

Clinton v. Sanders race heads our way

But 2016 showdown will significantly differ from 2008's Clinton v. Obama

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

BLOOMINGTON – For the second time in eight years, a Democratic presidential primary race is poised for a fight in Indiana. The constant factors are Hillary Clinton and an upstart U.S. Senator, this time Bernie Sanders, who is drawing large crowds while putting together a string of victories.

Clinton seemed to be well on her way to the nomination on March 15 when she won five states, including Florida and Illinois. But since then Sanders has won five of six contests including three big victories last weekend in Western caucus states. Clinton still has a 1,243- to 975-delegate lead as well as far more super delegates. Clinton has a 50-38% Real Clear Politics composite poll lead over Donald Trump,



compared to Sanders' 55-37% lead over the Manhattan billionaire. There is also the unsettling specter of the FBI email probe of Clinton, with the Los Angeles Times report-

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Sanders lures labor vote

By **MAUREEN HAYDEN**

INDIANAPOLIS – Union steelworker Pam Presley was so sure that she would support Hillary Clinton for president, she bought an "I'm Ready for Hillary" T-shirt a year ago. That was before Bernie Sanders entered the race.

On Tuesday, Presley, 49, showed up at a Sanders campaign event wearing the Clinton shirt but with "Hillary" crossed out and replaced with the word "Bernie" in sparkling silver. "As soon as he declared, I told myself, 'I've got to fix that shirt,'" Presley said.

The Indianapolis mother was among a small crowd of activists at a Tuesday breakfast



“Rep. Ayres led a wonderful life of service in Chesterton. He was a teacher and community leader who served with a servant’s heart.”

- Indiana Republican Chairman Jeff Cardwell on the passing of former Rep. Ralph Ayres



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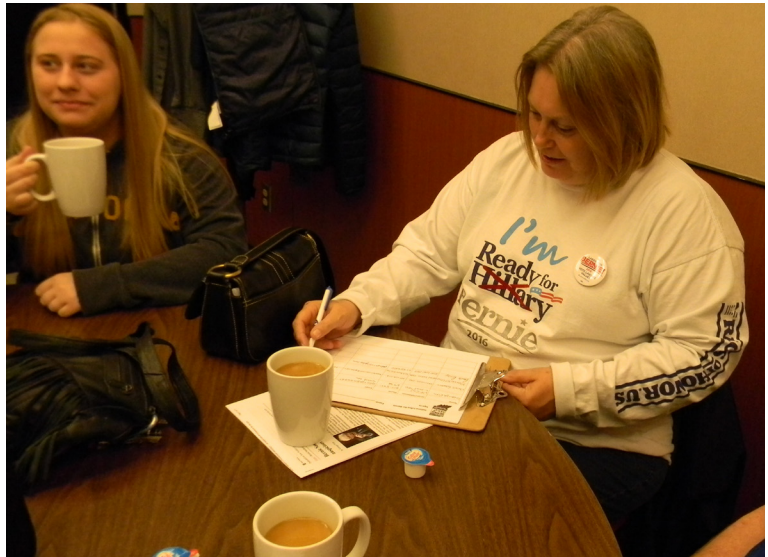
meant to rally volunteers for the Vermont senator, who late last week became the first presidential candidate to set up shop in Indiana. With a staff of 20 now on the ground, Sanders' staff here just opened a headquarters in Indianapolis and plans to follow with a half-dozen offices in smaller cities this week. They were welcomed by the candidate's supporters, who haven't seen a closely contested presidential primary in Indiana since 2008 when Clinton narrowly defeated then-candidate Barack Obama.

Presley brought her daughter, Marina, 21, to the breakfast sponsored by the national Labor for Bernie organization, to learn how to mobilize the labor vote before Indiana's May 3 primary. She said his positions on labor and trade appeal to her. "I thought I had to support Hillary because she was a woman," Presley said. "But I decided I needed to go with someone I really believe in."

Sanders' supporters hope there are more like her. "We expect to win here," said Larry Cohen, former president of the Communication Workers of America and a leader in the Labor for Bernie movement, speaking to those gathered at Shapiro's Delicatessen.

One of the first labor leaders to endorse Sanders, Cohen is credited with keeping the AFL-CIO from endorsing Clinton and funneling its considerable political money her way. That's contributed to Sanders being able to stay in the race, giving late primary states like Indiana a role they don't usually play.

"I got a lot of push-back for it," said Cohen, who conceded that other big unions, including the American Federation of Teachers, have



Sanders supporters, including some former Hillary Clinton backers, meet at Shapiro's Deli in Indianapolis this week. (HPI Photo by Maureen Hayden)

come out for Clinton as the more likely candidate to win the nomination.

Cohen's audience at the popular dining spot for politicians and activists consisted mostly of unionized workers, who said they like that Sanders has joined picket lines and cast himself as a defender of the working class. Sanders' staff told them not worry about who national labor leaders support. They instead encouraged volunteers to seek endorsements from rank-and-file members, and to post those on Sanders' official Facebook page.

Cohen told the breakfast crowd to ignore news stories that portray Clinton as having a nearly insurmountable lead in delegates to lock up the nomination at the Democratic convention in Philadelphia in July. "Don't let anything you hear on TV or anywhere else discourage you," he said.

Sanders had support in Indiana before his staff arrived. In a December poll, Christine Matthews of Bellwether Research found him handily leading Clinton, drawing his strongest support from Millennials. But

most of the faces at Tuesday's labor breakfast were visibly aged.

Sue Spicer, a self-described urban farmer in Indianapolis, voted in her first election in 1984 as registered Republican. She's volunteered on the Sanders campaign in Iowa, South Carolina and Georgia. "My household has been waiting for a candidate like Bernie Sanders for our whole lives," she said.

George Fish, 69, echoed her sentiment. Calling

himself an "old hippie Communist," Fish said he's unsurprised by the surge in Sanders' candidacy. Caucuses, by their nature, reward candidates with diehard supporters. Said Fish: "Bernie excites people in ways that Hillary doesn't." ❖

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ing that the investigation is moving into a new phase that will include interviews with Clinton's senior staff as well as the candidate herself.

There are key differences between the riveting Clinton/Barack Obama race here in 2008, that was decided by less than 1% of the vote, and the Clinton/Sanders showdown.

First, Clinton and Obama came to Indiana separated by fewer than 100 delegates. The lesson that the Clinton campaign, to be headed in Indiana by Peter Hanscom of Indiana Competes, learned in 2008 wasn't so much winning states as winning delegates. The Clinton campaign is being described as "methodical" in its approach to compiling delegates. "It is squarely focused on getting a majority of the delegates," the source said. "Winning states doesn't equate momentum. It's about putting coalition together and winning delegates."

Second, the campaign calendar is vastly different. In 2008, Clinton and Obama began actively campaigning in the state on March 16 when the Illinois senator appeared in Plainfield. By the time Gary Mayor Rudy Clay, who was county Democratic chairman at the time, released the Lake County totals, Hillary, Bill and Chelsea Clinton and Barack and Michelle Obama had made more than 50 appearances. The month of April was much more open, with the Pennsylvania primary (won by Clinton) two weeks before and North Carolina (won by Obama) on the same day. This year, the Wisconsin primary is April 5, New York is on April 19 and then the mid-Atlantic states (Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Delaware) vote the week prior to Indiana. "We're not going to have the kind of campaign we saw in 2008 because of the calendar," said Dan Parker, who was Indiana Democratic chairman in 2008 and is now working on behalf of Clinton. "The calendar frees up on April 27 and Indiana is the only state voting on May 3."

While there may be a few candidate appearances scattered in April, the real show takes place in the final week leading into May 3.

Hanscom told HPI this morning that he is developing a statewide campaign. "We will be operational within a week," Hanscom said, saying the campaign will be "widespread" and looking for office state and volunteers across Indiana. "I would expect to see broad support from many familiar faces, both past and current elected officials. We award of delegates proportionately by congressional district. We will compete in all areas of the state."



As Howe Politics first reported on Tuesday, Peter Hanscom has left Indiana Competes and will head the Hillary Clinton campaign in Indiana. Hanscom told the IndyStar the Clinton campaign "takes absolutely for granted" as she prepares for the Indiana primary. (HPI Photo by Mark Curry)

There is also a difference in delegates. In 2008 Indiana had 13 super delegates with five going with Clinton (Parker, Phoebe Crane, U.S. Rep. Brad Ellsworth, U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh, and former East Chicago mayor Bob Pastrick) and eight for Obama (Joe Andrew, IDP Vice Chair Cordelia Lewis Burks, U.S. Reps. Baron Hill, Andre Carson, Pete Visclosky and Joe Donnelly, Joe Hogsett, and the UAW's Connie Thurman).

This year Indiana has nine super delegates: Carson, Visclosky, Donnelly, Burks and IDP Chairman John Zody defined by rule; three elected, including Dean Boerste, David Frye and Elkhart County Chair Shari Mellin; with Indianapolis attorney Lacy Johnson a national at-large delegate. Informed and reliable sources tell HPI that Clinton has all but two of the super delegates committed. The source said that Visclosky does not plan to endorse prior to the primary and Zody will stay neutral.

Sen. Donnelly is fully on board with Clinton. "Sen. Donnelly supports Hillary Clinton because he believes Hoosiers deserve an advocate for middle- and working-class families in their next president," said Kelly Norton, national

ends meet, and I know she will fight to increase wages and opportunities for moms and dads across the country."

On Dyngus Day, Sen. Donnelly's wife Jill Donnelly campaigned for Hillary Clinton at several events in South Bend.

Indiana Democratic gubernatorial candidate John Gregg will not endorse in this primary, with spokesman Jeff Harris saying that the campaign will "stay in its lane." Harris added, "I think both Sen. Sanders and Clinton energize our party. With the resurgence of Donald Trump, no matter who our nominee is, Democrats will be energized because the contrast is so stark."

There will be a few similarities. Both the Clinton and Sanders campaigns are beginning to set up field offices. In 2008, Obama had some 20 field offices scattered around the state.

Former senator and governor Evan Bayh can be expected to campaign on Clinton's behalf this time around. He endorsed Clinton in 2007 and has remained politically and personally close. Several national sources list Bayh as a potential vice presidential contender, given that he has already been thoroughly vetted during the 2008 Obama ticket process, and the fact that his inclusion on the ticket could help bring Indiana's 11 Electoral College votes in the Democratic column for only the third time since 1964.

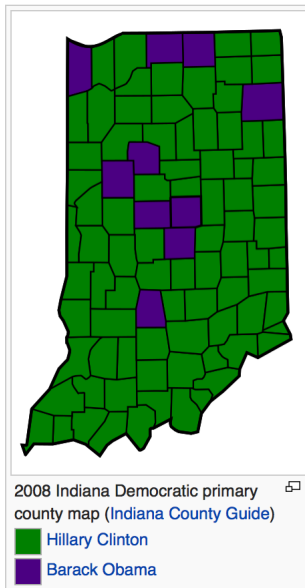
A number of political analysts (HPI, Sabato's Crystal Ball, the Cook and Rothenberg/Gonzales Political Reports) all list Indiana in a "purple" state category or "leans Republican" if Donald Trump or Sen. Ted Cruz wins the GOP nomination, even more so with a Clinton/Bayh ticket.

Parker told HPI, "Evan's primary involvement so far has been to raise money for Hillary. She's raised more money in Indiana than any other candidate, over \$700,000 since the beginning of the campaign. There will be more events here."

While Clinton won Indiana by a little more than 12,000 votes (50.56% to 49.44% for Obama), there are some 2008 statistics that could portend well for Sanders. According to exit polls, 78% of voters were white, including 10% of Republicans who crossed over at the urging of conservative radio commentator Rush Limbaugh to instigate "chaos." Obama carried younger voters 59-41%, Clinton older voters 58-42%. Obama won poor voters 58-42%, Clinton carried the middle class 53-47%. Clinton won Democrats making up 67% of the voters 52-48 and Republicans 54-46% while Obama carried independents (23% of the voters) 54-46%. There is considerable specu-



Indiana Democratic Presidential Primary Results – 2008				
Party	Candidate	Votes	Percentage	Delegates
Democratic	Hillary Rodham Clinton	646,235	50.56%	38
Democratic	Barack Obama	632,061	49.44%	34
Totals		1,278,296	100.00%	72
Voter turnout			%	—



Hillary Clinton tried to claim victory at the Murat in Indianapolis in May 2008, though Gary Mayor Rudy Clay was holding up Lake County returns. (HPI Photo by A. Walker Shaw)

finance director for Donnelly for Indiana. "He stands ready to help her make her case to Hoosiers in the coming weeks."

Donnelly endorsed Clinton on June 19, 2015, saying, "Hoosiers deserve an advocate for middle- and working-class families in their next president, which is why I am supporting Hillary Clinton. She understands that too many families are still struggling to make

lation that Sanders will play well to younger Hoosier Democrats.

What won't happen will be a Limbaugh-inspired Republican migration to the Democratic primary to sow "chaos," as the GOP primary among Trump, Cruz and Ohio Gov. John Kasich is the parallel race and will keep voters riveted there.

HPI reported in its May, 8, 2008, edition: Obama had to withstand the organization of U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh, who brought along the Democratic Party establishment and 40 county chairs. Even so, many in the Clinton inner camp were expecting a victory in the 5% to 8% range, rather than the final margin.

Who is favored

With no independent media polling to date, at this stage it's hard to tell who is leading. Former Indiana Democratic Chairman Robin Winston observed, "I think Mrs. Clinton is in good shape. She'll do very, very well."

Winston believes that the 2008 race still impacts because it brought in new people to the process who have since moved up the party food chain. He also believes that despite

Sanders' efforts to woo super delegates, he doesn't see much movement coming in Indiana. "They usually don't slide around," Winston said. "I think they'll stay with her."

Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr., was a conspicuous Clinton supporter in 2008, as he downed a shot of whiskey with her at Bronko's in Crown Point, but is staying neutral. "I was a top Clinton supporter eight years ago," McDermott said on Tuesday. "I was invited to an organizational meeting early on, about a year ago. I went to some of her people, seeking to get Hillary to come to Hammond. We had a rally here in 2008 and drew 5,000 people. Basically, I was told it wasn't going to happen unless I could raise \$275,000 for her campaign. It was like they punched me in the face. Eight years ago, Tom McDermott was important. Now it seems like they couldn't give a crap about me. It's all about the money. Bernie Sanders is kicking her butt. She's losing state after state. The youth are gone, they are backing Bernie."

Battle for the White House					
RCP Poll Averages					
National		Delegates		Arizona	
Trump	44.8 ▲	Trump	739	Trump	38.0
Cruz	28.5 ▲	Cruz	465	Cruz	25.0
Kasich	18.5 ▼	Kasich	143	Kasich	14.0
California		New York		Pennsylvania	
Trump	31.5	Trump	54.5	Trump	28.5
Cruz	21.0	Cruz	11.5	Cruz	16.5
Kasich	17.5	Kasich	9.5	Kasich	13.0
National		Delegates		Arizona	
Clinton	50.6 ▼	Clinton	1681	Clinton	53.0
Sanders	42.6 ▼	Sanders	927	Sanders	23.0
California		New York		Pennsylvania	
Clinton	42.5	Clinton	63.0	Clinton	49.3
Sanders	29.0	Sanders	28.5	Sanders	26.0
General Election Match-Ups					
Sanders	54.2	Sanders	49.7	Sanders	45.3
← Trump	37.8	Cruz	41.0	Kasich	44.7
Sanders	+16.4	Sanders	+8.7 ▲	Sanders	+0.6 ▼



Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr., does shots with Hillary Clinton in Crown Point in April 2008.

Will it be competitive? "I think it will be a competitive race," McDermott said, "but we'll find a lot of people in Indiana who are supporting Bernie Sanders, young people." The mayor pointed to his 24-year-old school teacher daughter who is backing Sanders. "I'm not saying Hillary isn't going to win, but there is a reason Bernie Sanders is winning state after state," the mayor said.

Another key element is the ascension of Indianapolis Mayor Joe Hogsett, a longtime ally of Bayh. Many expect that his organization could be an important component to a Clinton victory here.

HPI's early analysis

Like 2008, Clinton enters this Indiana primary sequence with powerful establishment allies such as Sen. Donnelly and Evan Bayh.

But in 2016, this asset may not mean as much as it did in previous cycles. What we haven't seen is support from other notable constituencies, such as the Legislative Black Caucus, Democratic legislators in general, mayors and county chairs.

Remember, Bayh appeared with Clinton at dozens of events in 2008 and Clinton barely eked out a victory with less than 1% of the vote.

Democrats we talk with don't believe that Bayh has the

kind of clout he did even eight years ago, and he hasn't been on an Indiana ballot in a decade. We have yet to see an accumulation of endorsements for Clinton beyond the super delegate pool. We know that Sanders has forged a real advantage with younger voters this cycle. And we've watched Sanders find real traction in Michigan where he pulled off an upset, in Illinois where he almost beat Clinton in the state where she grew up, and Clinton leads Sanders in the Real Clear Politics composite in Wisconsin 46.5 to 44%.

Clinton won a 57-43% victory in Ohio after late polls showed her lead was in single digits. A Clinton loss in Wisconsin next Tuesday means Sanders will have some Midwestern momentum coming into Indiana.

With no independent polling in Indiana to date, this race looks and feels like a tight one.

HPI Primary Horse Race: Tossup. ❖

High stakes for Trump in the Badger State

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

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. – The battle between Donald Trump and his opponents within the GOP has moved to Wisconsin, and the stakes couldn't be much higher: Based on our gaming out of delegate math last week, Trump may need a statewide win in the Badger State to stay on course for potentially winning a delegate majority. Should anti-Trump forces manage to block him in Wisconsin's April 5 primary, the odds of a contested convention would probably rise. And as things stand, the Cheesehead primary appears to be moving to Ted Cruz.

The latest Marquette Law School Poll, considered by many to be the state's gold standard survey, showed Cruz up 40%-30% in Wisconsin, with John Kasich at 21%.

For Trump, open primaries like the one in Wisconsin have been relatively fertile ground for him, including victories in open contests in neighboring Illinois and Michigan. However, the Midwest may not be fervent Trump territory: He won between 36% and 39% in the Land of Lincoln and the Wolverine State, and he also failed to win the Ohio primary as well as caucuses in Iowa and Minnesota.

If support in Wisconsin for Cruz has indeed consolidated at or around 40%, that might be enough for him to not just win the Badger State overall but also to capture many of its congressional districts (24 of Wisconsin's 42 delegates will be decided by the vote in its eight districts). Optimus Consulting, the data firm that worked for Marco Rubio, also surveyed Wisconsin and found a slightly different story, with Trump leading at 29%, Kasich in second with 27%, and Cruz in third at 25%. Helpfully, the firm broke out the results by congressional district, finding Trump ahead in three, Cruz two, and Kasich one, with the other two well within the poll's margin of error. Given Trump's narrow path to a delegate majority, every delegate matters.

Many factors in Wisconsin are breaking Cruz's way. Gov. Scott Walker (R), once a presidential candidate himself, endorsed Cruz on Tuesday in an effort to stop Trump. Although Walker's backing doesn't make Wisconsin

a sure thing for the Texan -- high-profile endorsements have not proven to be all that useful in this year's Republican contest -- it could provide enough of a bump to help Cruz get to 40%. Kasich does not appear to be playing for a statewide win, although he is targeting some congressional district delegates.

The Crystal Ball recently put together a linear regression model looking at Trump's county-by-county primary and caucus vote based on different demographic characteristics that, as RealClearPolitics' Sean Trende and David Byler have shown, tend to correlate with support for the real estate magnate. We also have exit poll and other survey data that suggest connections between these factors and Trump's success or failure. The variables in the model include the percentages of a county's population that is black, non-Hispanic white, lacks at least an associate's degree, and makes below \$50,000, as well as the percentage that was born in-state, the number of

candidates still actively in the race, and the election type (primary or caucus). Trump's vote has been somewhat difficult to model, and this one only explains a little more than half of the variance in Trump's county-level vote so far in 2016. So interpret its results cautiously. Still, we took the model, applied it to Wisconsin's county data, and estimated Trump's percentage of the vote in Wisconsin based on the vote share from each Wisconsin county in the 2012 GOP primary. The outcome was 35% of the statewide vote for Trump, fairly similar to his vote in the Illinois and Michigan primaries. Thus, this could be further evidence that Cruz needs to aim for about 40% to win statewide.

If Cruz does indeed win Wisconsin, it will be tempting for the GOP's anti-Trump forces to declare that Trump cannot get to a delegate majority and that a contested convention is all but certain. That's not obvious to us, though. After the Badger State, the primary contest moves to New York and other states in the Northeast and mid-Atlantic. Trump should still do very well in many if not all of these states. But well enough? That's the question.

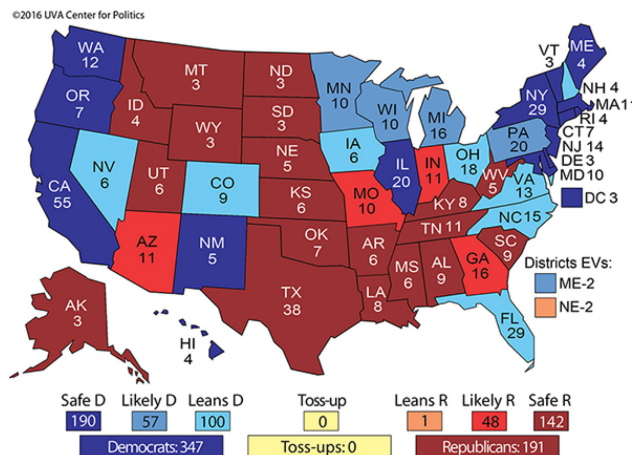
Sanders' continuing math problem

Bernie Sanders just had an outstanding weekend, running up the score in three caucuses: Alaska, Hawaii, and delegate-rich Washington state. But Hillary Clinton is still up by about 230 delegates in the pledged count, and that doesn't include her towering lead among superdelegates, the party leaders and officials who represent about 15% of the total delegates.

After March 15's contests, when Clinton swept all five big states (though two of them, Illinois and Mis-



Map 2: Revised Crystal Ball 2016 Electoral College ratings for a Clinton vs. Trump matchup



souri, were very close), we noted that even if Sanders won 65% of the delegates in all the remaining caucus states and 55% in all the remaining primaries, he would still trail Clinton in pledged delegates. Since then, there have been six contests: Arizona's primary and caucuses in Alaska, Hawaii, Idaho, Utah, and Washington. Sanders beat the 65% mark in each of the caucuses, but he fell far short of 55% in Arizona: Clinton actually won the state by about 15 points and captured 44 of 75 (59%) of the delegates allocated by the primary. Based on our calculations, even if Sanders did a little better than our initial, wildly unrealistic pro-Sanders projection, winning 70% of delegates in the remaining caucuses and 55% in all primaries, he'd still finish the primary season 37 pledged delegates behind Clinton: The tally would be 2,044 for Clinton and 2,007 for Sanders. Both would be short of the needed 2,383 overall delegates, but her 471-31 lead in the superdelegate count would put Clinton over the top.

Yes, those superdelegates can change their minds. But they wouldn't defect from Clinton to Sanders without overwhelming evidence that Clinton has turned radioactive to a general electorate. While Clinton is unpopular nationally, the core of the party has stuck with her. While that could change if Sanders starts winning big victories in states where he is currently an underdog, he hasn't really been posting big, unexpected victories.

Whether Sanders can keep the momentum going is another matter and, again, small wins are not enough

for him to make up substantial ground.

Wisconsin will hold its Democratic primary next Tuesday along with the Republicans. Given its smaller-than-average nonwhite population and long progressive history, the Badger State would seem to be ideal territory for Sanders. While we do see him as a small favorite, it's not a slam dunk that Sanders will win Wisconsin, let alone secure a big victory that would allow him to net a significant number of delegates. The Marquette poll shows Sanders up four points on Clinton, 49%-45%. We suspect that the Clinton camp would be happy with a small loss like that given how favorable Wisconsin potentially could be to Sanders. After Wisconsin, the next major contest is on April 19 in New York, which Clinton represented in the Senate for eight years. It's not impossible to imagine Sanders keeping it close in New York but, remember, Sanders needs to do more than just keep it close: He needs to dominate, that is, to win by more than just a few points, so he can net a lot of delegates from the state. At this point, Sanders winning statewide in New York by a single vote would be a considerable surprise, and it would still be insufficient to put him on track to overtake Clinton in the pledged delegate count because of the Democrats' proportional delegate allocation rules.

In other words, Sanders' big victories over the weekend did nothing to alter our longstanding belief that Clinton is a monumental favorite to be the Democratic presidential nominee. ❖



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Young believes Senate campaign is peaking

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

NASHVILLE, Ind. – Todd Young has spent much of the last year seeking the U.S. Senate seat of retiring Dan Coats. The three-way Republican primary race is now a two-man showdown with fellow U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman, which has changed the dynamic.



Young has been putting in 16- to 18-hour days campaigning and keeping a congressional schedule while raising a family.

Shifting beneath him is the presidential race simmering with controversy as Donald Trump, Ted Cruz and Ohio Gov. John Kasich spar, with that “show” coming to Indiana in the coming weeks.

Howey Politics Indiana caught up with Rep. Young at Big Woods Brewing in Nashville on Wednesday afternoon and found the candidate optimistic about his chances against Stutzman. There has been no credible polling in the Senate race to date, but Young and campaign manager Trevor Foughty said that campaign internal polling shows the Bloomington Republican cutting into a large pool of undecided voters. “We are trending well and voters who’ve made the decision are moving toward Todd Young,” Foughty said.

The campaign has enough money to stay up on TV through the May 3 primary, while Stutzman appears to be off the air this week.

Young and his team are aware of the potential new voters that Trump could bring into the primary, though no one knows if these voters will just vote in the presidential race, or continue down the ballot. There is also the specter that Super PAC money from Club For Growth, FreedomWorks and Senate Majority Fund could boost Stutzman, though the Young campaign insists that the outside infusion of cash for Stutzman had been “baked” into their calculus.

We started this HPI Interview by asking Young to give an overview of where he believes his campaign is at this point:

Todd Young: Right now we’re peaking at the right time. We have grassroots forces mobilized in every

corner of the state, knocking on doors, making phone calls and most importantly our message is getting out: I’m the Hoosier conservative. We have the basic issues that are of concern to Hoosiers and actually getting them implemented in the future. I’ve shown I can do that. Part of my experience in the Marines is that it’s not talking about about a mission or planning a mission, you actually have to accomplish the mission. So I’m running on my record of accomplishments. It speaks to creating conditions where good jobs can be created that pay well. It has prepared me for a role as a United States senator on how to weigh in on how to keep Americans safe here. As we hit the homestretch, people are getting to know me around the state and I’m proud of the campaign we’ve put together.

HPI: In the last six months, we’ve had the terror attacks in Paris, San Bernardino and now Brussels. That obviously feeds into your wheelhouse of intelligence and security. What does this mean for your campaign?

Young: Right now clearly we don’t have any strategy to speak of to defeat ISIS, and the American people first and foremost want a plan. I called for invocation of Article V in the NATO Treaty on mutual defense provision that was last invoked after 9/11. Just four months ago in the wake of the terror attacks, here we are with another attack, multi-sites, coordinated deadly attack in a Euro-

pean capital. It comes on top of San Bernardino and the incident in Philadelphia. We’ve been reactive every step of the way. We need a strategy. Some components of that strategy are pretty easy to tease out. We need more sorties. We need to more effectively use the troops we already have on the ground so those bombing missions will be more accurate. We need to reduce the restrictions on our troops, the rules of engagement, to bomb the supply and fuel routes. We need to do a better job of coordinating our intelligence activities with our allies. As an intelligence officer, if one expands the field of information that you’re dealing with, you

get a more clear composite picture of the nature of the threat and how to counter. Finally, we can assist our allies and other partners with the law enforcement triangle: Intelligence, military and law enforcement. In each of those areas, we’re falling short.

HPI: Defense Sec. Ash Carter made the case last Friday that we’re picking off ISIS leadership, and that because the caliphate territory is constricting, it’s sending fighters back into European capitals. Is that an overly



optimistic assessment?

Young: They may be picking them off and clearly that includes some ISIS leadership. That's great. But ISIS continues to expand into new geographies and they control enough territory where they can carry out their planning for future attacks, very sophisticated attacks on European capitals and they will take aim at the United States. As long as they have sufficient geographic space to plan those attacks, the U.S. and Europe are vulnerable. The other thing I would say is, we really need to focus militarily and from a communications standpoint of making the life of an ISIS soldier very, very unglamorous. Very hard. Instead, what one finds on the Internet is a portrayal of a glamorous lifestyle. That's something where as a country we should show more leadership and have a strategy to mitigate that threat.

HPI: What has Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb's exit from the the Senate race meant for your campaign?

Young: I don't spend a whole lot of time doing campaign analysis. Members of my team and journalists do that. That said, we've seen a real uptick in people volunteering to get involved in our campaign on the ground in the wake of Eric's exit. I think that will really benefit us in the coming month and beyond.

HPI: How do you see the Senate race playing out over the next six weeks?

Young: We'll continue to focus on the issues. There's one frustration I've had over this campaign cycle, and it's been the insufficient attention to the issues that are most on Hoosiers' minds, which is to make sure every Hoosier has access to a quality education, a good-paying job leading to a meaningful career here in Indiana, and their concern about safety and security during a time of war. Clearly Hoosiers want people with the background and qualifications to address each of these issues. My time in the military and the private economy, as opposed to spending my life in politics, has uniquely prepared me to address these issues.

HPI: How has the emergence of Donald Trump as a Republican presidential frontrunner changed you and your campaign's view of this primary? Will there be more new voters?

Young: I'm running for the United States Senate and letting the presidential race take its own course, letting Hoosiers decide. I do understand that people are frustrated and even angry at Washington, D.C. They want real results. Conservative results. That's why they're frustrated.

HPI: Is Trump a conservative?

Young: In the end, I leave those decisions to voters. It's not my place to endorse, tell people who to vote for or characterize any of those candidates. Instead I need to run a campaign that Hoosiers can be proud of and believe in, and we're doing that.

HPI: Has the coarseness of Trump's campaign and the violence at his rallies raised any red flags with you? You certainly don't conduct yourself in such a manner.

Young: I think every candidate for every office

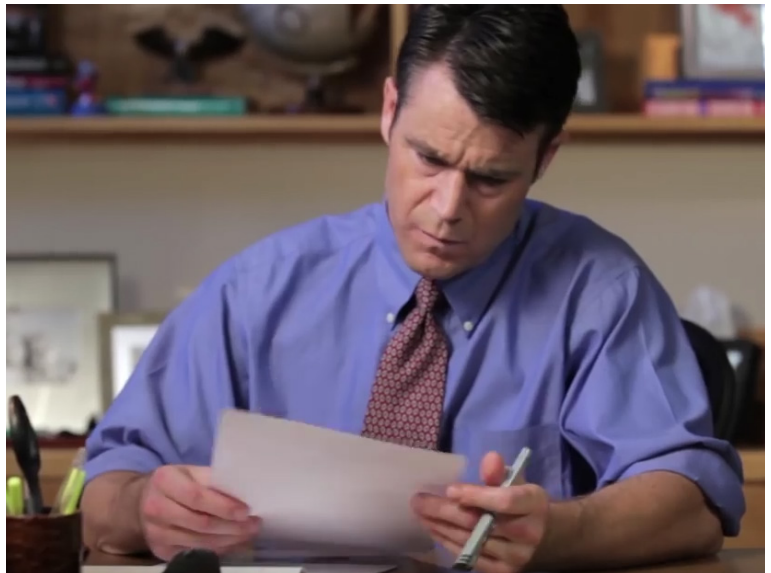
has a responsibility to be careful about the words we use, but we also have 1st Amendment rights that need to be respected. Those include the rights of free speech and assembly.

HPI: It's a tough situation for someone running in a competitive primary and where there are new Trump-oriented voters coming out.

Young: We haven't had those problems in the U.S. Senate race. I've been able to give speeches and Hoosiers have respected our right to assemble and speak our minds.

HPI: In the next six weeks, what are the final contrasts you want to make with Marlin Stutzman and then Baron Hill?

Young: I'm taking no conservative Hoosier votes for granted. But I really do feel it's essential that Republicans hold on the U.S. Senate, and I've beaten Baron Hill before, back in 2010. I know I can beat him again. I match up very strongly with him. That's the message I'm



carrying to Republicans. I'll pivot to specifics about Baron and why he is out of step with Hoosiers. They are already well known. He supports Obamacare, which is highly unpopular with Hoosiers. He voted for a carbon tax bill that might benefit Massachusetts and California, but is very bad for manufacturing-intensive Indiana, called cap and trade. Then he voted for Obama's failed stimulus bill. In contrast, I have a record of accomplishing things that will lift all Hoosiers economically, as well as at-risk and vulnerable Hoosiers, in unique and creative ways. Baron Hill has not spent any time in uniform. That doesn't mean he's a bad person, but I think it means he's less qualified than I am to address the very serious national security challenges our country is facing.

HPI: Anything you want to add that I haven't asked?

Young: I'm a pro-gun, pro-life conservative who wants to replace Obamacare. ❖

Young picks up Chamber nods

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Todd Young’s U.S. Senate campaign picked up the endorsements of both the Indiana and U.S. Chamber of Commerce this week in his primary race against Marlin Stutzman.

“We believe Todd Young is the most qualified and most economic-minded individual running for the Senate seat,” said Indiana Chamber President and CEO Kevin Brinegar. “He has repeatedly demonstrated sound fiscal policy and prudent decision-making on issues that are vital to jobs and economic growth.” Brinegar further emphasized Young’s engagement with the business community and his focus on economic, fiscal and regulatory issues. “After he was

appointed to the Ways and Means Committee, the congressman sought substantial feedback on potential federal tax reforms and what would have the most impact on Hoosier companies and their employees. He listened to our members, through personal conversations and a survey, using their insights to help form his pro-economy agenda.”

The U.S. Chamber had a similar assessment.

“The U.S. Chamber of Commerce is all in for Todd Young,” Chamber spokeswoman Erica Flint told the IndyStar. She said the ad is part of the Chamber’s push to provide early support for “effective, pro-growth conservatives who are laser-focused on governing.” Nathan Gonzales, editor and publisher of The Rothenberg & Gonzales Political Report, a nonpartisan newsletter that tracks congressional races, said the Chamber’s involvement is significant because the group is boosting the candidate, Young, who already has the financial advantage. “The lack of support for Stutzman so far has also been telling,” Gonzales said.

Stutzman reacted to the endorsements, saying, “Whether it is the Indiana Chamber’s support for Common Core and efforts to curtail the religious freedom of hoosiers, or the US chamber’s support for omnibus spending deals and illegal immigration amnesty, it should come as no surprise to Hoosiers that these groups would endorse a moderate establishment candidate like Todd Young. It is clear the Washington insiders and crony capitalists are circling the wagons to save establishment Todd Young because I am winning this race.”

Young’s U.S. Senate campaign began running a new TV earlier this week titled, “Chemistry.” The ad

focuses on Todd’s background in the military and record of conservative achievement. Transcript: Voiceover (VO): Meet Todd Young, a pro-life, conservative Marine. Todd Young (TY): We need strong conservative leaders in Washington, D.C. The career politicians have to go. VO: A graduate of the Naval Academy, he served with honor in the Marines. TY: This is our chance to defend our borders, reform welfare, and finally get rid of Obamacare. VO: The only one willing to stand up to Obama and Clinton to end reckless spending and reform the entire tax code. TY: Too many regulations are killing small businesses. VO: Todd Young for Senate. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup..

Evan Bayh endorses Hill

Former U.S. Senator and Governor Evan Bayh endorsed Baron Hill for his old Senate seat on Wednesday. “I’ve known Baron for years, and his record of getting things done is exactly what Hoosier families need right now,” Bayh said. “Since I left office six years ago, Washington has become a center for political grandstanding and obstruction, and Indiana’s economy is hurting as a result. It’s time for Indiana to send someone to the Senate who will put Indiana’s interests ahead of his own political ambition. It’s time for Baron Hill.” Bayh and Baron have worked together since the 1980s when Baron served in the Indiana General Assembly.

Governor

Gregg policy timeline pushed back

John Gregg’s gubernatorial campaign had been planning to roll out some of its policy positions in early April, but with the Hillary Clinton/Bernie Sanders presidential race headed this way, those may be delayed. “Since we are not having a primary, focus shifts from us,” said Jeff Harris, Gregg’s communications director. That pushes some of our policy positions back because of the focus will be on the presidential race.”

HPI asked the Gregg campaign about where he stands on coal issues. Indiana Republicans have been trying to link the Gregg campaign to Hillary Clinton’s stance on the coal industry. Harris referred back to an earlier

statement Gregg made on Gov. Mike Pence opting not to put together an Indiana Clean Power Plan. Gregg said, “As I’ve said in the past, I disagree with President Obama on the Clean Power Plan. I believe it’s unrealistic and unfair for a coal-dependent state such as Indiana to make such a leap given the timeline the EPA has set forth. It will hurt our economy, cost jobs and make electricity rates skyrocket. I also disagree with Gov. Pence’s approach. By refusing to pull together all the stakeholders and come up with a state



plan, he is literally handing over Indiana's future to the federal government. The governor should follow the lead of dozens of other states and develop a state plan, as a backup, in case the lawsuit challenging the EPA's mandate fails or the mandate cannot be overturned given the current makeup of the Supreme Court. Gov. Pence's determination to put politics ahead of responsible governing risks Hoosier jobs and economic opportunity. It is yet another example of Mike Pence's failed leadership."

Pence campaigns with Walorski

Politicians from around the state came out to celebrate Dyngus Day on Monday, and food and conversation made sure everybody went home with smiles on their faces (Quiggle, Elkhart Truth). Known as the unofficial start of the campaign season, the celebration featured traditional Polish food, including kielbasa, sauerkraut, pierogies, sweet-and-sour noodles and pickled eggs, as well as a chance for area residents to meet candidates. Indiana Gov. Mike Pence and U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski were the headliners of the event held at the Knights of Columbus in downtown Elkhart, but quite a few local candidates also made it out to talk with those gathered. "I love the friendship and the camaraderie you experience when you come

to this celebration," said Michael Christofeno, a candidate for Elkhart Circuit Court judge. "You get to see people that you haven't seen in awhile and you even get to meet some new people."

2nd CD

Walorski, Coleman do Dyngus Day

Addressing Dyngus Day crowds, Congressional candidates Lynn Coleman and Jackie Walorski stuck to the script Monday, trading policy for passion in an attempt to rally core supporters (Blasko, South Bend Tribune). Speaking to supporters at GOP headquarters, Walorski, R-Jimtown, repeated her opposition to the proposed transfer of detainees from the prison at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, to the U.S. "Here's what I know today: I know that one congresswoman makes a difference, because I know the reason terrorists are still in Guantanamo Bay is because I stood up by myself and said ... you cannot let them on our soil," Walorski said. She also repeated her support for veterans. "I have worked for three and a half years to make sure our veterans get every single piece of promised health care that this country made when they called them up," Walorski said. "Hoosiers have never said no to defend



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our nation. I have never said no to step up to fight to defend our veterans all the way to the secretary of the VA himself," she said.

3rd CD

Freedom Caucus spending \$82K for Banks

The House Freedom Caucus is looking to cement its influence by recruiting and electing a new class of members in 2016 and will spend \$82,000 in the 3rd CD on behalf of State Sen. Jim Banks, sources are telling Howey Politics Indiana. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Banks.

9th CD

Right to Life endorses Zoeller

The Indiana Right to Life PAC has endorsed Attorney General Greg Zoeller's candidacy for the 9th CD. In their endorsement letter, Indiana Right to Life cited Greg's strong support of right to life issues and his track record as attorney general which includes revoking medical licenses of abortion doctors, closing Planned Parenthood abortion clinics, fighting late-term abortions, defunding Planned Parenthood and fighting Obamacare. "The sanctity of life is

a fundamental tenet of my Catholic faith and is not merely a political issue," Zoeller said. "As attorney general I have had the unique opportunity to defend the sanctity of life as part of my lifetime commitment to service so to again receive the endorsement of Indiana Right to Life is an honor." **Primary Horse Race:** Tossup.

Indiana House

HD21: Buoscio kicks off campaign today

Democratic Indiana House candidate Jodi Buoscio is kicking off her campaign today (Vandenack, Elkhart Truth). The event, open to the public, will be in the community room across from JoAnn Fabric and Craft Store at Concord Mall, 3701 S. Main St., Elkhart, from 5:30 to 7:30 p.m. "I'm excited to continue working with my community for better, more proactive representation in Indianapolis," Buoscio said in a statement. "It's important for us to have our kickoff and share our message now." Buoscio, a teacher at Elkhart Memorial High School, is challenging Rep. Tim Wesco, the three-term GOP incumbent, for the District 21 seat in the Indiana House, which covers south Elkhart and western Elkhart County. Neither candidate has a challenger in the May 3 primary. ❖

Photography With Punch
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Ideological purity impedes solutions

By **LEE HAMILTON**

BLOOMINGTON – Politicians who insist on purity impede solutions. There ought to be a healthy tension between idealism and realism; we have to find a pragmatic way to combine them. It’s challenging to reach agreement on complicated issues, but it’s necessary to keep the country from coming apart.



If there’s a theme that sets this political season apart, it’s the voters’ utter disdain for most of the people who practice politics. They’re fed up with politicians, they’ve lost faith and confidence in the political elite, and they don’t believe that the realm where politicians ply their craft – government – works.

The two presidential contenders who have most channeled this frustration, Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders, have electrified many voters who want to get this message across. They’ve mobilized new voters, people more mainstream politicians haven’t reached. The involvement of more Americans in the political system, though it unsettles the old order, is bracing.

There are many legitimate reasons for these people to be turned off by the political system today. But I’d argue that if you’re hell-bent on shaking up the system, you also need to understand it, and understand that certain features are likely to persist no matter how hard you try to change them.

The first is that it is very hard to make our representative democracy work. We make progress incrementally, over years if not generations. The first president to press hard for affordable, accessible health care was Harry Truman. It’s taken us that long even to get close, and no one would argue that the work is done.

So you have to approach politics with great patience. Our system discourages the rush to judgment; it puts a premium on including as many voices as possible, which takes time in a complicated country. The process is inevitably slow, noisy and messy, the results fully satisfy no one, and more often than not the best we can do is to muddle through.

Which is why in our system, there’s rarely a sense of completion. The work on health care, taxes, the environment –

you name it – is never done. Nothing is ever finally settled. There is no ultimate solution.

Many people are also turned off by what lies at the center of our system, deal-making. This involves a clash of ideas in the public arena, compromise, and negotiation, which make a lot of Americans uneasy. Yet it’s how we resolve our differences, and has been since the first day of the United States’ existence.

So politicians who insist on purity impede solutions. There ought to be a healthy tension between idealism and realism, but we have to find a pragmatic way to combine them. We have to consider different points of view, the intense involvement of special interest groups, and in many cases the robust interest shown by ordinary citizens. This makes it challenging to come to an agreement on complicated issues, but it’s necessary to keep the country from coming apart.

Congress in recent years has reached new levels of polarization and failure to address the major issues of the day. In public meetings, I often encounter a yearning for leadership to solve all our problems, usually along the lines of, “Where are the Abe Lincolns of our day?” Sadly, it’s a false hope. Our problems are made by us and have to be resolved by us. Abraham Lincoln’s not around anymore.

We cannot look to government to solve all our problems. Indeed, we live in an era in which government faces more and more problems it cannot effectively deal with. Increasingly, citizens have to step forward and fill the void that government leaves. The relevance of the citizen increases every day as power is more diffuse, technology empowers individuals, and social media allows more citizens to express their views, vent their frustrations, and to mobilize organizations.

We may well be moving into the century of the citizen. I think of the woman who got rail-crossing signals fitted out at dangerous intersections in Indiana, after her daughter was killed at a rail crossing with no signals. Or of my neighbor, who helped build a movement to press for accurate labeling of food ingredients, because he was diabetic and had no way to know the sugar content of goods. Our communities and lives are better because of citizen action. Indeed, unless citizens boost their involvement and contributions, many of our problems will not be solved. ❖

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

Mayor Buttigieg seen as a Dem rising star

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – New York Magazine recently noted that the Democratic bench “looks awfully thin” for future presidential races, with not a lot of younger Democratic prospects for the future lined up behind Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders. But is there a “next Obama,” the magazine asks, somebody with the ambition, personal story and skill



to move quickly, as Barack Obama did from state senator to president, and become the Democratic presidential nominee in eight years, in 2024?

South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg, identified as “the mayor who got called to Afghanistan,” is one of 10 young Democrats cited by the magazine as possibilities. So, is Buttigieg ready to announce for president? “I might as well run for pope,” he jokes.

Buttigieg says he is not now planning to run for anything. Not for lieutenant governor this year. Not for governor or Congress in the future. Not for president or pope. That doesn’t mean he won’t run for office in the future. He doesn’t even rule out seeking a third term as mayor. But Buttigieg says he just doesn’t have a political game plan, a plan to run for some particular office in some particular election year.

He laughs at how some people thought he had a political plan in which he wouldn’t even finish his first term as mayor before jumping to something else. Or that he was positioning to run for Congress.

The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee has tried to get Buttigieg to run for Congress. He wouldn’t. Probably never will. While he carefully avoids putting down service in Congress, the mayor says that friends he knows in Congress are “universally frustrated,” unable to get anything done.

As mayor, he says, he can do things and see the results. He walks to the window of his 14th floor office in the County-City Building and looks out at the Chase Tower, where each day he sees rehabilitation work

moving from floor to floor on the tallest building in town, once seemingly with a future only for demolition.

“I can look out the window and see the results of decisions that have been made in this office,” he says, ticking off other projects from rehabilitation of old hotels to fixing up or tearing down more than 1,100 once-vacant and abandoned houses. Being mayor, he says, “is uniquely challenging. And I love it.”

“If I keep my head down and do a really good job as mayor, the future will take care of itself,” Buttigieg says. “I don’t know what that means, ‘cause I know I can’t be mayor forever.”

Even if not now planning a candidacy, Buttigieg plans political impact, supporting state legislative candidates in other areas who are in tune with needs of cities: More home rule, less state control and additional resources for neglected infrastructure. He has the funds to seek impact.

After his landslide reelection last year, the “Pete for South Bend” campaign committee had \$303,591 in cash on hand at the end of 2015. He continues fundraising this year.

“Always prudent,” Buttigieg says of having political cash on hand. Buttigieg could eventually use the funds to run for some office when that future “takes care of itself.”

He strongly backs John Gregg, who will be the Democratic nominee for governor in a rematch with Gov. Mike Pence, and says that this time Pence “is an incumbent with a lot of mistakes.”

Could Buttigieg be on the Democratic ticket for lieutenant governor?

“Can’t see a scenario for that,” Buttigieg says. Others can in Indianapolis political speculation. But the mayor says he and Gregg have never talked of the possibility, and it is not something he seeks or expects. Also, if it did somehow happen, would Buttigieg as lieutenant governor be as frustrated as are some of those members of Congress who can’t get anything done?

Buttigieg says he doesn’t take seriously that New York Magazine listing. However, he likes the mention there and elsewhere nationally because the articles highlight what’s happening in South Bend, a positive image for a city long described in negative ways. ❖



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

Indiana fares better in 2015 per capita income

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – Indiana did better in 2015 than the United States as a whole in its growth of per capita personal income (PCPI). Hold the fanfare and confetti. We did only slightly better than the nation. As you recall, personal income includes wages, salaries, dividends, interest



and rent, plus payments from governments for health benefits, social security, unemployment and workers' compensation among other factors. Indiana's PCPI in 2015 grew by 3.6 percent and the nation advanced by 3.5 percent. Look closer and the game was even tighter: Indiana up 3.59 percent, the nation up 3.52.

Nonetheless, while we're mired in 38th place among the 50 states in PCPI (the same position we had 10 years earlier), our annual growth rate in 2015 ranked 19th in the country compared to a dismal 35th for the prior decade.

That's the story the Statehouse should be telling: A more smiley face with a cheery tune for the early evening news.

Only a pugnacious curmudgeon would go below this glimmering surface and see darker waters. Actually, it could be done by even a journalist or a governor's assistant who understood PCPI is a fraction requiring a look at what is going on in the numerator and in the denominator.

Let's start with the denominator, the part of the fraction below the line, the population. Population growth slows the growth of PCPI; if there are more people, with income remaining the same, PCPI declines. If population declines, PCPI can rise even if personal income hardly changes.

In 2015, Indiana's population grew by a slender 0.36 percent, a decline from the average annual growth of 0.55 percent during the preceding decade. It's something Hoosier politicians are just beginning to see as a danger to our economy. But it's good for our PCPI, if that's what you think is important. In contrast, population growth in the U.S. remained fairly steady in 2015 at a slow, but comparatively vigorous 0.82 percent, down minimally from the average annual rate of 0.84 percent in the 2005 to 2014 period.

Now for the numerator, the number atop the line in the fraction, personal income. Indiana's growth rate at 4.0 percent ranked 25th in the nation, still below the U.S. rate of 4.4 percent.

Where did we fall short of the nation in personal income growth? It was in wages and salaries, where the U.S. had a 4.65 percent growth while Indiana managed

just a 4.12 percent advance. Seems like small potatoes? In fact, it was a \$700 million shortfall for Hoosier workers in 2015.

We trailed the nation by \$266 million in construction earnings, \$152 million in non-durable goods manufacturing, \$174 million in transportation and warehousing, \$197 million in information, and \$211 million in pay for state and local workers. These shortfalls were partially offset by our growth advantage of \$739 million in durable goods manufacturing.

In sum, the good news that Indiana's growth in PCPI barely topped the nation's growth rate was mainly a consequence of our slowing population increase which then buoyed our sub-par growth in personal income. ❖

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

Indiana's population warning continues

By **MICHAEL HICKS**

MUNCIE – The most recent county population estimates for Indiana tell a blunt tale about the state's future.



It is part of the story that I, and others, have been offering for some time. It bears repeating.

In the decade between 2000 and 2010, a dozen Hoosier counties grew faster than the nation as a whole, while 30 lost population. The remainder grew, but at a slower pace than the nation overall. So, most of Indiana was in absolute or relative population decline.

In last month's population report, the number of shrinking counties rose to 54, and those growing faster than the nation as a whole rose to 14. That left 24 counties in relative decline. All the growth is happening in urban places, and all the decline is in rural or small town Indiana. It has been this way for half a century, but the pace is accelerating. This population redistribution matters deeply for Indiana's health through the 21st century.

Cities grow for simple reasons that cannot be duplicated in rural areas no matter how wishful the thinking. Through the forces of agglomeration, each 5.0 percent growth in population causes GDP per worker to rise by roughly 1.0 percent. This leads to higher wages

that in turn attract more educated workers to urban areas, which further boost productivity. In cities, workers combine to be more productive overall than the sum of their individual skills. Economists call this phenomenon 'increasing returns.'

Increasing returns benefit not only urban high-tech knowledge workers, but also barbers, baristas and bartenders. Businesses are wise to this and to another urban advantage: In many cities workers are willing to forgo a higher wage for the benefits of living there.

Thick labor markets offer job security that reduces employee risk. Increasing returns combined with abundant labor make businesses far more profitable, so they invest and grow more in cities than in rural places. That is why all net job growth in Indiana is connected to cities. This holds some pretty clear recommendations for public policy.

Most Midwesterners have a strong familial attachment to rural life. Few of us are more than one generation from a farm or small town, so we must guard against the influence of nostalgia on public policy. We must also

admit the fact that rural places are already recipients of far more public spending on a per capita basis than are urban places. This is true with both state and federal expenditures. Indiana suffers growth problems in part because we have habitually underinvested in urban places and in urban people. The Regional Cities Initiative, which Gov. Pence has recently signed into law, is an innovative and thoughtful boost to our urban centers. Still, more will be needed to develop Indiana cities in the years to come.

Finally, I want to stress that an increased attention to urban places doesn't endanger rural places in Indiana. They are already at risk. The strongest future for rural places in Indiana lies in a solid connection to labor markets in healthy, vibrant and growing regional cities. ❖

Michael J. Hicks, PhD, is director of the Center for Business and Economic Research and the George and Frances Ball distinguished professor of economics in the Miller College of Business at Ball State University.

Gregg gets support (and cash) in Lake Co.

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – John Gregg walked into Democratically torn Lake County this week looking for support and money. He got both.



Gregg, who is the Democratic candidate for governor, had a word of caution for the party faithful, knowing that Democrats were in the midst of heated primary battles on a number of fronts. He cautioned the crowd, saying, "After the primary, we're all Democrats." The party faithful replied with a resounding cheer.

The event was held in Schererville at Spike's Lakeside Inn2 and hosted by owner David

(Spike) Jaroszewski, Lake County Auditor John Petalas and Mike Summers. The attendees paid anywhere from \$200 to \$1,000. Among the officials on hand were U.S. Rep. Peter Visclosky and Sheriff John Buncich, who also is Lake County Democratic chairman.

Visclosky said the election was about "the dignity of work and people making a living wage."

Gregg emphasized that Indiana continues to be a red state, meaning that it will take Republican support for a Democrat to be elected statewide. He encouraged

Democrats to contact their Republican friends to cross over on Election Day. "There are a lot of great Republicans who don't believe in that ideological stuff," Gregg said in reference to Gov. Mike Pence.

Gregg said this race will be different than it was four years ago because Pence now has a record. "The last time we actually ran against Mitch Daniels," Gregg said of the perception about the former two-term governor. Gregg said he wants jobs that pay enough for a person to "buy a car that starts in the morning," and that one of his priorities will be stopping the war Republicans have waged against school teachers.

He attacked the governor on a number of fronts. Gregg said Pence says he wants better paying jobs but did away with the common construction wage that provided higher wages, particularly in a heavily unionized area like Northwest Indiana. He talked about how Pence "embarrassed us" with his stance against civil rights for the lesbian, gay, bisexual and the transgender community.

He seemed almost apologetic in talking about the need to raise money. He said his mother didn't understand why he had to raise \$12 million in an effort to win a job that pays less than \$100,000 a year.

And he bemoaned the fact that a week of advertising on network television – excluding the cost-prohibitive areas of Northwest Indiana (Chicago television) and south-east Indiana (Cincinnati) – costs \$580,000 but reaches just 70 percent of Hoosiers. ❖

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.

Darrell M. West, Brookings Institute: In the former Soviet republic of Georgia, billionaire Bidzina "Boris" Ivanishvili had a net worth equal to one-third of his country's \$15.8 billion gross domestic product, but was dissatisfied with the ruling party. Then President Mikheil Saakashvili had been elected in 2008 on an anticorruption platform, and to the dismay of Ivanishvili and his Russian allies, the chief executive was pursuing pro-Western policies and threatening to join NATO. To combat this move, Ivanishvili formed a new political organization, the Georgian Dream party, to fight Saakashvili and his policies. Members of Ivanishvili's party won a majority of seats in the parliament and the billionaire was named prime minister. Ivanishvili is not an isolated case. Instead of sitting on the sidelines and seeking to influence public policy from afar, billionaires have sought public office in 13 countries over the past decade. In addition to Ivanishvili and Michael Bloomberg and Donald Trump in the United States, billionaires such as Silvio Berlusconi, in Italy; Serge Dassault, in France; Frank Stronach, in Austria; Clive Palmer, in Australia; Zac Goldsmith, in the United Kingdom; Petro Poroshenko, in Ukraine; Andre Babis in the Czech Republic, Thaksin Shinawatra, in Thailand; Manuel Villar, in the Philippines; Najib Mikati and the late Rafiq Hariri, in Lebanon; Vijay Mallya and Nandan Nilekani, in India; and Mikhail Prokhorov, Andrei Guriev, and Sergei Pugachyou, in Russia have run for office. The only losers so far have been the Russian candidate Prokhorov, who lost to what some people have joked was the richer politician (Vladimir Putin) and Indian billionaire Nandan Nilekani. There are reasons why many billionaires have been successful in seeking elective office. In an age of rampant citizen cynicism, voters see them as white knights who are too rich to be bought. Through control of media and money, they dazzle the public with tough talk and bold ideas, and claim their business success guarantees political effectiveness. Trump follows this approach by appealing to white, working class voters who feel they have been left behind. Opponents bemoan his lack of predictability and unconventionality, but those are the qualities that have worked well for a number of ultra-wealthy candidates. ❖



Doug Ross, NWI Times: Republicans in the U.S. Senate now have a U.S. Supreme Court nominee to fill that vacancy, but they're dragging their feet on a confirmation hearing. Indiana, which has its own Supreme Court vacancy to fill, is moving forward quickly on a replacement. So what's the difference? Basically, the difference is a constitutional mandate in Indiana to meet a deadline for filling vacancies on the bench. Here it is in Article 7, Section 10 of the Indiana Constitution: "A vacancy in a judicial office in the Supreme Court or Court of Appeals shall be filled by the governor, without regard to political affiliation, from a list of three nominees presented to him by the judicial

nominating commission. If the governor shall fail to make an appointment from the list within 60 days from the day it is presented to him, the appointment shall be made by the chief justice or the acting chief justice from the same list." There's no such deadline in the U.S. Constitution. Article 2, Section 2(b), simply says: "(The president) ... shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ... judges of the Supreme Court ... The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session." It has become a recipe for stalemate in recent decades, and it's getting worse. While the Senate stance on Supreme Court nominee Merrick Garland is widely publicized, the Senate is generally slow to confirm appointees. JudicialNominations.org notes the average Obama appointee waits 228 days to be confirmed, compared to 148 days for President George W. Bush's nominees. Do we have a crisis in leadership when so many federal judicial nominees take so long to be confirmed — and that it can take a long time to nominate someone for a vacancy? I'd say yes. ❖

Eric Berman, IBJ: Old joke: Two hunters find themselves face to face with a bear. One hunter takes off running. The second hunter says, "What are you doing? You can't outrun that bear." "I don't have to outrun the bear. I just have to outrun you." Ted Cruz and John Kasich have no chance of clinching the presidential nomination on the first ballot. That's prompted a string of articles proclaiming Donald Trump is "unstoppable" (Salon, Rolling Stone) or "has a stranglehold on the GOP nomination" (Washington Post). But Cruz and Kasich don't have to outrun Trump. They just have to deny him a majority. It's been so long (64 years) since a convention went past the first ballot that people have forgotten how it works. If no one has a majority on the first ballot, the convention transforms from a ratification of primary and caucus results into a representative democracy, with most of the 2,472 delegates free to vote as they see fit. The second ballot, if there is one, will be where we learn the true inclinations of the delegates selected by the state parties; it'll be the equivalent of the first ballot in the olden days of conventions, when there were few primaries. This is Cruz's moment. He's sure to have the second-highest tally on the first ballot, and a bloc of delegates seeking a capital-C conservative should propel him forward. And if there's a third ballot, the dynamics shift toward Kasich or a Candidate to Be Named Later. Once a majority of delegates are on record as opposing a candidate, the focus shifts to determining who might be more broadly acceptable. It's the same dynamic that made Paul Ryan speaker of the House: He was the one prominent House Republican with the respect of both the establishment and the House Freedom Caucus. It's no accident that Ryan-for-president speculation is already springing up. ❖

Cruz surges in Wisconsin poll

MILWAUKEE — Ted Cruz has surged to a 10-point lead over a stagnant Donald Trump in next week's Wisconsin GOP presidential primary, according to a survey out Wednesday from the state's most reliable pollster (Politico). The Marquette Law School poll gives Bernie Sanders a slight edge over Hillary Clinton in the Democratic race — a result that would likely result in the two candidates essentially splitting the pledged delegates at stake next Tuesday. In the GOP primary, the poll shows Cruz with support from 40 percent of likely voters, about 10 points ahead of Trump, who is at 30 percent. Ohio Gov. John Kasich is in third place, with 21 percent. Eight percent of likely voters are still undecided, the poll shows. A double-digit victory for Cruz would likely result in a big delegate haul for the Texas senator: The state will award 15 delegates to the state-wide winner.



Trump backtracks on abortion remark

GREEN BAY, Wis. — Republican presidential front-runner Donald Trump said Wednesday that women who get an abortion should receive "some form of punishment" if it is ever outlawed, drawing swift condemnation from activists on both sides of the divisive social issue (Associated Press). Within hours, Trump's campaign sought to take back his comments in two separate statements, ultimately saying the billionaire businessman believes abortion providers - and not their patients - should be the ones punished. "My position has not changed," Trump argued in both statements released by his campaign. "Like Ronald Reagan, I am pro-life with exceptions." Trump's original remarks about abortion came in a heated

exchange with MSNBC host Chris Matthews at the Wednesday afternoon taping of a town hall in Green Bay, Wisconsin, scheduled to air that night. Matthews asked Trump whether he believes abortion should be outlawed. After an extended back-and-forth, Trump said, "you have to ban" abortion and "there has to be some form of punishment" for women who violate such a restriction. Pressed by Matthews on the nature of that punishment, Trump responded, "I haven't determined what the punishment should be."

Former Rep. Ayres dies at age 67

CHESTERTON — Ralph Ayres, who taught for 34 years at Duneland schools and served 24 years as a state representative, died Tuesday. He was 67 (Kasarda, NWI Times). "It is with great sadness that we share the news that our friend and colleague Ralph Ayres, School Board president, retired Duneland educator, former State Representative, public education advocate and community activist passed away this afternoon," the Duneland School Corp. posted on its website. "The Duneland School community is deeply saddened by his untimely death." State Rep. Ed Soliday, R-Valparaiso, who replaced fellow Republican Ayres upon his retirement from the Indiana General Assembly, said Ayres was a very respected legislator. "He cared deeply about public education, students and teachers, current and retired," Soliday said. "He admirably continued to faithfully serve the public as a volunteer long after his retirement. He will be greatly missed."

Indiana receives \$3.3M opioid grant

INDIANAPOLIS — Indiana's public health agency has won a \$3.3 million federal grant that will help add data on drug overdoses to an online registry that tracks certain deaths (Associated Press). The State Department of Health said Tuesday the grant from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention will fund several initiatives, including one that will allow Indiana to expand its Violent Death Reporting System.

Trump negatives at historic highs

WASHINGTON — If Donald Trump secures the Republican presidential nomination, he would start the general election campaign as the least-popular candidate to represent either party in modern times, according to an ABC/Washington Post Poll. Three-quarters of women view him unfavorably. So do nearly two-thirds of independents, 80% of young adults, 85% of Hispanics and nearly half of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents. Democratic pollster Peter Hart said voters' views of him are "exceptionally rancid. In terms of any domestic personality that we have measured, we've never seen an individual with a higher negative."



State Rep. Christina Hale presents a Sagamore of the Wabash award on behalf of Gov. Mike Pence to Jack E. Howey at a Saturday evening event observing his 90th birthday. Howey, who edits Howey Politics Indiana, played a key role in creating Indiana's Open Door Law in the 1970s.