

INPrez: An epic, bizarre primary coda

Trump victory secures GOP nomination; Sanders' upset of Clinton prolongs the slog

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – When the dust settled on one of the most bizarre political sequences in modern Indiana history, Hoosier Republican voters had mostly settled the Republican presidential race for Donald Trump while prolonging the primary slog for Hillary Clinton with Bernie Sanders' 53-47% victory.



The Indiana primary ended on a frenzied week-long pace as four candidates and an ex-president

courted Hoosiers at more than 50 rallies and retail stops. In the final crescendo, this epic drama became surreal as Donald Trump used a National Enquirer article to allege that Ted Cruz's father was involved with Lee Harvey Oswald



Bobby Knight's endorsement of Donald Trump became a decisive component of the Manhattan billionaire's landslide win over Ted Cruz in the Indiana primary that helped clear the field on Wednesday. (HPI Photo by Mark Curry)

in the assassination of President Kennedy. It came at a time when Republicans took a second, long look at Trump, hoping to see a future president. Instead, they got a tabloid reality star on the verge of a landslide victory who didn't know when to let up.

On the Democratic side, voters witnessed a sprawling Bernie Sanders rally at the foot of the Soldiers & Sailors Monument and below the corpo-

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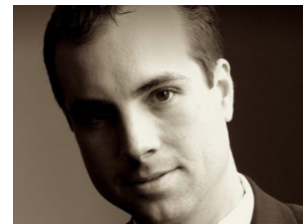
Pence on Cruz control

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – For Gov. Mike Pence, the presidential maelstrom that roared through the state has left him, at least temporarily, twisting, twisting, twisting in the political winds.



He found himself in the national glare last weekend, first with his squishy endorsement of the Ted Cruz presidential campaign on Friday, then new NBC/Wall Street Journal/Marist job approval numbers that had him at 43/43%. Those are ominous numbers for an incumbent Republican in the Hoosier state this late in the cycle. They reinforced the fav/unfav numbers in the WTHR/Howey Politics



“Trump opposes free trade, he’s skeptical of free speech and free association, he peddles in fear and mean-spirited insults and he lacks a mature temperament. I cannot in good conscience attend a convention and support him.”

- Joshua Claybourn, Evansville



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Polls of April 18-21 that had Pence at 44/41% and 71/22% among Republicans. And the right/track wrong/track numbers are equally bad, 44/45% among the general electorate and 61/29% for Republicans. The poll also showed Pence favorability at 59% in the Republican-rich doughnut counties.

More bad news? In Hamilton County, more than 10,000 Republicans scratched on the governor's race in Tuesday's primary, with 65,902 voting in the U.S. Senate race and only 55,596 in the governor's race. Granted, Pence was unopposed, but we're talking about just a mere hand stroke and 10,000 Republicans took a pass. In Vigo County, it was 30% of Republicans

scratching. Some had to be sending a message. Pence allies remind HPI that the primary is often the "general" election when it comes to local races.

The fact that Cruz was resoundingly rejected by Indiana Republican voters on Tuesday, 53-37%, including more than 50% of evangelical voters who are deciding on the presidential race via pocketbook issues over those of abortion and gay rights, is a political problem for the governor.

The Wall Street Journal observed, "For Indiana Gov. Mike Pence, the arrival of the presidential campaign in his backyard is a decidedly mixed blessing. Indiana, a state that has rarely played a crucial role in presidential primary politics, has become a must-win state for Sen. Ted Cruz if he hopes to force a contested Republican convention in July and wrest the nomination from Donald Trump, who has a significant delegate lead. Mr. Pence, a Republican governor up for reelection in November in a race that Democrats are eager to contest, has been thrust into the role

of uneasy powerbroker and campaign surrogate on behalf of Mr. Cruz. The governor needs social conservatives to show up to vote in November – 35% of Indiana residents are frequent church or religious service-goers – and Mr. Cruz runs strong among that de-



Gov. Mike Pence campaigns with Ted Cruz at The Mill in Marion on Monday and gave a stouter endorsement of Cruz than he did the previous Friday, but it didn't help the Texas senator, who lost in a landslide to Donald Trump.

mographic. But he also needs many of Mr. Trump's supporters to cast ballots for him, while maintaining some distance from the presidential election in the event that Mr. Trump's high negative ratings in polls start to affect the party's brand in down-ballot races."

Washington Post columnist Mike Gerson, a former aide to U.S. Sen. Dan Coats and U.S. Rep. Mark Souder, wrote last week that Pence "should be in a dominant position as he campaigns for reelection. The state's economy is booming. Pence can take credit for the second-largest budget surplus in Indiana history. Yet a recent poll has the governor with less than 50% support and barely ahead of a politically mediocre Democratic challenger. More Hoosiers think their state is on the wrong track than the right one. The explanation for Pence's underperformance? He has been entangled in bitter culture war controversies, on both gay rights and abortion, that have alienated a significant portion of his predecessor's political coalition."

In Plainfield in the final week of the campaign, Cruz said, "There is no greater evil than predators, and if the law says that any man, if he chooses, can enter a women's restroom, a little girl's restroom, and stay there and he cannot be removed because he simply says at that moment he feels like a woman, you're opening the door for predators."

Pence finally emerged with Cruz on the campaign trail in Marion and Fort Wayne on Monday. The implication there is that Cruz drew Pence even further into the social issue morass. One influential Republican was aghast that Pence would align with Cruz at that point in the campaign, with Cruz's prospects clearly slipping away. Pence had to be under extreme pressure from the Indiana Family Institute's Curt Smith, who wields veto power over such things as Indiana Supreme Court nominees, where former Reagan aide Peter Rusthoven is no longer conservative enough. That Pence finally emerged in the Cruz corner at the 11th hour came after the family groups had spent weeks fomenting angst over a Trump nomination. That so many evangelicals sided with Trump is a political problem for Pence.

Smith and the family groups have routinely led Pence back into the culture wars, whether it was the Religious Freedom Restoration Act that essentially ended his presidential prospects in 2015, the subsequent RFRA "fix" that got him sideways with evangelicals (16% viewed Pence unfavorably in the WTHR/Howey Poll), to HEA1337, the deeply flawed abortion bill that will almost certainly make its way into the post-primary news cycle once its broader implications are revealed. On Tuesday night, the bill's author, State Rep. Casey Cox, lost his primary reelection bid in a landslide.

That Smith and Pence's social conservative allies tried to take out Senate President David Long for trying to find a compromise on an LGBT civil rights extension last winter has made the family group wing persona non grata in the upper chamber. Long easily dispatched John Kessler with 73% of the vote.

Politico Magazine's Adam Wren observed: "Today, vast swaths of the state's Republican electorate, from Indianapolis to West Lafayette, have retreated from the culture wars. And like the 50s-era diner itself, Cruz's dogged socially conservative message seems anachronistic – and perhaps a little tin-eared – to these fiscally conservative, socially liberal Republicans, the kind Cruz has to win over."

Pence's move to the right on social issues came after his 2012 campaign had him avoiding those topics. Now, many of his donors are sending a message with closed checkbooks.

Reporter Hayleigh Colombo of the Indianapolis

Business Journal reported: "Roughly half the big-money donors who helped propel Republican Mike Pence into the governor's office in 2012 appear to be sitting out his reelection effort this year, or are at least waiting to see what happens in his battle with Democrat John Gregg before writing their checks. The top 25 donors to Pence's 2012 campaign spent about \$2.4 million overall to support him in his first matchup with Gregg, according to an IBJ analysis of campaign finance records from the Indiana Secretary of State's Office. And at this point in the last election cycle, that group had given more than \$1.5 million. This time, those same donors have given less than \$600,000 to Pence's campaign so far."

"**I suspect it reflects** a certain lukewarmness on the part of the local business community to him," Les Lenkowsky, a professor of practice in public affairs and philanthropy at Indiana University's School of Public and Environmental Affairs, told Colombo.

With his endorsement of Cruz last Friday, Pence ended about six weeks worth of suspense on a potential endorsement, looking like a wishy-washy figure instead of a decisive leader. "I'm not against anybody, but I will be voting for Ted Cruz in the upcoming Republican primary," Pence said. "I urge everyone to make up their own mind." Trump pounced on the Pence comments on "Fox News Sunday," saying, it was "the weakest endorsement anyone has seen in a long time. If you really take a look at Mike Pence, I think he gave me more of an endorsement than Ted Cruz. His donors and special interests obviously made him give an endorsement."

For Pence, in the post-primary world, he might as well be in Wakarusa, which is Potawatomi Indian for "knee deep in mud."



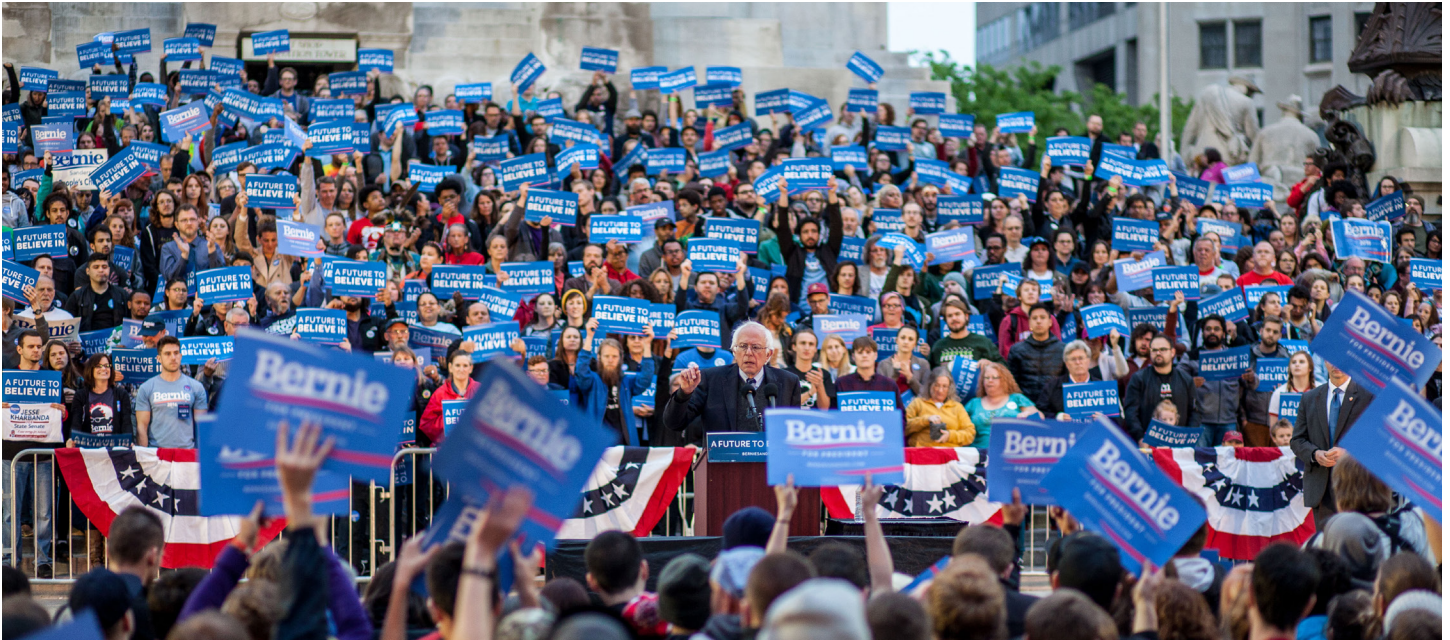
Gregg going up on TV today

The campaign of Democrat John Gregg began its TV ad campaign today. Campaign spokesman Jeff Harris said the campaign will remain on the air through November. The ad is the first of the general election sequence

and could be pivotal because, according to the WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll, Gregg is largely unknown or, as pollster Gene Ulm put it, a "blank slate." Gregg venturing on-air first is a move to keep Pence from being the first to define the Democrat.

Harris called it a "values ad" and has Gregg talking about Hoosier workers and families are falling behind.

Marc Lotter, the new deputy campaign manager for Gov. Pence's reelect, said the campaign has no current plans to begin advertising on TV, but said it will happen "sooner rather than later." **General Horse Race Status:** Tossup. ❖



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rate banners of Anthem, Chase and BMO, as the iconic statue Victory reached out with the torch of enlightenment. There, the Vermont socialist issued a roundhouse indictment of the devolving American economic and political systems. Though they came at voters with similar conclusions about corrupt and rigged systems, Trump and Sanders are 180 degrees apart. The Sanders rally contrasted with Hillary Clinton's last appearance at an inner city Douglass Park gym, where she was surrounded by establishment Democrats named Bayh, Donnelly, Carson and Hogsett.

It was high drama that no one could have predicted and it thrust Hoosier voters into a decisive, worldwide limelight.

Entering his Trump Tower lobby in New York City with the Rolling Stones playing "Start me up, you make a grown man cry," Trump lauded Hoosier voters. "This is an amazing evening. I didn't expect this. The people of Indiana have been incredible. I started six weeks ago and I was told I had a 20% deficit. You don't get better. I met some incredible people,"

Trump said. "Maybe I'll just never leave. It was a tremendous victory. I have to thank Bobby Knight. Bobby Knight was just incredible. It's called tough, smart and they know how to win. That's what our country needs. Our country needs to win. We lose with trade, we lose with borders.

We're going to start winning again."

More than 100 miles to the south, on the Indiana banks of the Ohio River, Sanders delivered "bad news" to Clinton. "People said the race was over," Sanders said on the steps of the New Albany/Floyd County Library. "I guess the people of Indiana did not agree with that assessment. We understand we have an uphill battle in front of us. We have a path to victory, even if it is a narrow path. We have to make sure that in states where we have landslide victories, those super delegates vote with their constituents.

Many of those super delegates came before I was a candidate. Well that was then."

Indiana has nine super delegates and all but two are currently backing Clinton, with Indiana Democratic Chairman John Zody neutral. Sanders reminded Hoosiers, "In every poll I've seen, Bernie Sanders defeats Donald Trump by greater margins than Hillary Clinton, in battleground state after battleground state." Indeed, here in Indiana he trails Trump by just 1% in the NBC/Wall Street Journal/Marist Poll. He will attempt to wrest super delegates away from Clinton between now and the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia in July.

Zody told Howey Politics Wednesday morning, "As state party chair, it is my responsibility to be a resource for all Democratic campaigns and to make sure all processes related to choosing our

party's nominee are done fairly. As such, I have made no announcement as to my pledge at this time." One Democratic source reminded HPI that while Clinton and Obama waged essentially a 50/50 race here in 2008 (Clinton won



Democrat Bernie Sanders drew about 10,000 to a rally on Monument Circle on Monday evening. (HPI Photos by Mark Curry)

by just 14,000 votes), the party did come together allowing Obama to become the first Democrat to carry the state since 1964.

For his part, Sen. Cruz literally fulfilled a promise to “barnstorm” the state. He pulled out all the stops, from his “deal” with John Kasich and challenge to Trump on his own, to the naming of Carly Fiorina as a presumptive running mate, to the squishy endorsement from Gov. Mike Pence. In the end, Cruz was too far out on the GOP’s mainstream. At a time when middle class Hoosiers were seeking an advocate president with economic clout, Cruz paled compared to the billionaire deal maker. Exit polling shows that Trump carried more than 50% of evangelical voters, who are more concerned about their pocketbooks than gay marriage.

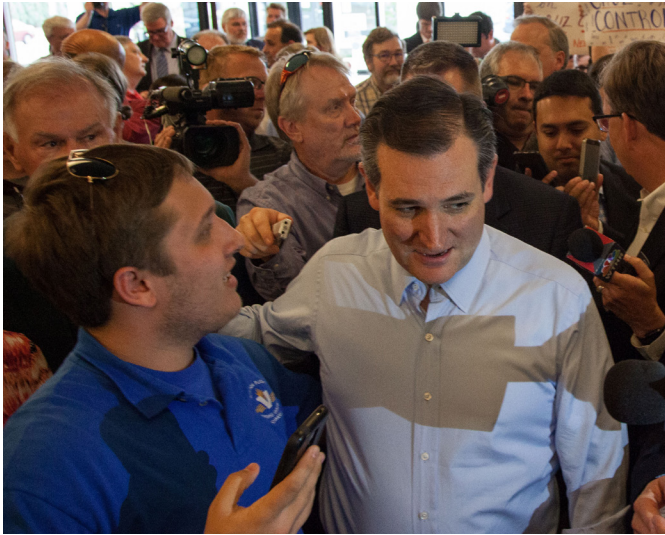
And as he consistently does in Washington, Cruz found himself the target of slings and arrows as Trump abruptly brought up a shadowy and unsourced account of Rev. Rafael Cruz showing up in New Orleans with Lee Harvey Oswald prior to the JFK assassination.

In an Evansville press conference on election day morning, Cruz issued a stunning rebuke. “This morning, Donald Trump went on national television and attacked my father. Donald Trump alleges that my dad was involved in assassinating JFK,” Cruz said in the most surreal political twist in Indiana history. “Now, let’s be clear, this is nuts. This is not a reasonable position. This is just kooky. And while I’m at it, I guess I should go ahead and admit, yes, my dad killed JFK, he is secretly Elvis and Jimmy Hoffa is buried in his backyard.”

Cruz then launched into a broadside against Trump, saying, “I’m gonna tell you what I really think of Donald Trump: This man is a pathological liar. He doesn’t know the difference between truth and lies. He lies practically every word that comes out of his mouth, and in a pattern that I think is straight out of a psychology textbook, his response is to accuse everybody else of lying.”

Cruz didn’t realize it, but he was simply adding fodder to the Clinton general election playbook against Trump.

After the results became clear on Tuesday night, Cruz dropped out of the race at the Crowne Plaza Hotel in Indianapolis, never mentioning Trump, given distinct contours to the fissures spidering forth throughout the Grand Old Party. “I’ve said that I would continue on as long as there is a viable path to victory,” Cruz said. “Tonight, I’m



Republican Ted Cruz campaigns at Shapiro’s Deli. (HPI photo by Mark Curry)

sorry to say it appears that path has been foreclosed. We gave it everything we’ve got. But the voters chose another path. And so with a heavy heart – but with boundless optimism, for the long-term future of our nation – we are suspending our campaign.” There were gasps from supporters, and one of the most fascinating chapters in Indiana political history came to a close.

Indiana Republican exit polling

Exit polling gave statistical definition to the state of Hoosier minds. On the Republican ledger, 30% made up their minds in the final week, with 47% going to Cruz, 38% to Trump and 12% to Ohio Gov. John Kasich. Trump polled 56% of voters without a college degree, compared 37% for Cruz.

As for the most important issues, 39% said economy/jobs, 28% government spending, 18% terrorism, and 11% immigration. For the “most important quality in a candidate,” 34% said shares my values, 32% can bring change, 21% tells it like it is, and just 11% said “can win in November.” On views about the federal government, 50% said they were dissatisfied, 34% angry, and 14% were satisfied. On the question of whether the campaign had energized or divided the party, 40% said energized, and 57% said the party was divided. Some 59% said they wanted an “outsider” to be the next president while 36% want “political experience.” And 53% said they felt “betrayed” by the Republican Party.

ABC News reported that six in 10 Indiana GOP primary voters said they want the next president to be someone from “outside the political establishment,” Trump’s calling card, and he overwhelmingly won their votes. Trump hasn’t won majority support for another of his issues, deporting undocumented immigrants, but it’s nevertheless drawn substantial support among GOP voters with 45% saying they favored deportation, compared with 41 percent in previous races on average.

While the Tea Party element has faded in Indiana, and social issues, at least in this cycle, no longer remain a culling factor, there are echoes of 2012 when Republican primary voters discarded 36-year Sen. Dick Lugar with Howey Politics polling showing that nominee Richard Mourdock was far more vulnerable in the general election against Joe Donnelly.

The numbers that leap off the pages here are: Only 11% felt “can win in November” was the top priority, 57% felt the party was divided, and 53% feel betrayed by their party.

Democratic exit polling

As for Democrat exit polling, 70% said they are liberal, compared to 29% in 2008. Some 74% say the party is energized. On what they want from the next president, 50% said they want a continuation of President Obama's policies and 36% want a more liberal agenda. In the most ominous finding for Democrats, asked, "How will Indiana Democrat voters vote if Clinton becomes the nominee?" 31% responded "not for Clinton," 35% would "probably" vote for Clinton and 32% said they definitely would vote for Clinton.

Whites younger than 45 accounted for a third of Indiana voters, well over their customary 22% on average in previous primaries, and they backed Sanders by a vast 78-22%. Meanwhile nonwhites age 45 and older – a huge group for Clinton – accounted for fewer voters than typi-



Hillary Clinton speaks to about 400 people at Douglass Park in Indianapolis on Sunday. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

cal, 11%, compared with 22% on average. As the April WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll predicted, it was a surge of first-time voters who fueled both Trump and Sanders.

Indiana Democratic voters divided on who has the best chance to beat Donald Trump (with at best a slight edge for Clinton, 50-47%, less for her than usual). That said, 73% also said they expected Clinton ultimately to be the Democratic nominee.

Early exit poll results indicate that Clinton

is retaining her advantage on who's most likely to win the Democratic nomination, but she's doing much worse than usual in who voters say would best able to beat Trump. On the latter, it's very close, while she beat Sanders by more than two to one in previous contests. Are Hoosier Democrats ready for a woman? Nearly six in 10 in Indiana say the country's definitely ready, with most of the rest saying

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it's "probably" ready.

Epilogue

Now, that was a blast!

And it isn't over. In a hypothetical general-election matchup, Trump is ahead of Clinton by 7% in last week-end's NBC/Wall Street Journal/Marist Poll among registered voters in this traditionally Republican state, 48-41%. But Trump's lead is just one point when matched up against Bernie Sanders, 47-46%.

In the WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll (April 18-21), Trump led Clinton 47-39%. Should Clinton decide, as Obama did in 2008, that Indiana's 11 Electoral College votes were needed in the 270 equation, she could theoretically compete here. With Clinton as a nominee, Indiana is a light red state. With Sanders, it's a potential tossup.

The political universe as we know it today, and what it will be next September or October could be the difference between night and day. In May 2008, nobody was predicting that Barack Hussein Obama could carry Indiana.

We have just witnessed the klieg lights of history burnishing our state. That tens of thousands of Hoosiers turned out to greet and listen to the candidates, that the rallies here were peaceful (even when Trump declared we in the press as "enemies"), continues our enduring legacy of a state that practices its politics in a civil manner. We Hoosiers have much to be proud of this May, coming on the eve of the 100th running of the world-famous Indianapolis 500 and as we prepare for our bicentennial celebration.

I expect our part of the 2016 political cycle has not ended. As I've been saying for more than six months now, anything can happen. Anything. Because it just did. ❖

HPI Analysis: Candidate impressions in Indiana

(This story was originally published Election Day)

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – After more than 50 presidential campaign events among four candidates, an ex-president, spouses and daughters drawing tens of thousands of Hoosiers into the process, voters head to the polls today in what dozens of county clerks say will be record turnout.

Today's results could yield a Donald Trump presumptive nomination if he sweeps Indiana's 57 first-ballot delegates. A Bernie Sanders upset of Hillary Clinton could move the "contested convention" dynamic from the Republicans in Cleveland to the Democrats in Philadelphia in July.

After attending events over the past two weeks involving Donald Trump, Ted Cruz and Carly Fiorina, Bernie Sanders and Hillary and Bill Clinton, here are some impressions of what Hoosiers witnessed, and how they portend to the future.

Donald Trump: I attended his first rally at the Indiana State Fairgrounds in person and watched web-streamed events in Carmel and a second at the fairgrounds with Bobby Knight, then came face to face with the billionaire at Shapiro's Deli on Monday. Like Knight, Trump has an imposing, bigger-than-life presence, and moves like a shark. He has proven to find weaknesses of

his opponents, tag them with monikers that play to his audiences, and poke his rivals with extreme effectiveness. He feeds off the same middle class angst that is fueling, 180 degrees away, the Bernie Sanders campaign. These are two political movements running in tandem. Trump has created a narrative, finding a voice that reaches the middle class, Reagan Democrats-turned-Republicans, and other folks who are consumed in sets of grievances. His rallies



President and Hillary Clinton, Bobby Knight and Donald Trump, and Ted Cruz campaigning during the Indiana primary. (HPI Photos by Mark Curry and Brian A. Howey)

are streams of consciousness that reach the hearts of Hoosiers believing they are being left behind in a society

that is more economically polarized and getting browner and more inclusive. As the Republican Party has observed litmus test politics since the late 1980s, with abortion and other anti-gay stances that have culled scores of candidates and prevented many more from entering the process, Trump has hijacked the party, turned social activism into pocketbook issues, and is on the precipice of winning a major party nomination. Conventional wisdom first insisted that Trump would fade before winning a nomination. It now says he cannot win the White House in the fall because of crude comments about women, Latinos, Muslims and the disabled. Trump has eviscerated every shred of conventional wisdom in this cycle.

Ted Cruz: The Texas senator is a gifted retail politician and excellent speaker, but he practices extreme and polarizing politics that are unacceptable to the business or "Mitch Daniels" wing of the Indiana Republican Party who backed the former governor's proposed "truce" on social issues, let alone moderates and independent voters. His 11th hour moves of his "deal" with John Kasich to his elevation of Carly Fiorina for a ticket that may never materialize revealed politics of desperation. He riles crowds by telling them that the 2nd Amendment is on the verge of repeal, when it isn't. His stances on terrorism are reckless, as are comments on policing Muslim communities. While he is a practiced, ambitious politician, he found himself drawn into confrontation, as we witnessed on Monday in Marion and Lafayette, where he argued with Trump supporters and said a 10-year-old boy should be spanked. His Washington career is pockmarked with confrontation such as the 2013 government shutdown. He is the most loathed man in Washington and it is hard to see how he could get anything done with Congress where he has alienated much of the Republican Party. With social conservatives in Indiana understanding that Trump is severely testing litmus test politics in the GOP, they have drawn Gov. Mike Pence into the Cruz embrace, at a time when the embattled governor cannot afford to lose a single Republican vote. Pence's evangelical allies have consistently led him into some of the most divisive and poorly written legislation and sequences, making him arguably the most polarizing figure in modern Indiana politics, albeit under Pence's sunny demeanor. A decisive Cruz loss has the potential to wreak widespread damage.

Hillary and Bill Clinton: Watching Hillary Clinton

at Douglass Park on Sunday, there is no doubt she can still move a room. And in a year when an anti-establishment strain of fervor has captured the cycle, Clinton was surrounded by the Hoosier Democratic establishment of Bayh, Donnelly, Hogsett and Carson. Her rhetoric recalls the "good old days" of the 1990s, when job creation was rampant, crime rates fell, and we were in just the early stages of asymmetrical warfare with jihadists. With the Clintons, you get drama, soap opera politics and a wide swath of personal destruction by those who come close

to their flame, even if it is, in triangulated fashion, effective. But it is unclear on whether that works in the rapidly evolving politics of the day. Former President Clinton maintains his wonkish appeal. The Clintons contrast Trump and Cruz with an array of policy specifics, but there is skepticism within the broader Hoosier Democratic family, who were almost evenly divided in 2008, when she defeated Barack Obama by just 14,000 votes, and today, where she appears to be on

the verge of another razor-thin victory, or, perhaps a stunning defeat that could make Philadelphia in July an epic showdown over the soul and future of the party.

Bernie Sanders: I watched Bernie Sanders indict the current economic and political status quo in front of about 10,000 people on Monument Circle last night. His campaign has raised more than \$100 million in small donations, is not beholden to super PACs and special interests, and is promising a "revolution" that the broader public appears to be embracing. The \$7 billion in profits by United Technologies, and its move to Mexico to save \$65 million while abandoning a city it called home for six decades, has become the poster for middle class angst. Sanders conjures notions of \$100 million golden parachutes for departing executives, and an extreme bent for shareholder profits over any scraps for the middle and lower classes that resonates in a different prism than the one Trump presents. But they are clearly feeding off the same energy. Throw in Clinton's 2002 vote on the Iraq War resolution, arguably one of the most disastrous geopolitical events in this century thus far, and Sanders presents a classic case for an emphatic paradigm shift.

The heavy voter turnout today could propel both Sanders and Trump into a wild summer of American politics. ❖



Ted Cruz welcomes Carly Fiorina to his "ticket." (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

No Trump coattails for Stutzman, but there's a dilemma for Young

By MARK SCHOEFF JR.

WASHINGTON – Following his domination of the Indiana Republican primary, Donald Trump is basking in an aura of “maybe.”



Hillary Clinton, whose disapproval rating also exceeds 50%.

Now that he's the presumptive presidential nominee of one of the two major political parties, there's a 50-50 chance he could win the White House.

By Labor Day, the “maybe” is almost surely going to become a “no” for the real estate mogul and reality TV star who offends more people than he inspires, even though he will be running against another candidate, likely Democratic nominee

But voter rejection of Trump won't necessarily translate into down-ballot trouble for Republicans. So far, he appears to have no coattails. Rep. Marlin Stutzman, R-3rd CD, was hoping to ride the anti-establishment Trump wave a win.

No matter how toxic Trump makes the political environment, Republicans will certainly maintain control of the House and could hold onto the Senate.

Rather than give Young breathing room, this situation presents a challenge for him and other Republican candidates this fall.

They must demonstrate whether they will govern with a President Clinton or will extend the political gridlock that has become the hallmark of the relationship between the GOP Congress and the Obama administration.

Young has portrayed himself as a conservative who also can get things done, although some bills he touted, such as one to give Congress the power to stop costly regulations, only garnered GOP support.

He depicted Stutzman as a back-bench bomb thrower who was more focused on blowing things up than making things work in Washington. That pitch was effective in winning the primary.

But now Young and one of his biggest allies, Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell, R-Ky., and other Republicans will have to lay out a plan for governing in the general election. House Speaker Paul Ryan already is trying to turn the focus of the campaign toward policy and

away from personalities.

People are fed up with dysfunction in Washington that alienates them from governance and keeps their concerns off the political agenda.

Young and his Republican colleagues will have to decide whether they can accept a third straight Democratic administration and actually reach agreements with the executive branch that can make Washington worthy of the trust of the American people. This doesn't mean approving everything Clinton proposes. But it does mean considering it in good faith under the assumption that she also is trying to do what she thinks is right for the American people. McConnell has secured bipartisan successes on an array of measures since taking over Senate leadership in 2015.

But on major issues, namely, consideration of a Supreme Court nominee, the chamber has tended toward inaction.

The question for the GOP will become: How will you react to a President Clinton? Are you going to block her Supreme Court nominee - or, if in the minority, filibuster the choice - for four years? Are you going to work with her on foreign policy or let partisanship continue to seep beyond U.S. borders?

The inflexible, pugilistic approach to governance favored by nihilistic tea party Republicans has fostered the rise of Trump and his former chief rival for the GOP nomination, Sen. Ted Cruz, R-Texas.

If Young, McConnell and other Republicans want



to take the party in a new, more productive direction, they will have to show a willingness to govern.

For Young, that will mean going beyond boilerplate rhetoric, such as “I'm a pro-gun, pro-life conservative who wants to replace Obamacare,” as he told HPI publisher Brian Howey in a recent interview.

It will mean taking risks to talk about concrete ways to help struggling Americans that incorporate the best ideas from both sides of the aisle.

Maybe making America great won't carry the day in the general election. Perhaps making Washington work will. ❖

Schoeff is HPI's Washington correspondent.

Young landslide brings a big Marine 'Boorah!'

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Todd Young won an emphatic Republican U.S. Senate primary Tuesday night and will now prepare for a rematch with Democrat Baron Hill.

"As a Marine, I can sum it up in one word: Boorah!" Young said in the Victory Ballroom of the Hilton Hotel in Indianapolis Tuesday night. Young was leading Stutzman 67-33% with 87% of Indiana precincts reporting. "I had confidence from the beginning this was going to be a team effort, and you didn't let me down," Young told several hundred supporters. "All of you are here today because we share our common sense Hoosier values," Young said. "This was a hard fought race. I think it's appropriate we stop, we pause, and we recognize how much we respect Marlin Stutzman."

Young told his supporters, "The world is a dangerous place and you can't turn your back on the world. You deserve a U.S. senator who understands that fundamental principle." He added that "Baron Hill is prepared to put his lobbying career on hold."

"This campaign was about solutions, about advancing conservative solutions," Young said. "That's why I'm running for the United States Senate. Jenny and I want for these four young kids the same thing that every Hoosier family wants for their children and grandchildren, an education that leads to a good-paying job that ultimately leads to a career in places like Indiana."

Young out-raised Stutzman by a near two-to-one margin and several super PACs pumped more than a million into the race, essentially swamping Stutzman. Club For Growth had endorsed Stutzman, but after a campaign shakeup last October, the conservative advocacy group passed on the race, opting to spend against Donald Trump and for Banks in the 3rd CD. Young carried every county outside Stutzman's 3rd CD and Elkhart County.

U.S. Sen. Dan Coats toasted the Young victory. "It was a little over a year ago there comes in a time in your life when passing the torch to the next generation, to carry on what you were trying to accomplish," said Coats. "I am so thrilled to be able to stand here today as Hoosiers in an overwhelming vote elected someone who will carry on the mission that we've all had. Todd's got the stuff.



U.S. Sen. Dan Coats after introducing U.S. Rep. Todd Young at his victory bash Tuesday night. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

"Todd and I have something else in common," Coats added. "Both of us have run against Baron Hill, a long time ago, 26 years ago. Todd did it in 2010. I think it's time we sent one last message to Baron Hill."

Coats' decision in 2015 set off dominoes that impacted not only the race for his Senate seat, but opened up the 3rd and 9th CDs as Young and Stutzman anted up. **General Horse Race Status:** Leans Young.

Congressional Races

8TH CD: Drake defeats Orentlicher

Thanks to 10 malfunctioning voting machines, Ron Drake had to wait until Wednesday morning to find out he won his race against David Orentlicher by a mere 61 votes out of more than 58,000 cast (Osowski, Evansville Courier & Press). The win, still unofficial until the votes are verified 10 days after the election, gives Drake the Democratic nomination for Indiana's 8th Congressional District. He will take on incumbent Republican Larry Bucshon, who cruised to victory Tuesday night. The race between Drake and Orentlicher was close all night and the results from Vanderburgh County weren't finalized until Wednesday morning. The county clerk's office said the votes on 10 machines weren't counted and had to be examined the day after the election. The votes from those machines gave Orentlicher a slim win in Vanderburgh County, but it wasn't enough to pass Drake in the entire district. The final vote count from the secretary of state's office showed Drake with 29,182 votes and Orentlicher with 29,121, a 0.1 percent difference. Drake said the tremendous support he received in his home Sullivan County might have been the difference in a very tight race. "They treated me like a son," Drake said of the Sullivan County voters. "I'm extremely thankful for their

support." Drake said he hasn't had time to think about his upcoming campaign against Bucshon with the focus he's had on the primary. U.S. Rep. Larry Bucshon easily turned back a challenge from Jasper-based Richard Moss to win renomination by Republicans (Langhorne, Evansville Courier & Press). The 8th District now is composed of 18 counties – including Vanderburgh, Warrick, Posey and Gibson – plus a small piece of Crawford County. Bucshon, a former Newburgh heart surgeon, has represented the district in Congress since shortly after his election in 2010. He is seeking his fourth term. **General Horse Race Status:** Leans Bucshon.

3RD CD: Banks tips Tom

Republican state Sen. Jim Banks managed to separate himself from a field of like-minded conservative

congressional candidates in the only place it mattered, the ballot box (Francisco, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). Banks won the GOP primary election in northeast Indiana's 3rd District, receiving about 34% of the vote in the six-candidate contest. Kosciusko County farmer Kip Tom finished a close second with 31%, followed by state Sen. Liz Brown with 25%. Banks carried only four of the counties in the 12-county district, compared with six for Tom and two for Brown. But Banks built wide margins in Whitley and Huntington counties, which are in his state senate district, and he beat Tom by nearly 3,700 votes in Allen County, which was won by Brown. Banks said doing well in Allen County, by far the largest county in the district, made a big difference in the results. "We focused the campaign very much on the grass-roots network and structure with coordinators in every county in the district. ... I have to point to that as the reason that we were victorious," Banks said. Tom said Banks' margin in Allen County was the difference in the outcome. "The voters of the district have made their decision, and we need to support Sen. Banks this fall," he said. In the Democratic primary, party organization choice Todd Nightenhelser lost to perennial candidate Tommy Schrader, who did not campaign. Schrader received 38% of the vote to 32% for Nightenhelser and 31% for John Forrest Roberson. Former Rep. Mark Souder, a Banks supporter who represented the district before Stutzman, said the outside spending helped Banks, as did his military service (Indy-

Star). The area is home to a veterans' hospital and air base as well as defense contractors. "It also helped him, I believe, among Trump voters to offset his youth and more conservative positions," Souder said. The House Freedom Fund, the political arm of the Club For Growth, and other groups spent more than \$440,000 on advertising and mailings praising Banks or criticizing Tom and Brown.

Democrats in northeast Indiana apparently have nominated a Donald Trump supporter as their congressional candidate (Francisco, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). Tommy A. Schrader of Fort Wayne emerged Tuesday from a three-way contest of little-known candidates, winning 37.5 percent of the vote in the Democratic Party's primary election. Schrader, a perennial candidate who captured his first congressional nomination in five attempts, did not publicly campaign or report raising money for the race. On March 31, Schrader called The Journal Gazette and left this message: "I was thinking about endorsing Donald Trump because he's pro-life and he speaks the truth."

"The Third District Democratic Party Committee will not be supporting the candidacy of Tommy Schrader as he progresses into the general election. I congratulate Jim Banks on his victory, and I hope that he will represent Northeastern Indiana in a way that improves the lives of families and communities," Carmen Darland, the 3rd District Democratic chairwoman, said Tuesday night in an email. **General Horse Race Status:** Safe Banks.

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9TH CD: Hollingsworth staves off Houchin

Late on election night, a rare oddity occurred. Reporters got an email from the victorious campaign of Joseph Albert Hollingsworth III. "Tonight's results are a victory for conservative values and principles," said Hollingsworth, who spent \$2 million from himself and his father Joe, Jr. of Tennessee. "Hoosiers came together during this campaign with a common desire to fix a broken political system and that began by changing who we send to Washington. It is a message that the political insiders in Washington and Indianapolis heard this evening in one resounding voice. Now that the primary is behind us, it is time for Republicans to unite and focus on winning in November. The path to victory is paved with hard work, conservative principles, and a united Republican party. Together, we will bring conservative change to Washington."

Hollingsworth essentially bought a congressional nomination defeating State Sen. Erin Houchin 40-30%, or by about 10,000 votes. Attorney General Greg Zoeller finished third at 22% and State Sen. Brent Waltz had 13%, with Robert Hall coming in with 7%. Hollingsworth had no ground game; he has no local political allies, there was no public victory celebration Election Night. The fact that his campaign wrote checks from a Virginia office that also is home to the Senate Conservative Fund suggests he may be a one-termer, with a potential challenge to U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly in 2018 an option.

Houchin won five of the district's 12 counties and out-paced two-term incumbent Attorney General Greg Zoeller. Houchin out-raised the entire field with over \$500,000 raised for the cycle. By contrast, Zoeller reported raising only \$283,000 for the cycle in his pre-primary report.

Hollingsworth faces Monroe County Councilwoman Shelli Yoder. "Our opponent thinks he can buy a seat in Congress. He moved to Indiana less than a year ago, and has spent over a million dollars of his own money to get elected," said Alex Rosselli, campaign manager for Yoder. Indiana Democratic Chairman John Zody, added, "Trey Hollingsworth tried to pull one over on the 9th Congressional District by clinching the Republican nomination for Congress. He's convinced that being an absentee candidate supported by dark money will get him over the line in November. Well, Tennessee Trey needs to think again. Hoosiers in Southern Indiana admire hard workers, not someone who relies on handouts to slide by." **General Horse Race Status:** Leans Hollingsworth.

1ST CD: Visclosky wins 17th nomination

Northwest Indiana Democrats want U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky, D-Merrillville, to continue representing them, and The Region, in Congress (NWI Times). Visclosky easily won the Democratic nomination Tuesday for the 1st Congressional District of Lake, Porter and western LaPorte counties. He defeated Willie "Faithful and True" Brown, of Gary, whose campaign amounted to little more than seeing his own name on the ballot. It's not yet known whether

Visclosky will face a Republican opponent as he runs for a 17th term in the November general election. The only GOP candidate to file for the primary, John Meyer, was removed



from the ballot in February by the Indiana Election Commission after failing to prove he was an Indiana resident. State law allows the district's Republican precinct committeemen to fill that vacancy for the general election, but any GOP candidate faces long odds as Visclosky only twice has recorded less than 60% support since first winning office in 1984. If reelected, Visclosky plans to continue

fighting "free trade" deals that harm The Region's steel industry. **General Horse Race Status:** Safe Visclosky.

2ND CD: Walorski faces Coleman

Lynn Coleman and Jackie Walorski quietly advanced to the general election Tuesday with wins in their respective primaries (South Bend Tribune). Walorski, seeking a third consecutive term in Congress in Indiana's 2nd District, defeated Jeff Petermann to win the Republican nomination. With 502 of 551 precincts reporting, the Jimtown resident received 70% of the vote, or 77,389 votes, to 30%, or 33,513 votes, for Petermann, a marketing professional from Elkhart. Coleman took the Democratic nomination in similar fashion, defeating Douglas Carpenter, an unemployed South Bend man, with 74% of the vote. With 502 of the 551 precincts reporting, Coleman garnered 39,382 votes to Carpenter's 14,011. Coleman, who opposes the Trans-Pacific Partnership and supports a higher minimum wage, is expected to focus on manufacturing, trade and income inequality. He also is expected to try to link Walorski to Donald Trump, the presumptive Republican nominee for president. Walorski is expected to focus on her efforts in Congress to provide for veterans and the military, reduce government waste and regulation and repeal Obamacare. **General Horse Race Status:** Leans Walorski.

4TH CD: Rokita faces Dale

U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita (R-IN) claimed victory in Tuesday's Republican Primary Election. "I am humbled and honored by the continued support of so many voters in the Fourth Congressional District," Rokita said. "It is the highest honor of my life to serve as their representative in the Peoples' House." Rokita faces Democrat John Dale. **General Horse Race Status:** Safe Rokita.

5TH CD: Brooks faces Demaree

U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks, the Republican incumbent,

bent, cruised to victory to secure the 5th District nomination for a third term and will face first-time candidate Angela Demaree in a historic matchup in November (de la Bastide, Anderson Herald-Bulletin). Brooks turned back challenges from Steve MacKenzie and Mike Campbell. MacKenzie claimed Brooks was not conservative enough for the district that includes Madison County. Campbell did not actively campaign. In the Democratic primary, Demaree defeated Allen Davidson. Demaree had the support of the party in the district, while Davidson toured the district on a classic scooter. "It's a good feeling," Brooks said of her victory. "It affirms what we've been doing and energizes us for November." **General Horse Race Status:** Safe Brooks.

6TH CD: Welsh challenges Messer

U.S. Rep. Luke Messer will face Democrat Barry Welsh, who won a five-way primary with about 36% of the vote. Welsh, who identifies himself as an independent running as a Democrat, was unsuccessful in bids for the 6th District seat in 2006 and 2008. **General Horse Race Status:** Safe Messer.

7TH CD: Ping to challenge Carson

Republican Cat Ping won the Republican 7th CD campaign with a 53% to 29% win over Wayne Harmon. U.S. Rep. Andre Carson had 86% of the Democratic primary vote against two obscure opponents with 98% reporting. **General Horse Race Status:** Safe Carson. ❖

Marissa McDermott upsets a Lake judge

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – For the first time in decades, it is one and done for the Lake Circuit Court judge. Judge George Paras, who was seeking a second term, lost to Marissa McDermott, wife of Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr. Paras had succeeded Lorenzo Arredondo, who served more than 30 years on the Circuit Court bench.



Arredondo had succeeded Felix Kaul, who also served for several terms.

McDermott's upset win was easier than expected as she topped Paras by 15,000 votes. McDermott won with name recognition and a loan of almost

\$100,000 from her husband's campaign fund. She pretty much said she wouldn't have won without being married to such a politically prominent person. "I have a damn good last name," she told supporters Tuesday night.

McDermott's victory was a blow for Sheriff John Buncich, who is county Democratic chairman. He backed Paras.

In other key Lake County races, Eddie Melton of Merrillville won the District 3 Democratic primary to replace the retiring Sen. Earline Rogers of Gary. Rogers backed Melton over several candidates, including Darren Washington, a Calumet Township Board member and former Gary mayoral candidate.

In legislative races, Mara Candelaria Reardon was unopposed and set up a rematch with Republican Rep.

Bill Fine in the 12th House District. The same is the case in the 19th District where Shelli VanDenburgh was unopposed and will face Republican Rep. Julie Olthoff in the fall. Despite being unopposed, both candidates waged very visible campaigns.

Earl Harris Jr. won a four-way race to win the 2nd House District Democratic primary. The seat was held by his father until his death last year. His mother, Donna Harris, replaced her husband but didn't seek reelection.

Rep. Charlie Brown of Gary won the District 3 Democratic race over Antuwan Clemons, the Gary School Board president.

McDermott's victory was the lone surprise in Lake County countywide races. Democratic Coroner Merrilee Frey defeated two opponents to win nomination to a second term. Democratic Recorder Mike Brown topped four opponents in his quest for a second term. Democratic Surveyor Bill Emerson Jr. was unopposed in his bid for his first full term.

One of the top races in November will be the District 2 county commissioner contest. Democratic Commissioner Gerry Scheub, who has served since the 1980s, was unopposed and will face Republican Jerry Tippy in the fall. Tippy, of Schererville, easily defeated Eldon Strong of Crown Point. Strong, a former police officer, had the support of state Sen. Rick Niemeyer. The district will be more Republican this year because of the addition of Munster, which generally turns out a heavy GOP vote.

In another key county commissioner contest, Democratic incumbent Mike Repay topped county Councilwoman Christine Cid in the 3rd District. Cid, who voted against enactment of the county income tax, criticized Repay for opposing the tax but voting for it after being elected. ❖

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.

10 takeaways from the Indiana primary

By CHRIS SAUTTER

WASHINGTON – It was like old times waiting for election results from Indiana’s primary Tuesday. Hoosier politics is a whole lot more fun when it is relevant nationally. These are some lessons I draw from Tuesday’s election.

1. Message wins elections and Donald Trump’s message resonated with Hoosiers considerably more than Ted Cruz’s. The conventional wisdom several weeks out



was that Ted Cruz was a better fit for Indiana’s conservatism than Donald Trump. Instead, Trump’s blue-collar message of strong leadership and getting tough on trade and illegal immigration resonated much more than Cruz’s more narrowly focused hard-line evangelical message. In addition, Cruz’s nakedly political deal with John Kasich and the naming of Carly Fiorina as his vice presidential running mate came across as desperate and undercut his claim that he was the candidate of principle.

2. Trump’s “take no prisoners” style of politics worked. Most presidential candidates come to negative campaigning reluctantly. Donald Trump embraced it from the start of his campaign as he systematically destroyed his opposition from Jeb Bush to Scott Walker to Ben Carson to Marco Rubio. Trump’s willingness to go on the attack was key to his growing success. His goal with Cruz was to take away what Cruz claimed was a central strength — trustworthiness — by labeling him “Lyn’ Ted.” By the time the two faced off in Indiana, Cruz’s campaign was unraveling.

3. Trump is favored to win Indiana in November. National polls show Clinton starting out with a double-digit lead over Trump with some experts like respected University of Virginia Professor Larry Sabato predicting an Electoral College blowout (See pages 18-19). In Indiana, however, early polls peg the Donald the favorite. The presidential race in Indiana could tighten if Clinton’s national lead balloons upward. But it is clear that a big Clinton win nationally, if it happens, will not necessarily transfer to the Hoosier state. In other words, down ballot Democrats cannot count on a national wave to carry them to victory.

4. Governor Pence’s vulnerability is further exposed. Pence’s inability to make his endorsement matter whatsoever is further proof of his vulnerability in the general election. As recent polling indicates, Mike Pence’s reelection prospects are probably no better than 50/50 as his favorable ratings are in the low 40s. Pence’s endorsement of Cruz proved to be another embarrassment for the governor.

5. Hillary Clinton took Indiana for granted. Hillary

Clinton lost an opportunity in Indiana to finally put Bernie Sanders away. Instead, Clinton spent insufficient time in Indiana and nothing on advertising, apparently believing her lead in the polls and momentum from victories out East would carry her. Meanwhile, Sanders spent \$2 million on ads and held huge rallies around the state. The result is that Sanders won virtually every county except those in the Chicago, Cincinnati, and Louisville markets where Sanders did not spend. The decision to take Indiana for granted was a strategic blunder as his win gives Sanders new energy and makes it more difficult for Clinton to pivot to the general election and Trump.

6. Hillary Clinton wins even when she loses. Bernie Sanders won Indiana decisively but netted only a half dozen of the state’s 83 delegates. Sanders has no chance of winning enough pledged delegates to surpass Clinton even if he sweeps the party’s dozens remaining contests. As was the case with Obama in 2008, Clinton’s nomination is all but certain no matter what occurs in the final weeks of the primary season.

7. Todd Young is the favorite to win the open U.S. Senate seat. The Republican establishment went all out to make sure Todd Young defeated Marlin Stutzman and it paid off as Young won in a walk. As a result, Baron Hill will have a tougher time convincing Washington Democrats to invest in the race. Young starts out with a big lead in the polls and fundraising. Hill is an excellent candidate, but he will need a break to make this race truly competitive.

8. A candidate can move into an Indiana congressional district from out-of-state and win an primary. Tennessean Trey Hollingsworth and his father spent nearly \$2 million to buy the 9th District Republican nomination. Ron Drake spent less than \$2,500 winning the 8th District Democratic nomination after moving back to Sullivan County following more than two decades in Washington and Atlanta. Drake defeated former Indianapolis area state Rep. David Orentlicher by just 61 votes. Orentlicher raised over \$200,000, but his move into the district from Indianapolis seems to have been more of a liability than Drake’s return home from out-of-state.

9. Shelli Yoder faces a controversial opponent. Monroe County Council member and 2012 9th District Democratic nominee Shelli Yoder faces a carpetbagger instead of incumbent Todd Young as she did four years ago. Yoder proved to be a terrific candidate and is raising considerably more money this time. But she is going to have to convince Washington Democrats that Hollingsworth is more vulnerable in the general election than he was in the Republican primary. Some are skeptical of Yoder’s chances given the Republican leanings of the district.

10. Bobby Knight still holds sway over some Hoosiers. The legendary Hall of Fame coach proved to be a real asset for Trump even if his praise of Trump included some bizarre arguments, such as Trump is not afraid to use nuclear bombs. As much as Knight helped in the primary, Trump would be well advised to keep Knight under wraps during the general elections. ❖

It's time to move the Indiana prez primary

By CRAIG DUNN

KOKOMO – Forget about the analysis of the primary races for president, U.S. Senate and congressional races. That's all fine and good, but I want to talk about an issue while it's hot; an issue that both Republicans and Democrats can get their hands around and agree on at least one thing. Indiana desperately needs to move our primary election to the early part of the presidential election cycle.

For virtually my entire life Indiana has been flown over, walked over, passed over and mostly ignored by the national political elites. We've been mostly a super safe



state in the Republican electoral column; so safe that Republican presidential candidates rarely stop for much more than a quick cash grab at the Columbia Club. You might get a vice presidential candidate whistle stop visit, but the main attraction spends their time where it is needed. Democrat presidential candidates stop just as infrequently as the Republicans. Why waste your time tilling

extremely rocky soil?

It has been an amazing experience watching Indiana become the object of affection for Republican and Democrat presidential candidates for the past 10 days. It has been a joy to see all of the big boy national media outlets realize that there is, "more than corn in Indiana." It has been great to see people from around the country and from around the world drop some serious cash around the state. All of this has been priceless to our state and it should become a permanent fixture every four years.

I have spoken to several legislators about moving the Indiana primary to early February every four years. The traditional roadblock to doing this has been the Indiana legislative session. This should be a very simple fix. Run our primary on the second or third Tuesday in February and then start the legislative session the next Monday. After all, it is the 60-day short session. It might take a little psychological adjustment and it might be a little difficult to shove yard signs into the frozen ground, but it would be well worth the adjustment.

I don't know about you but these headlines sent a chill down my leg, ala Chris Matthews: "Indiana Make or Break State," "Hoosier State to Decide Republican Candidate" and "President Clinton Surprises Everyone at the Cone Palace." It's fun, it's informative and it elevates our status to that of Bumfuddle, Iowa, in the lexicon of presidential politics.

There is another significant benefit to moving the Indiana primary earlier on the calendar. Let's look at the long lines waiting to vote across the state. We witnessed an engaged, outraged and excited electorate desperate to cast their vote. Hoosiers knew that their vote counted and they wanted their voices to be heard. They were. Woe be to any politician who takes the people of Indiana for granted on their way to political stardom.

For years we, and by we, I mean everybody, has lamented the dismal voter turnout percentages in the primary and general elections. The average Joe or Jolene just hasn't been motivated to get out and vote. We've tried early voting and vote centers with little improvement to show for it. This year, the voters were lit up like Roman candles and they turned out and voted in huge numbers. Call it voter anger or angst, but the average Hoosier felt very relevant this year and turned out to vote.

You may not have been happy with the outcomes, but anyone who loves the democratic process had to feel a warm and fuzzy feeling about voters flocking to the polls. I witnessed some great moments during the Indiana primary campaign. I saw Indiana Senate Finance Chairman Brandt Hershman introducing Ted Cruz on national television. I heard Gov. Mike Pence on every media outlet endorsing Ted Cruz. I saw and heard county chairmen, district chairmen and elected officials of both parties interviewed on television. I read the words of wit and wisdom from our state's citizens from South Bend to New Albany. I'm not sure what the dollar value of the earned media was to our state, but it must have run into the millions.

Now, while it is still fresh in the minds of our legislators, the press and the voters of Indiana, I implore our legislative leaders and our governor to please move our primary election to February, beginning in 2020.

I feel so strongly about this issue that I intend to heavily lobby on its behalf. I intend to buy steak dinners and cocktails every week for the legislators. I intend to buy NCAA and Indianapolis 500 tickets and drop them from a helicopter over the copper dome of the Indiana State Capitol building during session. I intend to charter a bus, make myself a sign and stand at the corner of Market and Capitol streets hooting like a British soccer fan. I intend to provide Biblical proof that Jesus wants the Indiana primary to be in February.

Last Friday the Howard County Republican Party held its annual Lincoln/Reagan Day Dinner. We hosted 24 members of the foreign press who visited through a United States Department of State program. One of the members of the foreign press corps, Szalbocs Panyi, a reporter from Budapest, Hungary, told me that if it wasn't for the presidential primary and Indiana being still in play for both Republicans and Democrats, he would have never visited Kokomo nor Indiana. He said, "You have such a wonderful place to live and the people are so nice. Everyone should visit Indiana."

Twenty-four foreign journalists from the four corners of the earth, the major television networks, the

massive print and online press corps, our next president and countless other people of influence have just spent a week in the Hoosier State and pronounced it a pretty good place to visit. We shouldn't have to wait a lifetime for this

to happen again. ❖

Dunn is chairman of the Howard County Republicans.

Our five minutes of election fame

By MARK SOUDER

FORT WAYNE – From the time Ted Cruz launched his campaign at the legendary gym in Knightstown where the movie "Hoosiers" was filmed, and referred to the "rim" as a "ring," one had a feeling that our moment in the sun might not go well.



Based upon Donald Trump's strategy, you'd think all of us were still dribbling basketballs everywhere. IU's Bobby "Night" was trotted out to declare that Trump was the most prepared man ever to be president. Purdue's Gene Keady played along. Notre Dame's Digger Phelps called Trump "one of the great coaches of this country," though he did not endorse Trump University as an alternative to Notre Dame.

Notre Dame's embarrassment deepened further when football coach Lou Holtz joined in. As a Notre Dame alum, I admit that Lou Holtz is at least a nominal friend and hero of mine. But his statement supporting Trump illustrated the silliness of everything that is going on. Holtz: "The main reason I'm endorsing him: I've played his golf course, I've stayed in his hotel. He does nothing but go first class in everything. He wants this country to be first class as well."

Ah yes, come to the state where Abraham Lincoln grew to manhood and remind us of why American's chose Lincoln to be president at that critical point in history: His golf courses, his hotels and wanting everything to be first class. Actually, what Lincoln said about his wife's trying to decorate the White House was this: "It would stink in the nostrils of the American people to have it said that the President of the United States had approved a bill overrunning an appropriation of \$20,000 for flub-dubs for this damned old house when the soldiers cannot have blankets...The house is furnished well enough, better than any one we ever lived in."

Obviously, Lincoln just had no class.

At least Hillary Clinton had enough respect for us to send in a Hobbit to campaign for her, though Sean Astin

is also known for his role as "Rudy" in the Notre Dame classic. What do all these foreigners (i.e. non-Hoosiers) think of us, that we are just sports crazed?

Not all of the candidates stereotyped us that way. Bernie Sanders was different. More than just a few people were confused when he began discussing Native Americans in Fort Wayne. Not that the Miami of Indiana aren't the reason we became Fort Wayne. But it seemed like something went off in his brain – Indiana? Fort Wayne? I need to talk about ... Native Americans. At least he didn't propose we change the name of our state. Yet.

Then there was the confrontation between the spokesmen for Trump in a showdown with Ted Cruz. Comedians can't write scripts that mock what happened better than it went down in real life. The press and some leaders were obsessed about how the gay rights/religious freedom debate hurt our state's image. This past week did far more real damage. Far more. At least the contentious religious freedom debate is one about how to reconcile substantive differing views on difficult cultural issues, and which is also occurring in most of America.

And speaking of State Senate Leader David Long, he had an overwhelming primary win in the Senate district where I live. John Kessler, Long's opponent, is an intelligent man and, while outspent, had enough money to thoroughly get his message out.

David's wife Melissa, who just retired as the long-time news anchor at a local television station, filmed a moving tribute to David as a father, husband and friend. It was extraordinary. Many older people, like me, knew Melissa's father as a Reagan guy and city councilman. Dave actually followed his father-in-law as a city councilman. People here knew them both. They know Long is no firebrand. They are proud that he is the leader of the Senate. They didn't believe the attacks on him, and if they did, they didn't care.

Cathie Humbarger, the leader of Allen County Right-to-Life, took verbal abuse from some social conservatives for cutting ads for Long. Her correct position was this: 1) the Right-to-Life PAC's goal is to elect pro-life candidates, not other issues, and 2) if leaders move pro-life legislation against opposition, and you abandon them over other fights, you will start to have legislators who say they are with you but melt down under pressure. Long would have won anyway, but she did the right thing.

Marlin Stutzman won northeast Indiana, his base, by a wide margin while getting pounded everywhere else in the state. His margin was solid partly because Young could afford not to attack him in Marlin's home area.

Stutzman is thus able to depart with some dignity. He clearly would have self-destructed in a fall campaign.

My friend Jim Banks prevailed in the slugfest in the 3rd District. It was a close, hard fight. His three top opponents were wealthy self-funders. In one of those absurd campaign reversals, Kip Tom implied that he was a "common farmer" while Banks was a "GQ slick guy." Jim is the son of a humble Dana factory worker, and was the only non-wealthy candidate. At least, with the help of Kendallville native David McIntosh's Club For Growth, Banks prevailed anyway. Of course, the same can't be said for the congressional race in southeastern Indiana. Is Con-

gress going to increasingly become the playground of the rich, even the People's House?

At the presidential level, Indiana's image was set back once again in what may have been our most intense focus we've ever had; more statewide analysis than a Super Bowl party week. But at least we have nominated, and re-nominated, some talented leaders who can fight for us going forward. Still, it will take a long time to remove the stain resulting from being the state that nominated Trump.

❖

Souder is a former Republican congressman from Indiana.

Indiana decided the GOP presidential race

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Indiana's primary election, often too late in presidential nomination selection to count, was billed as having real meaning this time. It did. So, what does it mean nationally for president and for races in Indiana for governor and the U.S. Senate?

Republican presidential nomination: Indiana decided it. Donald Trump will be the Republican nominee. Just as billed, it was a "must win" primary for Ted Cruz and the stop-Trump effort. When Cruz was trounced, with



Trump sweeping up Indiana delegate commitments for the first ballot at the Republican National Convention, the path to forcing a second ballot and then nominating somebody other than Trump was closed. Cruz, with no path to travel, gave up. Nomination decided. What happens now in remaining states with primaries doesn't matter.

Democratic presidential nomination: Hillary Clinton, though actually with a surer path to nomination than Trump had on the Republican side before Cruz bowed out, failed to knock Bernie Sanders out of the way. She really didn't try very hard in Indiana, already pivoting toward a general election battle with Trump. Clinton didn't spend a cent on TV in Indiana (compared to nearly \$2 million spent by Sanders) and didn't spend much time campaigning here either. Sanders won, though not with a margin needed to claim a big delegate victory or keep Clinton from the nomination. "I've got some bad news for her," Sanders said. He did. He will stay around, with some momentum, as both he and Trump go after Clinton.

Governor: Gov. Mike Pence, facing a tough race for reelection, didn't help himself by jumping on the Cruz bandwagon just as it was careening toward disaster. His widely ridiculed weak endorsement, actually only saying he was going to vote for Cruz and only after praising Trump, displeased both sides. Trump supporters wanted him to stay out of the presidential nomination contest. Cruz supporters wanted something more than a namby-pamby statement. This pleasing of neither side is reminiscent of the way Pence managed to do that in the religious freedom bill controversy and on some other issues as well. The governor race with Democrat John Gregg will be a referendum on Pence, who now needs clear stands that at least will alienate only one side on an issue.

U.S. Senate: In the race between two congressmen for the Republican nomination for the Senate, Todd Young won a landslide victory over Marlin Stutzman. This was bad news for Democrats who hoped to have Stutzman, the Tea Party favorite, as a target in the fall. They thought he would prove to be another Richard Mourdock, self-destructing in the fall the way Murdock did in losing to Democrat Joe Donnelly in the 2012 Senate race. However, Stutzman self-destructed in the primary with organization and strategy decisions compounded by revelations about questionable expenditures.

I thought back last summer that Young likely would be the next U.S. senator from Indiana if he could win the Republican primary. He did and will be regarded as the favorite to defeat Baron Hill, who won the Democratic nomination unopposed. Hill could defeat Young, however, if he gets strong party support and also some help from Trump.

Will Trump be the disaster much of the Republican establishment fears? If so, Hill can win. If Trump instead continues to confound political wisdom and runs strong, Democratic hopes for Senate wins in Indiana and some other states as well will be dashed. ❖

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

Fear and Loathing on the campaign trail '16

"The whole framework of the presidency is getting out of hand. It's come to the point where you almost can't run unless you can cause people to salivate and whip on each other with big sticks. You almost have to be a rock star to get the kind of fever you need to survive in American politics."

— **Hunter S. Thompson**, "Fear and Loathing on the Campaign Trail (1972)"

By **LARRY J. SABATO**

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. — Probably our only real chance to understand today's bizarre quest for the White House died with Hunter Thompson. Booze and acid fueled his writing, but piercing insight made his work timeless. A good bit of what he penned applies to the 2016 contest shaping up between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump.

Imagine how Thompson would have skewered Hillary and The Donald! After all, Thompson (pictured) could call Hubert Humphrey, a good man who got caught up in a bad war, "a treacherous, gutless old ward-heeler who should be put in a goddamn bottle and sent out with the Japanese current."

As we watch with dismay the bitter, riot-inducing, slash-and-burn politics of 2016, fear and loathing is returning with a vengeance.

We're left to our own devices to project this autumn's gathering storm. The full picture is unknown as May dawns. Impressive as Bernie Sanders' insurgency has been, the nomination will belong to Hillary Clinton — assuming the FBI doesn't intervene. But will Sanders' passionate troops ever embrace and work for a conventional politician many have grown to dislike intensely? With sky-high unfavorable ratings that aren't all that much better than Trump's, how can Clinton turn around a public that clearly dislikes and mistrusts her? Her minimal political skills and inability to inspire voters contrast sharply with Trump's nerve and verve. As controversial as he is, few presidential candidates have equaled Trump's fire on the stump. His millions of ardent followers have practically created a cult.

After months of obsessing over the delegate math, Ted Cruz's exit from the race has rendered the calculations moot. John Kasich remains in the race, but he's a minor candidate at this point. However, Trump starts the general election race in a precarious position. How will Trump reconcile the rest of the party to his leadership? The early signs are ominous. The Republican Party's

intellectual core is mainly irretrievably hostile; some (such as widely-read columnist George Will) have called for an active conservative effort to produce a 50-state defeat for Trump.

A handful of elected officials have come aboard the Trump bandwagon, but mainly there is public silence and private anguish. Major corporations that usually spend lavishly on conventions, and scores of senior politicians sharing a ballot with Trump, may avoid Cleveland altogether.

Another key unknown is whether the universe of candidates expands. Will a "real Republican" ticket file to give disillusioned conservatives the incentive to vote — and thus possibly save a GOP Senate and House, because they will join most of Trump's voters in backing down-ballot Republicans? Will the Libertarian, Constitution, and Green parties find a way to take advantage of the major-party turmoil to expand their turf? Could this splintering produce a plurality president with well under 50% support

in the electorate — or even, as improbable as it seems now, throw the election into the House of Representatives? We would bet against it, but

months ago we couldn't fathom that Donald Trump would be the Republican nominee.

Our views on the Electoral College outcome of a Clinton-Trump matchup haven't changed since we published our "Trumpmare" map a month ago. If anything, we wonder whether our total of 347 EVs for Clinton to 191 EVs for Trump

is too generous to the GOP.

Still, party polarization will probably help Trump. In the end, millions of Republicans will hold their nose and vote against Hillary and for Trump, just as millions of Democrats will put aside their hesitations about Clinton to stop Trump. Negative partisanship — casting a ballot mainly against the other party's nominee rather than for your party's candidate — will be all the rage in November. This will be especially likely after the vicious scorched-earth campaign on both sides that is coming. Someone could make a fortune at polling places selling clothespins for the nostrils.

However, we do recognize at least some upset potential in Trump. Third terms for the White House party are difficult to secure. President Obama is, more or less, at 50% job approval — pretty good, in fact, for this president. But an unexpected economic plunge, major terrorist success, international crisis, or serious scandal could subtract critical percentage points from Clinton. Voters are not inclined to give her the benefit of the doubt, so intertwined is her fate with Obama's, and so fixed is her scarred image after decades in the hothouse of politics.

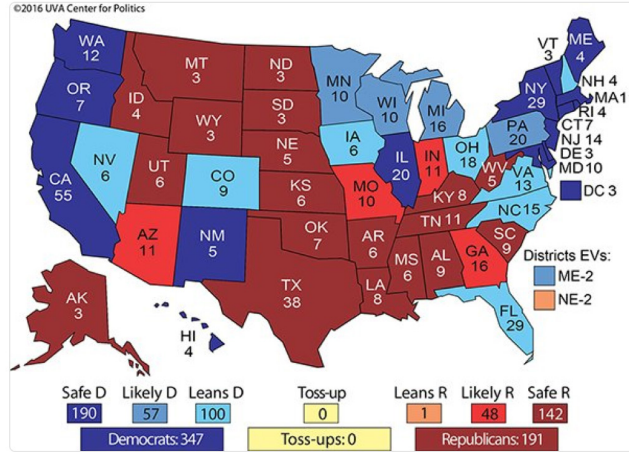
Just as important, Clinton can lose if she and her team smugly take victory for granted. You are halfway



to losing when you think you can't lose. Students of President Lyndon Johnson's campaign against the doomed Barry Goldwater recognize that LBJ wouldn't let his lieutenants rest on favorable polls; he ran a superb if brutal effort against Goldwater, and never let up.

Much the same was true for President Nixon in 1972. While he and his team schemed to insure George McGovern became his opponent, using dirty tricks against some of McGovern's Democratic foes, Nixon had tasted defeat and near-defeat too often in his career to rest easy for even a day. Will overconfidence generated by favorable surveys cripple the Clinton campaign? Trump has forced the political world to ingest a sizable dose of humility.

Even many of political science's much-vaunted statistical models that attempt to predict election results



cannot account for a candidate like Trump — either because he overrides or suspends some of the normal "rules" of politics, or because he proves that parties do not always nominate electable candidates.

The stakes are high in any presidential election, but for once, that old standby, "this is the most important election of our lifetime" may actually be true. In addition to the candidates' dramatically different visions of foreign, domestic, economic, and social policies, the

future of the Supreme Court is on the line — and maybe the shape or very existence of the Republican Party as well. Given the mood of Americans, one song with no chance of a comeback in 2016 is Bobby McFerrin's "Don't Worry, Be Happy."

Back to the future with Fear and Loathing on the Campaign Trail: "Jesus! Where will it end? How low do you have to stoop in this country to be President?" Mr. Thompson, we're about to find out. ❖

Photography With Punch
A Fresh Look At Indiana Politics
Through The Lens Of Mark Curry
 mark1tcphotography@gmail.com
<http://mark1tc.smugmug.com/Political/>

Gary Welsh, Advance Indiana: If I'm not around to see the vote results, my prediction is that Trump wins Indiana with just shy of 50% of the vote, but he will carry every single congressional district and sweep the delegate race, assuming the party-chosen delegates honor their rules-bound commitment to support the winner on the first ballot. ❖

William Kristol, Weekly Standard: Donald Trump awakened this morning to a Wall Street Journal editorial, "The Third-Party Temptation," warning against the search for an independent candidate who "would give conservatives an honorable alternative to Trump-Hillary." The Journal in effect called on all concerned to (grudgingly) accept the choice of "the millions of Republicans who have voted for Mr. Trump." Trump wasted no time in showing that the Journal is wrong. He reminded us why serious people, including serious conservatives, cannot acquiesce in Donald Trump as their candidate. Calling in to Fox and Friends, Donald Trump, as Politico summarized it, "alleged that Ted Cruz's father was with John F. Kennedy's assassin shortly before he murdered the president, parroting a National Enquirer story claiming that Rafael Cruz was pictured with Lee Harvey Oswald handing out pro-Fidel Castro pamphlets in New Orleans in 1963." Here's Trump in his own crazed words: "His father was with Lee Harvey Oswald prior to Oswald's being — you know, shot. I mean, the whole thing is ridiculous. What is this, right prior to his being shot, and nobody even brings it up. They don't even talk about that. That was reported, and nobody talks about it. I mean, what was he doing — what was he doing with Lee Harvey Oswald shortly before the death? Before the shooting? It's horrible." What's horrible is a leading presidential candidate trading in crackpot conspiracy theories. This is the same man who, in the previous presidential campaign cycle, trafficked in conspiracy theories about Barack Obama's birth certificate. This is a man whose temperament and character render him unfit to be president of the United States—whether or not he succeeds in securing the nomination of one of our two major political parties. Donald Trump should not be president of the United States. The Wall Street Journal cannot bring itself to say that. We can say it, we do say it, and we are proud to act accordingly. ❖



Andrew Sullivan, New York Magazine: Could it be that the Donald has emerged from the populist circuses of pro wrestling and New York City tabloids, via reality television and Twitter, to prove not just Plato but also James Madison right, that democracies "have ever been spectacles of turbulence and contention ... and have in general been as short in their lives as they have been violent in their deaths"? Is he testing democracy's singular weakness — its susceptibility to the demagogue — by

blasting through the firewalls we once had in place to prevent such a person from seizing power? Or am I over-reacting? ❖

Thomas Friedman, New York Times: Like many others, I watched the video that President Obama showed at the White House Correspondents' Dinner on Saturday of him inviting former House Speaker John Boehner over to solicit his advice on what Obama should do post-presidency. It was remarkable to see the real Boehner and the real Obama acting like best buddies in the White House movie theater. Boehner even tells Obama that he finally got a "grand bargain" — only it was on a Chevy Tahoe, not the one they tried to negotiate on the economy. I watched that video with Chuck Todd, the host of "Meet the Press," and he had the exact same reaction I had: "Where was that brotherly love when America needed it" for a real grand bargain? That scene plucked the deepest emotional chord in the country today: The nonstop fighting between our two political parties has left many Americans feeling like the children of two permanently divorcing parents. The country is starved to see its two major parties do big hard things together again. And getting a glimpse — even just a pretend one — of Obama and Boehner teaming up reminds you what's been lost. I think what's propelling Donald Trump's success more than anything is the feeling of many Americans that our politics are totally stuck. There is an overwhelming sense of "stuckness" — and the fantasy that Trump plays to, and plays up, is that he can pull the sword from the stone and do deals. ❖

Dana Milbank, Washington Post: Carly, we hardly knew ye. A week ago, Carly Fiorina was in a good position to enjoy the sheen of respectability she had acquired. The former Hewlett-Packard chief had run a solid presidential campaign and established herself as an adroit debater who could cut Donald Trump down to size. Then, on Wednesday, she became Ted Cruz's vice-presidential "nominee" — accepting a nomination Cruz had no authority to bestow. In a case of exceptionally bad timing, Fiorina hitched herself to Cruz at precisely the moment his candidacy began to implode, as polls showed him fading in must-win Indiana before Tuesday's vote. Fiorina's previous criticism of Cruz and her checkered record at HP were again in the news. And now, alas, so is her singing: "I know two girls that I just adore, I'm so happy I can see them more, Because we travel on the bus all day, We get to play, we get to play." Fiorina sang these words to Cruz's two daughters in her "acceptance" speech. The eerie crooning, of the type heard in horror movies before something bad happens, made Fiorina a late-night sensation. "It's like Disney gave the wicked stepmother her own song," Stephen Colbert observed. ❖

Claybourn gives up delegate spot

EVANSVILLE – City Council attorney Josh Claybourn will relinquish his spot as an at-large Indiana Republican delegate at July’s GOP convention in Cleveland. His reason? Donald Trump. In a statement issued to CNN, Claybourn said he will “neither vote for, nor in any way support, Mr. Trump.” Claybourn’s decision comes a day after Sen. Ted Cruz dropped out of the presidential race, and mere hours after Trump’s final opponent, Ohio Gov. John Kasich, did the same. “(Trump) opposes free trade, he’s skeptical of free speech and free association, he peddles fear and mean-spirited insults, and he lacks a mature temperament needed at home and abroad,” the statement reads in part. “... Donald Trump’s supporters hope for a better America and I share that hope. However, I believe a Trump presidency would bring less peace, more economic hardship, and a greater deterioration of freedom and respect. I cannot in good conscience attend a convention supporting him.”



Bush42 and 43 won’t endorse Trump

HOUSTON – For the first time since his own presidency, George H.W. Bush is planning to stay silent in the race for the Oval Office — and the younger former president Bush plans to stay silent as well (Washington Post). Bush 41, who enthusiastically endorsed every Republican nominee for the last five election cycles, will stay out of the campaign process this time. He does not have plans to endorse presumptive GOP nominee Donald Trump, spokesman Jim McGrath told The Texas Tribune. “At age 91, President Bush is retired from politics,” McGrath wrote in an email Wednesday. “He came out of retirement to do a few things for Jeb, but those were the exceptions that proved

the rule.” His son Jeb Bush dropped out of the GOP presidential race in February. Bush 43, meanwhile, “does not plan to participate in or comment on the presidential campaign,” according to his personal aide, Freddy Ford.

More Republicans won’t endorse

NEW YORK – Senator Kelly Ayotte of New Hampshire, who is in a tough re-election race, signaled that she would “support” Mr. Trump but not “endorse” him, as a spokeswoman put it, a rhetorical contortion that other Republicans repeated privately. Representative Raúl R. Labrador of Idaho, a staunch conservative, said he would support Mr. Trump but derided him for “not knowing much about the Constitution or politics.” Former Gov. Bob Martinez of Florida, who retains a strong network of donors, said he would raise money for Mr. Trump but was unsure about his proposals, like temporarily banning foreign Muslims from entering the United States.

Coats, Young eye Trump nominee

INDIANAPOLIS — U.S. Sen. Dan Coats, R-Ind., still wants the next president to fill the empty seat on the U.S. Supreme Court — even if that president is Donald Trump, the presumptive Republican nominee (Carden, NWI Times). Spokesman Matt Lahr said Wednesday that Coats has not changed his mind about the need to wait until after the November election and January inauguration of a new president to replace the late Justice Antonin Scalia. “Sen. Coats continues to believe the right thing to do is to give the American people a voice in the selection of their next Supreme Court justice,” Lahr said. On March 16, President Barack Obama, a Democrat, nominated for the Supreme Court Merrick Garland, chief judge of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. U.S. Rep.

Todd Young who won the Republican nomination to succeed Coats on Tuesday, agrees a new justice should only be seated after the election.

Sanders sues Marion County

INDIANAPOLIS – Bernie Sanders may have won Indiana’s Democratic presidential primary, but an Election Day lawsuit alleged the Vermont senator may have lost some votes after a Marion County poll failed to open on time (King, IndyStar). Bernie 2016 Inc., Sanders’ campaign operation, went to court late Tuesday afternoon seeking extended voting hours at a polling site, alleging the polls didn’t open until 7:15 a.m., or 75 minutes late. The location is just a mile west of the Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis campus, which was considered a stronghold by the campaign’s local attorney, Jon Little. Some potential voters left, and one woman swore in an affidavit.

3rd CD nominee lives in hotel

FORT WAYNE — Tommy Schrader clinched the Democratic nomination in the 3rd District Congressional race in Tuesday’s primary. Wednesday was a day of celebration for Schrader (WANE-TV). “Drinking a couple of beers to be honest, and if you don’t like that don’t vote for me,” Schrader said. “I had a smile because I had a feeling I was going to win.” “Tommy Schrader is an honest guy that wants to work for a living. He’s a hard worker,” the man running for Congress said. He described himself as a conservative Democrat who is pro-life, supports raising the minimum wage and supports LGBT issues. “It’s in my blood,” Schrader said about his political ambitions. Unemployed today, he said he’s trying to get an apartment so he can move out of the Coliseum Inn in Fort Wayne. “It’s kind of hard to manage money when you smoke and you drink beer and [live in] hotel rooms,” Schrader said.