

Little chance for House majority shift

5 tossup races, 6 in 'leans' leave Democrats with little chance of regaining majority

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The Indiana House Republican super majority could be hanging in the balance on Nov. 8, but Speaker Brian Bosma isn't going to be losing too much sleep over the notion of a "Speaker Scott Pelath," even if a Trumpian disaster unfolds for the GOP.

The Indiana House Horse Race begins with five seats in the "tossup zone," all held by Republicans. In addition, there are another five seats that in a neutral political year would "lean Republican" (and one Democratic seat) but could be susceptible to an anti-Trump wave impacting down-ballot races.

With Republicans holding a towering 71-29 advantage, at this first analysis, the super majority status could be in jeopardy by Democrats picking up four



House Speaker Brian Bosma talks with Minority Leader Scott Pelath, but there seems little chance the two will swap positions. (HPI Photo by Mark Curry)

seats. A clean sweep would put Republican control in the 60-40 range, something the GOP achieved in the 2010

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Donald's wild, wild ride

By **CAMERON CARTER**

MONTICELLO, Ind. – I know, I know; you want to read another piece on Donald Trump about as much as I want to write one, but grant this one accommodation to our shared political reality. We're going to be hearing and seeing and reading A LOT about "The Donald" over the next six months as he heads first to the GOP convention in Cleveland this summer and then to televised debates this fall with Hillary Clinton. Buckle up, buttercup, it's going to be a wild, wild ride.

Grant this as well; all of the political soothsayers, all of the yammering heads on TV, all of the campaign pros, even the new class of predictive political



"He's more qualified in the sense that the American people want an outsider. She's not an outsider. She's not qualified and he is."

- Former Vice President Dan Quayle, endorsing Donald Trump this morning on NBC's 'Today Show'





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data geek-demigod-gurus (e.g., Nate Silver), got Trump's rise wrong, dead wrong. Their conventional wisdom told us that Trump would never be the Republican nominee, so we need not worry about this boorish ignoramus becoming the next leader of the free world.

Wrong. Dead wrong. Worry is of no use at this time.

How'd they get it so wrong? And, why is Donald Trump, a man unfit to serve as president by temperament and training, likely – yes, likely – to become our next commander in chief? Theories abound, but I think it comes down to isolation, the power of modern celebrity, and the ineffectiveness of the GOP as both a governing party and loyal opposition to President Obama. In Indiana's primary last week, we saw all these forces culminate in Trump as the presumptive Republican nominee.

A fish does not know it is in water, and it is this phenomenon primarily that led to the political class being blindsided by the Donald (and perhaps to an even greater extent, Bernie Sanders, whose time in the sun is, alas, coming to an end). This class is isolated by geography, income, and everyday activities from the concerns of the hoi polloi. Wherever located, they are isolated at the far end of the bell curve from the concerns of average Americans, whose income has not risen in real terms in more than a decade. They live and breathe politics whereas the average American is mostly far removed from politics and simply wants space to live and breathe.

Polling data have shown the country's "right track/wrong track" numbers severely upside down for many years and President Obama has proven to be a polarizing figure during his tenure. Our catatonic Congress is less popular than genital warts. The conditions were ripe for a political "revolution"; all it needed was a leader.

By definition, that leader was not going to come from this class with which the American people are so frustrated. However, an "outsider" would fit the bill nicely and many stepped forward in 2015 to claim the mantle.

Presidential aspirants begin with a small base of support, an itch to run and encouragement from those around them (remember the fish). However, their aspirations in a "yuuge" diverse country of 320 million people are mostly delusional, even for well-regarded, long-serving



public officials. They run to serve, they run to promote an issue (or a book), they run to stroke their egos, but mostly they just run and, like many a marathoner, they hit a wall.

The national infrastructure needed to mount a successful presidential campaign is daunting. The ability to pierce the public consciousness in a nation so vast and diverse – whose modern, disintegrating media is even more vast and diverse – is simply beyond the capabilities of most campaigns. Unless they are already a celebrity, a brand, like Donald Trump.

Trump's national following as a reality TV star developed over decades as a self-promoting real estate developer, casino magnate and book author. Like it or not, Trump is an eponymous brand in the American psyche, has been for years, and he's far from bland. Blandness is Kryptonite to a national candidate in today's media mix and the more experienced, sober and thoughtful candidate will always struggle against the bomb-thrower and the demagogue. It

has ever been so throughout history. Trump's trump card was ... Trump!

Finally, Trump sensed the void in a political party that has been riven by factionalism and fanaticism to its detriment and potential demise. During my entire political career which began in the Reagan era, the GOP has been an unstable alliance between fiscal hawks and social conservatives. One wing is laissez faire whose economic doctrine extends to noninterference in the social affairs of others (both figuratively and literally) while the other wing would like to regulate personal morals and social conduct, even to the extremes of dictating the precise time and place one may poop or carry (or not) a child to term, regardless of circumstance. Not much common ground there to discuss at the Lincoln Day dinner table.

This friction between those attracted to the Republican Party for entirely different reasons has led to internal clashes that are increasing in frequency, seriousness and result (see Lugar, Richard G.). While this plays out nationally, we in Indiana have seen it up close and personal during the Pence years as debates over gay rights, abortion and other "social" issues (e.g., needle exchanges) have played an out-sized role in Hoosier politics. At the same time, the doctrine of laissez faire economics seems to have played out and what is simple in theory

gets complex when applied in the real world; the same can be said for social issues. The GOP needs new ideas and new leaders. Into the breach steps Donald Trump, who will now be the standard-bearer for a party that is struggling with its 21st century identity and very survival; call it end-state Republicanism.

Trump is a crass celebrity who exploited the GOP's internal divisions and will exploit the wider public's abiding discontent with politicians unable to provide answers to economic distress and uncertainty. His policies are all over the map, but we should have learned by now not to underestimate his appeal or ability.

Donald Trump is in a statistical tie with the deeply flawed Hillary Clinton in new polling in the swing states of Pennsylvania and Florida. He's leading her in the swing state of Ohio. We have seen his type before, only less crass, but equally brash in his own, mellifluous way. That person, too, was an unlikely victor over Hillary Clinton and calls 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue his home. ❖

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wave year. Another three Republican seats are "likely" for the incumbent. The rest are considered "safe" for incumbents.

So it would take a colossal 1964 type national wave to move the majority from Republicans to Democrats. If that dynamic takes place, we'll reevaluate the list that currently includes 18 uncontested Republican seats and 14 for the Democrats. The parties have until late June to slate candidates.

Most of the challengers don't have credible funding at this point.

Here is our initial horse race breakdown of races:

HD4: Rep. Ed Soliday (R) v. Pamela Fish (D). Primary: Fish defeated Jesse Harper 4,246 to 3,838. **Outlook:** Soliday easily won what was supposed to be a tough race in 2014, defeating Debora Porter 9,885 to 7,934. Soliday also had a tough race in 2012, defeating Gregory Sims by just 971 votes. This is a House seat that could come into play if Gov. Mike Pence tanks and Re-



publican presidential candidate Donald Trump becomes so toxic that it produces down-ballot carnage. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Soliday.

HD7: Open. Justin Chupp (R) v. Joe Taylor III (D). In the seat vacated by State Rep. David Niezgodski, Chupp polled 5,920 primary voters and Taylor 5,495. **Outlook:** Democrats should hold on to this open seat. Niezgodski easily dispatched Libertarian Mark Vogel in 2014. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Taylor.

HD11: Rep. Mike Aylesworth (R) v. James Metro (D). Outlook: This is a rematch. In 2014, Aylesworth (pictured) defeated Metro 8,526 to 6,511. A general election year should be better for Metro and this could be a Democrat pickoff if Donald Trump proves to be a toxic ticket standard bearer and there is carnage down ballot for Republicans. Having said that, Rick Niemeyer carried the seat by just under 6,000 votes in 2012, though the Niemeyer brand in Lake County accounted for some of that plurality. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Aylesworth.



HD12: Rep. Bill Fine (R) v. Mara Candalaria Reardon. Primary:

Reardon polled 8,179 votes to 5,835 for Fine. **Outlook:** Fine upset Reardon 7,341 to 6,921. But the Democrat should do better in this general election cycle, so this seat is in play. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

HD17: Open. Michelle Livinghouse (D) v. Jack Jordan (R). **Primary:** Jordan defeated Jesse Bohannon 6,381 to 5,049. **Outlook:** In the open seat of retiring Rep. Timothy Harman, who ran unopposed in 2014. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Jordan.

HD19: State Rep. Julie Olthoff (R) v. Shelli VanDenburgh. **Primary:** Olthoff polled 7,771 to VanDenburgh's 7,6746 in their respective primaries. **Outlook:** In this rematch, Olthoff defeated VanDenburgh 7,146 to 6,834. Like HD12, the Democrat should do better in the general election cycle. In 2012, VanDenburgh beat Rev. Ron Johnson of the Indiana Pastors Alliance by more than 3,000 votes. Olthoff could also be at a disadvantage in an anti-Trump wave year for the Democrats. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

HD20: Open. Karen Biernacki (D) v. Jim Pressel (R). This is the seat being vacated by State Rep. Tom Dermody. **Outlook:** Dermody was unopposed in 2014 and won in 2012 by more than 5,000 votes. Biernacki is the longtime leader of Family Advocates in LaPorte and has been critical of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act. She is also critical of recent education reforms, calling it "privatization is profitization." Pressel owns a home building firm. "As an owner of a small business, I know how important it is to have sound leaders who know how to lead in a rapidly changing economy," Pressel said. "We need a smaller government that works to keep money in the taxpayers' hands, not in the government's. I will focus on creating higher-paying jobs and making sure we have great local schools." But with the seat open, this could be a chance for a Democratic pick up, again, if Trump produces a national wave for Democrats. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

HD21: Rep. Timothy Wesco (R) v.

Cash On Hand In Key House Races

	Republican	Democrat
HD 4	Soliday (I) \$34,064	Fish \$614
HD 7	Chupp \$810	Taylor \$4,175
HD 11	Aylesworth (I) \$2,520	Metro \$1,845
HD 12	Fine (I) \$9,930	Reardon \$4,283
HD 17	Jordan \$4,850	Livinghouse \$4,197
HD 19	Olthoff (I) \$7,476	VanDenburgh \$6,375
HD 20	Pressel \$7,214	Biernacki \$9,306
HD 21	Wesco (I) \$7,516	Buoscio \$4,382
HD 26	Siegrist \$5,013	Woeste \$5,574
HD 34	Shank \$58	Errington (I) \$8,998
HD 42	Morrison (I) \$2,845	Skinner \$27,950
HD 56	Hamm (I) \$5,132	Chasteen \$0
HD 70	Engleman \$200	Sellers \$12,879
HD 72	Clere (I) \$23,602	Bonifer \$1,495
HD 77	Kincaid \$695	Hatfield \$3,843
HD 87	Eckert \$10,685	Hale (I) \$52,849
HD 89	Kirchhoffer (I) \$13,609	Burke \$159
HD 92	Moulton \$22	Macer (I) \$19,962
HD 97	Nye \$0	Moed (I) \$19,446

Jodi Buoscio (R). **Outlook:** This is a rematch, with Wesco easily defeating the Elkhart Memorial HS teacher in 2014, 7,481 to 3,689. Wesco was unopposed in 2012. This seat is worth watching in case there is a perceptible anti-RFRA wave. Wesco authored that controversial law, but this is a very conservative, Republican district. Again, an anti-Trump wave could put it in play, but it's way too early to tell at this point. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Wesco.

HD26: Open. Victoria Woeste (D) v. Tippecanoe County Councilwoman Sally Siegrist (R). This is the seat being vacated by State Rep. Randy Truitt (R). **Primary:** Woeste defeated Deanna McMillan 2,708 to 1,913. Siegrist defeated Gerry Keen 4,046 to 2,402. **Outlook:** Truitt ran unopposed in 2014, but in 2012, he won reelection by just over 1,200 votes. This is a nominally Republican district, but Democrats could be competitive if Gov. Pence and Trump are in trouble next fall. Siegrist approached Woeste about a mutual positive campaign pledge, which Woeste refused. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Siegrist.

HD42: State Rep. Alan Morrison (R) v. Tim Skinner (D). **Outlook:** Morrison turned back what was considered to be a credible challenge from educator Mark Spelbring, 9,224 to 7,193, in what turned out to be a Republican year. In 2012, Morrison defeated Spelbring by just 106 votes. Morrison now faces former senator Skinner, and this has all the signs of a battleground seat. Skinner has a \$27,950 to \$2,845 money advantage over Morrison. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

HD56: State Rep. Dick Hamm (R) v. Karen Chasteen (D). **Outlook:** What would a general election battleground list be without Dick Hamm? The Republican has held this seat for two cycles after several unsuccessful attempts, including the 2014 rematch with former Rep. Phil Pflum, 5,782 to 3,266. In 2012, Hamm beat Pflum by just 1,100 votes. But the Democrat should find a better environment this cycle, Richmond has a new Democratic mayor, and a toxic Trump atmosphere could

play a key role here. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Hamm.

HD62: State Rep. Jeff Ellington (R) v. Steve Lindsey (D). **Primary:** Ellington defeated Sawyer Sparks 6,871 to 4,066 in the Republican primary. **Outlook:** Ellington, who was selected to finish the term of State Rep. Matt Ubelhor, will face former Democrat Greene County Commissioner Steve Lindsey. This district is competitive, with Ubelhor winning it by a little under 1,500 votes in 2012. So this is a potential wave year pickup for Democrats. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Ellington.

HD70: Open. Republican Karen Engleman (R) v. Heidi Cade Sellers (D). This is the seat being vacated by Republican State Rep. Rhonda Rhoades. **Outlook:** In 2014, Rep. Rhoades defeated Sellers by more than 3,000 votes. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Engleman.

HD72: State Rep. Ed Clere (R) v. Steve Bonifer (D). **Outlook:** Clere (pictured right) easily won this seat in 2014, but as we've said before, the seat could come into play in a toxic Trump environment. Clere won the seat by more than 2,500 votes in 2012. Clere also has fallen out of grace with Speaker Brian Bosma, who took away his Public Health Committee chair. HRCC should still be there if Clere is taking on water, but this is a race worth keeping an eye on if a Democratic wave develops. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Clere.

HD73: Rep. Steve Davisson (R) v. Doug Leatherbury (D). **Primary:** Davisson easily won a GOP primary battle over Paoli City Councilman Michael Harkness 7,789 to 3,020. He now faces Salem attorney Doug Leatherbury. In 2012, Davisson upset State Rep. Sandra Blanton 13,357 to 11,160, so this could be a seat susceptible to a Democratic wave. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Davisson.

HD77: Open. Johnny Kincaid (R) v. Rya Hatfield (D). **Primary:** Kincaid (2,847) defeated Billy Garrett (1,038) and Henrietta Jenkins (1,035). Democrat Ryan Hatfield (2,714) defeated Lori Sherman (2,506) and Brandon Ferguson (1,001). This is the seat being vacated by Democrat State Rep. Gail Riecken. **Outlook:** This Evansville-based seat is one the Democrats should hold. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Hatfield.



HD87: State Rep. Christina Hale (D) v. Connie Eckert (R). **Outlook:** This is an even district, with Hale defeating Republican Michael Friedman 8,236 to 7,746 in the Republican year of 2014. Hale upset State Rep. Cindy Noe by 50 votes in 2012. Hale benefited from a number of big Democratic guns who walked the district for her. She faces Eckert, a well-connected Republican from the Jugg's Catering family. This seat could take a dramatic turn if Democrat John Gregg selects Hale for the Democratic ticket. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Hale.

HD89: State Rep. Cindy Kirchhofer (R) v. Rachel Burke (D). **Outlook:** Kirchhofer held this seat in 2014, defeating Debra Jenkins 6,770 to 4,669. But this is a seat that is trending Democratic and this cycle should be kinder for a candidate like Burke. Kirchhofer ran unopposed in 2012. Kirchhofer attempted to be slated for an open Senate seat and now must defend. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

HD92: State Rep. Karlee Macer (D) v. Bradford Moulton (R). **Outlook:** This is a rematch in a race Macer won 5,374 to 4,814 in 2014. Macer won the seat in 2012, defeating Republican Tim Motsinger by 1,800 votes in 2012. This cycle should be better for the Democrat, but we include it in the case of a national wave year. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Macer.

HD97: State Rep. Justin Moed (D) v. Dale Nye (R). **Outlook:** Moed seems to have recovered from his embarrassing flirtation with a Southern Indiana vixen and Anthony Weiner scandalizer Sydney Leathers. Still, Moed won in 2014 by just 1,400 votes in a very Democratic district. This cycle should be better for him (he beat A.J. Feeney-Ruiz by 2,400 votes in 2012), but this is an outlier race we'll be watching. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Moed.

Contested primary results

HD2: Earl Harris Jr. (3,881) will follow his mother and father into the Indiana House after he defeated Tammi Davis (3,055), Drake Morris (1,177) and Rose Rodriguez (3,135 in the Democratic primary.

HD3: State Rep. Charlie Brown defeated Antuwan Clemons 7,816 to 2,899 in the Democratic primary.

HD24: State Rep. Donna Schaibley defeated Greg Fettig 8,085 to 6,987 in the Republican primary.

HD28: State Rep. Jeffrey Thompson defeated Luke Stephenson 10,734 to 5,462 in the Republican primary.

HD39: State Rep. Jerry Torr defeated Tom Linkmeyer 7,896 to 7,111 in the Republican primary.

HD47: John Young defeated Matt Prine 7,105 to 6,163 in the Republican primary.

HD50: State Rep. Dan Leonard defeated Ted Harber 7,809 to 4,556. Leonard faces Democrat Jorge Fernandez.

HD59: State Rep. Milo Smith defeated Bartholomew County Councilman Ryan Lauer and Bartholomew County Auditor Lew Wilson 5,882 to 4,825 to 1,745. Smith faces Democrat Bob Pitman, who defeated Dale Nowlin 2,472 to 2,117.

HD62: State Rep. Jeff Ellington defeated Sawyer Sparks 6,871 to 4,066. Ellington, who was selected to finish the term of State Rep. Matt Ubelhor, will face Democrat Steve Lindsey.

HD64: State Rep. Thomas Washburne defeated Ann Ennis 7,444 to 5,379.

HD65: Monroe County Councilman Chris May (5,487) defeated Republicans Jim Pfaff (2,355), Brown

Caucus Committees Cash on Hand as of April 8

Senate Majority Campaign Committee	\$565,373
Indiana Senate Democrat Committee	\$125,370
House Republican Campaign Committee	\$953,122
Indiana House Democratic Caucus	\$374,393

County Councilman Darren Byrd (1,303), Lawrence County Councilman Mark Mathis (1,655), Franklin Andrew (1,488) and Jacob Franklin (924). This is the seat being vacated by State Rep. Eric Koch, who won the SD44 nomination. May faces Democrat Chris Woods.

HD69: State Rep. Jim Lucas (R) defeated Nancy Franke 7,704 to 4,044.

HD70: Republican Karen Engleman will face Democrat Heidi Cade Sellers in the seat being vacated by Republican State Rep. Rhonda Rhoades.

HD85: State Rep. Casey Cox (4,214) was defeated in the Republican primary by Dave Heine (7,844). Denny Worman polled 1,158.

HD91: State Rep. Robert W. Behning defeated Republican Jim Grimes 5,511 to 3,406. ❖

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Pence on Trump: I've disagreed with GOP

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

SPEEDWAY – Just hours after 53% of Hoosier Republicans voted for Donald Trump in the decisive Indiana primary, Gov. Mike Pence and U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita lined up behind the Manhattan billionaire.

Pence said in Terre Haute on Thursday, "I'm going to campaign hard for the Republican nominee because Indiana needs a partner in the White House. I look forward to supporting our presumptive nominee. I think Donald Trump will do very well in the Hoosier State." And

Rokita, speaking to Rossville High School students on the same day, responded to a question, "I do support Donald Trump for president and that's because for no other reason than it's all relative to other choices in the race."



With these endorsements bring the inevitable questions. Trump has made a central premise of his candidacy a ban of all Muslims from entering the United States in the wake of a terror attack in San Bernardino. On Dec. 8, he called for "a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country's representatives can figure out what is going on." It was something he reiterated in March with NBC's Lester Holt, saying, "They're destroying Europe, I'm not going to let that happen to the United States."

The question to Pence and Rokita was this: "Do you support Donald Trump's proposed ban of all Muslims entering the United States?" And if so, could they cite a law, statute or U.S. Supreme Court decision that would allow a president to ban entry of someone based on their religious preference?

Pence's gubernatorial office offered no new quotes on Saturday, but referred back to a statement he made on Dec. 8 when he told the NWI Times, "I think comments that suggest that Muslims should be banned for the United States are offense and unconstitutional. The United States cannot and should not discriminate on the basis of religion. The free exercise of religions are at the very heart of our constitutional guarantee for all persons of this country."

Pence added, "I find those remarks to be offensive and unconstitutional." Today, Pence is now backing and offering to campaign for a presumed nominee with a central plank he finds "offensive and unconstitutional."

At his campaign kick off with Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb on Wednesday at Dallaria IndyCar Factory, HPI asked Pence specifically about Trump's proposed Muslim ban. He responded, "As you remember in my career, I have disagreed with Republican leaders many times. I've had more than a few battles with a Republican president over things like spending and big government policies. I am not immune in disagreeing with people with otherwise I support. I am supporting the presumptive nominee because I need a partner in the White House. I need a partner who will work with us to create jobs in Indiana."

There is, however, a sharp divide over differences on spending and budgets as opposed to a proposal that is blatantly unconstitutional.

In December 2014, the Washington Post asked Pence about the next Republican presidential nominee. The governor responded, saying he hoped that "a 'solutions conservative' with a record of policy reform originating in the states; a candidate versed in foreign affairs who envisions a muscular role for the United States in the world; and someone who is 'relentlessly optimistic' and capable of attracting new voters to the Republican Party as Ronald Reagan did a generation ago."

A case could be made that Trump is the antithesis of that description.

Rokita's press office deflected HPI's question, referring to a March 24 Kokomo Tribune article: (Rokita) said he would support the candidate despite his controversial statements on Muslims and immigration policy. "I think that's better than supporting a likely, if not potential, criminal, and it's better than endorsing a socialist," said Rokita, referencing Democratic candidates Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders. "Words are words and it's not my cup of tea. It's not how I conduct myself, hopefully you see that. But in terms of working with someone to get to these issues, I think I have a better chance of getting that done for us with Trump, far more than either one of the two Democrats, especially these two Democrats."

So Rokita, whose 4th CD is home to the Islamic Society of North America, hasn't addressed whether he supports the ban outright. His office ignored HPI requests for specifics on the Muslim ban.

Republicans, particularly those who endorse Trump and offer to campaign for him, will need to get used to this. Trump has made an array of controversial to outrageous statements and stances, including the deportation of 11 million illegal immigrants, to defaulting on the national debt, to flip-flops on abortion rights and tax cuts for the

wealthy.

On Wednesday, Trump demoted his proposed Muslim immigration ban to a mere "suggestion." In a radio interview with Fox News' Brian Kilmeade, Trump said, "We



Gov. Mike Pence and First Lady Karen head to a campaign kickoff rally in Speedway on Wednesday. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

have a serious problem. It's a temporary ban. It hasn't been called for yet. Nobody's done it. This is just a suggestion until we find out what's going on."

While some of these ideas poll well, he offers a policy kaleidoscope of moving goalposts where positions shift and morph, perhaps into an alternative universe. Down-ballot Republicans will likely find themselves hyper-extended as the press and constituents seek to know whether they stand with their nominee, and not knowing whether the nominee will shift his position down the road.

U.S. Sen. Marco Rubio on Feb. 27, while still in the presidential race, referenced Trump, saying, "There is a lunatic in North Korea with nuclear weapons. And some would say there's a lunatic trying to get ahold of nuclear weapons in America." Rubio also called Trump a "con artist."

Like Pence, Rubio is now "supporting the Republican nominee." CNN's Jake Tapper pressed Rubio this week on now backing a presumptive nominee who he had suggested was unfit for the office. "I know what I said during the campaign," Rubio responded. "I have enunciated those things repeatedly, and voters chose a different direction. I stand by the things that I said. But I'm not going to sit here now and become his chief critic over the next six months."

Weekly Standard columnist John McCormack observed, "Today, Rubio said that he wasn't backing away

from any of his remarks about Trump. But Rubio argued that because he signed the RNC pledge and because he doesn't want Hillary Clinton to win, he must support a man so unfit for office (who) can't be trusted with access to the nuclear football. What does Rubio's logic say about his own fitness for the highest office in the land? Nothing good."

Pence/Holcomb campaign kickoff

Pence and Lt. Gov. Holcomb used the Dallaria IndyCar Factory for his campaign kickoff, vowing to sharply contrast his record with Democrat John Gregg's. "My opponent says it's about my record," Pence said in front of several dozen supporters. "He's half right. It's about his record as well. John Gregg has a record. He spent 16 years at the Statehouse. His record couldn't be any more different than mine." Pence pointed out that as speaker, Gregg took a \$2 billion surplus and turned it into an \$800 million deficit, with delayed payments to local governments, schools and universities. The Gregg campaign responded, saying, "Earlier in his career John was instrumental in passing a \$410 million tax cut – the largest in Indiana history at the time. His record as a responsible fiscal steward is solid."

Pence said, "It's not just a choice between two candidates, but of two futures. Ladies and gentlemen, start your engines! This race is on!" ❖

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Money, super PACs and staff shakeup doomed Stutzman campaign

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS – Marlin Stutzman's second Senate race defeat came about in a kind of perfect storm scenario. He entered the race with the tacit promise of support from Club For Growth. He changed consulting teams at a time when the Donald Trump presidential campaign began impacting the race and there were communication and strategic differences prompting that Super PAC to stay on the sidelines, while Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell threw his machine into Todd Young's corner. Eric Holcomb left the race in March to become lieutenant governor. And the Associated Press ran two stories in the final two weeks of the campaign that left the three-term congressman with little time to react.

Essentially starved for money, it all crashed on May 3 with a 67-33% drubbing by fellow congressman Todd Young.

"It was Mitch McConnell and all that money that just came in," Stutzman told Howey Politics Indiana on Tuesday. "All of those negative ads. When you've got close to \$2.5 million in hard attacks against you, and not only did they do TV, they did the MeFirstMarlin website, they used digital in a really big way. It was just an attack. It was just 'Burn them down.'"

Stutzman said the Club For Growth decision not to bundle money for his campaign in a year-end money push last December, and then the decision to sit out the Senate race in early April was devastating.

"I am very disappointed and baffled by Club For Growth," Stutzman said. "I would not have run if I knew what Club For Growth was going to do. I knew I wasn't going to match Todd Young in fundraising head to head. We did OK, but I knew I wasn't going to beat him in fundraising. This is sort of the problem with the super PAC world because there is no coordination."

Stutzman said that two representatives from Club For Growth called him within 24 hours of U.S. Sen. Dan Coats' decision not to seek another term. Like State Sen. Mike Delph, who told HPI last summer that he talked with a number of super PACs before making a decision, Stutzman said he had those types of discussions before

declaring for the race. "I had several conversations with Club For Growth," Stutzman said. "Mike Delph went in and he decided not to split up the conservative base and run. Everyone told Mike Delph not to run, that they were going to support Marlin. The thing that is happening in campaigns, changing consultants midstream is not a big enough reason."

Politico obtained a memo from Club For Growth President David McIntosh citing "missteps" and "questionable spending" by the Stutzman campaign. "The PAC waited to make our endorsement because we had significant concerns about Stutzman's campaign structure and team and about his discipline as a candidate," McIntosh wrote. "We closely monitored public information released by and about his campaign for several months, and only then, after being reasonably satisfied with his campaign and personnel did the club's PAC make its endorsement."

The Politico story said that Stutzman's original consulting team was replaced after he and wife Christy wanted to stress his career as a farmer, citing one source who said, "You're not going to win a biography fight with a Marine. Marlin ran the exact race he wanted to run and that's the reason he lost." Young and his campaign repeatedly stressed his military career in the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps.

The McIntosh memo added, "Several news sources reported that he fired much of the campaign team in whom we had confidence and replaced them with others we did not. Further, the campaign's reported spending practices had become questionable. In response to these missteps and fearing that club members' donations would be misspent, the club's PAC made no fundraising solicitations for the Stutzman campaign starting in December 2015."



Stutzman defended his decision to change consultants, noting that Brooks Kochvar had moved to Idaho and had a newborn son. "There was very poor coordination," Stutzman said, telling HPI that in October, he decided to "start over." He said that it came as Donald Trump's candidacy was taking off, creating a different dynamic on the ground. "I felt like I needed someone who knew Indiana. It

couldn't be someone from Idaho, so that's why I went to Mike Gentry." He added that there was a "lack of synergy between Gentry's Mark It Red firm and FPI, so he opted for the Strategy Group for Media led by Rex Elsass, who also has counted Gov. Mike Pence and State Sen. Jim Banks as clients.

"It didn't affect our operations at all," Stutzman said. "Mark It Red came in and finished our signatures. I don't blame the consultants for our loss. What I do blame it on was we were outspent by Mitch McConnell and U.S.

Chamber of Commerce.”

Kochvar told Politico, “I’ve lived in Indiana, run winning campaigns in Indiana and know what it takes to win there. Christy and Marlin wanted to take the campaign in a different strategic direction, away from fundraising and communicating with the broader primary electorate about his conservative record. I disagreed, so I stepped away along with most of the rest of his team and wished him the best.” Another campaign aide who left, Brendan Del Toro, told HPI last fall that there was frustration within the consulting team after meetings with Stutzman and coming to decision, only to have Christy Stutzman advocate for other options.

The original alliance with Club For Growth proved to be a double-edged sword for Stutzman. Once signed on, he ended up as a bullseye for the McConnell alliances. “The U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the McConnell organization are very, very tight. This includes John Boehner,” said Stutzman, who voted against Boehner in his final election as speaker. “So they said, ‘We’re not going to let one of the guys who voted against John Boehner into the U.S. Senate.’”

Stutzman estimates that some \$7 million in Super PAC money from McConnell’s Senate Leadership Fund PAC and the U.S. Chamber aligned against him, swamping him with more than \$2 million in coordinated media against him. Stutzman said his campaign raised \$2.25 million. So four years after the 2012 U.S. Senate race involving Sen. Dick Lugar, Treasurer Richard Mourdock and Democrat John Donnelly roared through a combined \$50 million, with some \$30 million spent by super PACs, this year’s Senate race is already close to a \$10 million endeavor.

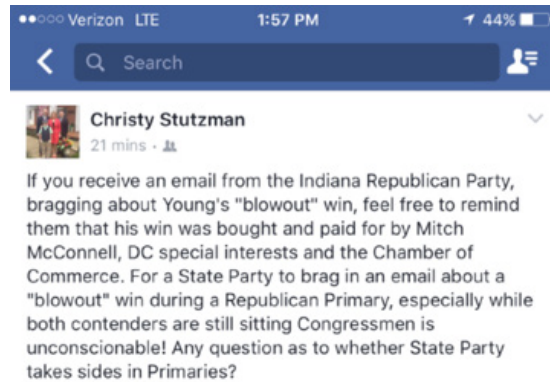
“They always say ‘we can’t promise you assistance’ which is correct,” Stutzman said. “That would be coordinating. They endorsed and then for them to do what they did, any candidate who has been endorsed by Club For Growth better have a second option. They put a target on me for McConnell. Club For Growth hung me out to dry.”

On top of all the Super PAC elements, Gov. Mike Pence’s decision to name Holcomb as lieutenant governor removed a crucial part of his original strategy. “That changed the dynamic,” Stutzman said. He believed that Holcomb and Young would carve up more of the “establishment” vote, giving him a path to victory. Stutzman said that he was disappointed that Pence did not make a courtesy call to him either before or after elevating Holcomb. “I think it would have been appropriate to make those phone calls,” said Stutzman, who had the backing of key Tea Party activists such as Monica Boyer.

Young goes on attack

Stutzman said he was surprised that Young “let the campaign go as negative as it did. It was to the point where they were doctoring photos of our vehicles. He tried to say I moved my family to Washington. I didn’t. We live in Howe.”

And Stutzman said he was disappointed that the Young campaign brought his family into the race. “I know it’s a tough business, but we weren’t even talking about the issues,” Stutzman said. “That’s what disappoints me. For a guy who talks policy a lot, he then conducts a campaign that wasn’t about policy at all. He brought my family into it. I never talked negatively about his family at all. They went after Christy.”



AP stories

Stutzman also believes that two late stories by Associated Press reporter Brian Slodysko, involving \$170,000 in campaign payments to his brother-in-law and a campaign trip with his family to California, were inaccurate and damning. “I believe he misled voters through his reporting,” Stutzman said. “That did have an effect on the race. What do you do about it when you’re two weeks from an election?”

What’s next

Stutzman will turn 40 this summer. He said he plans to finish his term and “spend more time at home. The plan is to raise more cattle on the farm. We’ll see where it goes after that.” So he’s not ruling out a return to politics, but right now there are no plans.

Stutzman first entered politics in 2002 when he entered the Indiana House. “For Christy and the boys, that’s all they’ve been around,” he said of his political career. “The boys want to stay put on the farm. It will be good to be in Howe full time and get more involved in the farming operation.”

Democrats push Young on Trump

The Indiana Democratic Party posted a notice on its website questioning GOP senatorial nominee Rep. Todd Young and his support for the presumed GOP presidential nominee Donald Trump. “From opposing education assistance to our brave veterans and service members to saying hateful and sexist things about women, Donald Trump is running a campaign that’s toxic and could put the nation and its well-being in jeopardy,” said Drew Anderson, communications director. “Todd Young has said he would support Trump as the presumptive Republican nominee – so does this mean even at the expense of the Americans who protect our nation? Hoosiers have the right to know if Marine and Congressman Todd Yong would still stand by Donald Trump.” ❖

GOP campaigns pale to Obama's efforts

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – After a grueling week of candidate rallies and speeches, I ended up on a friend's patio on the Sunday before the May 3 Indiana primary. Peering into the sky, a jet came into view and as it crossed the horizon, I could see a "T" logo on the tail wing. Donald Trump's corporate jet was on a descent, for a rally that evening in Terre Haute.

Trump won Indiana with 53% of the vote and he did it with bombastic rhetoric, an emphatic endorsement from Bobby Knight, an active Twitter account and impressive rallies in Indianapolis, Carmel, South Bend,

Evansville and Fort Wayne. That big victory overcame Indiana Republican Central Committee delegate selection that favored Ted Cruz and John Kasich. Cruz had what was to be a vaulted ground game, the endorsement of Gov. Mike Pence, a deal with John Kasich, a team of surrogates who barnstormed the state.

On the Democratic side, Hillary and Bill Clinton tag-teamed events, and the former secretary of state had establishment endorsements from the Democratic Party while she toured factories and an inner city park on the Sunday before the election. It was a half-hearted effort. Bernie Sanders had a spirited corps of volunteers and pulled off the signature rally on election eve on Monument Circle on his way to a come-from-behind 53-37% upset.

As fascinating as the 2016 presidential primary "show" was in Indiana, these four campaigns – five if you include the brief, beleaguered effort of Ohio Gov. John Kasich – paled when compared to the 2008 and 2012 campaigns of Barack Obama.

In early March, this publication contacted each of the five campaigns likely to play in Indiana: Please put us on your media list, and could we get a phoner with the candidate? This, coming from a political columnist reaching some 500,000 Hoosier readers a week (I've added WTHR-TV and the South Bend Tribune as media entities carrying my column in the past month). The Clinton and Marco Rubio campaigns had us on the media list early on, but none of the other candidates did. Trump would finally come through after the primary. Sitdowns or phone

calls with the candidates? Only a half dozen or so TV stations got such access. At a Cruz rally in Franklin, I asked a campaign operative, "What do I have to do to get on your media list?" She told me to send another email to the campaign.

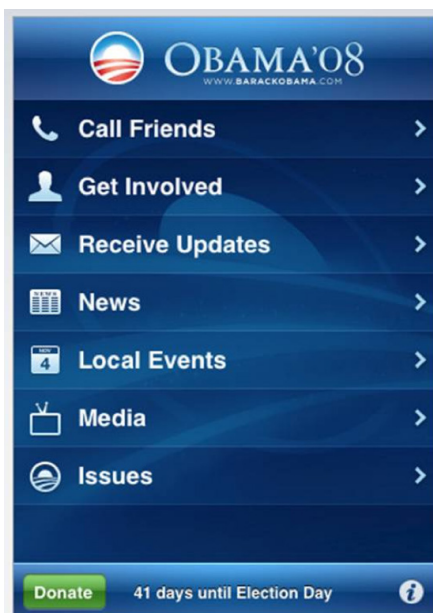
Even though Obama would lose the Indiana primary to Hillary Clinton by a mere 14,000 votes in May 2008, the campaign of the Illinois senator was breathtaking in its width, depth and scope. Leading into the primary, my Broad Ripple home had almost dozen "touches" from the Obama campaign, from phone calls, to volunteers knocking on my door, to literature left on the door step. There was a stream of messages coming in on Twitter and Facebook. I ran into former Fort Wayne Mayor Graham Richard, who toured Obama's Chicago campaign headquarters. He described himself as "blown away" by what he saw.

Obama invested heavily in Indiana and won a 1% victory over Republican John McCain that November. He opened 44 offices across the state, made 49 trips including the last of his campaign on Election Day, held five press conferences or briefings. I got a 15-minute exclusive phone interview. My email inbox was flooded with campaign advisories and schedules. Campaign manager David Plouffe parachuted in to survey the operations and talk with the press. And Obama built a rapport in Republican counties. The strategy delivered, with Republican strongholds like Noble County giving Obama 42% (30% in 2004 for John Kerry), LaGrange 39% (28% for Kerry in 2004), Steuben 45% (33% in '04), Kosciusko 39% (21% in 2004), Johnson 37% (26% in 2004) and Shelby 40% (28% in 2004). In Hamilton County, Obama polled 38%, up from the 25% that John Kerry received in 2004. It was a cunning strategy that cut into pluralities in traditionally the most Republican and conservative counties in the state. It was audacious.

"Were it not for the Internet, Barack Obama would not be president. Were it not for the Internet, Barack Obama would not have been the nominee," Huffington Post founder Ariana Huffington said, at the Web 2.0 Summit following the 2008 election. In 2008 Obama had 2 million Facebook friends, rising to 28 million in 2012 when a tepid recovery from the Great Recession of 2008-09 should have rendered him a one-term president. Instead, he won 51.06 to 47.21% over Mitt Romney, the first Democratic president since FDR to win more than 51% of the popular vote twice.

According to a Mashable story by Zoe Fox, the Obama campaign of 2008 had:

Twitter: Obama joined Twitter in March 2007 and by Election Day 2008, he was one of the most popu-



lar people on the microblog. He had more than 118,000 followers, while his Republican rival McCain had a mere 4,942. The Obama campaign would tweet several times each week. Though now this sounds like a small number, it showed a strong commitment to Twitter in the platform's early days.

YouTube: The Obama campaign used YouTube to spread 14.5 million hours of official video footage, all free. According to political consultant Joe Trippi, that quantity of visibility on network television would have cost \$47 million.

MySpace: Obama had about four times as many friends on MySpace as his competitor McCain (844,927 versus 219,404), a huge advantage, though not as pronounced as his Twitter lead.

My.BarackObama.com: Jumping on the social networking band wagon, the campaign created My.BarackObama.com, the first robust social platform for campaign supporters to engage with others on issues relating to the campaign. After Obama's victory, the campaign decided to keep the platform up and running. The campaign also used Change.gov, the official website, to ask citizens to share their stories and goals.

By 2012, Mashable reported that the Obama reelection campaign had embraced Dashboard, Instagram, Reddit AMA where 1.8 million people subscribed to that thread, Square which the campaign used to take donations via iPhones and Androids, along with Twitter, LinkedIn and Facebook town halls. The Obama campaign became the first presidential campaign to accept text message donations Aug. 23. Supporters can give up to \$50 by texting "GIVE" to 62262.

"Obama has a giant advantage in the social media sphere. He has so many more connected supporters than Mitt Romney does," Sam Graham-Felsen, the Obama campaign's blogging chief, told Mashable. "When there's a scandal or a gaff, such as the 47% comment, it's Barack Obama's supporters, not his staff, who are sending out that information to their networks of hundreds, if not thousands."

In the wake of his victory in 2008, Howey Politics Indiana reported in its Nov. 6 edition that year: "Indiana had a front row seat to the best candidate and campaign in modern American history. Obama was cool and calm, his rhetoric soared and inspired, and he drew hundreds of thousands of Hoosiers out of their homes and into the political public space."

Reporter Zoe Fox gave her "verdict," writing: "Obama 2008 and Obama 2012 exist in two very different

landscapes. In 2008, the Obama campaign emerged as an experimental innovator. By 2012, the merits of social media had been repeatedly proven. In sheer number of initiatives alone, Obama's 2012 team outdid its 2008 efforts by a landslide. The team embraced and harnessed the Internet's unique communities from Reddit to Pinterest to get its message across to the connected generation."

The 2008 Obama campaign took the lessons learned by the previous state-of-the-art campaign, the 2004 reelection of President George W. Bush, and created a political monster. In 2012, that Monster2.0 stole a presidential race from the Republicans.

In 2016, none of the Republican presidential campaigns has come even close to working with the news media and creating adjacent channels of communications and social media prowess. In the view of these Republicans, as Trump repeatedly advises, the news media is the "enemy." Ted Cruz routinely based the "liberal mainstream media." One is a "loser" today. The presumptive nominee Trump is just now seeking to update his financial apparatus and messaging beyond Twitter.

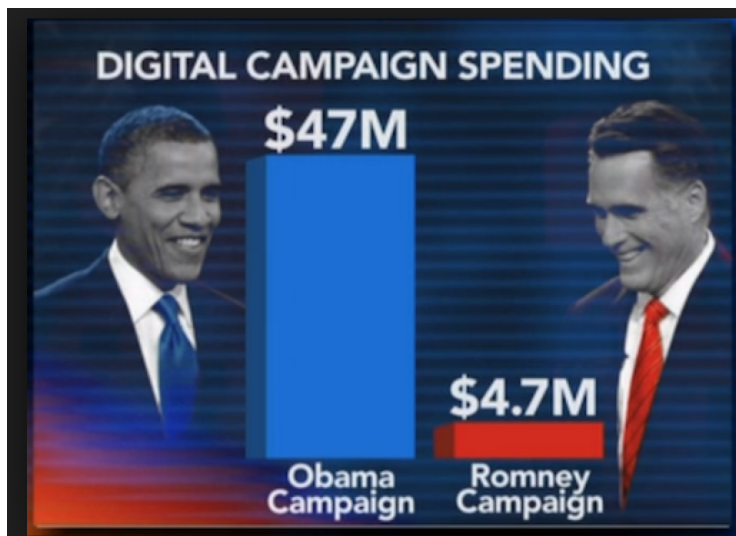
2 historically unfavorable nominees

Across both political parties, the paradox of two presumptive nominees emerging comes with some of the highest historic negatives and unfavorables in modern

American politics. Conservatives such as the Weekly Standard's Bill Kristol are flailing around, looking for a viable alternative who would face a gauntlet of time, lawyers and money to qualify on state ballots. NBC "Meet the Press" moderator Chuck Todd identified two potential paths, the moribund and snoozing Libertarian Party which doesn't appear to grasp the epic opportunity at hand for its nominee, former two-term New Mexico Gov. Gary Johnson, and a national write-in campaign.

The Libertarian Party just doesn't get it. A write-in campaign in the 43 states that provide for that option is perhaps the most viable option if it could find a viable candidate (i.e. Purdue President Mitch Daniels), and build the social media infrastructure over the next six months to pull it off. Most people Howey Politics has broached the idea with seem incredulous at the concept, or intimidated by the gigantic scope of the endeavor.

If only the 2008 Obama team was available on retainer. ❖



Living with Donald Trump in Indiana

By **MARK SOUDER**

FORT WAYNE – In one of the few seriously contested drawn out primary campaigns, we Hoosiers decided the Republican nomination. It would have been a great distinction if it hadn't been Trump.

But what's done, is done. Kind of. Actually, we are going to have to live with this for at least the rest of this political cycle. What impact will Indiana's gift to the American political system have going forward? While Donald Trump seems capable of filling any news cycle all by himself, political junkies and people who care about how our governments work will be carefully studying how the Donald impacts other races. Here are a few opening thoughts for Indiana.



Gov. Mike Pence: Conventional wisdom decided that the drop-off from the Republican presidential ballots to governor was bad news for Gov. Pence, and was because of his refusal

to buckle to the demands of those who disagreed over the LGBT rights issue. It was a large drop-off, but the reasons why cannot be determined with such certitude. I tested my theory that Trump voters were often Democrats who crossed over, saw no contest, so the only way to show they weren't for Pence was to skip voting for governor.

Exhibit A in my case is Lake County. In the contested primary of 2008 Lake had 130,000 Democrat voters versus 11,000 Republicans. In 2016 there were 76,000 versus 44,000. The ratio which was more than 11:1 in 2008 but less than 2:1 in 2016. There clearly was cross-over voting in an area where one would assume Trump appeal to Democrats. Other urban counties including Marion, Allen, St. Joseph, Elkhart, Vanderburgh and Hamilton generally had much smaller ratio changes, as did smaller counties.

In Lake there was a 36.4% drop-off in the gubernatorial race. Among other counties I looked at, the drop-offs ranged from 20.9% (Howard) to 27.9% (Rush). But the problem with my theory was that the drop-off percentages didn't correlate with the Trump vote percentage in enough cases to establish the point. But it did establish that there was even seemingly less correlation with the LGBT issue.

While Hamilton and Marion were to the high side of Pence drop-offs, so were more socially conservative counties. Inside counties, variations were even more astounding. Arguably the most socially conservative area in the socially conservative 3rd Congressional District is

Berne. There the Pence drop-off was over 30%. It certainly had nothing to do with the LGBT issue.

Undoubtedly the gubernatorial race will be close. In a close race, all issue dissension matters. This race will be decided mostly on economic issues, not social ones. But the issue that threatens Gov. Pence most is a potential lack of voting by Republicans disgusted by having Trump at the top of the ticket.

Senate nominee Todd Young: The incredible drubbing of another congressman, who had run a respectable previous statewide race, certainly strengthened the likelihood of candidate Todd Young becoming Senator Young. It wasn't just that Marlin Stutzman got less than 1/3 of the vote. He received less than 1/3 while winning roughly 2/3 in northeast Indiana. He was dragging near 20% in county after county. That is hard to do in a two-person race.

Having less money was a factor in Stutzman's not winning, but does not explain the thumping he received. Eric Miller received one-third against Mitch Daniels in 2004, and he was outspent as well. An inept campaign, questionable use of finances, and joining with the Democrats to sue to keep a fellow Republican off the ballot certainly didn't help Stutzman. It wasn't a referendum on him personally, but rather that his weakness as a candidate was exposed.

Most importantly, this it isn't 2010 anymore. Trump has helped collapse social conservatives, gun owners, and anti-government advocates as dominant in the Republican Party. Trump didn't exactly boost the Lugar-Daniels wing either. The core question is this: Is Trump a personal phenomenon who seriously damaged the conservative sub-structure or does he represent a new movement?

Young, like Pence, has to work to convince all Republicans to not stay home and at least vote down ballot. It will be a challenge, but I believe that Young not only will win but help give Gov. Pence the opportunity to do so as well.

Likely Congressman Jim Banks: Let me be blunt: I am jealous of Jim. When I won my first primary, I then had to face incumbent Jill Long who had twice been reelected with 62% of the vote. He is facing Tommy Schrader.

Schrader's campaign can be summed up by what he told WANE-TV on camera: "It's kind of hard to manage money when you smoke and you drink beer (live in) hotel rooms. I'd like to get an apartment." In fact, he was smoking and drinking a beer during the interview. He spent \$8 to win.

The Allen County Democrats – who control the mayor's office, so they aren't exactly extinct – even nominated a former Ku Klux Klan leader for county office. Perhaps those new Sanders voters should pay closer attention down ballot.

The Republican primary featured combined withering attacks on Banks at the end. Banks finished second to

Liz Brown in Allen, which was critical. His margin over Kip Tom in Allen was 3,691 votes. Banks' winning margin over Tom was 3,792 votes. In other words, had Allen been a tie, Banks would have won by 101 votes. The key fact is this: They threw the kitchen sink at him and he prevailed.

An analysis of the precinct votes shows little correlation between Trump voters and congressional preference. Generally, Banks did a little better where Trump won. In a few socially conservative precincts Banks did well where Cruz performed well. Overall, socially conser-

vative Banks did not perform as strongly in some pro-life areas as one would expect, since the other candidates all ran television campaigns that stressed social issues more than Banks did. Thus Jim Banks is not only the likely easy winner this fall but should be able to consolidate the Republican base for many years to come. ❖

Souder is a former Republican congressman from Indiana.

The great Hoosier jobs lie of 2016

By MICHAEL HICKS

MUNCIE – A primary election has just passed and Sen. Sanders and Mr. Trump both won comfortably with some version of a promise to “bring back jobs and manufacturing to America.” Voters clinging to this hope need to steel themselves for a letdown. Here’s why.

No matter how you measure it, 2015 was the record year for manufacturing production in the USA. Right

now manufacturing in Indiana and the USA is at record levels. There’s no ambiguity on this. I think inflation-adjusted dollars are the best measure, but in any available metric we are at record manufacturing production. We’re just doing it with far fewer workers.

Indiana has lost a quarter million manufacturing jobs since our peak year of factory employment back in 1973. The USA has lost 7.5 million manufacturing

jobs since 1977, the national peak for manufacturing employment. These are simple facts deviously hidden in every public library in the country and on the internet accessible by the 550 million smart phones and computers in use in America.

Did NAFTA cause these job losses? Well, NAFTA was implemented in 1994, so if Bernie and the Donald are to be believed, American firms must have anticipated NAFTA by some 20 years (so much for all that short-term thinking on Wall Street). Moreover, in the 40 years since peak manufacturing, Indiana has created more than 1.4 million non-manufacturing jobs and the U.S. roughly 75 million jobs.

To be sure, our trade deficits have cost us manufacturing jobs. The high-end estimates are that today we

have 1.5 million fewer manufacturing jobs across the nation because of foreign trade. All the other 6 million or so lost manufacturing jobs are due to mechanization, better technology and better production practices. Today’s typical factory workers make twice as much “stuff” in an hour as they did in 1977.

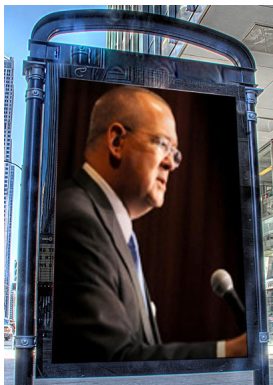
For every manufacturing job lost to trade, nearly nine have been lost to machines. But trade also creates jobs. We have 7 million more transportation and logistics jobs alone, likely attributable to trade since the 1970s. But that is sophisticated analysis, and this is a column about Sanders and Trump, so I’d better stop there.

Quite simply, for every manufacturing job lost since the 1970s, we have had 10 created elsewhere, and for every job lost to trade we have 100 more jobs created elsewhere. This analysis isn’t fancy econometric modeling or theory. It is simple data and middle school algebra. Every campaign knows it well, and every voter should.

The “bring jobs back” promise is simply a lie. It isn’t factory workers in Juarez or Beijing who’ve stolen factory jobs. The folks with master’s degrees in robotics working in Palo Alto, Calif., that have taken those jobs. The only way to get those jobs back is to adopt Bernie’s energy policies, which will leave many places without electricity.

There may be non-economic reasons to support these candidates (a Syria invasion perhaps, or heat-free Tuesdays in February), but Hoosier voters looking for a return to the 1960s factory scene richly deserve the bitter and lasting disappointment that awaits them. ❖

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.



Analyzing potential Clinton veep picks

By **LARRY SABATO, KYLE KONDIK**
and **GEOFFREY SKELLEY**

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. – “First, do no harm”
The Hippocratic Oath is the prime directive for doctors, but to us it also provides good guidance for vice presidential selection. Running mates often make very little difference in the election one way or the other, which can be an argument for making a safe, noncontroversial selection. Often, attempts to make a bold vice presidential pick can fall flat: For instance, John McCain’s outside-the-box selection of then-Alaska Gov. Sarah Palin gave his ticket a quick shot of adrenaline, but it’s hard to argue Palin ultimately helped McCain (in fact, the opposite is probably closer to being true).

But as Hillary Clinton considers her options for the second slot on her ticket, she has to consider not only the harm that could be done to her November prospects by a poor selection -- she has to also be concerned about the harm done to her governing prospects. That’s because many of her best potential running mates are members of the U.S. Senate, and selecting one of them could imperil a future Democratic Senate majority -- either in 2017 or beyond.

One of Clinton’s strongest choices could be Sen. Sherrod Brown (D-OH). Brown is one of the more liberal members of the Senate and is a favorite of labor unions. While he endorsed Clinton in the Democratic primary, selecting Brown could be an olive branch to Bernie Sanders’ supporters because Brown sees eye to eye with Sanders on certain issues, including sharing his skepticism of free trade agreements. To the extent that running mates help in swing states, Brown could also be worth a point or two in Ohio, a state that has been a key to Republican presidential success. It’s very hard to see Donald Trump winning the White House without Ohio -- if he did, he’d be the first Republican in the history of the party (going back to 1856) to do so.

However, there’s one major problem with Clinton selecting Brown: Gov. John Kasich (R-OH) would appoint Brown’s replacement, and he would pick a Republican (probably his ally, Rep. Pat Tiberi, who holds what used to be Kasich’s House seat, based northeast of Columbus). Brown himself will have a hard enough time holding his seat when it is next contested in 2018, against Tiberi or state Treasurer Josh Mandel (R), who unsuccessfully challenged Brown in 2012. If Tiberi runs as an incumbent


in 2018, the seat might be gone for the foreseeable future.

In close to three-quarters of the states -- 36 of 50, according to the National Conference of State Legislatures -- the governor fills Senate vacancies until the next state-wide election (in other words, just like Ohio does, although the specific rules vary). Most of the remaining states, like Massachusetts, allow for a temporary Senate appointment but also mandate a special election for the remainder of the unexpired term.

If Clinton wins the White House, it seems likely that she will be elected with at least a small Senate majority, but the loss of Brown’s seat could be the difference between holding the Senate or not. And Democrats also cannot afford to lose any Senate seat, both for their ability to govern and confirm Supreme Court nominees, and to hold the Senate in Clinton’s first midterm in 2018. That year’s Senate map, which was last contested in the Obama reelection year of 2012, is simply horrible for Democrats.

Democrats are greatly overextended on the 2018 Senate map, as they control 25 of the 33 seats up for election. Additionally, they have to defend five seats in states that now favor Republicans at the federal level: Indiana, Montana, Missouri, North Dakota, and West Virginia. In a bad midterm environment, Democrats could easily lose all five, just like they lost all seven Senate seats they held in states where Mitt Romney won going into 2014’s midterm. Additionally, Democrats will be defending seats in Florida, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Wisconsin, among other potentially vulnerable seats. Given how midterm years often break against the president’s party, it’s not hard to



	<p>Evan Bayh Ex-Senator, IN</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Could boost Clinton's chances in a tough reach state (IN) •Long governing experience as governor and senator •Bipartisan respect in and out of Senate 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Might spark revolt among Sanders' voters because he's so moderate
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imagine the Democrats having a poor election in 2018 with Clinton in the White House. That makes every Senate seat crucial, and it could impact whether Clinton picks a senator as her running mate.

Our initial list of 21 potential Clinton running mates, features 11 sitting senators -- almost a quarter of the Democrats’ 46-member caucus (including the two independents who caucus with them, Bernie Sanders of Vermont and Angus King of Maine). As Clinton considers these possibilities, we’re sure she’s going to be cognizant of what their selections could do to the Senate majority. Picking Brown, for instance, would clearly cost the Democrats a Senate seat. Selecting Virginia Sens. Tim Kaine or Mark Warner would not, because Gov. Terry McAuliffe (D) could appoint a replacement. However, that person would have to win a special election either in 2017, an election held concurrently with the Commonwealth’s off-off-year

statewide elections, or in 2018. (Remarkably, few in the state agree about when this election has to be held; we got different answers from a wide variety of officeholders and authorities this week. The code of Virginia is not crystal clear on the matter, and it may be that McAuliffe has discretion.)

Sens. Bill Nelson (D-FL) and Martin Heinrich (D-NM) could be decent running mates, but they, like Brown, would cost the Democrats a Senate seat. Picking Sen. Cory Booker (D-NJ) would cost the Democrats a Senate seat, too, but a special election would fill it later in 2017 (Democrats would be favored to win that election, just like Booker did in initially capturing his seat in a 2013 special election). Gov. Charlie Baker (R-MA) could appoint a temporary replacement for Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-MA), but a Democrat would have a good chance to win the seat back a few months into 2017. Even if a Republican wins Vermont's governorship, the same would be true for Sen. Bernie Sanders' seat if Clinton were to select her presidential rival. The winner of the gubernatorial race in Missouri would be able to fill Sen. Claire McCaskill's seat until 2018, though if elevated to VP perhaps she could resign early so outgoing Gov. Jay Nixon (D) could make the pick. Finally, either of Minnesota's two Democratic Senators -- Al Franken or Amy Klobuchar -- could be attractive picks in part because Gov. Mark Dayton (D) would appoint a Democratic replacement, although a vacancy would set up a 2017 special election.

Because of the potential Senate control complications presented by almost all of these senators, Clinton may look outside of her old stomping grounds in the upper chamber for a running mate. The Texas Twins -- Department of Housing and Urban Development Secretary Julián Castro and U.S. Rep. Joaquín Castro -- are possibilities as Democrats seek to lock in the Hispanic vote against Donald Trump, who has horrific numbers with this growing slice of the electorate. However, there are legitimate questions as to whether either is too green for the job. Lesser-known but more experienced Hispanic possibilities include former Interior Secretary Ken Salazar, previously a Democratic senator from Colorado, and Labor Secretary Tom Perez. Yet Salazar is not very liberal, and Clinton's pick will ideally satisfy Sanders' vot-

ers, while Perez is liberal but anonymous nationally. (If the old game show, What's My Line? still existed, Perez would be certain to stump the entire celebrity panel.) Former Gov. Deval Patrick (D-MA) is another nonwhite possibility, although his post-gubernatorial employer (Bain Capital, Mitt Romney's former firm) wouldn't excite the Sanders crowd. The same is true of ex-Sen. Evan Bayh (D-IN), Gov. John Hickenlooper (D-CO), and Secretary of Agriculture Tom Vilsack, a former governor of Iowa. She could even conceivably turn to the aforementioned Terry McAuliffe, a committed Clintonista and swing-state governor, though his background as a political insider and fundraiser could be problematic in the current political climate.

Finally, it's possible that Clinton could emphasize continuity with the Obama administration by sticking with Vice President Joe Biden as her running mate, although that seems unlikely (hence, why Biden is the final name on our list).

All in all, there are 21 names here, and given the quirks of running mate selection, it's possible that Clinton's eventual selection isn't even mentioned. At this point, though, we think Kaine stands just slightly above the rest. He comes from an important swing state, Virginia, and his elevation to vice president would not cost the Democrats a Senate seat (at least not immediately). He also has a wide array of governmental experience and probably wouldn't overly rile the pro-Sanders part of the party.

In other words, we think he'd satisfy the prime directive of vice presidential selection: First, do no harm -- both to the ticket and to the Democrats' chances at a Senate majority at the opening of the next Congress. ❖

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Those who know Congress best are shaking their heads

By LEE HAMILTON

BLOOMINGTON – We former members of Congress might hold rooting interests on opposite sides of particular policy debates, but on one point we all agree, we want Congress as an institution to succeed and thrive. These days, it's doing neither.

I had the good fortune last week to spend some time in Washington, D.C., with about a dozen former members of Congress. As you'd expect, we got to talking about the current Congress. Very quickly it turned out that the same question was troubling all of us: Why is it held in such low public esteem?



We represented both parties and a variety of eras, and had a range of experience under our belts. But we all found ourselves chagrined by what we've been witnessing. You have

to understand that most former members of Congress believe deeply in the value of the institution for American representative government. We might take opposite sides of particular policy debates, but on one point we all agree, we want the institution itself to succeed and thrive. These days, it's doing neither.

For starters, we were hard-pressed to come up with any real accomplishments for this Congress. It did pass a revision to No Child Left Behind, and a controversial expansion of cyber-surveillance capabilities, which it slipped into a must-pass budget bill. It also took the entirely uncontroversial step of broadening sanctions on North Korea. But that's pretty much it.

In the country at large, people are fretting about control of our borders, stagnant wages, college expenses, the cost of health care, the opioid addiction crisis, the spread of ISIS, the strengthening effects of climate change. The administration is trying to keep the Zika virus from gaining a foothold in this country, and congressional inaction has already caused Puerto Rico to default on one set of obligations, with a much bigger default looming, and doomed airline passengers to longer and longer waits as the TSA struggles. Yet on Capitol Hill, no one seems particularly concerned. Instead, its members left town to campaign.

This may be unfair, but I can't help but think about my first year in Congress. We enacted 810 bills, including the passage of Medicare and Medicaid, the Voting Rights

Act of 1965, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Water Quality Act, and setting up the Departments of Transportation and of Housing and Urban Development. Not every year was like that, but the contrast is inescapable. Among the group of people I was with last week, people who watch Congress closely, there was unanimity: This will go out as one of the least productive years in congressional history.

Worse, members show little interest in making Congress more productive. Our little group all remembered times when we or our colleagues pushed reform efforts to make the institution work better, and were struck that current members aren't doing so. Most Americans belong to some group or another that's trying to accomplish change for the better and improve itself at the same time. Why would Congress be an outlier? But it is.

Some of the observations we shared last week are old hat. Congress is excessively partisan, with too many of its members highly distrustful of the other party and inclined to blame it for Capitol Hill's ailments. As an institution, it seems incapable of ridding itself of the bad habits it's gotten into: The reliance on omnibus bills and continuing resolutions; timidity in the face of presidential power; a marked reluctance to use the levers of congressional authority, especially control of the federal budget, to prod or check executive action.

Yet none of us believe this is irreversible. We are all convinced that strong leadership in Congress could make an immense difference. In the past, effective legislators on both sides of the aisle, as committee chairs and as caucus leaders, have left behind them a legacy of great accomplishment. Democrat Emanuel Celler of New York and Republican William McCullough of Ohio joined forces to craft the Civil Rights Act of 1964; Democrat Wilbur Mills of Arkansas and Republican John Byrnes of Wisconsin together helped shape Medicare.

I won't waste your time with a list of consummate legislators who were able to get things done. The point is simple: it may be a different time and legislative environment from 50 years ago, but strong leadership can make Congress work. On that, my former colleagues and I, Republicans and Democrats, found ourselves in full agreement. ❖

Lee Hamilton is a Senior Advisor for the Indiana University Center on Representative Government; a Distinguished Scholar, IU School of Global and International Studies; and a Professor of Practice, IU School of Public and Environmental Affairs. He was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives for 34 years.

‘Marissa Jones’ wouldn’t have a chance

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – When I and others suggested that Marissa McDermott wouldn’t be running for Lake Circuit Court judge if she weren’t married to the mayor of Hammond, she balked.

Oh, no, the lady said. No, she has the credentials to run for judge and the fact that she is married to the former Democratic county chairman and current mayor of the county’s largest city has nothing to do with her candidacy, so she said. Really?



I guess she came clean on election night after learning she had defeated Judge George Paras. “I have a damn good last name,” she said in reference to her husband who has four mayoral victories and her father-in-law, Thomas M. McDermott Sr., who has three Hammond mayoral wins. If her name had been Marissa Jones, would she have won Tuesday’s primary? Of course not.

Yes, name recognition matters, particularly in local politics, and even though Paras was the incumbent, McDermott had a better name in terms of voter recognition. Not only did Marissa have her husband’s name, she had access to his campaign account. The mayor loaned her almost \$100,000, and it’s anyone’s guess if any of it will ever be paid back. Would Marissa Jones have had access to that kind of money?

Marissa McDermott also benefitted over a recent decade when she received some \$300,000 from her husband’s campaign fund to manage his account. Certainly legal, but it’s difficult to call it ethical.

On paper, Paras clearly was the most qualified given his 35 years of experience in private practice and on the bench. But voters look at more than experience when casting a vote. I suspect most voters didn’t have a clue as to the experience of McDermott and Paras even though he is almost 20 years her senior. Perhaps the age difference worked in McDermott’s favor if some voters looked for someone new to the political scene. Or, you’ve got to wonder if the average guy cares who sits on the Lake Circuit Court bench. The age disparity may have been what prompted a quiet, but misdirected, campaign alleging that Paras was in poor health and no longer fit for the bench.

It’s not like McDermott isn’t qualified.

She has been practicing law for a number of years and is respected by her peers. She received high marks from the Lake County Bar Association prior to the election. She may make a fine judge.

There have been storybook political sagas in Lake County but this isn’t one of them. This was about the right person with the right name and a substantial amount of money being in the right place at the right time. Call it what it is. ❖

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.

Ohio River bridge tolls OK’d

JEFFERSONVILLE – Former U.S. Congressman and trucking company CEO Mike Sodrel foresees business fallout when bridge tolls, which are now official, take effect later this year. “You may find a lot of trucking companies moving out of Southern Indiana as a result,” Sodrel warned (News & Tribune). Sodrel Truck Lines Inc. is just one of many local businesses that rely on markets in both Louisville and Southern Indiana, its trucks crossing the Ohio River several times in a day. While frequent passenger commuters can receive a monthly discount based on number of trips in a calendar month, businesses will receive little recourse. Regional companies can now begin budgeting more accurate estimates of the annual costs of tolls. The Tolling Body, made of Kentucky and Indiana transportation officials, approved initial toll rates and a tolling policy agreement Wednesday during a meeting at the Sheraton Louisville Riverside Hotel.

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

Doug Ross, NWI Times: The Republican Party is on the cusp of a major change. The selection of Donald Trump as the presumptive GOP nominee in the presidential race is a clear sign of that. So is the pronouncement by House Speaker Paul Ryan that, in effect, the presidency doesn't trump Congress. But what will that change be? And how will the party's tenets change with Trump as the leading standard bearer? That remains to be seen. The crystal ball is, at best, murky. We're seeing a deep fracture in a party, something former Gov. Mitch Daniels hinted at when he urged the party to call a truce on social issues and focus on fiscal conservatism. Ryan is a staunch fiscal conservative. Trump is a shoot-from-the-hip kind of guy, which went over well in last week's Indiana primary. Trump received 590,170 votes in Indiana, more than all eight other candidates combined. He stands for...well, it's hard to say what he stands for. Trump has focused so much on living in the moment that it's difficult to see a clear path for the future from him so far. Chris Salatas, Lowell Town Council president and chairman of the Lake County Young Republicans, offered a good definition of Trump Republicans, the latest group to join the Republicans' big tent: "disenfranchised people that are just fed up with the way the system works." Ted Cruz, who suspended his campaign last week after he was trounced in Indiana, was the evangelical candidate, the religious social conservative. His values, which have been espoused by the Republican-dominated Legislature in the post-Daniels era, seem to have been repudiated by Hoosier voters based on last week's primary election returns. Trump has taken positions and said things seen as offensive to women and minorities — two of the groups the Republican Party needs to attract to strengthen its base. Andrew Downs, director of the Mike Downs Center for Indiana Politics at Indiana University Purdue University Fort Wayne, shared his insights Monday. If you look at the three dominant positions as Republican, Democrat or independent, the largest percentage is independent, and the second is for Democrat, Downs said. So the Republicans have to work harder than Democrats to attract independent voters to their candidates. Now that the two major parties have presumptive nominees — sorry, Bernie Sanders supporters, but the delegate math isn't on your side — expect to see Trump and Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton become more moderate on the long slog to November. Sanders has pulled Clinton to the left to compete for Democratic votes in the primary. Now that she's looking past the primary season, she will look and act more presidential. Expect that from Trump, too. "He's malleable if nothing else," Downs said. ❖

Jon Webb, Evansville Courier & Press: It's not polite to talk about venereal disease at the dinner table. My mother never said those exact words — except for the time we invited that biker gang over for meatloaf. They

traipsed grease-stained boots across the beige carpet and splintered our sofa to build a gigantic bonfire in the backyard, where they roasted pig and hurled Lonestar cans at the neighbor's horse. The horse just stood there and took it. He saw the pig. Maybe he thought he was next. What was I talking about? Right: Ted Cruz. The Texas senator, marking his 109th visit to Evansville on Tuesday, strolled into Wolf's Bar-B-Q about 11 a.m. and started spouting a Donald Trump attack that surely caused lunchgoers to lose their appetites. "He's proud of being a serial philanderer," Cruz said, all of it captured on video by the Courier & Press. "... He's described his battles with venereal disease as his own personal Vietnam." Donald Trump. Venereal disease. I think I'll pass on the potato salad. As you can tell, this is a very important piece of writing: the definitive commentary on a historic week in Evansville and Indiana politics in which the city and state played a major role in an insane presidential race. We knocked out Cruz. Crowned Trump. Kept Bernie Sanders in the race long enough to at least get Larry David on "Saturday Night Live" one more time. One day Evansville will be briefly mentioned in a Hunter Thompson/Richard Ben Cramer/Beverly Cleary-style book about the 2016 race. Of course by then "books" will be etched onto the smooth underbelly of plutonium-kissed tree bark. Because (Trump/Hillary Clinton/Sanders/whatever Caucasian Scrap Heap establishment Republicans select for a third-party run) is going to get us all killed! We're going to barter our own second cousins for gasoline! This is the most important election of our lives! Delirium aside, that's kinda true. The day-to-day task of being president is unfathomably complicated, but the ultimate goal of the job is simple: don't get thousands of people slaughtered. If you accomplish that, someone will at least name a middle school after you. ❖

Jonah Goldberg, Los Angeles Times: "Let no one be mistaken, Donald Trump's candidacy is a cancer on conservatism and it must be clearly diagnosed, excised, and discarded," former Texas Gov. Rick Perry declared ten months ago. Trump's candidacy, Perry added, represents "a toxic mix of demagoguery and mean-spiritedness and nonsense that will lead the Republican Party to perdition if pursued." Lest you're thrown off by the alliteration, "perdition" means eternal damnation in Hell. Perry has since had an epiphany, selling his political soul for a seat on the Trump Train. He even says he'd like to be his vice president, which would make him a co-pilot (or co-conductor?) leading us down the tracks to Hell ("Can I blow the whistle Mr. Trump?"). The Republican aristocracy is for the most part bending its knee to the new king, proving that much of the "establishment" is exactly as craven as Trump always claimed. As Thomas More might say, "Why Rick, it profits a man nothing to give his soul for the whole world... but to be Donald Trump's valet?" ❖



Ritz won't be Gregg's LG

INDIANAPOLIS — Democratic gubernatorial candidate John Gregg hasn't named his lieutenant governor pick yet (Schneider, IndyStar). But another high-profile Indiana Democrat — Superintendent of Public Instruction Glenda Ritz — confirmed Wednesday she's not interested in becoming Gregg's running mate. When asked if she'd consider the lieutenant governor position, Ritz gave a short response — "No." Ritz and Gregg briefly competed against each other for the Democratic nomination for governor before she suspended her campaign in August, just two months after she announced her run. Since then, Ritz has endorsed Gregg for governor and focused on seeking another term as state schools chief. Gregg is expected to announce his lieutenant governor choice by early June. Campaign spokesman Jeff Harris declined to name candidates under consideration, but said Gregg is looking at a number of people both in the public and private sectors. "His number one criteria is — 'Are they able to govern?'" Harris said.

Arredondo files for attorney general

INDIANAPOLIS — Former Lake Circuit Judge Lorenzo Arredondo will file paperwork with the state Democratic Party on Thursday to make official his candidacy for Indiana attorney general (Carden, NWI Times). The veteran jurist has been quietly lining up support for his attorney general bid since last August. He's expected to be unchallenged for the nomination at the June 18 Democratic state convention. "Never has a candidate with the unique perspective of judicial experience and educational background sought this important position," Arredondo said. "I pledge to

devote my time, energy and resources to being an attorney general for all the people of Indiana."

Zoeller rules out third AG term

HAMMOND — Attorney General Greg Zoeller has ruled out seeking a third term. Zoeller, who lost the 9th CD primary, told WJOB radio that he would not enter the Republican AG race. Former attorney general Steve Carter, Elkhart County Prosecutor Curtis Hill, State Sen. Randy Head and Abigail Kuzma are seeking the nomination.

Mayor Bennett supporting Trump

TERRE HAUTE — In an interview with Indiana Newsdesk anchor Joe Hren, Terre Haute Mayor Duke Bennett said: "I said all along, I'm backing the republican nominee whoever that is. I know there's a lot of consternation with people as to where Trump is right now but it was good to get to know each one of them just the few minutes you have to get a feel for their personality. All politicians can put on a persona so you get a chance to see them, not in front of a camera or in front of a crowd and feel good about some of the things and some other things you're still questioning, but I'm supporting the nominee."

Trump hedging on tax return release

WASHINGTON — Buried at the bottom of The Associated Press' interview this week with Donald Trump is a quiet acknowledgment of something we've known for a long time: Trump has little intention of releasing his tax returns. Trump "dismissed the idea that voters have a right to see his tax returns before going to the polls," the AP's Julie Pace and Jill Colvin wrote. "He's so far refused to release those documents,

citing an ongoing audit. And besides, he said, 'there's nothing to learn from them.'" But on Wednesday, Trump told Fox's Greta Van Susteren, "I'll release. Hopefully before the election I'll release ... And I'd like to release. ... You learn very little from a tax return."

Hogsett calls for justice overhaul

INDIANAPOLIS - During his first State of the City address Wednesday evening, Indianapolis Mayor Joe Hogsett pushed for a broad overhaul of Marion County's criminal justice system — including, but not limited to, the new jail that has long eluded city-county leaders. Hogsett claimed success on a number of fronts in his first 100 days, even as he acknowledged a number of pressing crises: recent spikes in crime, a city budget that has spent more than it takes in ever since the recession and a decades-long rise in poverty that is among the root causes of the city's safety and fiscal woes. Hours before the speech, Hogsett signed an executive order creating a task force to study the county's criminal justice system.

House OKs Brooks' opioid bill

WASHINGTON — The House on Wednesday moved to pass a bipartisan package of bills to battle America's growing epidemic of painkiller abuse and heroin addiction, but the White House said the legislation won't accomplish much unless Congress provides more than \$1 billion to fund the new programs. House members are expected to overwhelmingly pass a total of 18 bills this week focused on opioid addiction, treatment and prevention. On Wednesday, the House voted 412-4 to approve a bill by Rep. Susan Brooks and Joe Kennedy to create an interagency task force to update standards for doctors to manage their patients' pain and prescribe painkillers. "We've got to get people off of the pain meds so these people will not turn to heroin," Brooks said.

