



Pence straddles the GOP cataclysm

As Trump declares war on GOP,
Pence fights through loyalty,
Russian hacks & scorched earth

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Hours after Mike Pence recoiled at Donald Trump's lewd remarks in a 2005 "Access Hollywood" video tape with Billy Bush – learning about them at a Toledo restaurant where he was to have a photo op with an autographed hot-dog bun signed by his running mate – the Indiana governor morphed from one who couldn't "condone or defend" the verbiage, to finding a big man of redemption.

"I am truly honored to campaign with him," Pence said Monday morning on MSNBC. "I thought his apology on Friday night was appropriate. I was offended by his comments and urged

him to show his heart to the American people and he did that Sunday night. Donald Trump made it clear that those were only words. He hadn't engaged in any of that behavior and I believe him. I am proud to stand with him." A few



Gov. Mike Pence greets Buckeye voters at Tony Packo's in Toledo where he prepared for a photo op with a Trump autographed hotdog bun when the lewd audio/video story broke.

hours later in North Carolina, Pence said Trump "literally embodies the spirit of America. It takes a big man to know when he's wrong. And to admit it. And (to have) the hu-

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Souder: Who are we?

By **MARK SOUDER**

FORT WAYNE – It was around 2 a.m. on a cold January night in Washington. Looking down at the White House from our room at the Hays-Adams Hotel, the lights were dim outside but it had a glow coming from the lights within. I was about to go live, worldwide, on BBC's morning news show.



The evening before, President William Jefferson Clinton had delivered his annual State of the Union address to Congress. "These are good times for America" he had told us. His message, however, had been overshadowed by the press conference the day before in which he famously said: "I



"It is not acceptable to ask a moral, dignified man to cast his vote to help elect an immoral man who is absent decency or dignity. If the consequences of standing against Trump is indeed the election of Hillary Clinton, so be it."

- Conservative host Glenn Beck



Howey Politics Indiana
WWHowey Media, LLC 405
Massachusetts Ave., Suite
300 Indianapolis, IN 46204
www.howeypolitics.com

Brian A. Howey, Publisher
Mark Schoeff Jr., Washington
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have not had sexual relations with that woman, Miss Lewinsky.”
 BBC had previously tracked me for a year, in Washington and back home in Indiana. When the Republicans had taken over Congress in 1995, there was a lot of confusion worldwide about what it would mean. At one point, in an interview in my hometown of Grabill, their host for the equivalent show to 60 Minutes explained some ground rules for taping.

He explained that many of the newer democracies around the world, mentioning Russia in particular, watched the BBC shows to explain what was happening in U.S. politics because they found American news made too many assumptions about what they understood. For example, I could say “Clinton” or maybe “Gin-grich” or “the freshman” but don’t say “Dole” or other names because we’d have to cut and re-tape. Most listeners had no clue who other legislators were. So keep it simple.

So as I prepared to go live worldwide, I thought I was ready because I had already done this many times on their major shows. Like always, there was some chitchat first with the news producer in London. The focus was on Clinton’s speech and briefly on whether the Monica mess would impact his ability to govern. But I was not ready for the first question.

Que music. Host comes on. Introduces who I am and then asks something like this: “Why are Americans so moralistic that you get all upset when a president drops his pants in the White House? Why should he have to apologize?”

I don’t remember how I responded. Probably that we had expectations about our presidents. Possibly mixed in some history as he followed up the original question. I do know that we didn’t talk economics.

It has long been said that

hypocrisy is the tribute vice pays virtue. On the one hand, as we are again learning – too much, too fast – why “locker room” talk is not generally a desired part of public discourse. It was why “politically correct” became a common term.

The problem is not, however, just about being “politically correct.” When Donald Trump made some outlandish claim in one of the debates, and then tried to defend it as not “politically correct,” another candidate corrected him by saying that “no, Donald, it is just incorrect.”

The problem Trump is having is not just “locker room” banter, but let’s discuss that for a minute. Even ignoring that he was 59, with a reporter, and not in a locker room, it was not just “banter.” And it deni-

National polls in October show a wide gender gap

POLL	WOMEN	MEN
CBS News	Clinton +18	Trump +11
CNN	Clinton +14	Trump +4
Fairleigh Dickinson	Clinton +24	Trump +7
Fox News	Clinton +10	Trump +7
Google Consumer Surveys	Clinton +13	Trump +3
Ipsos/Reuters	Clinton +9	Clinton +5
Morning Consult	Clinton +6	Clinton +4
PRRI/The Atlantic	Clinton +33	Trump +11
Quinnipiac University	Clinton +20	Trump +12
Rasmussen Reports	Clinton +11	Clinton +2
USC Dornsife/LA Times	Clinton +9	Trump +14
YouGov	Clinton +15	Trump +2
Average	Clinton +15	Trump +5

grates locker rooms all over this nation because he implied it was universal.

Some locker rooms may be this way. Penn State comes to mind. But conversations about sexually molesting people is not typical. There are times when talk can be offensive, more than just inappropriate, but Trump’s standard is far lower. Furthermore, it appears that he is being protected from the release of further trash-talking, foul-mouthed tapes from NBC’s “Apprentice.” Like his tax returns, he will falsely hold up legal reasons which, of course, he can waive if he treated the American presidency as the most important job in the world.

Some excuse this most recent evidence of unacceptable behavior for

anyone, yet alone a president, as being 11 years old. However, plenty of evidence has come out of his consistent behavior before and after. In this campaign he flashed his disdain for women who dared challenge him by attacking Carly Fiorina and Megyn Kelly.

As for the recently released tape, Trump first apologized "if anyone was offended." Trump's second apology was about as innocuous as his first one. Then he deflected criticism as if he had actually apologized. During this campaign when asked about forgiveness, he replied "that he didn't bring God into it." What part of repentance, of becoming a Christian, doesn't bring God into it? How can church leaders peddle the supposed faith of a man who didn't understand step one?

"I drink my little wine, have my little cracker" response to a serious question about forgiveness, insults the very sacrifice of Jesus Christ that enables sinners like me and Donald Trump, and everyone else, to be saved. That isn't "political incorrectness." It is "incorrect."

A major personal disappointment to me are the Christian leaders in politics, but especially in Christian ministry, who are excusing or defending Trump. Christian Minister Paula White is the person usually credited as

having led Trump to Christ. White says that she has talked with Trump on spiritual matters for over 15 years, a lot of "locker rooms" and beauty queen dressing rooms ago.

The deepening divide among Republicans is not just because of his lack of personal decency but it highlights a generally dumbed down, relatively incoherent, contradictory, selfish, "back me or I'll destroy you" approach to statist, big government. It is hard to avoid inappropriate language this election, so I apologize for this direct quote from a focus group participant after the first debate: "He's a jackass, but he's our jackass." Except he's not. Trump is not, nor has he ever been, a conservative or a Republican. Specific issues are just a temporary tactic to gain power and glory.

Hillary Clinton is about to be elected president, possibly by a huge margin. But the other question is this: Will there be an articulate opposition or are Republicans going to follow Trump and become another Clinton party? Once anyone sells their soul for power, buying it back is hard. ❖

Souder is a former Republican congressman from Indiana.

Pence straddles, from page 1

military to apologize."

He was reacting to Trump's self-described "locker room talk" that most American men abandon after junior high school (or, perhaps, the frat house). But here was the 60-year-old Trump bragging about extra-marital conquests and "grabbing" female genitalia with this lethal line: "When you're a star they let you do it. You can do anything."

Humility goes only so far. As Pence watched Sunday night's surreal debate between Trump and Hillary Clinton at the Indiana Governor's Residence, there was former President Bill Clinton in the gallery along with past sex partners Paula Jones, Juanita Broadrick, Kathleen Willey and Kathy Shelton. Standing a few yards away was Melania Trump, wearing a Gucci fuchsia pussy-bow blouse, perhaps a statement of defiance so subtle as to have gone unnoticed on North Meridian Street.

During Sunday's debate, Trump was asked by Anderson Cooper if he had sexually assaulted women, something Trump denied and Pence accepts. By this morning, four women came forward to the New York Times, People Magazine and the Palm Beach Post detailing more groping

incidents. A Bill Cosby/Bill Clinton pattern is now emerging.

This juxtaposition of topics associated with the pious, sunny Indiana governor is evidence that we're in the midst of an epic and bizarre campaign. It has morphed beyond Paddy Chayefsky's "Network" and George Miller's "Mad Max" into something we cannot yet understand because the final chaotic chapters have yet to be played out and written. The author of "Confessions of a Negative

Campaigner" now finds himself trolleying with a presidential nominee on the precipice of a down-and-dirty end game that will scorch the earth and the reputations of those who dare give it an imprimatur. It comes with apparent ties between the Trump/Pence campaign and President Putin's Russian government, which has hacked its way into the upper hierarchy of the Clinton campaign. It roils in an outright

feud between Trump and Pence ally House Speaker Paul Ryan, which could eclipse the very majority that brings the Wisconsin speaker power.

With Trump acknowledging a probable defeat, Pence was confronted with a woman named Rhonda in Iowa on Tuesday. "I will tell you just for me – and I don't want this to happen – but I will tell you for me, personally, if Hillary Clinton gets in ... I'm ready for a revolution because we can't have her in."



"Yeah, you don't want – don't say that," Pence responded. He tried to shift her back into a two-century-old American tradition. "There's a revolution coming on November the 8th," Pence said. "I promise you." The fact is, Trump has opened a Pandora's Box of demons, with hope retreating.

The next month promises more than the kind of Reagan or Gingrich revolution that occurs at the ballot box and not in the streets. Last spring, Politico gathered five Trump biographers, Wayne Barrett, Gwenda Blair, Michael D'Antonio, Harry Hurt and Timothy O'Brien. In a reunion conference call on Monday, the tone was ominous. This, they said, is not a show. It is not an act. Donald Trump is, the biographers said, "profoundly narcissistic," "willing to go to lengths we've never seen before in order to satisfy his ego," and "a very dangerous man for the next three or four weeks."

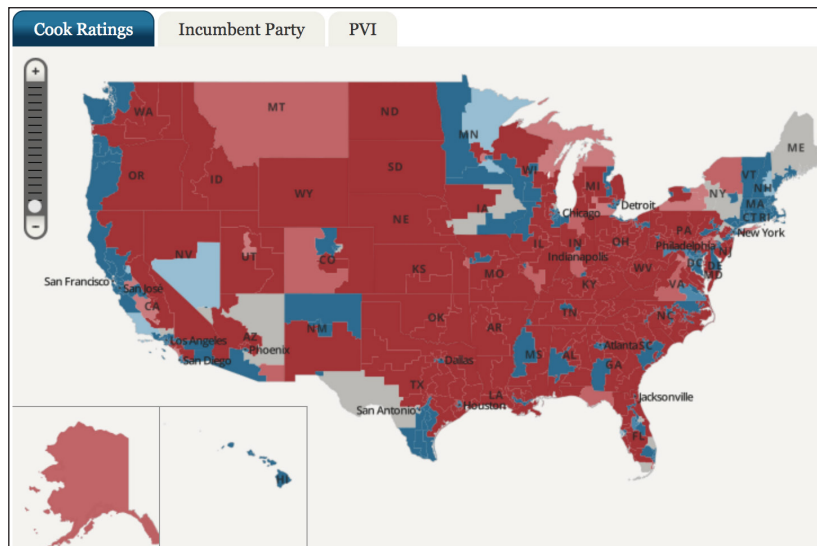
Even the most sacred American value, that of a peaceful, harmonious transition of power between political enemies after an election, is now threatened by the Trump/Pence ticket. In the lifetimes of our readers, we've seen Richard Nixon decide against a recount after John F. Kennedy fraudulently won Texas and Illinois. On Nov. 9, 1960, Nixon conceded, telling journalist Earl Mazo, that "our country cannot afford the agony of a constitutional crisis." A century prior, historian Michael Beschloss noted that defeated Democrat Stephen Douglass held President Lincoln's top hat on his lap during the inaugural address as the nation descended into Civil War.

On Monday in Wilkes-Barre, Trump renewed yet again talk of a "rigged election," saying, "I just hear such reports about Philadelphia. I hear these horror shows and we have to make sure that this election is not stolen from us and is not taken from us. And everybody knows what I am talking about."

RealClearPolitics Election 2016			
President	Senate		House
Election 2016	Clinton	Trump	Spread
RCP Poll Average	48.0	41.8	Clinton +6.2
4-Way RCP Average	44.6	39.1	Clinton +5.5
Favorability Ratings	-9.6	-22.1	Clinton +12.5
Live Betting Odds	86.0	14.0	
Electoral College	Clinton	Trump	Spread
RCP Electoral Map	260	165	Clinton +95
No Toss Up States	340	198	
Battlegrounds ● ○	Clinton	Trump	Spread
Florida	45.1	42.7	Clinton +2.4
Ohio	44.0	43.5	Clinton +0.5
Pennsylvania	47.6	39.0	Clinton +8.6
New Hampshire	44.3	38.3	Clinton +6.0
North Carolina	44.8	42.2	Clinton +2.6
Iowa	38.0	41.7	Trump +3.7
Nevada	43.2	41.8	Clinton +1.4
Wisconsin	44.8	38.0	Clinton +6.8
Minnesota	44.3	40.0	Clinton +4.3
Michigan	44.3	37.3	Clinton +7.0
Colorado	44.3	37.0	Clinton +7.3
Virginia	44.3	36.8	Clinton +7.5
Maine	42.0	37.3	Clinton +4.7
Arizona	41.0	42.0	Trump +1.0

"There is no merit to Donald Trump's claims of widespread voter fraud in Pennsylvania, and to suggest otherwise simply has no basis in fact," said Pennsylvania Gov. Tom Wolf. "His attempts to delegitimize the election in Pennsylvania are disgraceful and dangerous." Having said that, Indiana State Police are now conducting a voter fraud investigation in dozens of counties.

The rigged scenario prompted conservative commentator Charles Krauthammer to observe, "Look, I'm not sure you can call these mistakes. I think they're a reflection of who he is. Everybody expected the pivot to being presidential, to being conciliatory, to bringing the party together, and it never comes. People say mistake after mistake. At some point you have to ask yourself, is he capable of conducting himself in any other way."



Potential fallout

At this writing, with Clinton leading Trump in the a post-second debate NBC/Wall Street Journal Poll by 9%, and with Trump holding just a 5% lead in the WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll of Oct. 3-5, the down ballot consequences are now just coming into play, though lacking focus. Democrats have to be looking at the 2nd and 9th CDs as potential pickups in an outright tsunami.

With Republican Senate nominee Todd Young, Rep. Jackie Walorski and 9th CD nominee Trey Hollingsworth unwilling to cut ties with Trump, in part out of loyalty to Pence, in part for fear of alienating the volatile Trump base, they now descend into a political "Alice in Wonderland," a rabbit hole unlike any other.

The NBC News/Wall Street Journal poll gave Democrats a 7-point lead on the question of which party voters want to control Congress next year. NBC News reported: It's too early to know whether the damage to Trump will be lasting, especially since the post-tape polls thus far render a split decision on his standing relative to last week. Moreover, even the newest polls can't gauge the impact of Sunday night's second debate, if the rancorous

clash moved the numbers at all. Ben Tulchin, a Democratic pollster, said a 6-point lead for Clinton in national polls would give Democrats a long shot at winning back the House. An 8-point lead would really put the House in play, Tulchin wrote in an email, and a double-digit lead would give Democrats "very good chances of winning back the House."

"Is this just a dip, or are our feet in cement? It feels like our feet are in cement," Rob Jesmer, a former executive director of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, told Politico. "But we don't know yet. It's not just this week's data. It's next week. We need to know if this is a blip or if it sticks. In most of these places, just having the Republican vote is not enough. It's pick your poison: Are you worried about your base not turning out? Or are you worried about not getting swing voters?"

A growing consensus among the pundit class is that while Trump threw out enough anti-Clinton red meat at Sunday night's debate to embolden his base, he did little to expand his appeal to independents and moderates still leery of Clinton. It is a worst case scenario for many GOP incumbents who are now between a rock and a hard place. In doing so, he froze the process of Republicans abandoning ship that began en masse over the weekend. Even so, USA Today reported on Wednesday that 26% of Republican governors and members of Congress are refusing to endorse Trump. Of the 31 Republican governors, 54 GOP senators and the 246 Republican members of the House (331 total), the survey identified 87 who are not endorsing Trump's candidacy as of late Tuesday. "It is an extraordinary demonstration of the fracture Trump's candidacy has revealed in the Republican Party," USA Today reported. "There is no precedent in modern American political history for elected officials of either party to refuse en masse to support their presidential nominee."

This erosion of support has yet to occur in Indiana, simply because many Hoosier Republicans remain loyal to Pence, even after he kept between \$5 million and \$6 million of his reelection campaign war chest out of the hands of Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb.

Holcomb is taking a nuanced approach. "It is my full intent to support the Republican nominee, but no one should ever take my vote for granted," Holcomb told the Associated Press on Tuesday. "Over the coming 30 days, I'll evaluate it each day as we go forward." It appears to be right out of the playbook of former U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar, who has taken a similar stance.

Holcomb called Trump's lewd remarks in a 2005

"Access Hollywood" video "disturbing, unsettling, disappointing" but said the alternative of Democrat Hillary Clinton becoming president was "unsatisfactory." Indiana Democratic Chairman John Zody is attempting to make them all pay, saying on Tuesday that Hoosier Republicans "should be ashamed of themselves" for continuing to approve of Trump's candidacy despite his remarks about women. He said those officials are "putting party over country."

Pence straddles history

With Pence, there was a weekend of speculation that he might resign the ticket, as dozens of Republicans jumped ship, many of them openly wishing that Trump would step down and Pence ascend. The problem with that is many state ballots are already printed, and early voting is now underway in dozens of states.

The governor is not drawing big crowds. In Fort Wayne on Sept. 30, a little more than 300 Hoosier Republicans showed up for a rally with him, Holcomb and Young. On Tuesday in North Carolina, only 400 attended. This presents cross currents.

Indiana has a record 4.7 million people registered to vote, many new voters coming from the Trump camp, although Bernie Sanders also expanded the voting pool. One prominent Hoosier Democrat told HPI that there is concern the polls are not picking up all the Trump support. "The guy at the water cooler at the office downtown isn't going to say he's voting for Trump because he'll be perceived by his co-workers as anti-female," the Democrat said. "But he wants to blow up Washington."

While Bloomberg's Mark Halperin said on Monday that Pence was weighing his options over the weekend, on CNN Monday morning, Pence tried to quash such a notion. "It's absolutely false to suggest that at any point in time we considered dropping off this ticket," he said.

"I'll always keep my conversations with Donald Trump and my family private," Pence told CNN's Alisyn Camerota on "New Day." "But it's absolutely false to suggest that at any point in time we considered dropping off this ticket." Running with Trump, Pence said, "is the greatest honor of my life."

Pence is invested in his deal with Trump. He is riding a violent bronco, a metaphor Joe Scarborough used in a different context (the Trump campaign is like the O.J. Simpson Ford Bronco chase in slow motion). Pence has a war chest of \$5-\$6 million he can spread to potential 2020 allies during the 2018 election cycle.

The question at this writing is whether he will be doing it within the Republican Party, or the Trump Party.



Young faces dilemma in Trump separation

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – In the weeks following Donald Trump’s twitter tirade against a beauty queen, and days after Trump’s lewd “Access Hollywood” audio/video surfaced, the Republican Party plunged into a widely described “civil war” and pressure to denounce the nominee ratcheted up for U.S. Rep. Todd Young, who is engaged in a cliff-hanger against Democrat Evan Bayh.

Deep in the cross tabulations of the Oct. 3-5 WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll lie a data set that shows



that Young’s cutting any semblance of ties with Trump would be problematic. It might endear him to independent female voters who could decide this race, but such a stand would hurt him with a base of Trump supporters more than likely to turn out.

Young has long employed the so-called “10 foot pole,” saying for months he would support the nominee. But he did not attend the Republican National Convention in Cleveland, nor has he appeared with Trump at any Indiana rally or fundraiser. The closest he came was a joint rally with Gov. Mike Pence and Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb in Fort Wayne on Sept. 30.

On Monday, Politico reported that Young is still intending to vote for Trump. “The majority of Hoosiers Todd speaks with are still supporting Donald Trump despite their deep reservations, because it’s the only way to ensure we don’t have another four years like the last eight as Hillary Clinton and Evan Bayh would ensure,” said Young spokesman Jay Kenworthy in an email. “Congressman Young is focused on his campaign, which will decide who controls the United States Senate. No matter who wins the presidential election, Congressman Young will be an independent voice in Washington, not a rubber stamp for any party’s agenda.”

With the Sept. 26-28 WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll showing Bayh leading Young by just 42-41%, pollster Gene Ulm of Public Opinion Strategies sees a clearer path for Young to win because the Bayh brand is widely perceived as establishment, a dangerous station this year. “Evan Bayh is going to have to destroy Todd Young,” Ulm

said.

Bayh’s linking Young to Trump could be the best path to achieve that. On Tuesday, Bayh campaign manager Paul Tencher said, “Todd Young says he will be an ‘independent voice’ in the Senate but he is too small and scared to stand up to his own presidential nominee even when many members of his own party have had the courage to rescind their support. Hoosiers want to know if Todd Young is going to vote for Donald Trump despite Trump’s lewd and disgraceful bragging about sexual assault, and Young won’t even give them a straight answer. Instead of being upfront and honest with Hoosiers, his campaign continues to evade tough questions while Todd Young contrives his next best political maneuver around his own crisis of leadership.”

“The only thing more shocking than Donald Trump bragging about sexually assaulting women is that Republican senators and Senate candidates are still supporting him for president,” said Lauren Passalacqua, Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee press secretary. “In sticking with Trump, Republicans like Marco Rubio, Pat Toomey, Richard Burr, Todd Young and Ron Johnson are condoning his behavior, and that is just disgusting and wrong. Voters will hold these candidates accountable for their cowardice at the polls in November.”

With Trump radioactive with a wide swath of the electorate (but not his base), and with Republican U.S. Sens. John McCain, Jeff Flake, Mike Crapo, Kelly Ayotte, Deb Fischer, Mike Lee, John Thune, Rob Portman and Nevada Senate nominee Joe Heck joining dozens of other

Republicans (including the last four presidential nominees) all announcing they won’t vote for Trump, why isn’t Young following suit?

Cross tabulations in the WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll reveals the so-called “double-edged sword” for Young. As we analyzed last week, independent women voters hold the key to this election. While Young leads Bayh among independent males 41-32%, he trails with independent women 39-35%, though Young holds a 38-35% lead among all independent voters.

In other female categories, Bayh leads 47-33% among women age 18-54, 47-42% among those age 54 and up, among women with college degrees at 50-34% and among women without degrees 46-39%.

The dilemma for Young comes with Trump voters, whom he needs to fortify his base. Among all Trump voters, Young has a 78-13% lead. Among voters who have



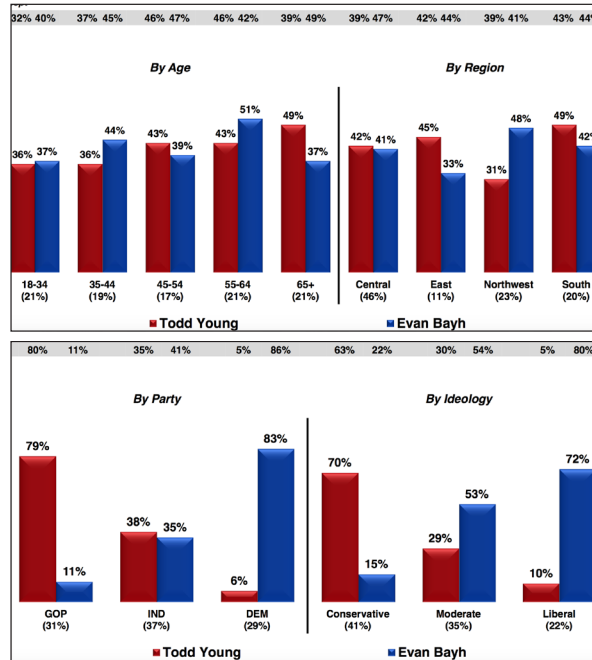
U.S. Rep. Todd Young prepares to make phone calls with campaign volunteers Aaron Minnich and Tyler Woodward, 13, at the Clark County GOP headquarters in Jeffersonville on Saturday. (News & Tribune photo by Josh Hicks).

a favorable image of Trump, Young leads 74-14%. Those with an unfavorable opinion of Trump, Bayh leads 63-16%. Among voters who view Gov. Pence favorably, Young leads 70-18%, whereas Bayh has a 63-19% lead among those who have an unfavorable opinion.

With voters who hold both Trump and Clinton in disdain, Young has a 38-30% lead.

With key issues, those who back Trump on jobs are supporting Young 69-17%; on Trump and immigration, Young leads 71-17%; and on the issue of Trump and terrorism, Young leads 72-14%.

To understand Young's reticence to make a clear break with Trump, look no further than Elkhorn, Wis., last Saturday. House Speaker Paul Ryan, a close ally of both Young and Gov. Pence, had just described Trump's lewd video as "sickening" and asked Trump not to attend. Pence decided to cancel his substitution appearance to reassess the situation.



Ryan appeared with Gov. Scott Walker and U.S. Sen. Ron Johnson, and was heckled by Trump supporters with shouts of "shame on you" and "you turned your backs on us." ABC News reported that Wisconsin Attorney General Brad Schimel, the only speaker to directly address Trump's crude remarks, was heckled when he said, "I know Donald Trump has said some things that are bad."

"Get over it!" someone shouted. Dennis Karbowski, a trucker from Elkhorn, called Ryan a "traitor," adding, "Mr. Trump is human. We've all said those things. ... Either you believe in your party or you don't. I don't like Judases."

Two days later, Speaker Ryan sparked ire within the House Republican conference when he announced he would not campaign with Trump, and told members, "You all need to do what's best for you and your district." He stopped just short of rescinding his tortured endorsement.

Like Young, U.S. Reps. Jackie Walorski in the 2nd CD and Trey Hollingsworth in the 9th CD, both in potential

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tightening races, have denounced Trump's video remarks. But they are not withdrawing their support. Walorski told the Elkhart Truth, "Rather than engage in political punditry, I will continue to do what I've always done: Run an issues-based campaign focused on Hoosiers."

Traveling through the 2nd and 9th CDs, particularly in rural areas, is to find them spackled with Trump/Pence yard signs.

Bayh's wealth in the spotlight

While Democrats seek to exploit Young's Trump problem, Bayh is dealing with more fallout from the wealth he made while serving in the U.S. Senate from 1999 to 2011, and the fact that he was job searching before exiting office, apparently at taxpayer expense.

And, HPI has heard anecdotally from a number of Democrats that many are still angry at him for bolting his 2010 reelection campaign at the 11th hour just before the February filing deadline, even though Bayh had told President Obama in September 2009 that he was "98% certain" he would not seek a third term. That would have been news the Indiana Democratic Party could have used months before the bombshell. That set off what we've called the "Bayh dominoes" that preceded the Democratic Party's southern Indiana erosion that has seen the loss of two congressional districts, leaving just a handful of General Assembly seats in party hands. Bayh also left the scene with almost \$10 million, most of which he hoarded until he forced Baron Hill out of the race in July.

Tuesday's newspaper editions were instructive. The Fort Wayne Journal Gazette reported that Bayh was worth \$30 million, according to his recently filed Senate financial disclosure form, which he delayed for more than two months. That followed a Saturday Associated Press story that revealed Bayh stayed overnight three times at one Apollo executive's New York City residence, and met twice with the company's chief executive, Leon Black. The report was based on Bayh's previously unreleased 2010 schedule.

Also on Tuesday, the IndyStar reported that Bayh met several times with executives from Apollo Global Management during his final months in the U.S. Senate, a direct contradiction of what his campaign has said in recent weeks. Bayh landed a lucrative job with private equity giant Apollo Global Management shortly after leaving office in January 2011. He had in the months prior worked against a tax increase on carried interest and a provision of the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform Act that would have hurt the bottom lines of companies like Apollo.

The timing of the new job prompted IndyStar to ask Bayh's campaign about a half dozen taxpayer-funded trips Bayh took to New York City during the last half of 2010. The flurry of travel was unusual for Bayh; he hadn't

used taxpayer money to travel to New York City since 2002. In response to IndyStar's inquiries, the campaign said in early September that Bayh didn't meet with anyone from Apollo during those trips. "Turns out, that wasn't the case," the Star reported.

"We now know why Evan Bayh has avoided answering questions about what he's been doing the past six years, and we now know why he delayed releasing his public financial disclosure," the Indiana Republican Party said in a statement Monday. "He didn't want Hoosiers to know that he spent his last year in the Senate making votes on behalf of his future employers, and his employers rewarded him handsomely."

The Star and the Journal Gazette reported that Bayh's financial disclosure shows his net worth has shot



up dramatically since he left office, largely because of his work for Apollo. He has received more than \$2 million in income from Apollo since January 2015 and another \$400,000 as a corporate board member at Berry Plastics, a position he obtained because Apollo was once one of the Evansville-based company's largest shareholders. Bayh also reported Apollo-related assets valued at \$5.7 million to \$20.6 million, the report shows. Those investments generated an additional \$91,400 to \$239,100 in income. In all, Bayh and his wife, Susan, have amassed between \$13.7 million and \$47.7 million in assets, a significant

increase over the \$6.8 million to \$8 million he reported in a 2010 disclosure form during his final year in office. More than 40% of his current assets are related to Apollo or Berry Plastics.

The final month

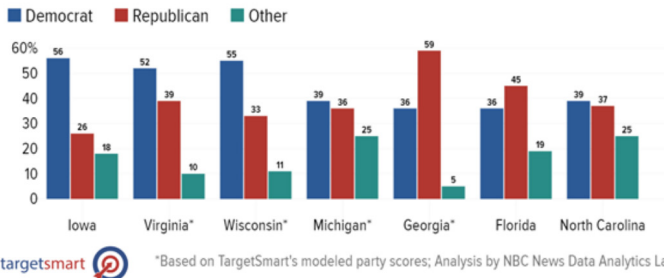
Bayh, Young and Libertarian Lucy Brenton will meet for their only debate at 7 p.m. next Tuesday at WFYI-TV. It will be a potential matchup between the Marine and the lawmaker turned lobbyist. In the week leading up to this fateful showdown, expect Bayh and his super PAC allies to tether Young to Donald Trump. And expect Young and his allies to paint a U.S. senator who enriched himself while in office.

Bayh has money edge

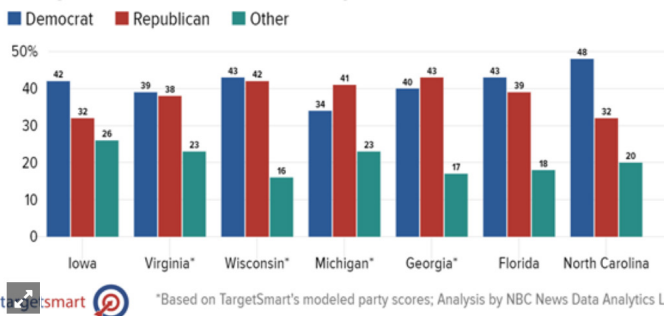
Bayh heads into the homestretch with a \$5 million to \$1.6 million cash advantage over Young, though Young had a third quarter advantage, \$3.4 million to \$2.5 million. Bayh had just under \$10 million when he entered the race in late July. Young has remained competitive with the help of super PACs, including the National Rifle Association, the National Republican Senatorial Committee and the Senate Leadership Fund, a group with ties to Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell. ❖

Party Affiliation of 2016 Early Voters

Data current as of October 11, 2016



Party Affiliation of 2012 Early/Absentee Voters



Bayh no longer seen as unbeatable

By MAUREEN HAYDEN
CNHI Statehouse Bureau

INDIANAPOLIS – Paul Helmke knew he'd be up against a tough candidate when he entered the U.S. Senate race in 1998. His opponent was Birch Evans Bayh III, known as "Evan" to Hoosier voters who'd sent his famous father to serve in the U.S. Senate for 18 years.

The younger Bayh was coming off two terms in the state's highest office, a job he'd won at age 32, gaining national recognition as the country's youngest governor. Bayh's first gubernatorial win had broken a 20-year grip on the office by Republicans. A popular centrist in a conservative state, he was easily re-elected four years later by 25 points.

Still, Helmke's Senate bid caught the attention of The New York Times, which deemed it the toughest Senate election that year. The newspaper described Helmke, a Yale law graduate and former Fort Wayne mayor who'd headed the U.S. Conference of Mayors, as "well-credentialed." The same story called Bayh blessed with a "famous name" and "good looks."

Helmke lost with 35 percent of the vote to Bayh's 64 percent.



Clinton regains lead in Wisconsin

The Marquette Law School poll shows Clinton with a four-point lead over Trump in a head-to-head matchup, 46 percent to 42 percent. Her margin increases in a subsequent question, when respondents are also offered the options of Libertarian Gary Johnson and Green Party nominee Jill Stein: In the four-way ballot test, Clinton leads Trump, 44 percent to 37 percent, with Johnson at 9 percent and Stein at 3 percent.

Clinton has 9% lead in PA

Hillary Clinton holds a commanding 9-point lead on Donald Trump in the critical state of Pennsylvania in a Bloomberg Poll. Clinton has 51 percent to Trump's 42 percent in a two-way race statewide.

Clinton up 12% in Michigan

A Detroit News poll conducted after the second presidential debate shows Hillary Clinton up by almost 12 percentage points over Donald Trump in Michigan. According to The Detroit News poll conducted Monday and Tuesday, Clinton garnered 42.2 percent of support from likely voters, compared to Trump's 30.6 percent. Third-party candidates Gary Johnson and Jill Stein received 10.3 percent and 4.6 percent, respectively. ❖ story/2016/10/michigan-polls-

President

HPI Status: Leans Trump/Pence

Governor

HPI Status: Tossup

U.S. Senate

HPI Status: Tossup

Now, at age 60, Bayh faces his first truly competitive campaign in an effort to take reclaim his old Senate seat. Millions of dollars are pouring into Indiana to help his rival, three-term U.S. Rep. Todd Young. And people like Helmke, who once found themselves in the wake of a candidate considered unbeatable in Indiana, are wondering if time has finally caught up with Evan Bayh.

Bayh parachuted into the race in July, pushing out the less popular primary winner Baron Hill, with nearly \$10 million in campaign cash. He had far more money than Young's \$1.2 million. Early polls showed Bayh leading by 21 points. But Young has closed the gap, and the race is a near dead heat. The country is again watching since Democrats need the seat if they hope to regain control of the Senate.

Other people's money

Money is flowing into the race, but that wasn't the case for Helmke back in '98. His struggle to squeeze

cash from big donors and outside forces came as no surprise. "Evan was considered safe from day one," he said.

Helmke found a shred of hope late in the campaign, when the National Republican Senatorial Committee sent an urgent fundraising letter to donors warning that the GOP was in danger of losing the Indiana seat, then held by Republican Dan Coats. Helmke called the committee to ask when he'd see the money. "We're not giving you the money," he said he was told. "We're saving it for other states, for races we can win."

Helmke isn't the only former Bayh opponent watching in wonder as Young, 44, makes a contest of what was supposed to be a walkaway for Democrats. Marvin Scott, who ran against Bayh in 2004, said he's still bitter that big party donors didn't contribute more to his campaign, though he raised nearly \$3 million on his own.

A Butler University sociology professor, Scott saw himself as a promising candidate, an African-American Republican who better reflected the state's conservative politics than Bayh. But, as he traveled the state, Scott said, he kept encountering women – including Republican women – who told him they liked Bayh for his looks. "I thought, 'How do you beat someone that's more handsome than you are?'" he recalled. Scott lost the race by 24 points.

Sensing opportunity

This year's contest isn't such a slam-dunk for Bayh. For one thing, his opponent is getting multi-million-dollar help from the same national committee that once turned away Helmke. Also, the numbers are breaking Young's way. A week ago, a new WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana poll showed Young rising to within one point of Bayh, at 40 percent to Bayh's declining 41 percent. The difference between them is well within the poll's margin of error of plus or minus four points.

Republicans, having done internal polling, have sensed the narrowing gap, and they see opportunity. Late last week, a major GOP political action committee, the Republican Senate Leadership Fund, announced it is plowing \$8.5 million into the race, with television buys on Young's behalf. That's twice what it originally pledged to spend. That's forced Bayh to beg for more money from small and big donors alike. In late September, the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee revealed it was doubling its original commitment to the Indiana campaign and now plans to spend at least \$5 million to support Bayh.

Howey Politics publisher Brian Howey predicts the race will eclipse the \$50 million spent four year ago, when longtime U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar lost his seat to Democrat Joe Donnelly. Big spending is exactly what some

Republicans hope for. "We think Indiana is going to be the Democrats' Waterloo," Steven Law, president of the Senate Leadership Fund, told The Associated Press. "They are going to spend a fortune here. And they are going to lose."

Bayh and his campaign repeatedly declined to return calls. But in an interview with The New York Times in late September, he already blamed outside forces for the disappearance of his gaping lead. A conservative super PAC associated with brothers Charles and David Koch pledged to spend at least \$1 million in the race. The National Rifle Association announced last month a \$500,000 ad buy to attack Bayh's "anti-gun record."

"Yes, I'm surprised, but that's the Citizens United world we are living in," said Bayh, referring to the U.S. Supreme Court's 2010 ruling that removed major limits on political fundraising and spending.



Democrat Evan Bayh campaigns at the Vigo County Democratic HQ in Terre Haute, where a picture of his father hangs on the wall. (Terre Haute Tribune-Star photo by Jim Avelis)

No longer unbeatable

Political analysts and Young's Republican supporters see it differently. Bayh, they say, is no longer unbeatable. "The last time Evan Bayh was on the ballot was 12 years ago," said Andy Downs, director of the Mike Downs Center for Indiana Politics. "There's a whole generation of young voters who don't know who he is."

Rudy Yakym III, a Republican fundraiser from near South Bend, concurs. "Evan Bayh was elected governor of Indiana when I was four years old," he said. "A generation of voters have no memory of him other than when he left the Senate to permanently live in D.C." Yakym's swipe about Bayh's residence echoes a theme of Young's campaign.

After unexpectedly quitting the Senate in 2010, claiming he was sick of its hyper-partisanship, Bayh joined a Washington law and lobbying firm, McGuireWoods. Though he kept a voting address in Indiana – at a small, one-bedroom condo in Indianapolis – he and wife, Susan, now own two multi-million-dollar homes in Washington.

Young, putting to use the millions pouring into his campaign, has painted Bayh as an aging D.C. insider who is beholden to special interests. His ads, meanwhile, cast Young in an image that recalls a younger Bayh. He is energetic and fit. Young's ads stress his service as a U.S. Marine. And, they promise, he is more closely aligned with Hoosiers' conservative sentiments.

Yakym said he called Young on the day that Bayh made his surprise announcement back in July, amid reports that prominent Democrats including presidential candidate Hillary Clinton had persuaded him to run to reclaim his old seat. Political forecasters were already handing the race to Bayh. "But Todd knew things had changed in Indiana, that it wasn't the 1990s anymore," said Yakym. "He knew Evan wasn't unbeatable." ❖

Walorski talks about her tough reelect bid

By **THOMAS CURRY**

GOSHEN – Locked in another close reelection bid, U.S. Rep Jackie Walorski plans to call on her experience in Washington to differentiate herself from the Democrat challenger, Lynn Coleman. The Coleman campaign argues that Republican Walorski has been inaccessible to voters of the 2nd CD, only agreeing to two debates despite there being many more invitations.



Coleman and the libertarian candidate, Ron Cenkush, will be holding a debate without Walorski's attendance on Nov. 1 at WKUZ in Wabash.

With fewer than 30 days to go, HPI sat down with Walorski to share her thoughts on the campaign, her opponent, the pressing

issues of the day and her work in Congress.

HPI: This year, Indiana has exciting races going on. As a down-ballot candidate, how do you think these races affect your campaign? How do they help you or hurt you?

Walorski: What our campaign has done and will continue to do is no different than any other year. I have a large grass roots base, and we have a lot of momentum, as we always do. We are making thousands of phone calls and I am all over the district like I always am. We are pedal to the metal. This is a swing seat, the only swing seat in Indiana, and we never stop. It's not like we stop planning after the election. No, the very next morning we are back to doing what we always do, that is fighting for Hoosiers and being all over the place to meet with constituents so we can interact. We keep a pretty heavy schedule both in D.C. and back home every weekend. So, we have done nothing different than we do every year. This is a busy time, but we feel we are in very good shape and very strong. Other races come and go; we are consistently steady and don't deter from that plan.

HPI: Talk a little bit more about this swing seat district. You have been in some close elections before and this year many pundits have pegged it a potential upset. Why do you think it is that way and what do you think about your opponent, Lynn Coleman?

Walorski: Well, I have known Lynn since I was much younger, when I was a reporter and he was a police officer. As for the district, it was just drawn this way. When I was a state legislator, this district was heavily competi-

tive. I love this district, how it is a slice of what America looks like. It's not Republican and not Democratic; it's a compilation of Democrats, Republicans, a lot of independents and ballot-splitters. I love the fact that we are the largest manufacturing district in the country; that we are hard-working Hoosier families and that I grew up here. This is my home and it means so much to me to fight for Hoosiers, and it doesn't matter what background they come from. I take it very seriously and I am very passionate about fighting for this district.

HPI: You agreed to two debates coming up. What will you use to differentiate yourself from Lynn Coleman? What would you say is the biggest difference between you?

Walorski: I don't necessarily know Lynn's plans. I haven't heard much from him; I have heard more about debates than anything else. The problems in this country are many, maybe we will hear about those in these two debates. One of the clear differences between us is his loyal support of Obamacare. I have voted against Obamacare 40 times. Every time we would vote in the house, President Obama would make jokes about Republicans trying to repeal Obamacare. But that leveraged a lot of pressure that grew every time we voted to repeal and got us a two-year suspension of the medical device tax. So, while President Obama was laughing, he knew that the will of the people was being protected. Stopping that medical device test was because of my work on Congress voting no on Obamacare. I have seen and I have heard Coleman carry the flag for Obamacare before, which is a failed policy that has fallen apart.

HPI: The question for Obamacare is "what now?" If it gets repealed, what system should be put in place?

Walorski: The House has sat down with physicians and come up with some good plans. That is opening up the states and allowing free market competition, just like any other insurance. Allowing folks to keep their children and young people on their plan until age 26, there are ways to negotiate those things. Just allowing folks to keep their doctors would be huge. That was one of the biggest promises broken by the President. Not being allowed to keep the doctor who may have been a longtime family friend and delivered your children is not right. Putting people back in control of their health care and not allowing government to dictate health care, that's what we need in our district. The cost has already risen dramatically. We are looking anywhere from a 10- to 20-percent increase in cost in 2017. This district is predominately middle-class double-income households, and they can't afford to continue paying more and getting less.

HPI: As you travel around the 2nd and when people call your office in Washington, what issues do you find matter the most to your constituents? What positions



have you taken and what have you done in Congress to deal with those issues?

Walorski: In Indiana, national security is a growing industry, over two billion dollars now in investment. In Congress, I wanted to be on the Arms Services Committee because I care a lot about national security and the jobs it brings into our state. One thing I have done on the Arms Services Committee, just this past session, is pass a bill stopping the release of the Gitmo detainees until after this President leaves office or until the National Defense Authoritarian Budget is enacted, whichever comes first. I think this is really important. Folks in this district are very concerned about national security. They care about terrorists with blood on their hands who are killing our soldiers. I vehemently opposed the Iran deal, which the President concocted on his own, because for the three and a half years I have been in office, I have been very passionate about keeping this country safe. All the meetings and classified briefings tell me the Iran deal was one of the most irresponsible things a person could do. About economic security in our district, it is fighting to free our manufacturers from heavy-handed regulations. In a district as industrious and entrepreneurial as we are, there still isn't a large or small company that doesn't tell me these regulations are killing us. The frustration and the amount of money being kept from hiring additional people is just incredible. I share their frustration because I remember

when IDEM was an advocate for family farmers, and their job was to make sure Hoosier companies would not run into an unfamiliar federal violation. EPA has become a heavy-handed rules-generating and revenue-generating organization. Our folks have to keep up with the fees and the fines and they still have to go out and hire. When it comes to economic health in our area, I am fighting for them to get these regulations off their backs. I have sat on a subcommittee focused on nutrition, finding way to stop this cycle of poverty. Hunger and poverty go hand in hand. We have vetted ideas on how to break that cycle and get people to the point where they can stand up on their own again, because it really is a fiscal cliff. Those are the issues that I have looked at and worked on behalf of this district, its national security, economic security and taking care of our veterans. I am on the Veteran Affairs Committee and it was shocking to see all the promises made to the finest fighters the world and then this government doesn't keep those promises. I seriously try to protect our veterans.

HPI: We hear sad stories about how hard it is for many veterans when they get back home. What needs to change in Washington, or what does Congress have to do to fix this?

Walorski: I have helped pass legislation on this issue. The Arms Services Committee is bipartisan, so colleagues from both sides of the aisle work with me on this. There needs to be a level of transparency that doesn't

4 Drivers
33 Goals
1 Mission

FUELING ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY
AND PROSPERITY
STATEWIDE

INDIANAVISION
2025
A PLAN FOR HOOSIER PROSPERITY

www.indianachamber.com/2025

exist. When we did the big V reform bill a couple of years ago, we rolled out the choice program for rural veterans who have community based hospitals. If they are dealing with something terminal or chronic, they should be able to get treatment near home where their family can support them. My father was a veteran and ultimately died from cancer. He wasn't in the VA system for that cancer therapy. Veterans do so much better when they have support of family and people around them who care about them. We have taken solid steps forward, but we have a long way to go. A recent bill I was involved in was a large bipartisan bill on the issue of the opioid epidemic. I worked with the DEA to allow every prescription to have another government agency look at it. That turns the spigot off, adding accountability to giving prescriptions in Indiana.

HPI: As you said earlier, national security is an important issue in this campaign. Many Hoosiers consider it one of their most important issues. What do you think the next president and the next Congress have to do differently? What mistakes have been made?

Walorski: Certainly, we have not had a commander in chief. When the commander in chief removes himself from that position, it allows vacuums to form around the world, that those vacuums have filled themselves. Now we have an out-of-control situation with ISIS, we have a radical in North Korea testing out his own little warheads. We have China who is building airstrips in the South China Sea. We have an over aggressive Russia and Putin who have never been punished by this country except for a scolding and we have red lines drawn by the President in Syria that he doesn't follow. As they march past the line and started gassing their own people, we just stood by and let that happen. The last seven and a half years we have been disjointed, and that is very dangerous. Both our economic account and perspective on national security have weakened. The next president has to have a plan to take global precedence. We have problems that need to be addressed immediately.

HPI: What are your thoughts on the recent mass shootings and gun violence? What do you think Congress can do to help fix that?

Walorski: One idea is to focus on mental health. Rep. Tim Murphy has worked on for decades on a bill coming closer to moving up; it redefines mental illness and handles things differently. There is a good chance that bill will be debated.

HPI: Where does gun control fit into that?

Walorski: It goes hand in hand. I am a strong supporter of the

2nd Amendment, I co-sponsored the lifetime gun permit bill when I was in the Statehouse. There is a balance we need to achieve, and that is why I am interested in that mental health bill.

HPI: Being in office for two terms now, what are the biggest challenges you have faced? How have you dealt with bipartisanship when it seems like there is so much gridlock?

Walorski: You can't move legislation in the Congress without both sides coming together and working it throughout the system. I happen to be on two extremely bipartisan committees. From day one it is imperative to make partnerships across the aisle. I have had support on the bills I have pushed through the system because I have made those partnerships.

HPI: Congressional approval rating is at a historic low and it seems like nothing gets done. What has to change to get Congress back from this 10% approval rating?




Walorski: The gridlock in Congress revolves around the top 10 ideological differences between Democrats and Republicans. Most bills that go through Congress haven't been controversial, say 90% of what we vote on. The only thing Americans hear is when something is contentious and then the media drives it. I spend my time every day working on issues that Hoosiers care about and need. I don't spend my energy getting in big fights. I went there to take Hoosier values and common sense to make a difference. When you look at the bills I have sponsored like military sexual assault and VA opioid overdoses, it's common sense stuff. I want to make a difference for Hoosiers and that's what I focus on every day. I'm not looking for fights and 15 seconds on some cable show. That's why I come back here every weekend and make sure that I look my constituents in the eyes and do exactly what I went out there do.

HPI: What do you think the next Congress needs to start with right away?




Walorski: Tax reform. We have got to make our tax code more competitive. It's our country that's been on the losing side of tax reform and it's our middle class that's been on the losing side. Entitlement reform is getting this issue of poverty behind us and doing common sense things as I have been doing in Congress.

HPI: What historical figures or political leaders do you consider role models?

Walorski: I have always been impressed by Margaret Thatcher. I grew up with Ronald Reagan running for president when I was in college and I was fascinated by the idea of peace through strength. ❖








2nd CD




HPI Status: Leans Walorski (R)

8th CD

HPI Status: Likely Bucshon (R)

9th CD

HPI Status: Leans Hollingsworth (R)

Tobin's defiance caught the Pope's attention

By MAUREEN HAYDEN
CNHI Statehouse Bureau

INDIANAPOLIS – Catholic Archbishop Joseph Tobin had just celebrated the annual Red Mass for lawyers and judges when he heard details of last week's court ruling striking down Indiana's ban on Syrian refugees.

The mass had included a message from state Supreme Court Chief Justice Loretta Rush, a Catholic, quoting St. Thomas More, the patron of politicians and lawyers: "I die the king's faithful servant, but God's first," More said moments before his head was chopped off for defying King Henry VIII.



Tobin, named by Pope Francis on Sunday as one of the church's new cardinals, found some comfort in More's quandary. For 11 months, Tobin has engaged in some defiance of his own. Last November, Gov. Mike

Pence directed state agencies to cut off funding to Catholic Charities and Exodus Refugees for their resettlement programs for Syrian refugees.

Demand had been growing. Nearly a half million civilians have been killed in the nation's civil war, according to some estimates, many of them at the hands of their own leader. But Pence personally asked Tobin, of Indianapolis, to stop any more Syrian families from coming to Indiana, for fear of Islamic extremists who might lurk among them.

The governor, now Donald Trump's Republican running mate, repeated those fears during Tuesday's nationally televised vice presidential debate. He claimed his order was a matter of national security. "As governor of the state of Indiana, I have no higher priority than safety and security of people in my state," Pence said. "So, you bet I suspended that program. And I stand by that decision."

But Tobin said "no" to Pence back then. So did Cole Varga, director of Exodus Refugees. Since that November order, the organizations have quietly resettled more than 150 Syrian families in Indiana, according to both men. A score or more families are still waiting to come before the year's end.

Pence's order turned out to be a political gesture more than a pragmatic one. Early on, a federal judge issued a preliminary injunction blocking his order. On Monday, a U.S. Appeals Court upheld the decision. In their

opinion, three Republican-appointed judges gave Catholic Charities and Exodus Refugee more legal cover.

Judge Richard Posner wrote that no evidence has been offered showing refugees pose a "terrorist threat." He called Pence's unfounded security claims to be "nightmare speculation."

In hearing of the ruling, Tobin and Varga both thought of the Syrian families they'd met. The families had arrived in Indiana from wretched refugee camps with little money, so often huddled together, just yearning to breathe free. For Tobin, the ruling was affirmation of what he says is the imperative, not just of a Christian community but of civil society. That is, he said, "to welcome people who are in such great need and have endured such suffering as these refugees have."

His decision to defy the governor led the news stories announcing Pope Francis' decision to elevate Tobin to the prestigious rank of cardinal, giving him a vote in future papal elections.

For Varga, it was affirmation of his work. "This is a humanitarian effort we're engaged in," he said.

The men shared another reaction to the court ruling. They described an outpouring of support, in money and volunteers, that has come into their refugee resettlement programs since Pence's order. The first big monetary donation to Catholic Charities came just a day after Pence's order, from a Jewish congregation in Indianapolis who said they had no fear of the refugees.

"This notion of Hoosier Hospitality, I don't think it was a cutesy slogan cooked up by the tourist board," Tobin said. "It's a sincere value that people have around here have long had."

Tobin and Varga believe, too, that the ruling will aid and comfort the refugees as they work to make Indiana their home. Both men said they've worried that anti-immigrant sentiment stirred by Pence's running mate in the presidential campaign has the potential for danger.

"I think it will enhance their sense of security," Tobin said. "They'll know this country is not about the narrow rhetoric that has unfortunately characterized this political election."

Bishop Tobin, is scheduled to speak Friday at the University of Notre Dame on the moral imperative of welcoming refugees. It seems a bit ironic doesn't it, that it's happening at one of the nation's leading Catholic institutions, in a state led by our anti-refugee governor. ❖



Maureen Hayden covers the Indiana Statehouse for CNHI's newspapers and websites. Reach her at mhayden@gmail.com. Follow her on Twitter @MaureenHayden.

Trump moves are disqualifying GOP

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

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. – In the broad sweep of U.S. history, very occasionally one of the major parties simply disqualifies itself from the contest to win the White House by nominating an unelectable, non-mainstream candidate. We suspect that there will never be a better example than Donald Trump. The Republican Party chose a deeply divisive figure, one not supported by many senior figures in the GOP even before the release of Trump’s raunchy 2005 discussion with Access Hollywood’s (and now The Today Show’s) superficial, celebrity-worshipping Billy Bush. (Yes, he is of the Bush family, so a Bush finally speared Trump, however unintentionally.) Their X-rated discussion, and Trump’s insistence on discussing Bill Clinton’s sordid past, has caused voters to usher children out of the room when the TV news comes on. Is this the most embarrassing campaign ever?

It must be close.

There are some amusing aspects to this, including the parade of top Republicans who are shocked, shocked that Trump is capable of lewd, vulgar, crass talk and behavior. What did they think they were getting? Only now do they consider Trump unworthy of their support? And they find themselves in a tough spot because there has always been more resistance to Trump among the party leadership than the rank and file. The vast majority of self-identified Republicans will vote for Trump, and they may be angered by the party leaders who have retracted their endorsements. One thing that’s clear to us is that the idea of Trump actually dropping out is nearly unimaginable – and, no, the Republican National Committee is not going to remove him from the ticket. The Republicans have been stuck with Trump ever since his victory in the Indiana primary on May 3, and practically speaking before that as well.

As we always say, it’s hard to be very confident about what a debate will do to public opinion. We suspect that Trump will get better reviews for this one than his first debate, if only because it would be hard for the reviews to be any worse. Clinton seemed like she was just trying to run out the clock much of the night, which is a natural

but sometimes dangerous position for a politician who is leading. She cited Michelle Obama – “When they go low, we go high” – and said Trump wasn’t telling the truth about some of his accusations but generally decided not to engage. We suspect the Republican base loved Trump’s performance, further driving a wedge between party leaders, many of whom asked Trump to leave the race over the weekend, and GOP voters, who will support the nominee in large numbers. But we also don’t think Clinton did anything to turn off her own base, and in fact she enthused them in some ways.

In other words, this felt like a status quo debate to us. And if that is indeed the case, the outcome is fine for Clinton, because she had reestablished a clear lead in the race going into the weekend.

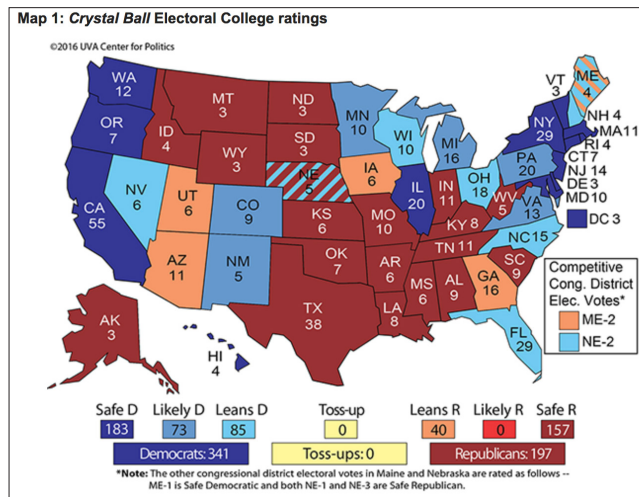
It will take another round of polls to grasp the full impact of the Trump tape and the debate. While it’s tempting to speculate that Trump will free fall, party loyalty in this era is probably too strong for that to happen. But even before the debate, Hillary Clinton has gotten fairly strong numbers. That’s translating to an improved outlook for her in our Electoral College ratings, which are starting to look very similar to the map we had before Clinton’s September swoon.



Ratings changes: Electoral College

We’re making several ratings changes this week, all of them in favor of the Democrats.

First of all, Ohio moves all the way from Leans Republican to Leans Democratic in the Electoral College.



There has been a lot written about why Donald Trump will perform better in Ohio than nationally; we devoted an entire article to it last week. Both the state’s history of having a slight Republican lean and its current demographics make it friendlier to Trump than the nation as a whole. However, polling in the state is showing that Donald Trump’s lead from a few weeks ago has evaporated, and the most recent surveys actually have had Clinton ahead. We’ve also caught wind of some unreleased polling that mirrors these results. If Clinton has a

national lead of around four or five points, there’s good reason to think that Ohio will end up voting for her, even if it has a redder tint than usual.

The Clinton campaign also appears to be redoubling its efforts in this historic bellwether, further putting to bed rumors that the Clinton campaign might not be focusing much on the state (although one never knows what

might happen in the final month of this contest). Clinton herself campaigned on Monday in Columbus, a place where she will likely need to match or probably even exceed Obama's performance to win the state, and President Obama is campaigning in Cleveland and Columbus later in the week. On Thursday, Trump will be in Cincinnati, the heart of vote-rich southwest Ohio, a conservative region that is vital to any Republican's statewide chances.

If Clinton wins Ohio, Trump has no path to victory. No Republican has ever won the White House without it, and, particularly in this election, Ohio's demographics should make it relatively low-hanging fruit for the Republicans. So we now have Trump as the underdog in Florida, North Carolina, and Ohio, three electoral vote-rich states that he absolutely needs to have any chance to win.

The same logic we're using in Ohio we're also applying to Nevada, a state where polling has been very close all year but which should probably lean to Clinton if she's leading nationally by an Obama 2012-style margin. The Silver State, which like Ohio almost always votes for the winning candidate, goes from Toss-up to Leans Democratic. So too does the single electoral vote in Nebraska's 2nd CD, a relatively diverse, well-educated district where Trump doesn't have the same kind of appeal that Mitt Romney did.

We're also going from Leans Democratic to Likely Democratic in Michigan and Pennsylvania, where Clinton now seems to have reasserted herself after some tightening before the first debate. That's particularly true in the Keystone State, where her lead in polling averages right now is bigger than the 5.5 point margin of victory Obama enjoyed there in 2012. These states ended up being bridges too far for even George W. Bush, and Donald Trump is more Billy than George W.

Looming over all of these states are two key factors: Clinton is almost certainly going to have a major ad-spending advantage in all of the states, and she is very likely to have a better-funded and organized ground game effort.

We also wonder if we're snapping back to the point in the race where some regularly red states might be moving back within grasp for Clinton. Polls have often shown a close race in Arizona, a state that has consistently voted significantly more Republican than the national average

for more than half a century. Trump still seemingly leads in Arizona, but the state's growing Hispanic population should be energized to vote against Trump, and the state also has a decent-sized number of Mormons, conservative voters who don't like Trump.

Speaking of, some readers may be startled by our shift of the only Mormon majority state, Utah, from Safe Republican all the way down to Leans Republican. But the recent developments in the Beehive State have been nothing short of jaw-dropping. Trump has been weak there all along, thanks to the strong, continuing opposition of favorite son Mitt Romney, among others. In the state's GOP caucus, Trump was walloped, receiving a mere 14% of the vote to Ted Cruz's 69% and John Kasich's 17%. Early surveys showed Trump ahead in the general election race but running far, far below the massive majorities Utah has regularly delivered to GOP presidential candidates since 1968 (Romney received almost 73% in November 2012). Utah went from having a Republican nominee perfectly designed for the state, Romney, to one who is an almost uniquely poor fit.

And then came the 2005 "Access Hollywood" tape. In short order, a long list of Republican officials (including Gov. Gary Herbert, Sen. Mike Lee, and Reps. Jason Chaffetz, Mia Love, and Chris Stewart) denounced Trump. The Deseret News, long viewed as close to the leaders of Utah's dominant Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons), wrote a scathing editorial repudiating Trump. In a state where character matters a great deal, the Trump sex-talk tape was a deal-breaker. It is unclear what will happen now. ❖



Demonization makes for hard governance

By **LEE HAMILTON**

BLOOMINGTON – We have to be able to disagree in this country without tearing into and trying to destroy the opposition. The politics of demonization that characterizes this election will make it very hard for whoever wins office to govern well.

This campaign year has been full of twists and turns. We don't know what's going to happen tomorrow, let alone on Nov. 8. So talking about what comes afterward seems premature. But it's been on my mind a lot,

because I'm worried. This is not about who wins the presidency. I'm concerned about the aftermath of this campaign season and how hard it's going to be for our next set of elected officials, from the President on down, to govern.

Let's start with the belief expressed by a lot of people, including some candidates, that the system is "rigged." This is a perilous way to treat the

country's political system; it sows distrust in future election results, de-legitimizes winners, and undermines the government's credibility. If the charge takes hold, it will put political stability at risk.

We all have criticisms to make of the system. We know it doesn't work perfectly and that there's no shortage of challenges the nation needs to address. But to convey the impression that the whole system is rigged is dangerous and risky. Without a basic foundation of trust, representative government crumbles. Instead of taking aim at "the system," we could instead focus our criticism on a more substantive target: Politicians, including the two presidential candidates, who have failed to serve us well in their debate on the economy.

Much of the debate has revolved around immigration, trade, and other issues of the moment. These are not unimportant, but they're not the heart of the matter. The real issue, the one that politicians have proffered few solutions for, is that the economy is not working for most people. True, there's been some improvement in the lot of middle-income earners, but the fundamental issue that economists of all stripes have been warning us about remains. This is that we face significant structural problems, driven not so much by foreign competition and immigrant workers, but by advancing technology and globalization.

Our real economic challenge, in other words, is how to provide meaningful work and good wages to tens of millions of clerks, accountants, factory workers and

service providers whose jobs are disappearing because of robots, machine learning, and other irreversible changes in how work is accomplished.

Politicians need to place much more emphasis on economic growth, which is the key that unlocks many doors and is the preferred course to ease the anxiety and cynicism abroad in the country. Growth should be the central aim of economic policy, and how to achieve it should be the focus of the policy debate.

The problem is, this election isn't providing us with a substantial policy debate. We've heard plenty about personality, vision, and the alleged dirty dealing of people on the other side. Serious debate about policy approaches has been replaced by sound bites signifying... well, not very much.

Indeed, if anything characterizes this election, it's the politics of personal destruction. Demonizing the opponent has become the central concern of many campaigns, up and down the political ladder. This approach is toxic for democratic institutions and political culture. We have to be able to disagree in this country on matters of great import and controversy without tearing into and trying to destroy the opposition.

We have always had, and should have, vigorous partisanship. But today, politicians prefer hunkering down with their fellow believers and party members and circling the wagons. This makes it very hard to get negotiations going, which is the only way to make the system work.

All of this: The attacks on the system, the lack of meaningful debate about improving Americans' economic future, the generally substance-free nature of the campaign, the politics of demonization, will make it very hard for whoever wins office to govern well. The anger, frustration, cynicism and outright pessimism that we're seeing in this election cycle will not miraculously dissipate on Election Day.

It used to be that when a president came into office, a substantial majority of the American people gave him the benefit of the doubt, and with it an extended period in which to get things done. I don't believe that's going to happen after this election. And all Americans will be worse off as a result. ❖

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.



Lake Democrats look for boost from Gregg

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – When the 30-day rule kicked in around Northwest Indiana last week, it became increasingly clear who was tagging his wagon to whom.

Most area communities have adopted an ordinance limiting the placement of political yard signs to the 30 days prior to an election. Those ordinances lately have come under fire and there is a move afoot to get rid of them. Lake County Commissioners Attorney John Dull recently said the ordinances are unconstitutional. Until the ordinances are wiped away, municipalities seem to be adhering to the 30-day provision.



Accordingly, the yard signs sprouted last weekend and it is interesting to note whose signs are being paired. At the heart of the matter is John Gregg, the Democratic candidate for governor. It's interesting

whose signs appear with Gregg's. There are Gregg and Shelli VanDenburgh signs together as well as Gregg and Tom O'Donnell signs side by side.

VanDenburgh is trying to win back the 19th House District seat she narrowly lost to Republican Julie Olthoff two years ago. VanDenburgh held the seat in the heart of Lake County for four terms. O'Donnell is taking on incumbent Republican Hal Slager in the 15th House District on the west/central side of Lake County.

O'Donnell took on Slager in 2012 after new House districts were drawn following the 2010 Census. O'Donnell, an attorney and former county councilman, came within a whisker of defeating Slager. Slager easily defeated Democrat Jim Wieser, an attorney and longtime Democratic player, in 2014.

O'Donnell was giving serious thought to running for sheriff in 2018, but party officials convinced him to run for state representative. O'Donnell conceded, thinking that with Donald Trump heading the Republican ticket that he stood a good chance of winning the House seat.

Winning the 15th and 19th districts are important to Democrats if they are to break the Republican super-majority in the House. O'Donnell, as he was putting up signs last weekend, said he felt good about the race, largely be-

cause Trump's campaign seemed to be imploding. However, a question remains about the pairing of the signs. And, that is who stands to gain the most. ❖

9th CD facts vetted by WTHR

INDIANAPOLIS (WTHR) - A wide open House seat in the 9th Congressional District has the two candidates battling it out over the airwaves. Democratic Monroe County Council member Shelli Yoder is running against Republican businessman Trey Hollingsworth. 13 Investigates takes us inside that race and looks at the labels each candidate is trying to make stick on their opponent.

Yellow light: Did Shelli Yoder "repeatedly" vote to raise taxes? From the radio, to the TV, attack ads by Trey Hollingsworth are drawing attention. "Good grief, I've heard enough about socialist Shelli," said the woman's voice in a radio ad paid for by the Super PAC Indiana Jobs Now. "Shelli Yoder voted repeatedly on the County Council to raise taxes," the announcer said in the television ads paid for by Trey Hollingsworth for Indiana. 13 Investigates reviewed council minutes from Monroe County and found Yoder did vote to raise taxes in 2014 and according to news reports, it was to pay for youth services. But this year, Yoder cast the sole single vote against a public safety tax.

Green light: Trey Hollingsworth moved to Indiana last fall; father created Super Pac Indiana Jobs Now. Hollingsworth also criticizes Yoder, a Hoosier by birth, for moving outside of Indiana for ten years. At the same time, the Yoder campaign tags Hollingsworth as Tennessee Trey. "Trey Hollingsworth...moved to Jeffersonville in September and declared his candidacy the next month. He's already spent millions and his father even started a Super Pac to help," said the ad by Shelli Yoder for Indiana. Trey Hollingsworth is a wealthy businessman who did in fact move from Tennessee to Indiana last fall. Based on records from the Federal Election Commission, Hollingsworth's father,

Joe, did in fact create the Super Pac Indiana Jobs Now.

Then there's the radio ad by Indiana Jobs Now calling Yoder a socialist. Her campaign tells us that is an "outright falsehood," and that their candidate has never been associated with the socialist party. Those claims both get red lights for the Hollingsworth team. There is absolutely nothing that suggests Shelli Yoder supports socialist government. ❖

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

Gary Legum, Salon: For just a fleeting moment this past weekend, it looked as if Republican vice presidential nominee Mike Pence might escape from his decaying orbit around Donald Trump with what is left of his dignity intact. Talk of Pence's escape came amid the weekend of fallout over the leak of Trump speaking on a hot mic about his treatment of women he finds attractive, in the process revealing an attitude towards the opposite sex so gross and demeaning that even a Neanderthal might say, "Whoa, dude; that's over the top." The tape was the breaking point for many Republican officeholders who had long grown weary of the candidate and his smoking ruin of a campaign. Quite a few took advantage of the moment to officially withdraw their support, suggesting Trump should quit the race and Pence should replace him at the top of the ticket.

Had Pence made a statement that, of course, he would not accede to a plan that subverted the will of Republican voters who had made Trump the presidential nominee, he might have tamped down at least that part of the crisis. Instead, having condemned the remarks and saying that he was grateful Trump had "expressed remorse" over his comments, he mostly disappeared. When Trump holed up inside his eponymous New York skyscraper to confer with advisers about handling the crisis, Pence was not there, though as a longtime politician he certainly might have had some good advice to offer. By the time of the debate on Sunday night, rumors were spreading that Pence would quit the ticket on Monday. They were exacerbated when, during the debate, moderator Martha Raddatz mentioned to Trump that his position on what America should do about the Syria crisis differed from that of his vice president pick. Trump fixed her with a stern squint and said, "He and I haven't spoken, and I disagree" in a voice so icy you could have played hockey on it. But minutes after the end of Sunday night's debate — a grotesque spectacle that saw Trump threaten to jail his opponent, all but stamp his feet over what he claimed was moderator bias in Clinton's favor, and generally act like a toddler who doesn't want to go to bed — Pence was tweeting out his congratulations to the candidate "on a big debate win." ❖

Dave Bangert, Lafayette Journal & Courier:

Mike Pence woke up Saturday morning coming to the conclusion that he was in no mood and no condition to go stand next to House Speaker Paul Ryan and bear the suragant's brunt of the latest — and possibly crippling — revelations about his running mate, Donald Trump. "I do not condone his remarks and cannot defend them," Indiana's governor said, as pundits and Republican leaders alike were using the phrase "the dam broke." A campaign season's worth of uneasy support gave way on the Republican presidential candidate after a decade-old "Access Hollywood" tape showed Trump talking about how star status gave him the green light to "grab them by the p----

when introduced to women. By Saturday night, Pence was back on that script, according to reports in the Wall Street Journal. ❖

Jon Webb, Evansville Courier & Press: For Todd Young, the "choice" is this: Support Trump and your political future may be cooked. But your political future may be cooked if you don't support Trump. It's a choice Joseph Heller would appreciate if Joseph Heller wasn't dead. So here Young is, forced to bend to party will at the expense of his spine. Our system of government values blind loyalty over intelligence. And if Young is telling the truth, and is determined to live a principled political life based on common sense and bipartisanship, well, he better get used to being alone. ❖



Jonathan Last, Weekly Standard: There is one important sense in which Donald Trump "won" the debate on Sunday night: He did not implode. He wasn't "good," or attractive, or knowledgeable. He was coarse and whiny and unpleasant. He lied constantly. And he became the first presidential candidate in the history of our Republic to promise that if elected he would attempt to have his opponent face criminal prosecution. Actually, he went a bit further than that, telling Clinton that if he is president, "You'd be in jail." Which, by the by, should terrify you and be disqualifying all on its own. But Trump didn't have a psychotic break onstage. And clearing that bar might be enough to keep Mike Pence, Paul Ryan, and Reince Priebus from publicly disavowing his candidacy this week. And that, ladies and gentlemen, is what a win looks like for Trump these days. ❖

Michael Gerson, Washington Post: This sad Republican fate is deserved. It is the culmination, the fruition, of an absurdly simplistic anti-establishment attitude. The Trump campaign is what happens when you choose a presidential candidate without the taint of electoral experience — and all the past vetting that comes with it. It is what happens when you pick a candidate who has not engaged in serious public argument over a period in which his or her views and consistency can be tested. It is what happens when you embrace a candidate only on the basis of an outsider persona, who lacks actual political skills — like making a policy argument, empathizing with a voter or avoiding a constant stream of distracting gaffes. This is what Republicans get for devaluing the calling of public service. When you have contempt for politics, you often get a politics worthy of contempt. Until recently, it was presumed, by both critics and supporters, that the GOP was the party of traditional moral order. Under Trump, it seems much more like British conservatism at its worst — hate and mock the liberals, fear the outsiders, and put a topless woman on Page 3. ❖

Women say Trump groped them

NEW YORK — Several women say Donald Trump lied during the second presidential debate when he said that he never groped women in the manner he described on a 2005 recording, according to reports published Wednesday by The New York Times, People and the Palm Beach Post. On the 2005 tape, Trump tells Access Hollywood host Billy Bush that when he sees attractive women, "I just start kissing them. It's like a magnet. Just kiss. I don't even wait. And when you're a star, they let you do it. You can do anything." But, he has repeatedly dismissed the remarks as "locker room talk." When asked during Sunday's debate if had ever actually done what he described in the tape, Trump said, "No, I have not." At least five women have now contradicted that denial with stories of aggressive sexual advances. One woman says Trump grabbed her breast and put his hand up her skirt on a flight three decades ago. Two other women say Trump kissed them on the mouth at their first meeting. Another says Trump grabbed her butt at a 2003 event at his Mar-a-Lago estate. And a reporter for People says Trump forcibly kissed her before an interview in 2005. "It is absurd to think that one of the most recognizable business leaders on the planet with a strong record of empowering women in his companies would do the things alleged in this story, and for this to only become public decades later in the final month of a campaign for president should say it all," said Jason Miller, a Trump spokesman (CNN).



Messer wants infighting to end

INDIANAPOLIS — Rep. Luke Messer appeared on Fox News and addressed GOP nominee Donald

Trump's campaign, the recent video of the candidate from 2005, and the rift between Trump and House Speaker Paul Ryan (Bunker, Newsmax). "Paul will focus on his job to make sure we have Republican house majority after this election. I think Paul very clearly understands the problems of a Hillary Clinton presidency," the Indiana Republican said of Ryan's fallout with Trump. "This is a non-traditional situation," he continued. "I understand traditionally we've been able to grab the banner of our nominee and full-throated scream and cheer like at a college football game. That is not where we are but the stakes are very high. Frankly I think the vast majority of Republicans across the country are behind our nominee."

Superintendent hopefuls to debate

FORT WAYNE — IPFW will host a debate between the state's two candidates for Superintendent of Public Instruction (WANE-TV). Democrat Glenda Ritz and Republican Jennifer McCormick will debate at noon Monday in the Classic Ballroom in the Walb Student Union on the campus of IPFW. Doors open at 11:30 a.m.

Donnelly visits Lugar Center

TBILISIS, Georgia — U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly visited the nation of Georgia to review U.S.-supported efforts to counter the threat of nuclear and biological terrorism, a news release stated. According to the release, Donnelly met with Georgian leaders and security forces to reinforce the importance of the U.S.-Georgia relationship and toured facilities along the Georgia-Armenia border tasked with identifying, stopping, and deterring the trafficking of nuclear and radiological material. The senator also visited biological research labs, including the renowned Lugar Center for Public Health Research, where the

U.S. works with Georgian counterparts to monitor disease trends in the region and protect dangerous pathogens from falling into the wrong hands.

Early voting starting strong

BLOOMINGTON — Early voting started Wednesday with a bang. By afternoon, around 300 people had come to Election Central at 401 W. Seventh St. to cast a ballot, elections supervisor Laura Dahncke said (Bloomington Herald-Times). A total of 173 people voted on the first day of early voting during the May primary, and 128 voted during the first day of early voting in the municipal election last October. A WISH-TV reporter posted on Twitter that 987 people voted Wednesday at the Marion County clerk's office in Indianapolis, a 31 percent increase from the first day of early voting in 2008.

Arredondo to visit 324 Mex restaurants

INDIANAPOLIS — On the campaign trail, Lorenzo Arredondo, the Democratic candidate State Attorney General, visits the state's 324 supermercados and Mexican restaurants to reach Spanish-speaking Hoosiers, passing out brochures and other freebies (Beilman, News & Tribune). His message - now is the time for Latinos to make their voices heard in elections. "Understand what's at stake here, because if it doesn't happen now it's not going to happen in my lifetime," Arredondo said, referring to Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump's stance on immigration. There's been a concerted effort to engage eligible Latino voters recently. Arredondo claims that if twice as many Latinos in Indiana vote in this year's election as they have in the past, results of state elections could swing in favor of the Democrats.