

Tsunami Watch: Indiana GOP braces

Trump campaign chaos, GOP vote suppression could have down ballot impacts in Indiana

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – This is the official posting of a tsunami watch for Indiana. With Donald Trump's presidential campaign at best in transition and in all probability, in a mode of outright implosion, with Gov. Mike Pence locked in a dead heat along with sagging reelect and job approval numbers, and with Pence attaching his dinky to the political equivalent of the RMS Titanic, the potential

for severe down-ballot trauma for Hoosier GOP nominees is heightened.

If you are a nominee for the U.S. Senate, the 2nd, 8th and 9th CDs, assorted Statehouse offices, and a dozen or so Indiana House seats on competitive footing, the



potential for base suppression and widespread damage exists between now and Nov. 8. Persons in these watch areas should prepare to seek shelter, stay away from windows and doors, and watch for falling debris. Unsecured folding chairs and tables, punch bowls, derby hats, emery boards and other objects have the potential to become projectiles that can inflict reputational dam-

age and cause injuries.
This is not a test.

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Bonfires of the inanities

By **CAMERON CARTER**

INDIANAPOLIS – This may seem like incredibly poor form, but I want to thank Omar Mateen for helping to further expose the broken politics of Washington, as a renewed and overdue debate over our civil rights took place this week. If only the deaths of 49 innocents at an Orlando night club had not had to occur for this illuminating discussion to unfold.

If having followed the news this week you do not recognize the above description, it is because a great many citizens and our elected leaders in Washington – in the Obama administration and the U.S. Senate, particularly – have failed to comprehend the true nature of



“Donald Trump’s voice is resonating with Americans who feel their voice and the country has been lost. I look forward to supporting Donald Trump.”

- U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman, endorsing Donald Trump for president.



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the debate in which they are engaged. And, having failed to comprehend it, they have engaged in a bonfire of inanities which has spread across the news media, cable talkshow gabblers, and so-called "social" media (which once again proves itself to be downright anti-social when controversies arise).

The question is not whether we want to prevent the next terrorist attack or mass shooting. Nor is it a question of whether the event in Orlando that Mateen perpetrated was a terrorist attack or a mass shooting. The obvious, inarguable (one would hope) answers to these questions is "of course, we do" and "of course, it was." The real question, as President Obama has put it, is what kind of country do we want to be?

In Orlando's wake and with Pavlovian predictability, Washington partisans went to their ideological corners, trotted out staid and mostly useless talking points, and preened for the cameras and their constituencies. As one watched the debate, it wasn't even really about how to stop the next such atrocity, as the solutions on offer weren't really solutions at all. The result: Legislative and political gridlock manifested in a series of defeated amendments to the Justice Department appropriations bill, a roused commentariat, and further polarization of the American public when we should be united on advancing both our liberty and security.

First, President Obama and Attorney General Loretta Lynch purposefully downplayed the Islamist nature of the Orlando attack. Ms. Lynch even went so far as to attempt the literally Orwellian move of redacting any references to Islam, or ISIS, or ISIL from the released transcripts of Mateen's 911 call to authorities "justifying" his killing spree. This is the first inanity in the political drama that unfolded.

Perhaps it should be every public servant's aim to write a little bit of history; however, this was naked political censorship, an intellectually dishonest attempt to re-write history by an Obama political appointee. And,

to change the narrative from one of Islamic terrorism (that would reveal blemishes on the FBI's efficacy and Obama's counter-terrorism policies) to one of bias against the LGBT community and the scourge of guns on American streets. It is here that Senate Democrats and their ideological fellow-travelers in the media picked up the hoped-for new narrative.

Let's dispense with the LGBT angle forthwith: We in Indiana have had our fill of unjustified bias against the LGBT community from some ideological quarters, but blood has yet to be shed. No thinking person would contend that Mr. Mateen's premeditated murder of 49 straight people at your neighborhood Applebee's would be morally sanctioned, or any less grotesque, based upon the sexual orientation of his victims. The Orlando dead and their grieving friends and families are dishonored by any such argument.

So, now to the issue of gun control, which is where we encounter more political inanities. At the center of this week's debate, we have two fundamental civil rights ensconced in the U.S. Constitution: The 2nd Amendment right to keep and bear arms, and the 5th Amendment right not to be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.

While Democrats and the left argue that the 2nd Amendment is predicated upon "a well-regulated militia," the long legislative history of individual states and, most especially, federal jurisprudence have determined that not to be the case. Sorry. Howling against this jurisprudence, as conservatives do in the example of Roe v. Wade in the abortion debate, does no good except to inflame controversy and drive a wedge between people of good faith that would want to see workable and effective regulation put into place.

Neither the 2nd Amendment nor the 5th Amendment right to due process have yet to be subject to arbitrary abridgment nor retroactive reinstatement, yet that is precisely what Senate Democrats proposed this week. Under an amendment offered

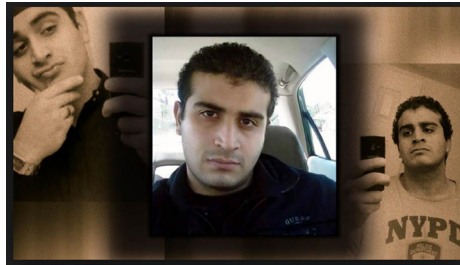
by Sen. Dianne Feinstein of California, anyone under suspicion of terrorist sympathies or on the federal government's "no-fly" list would be unable to exercise their 2nd Amendment right. Oh, they could, but they would have to petition the federal government to get back that right which the federal government has taken away from them on a presupposition of guilt.

See how that works? Exactly. It doesn't in a free society. It would be unacceptable if applied to, say, the 1st Amendment, and it is here that Republicans attempted to inject a little 5th Amendment due process by having the executive branch make a probable cause argument to the judicial branch before depriving an American citizen of their 2nd Amendment right. Sen. John Cornyn of Texas suggested just such an amendment during this week's debate. Democrats objected on practicality grounds, the principles at stake be damned.

The fate of both amendments?

They were defeated along mostly partisan lines, with just one or two Republicans crossing over to vote for the Feinstein amendment and a couple of Democrats crossing over to support the Cornyn amendment, including Indiana's own Joe Donnelly (who is one of the most reasonable men you'll ever meet in one of the most unreasonable cities you'll ever visit). Even sensible proposals for more funding for background checks and expanded background checks for online firearms sales were defeated.

As a direct benefit of the debate, Sen. Chris Murphy of Connecticut got his 15 hours of fame during his Cruz-like filibuster and Senate Minority Leader Harry Reid got to thunder about Republicans being "bought and paid for" by the NRA. (In the matter of purchase by political interests, Mr. Reid knows that of which he speaks and his hollow protest illuminates more about his personal modus



operandi than anything else. Good riddance, sir.)

The net result of this week's gun control debate is more gridlock and disillusionment by the American public, as well as a loss of focus on a metastasizing threat of homegrown Islamist terrorism. The folks in Washington entrusted to make sensible laws and keep them safe just aren't up to the job; in other words, the status quo ante that in part gave rise to the current Trump/Sanders grassroots rebellion.

Here's one suggestion to get past partisan gridlock on gun control: A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free state (one where citizens do not have their rights abridged and then reinstated), all able-bodied men and women (of any sexual orientation) should be required to perform two years of military service in exchange for room, board, vocational training, and the opportunity to learn about the "weapons of war" that are the supposed crux of the current controversy. At least then they would know that of which they tweet, expanded background checks should be easy to pass for those honorably discharged, and the next Omar Mateen who walks into a nightclub with murder and mayhem on their mind will find it a much harder target than he or she supposes.

That or begin the arduous, but correct, process of repealing or revising the 2nd Amendment. We have ample precedent for passing new amendments to the U.S. Constitution which enshrines all of our rights and those of our posterity (just ask former Indiana Sen. Birch Bayh, author of the 25th and 26th amendments. He's still around and can brief you on the particulars.)

Now, that would be a serious debate worthy of the kind of country our Founders envisioned. ❖

Carter is HPI's national correspondent.

Tsunami, from page 1

The seething rebellion

If you're a Hoosier Republican, it is unclear what factoid is the most alarming. It could be Hillary Clinton's \$42 million to \$1.3 million cash-on-hand advantage over Trump. It could be that Clinton has out-raised Trump in Indiana \$1 million to \$58,221. It could be her 100% dominance in swing state TV advertising. It could be the distinct dive in the polls giving Clinton a 44% to 38% lead over Trump before she has fully coalesced the Sanders wing

of the party and surveys have gauged the fallout from the Orlando massacre. Perhaps it is her 700 to 69 staffing advantage. Perhaps it's the fact that Trump has no communications director, though he did bring on the credible Kevin Shaw Kellems of Indiana to begin surrogate management.

Washington Post columnist Michael Gerson, a former aide to U.S. Sen. Dan Coats and Rep. Mark Souder, observed: "Beneath Trump's historically low approval ratings – 29% in a recent Post/ABC News survey – is an even more

Battle for the White House			
RCP Poll Averages			
Election 2016	Clinton	Trump	RCP Average
RCP Poll Average	45.0	39.2	Clinton +5.8
3-Way (w/Johnson)	40.7	35.1	Clinton +5.6
RCP Electoral Map	211	164	
Battlegrounds	Clinton	Trump	RCP Average
Pennsylvania	43.0	42.5	Clinton +0.5
Florida	45.0	42.0	Clinton +3.0
Ohio	43.0	40.3	Clinton +2.7
Virginia	43.8	39.8	Clinton +4.0
North Carolina	42.8	43.8	Trump +1.0
Georgia	40.8	45.0	Trump +4.2
New Hampshire	43.0	36.5	Clinton +6.5

disturbing development. After securing the nomination, Trump's support among Republicans rose, in many polls, to the mid-80s; not spectacularly good but an indication that the GOP was rallying. In recent polls, Trump's Republican support has dropped to between 70 and 80%. Along this trend, a decisive Democratic victory might sweep away the House and Senate. If Republican politicians begin to see this dynamic in their own polling, many will suddenly rediscover their consciences and abandon Trump."

Or it could be Gov. Pence's potentially disastrous decision to emphatically endorse Trump at the Indiana Republican Convention on June 11, coming after two weeks of Trump's Judge Curiel lingering disaster that was reflected in 70% of Latinos opposing his candidacy and a day before he accepted "congrats" after the Orlando massacre. Multiple sources tell Howey Politics Indiana that senior Pence campaign officials thought the Trump endorsement was a savvy idea. Within a week of Pence booming out to the delegates that Indiana would be the "first on the board" for Trump on Nov. 8, a full delegate rebellion was percolating in the Western U.S. to change the convention rules to allow delegates to vote their "conscience."

David Buskill, executive director for the Indiana Republican Party, found a strange silver lining, telling the IBJ's Hayleigh Colombo that because Trump hasn't focused on Indiana money, "It's benefited us. There hasn't been that much pressure on donors." Buskill said he has "no idea" what the Trump campaign is planning going forward in Indiana.

One influential Indiana Republican source, speaking on background, told HPI, "Nearly all of the delegates I've spoken with indicate they are not fans of Donald Trump. In fact, I can only identify a few out of Indiana's entire delegation that are excited or passionate about supporting Donald Trump's candidacy. However, those opposed to him are lifelong Republican operatives and activists and it is not in their nature to confront or oppose the party leadership which has cast their lot with him. Simply put, the delegates are too scared and sheepish to vocalize to the public any sort of opposition to Trump unless GOP leadership allows it. Even if Jeff Cardwell allowed it, many would fear a backlash from Trump supporters. True leadership is lacking in the GOP's top brass."

Republican pollster Bill McInturff told the Wall Street Journal, "We had \$25 million spent in February attacking (Marco) Rubio, and none on Trump. It's like

game theory. Each Republican candidate said, 'OK, it'll be Trump and somebody. The other somebody will win, so I'll leave Trump alone and try to be the somebody else by demolishing the next guy in line.' Donald Trump sort of floated through the Republican primary, and still only has 41% of the votes cast. When it was competitive, he was in the mid-30s. But the Republicans have a winner-take-all system in enough states where mid-30s, high 30s, you become the nominee."

McInturff's Democratic polling partner Fred Yang added, "For Trump, it wasn't ideological, it was style. It didn't matter what he was saying, just that he was loud and strong and emphatic. That is what a chunk of the electorate, certainly Republicans, are looking for even if it seems to go against the party orthodoxy."

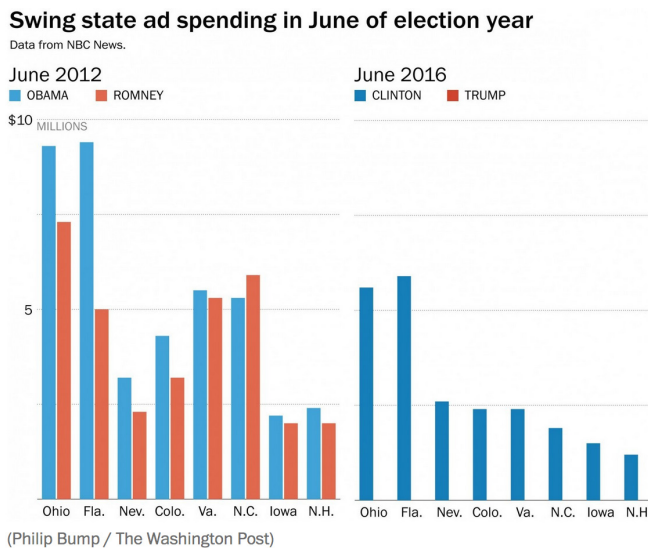
Yang, who polled for Howey Politics Indiana in 2012, continued, "The Achilles' heel is the political arithmetic. One of my favorite pollster stats is Mitt Romney defeated Barack Obama by the same proportion among whites that George Bush defeated Michael Dukakis by in 1988. Bush won the popular vote by eight points. Romney lost the popular vote by four points. The college-educated white woman is a symptom of the broader point. It's really hard for a Republican to win white voters by more than what Romney and Bush won white voters by, 20 points, 59% to 39%. The voting-age population in 2016 will be 31% minority. It's hard for me to see how the math works for Trump if he doesn't win whites

by 30 points, which would be really hard, or make inroads into that minority population."

NBC Meet The Press moderator Chuck Todd further explained what could produce a 2016 wave. "An ABC/Washington Post poll shows 65% of Republicans viewing Trump favorably, 34% unfavorably," Todd said during his Data Download segment on Sunday. "That means a third of Republicans who don't have good feelings about their own nominee." Hillary Clinton's numbers stand 75-25% in that aforementioned poll. "So the problem isn't just how a party sees Trump. It's how Republicans see the party itself."

Todd noted that a Bloomberg Politics poll this week shows 28% of Republicans have an unfavorable view of their own party right now. On the other side of the aisle, only 4% of Democrats feel the same way. "Why is this significant?" Todd asked. "Because if it means Republicans may be less enthusiastic about voting in the fall. And that enthusiasm gap doesn't just hurt Trump, it could end up hurting Republicans up and down the ballot."

He noted a Marquette University Law School poll in battleground Wisconsin last week showing 78% of



Republicans saying they will definitely vote in November. "That's a nine-point drop from March," Todd explained. "Before Trump became the presumptive nominee, when you had nearly nine in 10 Republicans fired up about this election. So, party leaders do have reason to worry that their voters might just stay home. And if that happens, a 2- to 3-point Republican advantage in Senate race X could quickly become a 2- to 3-point loss on Election Day in that Senate race. And while the GOP's House majority seems insurmountable right now, an election wave or a tsunami would end up putting the House in play. And guess how those happen? Those happen when one party simply doesn't show up to the polls. That's what Republicans have to fear."

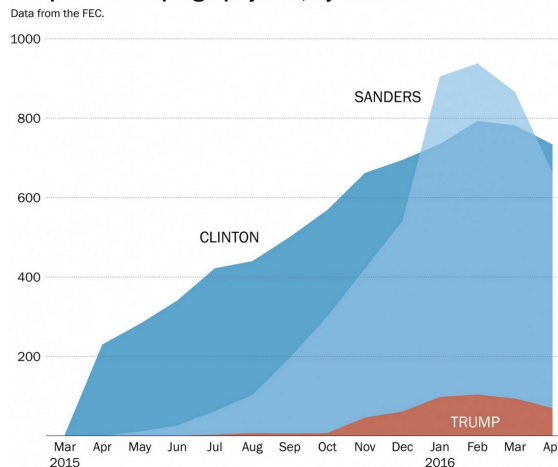
The Hoosier GOP leadership dilemma

Evansville attorney Joshua Claybourn, who announced in May he would not attend the RNC in Cleveland as a delegate because he could not support Trump, told HPI, "The state GOP leadership finds itself in a tough predicament of having to oppose their own nominee or support a disastrous candidate. Yet it is hard to feel much sympathy for officials who did nothing prior to the primary to warn of the dangers of his candidacy. It's especially hard to feel sympathy for those that have since endorsed him."

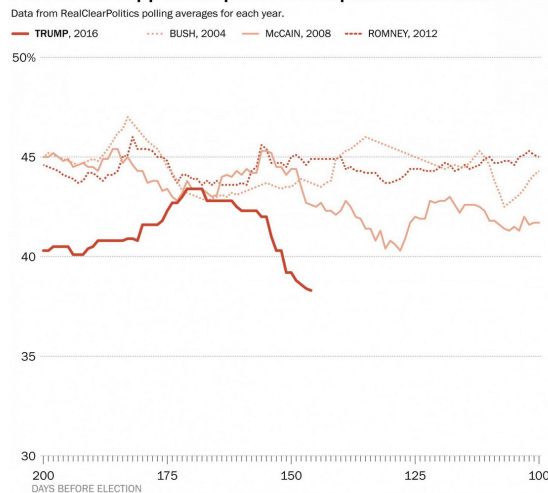
Claybourn called the Trump nomination "a defining moment for the Indiana Republican Party for a generation." He explained, "GOP leaders and elected officials will have to be on record and it will be a lens through which voters and donors will judge them for years to come. Already websites like GOPonTrump.com are documenting where Republicans stand on the issue. Any of the party leadership which endorsed him, including GOP chairman Jeff Cardwell, will have to answer for that decision."

He notes that in the month after Trump became the presumptive nominee, winning the May 3 Indiana primary with 53% of the vote, and in spite of Gov. Pence's support of U.S. Sen. Ted Cruz, "Trump has attacked a Hoosier-born judge for his ancestry, congratulated himself for guessing that a mass shooting had links to Islamic fundamentalism, lost control of his campaign and fired his campaign manager, and slipped dramatically in the polls.

People on campaign payrolls, by month



Percent of support for past four Republican nominees



All of that is in addition to his consistent attacks on free trade, free speech, and the rule of law. Donald Trump's campaign is an unmitigated disaster which will only get worse. All of the officials who support and endorse him will, by extension, be tied to that disaster."

Mitch as a dark horse

Through all the smoke and debris, Washington Post columnist George Will floated the notion of a Mitch Daniels dark horse presidential bid should a ditch Trump movement take hold in Cleveland. But former campaign consultant Mark Lubbers, who played a key role in the Purdue president's 2010-11 presidential ramp up, simply told HPI, "There is no 'draft Mitch' movement."

Former congressman and HPI columnist Mark Souder observed, "The Mitch Daniels thing is a fantasy. He's qualified for certain, but his style is not populist: Too intellectual and pragmatic. He overcame that in Indiana through incredible hard work and luck on the mobile van idea. He could possibly duplicate (RV1) in the sense of recognizing another tactic if one presented itself, but that doesn't

always happen. In other words, his chances are between 0 and 1%."

"But," Souder added, "There has to be a caveat: Trump makes things unpredictable. However, I do not sense that more than half of the party would even begin to tolerate dumping Trump – possibly not even 10% – after his primary wins. Even those who don't like him would be scared to death of such a precedent. It would be similar to using impeachment as a political weapon."

A history of waves in Indiana

In the television era of Hoosier politics, there have been national wave years of 1964 (LBJ defeating the "extremism is no vice" GOP nominee Barry Goldwater) that resulted in a 70-seat Democratic Indiana House; the 1972 George McGovern catastrophe that produced similar GOP gains in the Indiana House; the 1974 Watergate fallout that gave Democrats control of the Indiana Senate for two years; the 1980 Reagan Revolution that washed out U.S. Sen. Birch Bayh and House Majority Leader John Brademas; Reagan's 49-state 1984 Morning in America

landslide reelect; the 1994 GOP wave reaction to Clinton health care and gun control; the 2006 mid-term reaction to President George W. Bush's Iraq War fiasco that flipped three congressional seats and the Indiana House to the Democrats; and, finally, 2010 when the Tea Party reaction to Obamacare pushed U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh out of a reelection bid, and Republicans picked up three U.S. House seats and retook the Indiana House 60 to 40 seats.

Some potential waves don't materialize, such as 1998 when Republicans marched toward President Bill Clinton's impeachment that backfired, allowing Democrats to retake the Indiana House and successfully defend the open 9th CD.

All waves have different characteristics.

- President Johnson played off Goldwater's perceived extremism and sympathy following President Kennedy's 1963 assassination.

- The 1972 wave was set in motion when liberal reaction to the disastrous 1968 DNC in Chicago produced George McGovern and running mate Sen. Thomas Eagleton, who was subsequently bounced from the ticket after it was revealed he had received electric shock therapy.

- The 1974 wave was set in motion with the pending impeachment of President Nixon, subsided when he resigned, revived when President Ford pardoned Nixon, and finally reinforced with Ford's disastrous WIN (Whip Inflation Now) proposal. Richard Lugar's challenge to Sen. Birch Bayh that year was, in his words, like a yo-yo, with Bayh pulling away late.

- In 1980, Ronald Reagan's challenge to President Jimmy Carter was within the margin of error until the final weekend, when an overwhelming number of undecideds broke Republican over the final weekend, propelling Dan Quayle over Birch Bayh and John Hiler over Brademas.

- The 1994 wave began taking shape in late summer, with U.S. Rep. Lee Hamilton telling Democrats at French Lick that he felt like "a curtain" had been pulled between him and his constituents. Souder, who upset U.S. Rep. Jill Long, explained, "The Democrats were worried earlier but missed my race until about three weeks to go. I realized it by late August when she wasn't doing

enough and we were building a base. At the Contract with America signing in late September there was some excitement but the Republicans did not realize the extent of the wave. There is a difference between the base being fired up – Clinton did that in 1993 – and spreading to the swing vote." U.S. Rep. Frank McCloskey and Joe Hogsett in the open 2nd CD also fell to Republicans John Hostettler and David McIntosh.

- In 2006, there was a long crescendo developing against the Iraq War. It brought then-U.S. Sen. Barack Obama to Indianapolis that fall to campaign for Democrats Baron Hill, Brad Ellsworth and Joe Donnelly, who would go on to oust U.S. Reps. Mike Sodrel, John Hostettler and Chris Chocola.

- The 2010 wave uncorked in the winter, prompting Sen. Evan Bayh's abrupt exit in February, setting in motion victories by U.S. Rep. Todd Young over Hill in the 9th, Larry Bucshon in the open 8th CD, and Dan Coats' return to the U.S. Senate.

Epilogue

This is a Tsunami watch. It is not a warning.

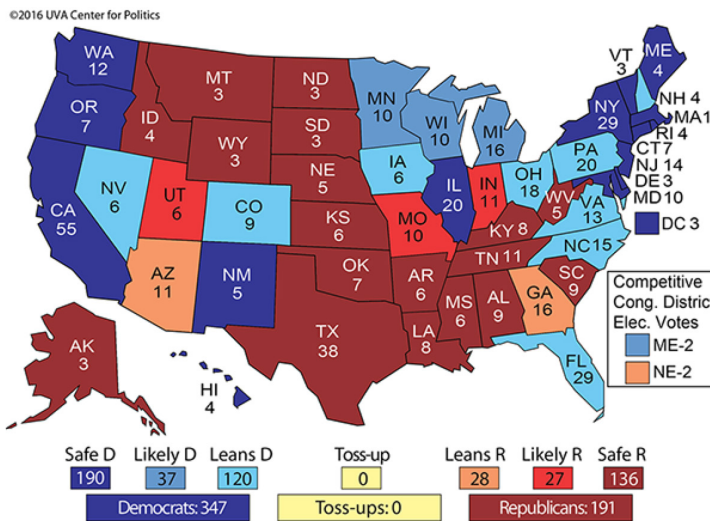
Perhaps Trump will see the light, organize his campaign and find an opening against "Crooked Hillary." Perhaps she will be indicted. Perhaps Gov. Pence will find traction on his economic message and neutralize John Gregg's social issue leverage.

Souder notes that when some waves develop early, like the McGovern debacle of 1972, down ballot campaigns can effectively separate. "It is a question of whether the rest of the ticket in swing to lean Republican races can separate themselves enough," Souder explained. "My prediction would be October, like 1994 and most other elections (21-30 days), for determining big wave/small wave and how big possibly in the final 10 days. Unless Trump collapses earlier.

Sometimes an early collapse can ironically make separation early."

Claybourn agrees, saying, "The best result for Republicans opposed to Trump is to swallow the bitter pill of his nomination and let him crash and burn on his own. Republicans can hope to hold on to Congress and isolate Trump's failures to his own race. From the ashes the GOP can hope to rebuild a stronger and wiser Republican Party devoid of the misguided leaders who supported his candidacy." ❖

Map 2: Updated *Crystal Ball* Electoral College ratings



This is Prof. Larry Sabato's *Crystal Ball* updated projected Electoral College map released this morning. Indiana is a "Likely" Republican state. Other changes include Arizona and Georgia moving from "Likely" to "Leans" Republican, Utah from "Safe" to "Likely" Republican, and Pennsylvania from "Likely" to "Leans" Democratic.

Trump misses key campaign lessons

By CHRIS SAUTTER

WASHINGTON – It may seem quaint now, but there was a time in American presidential politics when Labor Day marked the unofficial start of the fall campaign season. These days, the fall campaign begins whenever the candidates win enough delegates to secure the nominations of their respective parties, if not before.



Thus, the 2016 campaign is fully engaged now in June. The fundamental dynamics of this campaign will be set this summer, maybe even before the conventions. Those dynamics can be changed after Labor Day only by some dramatic event such as scandal, the specter of war or a looming economic catastrophe.

Mitt Romney learned this lesson the hard way. In June 2012, Romney was hit with a series of tough television ads that defined him as a heartless corporate raider who enjoyed firing people and whose private equity firm, Bain Capital, destroyed the lives of ordinary working people. Romney reinforced that image himself when he was captured on video at a private campaign event disparaging the “47%” of Americans, Obama voters, as lazy freeloaders. Romney, though competitive in the polls to the end, never recovered.

Donald Trump seems not to have learned the lesson. Hillary Clinton is using the Obama playbook, though Clinton’s approach takes the message much further. Not only is Trump, according to Clinton, a self-serving vulture capitalist who exploits working Americans, Trump is dangerously unfit for the office because he is unstable and reckless. In short, Trump cannot be trusted with the nuclear codes because he might blow up the world – shades of Lyndon Johnson’s 1964 campaign against Barry Goldwater and the famous “Daisy” commercial.

And, as Romney did for Obama, Trump is helping make Clinton’s case with his own words. Indeed, the Clinton Super PAC, Priorities USA, put up an ad with a sample of Trump’s more demeaning comments about women made during the Republican primaries. Another Priorities ad shows Trump mocking a disabled reporter.

Trump nailed down the Republican nomination with his convincing win in the Indiana primary on May 3. That was the time for him to pivot to a more moderate general election message. Instead, Trump doubled down on his racially charged message by attacking a Hoosier-born federal judge based on the judge’s Mexican heritage and calling for the profiling of American Muslims. As a result, Trump’s unfavorable ratings, already at a record

high, have climbed even higher.

Is it too late to pivot when 70% of voters don’t like you? That is the daunting question facing the Trump campaign in the wake of its firing of campaign manager, Corey Lewandowski, who is said to have been a Trump enabler.

Trump claims that the campaign won’t really start until the parties hold their conventions in July. But many Republicans fear that it may be too late already, that Trump has already lost too much time to make his case against Hillary Clinton and that he has dug himself too deep a hole to dig out. Just as troubling, Trump’s anemic fundraising points to a campaign that will be incapable of competing with Clinton’s sophisticated air and ground campaign.

Trump is apparently taking comfort in knowing that despite a disastrous six weeks, Clinton leads him by only 5%, according to the latest CNN/ORC poll released June 21. More encouraging, Trump is tied with Clinton in Ohio and trails her by only one point in Pennsylvania.

The reason the race is still close is clear. Many voters, still struggling under a sluggish economy and fearing that the war on terrorism has come to America, want change. To them, Clinton is more of the same, while Trump represents change. Trump leads Clinton in the new CNN poll on the question of who will better lead on the economy. And, even with all the doubts raised about him, Trump is still viewed as generally more trustworthy than Clinton.

Clinton’s lead is based on doubts about whether Trump has the temperament or judgment to be president, something that might be corrected with a disciplined message and restrained behavior. The Trump controversies have overshadowed Clinton’s own considerable vulnerabilities. The race is currently a referendum on Trump and his erratic behavior and repugnant views rather than a choice between change and more of the same, as Trump needs it to be to win.

In a sense, in the minds of many voters, the case against Hillary Clinton has already been made. Republicans needed only to nominate a reasonable alternative, something Trump so far has failed to convince voters he is. Meanwhile, as Trump struggles to adjust after locking up the nomination, Clinton now shows signs that she will be a much better general election candidate than in Democratic presidential primaries. She still struggles with communicating a unifying message. But Trump has given her new energy and focus.

It is not completely clear what Trump’s crumbling campaign means for Indiana. No elected Indiana governor seeking reelection has ever been defeated (Dr. Otis Bowen was the first Indiana governor permitted by law to seek reelection 40 years ago). But Gov. Mike Pence has still not moved past the fallout from last year’s RFRA debacle, while John Gregg is running a smart, aggressive campaign. Trump is expected to carry Indiana, but a narrow margin for the Republican presidential candidate could

enable Gregg to make history.

Democrats face a tougher challenge in House and Senate races in Indiana. To show how difficult it is for Democratic congressional candidates, no Democrat has unseated a sitting Republican member of Congress in a presidential election year since Lee Hamilton did it in 1964. That is because most of the additional people in Indiana who turn out to vote in a presidential election year tend to vote Republican.

The last public poll showed Trump winning Indiana by 7%. But if Trump's campaign continues to stumble nationally, his margin in Indiana is likely to nar-

row. Then Democratic candidates like Baron Hill, who faces Todd Young in an open U.S. Senate race, could overcome his early deficit in the polls. And, Shelli Yoder, who is currently tied in polling with Republican Trey Hollingsworth, would stand an excellent chance of winning in the 9th District.

The five months until the election is a lifetime in politics. Nonetheless, we should have a good idea of where this election is heading by Labor Day. ❖

Sautter is a Democratic consultant based in Washington, D.C.

Indiana Democrats sense a cycle in favor

By **THOMAS CURRY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Democratic gubernatorial nominee John Gregg played off Gov. Mike Pence's assertion that Hoosier voters faced "two futures" last weekend. Setting up his rematch with the governor, Gregg called for "responsible leadership that moves us forward."

"I like studying the past but I do not want to live there," Gregg told more than 2,000 delegates attending the biennial Indiana Democratic Convention late Saturday afternoon. "I want to be your next governor to look forward, not back. To make history, not just read about it. And to ensure our next 100 years start off with a bang. My friends, I want to serve all Hoosiers. All Hoosiers. I want to make a positive difference, not a political point. And I want to pursue an Indiana agenda, not a personal one. An agenda for Indiana, not on Indiana."

The former House speaker called out Gov. Pence for carrying an agenda focused more on his own political gains than of the people of Indiana. "It is time for adult leadership in the Statehouse," continued Gregg, who concluded his address saying, "As your governor I will take on the solemn job of making the future better for our kids. That is the job Mike Pence has not done. Let's go make an Indiana we can be proud of."

Gregg outlined several issues he'll be talking about. "A Gregg/Hale administration will be lean, clean but not mean," Gregg said. "It will be welcoming to all, Hoosier Hospitality. And it will be centered on creating opportunities for all. Raising wages. Attracting, developing and sustaining a skilled workforce. Creating an entrepreneurial atmosphere where small business and startups can grow. Improving the quality of life for our citizens in communi-

ties large and small. Working with our teachers to make our public schools stronger. Finally implementing pre-K for every 4-year-old in Indiana. Making higher education more attainable and affordable. Investing in our roads, bridges and other critical infrastructure that has been neglected for so long. Bringing real broadband connectivity to all of corners of Indiana. Tackling the state's water crisis. Making sure our veterans are getting the care they earned and make it a priority to get them back into the workforce. We owe them a debt."



The Democratic ticket of John Gregg, Christina Hale, Supt. Glenda Ritz, Baron Hill and Lorenzo Arredondo speak to more than 2,000 delegates at the Indiana Democratic Convention in Indianapolis last Saturday, (HPI Photos by Mark Curry)

Gregg added that he would be "working with state and local law enforcement to address the scourges of crime, drug abuse and sexual assaults in every community across this state. And, on joining with our Republican colleagues to balance budgets, keep taxes low and to stop wasting your precious tax dollars on unnecessary state agencies, million-dollar statehouse doors, state-run news services, politically motivated lawsuits and expensive PR contracts to clean up this governor's messes."

Lieutenant governor nominee Christina Hale accepted her nomination, telling the delegates, "Until Mike Pence came along, Indiana was moving forward. Now, thanks to Gov. Pence's compulsion to tell people who to love, what to do with their bodies, and even where to go to the bathroom, he's embarrassed our state, damaged our reputation and scared off the very economic opportunity and young talent we need to be successful today and in the future. But my friends, we are Hoosiers, and we won't let one man's personal ideology destroy our reputation or define our future."



South Bend Mayor Peter Buttigieg speaks to delegates on Saturday. (HPI Photo by Mark Curry)

Hale laid out some serious problems that she hopes the Democratic ticket will be able to solve. She cited that one seventh of Hoosiers go without food on the table and that the average Indiana worker makes \$7,000 dollars less than the national average. Hale said she and Gregg have "big bold strategic plans for Indiana that will set the state up for success."

Super delegate showdown

The Democratic Convention got off to a slow start but the Indiana Democrats eventually showcased their political lineup and fired up the Democratic base for the 2016 election. Chairman John Zody stumbled through parliamentary procedure

that delayed the event for nearly 30 minutes, spurred by an inquiry into what the Resolution Committee had ruled on behind closed doors.

What followed was an awkward handling of whether or not they should read what the committee had voted down. One delegate stood up in frustration after several attempts to get Zody to read the resolutions and

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said, "The super delegates are taking our power." Chairman Zody claimed "my bad" for the slowdown in events.

But it was still an exciting night for Hoosier Democrats in what is shaping up to be an historic election cycle. South Bend Mayor Peter Buttigieg was permanent chair and oversaw the nomination process. Buttigieg gave rousing endorsements and introductions to all the candidates and was a hit with the crowd. The young mayor, who was featured in a New York Times column this past week speculating he could become the first gay president, held the mantra that was echoed throughout the Big Dem Weekend: It's the Democrats' year.

U.S. Rep Andre Carson received rave reviews for his address to the delegates. Carson inspired the delegates saying, "This generation of Democrats elected the first black president. This generation of Democrats saved our auto industry. This generation said no to RFRA. This generation of Democrats will pave the way for a brighter future." It was a powerful message that resonated well with the crowd.

On presidential candidate Bernie Sanders, Carson praised him for "doing something remarkable. He pushed the conversation further to the left."

Democratic nominee for U.S. Senate Baron Hill used his address to call out his Republican opponent Todd Young. Hill said he would "make Young accountable" and "will make him to answer to Donald Trump's claims."

Glenda Ritz and Lorenzo Arredondo were nominated for state education superintendent and attorney general respectively. Judge Arredondo called for Hoosiers to be better saying, "We must recognize the ideas and principles of our founders and live up to them." On Indiana's nationally low voter turnout, Arredondo said, "More people need to participate in the process. When good people remain silent, justice is dying."

Supt. Ritz used her acceptance speech to tell the story of what inspired her to run for office. She described meeting a young student who said, "I don't need to check out a book because I just passed my iRead-3 test." Ritz said that kids reading only to pass a test didn't sit right with her and that she was inspired to change the way education works in Indiana. Ritz and Gregg released their ambitious education plan Thursday that would start Indiana on the path of a universal pre-K program.

Indiana Republicans responded with a press release saying, "Indiana Democrats are disparaging our state's growth and success in a desperate attempt to distract Hoosiers from Hillary Clinton and John Gregg's history of failed leadership and disastrous plans for our future." GOP Executive Director David Buskill continued on, say-

ing, "The fact is, under the leadership of Gov. Mike Pence, record amounts have been spent on children's schools, Indiana's first ever Pre-K program was created, more Hoosiers are going to work every day than ever before, and personal income is on the rise. Indiana's economy is firing on all cylinders and Hoosiers understand that progress will stop under the liberal, job-killing agenda of Hillary Clinton and John Gregg."

Saturday morning caucuses

Indiana Democrats spent Saturday morning and afternoon circulating between meetings focused on issues for specific congressional districts and caucus of the party. The gubernatorial ticket as well as minority leaders Scott Pelath of the House, Tim Lanane of the Senate and Supt. Ritz were on constant rotation giving speeches to the various meetings.

Gregg told Democrats that they expect to spend more than \$600,000 a week on TV ads across the state to spread the Democratic message. Gregg also encouraged party delegates to speak to and convince their more moderate Republican neighbors to vote Democrat. "Talk to the people who voted for Dick Lugar, Evan Bayh," Gregg said. "These are Republicans who value good leadership over ideology."

During the caucus meetings, Gregg and Hale discussed LGBT rights with the Stonewall Democrats. Gregg said that "what Gov. Pence did to the LGBT community started a fire in people. It's about human dignity and equal rights." Hale told the Stonewall Democrats, "Everybody counts or nobody counts. Everybody counts. We will fight for that until the end."

Gregg and Hale continued on to the African American Caucus, calling it a cornerstone of the party. Hale explained, "We need to make our government look like our communities." Hale cited that there are only "12 African Americans, one Asian American, no one out of the closet and only one fifth of us are women" in the Indiana Statehouse. Hale added, "It hurts my heart" in reference to the poor minority representation in Indiana's state government.

Ritz went to the various meetings to continue to set up support for her ambitious education plan that was released with Gregg on Thursday. Ritz again accused Pence of caring more for ideology than the children of Indiana and said that she will put children first.

Minority leaders Pelath and Lanane spent the day drumming up support for various statehouse candidates throughout Indiana. They called for the need to fund raise and campaign to take back the Indiana House. Pelath called it the "Democrats' year to make a change."

Hoosier Hospitality Dinner

A short video message by presumptive presidential nominee Hillary Clinton was shown, where she urged the



House Minority Leader Scott Pelath during the Pledge of Allegiance at the Democratic Convention. (HPI Photo by Mark Curry)

delegation to realize that "Trump would be a dangerous commander-in-chief." Clinton also praised the work of the party and hopes that they will help to carry her to victory in November.

Donald Trump was a common talking point by all the speakers at the dinner. Baron Hill expressed concern that "Trump wants to fundamentally change the country" and that a Trump presidency would not be beneficial for Indiana. Keynote speaker U.S. Sen. Debbie Stabenow of Michigan said Trump would send the country backward and literally laughed at Trump's lack of foreign policy experience. Stabenow also called Trump out for his failed business record, citing the failures of Trump University and various other companies. Throughout the evening Trump was also bashed for being racist, homophobic and sexist.

Gov. Mike Pence was also the butt of many comments. During Gregg's address, he called for "common

sense, competence and inclusion" in Indiana and said that RFRA hurt the state economy significantly. Gregg accused Pence of caring more for his ideology than the people of Indiana. Stabenow identified Pence and Trump as being the same ilk, saying, "We know what Trump will be like, our governors have the same playbook," in reference to putting big business above the needs of the poor and middle class.

U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly also received praise for his effort in last week's Senate filibuster on weapons and called the legislation that needs to be passed "common sense." Donnelly voted for all four Republican and Democratic bills that came up for a vote on Monday. Many speakers supported the Senate filibuster and said that work is needed to protect citizens throughout the country and in Indiana. ❖

Cline Avenue bridge could boost Democrats

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – Political campaigns come and go, but one thing has stayed the same over nearly a decade in Northwest Indiana. Yes, Virginia, can you say Cline Avenue Bridge? And, rightly so, the local Democrats continue to turn the bridge to their political advantage.



The bridge was a major link between the Chicago Skyway and Northwest Indiana, particularly the casinos and area steel mills and other industries. The state closed the elevated bridge in 2009, citing structural deficiencies.

Although former Republican Gov. Mitch Daniels said the structure would be rebuilt by the state, he quickly washed his hands of the issue. The state then contracted with a private firm to rebuild the structure, although not to its original size. United Bridge Partners has started work on an operations and maintenance building in East Chicago. Work on the bridge, however, hasn't started and it likely won't be completed until 2019.

Just the other day, Munster Democrat Mara Candelaria Reardon, who is seeking to regain the House District 12 seat she lost two years ago, brought up the bridge issue. Reardon (pictured) is seeking to oust Republican Rep. Bill Fine, the man she narrowly defeated in 2012 and barely lost to two years ago.

Fine wasn't in the legislature when the decision was made to hand over the bridge to the private sector that will convert it to a toll road. Nevertheless, Reardon is hoping that the construction delay will fall at the feet of all Republicans and help her win back her seat. Reardon this week said the Republican super majority in the House "has chosen in the last three budget cycles to ignore Northwest Indiana and their transportation needs, impeding commerce and stunting access to vital job markets for almost a decade."

Reardon added, "The empty promises of one governor and the blatant disregard by our current governor have brought us to where we are today, mortgaging our assets and passing the buck to the local, the private sector and the people who will now have to pay a toll to get to their jobs." The casinos in East Chicago and Gary, which relied heavily on Cline Avenue to bring their customers, took a hit when the bridge closed and haven't gotten back to normal.



While Fine may not have been in the legislature when the major decisions were made about the bridge, he may have to pay the price. None of the Northwest Indiana Republican legislators had much to say as the state delayed reconstruction and then turned it over to the private sector.

The Cline Avenue Bridge also is a favorite issue of Democratic governor candidate John Gregg when he is on the stump in Northwest Indiana. ❖

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

Hollingsworth says Hoosiers want outsiders in D.C.

By THOMAS CURRY

INDIANAPOLIS – Ninth CD Republican nominee Trey Hollingsworth seemed to come out of nowhere last fall, had more than \$2 million spent by him and on his behalf, and won the primary against a formidable field that included the incumbent attorney general and two state senators.



HPI first caught up with Hollingsworth at the Indiana Republican Convention earlier this month and he promised an interview. On Tuesday, Hollingsworth stopped by Howey Politics Indiana's Indianapolis office for the

first in-depth interview of his political career. He believes that he has harnessed some of the same energy that has propelled presumed Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump and to a lesser extent, Democrat Bernie Sanders. Hoosiers are looking for new voices and players to correct what they perceive to be a broken system.

We learned more about Hollingsworth's extensive Indiana business holdings. At one point, he asked for our perspectives and advice, to which HPI responded that he might have commenced his conversation to the voters, Republican Party officials and the press by explaining his Indiana background and his family's desire to live near Louisville.

Hollingsworth faces Democratic Monroe County Councilwoman Shelli Yoder in what appears to be, at this stage, a close race. The 9th CD is a Plus 9 Republican district on the Cook Partisan Index.

Here is our interview with the 9th CD Republican nominee:

HPI: Your primary was a close one with some quality candidates. What do you think pushed you over the top and what did voters see in you that they didn't see in the other candidates?

Hollingsworth: What I think makes me different comes down to two things. The first is business experience. Voters really understand the struggle small and medium

businesses have to be able to create careers that Hoosiers and Americans want. They want someone who has business experience developing products and knows what it's like working in that heavily regulated environment; business experience to know what it's like to create careers and what the government is doing to stop creation of careers for people. It's that business experience that people want in Washington, and people want real change, but that real change isn't coming from people who are architects of the existing system. They don't want more politicians. They want to get back to public service. I think it's a shame that too many people fear the government and don't believe that the government serves them. I want to get back to a government that genuinely serves the people. Signing the term-limit pledge that I brought around to 13,000 homes – that said I was not going to serve more than eight years and you can kick me out every two – made a difference and helped people understand that my interests are their interests. Our interests are truly aligned and I won't be bought off with better titles or offices while in Washington or by promises of leadership; I am genuinely there to serve their interests, not to promote my own career.

HPI: It was sort of a rough primary. You were called names by your opponents that stuck: "Carpetbagger, Tennessee Trey."

Hollingsworth: People forget goodlooking guy.

HPI: Have you talked to your primary opponents since and have they come around to supporting you yet?

Hollingsworth: Look, the reality is that we had great candidates in the primary. Frankly, southern Indiana was lucky to have all of them and was given a real opportunity for choices since we weren't all the same. The unfortunate part is, only one of us could win. But I have spoken to many of them, not all of them, and I think they are coming around, and people are understanding this is a very important election in insuring that southern Indiana not only sends a Republican to Washington but genuinely sends a mandate that conservative change is important. Winning by one vote sends the signal that we want a Republican in Washington; winning by a large margin is what people want to see because it sends the message to Washington that we demand conservative change in Indiana's 9th. I want to insure that this is the genuine start of the conservative movement to get this country back on track.

HPI: Did you do a lot of



Republican 9th CD nominee Trey Hollingsworth during his Howey Politics Interview on Tuesday. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

research on your Republican opponents before the race? Obviously you weren't intimidated to get in.

Hollingsworth: It was a very impressive field and I got to know each of them and to respect them in their respective fields and what they bring to the table. What we really tried to do in the primary was to focus on our message and what makes us different. Other campaigns' goal was to bring others down. Our goal and our mandate was to show why we were different and could make a big difference in Washington. We were going to be different not only in a campaign but in Washington, and I think that resonated with voters. As you said frequently in your columns, it was a tossup. It wasn't ever a certainty, but something we worked really hard at. We believe in voter contact; we knocked on doors and made phone calls, taking that difference to individual voters. Other campaigns will tell you things they don't like about us. What made a difference was, people liked hearing a story and a future painted for them, rather than just hearing negative things.

HPI: When did you decide to run in the 9th, and are reports true that you looked into other openings in other states?

Hollingsworth: My wife is from Louisville, born and raised. She's the middle daughter of a small business owner (Pat's Steakhouse). He has owned that restaurant for the past 60 years. We got married about 20 months ago and she told me, "I want kids and it's really important

that we live near my family." I had been working in Indiana for 10, 11 years before that. I bought my first building in Westfield and renovated it 11 years ago and have since added eight companies here in Indiana. I was always commuting between the various places where we had to live for education and for her work and for my work, and so it made sense that when we wanted to start a family, that it would be close to my work and close enough that we could raise our kids close to their grandparents.

HPI: Talk a little about your Indiana business. You talked about how you refurbish warehouses; how much have you done of that in Indiana?

Hollingsworth: I own nine different companies in Indiana that do everything from aluminum remanufacturing, to renovating abandoned industrial buildings, to leasing offices to small business out of their homes. I have been fortunate to work in Indiana and the largest of my holdings are right here at home in Indiana.

HPI: How many communities do you work in? Are they in one place or are they all over?

Hollingsworth: They are scattered from Fort Wayne to Jeffersonville. Certainly there are some around Westfield and Greenfield. In a lot of areas, we felt we could make a difference in the communities and in the businesses. The fortunate thing is that Indiana is a great state to do business in and I hope that that continues.

HPI: Do you think you could have avoided some

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of the carpetbagger stuff if you had a press conference saying what you just said right now? It's a compelling narrative.

Hollingsworth: I am a business guy at heart. I am not a politician. I have never run for office anywhere before. I am sure that I made mistakes; probably one of those was not more clearly saying that it would come as a great surprise to my wife's family, to my customers who are Hoosiers, to my vendors who are Hoosiers, to my employees that are Hoosiers and to my tenants that are Hoosiers; a great surprise that "he is from somewhere else" or "we don't think he is one of us." I think the biggest mistake I made was not directly answering that. We really tried to focus on the future, because elections are about what we want in our future and who do we want to be. Maybe that was a mistake.

HPI: Part of that primary was you spending a lot on TV ads. You blanketed the air waves and got good name recognition. But it cost around \$2 million dollars. Are you getting the sense that the House Republican Campaign Committee will help finance your general election campaign?

Hollingsworth: I have gotten the sense that enthusiasm is high and that Republicans are really rallying around the entire ticket; that we have a unique opportunity to push back against the liberal agenda that has been devastating small and medium businesses and families who are trying to operate or start their own businesses. Republicans get the sense that this a unique moment in history and a unique time for the ideas that we all know worked to make this country great for 230 years. That is what people are rallying around. I am excited to be part of the team and I am going to do everything I can to be of service to Republicans. I know other Republicans are excited to do whatever they can to be of service to my campaign as well.

HPI: What are the key issues you are going to make in your campaign against Shelli Yoder? What are you going to contrast against her?

Hollingsworth: There is a vast ideological chasm between Shelli Yoder and myself. Our focus is going to be on a choice between two futures, a choice between

two outcomes. We can choose to get back to focusing on business and job creation, creating a more vigorous free market that helps people get better wages, letting them pay for what they want today as well as saving for retirement, for a home, or to start a family. Or, we can continue to devolve into this socialist state with more Obamacare, with more regulations and higher tax rates, where Washington takes not only a bigger slice out of their wallets, but also a bigger slice of the freedoms they should have as Americans and that are endowed to them by the Constitution. I think this is going to be about pushing that vast ideological chasm and helping people understand that this isn't really a race between Trey Hollingsworth and Shelli Yoder, this is a race between conservative constitutional future of America and more liberal socialist policies of the Obama administration.

HPI: The phrasing you use, a choice between two futures, is very similar to what Gov. Pence said at the state convention. Have you met the governor and Todd Young and other Indiana Republican leaders?

Hollingsworth: Many times on the campaign trail Todd Young and I ran into each other, and the governor and I ran into each other. At his Jeffersonville rally where he was doing his kickoff tour, I had met with him earlier that day for 20 to 30 minutes. As I said, Republicans are rallying around the ticket because this election and the outcomes really matter. What we do here in Indiana sends a signal to Washington on what we want for our future.

HPI: What are your thoughts on Donald Trump? Have you met him? Do you think some of the comments like the episode with Judge Curiel go too far?

Hollingsworth: I think people understand that change is necessary in this country. People understand that we can no longer have more of the same, that the status quo is no longer acceptable. People have the great sense, the smart sense, that the people who built this system, the Clintons of the world, the dynasties of the world, that that system isn't working for Hoosiers. It's not working for Americans. It's certainly working for insiders in Washington and from what I hear they are doing great. But it's not working for us out here. It's not working for business owners and those people seeking jobs, and people are finally mad enough to say we need change and that change isn't going to come from the inside but from the outside. I certainly am a big believer that we need business experience in Washington.



Hollingsworth (left) leaves the Indiana Republican Convention earlier this month in Indianapolis. (HPI Photo by Mark Curry)

HPI: During the campaign you certainly used that against Greg Zoeller and obviously it resonated. Talk about how that message resonated in the primary.

Hollingsworth: I think it's exactly that. People have been extending the status quo for a long time thinking that it would get better. Choices were between politician A and politician B and individuals rising in the ranks and trying to go from local level to state level to federal level without any real outside experience. People have come to the conclusion that outside experience is necessary. The founding fathers envisioned that people who had outside experience would take it to Washington to make an impact and then end their service so other people could come to make an impact. I'm not just in favor of sending business people to Washington. I'd love if it a teacher says I know a lot about the education system, I have struggled in it, I've tried to figure it out and I am going to go out there and fix it. They know more about the education system than I do. A doctor who has struggled with health care may think they have the right path forward to take that experience to Washington. We don't need more people in Washington whose only experience is in politics, because what we are tired of as Americans is politics. What we want more of is genuine public service. A big part of that is having outside experience that you can take and make an impact and then come back raise your families and continue your careers under the laws that you helped create. It's kind of like what my grandmother said about cooking: You have to eat your own cooking to make sure that you have done it right.

HPI: For your commercials you made a lot of footage and you did release some B-Roll. Was that planned to be used later for the Super PAC ads?

Hollingsworth: I can assure you that there are countless hours of B-roll and some of which I don't know how it was released. Certainly a lot that was used against me. There was a lot of B-roll footage that we didn't use because I looked bad or it just didn't fit with how we were trying to come across. I guess that's the nature of the world that everything created digitally never goes away.

HPI: Didn't your campaign release a lot of B-roll? We saw it in a lot of TV ads and in the SuperPac ads.

Hollingsworth: Our campaign didn't release any B-roll. It may have been the producers or Jamestown Associates. A lot of time was spent making sure we put out the right message of who we are. I wanted to give people a sense of not only the vision I believe this country is capable of, but also that I was a responsible bearer of that message; that I both had the business experience and the focus on public service. I wanted people to get that



sense, whether that be through commercials or Facebook or through me in person. I wanted this campaign to be reflective of me as much as possible. That got hijacked by others who sought to deride me. The reality is, I do believe in this country and that we can solve these problems together. Betting against the American people has always been a losing proposition. We will solve these problems and I will be a part of those solutions.

HPI: Is there anyone else in that Super PAC who is supporting you besides your father, and do you understand how that may look to a cynical person?

Hollingsworth: You would have to look at the SuperPac or what the record on their finances are and what they spend and what they take in. We are focused on our campaign. I think it's a misnomer to say that my father is the only one supporting me because we found a lot of support from the district, the people that got a phone call from me, the people who met me, the people who got a signed letter from me. We were able to build support, just like every other campaign tries to, for a message that is important to the voters and also a message that we believe in.

HPI: As you're knocking on doors and meeting people of the 9th district, what are the major issues for them and how do they affect your positions?

Hollingsworth: People ask me all the time: Tell me the three or four biggest issues. The biggest issue we face is people don't have a sense of optimism. People don't believe that we can genuinely change this country, they aren't confident about the direction we are going forward. People don't believe that their elected leaders in Washington are up there for them, they think they are out for themselves. When I go door to door, what makes me sad is how many people don't feel like they can achieve the future that their parents had, that they can't achieve the American dream, that they can't own that white picket fence house and have the two kids and save for retirement. What we need to change right now is get people back to where it is possible to come together and take away the regulations and solve all the deficit problems. We can start to build a future that we both really believe in and all be excited about and participate in. I want this country to feel great about its future again. We have faced many problems in our country before and have always overcome them.

HPI: One of the issues that has the most people upset about the future are our serious drug addiction problems, meth, heroin, opioids. What are your plans to start fixing these issues? Have you been to Scott County? That's the epicenter of it.

Hollingsworth: Yes, I have been to Scott County. I met with Hundley farms and talked to a lot of local officials about this issue. We knocked on a lot of doors in

Scott County. I think this is part of the same epidemic. When you are in your late teens and early 20s and feel like you can't achieve anything, or get a real job, or that the American dream is dead to me; that is the vacuum when pessimism and drug addiction begin to take root. I want to build a compelling future for younger Americans that says you can do better and there is opportunity for all of us. This country certainly guarantees opportunity. We have got to get back to the basics of these opportunities. That is enhancing personal freedoms so that the government doesn't reach into our boardrooms and bedrooms and lives to make our decisions for us, rolling back regulations so that we can allow businesses to create jobs for the American dream. That is finally solving all these problems that our government has dithered about for so long and people have suffered because of that dithering.

HPI: We have had a parade of massacres from Newtown to Aurora to Orlando. How would you address this issue?

Hollingsworth: I won't address it by abridging the freedoms that Americans are entitled to in the Constitution. I don't believe that we should make law-abiding citizens guilty of mass murders or crimes terrorists commit. One of the first pieces is assuring that America stays and remains involved in the rest of the world. America has always been a principled force around the world; it needs to remain that way. I want to get back to where our enemies abroad fear us and know that we will cause them harm if they seek to cause us harm. I am tired of American families worried about their safety; I want terrorists around the world fearing for their safety. The answer isn't to pull back, it's to remain engaged. That doesn't mean put a boot on the ground. It means continuing to use our vast ally networks, using our technological advantage or the hard work of the men and women of the service to make sure that there is information on who's doing what and where. We have to empower them to take steps to protect America. I believe that it is a safer world when America is involved.

HPI: The NRA seems to take this stance of any kind of regulation is an abridgment of Constitutional rights. Yet, as a journalist, the 1st Amendment is my life blood but there are limitations. I can't go to a movie theater and yell "Fire!" How do you view putting some responsibility on gun ownership?

Hollingsworth: There is a lot of responsibility that gun owners have. The gun owners I know take a lot of responsibility and hold it to high esteem. We have to continue to preserve the rights afforded to us in the



Constitution; the 2nd Amendment is certainly one of the most important. I want to continue to see an America that wants to focus on enemies that want to do us harm, that to those who come from around the world and demonize our freedoms we send a clear message that we will do harm to them if they seek to do us harm.

HPI: The Constitution Preamble talks about domestic tranquility. With all of these massacres, it seems domestic tranquility gets lost in the balance. Any thoughts on that?

Hollingsworth: I certainly believe our threats come from abroad in a world where America creates a leadership vacuum. I want to get back to where we are a leader in the world and not this weak foreign policy propagated by Obama. What I want to see is an America that is principled strong and stands up for what is right. We are not seeing that. We are enabling enemies abroad and encouraging them to find people here who are sympathetic to their cause.

HPI: Are there any political figures that you look at as a role model?

Hollingsworth: People ask me that all the time. That's a challenge. If I throw a name out, you might say, "What about that vote in 1997?"

HPI: We were thinking more along the lines of Lincoln, Churchill or Reagan. We're just looking for what has helped shape your political career.

Hollingsworth: I believe the fundamental tenets of Trey Hollingsworth for Congress are to focus on the core issues that challenge us and get them resolved. People don't want more talking, they want results. Second is about public service that's right for their country and district, not to advance what is right for their career. When I'm done with my business, I'll put down my mantle and let someone else carry the baton forward. I want Congress to be reflective of the great fabric of this country and all of the different experience and educations. That's what made this country great. What we have in Washington is people getting elected over and over again and not getting the reflection of what makes America great. That's what I want to be like.

HPI: You had an address that was the same as the Senate Conservative Fund. That makes a lot of people think the 9th is just a step to the U.S. Senate seat in 2018. Is it?

Hollingsworth: The pollster that we used was poached to go to the NRSC. That was it. He was in American View Point and retained me as one of his clients.

HPI: How many terms will you stay in Congress then?

Hollingsworth: Eight years max and I can be kicked out every two if the voters don't think I have been holding up to the picture I painted in the primary and in the general. ❖

Baseball, beer, bourbon & whine

By MARK SOUDER

FORT WAYNE – While I am more of a beer guy, or bourbon, Donald Trump has driven me to whine. If I'm not careful, between now and the fall election I could become sort of a political alcoholic filled with constant whine, whine, whine. But the only way to avoid the addiction is to totally abstain from politics, or at least have long dry stretches of Trump withdrawal while focusing on baseball.



Some days Trump makes me angry, as do Hillary and the President, but in today's context of everyone being angry, mine hardly reaches that threshold anymore. When I raise my voice, my face slightly reddened, and make declarations, it sounds like Trump when he's in a good mood. Or Hillary, when she's whispering. At least the President just smirks.

To be considered angry today, you really have to haul out some big verbal guns. Or threaten to use a real gun. Speaking of liberal hysteria, they holler at Trump (correctly) for turning terrorism by an Arab American into an "I told you so," yet every shooting becomes the same for liberals. Primarily another notch on their gun control ban advocacy belt.

If the guns are doing the shooting, why isn't it happening evenly among all groups and in all locations? Why isn't it different when cities like Chicago and Washington ban guns – I mean, it is different, they have more violent crime – but why if controlling the guns is the solution, does it not work?

I'm partly just whining. I've heard every variation of excuse. I understand that income, opportunity and education can help (at least theoretically) control violence. When will liberals acknowledge that two-parent families and moral goals – not perfection but the acknowledged point that there are moral standards we should try to achieve and are promoted – are at least as important as a college degree?

Do not liberals see that the more random violence, not to mention domestic violence, is directly correlated with the collapse of having moral standards as a goal? Moral relativity leads to, well, moral relativity.

We don't even want to stress character education even with no specific Christian message because even "Western standards" are too exclusive and could suggest a Judeo-Christian framework. The risk is too high that people might think Jesus is behind it.

Indiana University President Myles Brand many years ago became enthusiastic when we discussed supporting character education for kids. He was excited about an example of teaching kids not to bang their car door into other people's car doors. Now, I'm not for dinging other people's cars – it actually leads me to whine – but that wasn't precisely what I was focused upon.

But he and I stopped communicating after I said some rather pointed things about the Kinsey Institute being celebrated, bragged about, by IU. What's with that? All sorts of coaches and presidents of universities are fired and shamed for having allowed abuse to happen on campus of the type at the core of Kinsey's research.

Anyway, back to guns. I am not a violent person. I confess that I was sent home for giving Dickie Reed a black eye in second grade at Leo Elementary. He gave me one too, and I probably did hit first. If you are in a fight, and you are the little guy, you'd better hit first because otherwise you will be the only one with a black eye. (I know that isn't in 2 Corinthians.)

And I did get removed from being a safety patrol officer in fifth grade for fighting, but there were no black eyes. My mom even told the story about my compassion when killing ants with a hammer. "Poor ant, I'm sorry but I'm going to smash you with this hammer" was what she overheard. But I don't hunt. I don't even own a gun.

My A+ rating from NRA was a constitutional and philosophical position, not a passionate gun owner position. I do not believe the way gun violence will be stopped is by banning guns. I remember visiting the largest Washington, D.C., juvenile detention center with Jerry Regier when he headed the Juvenile Justice Department. None of the young men in their late teens and early twenties thought they'd live to 25. When you asked them questions, their framework doesn't match that of all the commentary babble.

Around that time Washington Post published an interview of a bunch of kids who had been convicted of violent gun crimes. None purchased their guns at gun shows. They got them on the street. Only one even got their gun from gun store. He had robbed it.

I was the point person in Congress on fighting the D.C. gun ban. Their bright idea was to limit crimes of passion by locking up the gun, disassembled, and with the bullets in another location. Actually passionate people were still murdering at record rates in Washington, but if a rapist or murderer entered your home, you had to find the key for the gun, assemble it, and then go unlock the bullets and load the gun. Assuming you were still alive.

I realize that some pro-gun people are as fanatical as those opposed to guns. Frankly, I find some of them theoretically scary. But I see little or nothing but efforts to restrict law-abiding citizens in proposals. Hardly any of those committing these tragic, horrible killings aren't committing many crimes already. Gun limitations will be worthless until there is also a fundamental agreement that

it is primarily about the people who pull the trigger. Certainly terrorists are part of that character problem, and better screening is needed.

Mental health can be conveniently defined for political purposes but is worth discussion. But so is how to promote stronger families rather than undermining them, and how to strengthen community and religious institutions that are the critical intermediaries rather than consolidating more power in governments.

Mayor Milo is running (for Indiana's health)

By JACK COLWELL

LaPORTE – When Blair Milo, elected mayor of LaPorte at age 28, won a second term last fall, with Democrats choosing not even to oppose her, she was viewed as a potential Indiana Republican superstar, likely to run for higher office.

Milo is running. For sure. But not for higher office. At least not yet. Nor is she running a political course in accord with current Hoosier GOP political wisdom.



She doesn't endorse Donald Trump. She does support a wheel tax, saying it's vital to fix crumbling streets in her city.

Milo is running. The course she ran in May was in "toughman" competition, running a half marathon, 13.1 miles, biking 56 miles and swimming 1.2 miles.

"My two goals were to finish and not die," Milo laughs. She achieved both goals.

She is used to challenges – a couple of marathons and in more serious matters in five and a half years of active duty in the Navy, including stationing on a vital Iraqi oil platform protected by the Navy and being sent to a dangerous part of Pakistan in "what was not my favorite time in the Navy." Other assignments included officer on a destroyer and special assistant to the director of surface warfare.

Milo still is a lieutenant commander in the Navy Reserves. Does she outrank another area mayor in the Navy Reserves, South Bend's Pete Buttigieg? "I do," she said with a mock tone of superiority. "We joke about that. I try to make him give me pushups." Buttigieg is a lieutenant.

"Pete and I are friends," Milo says. They both have fulfilled Navy Reserve requirements at Great Lakes Naval

The conservative Republican opportunity could not be greater. Only we have Trump, who is at least as bad as Clinton. So back to baseball, beer, bourbon, and whine for me. ❖

Souder is a former Republican congressman from Indiana.

Training Center. Both were elected mayor in 2011, she at age 28, he at the much older age of 29. Milo sees similarities in how she and Buttigieg have sought to change the attitude of their cities from "how we can't do it" to "believing in ourselves; to seeing a brighter future."

While Milo doesn't bring up Trump, she doesn't tap dance around the subject or carefully weigh words about somehow supporting the presidential nominee. She made no endorsement in the presidential primary. Is she endorsing Trump now? "I am not." Is she going to the Republican National Convention as a delegate? "No. I was asked . . . I did not feel comfortable with the requirement." The requirement was that the delegate slot was for a Trump-pledged delegate due to the Indiana primary results.

Milo is not endorsing Trump, she says, because Trump has been "offensive and alarming" in attacking a judge born in Indiana, in comments about women, in attitude toward immigrants and in failing to provide details about promises and threats.

Quickly, Milo makes clear she is no fan of Hillary Clinton. She says that improper handling of email in the Navy would bring "15 to 30 days in the brig," not a chance for promotion.

Milo supports Indiana Republicans, Gov. Mike Pence, Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb and Senate nominee Todd Young. She was state co-chair of Holcomb's initial campaign for the Senate. After he was named lieutenant governor, Milo joined Young's primary campaign.

Would she consider seeking the Republican nomination in 2018 to run against Democratic Sen. Joe Donnelly? "That's a few years off," she responds, explaining that she has no set game plan and never thought of running for any elective office until she determined that LaPorte, where she was born and raised, faced fiscal problems she thought she might be able to remedy.

She is a Purdue University graduate and obtained a master's degree from George Washington University. While at Purdue, Milo was a summer intern for Sen. Richard G. Lugar. She considers Lugar "a tremendous role model" and was a recent "Lugar Series" speaker in Indianapolis, urging women in the program to consider government and the possibility of running for office. Milo certainly is into running, maybe in the future for higher office. ❖

Colwell is a South Bend Tribune columnist.

Michael Gerson, Washington Post: Donald Trump's whole campaign now consists of a pathetic irony. He ran attacking the Republican "establishment" at every turn. Now, since he has neglected to construct his own national campaign, he is completely dependent on the "establishment" to provide his political ground game. First he vilifies the GOP, then he complains that it lacks enthusiasm for his cause. Republican convention delegates are sophisticated enough to see what is happening. The Trump campaign claims to be lean; in most of the country, including the battleground states, it is nonexistent. ❖



Dave Bangert, Lafayette Journal & Courier: If George Will asks Mitch Daniels often enough, will the Purdue University president and former Indiana might finally cave and make a run for the White House? In a Wednesday column in the Washington Post, Will – an unabashed fan of Daniels and his work – wrote: "Purdue has the president the nation needs." Will picked up on the commencement speeches Daniels delivered in May to the Class of 2016, when the Purdue president told graduates that they were products of hard work, not dumb luck. Will put Daniels' speech up against one President Barack Obama gave earlier in May, in which he told Howard University graduates: "Yes, you've worked hard, but you've also been lucky. That's a pet peeve of mine: people who have been successful and don't realize they've been lucky." This isn't the first time Will has confessed his allegiance to all things Mitch Daniels. It's also not the first call for Daniels to jump into the fray. When some Indiana GOP delegates traded on "Never Trump" to float "Draft Mitch" talk ahead of the state's May primary, Daniels brushed off the recruiting effort. Is this George Will column – one that reads more like a lament for this year's election than it does a recruiting plea – that changes Daniels' mind? Probably not. ❖

Tim Ethridge, Evansville Courier & Press: Gun rights, terrorism, religion, freedom: We must find a safe balance. The first emailed letters to the editor and the first voice mails arrived, literally, before the blood was dry last Sunday morning. There had been an overnight shooting in Orlando, the city that serves as a family escape for many of us with amusement parks built, in essence, to allow people to escape reality. The shooter had a Near Eastern name, worked as an armed security guard, easily purchased his guns, and had spent time on terror watch lists (but had been removed). The majority of the victims were gay, as the nightclub, Pulse, was a welcoming place for the LGBT community. In one carefully planned night by one certainly troubled man, our nation's most divisive subjects — ISIS-influenced terror, gun control, religion, sexual preference, national security and, always, politics — collided. So the letters and calls came, here and to many other newspapers. Why, said one, are guns so readily available?

What will it take to make it more difficult to acquire semi-automatic weapons and large amounts of ammunition? What if, said another, one patron had been carrying a gun? It's time, said one, that we follow Donald Trump's lead and not only build a wall blocking out Mexico but put further restrictions on immigration from countries with largely Muslim populations. This is another example of failure by President Obama and the likes of Hillary Clinton, another added. People are going to tie this to immigration, said another, but that is what America was built on — and if you can change that welcoming attitude, then why shouldn't you restrict guns, too? Lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgenders reap what they sow, said yet another. And another: Constant legislative attempts in Indiana to curtail LGBT rights — the failed RFRA attempt, fixation on bathroom issues, same-sex marriage — only served to fuel hatred and distrust on both sides of the issue. ❖

George Will, Washington Post: Yes, as Republicans should remember when their convention opens in less than a month, on the one-year anniversary of Donald Trump's disparagement of John McCain as unheroic because he was "captured." McCain was captured (with a broken leg and two broken arms) when North Vietnamese shot down his plane. He chose extra years of torture, refusing to leave when his torturers wanted to release him because he was an admiral's son. Trump says, however, that he, too, has been "very brave" by ignoring the danger of venereal disease during his sexual adventures: "It is a dangerous world out there — it's scary, like Vietnam. Sort of like the Vietnam era. It is my personal Vietnam, I feel like a great and very brave soldier." He was serious; irony is not in this narcissist's repertoire. ❖

Rebecca Berg, Real Clear Politics: Republican donors, still dubious of Donald Trump's prospects in the general election and annoyed by his taunts during the primary, are keeping their wallets closed en masse even as the celebrity businessman has begun to court them. The collective skepticism of the party's most active donors was reflected starkly in Trump's campaign finance report released Monday, which showed just \$1.3 million on hand as of the end of May — nearly one month after he locked up the Republican nomination. Hillary Clinton, for her part, has amassed a \$42 million war chest for the general election, in spite of a primary contest that dragged on until this month. Republican consultant Ed Rollins, who co-founded the pro-Trump Great America super PAC, said the anemic fundraising suggests Trump's candidacy is in "big trouble." "Being perfectly honest, I used to be chairman of a congressional committee, and if I had a House race today that basically came in with that kind of figure in June, I'd take them off the target list." "Fundraising is a problem," another Trump ally acknowledged to RealClearPolitics. "Who gives money to a billionaire?" ❖

House GOP's ACA alternative

WASHINGTON — House Republicans are unveiling new proposals to repeal and replace President Barack Obama's health care law, as Speaker Paul Ryan seeks to showcase a GOP governing agenda amid the tumult of the presidential campaign (Associated Press). The plan, re-revealed Wednesday, relies on individual tax credits to allow people to buy coverage from private insurers, and includes other largely familiar GOP ideas such as medical liability reform and expanding access to health savings accounts. It proposes putting \$25 billion behind high-risk pools for people with pre-existing conditions and for others, and transforming the federal-state Medicaid program for the poor by turning it into state block grants or individual per-capita allotments to hold down spending. But the 37-page white paper falls far short of a full-scale replacement proposal for "Obamacare" and leaves key questions unanswered, including the size of the tax credits, the overall price tag of the plan, and how many people would be covered. "The purpose of this agenda is to show a better way on the big issues of the day," Ryan said.



Councilor Adamson accused of rape

INDIANAPOLIS — Metro Police are looking into an allegation of rape against City-County Councilman Zach Adamson (D-Indianapolis). The alleged incident happened in September 2015, but was just reported Monday, according to IMPD Capt. Rick Riddle. "I've only recently become aware of accusations against me, which are completely untrue and without merit," Adamson said in a written statement to WTHR.com. "Unfortunately, it appears I've become a

target of ridiculous accusations. These allegations of impropriety are false. I can't say that any more strongly." Marion County Prosecutor Terry Curry said he will seek a special prosecutor to review the allegations.

Carson joins House sit-in

WASHINGTON — Rep. Andre Carson joined many of his Democratic colleagues Wednesday in staging a sit-in on the House floor to demand votes on gun control legislation (Groppe, IndyStar). "Congress must not leave Washington, D.C., without voting on common-sense gun violence prevention legislation to save lives," the Indianapolis Democrat said in a statement. "It's simple: No bill, no break."

Sec. Carter calls Crane a 'treasure'

CRANE — An invitation from U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly brought U.S. Secretary of Defense Ashton Carter to Crane Naval Station for "a first-hand look at how Hoosiers help the United States Armed Forces remain the most powerful fighting force the world has ever known" (Bloomington Herald-Times). "This is a national treasure," he said, thanking Donnelly "for knowing the importance of this place." He called Crane's military reach "so wide and deep." And he said the base will continue to serve a role in battling terrorism. "Our job is to destroy ISIL in Iraq and Syria," he said. "It is essential to destroy the idea there could be a state based on this ideology."

Man arrested with explosive vest

GOSHEN — After a Goshen police officer saw 45-year-old Sherman Fuller behaving suspiciously near the Elkhart County Courthouse early Wednesday morning, the officer followed Fuller's white pickup truck and

pulled him over, citing a false license plate (Blake & Sheckler, South Bend Tribune). But the traffic stop took a dangerous turn when the officer saw what Fuller was wearing: A makeshift explosive vest comprised of two homemade pipe bombs strapped to the Goshen man's body. Hours later, Fuller was arrested on suspicion of unauthorized possession, manufacture or distribution of a destructive device, a Level 5 felony. In a statement, Elkhart County Prosecutor Curtis Hill said no evidence suggested Fuller "specifically intended harm to other persons," adding that it appeared he was acting "independently."

Buncich upset about DNC snub

WASHINGTON — Sheriff John Buncich, Lake County Democratic Party chairman, remained bitter over the selection of Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr. by the Hillary Clinton campaign last week as one of the Party Leaders and Elected Officials (PLEO) with a secure spot as a national delegate, a spot traditionally awarded to the county's party leader (Napoleon, Post-Tribune). One candidate for two open male Clinton delegate spots bristled at the creation of a District 1 slate, while another said the at-large delegate selection process was unclear at best. Buncich said it has been "many, many years" since a sitting county party chairman who wanted to attend the national convention was not given a PLEO spot on the national delegation. He opted out of an opportunity to run for one of the two male delegate spots. He said he was pleased with the remaining Lake County delegation that will be heading to Philadelphia. "I think it's a good choice all except for one," Buncich said, referring to the selection of McDermott, the previous county Dem chairman. State Rep. Scott Pelath, D-Michigan City, and Julia Sadia Ramos-Harris of Crown Point were elected to the remaining two District 1 Clinton delegate spots.