



20 minutes that captured Gov contrast

Infrastructure and LGBT rights provide greatest contrasts for Gregg, Holcomb

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

EVANSVILLE – “Ha!”

This was a deep-throated staccato mono-syllable projected from the diaphragm of Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb Tuesday night at the University of Southern Indiana. I had heard it before, uttered by Holcomb’s mentor, Purdue President Mitch Daniels. It signals either exceptional glee that the listener had registered a deep concept. Or it signifies contempt.

“How do you spell ‘ha’?” Holcomb asked after his third debate with Democrat John Gregg, who prompted this particular blurt.

This all came down during the following press

conferences. Just minutes before, Howey Politics Indiana asked Gregg where he thought his campaign stood heading into the final two weeks of this unprecedented gubernatorial race.

“In Evansville,” Gregg joked.

C’mon, man.

Gregg pointed to the Gregg/Hale pamphlets that



The essence of the choice between Democrat John Gregg (left) and Republican Eric Holcomb was essentially summed up in 20 minutes on Tuesday night in Evansville. (HPI Photos by Brian A. Howey)



Continued on page 3

No tsunami, earthquake

By **MARK SOUDER**

FORT WAYNE – An election tsunami can sweep away all before it. Off-year elections of 1974, 1994 and 2010 had large numbers of House and Senate incumbents being defeated as well as governors and state legislators who were carried away in the wave. Presidential elections seldom result in such waves because the voter base is larger and the major parties’ core voters more loyal.

This is especially true when the nation is split almost 50-50 (or 25-25-25-25) on how to handle major issues. Any massive losses will be because of a hole opening up in the ground below, a Trumpian



“I have absolute confidence at the local level and the state level that we’ll conduct free and fair elections here in the State of Indiana.”

- Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb, asked by HPI about ‘rigged’ elections and ISP probes



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earthquake that sucks others down, rather than a Clinton ideological tidal wave sweeping away all before it.

Part of the increasingly small chance that Trump has to win remains, in fact, because Clinton is not capable of generating a tsunami. Every time she starts to talk about what she favors the government do, she reminds conservatives why they fear a Clinton presidency. Trump rises. If Trump doesn't inflict personal damage for a 24-hour period, then people who opposed Clinton in the primary for being too establishment (i.e. Sanders voters) or find her corrupt (i.e. most Republicans and most independents) waver. Johnson and/or Stein rise, perhaps Trump even gains a point, and Clinton declines.

This has been illustrated in the WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana polls, because the larger number of Johnson voters as opposed to libertarian candidates for Senate and governor are mostly younger and self-identified liberals (i.e. likely Sanders voters). In state poll after state poll, Clinton does better pitted one on one against Trump than when other candidates are included.

Trump, however, made this election about him, not governing issues, since he entered the race. He was not, is not and likely never will be a conservative or a Republican. He has systematically undermined the entire infrastructure of conservative organizations, spokesmen, values, and ideology the entire campaign. It has been all about him.

So, at the end of the day, it will be decided by how voters feel about Trump, not ideas. Most people will vote based upon the "side" they have historically chosen because of an assumption that the candidate of that side shares similar values and will make appointments from people who

share that side's views.

However, in 2016, such an assumption about Trump cannot be logically asserted (in spite of desperate efforts by some Republicans begging us to believe that – like he listens to any of them). Sanders voters also quite correctly believe that Hillary does not share their economic views. However, when voting, there is a higher likelihood that Sanders voters will find Trump repugnant than anti-Trump Republicans and independents will find Hillary as repugnant.

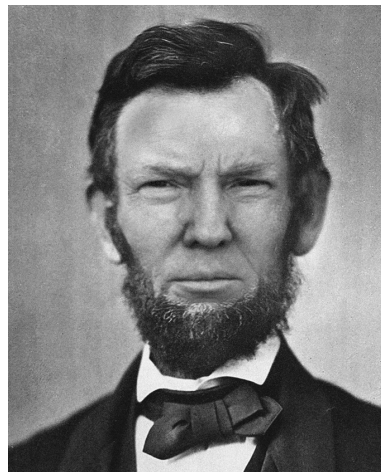
In other words, any Republican candidate other than Trump would likely have won by a decent margin because on issues and because of her personality, Hillary is politically toxic. Republican control of the Senate and House, and in Indiana the governor's office, would have been overwhelmingly likely instead of increasingly in question.

Watching this campaign unfold reminded me of a political lesson repeated in Chris Matthews' book

"Hardball." People assume politics (and life) is about collecting favors you can later cash in. Matthews asserted that it is actually about getting people to let you owe them a favor, so they have a stake in keeping you afloat. Trump is the best example I've ever seen of this.

Trump's families, his creditors, and everyone associated with him have a stake in his success. Mike Pence, Chris Christie, Ben Carson, Rudy Giuliani, Newt Gingrich and other intelligent people are trying to explain away or saying things themselves that are so out of character for them to be asserting as to be inexplicable for any other reason. They are his political "bankers" trying to keep him afloat so their loans get repaid.

What the Trump defenders don't seem to grasp is that when women come forward claiming that he groped them, when people claim he's racist, or when voters feel he is mean, it is not something that was



created by the media. The very desire of Trump to make this election about him, to say outrageous things (“hey, it works”) to get attention, and bragging that he boosts television ratings, correctly assumes that people have watched him for a year now. People have watched, live on TV or on the internet, Trump’s own words, Trump’s own actions. He, himself, overwhelms any commentary. Voters can see with their own eyes and hear with their own ears the disconnection between his advisor’s “clarifications” and Trump’s own words.

Pollster Frank Luntz, like others, says the problem is that Trump is undisciplined. I don’t agree. The problem is Trump. He has no substance. His issue positions are what professionals give him to say, not what he believes. What they excuse as lack of discipline is actually Trump putting his priorities over those of his advisors. His touted “first 100 days” action plan speech at Gettysburg is an example.

Donald Trump stated that his post-election plan is to sue the women who went public with groping charges against him, as well as punishing others who have fallen short of glorifying him. Then he read the issue part of the



Gettysburg speech, which was written by others and contradicts much of what unfiltered Trump had said before he decided to run for president.

When the voting is completed, the ground beneath Trump is likely have sucked him down. The question right now is this: How narrow is the epicenter? Will others fall in?

The major Senate candidates around the country are spending so much money that voters seem to be differentiating most of them from Trump. However, lesser known candidates, such as Eric Holcomb and other down-ballot candidates, are finding it hard to get name identification or issue traction.

Republicans for other offices hope three things keep the Trump sinkhole narrow: 1) That since voters don’t like either presidential candidate they will vote for forced compromise or gridlock as opposed to one-party domination; 2) Republicans have superior down-ballot candidates, which in fact appears to be keeping many of them afloat; and 3) Trump shuts up. ❖

Souder is a former Republican congressman from Indiana

Gregg, Holcomb, from page 1

communications aide Jeff Harris had handed to the gathered press. “We have been what I feel has been the only campaign that has put out a substantive list of plans and details. We answer the how. We don’t just say we’re going to raise wages, we tell how we’re going to raise them,” Gregg said. “There will be metrics to judge whether we’ve been successful. We talk about growth and opportunity, we talk about tax restructuring. We talk about better aligning our training dollars, we talk about how we have to have pre-kindergarten to grow our economy and we’ve got the money to do it without raising taxes by using existing dollars. We talk about how it’s time to stop teaching to the test. We need to start realizing that teachers are part of the solution and not part of the problem.”



Gregg was enunciating a campaign theme of Indiana Democrats. The late-arriving Holcomb, who wasn’t nominated until July 24, was a man without a plan. Gregg/Hale has a 68-page booklet titled, “The Gregg-Hale Plan: Moving Indiana Forward.”

And then came his final point of contrast: “I talk about infrastructure,” Gregg said. “Where is his plan? He doesn’t have one. He’s running for governor and he doesn’t have an infrastructure plan. That’s not vision, that’s not planning.”



Holcomb followed Gregg and was told by a local reporter about the Democrat’s remark.

“Ha!” Holcomb said, a blitz syllable of two letters, an “H” and an “A.” And then he explained his incredulity.

“John Gregg as former speaker of the House had no infrastructure plan other than what he described today, which is to borrow. What he said

today was 'I will raid the Major Moves Trust Fund and we will borrow for three years.'

This set Holcomb up for his reinforcing point, one of 200 miles of new concrete, berms, steel guardrails, beams and bridges, connecting Indianapolis to Evansville, I-69, a road some of us had driven for the first time heading into this encounter. It was a strip of public policy and asset management that Daniels forged, then roared away on his Harley-Davidson in the twilight of his governorship in 2012, perhaps the engine drowning out his own "Ha!"

"I was part of the team that laid out a plan for a longterm, sustainable, data driven, not political, infrastructure program," Holcomb said. He was actually talking about current plans being forged by House Speaker Brian Bosma and House Transportation Chairman Ed Soliday over the past year, that are expected to reach critical mass in the biennial budget session of the Indiana General Assembly less than three months away. But it applies to the work Holcomb did as Daniels' deputy chief of staff, which included appearances at various union halls, gaining support for Major Moves in 2005 with the building trades. It was Major Moves that brought the new U.S. 31, the new I-69, new Ohio River bridges.

"Working with legislators and leaders, we will come up with a long-term plan," Holcomb said before turning his attention to Gregg. "He didn't pour one inch of concrete on I-69 in the entire time he was in the House of Representatives, including six years as speaker. We had projects lying on the shelves gathering dust his entire time, so there is hypocrisy and there's high-pocracy."

"To say the state has no plan I would call high-pocracy," Holcomb concluded.

Indignation was not the singular domain of the Republican. While both Gregg and Holcomb agreed on one point, that the three debates had been "civil," these two dueling press conferences actually captured the thrust of the choice facing Hoosier voters in what is a close race, with Gregg having a nominal advantage in recent polls.

Gregg, too, was ticked. "I was a little surprised about social issues," the Democrat said. "There were no specific questions about RFRA or LGBT civil rights. That's by far the most social issue to crack this state in the last couple of years. I was surprised that it wasn't asked by panel."

What would Gregg do differently? a reporter



John Gregg and Eric Holcomb share a moment of civility in Tuesday night's debate in Evansville.

asked.

"We have a Religious Freedom Restoration Act," Gregg began. "I don't think it was needed, number one." He vowed to repeal it. "Number two, the LGBT issue has been a huge economic problem for us in Indiana, it has damaged our reputation. It makes us look like we're not respecting all Hoosiers. I believe all Hoosiers deserve better."

Gregg continued, "Indiana is a state where federal law allows a same sex couple to get up, go to work, get married at the lunch hour and then come back and find out they can lose their job or their housing without civil rights protection."

In recent political analysis sessions I've had with academics, businessmen and

rainmakers, there is great talk of the various bioscience projects that have steadily morphed into what will be billion-dollar opportunities for the state in the next five years in places like 16 Tech on the IUPUI campus. Asking if RFRA and the lack of LGBT rights are obstacles in making Indiana a bio Silicon Valley is to fetch a torrent of consternation. "It's the phone calls that don't come," said one rainmaker, who just moments before had talked about the gathering capital intended to fund the upper echelons of researchers who in the next five years will be working in labs in downtown Indy.

Holcomb and his campaign manager, Mike O'Brien, who had been a key figure in Indy Competes that had pushed for LGBT rights, have heard this from many of these same players.

This was Gregg's "Ha!" moment.

"It hurts us in keeping talent, attracting talent and it is long overdue," Gregg explained. "It is one of the top five issues with the Chamber of Commerce, one of the top five issues cited by the Thriving Cities/Thriving State. I know my opponent says this is no longer an issue. It's a huge issue."

Gregg continued: "When I met with execs at Eli Lilly they mentioned it. When I met with execs at Cummins, they mentioned it. When I met with execs at Hillenbrand and Salesforce they mentioned it. Salesforce only expanded in Indianapolis because Mayor Gregg Ballard, a Republican, passed a civil rights ordinance. This isn't a Democrat or a Republican issue. Mayor Winnecke here in Evansville has been saying the same thing."

In Holcomb's view, the two polarized sides of the LGBT issue have come to a point of gridlock. Thus, he opts for letting municipalities and counties deal with the

issue. There is a political component to this. If Holcomb endorsed the LGBT expansion, he would lose part of his evangelical base. Essentially, he would lose this election.

While Gregg vows to repeal RFRA, Holcomb snorts, "He wouldn't be able to repeal it. He would need legislative approval. For him to state he would do that unilaterally is just not in the job description. We have taken a couple of runs at this issue. We have watched this issue twice now, this year, once during the General Assembly. We saw no progress. We have a balance now where locals are able to address this."

Gregg makes the case that governors are leaders who build consensus.

In 20 minutes on a late October night on the banks of the Ohio River, we watched these two potential governors grapple with the two issues of our time: Concrete and steel, as well as human capital and dignity. There they stood in stark contrast.

Third debate issues

During the third debate at the University of Southern Indiana Tuesday night, the the candidates asked about expanding the state's needle exchange program that was used to halt the spread of an HIV epidemic in Scott County last year.

"This is an issue that is strangling our families," said Lt. Gov. Holcomb. "We need to continue to explore every way." He said that the state should concentrate on "preventing, enforcing and treating families caught up in this surge." The Republican nominee said that expanding a needle exchange already in use in more than 20 counties "will require legislative action" that would give local governments more options. Many counties are struggling to fund the crisis even after the state allowed them to use needle exchange.

"This is an all-hands-on-deck effort and it will be a top priority in my administration," said Holcomb.

Gregg noted that Indiana leads the nation in domestic methamphetamine production, and is fifth in heroin use. "Yes, I support the needle exchange," Gregg declared. He also said that while Indiana "needs to lock up drug dealers and violent criminals," but added, "we need to look at it as a medical issue. Rehabilitation works."

Libertarian Rex Bell observed that the war on drugs began

a half century ago. "What did we accomplish 50 years ago?" Bell asked. "Nothing. The addiction rate is same as it was 50 years ago. We need to stop treating drug addiction as a crime."

The candidates were asked about allowing medical marijuana for treatment of pediatric diseases. Holcomb took a hard line, saying that weighing the issue during the heroin and meth epidemics "seems off key," noting that "story, after story, after story on drug busts" involved both heroin and marijuana. "I would want to talk a lot more with medical professionals," but added, "Expanding or legalizing marijuana is not on my list."

Gregg said, "I would support medical marijuana. If it would benefit a patient, I think they should be allowed to use it." Gregg talked of the death of his father, Don, last year from esophageal cancer. "The doctor never said anything about cannabis," Gregg said. "We should have had the right to let my dad alleviate that pain."

Bell said, "Yes, I would support medical marijuana." He noted that five states are about to legalize some form of marijuana use on Nov. 8. "Eventually we're going to allow it." In the Oct. 3-5 WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll, on the question of the legalization of medicinal marijuana, 73% favored and 25% opposed.

On Sunday alcohol sales, Holcomb said, "I don't favor it," adding that the lack of Sunday sales "doesn't put an undue burden" on consumers. "They can plan accordingly six days prior."



Gregg said, "If the legislature sent me a bill, I think I would very likely sign it. I would like to see how that debate played out." He noted that his mother was in the gallery. "Contrary to what my mother would say; she's not going to like my answer."

Bell weighed in, saying, "Something legal on Saturday should be legal on Sunday."




Cooper pardon

Holcomb said he understands Gov. Mike Pence's stance that 49-year-old Keith Cooper, who has been denied a pardon for an armed robbery conviction in Elkhart. "I would look forward to quickly exonerating, quickly pardoning, swiftly, if the facts bear that out," Holcomb said.

"The facts in this are pretty clear," Gregg said. "When the system has made a mistake, we need to correct it immediately and move on." ❖






President




HPI Status: Leans Trump/Pence

Governor

HPI Status: Tossup

U.S. Senate

HPI Status: Tossup

Where Gregg, Holcomb stand on key issues

By MAUREEN HAYDEN
CNHI Statehouse Bureau

ANDERSON – With just weeks to go before Election Day, gubernatorial candidates Eric Holcomb and John Gregg met separately with CNHI’s Indiana editors to

discuss a range of topics of interest to voters. Both brought their political views and experience to the conversation, laying out their contrasting visions for the state.

Holcomb, a Republican appointed to his lieutenant governor’s post in March, has only been

in the race since July. He was picked by party leaders to replace Gov. Mike Pence who dropped out after joining the GOP presidential ticket with Donald Trump.

The Democrat Gregg, a lawyer and former legislator who served as House speaker for six years, narrowly lost his bid for governor in 2012, finishing behind Pence by less than 3 points.

Here are excerpts from their conversations with the editors:

On the economy

Holcomb believes a key to boosting the state’s stagnant wages is improving the Hoosiers’ skills to better fit high-wage jobs of the future. But he also said 12 years of Republican leadership has made Indiana a “jobs magnet.”

“Going back to 2005, we were a state drowning in red ink to the tune of \$800 million. We had a twin deficit on our infrastructure, and no money to pay for roads promised to citizens for decades. So we set out to tighten the belt and to live within our means, to start to pay off our debts and become attractive to the job creators of the world to look at as an attractive place to locate or expand, and to date we’ve done that.

“And of course we need to do more, but now today we have a record number of Hoosiers working in the private sector. We’re celebrating our bicentennial, our 200th birthday, on Dec. 11, and that’s a nice present to ourselves to say we have more people working than ever in our 200-

year history.”

Gregg contends that 12 years of Republican leadership hasn’t done enough to help people on the lower end of the economic scale, and he argues that the state’s 4.5% unemployment rate may be deceiving.

“We have low unemployment, which I don’t deny, but the employment rate doesn’t tell the whole story. We’ve still slid further in per-capita income. We’re down to 38th in the nation. For a family of four sitting down for supper, that means they’re making \$7,000 less than that average American family.

“So in our economic program, we talk about targeting with a laser-like focus, on five key areas. They’re high-growth, high-wage jobs – life and bio sciences, information technology, advanced manufacturing, 21st century logistics, and agribusiness. It’s about staying focused on the economy and not social issues.”

On education

Holcomb, the son of a retired public school teacher, says the state’s education system needs to be focused on getting students ready to enter the workforce or college. On the key issue of whether Indiana should expand pre-kindergarten, he favors a measured approach.

“I am all for expanding pre-K. Gov. Pence started, on his watch, the first pilot program for pre-K (for low-income children.) I want to scale that up. I want to make sure we’re starting with the most disadvantaged students among us. I want to move the folks at the back of the line to the front of the line.”

Gregg supports a broad expansion of pre-kindergarten. He argues the state can afford it, at up to \$250 million a year, through unspent appropriations in the budget and future savings in remediation costs. He also says partisanship should be removed from education policy.

“There are 80,000 4-year-olds (in Indiana). I’ve studied the budget along with (Superintendent of Public Instruction) Glenda Ritz and others. We have enough reversions (unspent appropriations) where we could bring it in in three years with no extra tax dollars.

“The second thing: Take the politics out of education, for heaven’s sake. There should never be a liberal idea, a conservative idea, a Democrat idea, or a Republican idea when it comes to education. It’s got to be about the student.



On civil rights law

Holcomb said few people raise the issue of expanding the state’s law to cover sexual orientation and gender identity as he travels the state. He also cites the General Assembly’s failure to pass legislation to address the issue statewide. He argues local communities already have this power.

“In Indiana, we have this balance where local communities can address this issue through their local HROs (human rights ordinances) and not infringe on anyone’s religious beliefs or constitutional rights from the state. So that’s why I think Indiana is in a good place right now in terms of not being a state that discriminates but a state that is welcoming. Speaking for myself, I do not discriminate against anyone for who they love.”

Gregg has a different point of view and pledges to act as soon as he’s elected, arguing such lack of protection has harmed the state’s image. “As governor, I’ll sign an executive order giving civil rights protections to members of the LGBT community who are state employees. And because we’re going to lead by example, we’ll also make sure that companies doing business with the state do not have discriminatory policies.

“The other thing we’ll do is work with the legislature to pass it. This isn’t a Democrat or Republican issue, as much as my Democrat friends like to tell you it is. There are many Republicans that feel this way, too. We’ll get it

done, in time.

On redistricting

Holcomb said he supports the idea of putting redistricting of congressional and legislative districts into the hands of a non-partisan commission, removing it from the General Assembly.

“I want to make sure we get it right. I would be proud if it occurred on our watch. The trick is to make sure you truly get a non-partisan body. Computer technology can go a long way on this front. I think we can get there. And I think it would be a huge sign of success for our citizen Legislature and executive branch to say, we’ve done something that’s never been done before here.”

Gregg also supports an independent redistricting commission to end the gerrymandering of districts to favor one party over the other.

“It’s something the legislature has to do, but I intend to encourage it. Redistricting, because of computers, has become a science. You can cut the districts in the state of Indiana in a way where you’re always going to have 67 or 68 Republican seats. When you do that, you’ve empowered their base to control that nominating process, and thus you get involved in these social issues, and we know where that goes. It’s long overdue.”

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On road funding

Holcomb supports the efforts of a legislative study committee currently looking at a wide range of options for future road funding, including more toll roads and gas taxes, though he hasn't committed to any solution.

"We've agreed we're not going to start taking revenue streams

off the table at the beginning of the discussion, pinning us into one corner or another. Because if our goal is to get to a truly, not rhetorical, long-term, sustainable, data-driven and not politically driven, infrastructure program, then we are going to have to pay for it."

Gregg doesn't support a gas tax increase to pay for road projects but instead proposes a mix of other funding mechanisms, including tapping into a highway trust fund with revenues from the Indiana Toll Road or using some of the state's budget surplus. "You can't ask Hoosiers to pay any more money when all they hear is that we, as a state, have a \$2.4 billion surplus. I can stop anybody on



the street and they know the state's got a big surplus."

On the presidential race

Gregg supports Democrat Hillary Clinton, with reservations given that she's more liberal than he is. "Well, I didn't take her to the prom. That's been sort of my standard line. I do support Mrs. Clinton for president, but we've stayed focused on our race. The truth of the matter is, in Indiana for

me to get elected, I have to have Republican support. The one biggest attack they can say against me, is to say I'm a Democrat and say it in horrible, gnarly way."

Holcomb supports Donald Trump, though with reservations given his disparaging remarks about women, minorities and others during the campaign. "I don't agree with any disparaging comments toward anyone. I tend to focus on my conduct, and I'm running for governor in a 100-day campaign which is unprecedented. So I'm pretty focused on running for governor not running someone's presidential campaign." ❖

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Yoder searches for Trump country votes

By THOMAS CURRY

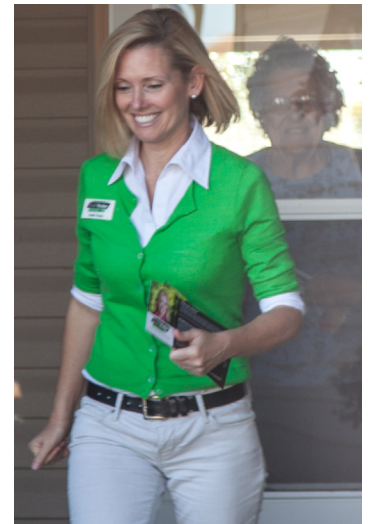
SEYMOUR – After raising \$439,000 in the last quarter and with an October Garin-Hart-Young poll showing her race to be a tossup, Democrat Shelli Yoder is confident with less than 20 days left in her 9th CD campaign for Congress. The Monroe County councilwoman's race vs. Republican Trey Hollingsworth has attracted national attention from the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee in the form of a recently released ad partially funded by the DCCC.

The 9th CD, which had been considered safe Republican since 2010, has come into play due to claims that Hollingsworth moved to Indiana from Tennessee for the purpose of buying the Congressional seat and was therefore labeled a carpetbagger by his Republican primary oppo-

stituents was to get out and vote, while also doing what Yoder called "informing people about what this race is really about; making sure rural Indiana isn't forgotten." Yoder has challenged Hollingsworth's intentions multiple times by publically questioning why he won't release his tax returns and has said that "it is only fair for voters to know who my opponent really is."

Meanwhile, the Hollingsworth campaign has focused on attacking Yoder for her work on the Monroe County Council, which saw taxes rise every year she was a member. It is part of an attempt by the Hollingsworth campaign to tie Yoder to "tax and spending Hillary Clinton," who Hollingsworth considers the wrong choice for Indiana. Yoder has argued that these claims are "ridiculous" and that her work in local government "doesn't mean I am some Washington insider."

A common sight on the door-to-door tour through rural Indiana was Trump/Pence signs on nearly every block. Yoder spoke with multiple Trump supporters who claimed that they were considering Yoder in the congressional race due to Hollingsworth appearing as an outsider to Indiana. Yoder shared that many of the voters she talked to "were informed and know what is going on in



9th CD Democrat Shelli Yoder goes door to door deep in Trump/Pence country in Seymour on Saturday. (HPI Photos by Thomas Curry)

nents. Hollingsworth's campaign has been heavily financed by a Super Pac created by his father and spent nearly \$2 million in the primary alone.

On Saturday, Yoder reached out to voters in the key areas of the southern part of the district. The campaign labeled the effort a "diner and door tour." In Paoli, Yoder took to canvassing a neighborhood with local organizers. At West Washington Junior/Senior High School in Campbellsburg, Yoder mingled with students and parents during a volleyball meet of teams throughout the district. In the afternoon, Yoder made her way to Seymour to eat at Larrison's Diner, where she met with the Larrison family, 9th CD Democrats and former public officials.

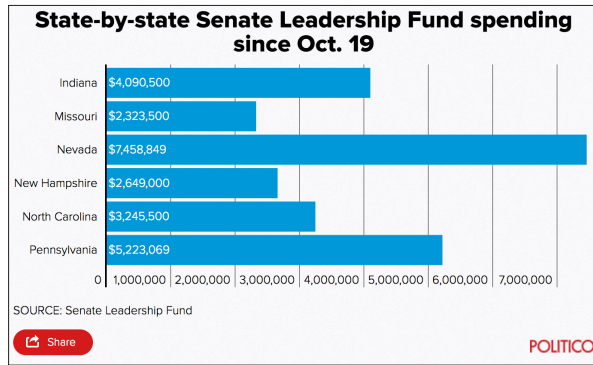
Throughout the day, Yoder's message to potential

this race. They know who my opponent really is."

Indiana voters are set to have a plethora of split tickets this year with polls showing Trump ahead but the gubernatorial and Senate races leaning Democrat. Yoder said of the split ticket effect that "absolutely we will get split tickets, that is the Hoosier way. We are common sense folks who will look at the person and be informed and go into that voting booth knowing who is going to serve them best. I have a proven track record of working hard to make sure that the lives of Hoosiers is better."

With only days to go, Yoder feels she has support and momentum behind her, despite her opponent's wealth and the way the district was drawn. "We have seen lots of Hoosiers excited about this race. They are making sure

that their representation stays right here in the 9th District and doesn't come from another state," Yoder said. "We will never have as much money as my opponent; he comes from money and he is a self-funder. But we know that he has already spent \$4 million and we are still tied in all the polls. When you have the National Republican Campaign Committee dump over \$1 million in this race, we know that their internal polling is showing the same result."



Senate

\$4 million more for Young

The Senate Leadership Fund is pumping another \$4 million into Republican Todd Young's battle against Democrat Evan Bayh. It is part of a staggering \$25 million buy in five states to counter what allies of Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell see as a potential tidal wave.

It comes after the Hillary Clinton presidential campaign announced it was spending \$1 million in both Indiana and Missouri to bolster Senate and gubernatorial candidates.

"Over the last two weeks, we've seen every liberal Democratic group descend on these races," said Steven Law, president of the Senate Leadership Fund. "Democrats feel like the presidential race is in the bag for them and are looking for fresh game in the Senate."

The SLF has invested \$9 million on behalf of Young. On Sunday, it announced a new ad against Bayh titled, "Can't Remember," focuses on Bayh's dishonest responses after then-Senator Bayh was caught using taxpayer money to interview for a job at a company that later hired him. The ad also reminds viewers that Bayh also voted in the Senate to help the same company with whom he was interviewing.

Buzzfeed on Bayh's Iraq War schedule

Buzzfeed's John Stanton reports on the day the Iraq War began, U.S. Sen Evan Bayh skipped an Armed Services hearing for a breakfast with lobbyists, then flew to Vail for a three-day ski trip and fundraising swing. But the ambitious senator rarely showed up to hearings of the committee, particularly in the run up to the March 20, 2003, invasion of Iraq. According

to attendance data on the committee's website, Bayh only attended five of the 24 hearings Armed Services held between Jan. 1, 2003, and April 9, 2003, the day Hussein's statue was toppled in Baghdad. Overall, throughout his career on the committee, the Indiana Democrat would miss roughly 76% of hearings, a figure reported by the Free Beacon earlier this month.

In fact, on the morning of the invasion, the committee held a hearing on that year's defense authorization bill, a critical piece of legislation that laid out defense spending priorities for fiscal year. But while Bayh would miss the 9:45 a.m. hearing – where then Energy Secretary Spencer Abraham would testify about his department's atomic energy defense activities – he did make it to an "informal breakfast" held by the Investment Company Institute earlier that morning. That evening, as the first steps of the invasion of Iraq were raging, Bayh attended a reception, which a Republican charged was a fundraiser, at the home of Jamie Gorelick, who at the time was vice chair of Fannie Mae. The next day, following a members' briefing on the war, Bayh and his wife would head out of D.C. to Vail, Colorado, for three days, where he would attend fundraisers and a charity event.

Bayh's campaign rejected that argument, noting that the leaked schedule does not include everything Bayh did during his tenure and does not reflect his work on national defense and veteran affairs.

"The documents being provided to press by a political opponent of Evan's in the final days before an election are at best incomplete and not reliable sources of information on how his time was spent," Bayh spokesman Ben Ray said. "Evan Bayh has worked consistently to support our men and women in uniform and a strong national defense, from fighting for up-armored Humvees in the Senate to his current work on the external advisory board of the CIA. His opponent, Congressman Young, either didn't show or didn't speak at more than 80% of his Armed Services hearings," Ray added.

Booker stumps for Bayh

U.S. Sen. Cory Booker, seen by many as a rising star in the national Democratic Party, visited a crowded union hall here Tuesday night to urge phone-bank volunteers wearing "Bayh for Senate" stickers to press a little harder.

Earlier in the day, New Jersey's junior senator called on black voters in Gary to cast ballots for a fellow Democrat, Evan Bayh. He pleaded with volunteers in both places to adopt the mantra:

2nd CD

HPI Status: Leans Walorski (R)

9th CD

HPI Status: Tossup

"If it's to be, it's up to me."

In the waning days of a contentious campaign, it's the kind of help Bayh may need most. Facing an onslaught of criticism from his Republican opponent, U.S. Rep. Todd Young, Bayh is pushing back on accusations that he abandoned Indiana to enrich himself before leaving the Senate in 2010. Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign infused \$500,000 into the state Democrats' get-out-the-vote effort last week, adding to a combined \$30 million already poured into the Senate race from both sides.

A recent Bayh campaign ad features some of his supporters calling on voters to reject blistering ads sponsored by outside groups that "smear" him.

Booker echoed the defensive theme on Tuesday.

"Voters are far more sophisticated than many people give them credit for; they can see these ads are just trying to distort the truth and just smear a good man who's already earned a good reputation," he said.

On hearing that comment, Young's campaign spokesman, Jay Kenworthy, noted Bayh's absence from the state during Booker's visit. That's because he was attending a private fundraising event in Texas. "Indiana voters are smart enough to know when they are being taken advantage of," Kenworthy said.

- Maureen Hayen, CNHI

Henry campaigns for Bayh

Fort Wayne Mayor Tom Henry preached to the choir Wednesday (Francisco, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). The Democratic mayor urged about 20 local Democrats who had gathered at Allen County Democratic Party Headquarters to support Democratic U.S. Senate candidate Evan Bayh. "You know Evan Bayh, I know Evan Bayh," Henry told the audience. "He has stood up over the years for students, for seniors, for union workers and has fought to help Medicare and all of the programs that we as Hoosiers deserve."

Late money in 6 House, 3 Senate races

Based on large late contributions, there are five House races (possibly a sixth) and two Senate races (possibly a third) in doubt.

The House Republican Campaign Committee has distributed \$130,000 in an effort to defend three incumbents and keep a fourth seat in GOP hands. House Democrats, meanwhile, are directing most of their limited funds to those seats and two others - the HD20 seat left open by the retirement of Republican Rep. Tom Dermody, and the HD4 seat held by GOP incumbent Ed Soliday.

Based on these reports, GOP incumbent Alan Morrison may be most in jeopardy. HRCC gave him \$40,000 in an effort to forestall a strong challenge from former State Sen. Tim Skinner. Morrison recently took a job with a company involved in the

vape legislation controversy from last session.

Interestingly, HRCC has so far not directed money to Soliday, even though the district only leans Republican and he faces an allegedly good Democratic opponent in Pamela Fish. Soliday is apparently polling well enough that he doesn't need the extra support.

Neither is the HRCC doing much for Jim Pressel, who faces a star Democrat recruit in Karen Biernacki in HD20.

As you can see in the charts below, of all of the late money reviewed in 21 races, the overwhelming majority - over 90% - was directed to just six races out of 100.

In the Senate, all of the money has been directed to three races, and one of them - in SD4 where Ed Charbonneau is the incumbent - is receiving comparatively modest financial assistance. The two big races are in the Indianapolis area where Republican John Ruckelshaus hopes to keep SD30 in GOP hands against Democrat Pam Hickman, and Aaron Freeman is undertaking the same job in HD32 against Democrat Sarah Wiley.

The Senate Majority Campaign Committee gave Ruckelshaus \$165,000 and Freeman \$50,000. Hickman got \$25,000 from the Senate Democratic Caucus and Wiley got \$25,000 from the Indiana State Teachers Association. ❖

District	Candidates	DEM	GOP	TOTAL
19	Shelli VanDenburgh	\$5,447		\$55,447
	Julie Olthoff		\$50,000	
42	Tim Skinner	\$6,500		\$46,500
	Alan Morrison		\$40,000	
26	Victoria Woeste	\$2,000		\$24,000
	Sally Siegrist		\$22,000	
12	Mara Reardon	\$3,000		\$23,000
	William Fine		\$20,000	
20	Karen Biernacki	\$9,500		\$13,000
	Jim Pressel		\$3,500	
4	Pamela Fish	\$9,550		\$11,550
	Ed Soliday		\$2,000	
Total		\$35,997	\$137,500	\$173,497
<i>% of Total Late Money</i>		<i>76%</i>	<i>98%</i>	<i>93%</i>

District	Candidates	DEM	GOP	TOTAL
30	Pam Hickman	\$25,000		\$206,000
	John Ruckelshaus		\$181,000	
32	Sarah Wiley	\$25,000		\$101,439
	Aaron Freeman		\$76,439	
5	Jim Harper	\$2,614		\$22,310
	Ed Charbonneau		\$19,696	
Total		\$52,614	\$277,135	\$329,749
<i>% of Total Late Money</i>		<i>100%</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>100%</i>

Trump slide pushes Walorski into a battle

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Two things seemed certain last summer as folks around South Bend looked ahead to the fall sports of football and politics: Notre Dame would beat underdog Duke easily in football and Jackie Walorski would beat some guy named Coleman easily for Congress. You could bet on it. Some did, on the football game. What though the odds, Duke won over defenseless Notre Dame.



Now, how about that political certainty? That certainty of reelection of Congresswoman Walorski, much better funded, much better known and much better situated in a Republican-flavored district

in which she carried nine of the 10 counties last time? Walorski isn't defenseless, not with all the money she has for TV. She has begun hitting Democratic challenger Lynn Coleman with negative TV ads, no longer acting as though he isn't there.

Coleman, a former South Bend police officer and mayoral assistant, has gained name recognition and more support than might have been expected last summer. But Coleman can't win. Not on his own. Just as Duke needed help from a bizarre Notre Dame defense, Coleman needs help from a bizarre Republican presidential nominee, Donald Trump. And Trump is helping. Enough?

St. Joseph County Democratic Chairman Jason Critchlow says Coleman can counter Walorski's air game, all that TV, with a far superior ground game – workers knocking on doors, making calls, identifying potential supporters and getting them to the polls – thus enabling Coleman to take advantage of any anti-Trump tide and win.

There is a tide. All the polls show it. The question is whether the waves will just annoyingly splash Republican candidates, not really endangering summer favorites like Walorski, or whether waves approach a

tsunami, sweeping away Republican control of the Senate and even defeating some "sure bet" House Republicans.

Speculation grew about a really strong tide helping Democrats in Indiana with polls showing Hillary Clinton close to a tie with Trump in the state, and the Democratic nominees for governor, John Gregg, and for senator, Evan Bayh, pulling ahead, Gregg by double digits in one poll.

Then the Clinton campaign, confident of winning in battleground states, tossed a half million dollars into an effort in Indiana. Indiana votes so heavily Republican in most presidential elections that it's often the first state projected by the TV networks as in the Republican column on election night. Still, the state went for Barack Obama in 2008, first time since 1964 that Hoosiers voted for a Democratic presidential nominee.

National experts in their ratings still list Indiana's 2nd Congressional District as "likely" Republican, downgraded from "safe" for Walorski back in the summer. Howey Politics Indiana lists the race as "leans Walorski," but Brian Howey says in analysis that "a Trump-created tsunami could swamp Walorski." Voter enthusiasm and what Trump has done to it could be decisive.

Will Democrats and those Republicans and independents who are appalled by Trump be energized to go to the polls to repudiate him or will a lack of enthusiasm for Clinton keep a lot of them away?



Will Hoosiers who were enthused about Trump back when he won the Indiana presidential primary storm to the polls for him or react differently as a result of the controversies swirling around him?

Will most Hoosier Republicans, even if they dislike Trump, still be enthused about getting to the polls to vote for other Republican candidates or will any significant percentage skip the election in disgust?

To take advantage of an anti-Trump tide, Coleman will need more than just the big get-out-the-vote drive in Democratic St. Joseph County. He also will need to win at least a couple of the other nine counties and hold down the huge pluralities Walorski won in 2014 in Elkhart County and some of the other solidly Republican areas. If he can do enough and Trump has done enough, the certainty of summer might not be so certain this November. ❖



U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski and Democrat Lynn Coleman are in a 2nd CD race many believe is tightening.

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

A strong Democratic year is taking shape

By **CHRIS SAUTTER**

MIAMI – Indiana’s 9th Congressional district is a bellwether race. That according to Chuck Todd, moderator of NBC’s Meet the Press, who named the race between Democrat Shelli Yoder and Republican Trey Hollingsworth as one of his top three House races to watch for a wave election for House Democrats.



A year ago, the 9th district was labeled “safe Republican” by respected handicappers Charlie Cook and Stuart Rothenberg. Republicans have a built-in 9-point advantage in the 9th as a result of redistricting before the 2012 election. In fact, Yoder lost to incumbent and current U.S. Senate candidate Todd Young by 10% four years ago.

Very few observers gave Yoder a

chance this time.

Now polling shows the race between Yoder and Hollingsworth tied. Yoder is clearly the superior candidate. She has learned from her first race and is generating intense enthusiasm among the Democratic faithful in Southern Indiana. She is a natural with a unique way to connect to everyday Hoosiers. Her campaign commercials tout that “Shelli is one of us” — a claim Hollingsworth has no way of making credibly.

In fact, Hollingsworth is a flawed candidate. He moved to Indiana from Tennessee a year ago because he calculated that an open seat in a district with multiple and expensive media markets would provide him - a self-funding candidate - the best chance to win. His self-serving business practices have been a liability. Many Republicans resent the way he parachuted in and used his father’s Super PAC to dispose of better-established candidates in the primary. Some Republicans even hope Hollingsworth loses to Yoder this year so that one of their own can run in 2018— sure to be a better year for the GOP—and make Yoder a one-termer.

But Hollingsworth has personal money, including his father’s Super PAC. The district is no longer the one held for 44 years by Democrats Lee Hamilton and Baron Hill. And, Yoder is still not well known to many voters. Hollingsworth will get the bulk of votes from voters who still don’t know much about either candidate because of his party affiliation. That being said, arguably any of the candidates Hollingsworth defeated in the primary would be in a stronger position to win the general.

As a result of some breaks and an extraordinary work ethic, Yoder has put herself in a position to win. If she does, she would become the first Hoosier Democrat to

win a congressional seat held by a Republican in a presidential year since Lee Hamilton did it in 1964. That was the year of Lyndon Johnson’s landslide victory over Barry Goldwater.

The question this year is whether the collapse of Donald Trump’s presidential chances nationally will generate enough of a wave in Indiana to push Yoder over the top in a Republican district. Republicans in the state and throughout the country are increasingly dispirited about their chances and there is now concern that declining enthusiasm for the ticket will depress turnout.

Indiana may have been slower to experience the political bump other states have following the release of the controversial Trump video and Clinton’s superior debate performances. But now several Hoosier Democrats appear poised for big wins depending to some extent on Trump’s performance in the state.

Journalist John Harwood, chief Washington Correspondent for CNBC, reported Sunday that internal Republican polls show the race between Clinton and Trump in Indiana now tied. Whether Clinton narrowly carries Indiana, as Barack Obama did in 2008, or narrowly loses it, Democrats are currently running ahead in the other two marquee races.

In the gubernatorial race, John Gregg has been running ahead in the polls since Republicans nominated Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb to replace Gov. Mike Pence after Pence joined Trump on the national ticket. Like Yoder, Gregg is a far more seasoned candidate than four years ago when he lost to Pence by only 3%. He has demonstrated that he is much more than simply the product of small town Indiana by unveiling a range of strong policy proposals to get Indiana back on track. After 12 years of Republican rule in Indiana, Democrat Gregg is the candidate of change and his message is resonating.

Holcomb, on the other hand, has struggled to establish an identity of his own. Because he has never won election in his own right, his base of support is entirely inherited from Pence and former governor Mitch Daniels. His agenda mirrors Pence’s. The problem is that Pence’s legacy is not entirely positive, as he never fully recovered from the fallout from the RFRA controversy. Holcomb’s campaign has no real traction and it is difficult to see how he can change the dynamics with less than two weeks to go. John Gregg is in the driver’s seat and that would likely be the case even if Trump’s campaign weren’t falling apart, though that is obviously helping.

The Cook Report revised its U.S. Senate ratings this week to project that Democrats will gain between five and seven seats. That is a change from a month ago when Republicans believed they could hold the Senate in spite of Trump’s lagging poll numbers. Now many Republicans are openly conceding the Senate is lost.

Trump’s problems may be a reason why Indiana’s Senate race appears to have stabilized after millions of dollars in negative ads by outside groups had helped Todd Young close a big gap in the polls. Republicans who were

once optimistic that Young could pull off the upset have now become gloomy, as Young momentum has stalled.

The 2ndCD where Democrat Lynn Coleman is challenging incumbent Jackie Walorski is an under-the-radar race that could very well produce a surprise. Her allies were polling voters last weekend to test negative attacks against Coleman, suggesting they are getting worried about Walorski. Coleman is a good candidate but to date has been woefully underfunded. Four years ago, Walorski narrowly won 49%-48% in flipping the race after Joe Donnelly held the seat for three terms.

Former 9th CD Congressman Lee Hamilton has of-

ten credited the 1964 LBJ landslide for making possible his first election to the House. Describing the political climate that year, he has joked "any fool running as a Democrat could have won ... and there were a few who did." It is extremely unlikely that Hillary Clinton's almost certain victory over Donald Trump will approach the magnitude of Johnson's historic win. The odds are also against Democrats winning back control of the House, though prospects are rapidly improving. Nonetheless, a big Clinton win will help elect Senate, gubernatorial, and House candidates, including Hoosier Democrats Bayh, Gregg, Yoder, and Coleman. ❖

Holcomb, Gregg endorse P-3s

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – It was disappointing, but not surprising, to learn from the Indianapolis Business Journal (Oct. 10-16) that both John Gregg and Eric Holcomb endorse public-private partnerships (P3s). These candidates for governor are experienced in the ways of our Indiana government. Mr. Gregg has served at the highest level of the legislature while Mr. Holcomb is our lieutenant governor.



P3s are agreements between governments (national, state, or local) with private companies to assume control, but not ownership, of public assets. Hoosiers know them in the

form of the new bridge over the Ohio River, connecting the east end of Louisville with Clark County. I-69 moving north from Evansville and Bloomington toward Indianapolis is a P3. The Indiana Toll Road, extending from Ohio to the Illinois state line, is a successful P3. The Chicago Skyway, used by thousands of Hoosiers traveling to the home of the Cubs, is a P3.

Business organizations

assume one or more government responsibilities: Planning, design, financing, construction, operation, and maintenance of public facilities. P3s are increasingly used for roads, but they can suit many capital projects.

Why do we need P3s? The usual answers are innovation, efficiency, and superior motivation for successful management. Private companies can go where governments fear to tread.

When the Indiana Toll Road was leased (not sold) to a private consortium, it was able to do what the state could (would) not do. Toll collections were automated which reduced the need for toll collectors. You cannot imagine the state cutting employment. Tolls were raised for certain classes of users. Our legislators would not take the heat for raising tolls to make badly needed repairs and improvements.

Coming up to contemporary standards is not easily achieved by governments that do not enjoy the respect of the voters. Raising more revenue from taxpayers or facility users is viewed by too many in government as electoral suicide. Let someone else, some unknown entity in the private sector, do the necessary work.

Sometimes a P3 transfers the risk for a project from government to business. A toll road or one where the business is paid by the number of users (shadow tolls) does that. It happens when the state doesn't believe the project will be successful or publically popular. I-69 is such a road, but Indiana was spooked by any toll road, even between Bloomington and Indianapolis. Hence, the state is alone on the hook for payments to its private partners.


We need P3s when the people we elect cannot be innovative, efficient, or manage in the public interest. They are channeled into advancing partisan goals, providing aid and assistance to their ideological playmates, and securing reelection from an uninformed electorate. They surrender their ethical values when they pledge allegiance to the party banner.

P3s are a brilliant way of avoiding the responsibilities of governing. They are ideal for the legislative Caucuses of Cowardice. Too bad our candidates for governor seem willing to let the existing impotence of government persist in their administration. ❖

Mr. Marcus is an economist, writer, and speaker who may be reached at mortonjmarcus@yahoo.com.

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

Mike Pence coming back home again

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

EVANSVILLE – With his own political future at stake, Gov. Mike Pence stood before a crowd in Salisbury, N.C., on Monday with a simple message: “It’s time to come home.”

It was a message to Republicans, but it also could be a memo to self. Since the Oct. 3-5 WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll was released, showing Donald Trump with a mere 43-38% lead over Hillary Clinton, with Libertarian Gary Johnson holding steady at 11%, the notion, the idea that Clinton could become the second Democrat in eight years to carry Indiana’s 11 Electoral College votes became plausible, if not unlikely. Not with Gov. Pence on the ticket. Not with Indiana as that conspicuous red “middle finger of



the south” repute.

Since our poll, Monmouth found Trump ahead by just 4%, and then the Ball State/WISH Indiana Survey had Trump up by 6%. All of these data sets hovered nervously around the upper reaches of the margin of error, if you’re a Republican. Reporters and editors at WTHR and HPI asked Public Opinion Strategies Pollster Gene Ulm if Clinton could actually carry Indiana. Ulm responded that if Trump “replicated” his disastrous performance in the second debate, Clinton could actually win the state. “If she wins the Indiana, it’s over.”

Another element that could impact Indiana is Libertarian Gary Johnson’s flame out. He has slid from 10% in September nationally to 5.6% in the Real Clear Politics aggregate. In the two WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Polls in September and October, Johnson held steady at 11%, though Ulm expected him to drop after the first debate. There is wide speculation that Johnson was taking Bernie Sanders supporters from Clinton.

Then came last weekend, when the Clinton campaign, citing public and internal polling, announced it was pumping \$1 million into Indiana and Missouri, not so much as to carry the state, but to help down-ballot Democrats like John Gregg and Evan Bayh. The Washington Post reported: Emboldened by polls predicting an Electoral College landslide in the presidential race, Clinton is shifting her strategy to lift up other Democrats coast to coast. She and her party are

rushing to capitalize on a turbulent turn in Trump’s candidacy, which has ruptured the Republican Party, to make down-ballot gains that seemed unlikely just a month ago.

It coincided with Trump, Pence and campaign manager Kellyanne Conway tripping over themselves in a spate of contradiction on the Sunday talk shows on the notion of whether this election is “rigged.” And on Monday, the three couldn’t keep themselves straight over recent polling that show Trump/Pence down between 12% (ABC/Washington Post) and 5% (CNN) and whether Trump was ... well, losing.

This was where Hoosier Republicans and Pence have essentially entered their very own worst case scenario. On Sunday, NBC “Meet the Press” host Chuck Todd cited Indiana’s 9th CD as one of three districts to watch for a potential Democratic wave election. “These are going to be the districts to watch,” Todd said on Sunday of the race between Republican Trey Hollingsworth and Democrat Monroe County Councilwoman Shelli Yoder. “Moderate Republican turnout may not be there,” Todd said. The 9th CD is a +9 Republican on the Cook Partisan Index. If the 9th goes Democrat, then we’re in a wave election.

It was all capped off by a tweet from CNBC/ New York Times reporter John Harwood Sunday afternoon, “Senior GOP Senate strategist: Trump now tied in Indiana. Down 11 in PA and 14 in NH. Going down hard.”

How could this be happening? Politico reported that in three crucial battlegrounds – North Carolina, Florida and Georgia – women are casting early ballots in disproportionate numbers.

Here in Indiana, 65% of the estimated 200,000 African-American vote is female. The early vote has been high in places like Democrat Indianapolis and Bloomington, and Republican Hamilton County where the more moderate Daniels/Lugar wing of the Republican party resides. Imagine the kitchen table and front porch reactions when Trump traveled to hallowed ground at Gettysburg on Saturday, unleashing a diatribe against 11 female sexual misconduct accusers. “Every woman lied when they came forward to hurt my campaign. Total fabrication,” Trump said at Gettysburg. “The events never happened. Never. All of these liars will be sued after the election is over.”



It prompted conservative Washington Post columnist Jennifer Rubin to note how Trump had “defiled” the epic battlefield. “He can make the most august setting seem grimy,” she wrote. “He doesn’t think twice about taking over one of the most revered sites in all of U.S. history for bitter feuds and threaten retribution after the election – when he plans on being president.”

So on Monday, Pence’s task was to retrieve

So on Monday, Pence’s task was to retrieve

wayward Republicans. "It's time to come home and elect Donald Trump as the next president of the United States," Pence said. "It's time to come home and reelect Republican majorities in the United States House and the United States Senate. It's time to come home and come together and do everything in our power to make sure that Hillary Clinton is never elected president of the United States of America. That's the choice we have."

Pence might face a unique choice of his own. He can't afford to lose his home state. He has become the Dutch boy at the dike, plugging holes in what was once reliable Republican terra firma. He was in Utah on Wednesday. Utah!

The next WTHR/Howey Politics poll comes out close to the election. Perhaps by then, things will have settled. Some Republicans will come home, as they did for Richard Mourdock in 2012 even after his epic debate blunder. Our Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll had Joe Donnelly up by 11% on Oct. 27 of that year. Donnelly ended up winning by 7%, as our analysis had been that after the initial wave of revulsion, some Republicans will come home, and they did.

But a telltale sign of what's really happening would be if Pence schedules late campaign stops here, most

likely in Fort Wayne (where he drew a mere 300 supporters on Sept. 30) or in a place like Lawrenceburg or Richmond, where a campaign stop would spill over into swing state Ohio media markets like Dayton and Cincinnati.

Mike Pence has gone national. He doesn't talk to Indiana media. He appeared at the Future Farmers of America convention in Indianapolis on Saturday, but neither his office nor the Trump campaign alerted Indiana media. The only coverage came when he tweeted out photos of himself with some of the kids.

At some point, Mike Pence will have to come home again, most likely after what appears to be a building, landslide defeat. He will have seven weeks to revel in the state's bicentennial. A quick survey at last week's U.S. Senate debate among media had most predicting Gov. Pence will never take questions from the locals again. The questions will be awkward if his nominee successor Eric Holcomb loses a close race to John Gregg, and Pence scoots out of town with that \$5 million to \$6 million that was supposed to help preserve the GOP hold on the Statehouse.

It would be quite ironic if, in order to preserve his own political viability, he had to come back home again to Indiana and grovel for Hoosier votes via the Indiana media he has spurned. ❖

Pence's post-Trump political future

By **RICH JAMES**

MERRILLVILLE – If the voters reject Donald Trump and Mike Pence on Nov. 8 – and it appears that they will – is there a political future for either man? I can't imagine that there will be for Trump, who has been an embarrassment for the Republican Party. Of course, that doesn't necessarily mean that there will even be a place for Trump in the Republican Party of the future.



Pence is another matter. There are political commentators across the country who have speculated that Pence would go after the GOP presidential nomination in 2020. After all, Pence has looked presidential during this campaign. It doesn't too much matter that he hasn't sounded presidential.

If Pence wanted a future in presidential politics, he should have distanced himself from Trump. Pence would have done well to reject Trump's notion that the election was being stolen from him. Pence should have rejected the notion that the media had the ability to steal an election, as Trump claimed. And, Pence should have

rejected Trump's claim that America no longer is prepared militarily.

There are other reasons why Pence won't have a future in presidential politics. If the Republican Party is to recover from this disaster, it is going to have to find a new identity. And, the GOP of the future will have to reject some of its far-right principles and move more toward the middle of the political spectrum. That, of course, means the party will have to become more inclusive and reject many of the conservative ideas Pence touted while governor.

Pence's past won't play well if he makes a run for president. Pence's record as governor didn't come into play, given the introverted nature of Trump's campaign. But, if he makes his own run for president, Pence will have to talk about his Indiana record. That will include getting rid of the Common Construction Wage Act. It also will include a refusal to support a civil rights bill for all Hoosiers, including lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgenders. He'll have to talk about his attacks on public education, including efforts to usurp the powers of the superintendent of public instruction.

Just because someone picked you to be a vice presidential candidate doesn't mean there will be a political future. Just ask Dan Quayle. ❖

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.

Trump not making up much ground

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

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. – Another week has passed in the presidential race and it appears that Donald Trump is not making up much if any ground on Hillary Clinton. Last month, we coined the term “Fortress Obama” to describe an outer and inner ring of defenses Clinton had against Trump as she sought to recreate Barack Obama’s Electoral College majority. The outer ring consisted of states like Florida, Iowa, Nevada, and Ohio -- states that Obama won twice but that are vulnerable to Trump -- as well as North Carolina, which Obama carried only in 2008. These are states that Trump needs but that Clinton could probably do without. Then there’s the inner ring, states like Colorado, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Wisconsin, none of which Clinton can afford to lose if Trump were to completely knock down the outer ring.

At this point, Clinton is no worse than 50-50 to carry each of the outer ring states -- even states like Iowa and Ohio, where polls have been very close or even show a Trump edge -- and she seems secure in all of the inner ring states. This is why Clinton is such a heavy favorite to win the presidency, and our ratings changes this week make her an even slightly bigger favorite. The fact that early voting has started in earnest in many of critical states also limits Trump’s comeback potential: Even if some major late development causes the polls to tighten, many millions of votes will have already been cast.

This week, we’re not altering our topline Electoral College projection. We have 352 electoral votes -- 82 more than the 270 required -- at least leaning to Hillary Clinton, 173 at least leaning to Donald Trump, and 13 electoral votes worth of Toss-ups: Iowa, Utah, and the single electoral vote in Maine’s Second Congressional District.

But we are strengthening the map for Clinton by pushing two Leans Democratic states -- New Hampshire,

and Wisconsin -- to Likely Democratic. That moves Clinton to 272 electoral votes that are rated at least likely for her, matching the highest total we’ve had for her this cycle (we had 272 electoral votes at least likely for her before her September campaign downturn, in advance of her recovery during the first debate).

While New Hampshire and Wisconsin are, on paper, states where Trump should be very competitive -- both states are much whiter than the national average -- Trump has not led a single poll in either state, according to the RealClearPolitics averages. The Clinton campaign has always appeared very confident in Wisconsin -- the candidate herself has not even visited the state during the general election period, a sign that the campaign does not feel vulnerable there -- and public polling averages in both states shows Clinton with a lead of half a dozen points or more.

Libertarian Gary Johnson appears to be fading, as is common for third-party candidates. He was at about 9% in national polling averages as of mid-September, but now he’s at about 6%. It seems possible, perhaps even likely, that he’ll finish below 5% of the vote.

Meanwhile, it appears that Johnson’s drop has benefited Clinton more than Trump. In the RealClearPolitics national four-way polling average, Clinton was up 42%-40% on Trump as of Sept. 14, with Johnson at 9%. Now, Clinton is up 46%-40%, with Johnson at 6%. So as Johnson has fallen three points, Clinton has gained four points while Trump is in about the same position (Green Party nominee Jill Stein dropped from 2.7% to 2.0% in this timeframe, which probably also has marginally helped Clinton). It is not possible to say flatly that these voters migrated from Johnson to

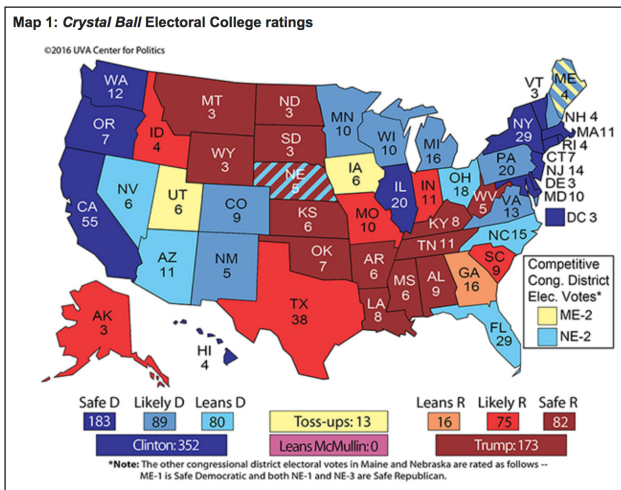
Clinton (they could have come from the undecided column or even Trump’s), but surely Johnson’s ex-supporters account for some of Clinton’s gains.

The Senate: Presidential race puts Democrats in a good position

Right before Labor Day on Sept. 1, we wrote that “it appears to us that Democrats have a slightly easier

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SABATO'S CRYSTAL BALL

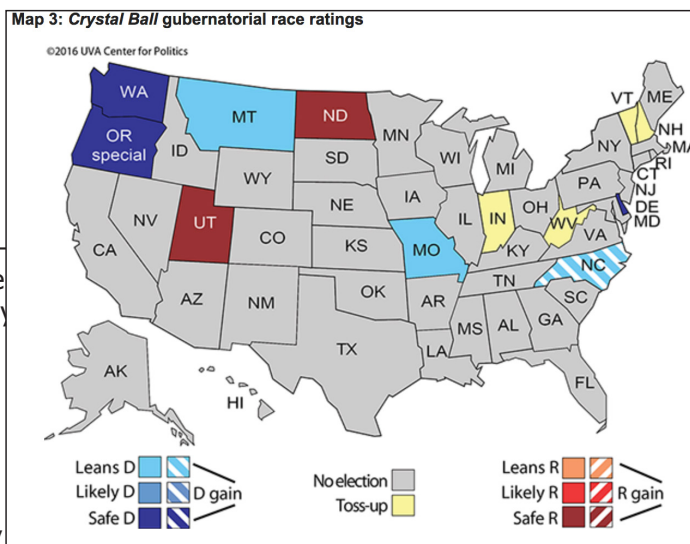
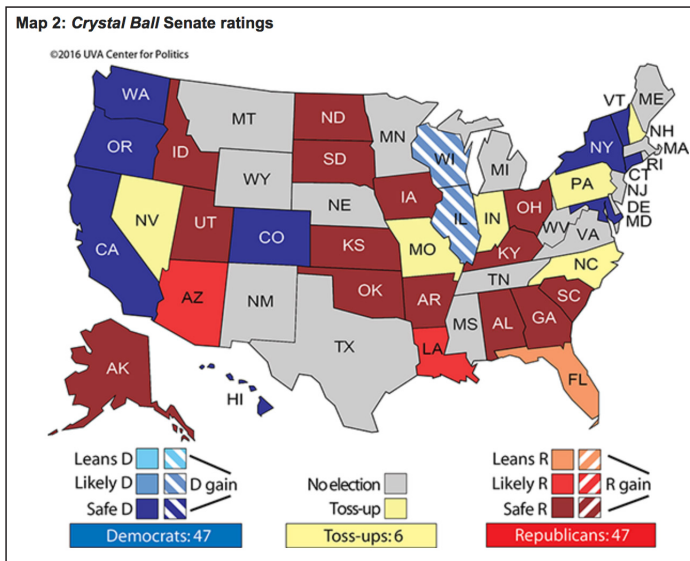


Forecast	Hillary Clinton / Tim Kaine			Donald Trump / Mike Pence			Toss-up
	Favored	Lean	Total	Favored	Lean	Total	
Sabato's Crystal Ball	272	80	352	157	16	173	13
Cook Political	238	40	278	157	22	179	81
Rothenberg & Gonzales	239	84	323	147	44	191	24
FiveThirtyEight*	272	50	322	163	16	179	37
Princeton	308	15	323	164	33	197	18
PredictWise	278	44	322	173	0	173	43
NYT Upshot	307	16	323	157	33	190	25
ABC	200	72	272	153	44	197	69
Associated Press	213	59	272	106	73	179	87
CNN	200	107	307	157	22	179	52
FOX	182	125	307	98	76	174	57
NBC	182	105	287	71	86	157	94
NPR	190	82	272	98	65	163	103
The Fix (Wash. Post)	196	127	323	96	84	180	35

path to the Senate majority than the Republicans.” We still feel that way, even more so in fact, though many of the races remain too close to call. Ultimately, though, if Clinton wins the presidency with 300+ electoral votes, it will be very difficult for Republicans to prevent Democrats from netting at least four seats, which is what they need to win a 50-50 bare minimum majority (with Vice President Tim Kaine breaking ties in the Democrats’ favor). And the Democratic total might well go beyond 50-50; Democrats will need every additional seat to have any hope of staying in the majority after 2018. (The midterm election has a Senate map where the GOP is defending only eight seats to the Democrats’ 25 -- a huge advantage for the Republicans, especially if a Democrat is in the White House.)

Our six Toss-ups all remain in that category, although we believe it’s ultimately going to be hard to pick incumbent Sens. Kelly Ayotte (R-NH) and Pat Toomey (R-PA), as well as Rep. Joe Heck (R) running for an open seat in Nevada, whatever the polls say (and the polls have been all over the place in these races). All of these candidates have crossover appeal, but Clinton’s coattails could doom them.

Races in Indiana, Missouri, and North Carolina are even harder to figure. Of the three, the Democrats’ best chance might be in Indiana, an open seat where former Sen. Evan Bayh (D) probably still retains a small lead despite being damaged by controversies concerning his lucrative post-Senate career and his shaky claims to current residency in the Hoosier State. Sens. Roy Blunt (R-MO) and Richard Burr (R-NC) are likely harder targets, but challengers Jason Kander (D) and Deborah Ross (D), respectively, have effectively tied both contests. Democrats also retain hopes of an upset against Sen. Marco Rubio (R-FL) in a Leans Republican race; Rubio’s lead against Patrick Murphy (D) has narrowed, and Clinton’s strong ap-



Member/district	Old rating	New rating
David Valadao (R, CA-21)	Likely Republican	Leans Republican
IN-9 Open (Young, R)	Likely Republican	Leans Republican
NV-3 Open (Heck, R)	Toss-up	Leans Democratic

parent showing might be helping Murphy in parts of Florida. However, the decision by outside Democratic groups to not spend on Murphy’s behalf is causing internal divisions within the party.

House: Still not much sign of a wave

There has not been a great deal of change in the House since our update last week. Democrats are still up only by about four or five points in the House generic ballot averages. The kind of wave they need to net 30 seats probably requires a polling lead of about 10 points or so. Our projection of a Democratic gain of around 10-15 seats is still our best judgment at the moment, with the higher end being likelier at this point. However, Republicans remain solid favorites to hold their majority.

We have a handful of changes this week. The most significant is in NV-3, where we now see former synagogue leader Jacky Rosen (D) as a small favorite against frequent candidate Danny

Tarkanian (R). The same factors helping Clinton in early voting also help Rosen in this swing seat. Both parties

have produced dueling internal polls showing their respective candidates ahead, but Rosen may be better positioned in an evenly-divided district where Trump seems likely to underperform Mitt Romney’s 2012 showing.

A couple of other Republican-held seats are getting more competitive. Outside groups representing both parties are now investing in CA-21, a heavily Hispanic seat held by Rep. David Valadao (R), as well as IN-9, an open, Republican-leaning blue-collar district where the Republican candidate, businessman Trey Hollingsworth, is being dogged by questions about his connection to the district (he is from Tennessee and only moved to Indiana recently). Both move from Likely Republican to Leans Republican. ❖

Matthew Tully, IndyStar: With two weeks to go before Election Day, I watched Tuesday night's gubernatorial debate and had a feeling that might seem strange this election year. Optimism. Yep, optimism. And, no, I wasn't drinking. For one hour, the leading candidates in the race for governor, Democrat John Gregg and Republican Eric Holcomb, engaged in a remarkably civil and serious debate that left me with three thoughts. First, as I have written previously, either one of these men has the ability to be a solid governor. They are focused squarely (and refreshingly) on the nuts-and-bolts issues that face a governor and, whatever you think of their particular views, policies or parties, it's clear that each would spend his time as the state's top political leader addressing the core issues facing Indiana. And each would do so in less ideologically driven ways than we've seen of late. "We are able to do so much when we are focused," Holcomb said. A minute later, Gregg added: "Not one party has the best ideas. The best ideas shouldn't be called Democrat or Republican." That kind of talk has been far too rare at the Statehouse over the past four years. Second, after far too much focus on divisive culture wars in recent years, Gregg and Holcomb, to varying degrees, made clear they would play an important role in balancing a state legislature that sometimes goes too far. Third, both Gregg and Holcomb are thoughtful politicians who have left plenty of room during this campaign to address in ambitious ways issues ranging from preschool and infrastructure to the heroin epidemic and the economy. It's worth noting that neither is pushing gimmicky election-year tax cuts that can hamstring an administration, or exploiting our divisions. In fact, each is promising to be a governor that seeks to bring people together. I got all that from Tuesday's debate. ❖



Kevin Levin, Civil War Memory: It was a long time ago – I don't think anyone can even remember, but I can remember, I have a great memory, I've got the best memory ever. These guys, they made the most special thing, really, really special. Where everyone was free and everything was great, just the way I've made America, I really, really mean that. Now we've got these people – I don't like these people, let me tell you, they're really awful, they said, "Hey Trump, you've got small hands," and so I went after them, I really did, I sued them, and what did they do? They decided they wanted a fight and I said, "Okay, we'll see who's still here in a few years," and see, we're still here, on this battlefield. It's a yuge battlefield, and it's really, really, great, it's so special. See, we've built this cemetery, so how big it is? It's so special. And these guys – we've got the best guys – they tell me, "Hey Donald, give us someone who can lead us and we'll beat these rebels," and so I made things happen – it's what I do – and boom, look, we've got this big, big win. These guys died winning, and I'm sure that makes their families

just so, so happy, all this winning. It's really great that we can be here to make this place special because of all the winning they did. But really, we can't make this place any more special than they did by winning so hard, unless it's to build a brand new Trump Towers – Gettysburg – that's right ladies and gentlemen, that's right, right here, right where you're standing, we're going to build this yuge tower, and oh my goodness, it will be so special, so big. You'll just get sick from how big it is. You say to yourself, "Hey, I wonder if anyone will remember this place." We'll make those rebels remember this place where they lost, where they became losers. I really hate losers. I hate them so much that we're going to keep on winning, just to show them how much of losers they really are, that's what we're going to do. What these guys did – and they're just the best, so special – well, we're going to make sure that what they won for is going to be kept alive forever. Know what I'm going to do? I'm going to build a wall, a yuge wall, really, really yuge, all along the Mason-Dixon Line, and know what? I'm gonna make Jeff Davis pay for it, I really am. That guy's such a loser. ❖

Dave Bangert, Lafayette Journal & Courier: In minute 50 of the lone debate of their U.S. Senate campaign, U.S. Rep. Todd Young again ripped into Evan Bayh for his crucial vote for Obamacare and all the ills the Republican said befell Indiana employers and everyday Hoosiers in the meantime. But the real burn was in his preface. "Perhaps you need to spend a little more time in Indiana, as I have ..." The rest – "... to see the real impact of Obamacare" – was fairly inconsequential compared to the actual damning implication Young conspicuously laid in his path that night on statewide TV. Come on, Young never had to say it outright: You know all about Bayh; the legacy of his family name; his last-minute tag team maneuver to get into the Senate race; his \$2.5 million Washington, D.C., home; and the modest Indianapolis condo he keeps as a mailing-address stake to Indiana residency, right? The drip-drip-drip of My Fellow Hoosiers game has been integral to Bayh's story since the July day when the former two-time governor and two-time U.S. senator subbed in for fellow Democrat Baron Hill. Hill had absolutely zero traction going into the general election campaign against Young. Maybe if Bayh had acknowledged from the start just how awkward this was going to be, things would be different. Maybe if he'd embraced the coming home angle and stuck with it. Maybe if he'd taken walks in the neighborhood. Maybe if he'd been spotted in Marsh Supermarket picking up milk, bread and a box of Cheez-It at an odd hour. Maybe with any of that, instead of straining to say he'd never left Indiana, Bayh could have dealt with the skepticism and moved ahead. As it is, the AP report is just one more drip for a campaign that should have at least anticipated what might happen. ❖

Curry says vote fraud 'premature'

INDIANAPOLIS — Marion County Prosecutor Terry Curry on Wednesday called accusations of voter fraud "premature" and claims of voter suppression "without merit" (Schneider, IndyStar). In a statement, Curry addressed allegations of voter fraud that have swirled around this year's election as Indiana State Police investigate a voter registration group with Democratic ties for possible illegal activities. "If evidence of suspected criminal activity in Marion County is presented to our office, we will review that information for potential criminal charges," Curry said. "Accusations of fraud or other intentional acts prior to the conclusion of a thorough review by law enforcement and a prosecutor are premature and contrary to the foundational principle of presumed innocence until and unless proven guilty." Curry, a Democrat, said he advised state police to not release further information on the agency's investigation. That directive came as state police officials have spoken publicly about their examination into the Indiana Voter Registration Project in recent weeks. But Curry also criticized third parties, though not by name, for making "reckless assertions" of voter suppression and intimidation. Patriot Majority USA, which is linked to the Indiana Voter Registration Project, has lobbed harsh criticism on Indiana Secretary of State Connie Lawson and the state police for criticizing their efforts. "We trust our public safety partners at the Indiana State Police to thoroughly and appropriately investigate the allegations of irregularities in some voter registrations," Curry said.



Speaker of the House under a Trump administration despite his running mate's repeated frustrations with the Republican leader over the last month (NBC News). "We look forward to working with Paul Ryan," Pence said in an interview on MSNBC's 11th Hour, indicating that he and Ryan just "communicated in the last 24 hours." "Paul Ryan is my friend — we've been friends for more than 15 years," Pence added. "I hold him in very high regard, and frankly, I'm grateful for his leadership in the House of Representatives." Just two weeks ago, Donald Trump suggested on Fox News that Ryan "maybe wouldn't be there" as the House speaker if he wins the presidency. The GOP nominee followed with tweets calling Ryan a "very weak and ineffective leader" and "a man who doesn't know how to win."

Fitch downgrades I-69 bonds

INDIANAPOLIS — New York-based Fitch Ratings has downgraded the status of the bonds issued on behalf of I-69 Development Partners LLC for the Section 5 project to B from BB, the group announced Wednesday (IndyStar). The downgrade comes on the heels of months of delays and troubles related to the project, including instances in which workers walked off construction sites after I-69 Development's lead contractor, Isolux Corsan, fell behind on payments to subcontractors. Fitch cited "continued delays in construction and unresolved disputes" between I-69 Development, Isolux Corsan and the Indiana Finance Authority, according to a news release.

Supts blast SBOE over ISTEP inaction

INDIANAPOLIS — School superintendents are blasting a state panel for its slow progress in choosing a replacement for the controversial ISTEP student test, saying further delays will put students at risk (Schneider & Erbacher, IndyStar). As one

group of southern Indiana superintendents put it Wednesday, if the panel chaired by a Gov. Mike Pence appointee fails to act, then students will "continue to be pawns of a legislative agenda that does not value the best practices of instruction and assessment." "Failure to act and maintaining status quo of this system is not an option," the letter released by 24 superintendents read. The pushback comes as top panel members have said the state will likely delay any changes until after spring 2018. That would mean missing the original deadline for the ISTEP replacement to be in place. The initial timeline called for the new test by the 2017-18 school year.

'Bill Clinton Inc.' revealed by hacks

WASHINGTON — When top Bill Clinton aide Douglas Band wrote the memo, he was a central player at the Clinton Foundation and president of his own corporate consulting firm. Over the course of 13 pages, he made a case that his multiple roles had served the interests of the Clinton family and its charity (Washington Post). In doing so, Band also detailed a circle of enrichment in which he raised money for the Clinton Foundation from top-tier corporations such as Dow Chemical and Coca-Cola that were clients of his firm, Teneo, while pressing many of those same donors to provide personal income to the former president. The system has drawn scrutiny from Republicans, who say it allowed corporations and other wealthy supporters to pay for entree to a popular former president and a onetime secretary of state who is now the Democratic presidential nominee. The memo, made public Wednesday by the anti-secrecy group WikiLeaks, lays out the aggressive strategy behind lining up the consulting contracts and paid speaking engagements for Bill Clinton that added tens of millions of dollars to the family's fortune, including during the years that Hillary Clinton led the State Department.

Pence backs Ryan for House speaker

NEW YORK — Mike Pence suggested on Tuesday night that Paul Ryan would hold onto his role as