contends Visclosky should be doing more to help the Calumet Region's steel industry, but seems to forget that Visclosky has led the charge against steel dumping for three decades.

Visclosky will be seeking a 17th term in Congress and in 2017 will be the sixth most senior Democrat and 11th overall in the House of Representatives. But, to an outsider looking in, one would think Visclosky is in the race of his life. He clearly isn't taking the race for granted. No, he is spending a good bit of money to tell constituents what he has done for them and what he plans to do in the future.

He is doing it through a series of mailers to district residents in Lake, Porter and LaPorte counties. The campaign pieces talk at length about Visclosky's Marquette Plan, the project that is reclaiming the Lake Michigan

shoreline and converting much of it to public use. He also talks about the many millions of dollars he has secured for development of the Gary/Chicago International Airport, including the recently concluded runway expansion. And he mentions the many flood-control projects he has helped fund, including the Little Calumet River. But as much as anything, Visclosky talks about steel and the working man in Northwest Indiana.

Besides not wanting to take anything for granted, Visclosky likely has another reason for his high-profile campaign against an unknown opponent. Visclosky is probably the most respected politician in The Region. When he goes public with mailers and appearances, it is a reminder to party faithful that their votes are important. As much as anything, it's likely that the congressman simply wants to keep Democrats energized from now until the general election on Nov. 8.

Visclosky is expected to play a key role in turning out the vote for Democratic gubernatorial candidate John Gregg. The two already have appeared together at several fund-raising events in Northwest Indiana. And, Visclosky will host a Democratic luncheon rally on Saturday, just prior to the Tuesday primary.

Visclosky was the fair-haired boy in 1984 when he defeated incumbent U.S. Rep. Katie Hall and Lake County Prosecutor Jack Crawford. His hair is a good bit thinner today, but he's still popular with those who first elected him, and their offspring as well. ❖

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.

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Josh Kraushaar, National Journal: The trajectory of the GOP nomination fight has gone something like this: Donald Trump dominates a round of primaries and appears close to clinching the nomination, only to suffer an embarrassing setback days later. His advisers plan to unveil a more-presidential Donald Trump even as the candidate is ramping up his trademark insults. Just as the establishment starts coming to grips with Trump, he gives them yet another reason to panic. Expect déjà vu all over again. Trump's victories in his home region combined with predictions of inevitability are about to be tested again as the primary heads west, toward less favorable turf for the businessman. And the nonaggression pact that Ted Cruz struck with John Kasich is likely to consolidate anti-Trump sentiment in Indiana, which would once again put Cruz in the catbird seat. If Cruz wins Indiana, taking most of its delegates, the path for Trump to win 1,237 delegates is very narrow. Don't believe the conventional wisdom that the Cruz-Kasich deal is a strategic misfire, one that comes too late in the process to make a difference. It's a critical development in a state where there's an anti-Trump majority that's divided between Cruz and home-state neighbor Kasich. The same consolidating tactics allowed Cruz to transform a close Wisconsin race into a blowout in his favor. Even without a gubernatorial endorsement (Indiana Gov. Mike Pence is unlikely to jump on the #StopTrump train) and a unified talk-radio front against Trump, all it takes for Cruz to benefit is a narrow victory. And if past is prologue, Trump's band of support in Midwestern states is consistently narrow: He took 39% of the vote in Illinois, 36% in Michigan, 36% in Ohio, and 35% in Wisconsin. He's now polling at 39% in Indiana, according to the RealClearPolitics average, before the cavalry comes in for Cruz. The GOP nomination fight is going down to the wire, and Indiana is the only contest left that could go either way. Every little shift matters. Cruz doesn't have as much momentum entering Indiana as he did in the run-up to Wisconsin, but he doesn't need a 13-point blowout to stop Trump, either. Even a razor-thin victory should net Cruz a majority of delegates in the state.



Nate Silver, FiveThirtyEight: Tuesday night went about as well as possible for Donald Trump. Two weeks ago, after a rough stretch of states for Trump, we issued a series of delegate projections that included something called a "path-to-1,237" projection, a set of targets that would allow Trump to clinch a delegate majority without having to rely on uncommitted delegates. With Trump's terrific results in New York last week and even better ones in the five states that voted on Tuesday, Trump is running a little ahead of that path. The question is what's changed for Trump, whether the change is permanent or temporary, and what implications it has for the next set of states to vote. More particularly: What it means for Indiana, which

votes next week and awards its delegates winner-take-all (some statewide and some by congressional district), and which the path-to-1,237 projections had Trump winning. As much good work as Trump has done over the past two weeks, a loss in Indiana would mostly undo it. One theory, which I proposed last weekend, is that Trump is benefiting from Republicans who buy his argument that the delegate system is "rigged" against him — or if you prefer the milder version, that the candidate with the plurality of delegates and votes should become the nominee. It's hard to prove definitively that this is what's behind Trump's gains, but there's some good circumstantial evidence for it. Indiana is important not only because of its delegates, but also because it will give us an indication as to whether the apparent change in Republican attitudes is temporary or permanent. If Trump wins Indiana despite its middling-to-fair (from his standpoint) demographics, he won't quite be the presumptive nominee because he'll still need to follow through with a decent performance in California. If Trump loses Indiana, however, that will suggest the race is still fairly volatile week-to-week, that he's very likely to lose states such as Nebraska that vote later in May. I don't know what's going to happen in Indiana. But Trump's strong results over the past two weeks have changed the Hoosier State from potentially being "must-win" for Trump to probably being "must-win" for his opponents.

Walter Shapiro, Roll Call: The ragged remnants of the rational wing of the Republican Party endured another Trumping on Tuesday night. And while Ted Cruz may still hold the line in Indiana next Tuesday, Donald Trump has what a fella named Bush back in 1980 described as the "Big Mo." There is a growing chance, but still no certainty, that Trump will come into Cleveland having won a 1,237-delegate majority. But it may not matter. After Trump's lopsided numbers Tuesday night, large chunks of the GOP establishment may be poised for a negotiated surrender. If only the leaders of the Republican Party had the courage of their convictions. Or even the courage of their lack of convictions. Instead, Bernie Sanders — with no chance of winning the Democratic nomination — is showing more gumption than are most Republicans in Washington. Trump is more obsessed with R-E-S-P-E-C-T than Aretha Franklin. Envisioning himself in the White House, Trump said, "You're going to have great respect for your president. But I don't care. You're going to have great new respect for your country again. Great, great respect." What Trump is reflecting is a national attitude that dates back to the 1950s, or probably even earlier. It's the idea that the world is playing us as Uncle Sucker — that sophisticated Europeans are sniggering at us even as we protect them now and saved them in two world wars. It is reflected in polls showing that Americans believe that a quarter of the federal budget goes to foreign aid instead of less than 1 percent. ❖

Stutzman didn't report flight

WASHINGTON – Rep. Marlin Stutzman (R-Ind.), a candidate for Senate, failed to report \$1,100 in expenses to federal campaign officials, including a private plane trip last month from a friend with a real estate development business (The Hill). His campaign acknowledged to The Hill that the trip wasn't reported on forms submitted to the Federal Election Commission (FEC) and said the costs have yet to be reimbursed. It characterized the lack of disclosure as an oversight, saying it didn't get an invoice for the flight. The undisclosed trip is another embarrassment for Stutzman, who charged his campaign thousands of dollars for what his wife described on Facebook as a family vacation. Stutzman defended that trip as campaign-related but paid back the money "in the interests of full disclosure," according to his campaign. Stutzman, a Tea Party firebrand, is locked in a difficult primary battle with Rep. Todd Young (R-Ind.) to replace retiring Sen. Dan Coats (R-Ind.). Voters will pick the GOP nominee in Indiana's primary on Tuesday. A WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll from earlier this month showed Young leading Stutzman by 12 points, 43 percent to 31 percent, with a quarter of likely voters undecided. The Stutzman campaign said the cost of the trip pales in comparison to the estimated \$2 million that outside groups such as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce have spent helping Young. Mike Speedy, an Indiana state representative who owns a real estate development business, flew Stutzman from Indianapolis to Lake County, in the northwestern part of the state, on a campaign trip in mid-March. He posted a picture of himself with the congressman on Facebook and noted in the comments section that he expected the campaign to report the flight as an in-kind contribution to



the FEC. But the Stutzman campaign's April quarterly disclosure to the FEC failed to report the flight either as a donation or as an expenditure. The report covers the period from Jan. 1 to March 31.

IPFW Poll has Clinton up 13%

FORT WAYNE – Democratic presidential front-runner Hillary Clinton leads rival Bernie Sanders by 13% points in Indiana, according to statewide polling conducted for IPFW (Francisco, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). Clinton was favored by 54% of respondents and Sanders by 41%, with 5 percent undecided ahead of Indiana's primary election on Tuesday. The survey, commissioned by IPFW's Mike Downs Center for Indiana Politics, found that while 93% of Clinton's supporters said their preference for the former secretary of state is strong, only 75% of Sanders' backers said the same thing about the Vermont senator.

Cruz in Elkhart, South Bend today

ELKHART – Ted Cruz will make campaign stops in both Elkhart and South Bend this week. Cruz will stop at Lucchese's Italian Restaurant, 655 C.R. 17 in Elkhart, at 2:30 p.m. Thursday, our news partners at 95.3 MNC reported. That same day, he's set to appear at a rally in the South Bend Century Center, 120 S. Saint Joseph St. The rally is scheduled to start at 4:30 p.m. Thursday.

Trump to appear in Evansville today

EVANSVILLE – Donald Trump's noon event Thursday at Old National Events Plaza will place Evansville in the national political spotlight for a few hours (Evansville Courier & Press). The visit will mark the Republican presidential candidate's first Indiana appearance outside of Indianapolis.

Bill Clinton in Kokomo Saturday

KOKOMO – Former U.S. President Bill Clinton will be visiting Kokomo Saturday morning to campaign for Democratic presidential candidate Hillary Clinton ahead of Tuesday's primary election. Bill Clinton will attend the Howard County Democratic Party's pre-primary pancake breakfast at the United Auto Workers Local 685 hall, 929 E. Hoffer St. The event is scheduled for 7:30 to 11:30 a.m.

Pence honors Sen. Rogers

GARY — The first time Gov. Mike Pence met Sen. Earline Rogers, she told him she was a retired teacher and was looking forward to sharing her opinions about education with him, he said (NWI Times). Rogers, D-Gary, has been widely viewed as an education leader in Indiana in her nearly 34 years at the Statehouse, he said. "Sen. Earline Rogers was a teacher to me in every sense of the word," Pence said. Pence on Tuesday presented Rogers with the Sagamore of the Wabash, the highest honor Indiana's governor bestows. Pence also honored the Griffith basketball team after it was involved in an accident on the way to a tournament game.

Hastert sentenced to 15 months

CHICAGO — Dennis Hastert, the Republican who for eight years presided over the House and was second in the line of succession to the presidency, was sentenced Wednesday to more than a year in prison in the hush-money case that revealed accusations he sexually abused teenagers while coaching high school wrestling (Associated Press). The visibly angry judge repeatedly rebuked the 74-year-old before issuing the 15-month sentence, telling him that his abuse devastated the lives of victims.