

# Young takes Senate lead; Gov tossup

Final WTHR/Howey Poll shows Young up 5% over Bayh; Gregg and Holcomb tied at 42%, 9th CD tossup

#### By BRIAN A. HOWEY

AMELIA ISLAND, Fla. - Republicans Donald Trump and Todd Young have taken decisive to strong leads in the Indiana presi-





dential and U.S. Senate races in the final WTHR/ Howey Politics Indiana Poll, while

Indiana Statewide the gubernatorial race between Republican

Eric Holcomb and Democrat John Gregg is an absolute dead heat at 42%, with 11% undecided.

And in the bellwether 9th CD, Republican Trey Hollingsworth has a 44-42% lead over Democrat Shelli Yoder in a race that is seen as a clue to potential down-ballot behavior.





Gregg faces a closing dynamic of Republican voters "coming home" to Donald Trump. "It's a dead heat," said Public Opinion Strategies Pollster Gene Ulm. "The candidates have similar images and that gives a modest advantage to Gregg. But when you look at undecided voters, Trump is winning 41-30%. Who has their base in

Continued on page 3

### Republicans come home

#### By MARK SOUDER

CORPUS CHRISTI, Tex. - It is hard to say which is the bigger shock: Todd Young's large lead over Bayh or Eric Holcomb being in a tie with Gregg. This WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana poll will certainly have national reverbera-



tions. Essentially it suggests that while Young needs to not take his pedal off the floor, pushing until the end, that the Democrats will not capture this Senate seat. As the polling trend had been suggesting, they should have focused in other states.

**Essentially Republicans** have closed ranks in Indiana, just as they appear to be nationally. The national fault line has fairly evenly divided the coun-





"A century in the making, we finally made it. What a great day to be a Cubs fan. We got it done for you, Harry."

> - U.S. Sen. Dan Coats after his favorite team, the World Champion Chicago Cubs, defeated Cleveland 8-7



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try. Donald Trump is admired by only a fraction of the GOP but the same holds true for Hillary Clinton within the Democrats. In fact, her enthusiasts among Democrats may be less than Trump's within the Republicans, though those who dislike her within the Dems may be fewer nationally.

In Indiana, the anti-Clinton sentiment is much more intense than the national anti-Clinton sentiment. Not only is this state more socially conservative but more anti-international trade (e.g. NAFTA), pro-coal and pro-gun. None of which helps Clinton. She has neither the charm or hope that President Obama offered, and he did not openly promote international trade as Bill Clinton had done. Furthermore, talk radio has been pounding on the Clintons for 20 years.

In the three WTHR/Howey polls, Clinton is locked on. She received 36% in September, 38% in October and 37% in November. Johnson's supporters have also stayed relatively stable, which means she is not dislodging those younger dissenters nor would, for that matter, there be enough of them at this point.

The core question was thus whether or not Bayh, Gregg, Ritz and the Democrat statewide candidates could capture enough Trump voters to win if Hillary could not close the gap. The answer is this: Basically "no."

First let me again review a couple of core polling challenges. This 2016 election is certainly the most difficult year to poll, compounding even the increasing difficulty of accurate polling in a digital age.

Of the participants in this poll, over 20% had already voted, and nearly 40% planned to vote before election day. In Indiana. It also shows that a higher percentage of Hillary voters had already cast votes (similar to national findings because of a better Democrat "ground game). This is both good and bad news for Republicans. It means that Democrats will have a more difficult time closing any negative gap, but it also means that there is more risk that the Republican voters could stay home.

The biggest discussion in

national polls has been how to pick up the fluidity of people changing willingness to participate. There have to be assumptions on the mix of voters chosen in every category (e.g. party, income, gender, race, region, age, education). This year those divisions have become much sharper. Men/ women and race have split apart.

So has education in part because of the widely noted issue of job loss related to changes in our economy. A knowledge-based economy favors more educated, white, suburban voters in particular as well as the "new urban areas" within major cities (e.g. Broad Ripple, some parts of downtown Indy). Trump's appeal has been particularly sharp in the so-called "blue collar" areas that got "left behind."

This dramatically shows up in the WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana poll in the education category. Those with high school degrees or less overwhelmingly favor Trump and almost all of the Republicans. Those with post-college education overwhelmingly favor Clinton and the Democrats. So this year, though party, gender, race, etc matter a lot – and just a few percentage points off impact the final projections in a close poll – education has also become a critical variable. Getting such polling balance is virtually impossible. (It also explains, to the lay person, that when a poll says that 600 voters were included that far more than that had to be sorted - 600 random voters would not be accurate at all.)

In the last two WTHR/
Howey Politics polls, I pointed out
that college and post-graduate (which
includes not only degrees but other
types of certifications) were over-represented which actually was giving the
Democrat candidates higher scores.
For example, in the last poll, I felt that
Todd Young may have actually been
ahead.

This poll had a 5% decline in the post-graduate category, which represented much of Young's gain in this poll compared to the last relative to Bayh. It also helped Holcomb slightly.



But it also illustrates why polling can be so interesting. The Ritz-McCormick race is an example. Not surprisingly, more teachers have post-college education than average voters. The Ritz campaign has always been a proxy for the ISTA. In Indiana, many if not most teachers are Republicans. When they turned on Bennett because of his abrasive style of pushing vouchers (the legislators have not felt the same backlash, interestingly), the Superintendent of Public Instruction became a symbol of implied Republican lack of support for public education.

**This phenomenon, by the way,** has also shown up dramatically on my Facebook page where many teachers have posted or messaged me that they will be voting for Young, often Trump but for Ritz. And, often, for Gregg.

Thus we see in the WTHR/Howey poll some interesting raw numbers. There were 287 Trump voters. Bayh received 31 and Gregg 32. That is also interesting: Gregg is getting just as many as Bayh. The vaunted Bayh crossover advantage does not exist anymore.

The Hillary vote holds for both Bayh and Gregg even stronger than the Trump vote holds. But – and this is huge – the drop-off among Holcomb voters among Trump voters is significant compared to Young voters. In other words, while both gained among Trump voters, Young gained more.

Why?

As you break-out poll results, the sample sizes become smaller thus are less reliable. But they can suggest trends.

I would suggest that it is likely mostly because of multiple variables: 1) nationalization of the election — why vote for a Republican President but give the Democrats control of the Senate 2) the perception of Republicans being anti-public education is spreading, which hurts at the state level 3) Young has far out-spent Holcomb, and had a primary which spread is name identification further 4) Young had an excellent campaign strategy which, combined with Bayh's errors — insisting that he wasn't an lobbyist and lived in Indiana — drove up Bayh's unfavorable ratings and 5) Gregg had a steady, low risk campaign combined with a vicious blast at the comparatively unknown Holcomb at the end.

Thus it seems that Trump will carry Indiana easily, Young will have a solid victory, the gubernatorial race may be close, and Ritz will be reelected. This confirms what I had been gathering as well, though depending upon the Trump margin, Gregg's trend line seems to be rising. ❖

Souder is a former Republican member of Congress from Indiana.



### WTHR/Howey Poll, from page 1

and who doesn't? Trump is polling 86% of the Republican vote and Holcomb is getting 81% of that vote. For the Democrats, Clinton is at 85% and Gregg at 84%. Among independents, Trump is a plus 19%, so Trump will have an impact."

Can Gregg win? "I think so," Ulm said, "but you'd have to give Holcomb the advan
U.S. Senate Ballot

But it appears that the GOP numbers are beginning to align. In the Indianapolis media market, Trump is up 4%, Young minus one and Holcomb minus 2. In the Fort Wayne market, Trump is up 19%, Young up 17% and Holcomb up 4%. "But he'll bump up a little more there," Ulm said. In South Bend, Trump is up 33%, Young up 24% and Holcomb up 16%. In the India-

napolis donut counties, Trump is down 1%, Young down 1% and Holcomb is down 5%

The survey was conducted Nov. 1-3 of 600 likely voters statewide, including 360 landlines and 240 cell phones. The statewide survey has a plus/minus 4% margin of error. This final poll also included a 310 likely voter over-sample in the 9th CD, with a margin of error there at

5.56%. This is the first independent media survey taken in the 9th CD.

In the Oct. 3-5 WTHR/Howey Politics survey, Trump had a mere 43-38% lead over Democrat Hillary Clinton, but he has now jetted out to what appears to be a decisive 48-37% lead, with Libertarian Gary Johnson at 9%, down from 11% in our September and October surveys. Hoosier Republicans appear to be heeding the

Thinking about the election for U.S. Senate, for whom would you vote between:

Todd Young, Republican; Evan Bayh, Democrat; and Lucy Brenton, Libertarian?

Senate Ballot Todd Young/Evan Bayh/Lucy Brenton

41%

October

call of Gov. Mike Pence to "come home." Trump is drawing 86% of Republicans and leads Clinton with independent voters by a decisive 46-27%.

Trump has improved on his favorable/unfavorables, going from 42/56% in October to 45/52% in November, while Clinton declined to 35/63% from 37/62% in October. This survey was conducted after last Friday's bombshell announcement by FBI Director lames Comey that his

Director James Comey that his agency was investigating a new trove of emails found on the computer of Anthony Weiner, the estranged husband of top Clinton aide Huma Abedin.

November

The number likely to generate the most buzz both statewide and nationally shows Young with a 46-41% lead, with Libertarian Lucy Brenton at 6% and just



5% undecided. When Bayh came out of political retirement in July, nudging nominee Baron Hill off the ticket, he publicized internal polling that showed him leading by close to 20%. But Young and powerful super PAC allies such as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the Senate Leadership Fund under Majority Leader Mitch McConnell and the National Rifle Association have issued an unrelenting, scorched-earth volley against the former two-term senator and governor. Despite Bayh's entry into the race with a \$10 million war chest, he has seen his lead whittled from 44-40% in the September WTHR/Howey Politics Poll, to 42-41% in October and now 46-41% in Young's favor.

It's easy to see why. Bayh's favorable/unfavorables have declined september to 39/45% from 48/28% in our September survey. In essence, Young and his super PAC allies had eviserated Bayh's clean image by painting him as enriching himself during and after his Senate term, which he abruptly ended in 2010. They have assaulted him on the residency issue that doomed U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar in the 2012 primary, and news accounts have documented job searches and oily votes for future employers while he was still in office.

"How could anyone go from 48/28% to 39/%45%?" pollster Ulm asked. "It's inside out. Evan Bayh has been ruthlessly defined by them. It is the destruction of a brand."

Ulm pointed to the 29/67% right/wrong track number nationally. "Voters are depreciating any experience. People want change."

Asked if he had ever seen a candidate's favorables plummet as much as Bayh's, Ulm said, "Usually when they commit a crime or something or they're just horribly bad candidates, like Sharon Angle versus Harry Reid in Nevada.

The same thing that is hurting Hillary Clinton is hurting Evan Bayh."

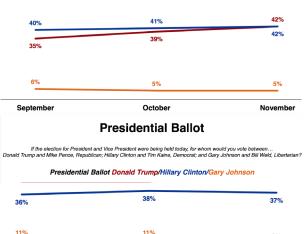
Bayh, who could once count on about 25% of the Republican vote during his last three gubernatorial and U.S. Senate bids, is now attracting just 7% of the GOP vote. His fav/unfavs with Republicans stand at 14/70% and among independents 35/47%. It is an epic and historic destruction of character.

After our October survey, Ulm suggested that

#### **Gubernatorial Ballot**

If the election for Governor and Lt. Governor were being held today, for whom would you vote betwee Eric Holcomb and Suzanne Crouch, Republican; John Gregg and Christina Hale, Democrat; and Rex Bell and Karl Tatgenhorst, Libertarian?

Gubernatorial Ballot Eric Holcomb/John Gregg/Rex Bell



ptember October November

referendum on Bayh as a quasi incumbent and creature of the despised Washington culture. In order to survive, Bavh would have to "destroy" Young. He has run ads that document Young's FEC campaign finance fines, misuse of homestead tax credits and bounced checks, but they don't appear to have stuck. "Bayh is doing everything he can to disqualify Young, but the wind is too much in his face," Ulm said. He pointed to independent voters where Bayh's fav/unfavs stand at 35/47% while Young is at 35/30%. "Bayh is upside down by a massive margin," Ulm said. In yet another example

this election has turned into a

beer November of Hoosiers willing to split their tickets, Democratic Supt. Glenda Ritz holds a 44-38% lead over underfunded Republican Jennifer McCormick. "But when you look at undecided voters, they favor by a 52-23% margin for Trump over Clinton. That's going to

provide a lot of closing power for McCormick," Ulm said.

In 2012 in the final Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll, then-Republican Supt. Tony Bennett had a 4% advantage over Ritz at 40-36%, but lost 52-48%. So this is an example of an incumbent polling well below the crucial 50% threshold. The one advantage for Ritz is an intense education community which has been upset over the Daniels/Bennett/Pence era reforms and controversies. For Ritz to survive on Tuesday, she is going to have to activate that network to high intensity.

### A 9th CD tossup

And in the national congressional bellwether 9th CD, Republican Trey Hollingsworth clings to a 44-42% lead over Democrat Shelli Yoder. That race has drawn national

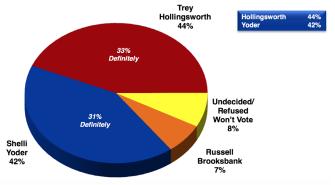
attention as a potential indicator of how the presidential race is influencing down-ballot races.

"Given the top of the ticket, this is shockingly close," Ulm said. "We're at 44-42%. But Yoder's Democratic vote is already in. Clinton is getting 90% of the Democratic vote in the 9th and Yoder is at 91%. But with Republicans, Trump is getting 92% while Hollingsworth is at 83%."

Among 9th CD indepen-



If the election for U.S. Congress were being held today, for whom would you vote between: Trey Hollingsworth, Republican; Shelly Yoder, Democrat...and Russell Brooksbank, Libertarian





dents, Trump is leading by 20% and Hollingsworth is up 10%. "Who has the wind at their back? Hollingsworth, but it's not huge."

#### Pence stature up slightly

Gov. Pence, the Republican vice presidential nominee, saw his standing rise with Hoosier voters. He had been a polarizing influence as the gubernatorial candidate and nominee. In October, his fav/unfavs stood at a tepid 47/45%, but his stature increased to 50/44% as he has spent the last few weeks standing up for Trump's character despite at least 11 women coming forward to accuse Trump of sexual improprieties and his public battle with an overweight beauty queen.

Pence has been urging Republicans here in Indiana and nationally to "come home" and it appears they are. This homecoming has the potential to push Hoosier down-ballot races into the Republican column.

The national right/wrong track number has remained steady in all three surveys, settling at 29/67% in this final poll.

#### National trends still favor Clinton

Ulm notes that while the Trump/Pence ticket is ascending here in Indiana, they still face a tough national environment. "In early voting, Democrats typically have

a huge advantage. When it's close, Republicans haven't been able to have an equal offset on election day. Clinton is only leading among early voters 45-43%. Trump is winning among Election Day voters 51-32%. Look at Florida and North Carolina and we're seeing similar trend."

"Trump's climb in the polls has been mostly Republicans coming home," Ulm said. "The Democrat base has been locked in." He said that three weeks ago, Clinton was looking at 340 to 370 Electoral College votes. "I think she's at 304 now."

As for the Trump/Pence narrative that polling isn't capturing all of their support, Ulm explained, "I don't believe that's the case. You see upticks and downticks, but if you look on average, you've got people coming home. He's polling very similar to Romney on base Republican voters. He has a little more advantage among blue collars, but disadvantage with educated women. The differences in surveys are up or down a point."

While some point to people unlikely to admit publicly or to a pollster they are voting for Trump, the same can be said for independents or even some Republicans who wouldn't publicly acknowledge they are voting for Clinton. \*

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## Buoyed by Gregg, Dems eye super majority break

### By MAUREEN HAYDEN CNHI State Reporter

INDIANAPOLIS – Democrats buoyed by the prospect of retaking the governor's office have their eyes on another prize at the Statehouse - breaking the Republicans' super-majority hold on the General Assembly.



On Tuesday, Democrats must flip five of 71 House seats now held by Republicans to crack the GOP's two-thirds holds of the 100-member House. There is little chance of denting Republicans' 40 to 10 super-majority in the Senate. Breaking the super-majority is significant. With two-thirds of the seats or more, Republicans have the quorum necessary to conduct business in both chambers, and pass any law, without a single

Democrat even showing up.

Republicans who've had the super-majority since 2012 take the threat to their coalition seriously, especially with recent polls showing Democrat John Gregg ahead of Republican Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb in the governor's race.

As of mid-week, the state Republican House Campaign Committee had spent more than \$1.4 million on a handful of key races – five times what the less-resourced House Democratic Caucus Committee had spent.

In the last two weeks, Republicans have poured \$125,000 into the race for an open seat in District 26. Their support for Republican Sally Siegrist is more than Democrat Vickie Woeste has spent on her whole campaign.

The GOP is also pushing significant money into a Terre Haute seat held by Rep. Alan Morrison, who's being challenged by former state Sen. Tim Skinner, a labor stalwart with added support from the teachers' unions.

Some GOP incumbents may be in peril. Since mid-October, the party has funneled more than \$350,000 to Rep. Ed Soliday, the powerful chairman of the House Roads and Transportation Committee, in his race against Democratic challenger Pamela Fish.

House Minority Leader Scott Pelath said Democrats feel good about their chances of breaking the super-majority on that side of the building.

"The best indicator of that is the Republican caucus is unleashing gobs of money in defense of some of their incumbents and on some of their seats that they currently hold in open races," he said. "And we're answering that with an unprecedented get-out-the-vote effort."

Democratic leaders recruited candidates around the state to run on a theme of Republican overreach in the Statehouse. They've citing a rash of controversial bills –

such as the disputed religious freedom law and restrictive abortion measures -- advanced by Republicans whose numbers rendered the minority party almost irrelevant.

"They've made it very easy for those of us who are trying to break into the ranks," said Woeste, who is competing for an open seat held by the GOP for 16 years. "They can't share the sandbox. That's the danger of unlimited power."

All of the energy being expended by Democrats is just to shed the label of being a super-minority, however. There's no chance of reclaiming the majority they held in the House prior to the 2010 election.

In all, 125 legislative seats are up for a vote Tuesday - all of the House and half the Senate. Only about a dozen are considered in play, and only about half of those are seen as truly winnable by Democratic insiders.

Andy Downs, head of the Mike Downs Center for Indiana Politics, said the partisan leverage of being able to stall the legislative process by walking out is significant, but it can only be pulled "when you are not in the super-minority."

Pelath said that's critical.

"We can't have an effective legislature without any checks or balances," he said.

House Speaker Brian Bosma, who helps decide where dollars go in House races, said it was never the intention of Republicans to gain super-majority control of the Legislature. And he denies they've abused it.

"A super-majority is difficult to manage," he said. "It's difficult to reduce expectations of the ability to overreach - and to just run over the minority - which we have not done in a supermajority."

Bosma rejects the theory pushed by Democrats that the Republican-controlled redistricting process of 2011 carved out districts to favor his party.

"Indiana is, after all, a Republican state," he noted.

Instead, he said the super-majority control of the House, won by the GOP during the 2012 election, came as a result of Democrats' ill use of the leverage they're now hoping to regain.

In 2011, a year before falling into super-minority status, House Democrats staged a six-week walkout, fleeing to Illinois to block about a dozen bills seen as anti-labor.

The Republican gains that followed, said Bosma, were the result of a "Hoosier backlash at that tactic." .

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### Late legislative money in 6 House, 3 Senate seats

#### **HPI Report**

INDIANAPOLIS – The vast majority of late money has gone to six Indiana House races most of them in Northwest Indiana, and three Indiana Senate races, the

two most expensive in the Indianap-



Based on late contributions, the most competi-

tive House races are in District 19, where former Rep. Shelli VanDen-Burgh is trying to reclaim the seat from Republican incumbent Julie Olthoff. Both are from Crown Point. Between them, they have received nearly \$600,00 in late contributions. The bulk of Olthoff's money has come from the House Republican Campaign Committee (HRCC), while VanDenburgh's largest contributors are the House Democratic Caucus and I-PACE, the campaign arm of the Indiana State Teachers Association (ISTA). The ISTA

and HRCC are also the big players in the District 4 races where Valparaiso-area residents Democrat Pamela Fish and

incumbent Republican Ed Soliday have raked in over \$400,000 in late money.

In two other Northwest Indiana races, former Rep. Mara Reardon hopes to win back the District 12 seat now held by GOP incumbent Rep. Bill Fine. Together, they've taken in nearly \$175,000 in late money. And in District 20, which includes La-Porte County, Jim Pressel is hoping retain the seat for Republicans against Democrat Karen Biernacki. Between them, they have received over \$170,000 in late money. The seat is held by retiring Republican Rep. Tom Dermody. These races, too, have receive

most of the late money from HRCC, the House Democratic Caucus, and ISTA.

In the West Lafayette district represented by the retiring Republican Randy Truitt, Democrat Victoria Woeste and Republican Sally Siegrist took in a total of \$113,000 in late money. And in a tight District 20 race, Republican incumbent Alan Morrison is hoping to fend off former state Sen. Tim Skinner in a district that includes part of Terre

> Haute. Those two took in \$over \$114,000 in late contributions.

In the senate, the two most expensive races continue to be in the Indianapolis area. In District 30, Republican John Ruckeshaus hopes to keep the seat in GOP hands against Democrat Pam Hickman, Those two have taken in over \$400,000 in late money The Senate Majority Campaign Committee (SMCC) has provide nearly all of Ruckeshaus's late money. Hickman's came from Indiana Senate Democrats. In Senate District 32, Republican Aaron Freeman took in over \$93,000 in late

**Late Money to Indiana House Candidates** 

District	Candidates	DEM	GOP	TOTAL	
19	Shelli VanDenburgh	\$152,447		¢506.447	
	Julie Olthoff	\$434,000		\$586,447	
4	Pamela Fish	\$48,500		\$413,300	
	Ed Soliday		\$364,800		
12	Mara Reardon	\$48,000		\$174,800	
	William Fine		\$126,800	\$174,800	
26	Victoria Woeste	\$35,000		\$172,000	
	Sally Siegrist		\$137,000	\$172,000	
42	Tim Skinner	\$10,000		\$114,420	
	Alan Morrison		\$104,420		
20	Karen Biernacki	\$14,500		\$113.000	
	Jim Pressel		\$98,500	\$113,000	
	Total	\$308,447	\$1,265,520	\$1,573,967	

**Late Money To Indiana Senate Candidates** 

District	Candidates	DEM	GOP	TOTAL	
30	Pam Hickman	\$54,500		\$418,632	
30	John Ruckelshaus		\$364,132	3418,032	
32	Sarah Wiley	\$39,772		\$133,490	
32	Aaron Freeman		\$93,718	\$155,490	
-	Jim Harper	\$10,997		\$57,648	
5	Ed Charbonneau		\$46,651	\$37,048	
		\$105.269	\$504 501	\$609.770	

money, most from SMCC, and Democrat Sarah Wiley took in nearly \$40,000, mostly from ISTA. .







# Holcomb makes his final pitch at home

#### By BRIAN A. HOWEY

ZIONSVILLE – They were separated by hours, but the Cobblestone Grill in this beautiful downtown became an intersection in the gubernatorial race. Democrat John Gregg appeared on Monday night, appealing for Republicans to cross over. On Tuesday, Republican Eric Holcomb showed up to exhort his supporters to not only turn out, but reach out.

Boone County Republican Chairwoman Debbie Ottinger acknowledged the Gregg visit to her heavily Republican county. "Isn't there a rail and didn't he get run out on it?" Ottinger asked the three dozen folks who gathered around Holcomb. They roared with laughter. "This is crazy,



but it's good crazy," Ottinger said.
Holcomb then took the

microphone and echoed an appeal that Gregg made in the very same restaurant and one he repeated throughout southeastern Indiana on Tuesday. Both are looking for

independent voters while picking those off from the other side. For Gregg, it is targeting moderate voters upset by the Religious Freedom Restoration Act and Holcomb's decision to let locals decide LGBT issues. For Reagan Democrats, it's the loss of good-paying jobs and the allure of Donald Trump's message to build a wall and destroy the Washington status quo.

"We've made millions of contact attempts and connections," Holcomb began. "We've ID'd hundreds of thousands of voters and it's all coming down, it's not even seven days anymore. It's six days and a wakeup. That's where we are. We're seven days away to determine which direction this state is going to go and the direction of country is going to go."

Then Holcomb delivered the thrust of his pitch: "We need everything you can do to put into play in the next six-plus days. Reach out to not just your political friends, but your friends who don't think about politics too much. Get to the outside, not the inside. Reach out and connect with voters who occasionally think about what's

going on politically. Get out of your comfort zone. This is way too important to leave any stone unturned or any vote stranded. I'm never surprised after Election Day when I hear people say, 'I should have voted.' You hear that all the time. This is a year we cannot allow that to occur."

It appears that Boone County Republicans are paying heed. The Zionsville Times-Sentinel reported the county is "on pace to shatter records." According to Clerk Jessica Fouts, "roughly 8% of the county's estimated 49,000 registered voters already had turned out for early voting or submitted a ballot by mail, 2,359 in person and 1,509 by mail." If that trend continues, it could result in what the Times-Sentinel described as a "spectacular record."

Holcomb then delivered the second prong of his pitch. "We turned this state around," he began. "We were drowning in a red ink, almost \$800 million and that's after we blew through a surplus of close to \$1 billion. Now think about where we are in rooms like this in all 92 counties. I had Gov. Nikki Haley come in from South Carolina and Gov. Scott Walker come in from Wisconsin and they rave about Indiana and ask questions, 'How did you do this? How did you do that?' You know, a \$2 billion savings and a Triple A credit rating. We pay our bills on time. We have a 4.5% jobless rate. We've always been a manufacturing state but now we're the No. 1 manufacturing state and on top of that we've moved from that manufacturing to advanced manufacturing and we're tripling the high tech job growth. Indiana is a tech leader in the country. There is nothing we can't do."

Holcomb concluded, "It's going to come down to Nov. 8, which is the last opportunity to keep it on track."

Prior to Holcomb's pep talk, he conducted this interview with WRTV and Howey Politics Indiana:

**HPI:** The Monmouth Poll shows you trailing John Gregg by 6%. What's your reaction?

**Holcomb:** I've got an internal poll that shows a different story. I think we're in the passing lane and I feel good about where we are. As I get around the state, I see Hoosiers every day who believe that Nov. 8 is going to be a good night for Republicans.

**HPI:** What's your final pitch to voters?

**Holcomb:** I want to make sure that people don't take this for granted. We've come a long way in the last 12 years. We were a state that was in the ditch, we were



broke, and that all happened on the watch of my opponent. In the 12 years I've been involved we've seen the state go from last to lead. We have governors who ask us, how do you have a record number of people working? How do you have a lower than national average unemployment rate? How are you the No. 1 manufacturing state in

the country? How are you tripling the high tech growth business compared to the national average? We've done that because of responsible, proven Republican leadership. We want to forward that momentum and not go back to those days of raiding and borrowing of my opponent. There's a stark contrast we have to make before you go into that polling booth.



**HPI:** If elected, what are your first priorities? Holcomb: We're going to focus on people, people, people. We're going to make sure our work force is aligned with the needs of the 21st Century. We're going to focus on a truly long-term and sustainable infrastructure program. When I say infrastructure I'm not talking about just roads and bridges. I'm talking about everything and anything that connects us to the world and brings the world to us. We're going to make sure we continue to grow and protect our economy and our budget. We've lived under honestly balanced budgets in each of the years Republicans were in charge and we have a Republican governor. Now contrast that to the days before 2005, we were delaying payments to every school in this county, every local government in this county and 91 other counties. We were spending money we didn't have. We can't go back to those days. I don't want to just maintain what we have, I would to create separation between us and the competition. It's going to take real leadership to do it.

HPI: What are you hearing about the early vote?
Holcomb: Well, I'm excited about what I'm
hearing anecdotally and what a lot of folks are telling
me. There are Democrats who are crossing over. I had
a person in a parade in Rockville who said they'd been a
Democratic precinct committeeman for 32 years and they
are voting for me, he and his wife. I just get a lot of crossover support when I'm out on the road and on the stump.
And with the counties reporting in, it didn't just start this
summer for me. We were doing a lot of voter contact, millions of calls, and to see the people coming into the county
court houses is very encouraging, especially before the
election.

**HPI:** How big a pool of undecided voters do you think there is and do you expect them to break? What are you seeing internally?

**Holcomb:** It seems to me they are starting to lean our way. Maybe it has something to do with the top of the ticket, but when the top of the ticket of the Democratic Party is currently under FBI investigation doesn't hurt our case. People starting to ask, "Can I get my vote back?"

I'm focused on my race, squarely, making sure there is no stone left unturned and no vote unattended. I think the independent-minded voters and even some conservative, open-minded Democrats are coming our way because they know the fiscal integrity of this state is important. It's important because it creates this magnet that attracts so

much investment over the 12 years. It's just night and day. We are driving over new bridges over the Ohio, we're driving on I-69 and when voters hear about Republican plans, we don't just say it, we do it. They are less cynical than they were in 2005. When I go down to Jeffersonville or Evansville and they drive I-69, people constantly say to me, "I never thought I would see the day until you guys were put into leadership positions. People know

this and I just love bragging about this all across the country.

**HPI:** You've been riding a whirlwind since July 1 when it looked like Gov. Pence might get on the national ticket. What you've been through is unprecedented. It's a complete historical anomaly. Give me some perspective of this.

**Holcomb:** It truly was, for me, partially setting aside what I was focused on for what I thought was the greater good. When Gov. Pence asked me to join him and move the state forward, I set aside what I was focused on because I felt I could contribute something to make sure this state moved forward. In doing so, little did I know he would be asked to join another ticket and I would be wearing not just one hat, but two hats and some days, three. About three hours ago I was at Trimetics at a job expansion announcement and maybe Gov. Pence would have been there if not out stumping for our national ticket. Some days I wear a hat that makes sure I represent the state for our governor and obviously some days as lieutenant governor, and then campaigning for governor. I don't feel like I started from a standstill. I've been to every county. I know about the issues in each region, I know about the West Lake expansion, the South Shore doubletracking need, and I know about the East End Bridge in Jeffersonville and the need for an I-69 bridge. It's been trying to not allow any of the spinning plates to drop and they haven't yet, but it's created a sense of urgency and I've learned so much on the run. I've worked with Lt. Gov. Skillman closely. I've worked with Gov. Daniels very closely. I've worked with Gov. Pence very closely, but there's no experience like actually doing the job. It's a tremendous help, should I win this election.

**HPI:** Do you have a transition team in place? **Holcomb:** Well I'm focused on campaigning right now, but there are folks getting together informally. I'll start to plug in when appropriate. ❖





## **Gregg looks for GOP** crossover votes

### By BRIAN A. HOWEY

LAWRENCEBURG - They feel the momentum and on Tuesday at a half a dozen barnstorming stops across southeastern Indiana, Democrat John Gregg and his running mate Christina Hale urged party faithful along with Republicans and independents to step on the gas and,

perhaps, honk the horn.



"I've got to ask for a favor," Gregg told several dozen voters gathered at the Shelbyville public square Tuesday morning. "Reach out and talk to independents and Republicans. Talk to three or four people in the next

week. Will you do it?"

He repeated the request 90 minutes later at Whis-

ky's Family Restaurant in this Ohio River city before several dozen Democrats. "Things are going great right now, but we've got seven days and we can't slow down or even take a deep breath," Gregg said a day after a Monmouth Poll showed him leading Republican Eric Holcomb 48-42% while picking up endorsements from several larger newspapers, including the IndyStar. "There are many Republicans who don't believe their party represents them any more. Reach out to three or four to them."

As party elders Baron Hill, Judy O'Bannon, Susan Bayh, U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly and attorney general nominee Lorenzo Arredondo looked on, Gregg made this vow: "I will never embarrass you or the state. Let's go get 'em."

Tuesday's bus tour was part of a week-long tour that will take these Democrats across much of the state.







Democratic gubernatorial nominee John Gregg stumps with Susan Bayh, Christina Hale and Sen. Joe Donnelly in Shelbyville and Lawrenceburg on Tuesday. (HPI Photos by Mark Curry)

But this bus trip was different in one way. Gathered with the party elders and nominees were about 30 volunteers with buds in their ears, iPhones in their laps and voter lists in their grasp, making this a rolling call center. "Hello, I'm J.D. and I'm a volunteer for John Gregg. Your voting place is at the YMCA Annex at 2010 College St., in Vincennes," one young man said. It was a rolling phone bank, with the bus driver honking at every John Gregg billboard the bus passed along the way.

It's all about momentum. Later in the day, the Gregg campaign announced it had raised an additional \$2.4 million in the preelection reporting period and has more than \$2.9 million cash on hand. The preelection reporting period starts Oct. 1 and covers all donations made through Oct. 24. "The momentum is clearly with the Gregg/Hale team, and our continued fundraising strengthen proves that," said campaign manager Tim Henderson. "As we approach Election Day, we are in a strong position and will have the resources needed to continue to push out our message and communicate with voters."

Gregg told HPI the Republican Governors Associa-

tion has thrown \$8 million at him since May, while the GOP switched out Gov. Mike Pence to Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb as the former accepted a spot on the presidential ticket with Donald Trump. Pence joined Holcomb in Jeffersonville on Sunday to boost his campaign. "We are in the third week of network TV in Chicago, in addition to cable," Gregg said of his campaign, a far cry from the spartan operation that left him less than 3% short of Pence in 2012. "Evan Bayh and Frank O'Bannon did not do that in their opening years, before they were elected. We are." Gregg, traveling with wife Lisa and son Hunter, seemed exhilarated by the tour. "You work for two years to load up for the last 10 days," he said.

Is it your favorite part of the campaign? "It is," he said. "You see a lot of people you've met



### Hale never thought she'd be on the bus

#### By BRIAN A. HOWEY

GREENDALE, Ind. – The Gregg/Hale tour bus, the side emblazoned with their images, stopped just off State Road 1 here, since they were 20 minutes early for the next barnstorm event in nearby Lawrenceburg. Democrats poured out of the vehicle onto a side road near the Burger King, including lieutenant governor nominee Christina



"He made me shave my mustache."

Hale, who quickly looped into a phone call while talking atop a curb in high heels.

Once the call concluded, it was time for a Howey Politics Indiana interview, with her first observation, "I never dreamed my

image would be on the side of a bus." Which launched into a critique of her image, the self-deprecation just this side of hilarious. It was along the lines of her remarks about 40 minutes later at Whisky's Family Restaurant. "You get to know people real well on the campaign trail," Hale said as gubernatorial nominee John Gregg watched nearby.

In a campaign that features stalwart Democrats with names Gregg and Bayh, Rep. Hale is the rising star. She is a two-term state representative from the north side of Indianapolis who once flirted with the U.S. Senate race. With Gov. Mike Pence jettisoning Lt. Gov. Sue Ellspermann for Eric Holcomb last March, Hale filled Gregg's gender card along with an array of other campaign attributes. She is heavy on policy, making women and children issues the key thrust of her short legislative career. She is a tenacious door-to-door campaigner and fundraiser, contributing \$250,000 from her own reelection campaign to the Gregg effort. It is a political package that can be very serious at times, and often very, very humorous.

HPI conducted this interview with Hale outside of the bus that bears her image.

**HPI:** What have you learned and what are the highlights of this campaign?

**Hale:** Statewide campaigning is kind of like graduate school meets reality show. You hear their stories and concerns and you hear their vision for Indiana's future. It's connecting the dots and putting it all together and coming up with a plan to help people.

**HPI:** Have you enjoyed campaigning?

**Hale:** I love it. I think if you don't enjoy getting out and meeting people around the state then you're in the wrong business. People always ask, "Are you tired?" No, I'm not tired. It's really energizing. I feel a lot of good energy from people. You just learn so much.

**HPI:** What's it like campaigning with John Gregg?

**Hale:** Campaigning with John Gregg is a very special experience. He's certainly has a sense of humor, so there's never a dull moment. You have to be able to laugh at yourself, too. John is a storyteller and he's not afraid of making you part of the joke every once in awhile. It's always being able to stay on your feet and have a witty comeback.

**HPI:** Where do you think the campaign is right now? Are you sensing a victory?

**Hale:** I have the psychology of someone who's only ever won by the most razor thin of margins. I've never even won by 200 votes let alone 20,000. I just have an underdog mentality of running from behind and working hard and just try to tell your story to the Indiana public and hope you describe your plans, do your homework and do your best and hope that people will support that.

**HPI:** What's it like talking with Judy O'Bannon on a trip like this?

**Hale:** I was a member of Gov. Frank O'Bannon's staff years and years ago. It's extremely moving and it just helps you feel that weight of responsibility that comes with governing and governing well. It's really caring about the people you hope to serve some day.

**HPI:** You're going to our hometown of Michigan



City in the next couple of days. What's that going to be like?

**Hale:** It's always good to go home. If there's one thing that makes me nervous about this trip it is going home.

**HPI:** Why would that be?

**Hale:** You just don't want to disappoint the people you love and know the best. I'm not a person used to having their picture on the side of a bus. It just feels a little awkward and it's exciting. I know my mom and dad will like seeing my face on the side of the bus.



# Speaker Ryan gives boost to the 'Three Ts'

#### By THOMAS CURRY

SELLERSBURG – House Speaker Paul Ryan came to Indiana's battleground 9th CD on Tuesday to campaign for Republican nominee Trey Hollingsworth and the "Triple

Ts." The speaker called it an effort to "get Republicans voters to come home" and vote for Republicans throughout the ticket. It was the first stop for Ryan ahead of five scheduled events at key House races across the country. Hollingsworth described the appearance attended by 90 Southern Indiana Republicans as encouraging Hoosiers to support the "Triple T's" of Donald Trump, Todd Young and Trey Hollingsworth. The second appearance by a major Republican leader shows that Southern Indiana is a critical area to the party this year.

Ryan spoke on how Hoosiers can dictate "the future of the Senate, the House and the world" on Nov. 8. "It is important that we vote in Republicans from the top of the ticket and down in order to make this country move forward. We have a choice between two futures. Are we going to choose wrong or are we going to seize the opportunity out in front of us?"

Ryan called Congressman Young "one of the hardest working members in Congress" and said that Hoosiers need to vote him into the Senate in order to benefit the country. Ryan and Young worked together on the Ways and Means committee which Ryan said has made them close.

Young, who spoke to the media before taking the stage, said that he hasn't seen his opponent Evan Bayh on the campaign trail and that the recent Monmouth polling that revealed the Senate race to be tied shows that "our message and strategy is working." Young described his race as "critical to the future of the Supreme Court" and that Indiana will decide who controls the Senate.

Hollingsworth received rousing endorsements from Ryan, Young and National Republican Congressional Committee Chairman U.S. Rep. Greg Walden (OR-02) who said that the NRCC "is in 100% with Hollingsworth and his campaign." The 9th CD race has garnered national attention from both parties, with money pouring in for both Hollingsworth and his Democrat opponent Shelli Yoder. Internal polling released by the Yoder campaign in October showed the race to be tied despite being in a Republican-leaning district.

Ryan praised Hollingsworth for his work repairing old warehouses by saying "we need someone like that in Washington who can fix the problems there. We don't need a liberal college professor like Nancy Pelosi." Young also backed Hollingsworth by saying, "The 9th CD needs to stay ran by Republicans who want to keep Washington out of Indiana and put more of Indiana into Washington."

During Hollingsworth's address to the crowd, he described his race as "between good and evil." Hollingsworth went on further to explain that he believes the "Nancy Pelosi politics, the Hillary Clinton politics and the Shelli Yoder politics are evil" and that they are "destroying the values we hold dear in this country."

After the rally ended, Hollingsworth told the media that the recent Pence and Paul Ryan appearances don't show that his campaign is in trouble but that the "race is



Republican leader shows that Southern Indiana is a critical area to the party this year

Speaker Paul Ryan with Todd Young and Trey Hollingsworth in Sellersburg on Tuesday. (HPI Photo by Thomas Curry)

important to future of this country." He went on to say that the "campaign is feeling strong and confident" with only a week to go until the election. •

### Pence returns to Indiana for Holcomb

#### **By THOMAS CURRY**

JEFFERSONVILLE – Gov. Mike Pence returned to Indiana Sunday evening riding the crest of the news of a new FBI probe into Hillary Clinton's emails, seeking to bolster Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump and Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb in the midst of a tight gubernatorial race.

"I am worried about the future of this country. And this election is about choosing between two futures," Pence said at historic Nachand Fieldhouse with about 250 people attending. "Either we continue down the path we are going or Donald Trump turns us around. We need to get out of the ditch we find ourselves in. The ditch that Obama has put us in. Let Republican leadership lead us down the right future."

Pence spoke highly of Donald Trump by saying he is "doer in a business usually reserved for talkers." Pence also said that "Trump has a plan on how to fix this country that gets the government off our backs."

Speaking directly to his Republican supporters, Pence added that "We need to have faith that Americans will choose right in this election, we need faith in voters that will make the right choice. And we need that other faith in this country too."

Pence spent much of the speech talking about the tight governor's race between Holcomb and Democrat John Gregg. Pence tied Gregg to Hillary Clinton by saying



"They have a lot of common, let me fill you in. They want to raise our taxes and regulate us even more. Gregg supports Obamacare and called it a 'game changer.' Well he is right, it's a game changer that has hurt Hoosiers and Americans."

Giving a strong endorsement for his lieutenant governor, Pence called Holcomb the right man for the job and someone who could keep Indiana going forward.

Holcomb introduced Pence, poking fun at Clinton for the recent reopening of the FBI investigation into her emails by asking, "Ladies and gentlemen, are you ready to Gov. Mike Pence campaigns with the Indiana Republican ticket in Jefsay 'hello' to a man who understands that a 'C' on classified documents stands for 'confidential?" Holcomb added, "We need a president who isn't currently under FBI investigation" for which he received a thunderous roar from the crowd.

Holcomb spoke only briefly on the importance of voting for Republicans and said that he "was extremely blessed to be standing here."

Also previously speaking at the rally and appearing on stage for a photo op at the end of Pence's speech were 9th CD candidate Trey Hollingsworth and Attorney General nominee Curtis Hill.

Hollingsworth finds himself locked in a close elec-



OUR BUNS ARE STEAMED



fersonville on Sunday. (HPI Photos by Thomas Curry)

tion bid with Democrat Shelli Yoder, who has released internal polling that shows the race is tied in a Republicanleaning district. Hollingsworth spoke on how "we need to avoid the tax and spending policies of Hillary Clinton. We need to avoid the failed foreign policy of President Obama. We need to make Americans feel safe when they fly on an airplane again."

The 9th CD race has attracted the attention of both national parties, but an appearance with the top of the ticket may be the most attention given yet. .



### Weiner time for Rex

#### By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS - Anthony Weiner, meet Rex Early, who will not be your sexting partner. But the joke's on you.

The explosive saga of 650,000 emails on Weiner's

laptop, including some apparently between Hillary Clinton and top aide Huma Abedin was a gift for Early, who chairs the Donald Trump Indiana presidential campaign. Last Friday, FBI Director James Comev alerted the world to the Weiner trove, even if it was ambiguous in its meaning and content. Early, the legendary Hoosier jokester, can hardly contain himself.

"What concerns me is we might have lost that Weiner voter," Early cracked. HPI responded that perhaps a trip to Fort Wayne's Coney Island Weiner Stand or, perhaps, Mr. Weenie in Peru might be in order. Clearly, Rex Early's buns are not steamed.

For Early, it translates into momentum, a message that Gov. Mike Pence has been enunciating as he crisscrosses the nation. Meeting with Early and Trump campaign vice chair Tony Samuel and Suzie Jaworowski at the Antelope Club on Monday, Early was a human hot dog stand of Weiner quips. On the nearby TV monitor, Fox News broke into breaking news with fresh Monmouth Poll numbers from Indiana, where Trump had jetted out to an 11-point lead here after leading by only 5% in an October WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll.

"Thank you, Anthony Weiner," Early cracked, not even trying to contain the obvious glee and irony, "I think Trump will win Indiana by at least 12%. I think he'll go well over 12%. I've been doing this for a long time and I've never seen people so pumped up about an election. If Trump gets on 10% plurality or more, he'll help the governor and Senate race."

> It was a far cry from Adam Wren's Oct. 19 Politico Magazine article that followed the trio to Pizza City in Terre Haute with the thrust of his story that female voters in bellwether Vigo County were abandoning Trump after the nominee's battle with an overweight Miss Universe. The article caught the trio learning that gubernatorial nominee Eric Holcomb not com-

mitting to voting for Trump, something that Holcomb has definitely backtracked on. The Alicia Machado days seem a long way away from Importantville, Ind., these days. Early envisions a Trump/Pence victory next Tuesday. And then this: "If Trump wins, he loves Indiana."

That much is clear. It was Indiana that put Trump over the top to clinch the presidential nomination with a 53% victory in the May 3 primary. It was former Indiana coaches Bob Knight, Gene Keady and Lou Holtz that gave him a good bit of thrust. It was Indiana that helped him forge the Trump ticket with Gov. Mike Pence.

"This is a movement," Early said. "It's not just Republicans. It's a movement. He has a rally in Evansville and 25,000 people show up." .



# Remembering the King of Steeltown

#### By CHRIS SAUTTER

MIAMI – The first time I stepped into one of Bob Pastrick's campaign headquarters in March 1995, I knew this was a scene out of a movie waiting to be made. Behind a desk occupied by a gruff, extremely overweight



campaign worker lay a pile of merchandize – color TVs, VCR's, microwaves, and more. When he finally put down the telephone he had been chewing I asked, "What's this stuff for?" "Door prizes," he spit back.

Politics in East Chicago in the 1990's was rough and tumble and old school, a throw-back. I thought it should be documented in some way and when one of Pastrick's sons asked me if I knew anyone who

might write a book about his father, I suggested a documentary film.

This was early 1999 as Pastrick was launching another of his "last" campaigns against Stephen "Bob" Stiglich, former Lake County sheriff and then Democratic county chairman. It would be the final face-off of three between them, bare-knuckled political battles that were like campaign versions of the Ali-Frazier fights.

In fact, Pastrick wanted to hang it up in 1995, but he could not allow himself to hand over the city hall keys to Stiglich, a man he once hired as his police chief, but who had turned against him. Had Pastrick walked away in the mid-1990's, he would have avoided the tag of corruption that taints his legacy.

Bob Pastrick, who died Friday two weeks shy of his 89th birthday, was a dynamic, caring, and complex political figure. Superficially, he might be described as a smaller scale version of the

legendary Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley. Both simultaneously held the mayoral and Democratic county chairman posts that allowed them to preside over well-oiled patronage-driven political machines. Both cared deeply about their respective cities, and aggressively sought millions of dollars to improve them. Daley would personally meet with every individual hired by the city so that the new worker understood he/she owed the job and loyalty to Daley, as did Pastrick. Neither cared about enriching themselves, but both turned a blind eye to aides and supporters who did.

**Yet, Pastrick strongly** believed in progressive ideals. He idolized the Kennedys and hosted Jack Kennedy on his first visit to Indiana in the run-up to the 1960 presidential campaign. Pastrick put his progressive philosophy to work as mayor. He hired African Americans and Latinos

to top administration jobs (the first time in East Chicago history) putting an end to a period of intense racial tension in Lake County politics, implemented policies designed to improve the lives of the city's historically neglected low-income community, and built award-winning libraries.

Pastrick possessed both a shrewd political mind and a common touch. He knew many of the city residents by name and regularly dropped in on them at community centers and at service organization events. His aides were charged with briefing him regularly so that he could congratulate constituents personally on the birth of a grand-child or console them if there had been a recent personal loss. He would attend the funerals of not just prominent people, but of ordinary city residents, for example, attending the funeral of Norma Jean Moore, a welfare mother from East Chicago and president of the Indiana Welfare Rights Organization.

Like all of the mayors until the current one, Anthony Copeland, Robert Pastrick hailed from the treacherous Harbor side of East Chicago. His early political base stemmed from his marriage to a prominent Indiana Harbor Morrissey family's daughter, Ruth Ann Plesniak. He first came to political attention during the Walter Jeorse mayoral administration in the 1950's.

**Pastrick was first elected** to the city council in 1954. Later, he became a maverick in the early 1960s and aligned himself with former mayor Frank Migas's son-in-law, Dr. John B. Nicosi, who unseated Jeorse after 12 years of reign. Pastrick served as Nicosi's city controller from 1964-1971 before ganging up with Jay Given and Jay's law partner, Tom Cappas, to seize power.

Pastrick caught the attention of the state Democratic Party as a result of his aggressive approach in building the Indiana Young Democrats when he served as state president in the 1950's. He was rewarded with the secre-

tary of state nomination in 1960. Pastrick later told me that having two Catholics on the ticket, John F. Kennedy and himself, was a tough sell to many voters in the

Hoosier state who at that time were prejudiced toward Catholics.

Unfortunately, Pastrick's years as mayor, beginning with his election in 1971, coincided with the decline of the steel industry and manufacturing in the U.S. generally. By the 1970's, foreign steel became a fact of life. Revenue from personal property taxes and the steel industry took a dive. East Chicago saw its population cut in half as residents fled to the suburbs. As steel jobs evaporated, the city became the top employer for those who remained.

An ugly pall was cast over East Chicago's politics with the murder of Pastrick's former city attorney and political fixer, Jay Given, on the night of May 15, 1981. Given was shot to death in the vestibule of the Elks Build-



ing within 30 feet of 400 people gathered for a political fundraiser. John Cardon, the main suspect, was an East Chicago cop and his friends on the force swept the area for evidence. Some claimed the murder was "political." The murder remains "unsolved."

In the early 1990's, Indiana elected to allow riverboat gambling to inject badly needed revenue into the economies of struggling communities. A company owned by Cappas and former Democratic State Chair Mike Pannos, a close friend of one of Pastrick's sons, won a nobid contract to run the East Chicago casino. Some were outraged by the favoritism, and the fallout almost cost Pastrick the election in 1995. Pastrick was losing his grip over the machine. After the election, he would step down as Democratic county chair, replaced by Stiglich.

Unexplained things happened in East Chicago politics that no one seemed to question. Like the time in 1995 when Stiglich's direct mail pieces ended up at the bottom of the Calumet River. So when the city embarked on a multi-million-dollar public works campaign funded by casino revenues to replace sidewalks in the early spring of 1999 just before the Democratic primary election, few questioned the project. At least they were getting new sidewalks, some remarked. Well, not everyone. Those houses with a Stiglich yard sign were passed over. And, in

some cases, the work extended to driveways, patios, and parking lots.

The "sidewalks for votes" scandal marked the beginning of the end for Pastrick. He would narrowly defeat another former police chief, George Pabey, in 2003. But Pabey contested the results, arguing rampant voter fraud in absentee ballot voting. The Indiana Supreme Court threw out the results and Pastrick lost the new election. Meanwhile, six of Pastrick's supporters, "the Sidewalk Six," were convicted on corruption. Indiana won a \$108 million judgment against Pastrick and his allies for funds allegedly misspent on the sidewalk project. It was a sad conclusion to a remarkable political career.

**Bob Pastrick was** known and respected nationally as one of the country's top mayors. His stylish dress, charm, and dashing approach to politics earned him the nickname "Hollywood Bob," a moniker he never liked. For all the controversy, Pastrick was always a gentleman. He loved politics and the people in politics, and Democratic politicos loved him. Ann Greenfield of Posey County, who served with Pastrick on the Democratic National Committee, said "He had that ability, as most successful pols do, to make each person he talked to feel important."

Indiana politics won't see the likes of Bob Pastrick again.  $\ \ \, \ \ \,$ 



## The power of Pastrick

#### **By RICH JAMES**

MERRILLVILLE – Politically speaking, East Chicago was the capital of Indiana during the 33-year career of Mayor Robert A. Pastrick. Statewide candidates coveted his endorsement. Republicans feared his power. Demo-



crats bathed in the city's massive voter turnouts. Pastrick, who left office in 2004, passed away Oct. 28. He would have been 89 later this month.

Pastrick loved his native East Chicago where he served as city controller and city councilman prior to being elected mayor. He was elected mayor nine times until losing to George Pabey in a special election in 2003. His only other

political loss was a bid for secretary of state.

**Besides the residents** of East Chicago, Pastrick was rich in close friends. Foremost among them was the late James Knight. Knight not only was city controller, but also advised Pastrick on a number of key interests, both governmentally and politically. Had Knight still been living, there are those who contend the sidewalk scandal of 1999 never would have happened.

Prior to the 1999 mayoral election, the city poured more than \$20 million into public sidewalks throughout East Chicago. They were paid for with revenue from the city's riverboat casino. While there is nothing wrong with the city pouring sidewalks, it did so without putting the project up for bids. Several city councilmen and the controller were convicted and sentenced to prison. Criminal charges never were filed against Pastrick. Those politically close to Pastrick engineered the sidewalk affair pretty much without him knowing the details.

It was the first time the city was challenged for doing things its way. What happened in East Chicago – so it is said – stayed in East Chicago. After winning a ninth term in 2003, loser George Pabey challenged the results based on allegations of vote fraud. The court threw out the results and ordered a new election. Pabey, based on the city's majority Hispanic population, won the new election. Because of the drastic reduction in the number of jobs in the steel industry, the city had declined economically by the time Pastrick left office. That bothered Pastrick, who tried to help out by hiring out-of-work residents whenever possible. Pastrick was extremely close to U.S. Sen. Birch Bayh, and because of that relationship, took his son, Evan Bayh, under his wing when he entered politics.

Rich James has been writing about state and local government and politics for more than 30 years.



## Signs of Clinton slip, but floodgates holding

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

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. — Hillary Clinton has picked an awful time to hit one of the rough patches that has plagued her throughout the campaign. Now with just days to go until Election Day, there's added uncertainty about the outcome. But while she may not be on the brink of an Electoral College win the size of Barack Obama's in

2008 or even 2012, her position as the clear frontrunner in this race endures.

Now, granted, some of this

is, for her, bad luck and poor timing out of her control: The "Comey Effect," referring to FBI Director James Comey's controversial decision to inform Congress of new emails potentially related to the bureau's investigation of Clinton's use of a private email server, has put a dent in Clinton in the final stages of the race, although the contest was tightening in some ways before the news. The campaign's actions also tell us that there must be at least a little bit of alarm in Brooklyn: It is putting come advertising money

some duverusing money
(not huge amounts but very noticeable) into some states
that the campaign has largely ignored in recent months,
like Colorado, Michigan, New Mexico, Virginia, and Wiscon-
sin. Trump has also campaigned in these states recently
and has said he is advertising in those states.

The pro-Clinton interpretation of these moves is that the campaign is so flush with cash that they can afford some last-minute spending to block Trump in these states; the anti-Clinton view is that the campaign is panicking and took some of these states, all of which are basically must-wins for Clinton, for granted.

The good thing for Clinton is that there are few signs that her leads in these states are evaporating. Recent polls of all of these states show Clinton retaining a lead, and not just by a couple of points. A much-anticipated survey from the Marquette University Law School, a solid Badger State pollster, found Clinton up six points, largely unchanged from its last survey several weeks ago.

A handful of Pennsylvania polls had Clinton up around four points, not that much different from Obama's 5.5-point margin in 2012. And a Washington Post/George Mason University poll found Clinton up six in Virginia.

Additionally, while polls are all over the map in North Carolina and Nevada, we still see Clinton as a tiny favorite in each state, neither of which is truly a must-win for her to reach 270 electoral votes.

Therefore, while Democrats are quite right to be nervous about the outcome, we as handicappers do not at this point believe there is enough of a compelling argument to believe that the race is truly a Toss-up, let alone that Trump is favored. Does that mean Trump can't

win? Of course not: If some of the national tracking polls showing a tie, like surveys from ABC News/ Washington Post and IBD-TIPP, are

> correct, than the election may truly be something of a jump ball, because in a tied national race we don't see any additional "blue wall" defense for Clinton in the Electoral College. In a very close or tied national race, states like Michigan, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and others could become Toss-ups too. We just don't think that's where we're at, and state-level polling continues to show Clinton leading in all of those vital states.

We spend a great deal of time examining poll averages. But it may

also be worth examining the preponderance of polls that back one side or the other, regardless of margin. Based on RealClearPolitics' state-level polling data for 2004, 2008, and 2012, the candidate leading the most polls in a given state usually wins said state. In those three election cycles, there were just three cases where the candidate who led in a plurality of all polls taken from Sept. 1 to Election Day did not go on to win the state: Wisconsin in 2004, Indiana in 2008, and Florida in 2012. There was also one instance where there was a dead-even split in the number of polls led by each candidate: New Mexico in 2004.

In 2004 John Kerry won the Badger State by just 0.4 percentage points over George W. Bush. This was a touch surprising because Bush led the polling average by about one point. The incumbent had also led 66% of the polls surveyed there from Sept. 1 to Election Day while Kerry had the edge in just 24% (the rest were tied). In 2008 Barack Obama carried the Hoosier State by only



State	Current RCP Dem margin	Polls led by Clinton	Polls led by Trump	Tied polls	Total 9/1 - present polls	% of polls led by Clinton	% of polls led by Trump	% of tied polls
Michigan	+7.0	16	0	0	16	100%	0%	0%
Maine	+6.6	8	0	1	9	89%	0%	11%
Minnesota	+6.0	4	0	1	5	80%	0%	20%
Wisconsin	+5.4	12	0	0	12	100%	0%	0%
Pennsylvania	+4.9	27	0	0	27	100%	0%	0%
New Hampshire	+4.7	14	0	0	14	100%	0%	0%
Virginia	+4.7	18	0	0	18	100%	0%	0%
Colorado	+2.4	12	3	1	16	75%	19%	6%
North Carolina	0.0	22	7	3	32	69%	22%	9%
Florida	-0.7	23	9	1	33	70%	27%	3%
Iowa	-1.4	0	3	2	5	0%	60%	40%
Nevada	-1.6	10	7	3	20	50%	35%	15%
Arizona	-3.0	2	5	1	8	25%	63%	13%
Ohio	-3.3	5	12	3	20	25%	60%	15%
Georgia	-5.7	0	14	0	14	0%	100%	0%
Missouri	-11.3	0	11	0	11	0%	100%	0%

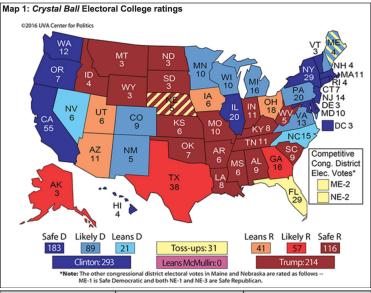


one point, which was remarkable given Indiana's traditional Republican lean. In that case, Obama had led just 32% of the polls from Sept. 1 on while John McCain had the edge in half of them. Obama also carried Florida by the skin of his teeth in 2012 despite Mitt Romney holding the edge in 49% to Obama's 46% of the polls taken in the same timeframe. Lastly, the closest state by margin in 2004, New Mexico, saw an even split between Bush and Kerry in the number of polls they led there, with Bush carrying it in the end.

Outside of these exceptions, the person leading in a majority of a state's polls has won that state in the past three presidential elections. Naturally, this finding comes with caveats: First, small sample sizes must be kept in mind. While Florida had 57 polls in the

Sept. 1-Election Day time period in 2012, the New Mexico example in 2004 had just 12. Moreover, we are considering data from three elections, which is not a big batch. Second, RealClearPolitics' poll inclusion/exclusion policy is important -- how the site decided to include partisan polls and ones using new methodologies has changed some. Third, 2016 is not necessarily going to be much like the 2004-2012 contests, in part because third-party candidates are likely to win a far larger share of the vote than in any of those three previous cycles. The national third-party take ranged from 1%-2% of the total vote during the 2004-2012 period, whereas Gary Johnson and Jill Stein alone combine for 6.7% in the current RealClearPolitics national average. This creates more uncertainty in the race, as does a healthy percentage of undecided voters.

As for what the "poll preponderance" rule of thumb may mean for 2016, let's examine the 16 states RealClearPolitics includes as battlegrounds, shown in Table 1 below. Since Sept. 1, Clinton has led every four-way poll (including Johnson and Stein) in Michigan, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Wisconsin. She has also led at least 80% of the polls in Maine and Minnesota. With the Wisconsin 2004 example in mind, the next four states are certainly of interest. Clinton has led 75% of the polls in Colorado, 70% in Florida, 69% in North Carolina, and just



State/District	Old EC rating	New EC rating		
Arizona	Toss-up	Leans Republican		
Georgia	Leans Republican	Likely Republican		
Idaho	Likely Republican	Safe Republican		
Indiana	Likely Republican	Safe Republican		
lowa	Toss-up	Leans Republican		
Missouri	Likely Republican	Safe Republican		
Ohio	Toss-up	Leans Republican		
South Carolina	Likely Republican	Safe Republican		
Utah	Toss-up	Leans Republican		

50% in Nevada. Thus, while we favor Clinton in a couple of these states, we are in a zone where her larger number of poll leads doesn't necessarily create much certainty.

Meanwhile, Trump has led 63% of Arizona polls and 60% of Ohio surveys since Sept. 1. And Clinton hasn't led a single poll in Georgia, Iowa, or Missouri, though the Hawkeye State has -- somehow -- the same number of polls (five) in this time period as less competitive Minnesota.

This has some bearing on our ratings changes in these states, which are all in Trump's direction.

First of all, we're pushing all of Idaho, Indiana, Missouri, and South Carolina from Likely Republican to Safe Republican. These were always total reach states for Clinton, and in a more competitive national environment Clinton has no chance to win them. There

is some indication that the Comey Effect and Trump's relatively less controversial close to the campaign are bringing some Republicans home. Monmouth University polled both Indiana and Missouri and found Trump up double digits after he was struggling in their previous surveys. We're also moving Georgia from Leans Republican to Likely Republican -- while the state's demographics are changing in ways beneficial to Democrats, the Peach State is just a bridge too far for Clinton.

Moving from Toss-up to Leans Republican are three states where the Clinton campaign is still heavily engaged: Arizona, Iowa, and Ohio. The Grand Canyon State seemed gettable for Clinton as of a week or two ago, but while the state has a growing Hispanic population that should weigh heavily against Trump next Tuesday, we sense Arizona is returning to its Republican roots. That's despite Latino turnout nationally reaching potentially record levels next Tuesday, according to Latino Decisions.

Meanwhile, Iowa and Ohio have seemed demographically favorable to Trump for months, and a number of trends, including polling and early voting data, suggest a Trump lean as Clinton's national fortunes have dipped a bit. •



# Trump will have Indiana coattails

#### By CRAIG DUNN

KOKOMO – The big question being asked in both Republican and Democratic party headquarters around Indiana is what will be the down-ballot impact of Donald Trump. I'm sure that when John Gregg's not dreaming about government provided healthcare and when Evan Bayh isn't having nightmares about paying property taxes on all of his out-of-state homes, they lie awake at night and ponder whether Donald J. Trump will be a help or a

hindrance to their race.



In my capacity as both a district and county Republican chairman, I admit that I have spent quite a bit of time studying and researching the impact of The Donald on not only the elections for governor and U. S. senator, but also on races for commissioners, councilmen, judges, treasurers and auditors.

Looking back on the May Indiana Primary, you had to

have been impressed with the scale of Trump's victory over Ted Cruz. Trump thumped Cruz about as uniformly and as completely as you can do it. He scored the touchdown, kicked the extra point, spiked the ball and then led the band in the fight song. Pretty good showing for a candidate who many in our party, including myself, had serious doubts about.

Elections are mostly about emotions and enthusiasm and those were in abundance during the Indiana primary and ever since. It is almost impossible for a party organization to create emotions and enthusiasm. We can only focus on the emotions and enthusiasm of our voters and try to take advantage of them, tap into them and hope they spill out into all of the right directions.

As I have talked with my political peers around the state, here is what I have learned. The Republican Party in Indiana is unified behind the Trump campaign and is enthusiastically supporting him. Many local chairpersons have found unique and creative ways to harness the power of the Trump enthusiasm and help it pay dividends for other local races. In return, I've seen a softening of the inherent suspicion of the Republican Party on behalf of the strongly partisan Trump faithful. It now appears that both the Trump forces and the party organization people understand the old Ben Franklin line that, "We either hang together or hang separately."

I have every faith that Donald Trump is going to win Indiana by around 12-14%. A combination of polling results, anecdotal evidence, absentee ballot requests and early voting results gives me that confidence. Let's face it,

the latest Hillary legal quagmire is not going to boost her chances of making it any closer in Indiana.

Therefore, the salient question to be answered is what will the first-time voter or infrequent voter who has turned out to vote for Donald Trump do after marking their ballot in the presidential contest? Will they just vote for Trump and then leave the voting booth? Will they vote to throw incumbents out of office? Will they keep voting Republican on down the ballot? Will they selectively split their ticket? Big questions that lead certain Republican chairmen to produce Cortisol like a west Texas oil rig!

**Here is what I think** will happen in our downballot races in Indiana, barring any catastrophic salacious revelations about Donald Trump that might come out in the next week.

I believe that the overwhelming majority of Trump voters will cast their ballot for Donald Trump and then continue voting Republican down the ballot. This may be less true in heavy manufacturing areas where a sympathetic union man may vote for Trump and then return to traditional voting patterns. You would need to suspend belief to think that the Trump voter who has been sickened by the general malaise of our country caused by eight years of President Barack Obama would cast their vote for Trump and then say, "Hey, I think I'll vote for a Democrat now." It just doesn't make sense.

When they think of John Gregg they think of Democrats in a hot tub in Illinois, avoiding their jobs. That may have been Pat Bauer's doings, but voters tend to tar and feather everyone with the same brush. I don't see the average Trump voter to be the least bit motivated to punish anyone over RFRA. That issue is just about dead in the minds of all but a small minority of voters. If John Gregg wins it will be because of name recognition and a significant head start on Holcomb in launching his campaign. Gregg's inability to reach critical mass by this time leaves him vulnerable to a big Trump vote.

It also would make no sense to see voters supporting Trump by a big margin and then voting to send Evan Bayh back home to Washington. You can't hate gridlock and then vote to continue it. Revolutions must have victims and Bayh seems to me to be the most likely sacrifice. After all, at the same time voters are getting the bad news about skyrocketing healthcare costs, they are being reminded that Evan Bayh cast the deciding vote to inflict Obamacare on us all. Even if he can confuse folks on his non-residency and on his votes-for-hire scheme, he still has to face the music on his career-long love affair with the Clintons. Hoosier voters, particularly Trump voters, aren't going to forgive that.

There was a time when I did not believe that Donald Trump would have any coattails to ride, either in Indiana or anywhere else for that matter. Only the incredible enthusiasm of the Trump faithful and a wayward Hillary Clinton's ethical fragility could have reversed the situation over the past 30 days.



When all of the books and stories are written on this most unusual of political years in Indiana, I believe the most illogical outcome will be the tremendous positive impact of Donald Trump on the down-ballot elections. Somewhere in

Indiana there will be a coroner who will owe his election to the Trump wave.

Go figure! \*

**Dunn is chairman of Howard County Republicans.** 



# Democratic ticket rallies in South Bend

#### By THOMAS CURRY

SOUTH BEND – With only five days left in the election, Democrats have pegged their hopes on high turn out. Continuing their bus tour through Indiana, the John Gregg/Christina Hale ticket, Senator Joe Donnelly and Evan Bayh joined with northern Hoosier Democrats at a rally in South Bend Thursday night. A large crowd turned

out for the rally on the St. Joseph County Courthouse front steps which was the last stop of the day for the bus tour. The Democrats have been going around the state trying to drum up support for the top of the ticket as well giving an opportunity for local candidates to appear with party leaders.

Opening the rally, Mayor Peter Buttigieg reminded the crowd of the importance of voting and turn out on Nov. 8. "Don't say I hope, say I will. And on November 9th don't say I wish, say I did."

Gregg encouraged attendees to reach out to "at least four people, whether that

be neighbors, coworkers, friends or family. We need your help." Hale proclaimed that "it looks like it will be a good year for Democrats. But there is still a lot of hard work left to do."

Evan Bayh spoke briefly on the need to "come together as a country. We are indivisible." Bayh, who has been both the subject and beneficiary of numerous attack ads claimed that "you see all of these attack ads aimed at me. They try to divide us and scare us."

It was the South Bend native and 2nd CD Congressional candidate Lynn Coleman who took the opportunity to inspire voters in the winding days of the election. "To think that me, an African American who grew up on the west side of South Bend in a poor community is standing here on the courthouse steps running to be a U.S. Congressman; its unbelievable."

Coleman is locked in a tight race with Republican incumbent Jackie Walorski who revived criticism from the Coleman campaign for only accepting one debate invitation. "I promise if you elect me, I won't try to hide from you" said Coleman as the crowd cheered. "I want to represent everyone, it doesn't matter who you are, I want to be your representative."

When introducing Coleman to the stage, Senator



State Rep. Christina Hale rallies Democrats in South Bend on Thursday as John Gregg, Sen. Joe Donnelly, Evan Bayh and South Bend Mayor Peter Buttigieg look on. (HPI Photo by Thomas Curry)

Donnelly joked that "at first they thought he didn't have a chance, but now they won't even debate him. I was watching my TV and one candidate is meeting with people and the other is running out the door."

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YOUR FRIENDS ALL HANG OUT HERE... DO YOU? Although the 2nd CD is one of two hopes this cycle for Democrats to turn a district from red to blue, the recent tightening in Evan Bayh's Senate race and the Presidential race may spell trouble for Coleman on voting day. Both appearing with the popular John Gregg may help push them to victory. ❖



**Doug Ross, NWI Times:** If you haven't voted yet, you might not have heard about a referendum at the bottom of the ballot. There's a lot more to it than the overly verbose question about the proposed constitutional amendment lets on. Try reading this out loud and see how far you get without gasping for oxygen: "Shall the Constitution of the State of Indiana be amended by adding a Section 39 to Article 1 to provide that the right to hunt, fish and harvest wildlife shall be forever preserved for the public good, subject only to the laws prescribed by the General Assembly and rules prescribed by virtue of the authority of the General Assembly to: (1) promote wildlife conservation and management; and (2) preserve the future of hunting and fishing?" It already has been vetted twice by the Indiana General Assembly, but then so have other laws, which might or might not make sense. What might it mean for the average citizen? Here it is, in layman's terms: Local control over anything having to do with hunting and fishing would be eliminated. Only the Indiana General Assembly could control it. And even then, the Legislature would only be allowed to make laws that support the right to hunt and fish. .

**David Rutter,** Post-Tribune: Indiana's secretary of state has been talking all loose and angry about voter fraud. She's outraged. 'Tis the season. Plus, protecting the vote for Hoosiers is her only significant consti-

tutional job. But to trust Connie Lawson's accusations, you also must accept there now are 1,485 Hoosier voters on official rolls who were first registered to vote before 1910. That would make them over 124 years of age as of April 2016. We can say with presumptive authority that Lawson might be wrong about having certified those 1,485. They're not going to vote in the Nov. 8 election because they are dead. But they're eligible. Evidence suggests that Lawson is not only erroneous in her views about Democratic Party plots to register black voters but so wrong as to be a ninnyhammer. We don't use the archaic word "ninnyhammer" anymore, which is a shame because it sounds just like what its definition describes: "An insistently foolish person; a simpleton." Too insulting? You decide. Group named in Indiana voter fraud probe was registering black voters After voter-enrolling nonprofit Patriot Majority USA was called out as a "nefarious operator" by Lawson, the organization pivoted to TargetSmart Inc., a big-data company that gathers, correlates and compares massive sets of public records, especially voting records nationwide. TargetSmart then audited Indiana and Lawson and found the 1,485 dead voters. What TargetSmart's scientific data filters also found is a state voter registration system so filled with errors, gaffes and unexplained inconsistencies as to be unofficially the most inept in the entire country. What did TargetSmart find beside the 1,485 clearly-deadbut-Lawson-approved voters? Buckle your parachute a little tighter. •837,163 voters updated their addresses with

the Postal Service, but Lawson's staff had not updated their addresses as of the October 2016 file. •4,556 duplicate records for 2,278 individual voters as of October 2016. •3,478 voters whose dates of birth make them older than 106, and 2,552 voters older than 110. But there are no Census records of any supercentenarians living in Indiana as of May 3, 2016, when Mrs. Ollie Roberts, of Columbia City, died. Supercentenarians are folks who have lived to 110, and there are only 52 in the world. • More than 3,000 records with no date of birth. •2,856 voters do not have a voter registration date. •31 records with dates of birth that would signify the voters were under the age of 17. ❖

### **Chuck Todd, Mark Murray & Carry**

**Dann, NBC News:** For Democrats who've been biting their fingernails over the last few days, Wednesday was a good polling day. The Marquette Law poll, the gold standard in Wisconsin, showed Clinton ahead there by six points. A trio of Pennsylvania polls had her ahead by

**COLUMNISTS** 

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four to five points in the Keystone State. And she was narrowly ahead in Florida and North Carolina, though well within the margin of error. Add them up all, and it was a (slight) sigh of relief for the Clinton campaign, as our sister publication The Lid put it. But they aren't out of the woods. A Colorado poll last night showed

a tied race, and Clinton needs both Colorado and Virginia in her column to win without Florida, North Carolina, and Ohio. (A word of caution on that Colorado poll, though: It has the Latino electorate at just 9%, when it was 14% in 2012 -- and will likely be higher than that this year.) And a New Hampshire poll out this morning shows Trump up one point in the Granite State, which is the first survey to show Trump ahead in New Hampshire since the summer. So are things looking better for Clinton with the Comey news no longer dominating headlines? Yes. You'd much rather be Clinton than Trump, especially in the race to 270 electoral votes. But she isn't in the clear just yet. ❖

Jack Colwell, South Bend Tribune: Don't be silly. Vote. Don't voice anger, outrage or despair and then remain silent when you could have a voice in the message that counts on Election Day. Don't succumb to that silly, defeatist refrain: "I can't vote for either of them." You don't have to. Vote for yourself. This isn't a suggestion for writing in your own name for president. Even if you fanaticize about being leader of the Free World, you won't make it. And, well, you shouldn't. Writing in your own name would be as silly as writing in Paul Ryan, Bernie Sanders, Mickey Mouse, Donald Duck or Anthony Rizzo. OK, maybe Rizzo. Seriously though, write-ins for president, even if they were tabulated, as most of them aren't, mean throwing away your vote. Staying home to show THEM shows only that you are silly enough to let THEM keep you from voting, from counting, from having a voice. .