



## Momentum appears to be with Young

Young to post \$750K for quarter, \$3.7M for cycle, and is running TV statewide

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The Republican U.S. Senate race is reaching critical mass, and many indicators suggest that U.S. Rep. Todd Young is pulling away.

When the Bloomington Republican files his campaign finance documents on Friday, it will report raising over \$750,000 for the first quarter of 2016, and nearly \$3.7 million for the cycle. The campaign for the U.S. Senate seat also points out that for the cycle, more than 70% of the

campaign's individual donors are from Indiana.

The campaign of U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman declined to release its FEC totals, with campaign manager Joshua Kelley telling Howey Politics Indiana on Wednesday, "We're not as caught up in quarter by quarter filings



as Todd Young is."

An email to Club For Growth President David McIntosh asking about its support for Stutzman brought no response. In March, McIntosh told HPI that the Club would make decisions on behalf of Stutzman in early April.

**Continued on page 3**



## Banks has 3rd CD edge

By **MARK SOUDER**

FORT WAYNE – In northeast Indiana, a significant number of Democrats often vote in the Republican primary in order to influence local elections, since seldom do Democrats have seriously contested primaries. When they do so, our region's numbers look significantly different.

For example, in 2008 I received 40,161 votes in the primary out of 52,000 Republican congressional votes cast. My Democrat opponent received 76,428. The presidential contest between President Obama and Hillary, not to mention the hot gubernatorial battle, certainly influenced the Democrat primary vote.



**"I relish the opportunity to run against him. I don't feel like he really won that race in 2010, he was a beneficiary of the political times."**

*- Democrat Baron Hill  
campaigning in Fort Wayne,  
talking about Todd Young*



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In the 2010 primary, an off-year race, I was targeted by many conservatives and the Democrats saw an opportunity. The Democrat congressional primary vote was only 11,000, an incredible drop from 76,000. My primary vote remained roughly the same (38,441) but the total GOP congressional vote increased to over 80,000.

These points are suddenly salient again as the Trump train heads our way. Will the Sanders and Clinton races keep Dems busy as in 2008? That could mean 20,000-plus primary votes in northeast Indiana going to Democrats rather than Republicans. If so, what sort of new Republican primary voters will Trump actually bring?

The 2016 3rd congressional race remains somewhat in flux, though State Sen. Jim Banks continues to have a steady and solidly based edge. State Sen. Liz Brown began as the leader, having run for office multiple times in Fort Wayne. However, similar to her failed mayoral campaign against Paula Hughes, Brown lags behind in fundraising and has not built as strong a grassroots campaign as Banks (though better than the other candidates).

**Beginning with** almost zero name identification, Kip Tom has spent large sums of money trying to buy his way into the area's consciousness. He is the area's largest corporate farmer. His government subsidies dwarf others, including Marlin Stutzman's. Tom's most apparent appeal has been to others who have received government largesse. His Sycamore C.C. fundraiser was a "who's who" of people who receive government subsidies for their businesses. They have formed a loyal ring around Tom.

Pam Galloway, like Tom, lives barely inside the northwest district line in an area more closely associated with South Bend. Her political support-

ers come heavily from the 2nd District since Galloway was instrumental in State Rep. Curt Nisly's victory over moderate State Rep. Rebecca Kubacki. Galloway served in the Wisconsin legislature but has not been much of a factor in this race.

**Banks has run the** style of campaign that has always prevailed in the 3rd. He has the endorsements of every type of major conservative group. His public support from elected officials is impressive, especially in Allen County. His donor list is diverse and strong. He has the support of Therese Brown, Paula Hughes,



Linda Buskirk, Cathy Hawks, and other prominent female Republicans. Though Banks dominates the evangelical cluster, prominent Catholic leader city councilman Tom Didier is actively supporting Banks. In other words, his campaign has balance.

Banks has also been able to keep up with Tom thus far in spending, whereas Brown has not. We have received at least four pieces of mail for both Banks and Tom at our house, one for Galloway, and none from Brown. Galloway, Banks and Tom are all utilizing social media. Banks is dominating WOWO, the influential talk radio station. Tom and Banks are pounding television, whereas Brown has just gone up.

**The television ads** from Tom, Banks and Brown lay out each campaign's strategy. Kip Tom, sensing his weaknesses, has featured ads that attempt to blur them. For example, Tom appears on a tractor, looking like a "common man." However, he's a wealthy corporate farmer who dis-

dains the small farmer, whom he called "Joe Farmer" in a magazine interview. He said that Joe Farmer milks cows in the morning, whereas he reads the Wall Street Journal; that while Joe Farmer chews cud down at the diner, Tom compares notes with medical device executives. That's fine. But in northeast Indiana, the farmers he's pretending to be like in his ad hang out at local restaurants with other farmers.

**Tom's positive ads are** all politically strong, but his first negative ad was less so. It criticized all three opponents for having sought public office multiple times and is confusing. His other problems include lack of a "ground game" and his history on social issues. It also bothers me that, like Marlin Stutzman, Kip Tom has no college degree. Seriously, we don't need two congressmen in a row who didn't graduate from college.

Banks' ads stress his service in Afghanistan, his conservative endorsements, and heavily feature his wife Amanda and their three young girls. The weaknesses of his ads are possibly an over-emphasis on his military service as well as letting Tom and Brown get the initial advantage on the pro-life question which is ironic, since both Jim and Amanda have long been right-to-life leaders. Brown has also been a steadfast pro-life leader, whereas Tom just asserts that he's pro-life. But winning elections is about what voters know, not what they don't know.

Liz Brown's first television ad, like those of Tom and Banks, is expertly produced. The first part is a bit

shaky, complaining ineffectively about campaign spending. The part featuring Liz herself is outstanding. She, like Banks, includes her husband. She also stresses her conservative legislative record as opposed to just making declarations.

If the election were just based upon electronic media, it would be a close battle in quality. But frequency also matters. The media battle is a tough fight between Tom and Banks. However, it is likely that the final weeks will be dominated by Trump talk and media, for and against him. So the early edge was extremely important. And the ground game will matter. Here Banks, as we noted, has a huge edge.

**Who votes in the Republican** primary is the wild card. A surge in Trump voters would add unpredictability. Kip Tom, with his international agriculture investments in South America, millions in federal subsidies, and disdain for common laborers, would not seem to be a good fit. Jim Banks' focus on veterans' issues could turn out to be important if the "Gods, guns and country" vote surges.

The Trump effect will be captivating to watch. Of course, so are train wrecks. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Banks❖

**Souder is a former Republican congressman in the 3rd CD. He is a regular Howey Politics Indiana contributor.**

## Young, from page 1

"You're getting the same releases we are," Kelley told HPI when he was asked about what the Club, the Senate Conservative Fund and FreedomWorks would be doing for the campaign.

On the airwaves, Young is running network TV in the Indianapolis market, and cable statewide. The Senate Leadership Fund and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce are running a full volley of ads in the \$500,000 range. Stutzman has been virtually dark. Kelley declined to say how much media it was running, saying it didn't want to reveal public filings to the Young campaign. "We're focused on what we're doing internally."

The Young financial juggernaut is carving new territory. No non-incumbent Hoosier has ever raised as much money as Young has in this primary race, and his quarterly haul is second only to his own \$1 million haul last summer, which was also more money than any federal candidate, incumbents included, has reported in an off-year. The report will also show that Young headed into the final month of the campaign with over \$1.33 million cash on hand.

The first quarter reports come on the eve of the

televised debate between Young and Stutzman. Sponsored by the Indiana Debate Commission, it will take place at 7 p.m. Monday at WFYI-TV in Indianapolis. The debate will be moderated by political science Prof. Elizabeth Bennion of Indiana University at South Bend.

Young launched a campaign TV this week comparing the Bloomington Republican's military background to



that of Stutzman, whom the campaign is calling "a career politician since he was 26." Young campaign manager Trevor Foughty said, "When party bosses told Marlin to

support the biggest business tax hike in Hoosier history, Stutzman voted yes, and he rewarded himself by doubling his government pay and pocketing \$1 million in government subsidies he claims to oppose. Like a lot of other career politicians, Stutzman has proven he'll toss conservative principle aside if he thinks it benefits him personally. While Stutzman has spent his adult life pursuing a career in politics, conservative Todd Young served nearly two decades in the military and the private sector." The ad voiceover says: "Who can conservatives trust for U.S. Senate? Not Marlin Stutzman. He's been a career politician since he was 26. He pocketed nearly a million dollars worth of the same taxpayer subsidies he claims to oppose. And Stutzman voted for the biggest business tax hike ever, and to practically double his government pay. That's not conservative. The conservative choice? Todd Young, a pro-life Marine fighting to repeal Obamacare and reform the entire tax code."

The Senate Republican establishment is clearly aligning with Young. The Senate Leadership Fund began a \$230,000 TV and digital media campaign last week. The ad, titled "We Can Trust," touts what the super PAC defines as Young's "rock solid conservative credentials" and "unique national security experience gained as a United States Marine intelligence officer." And CNN reported that Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell is seeking to thwart a Stutzman nomination, citing one of the leader's biggest allies, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, which is investing heavily on Young's behalf.

In an interview with CNN, Stutzman pointedly accused McConnell of retaliating against him for his vote against Boehner last year, saying it "would be a lot harder" for him now to back the Kentucky Republican as Senate leader if he wins in November. He had previously signaled he'd back McConnell as leader. "They don't want me to be the next senator from Indiana," Stutzman said. "I think (McConnell) is making a mistake by going after conservatives and trying to pick the nominee in Indiana because we just don't like that." Stutzman added: "Todd Young is going to vote 'yes' for Mitch McConnell, and Mitch McConnell knows that I voted against John Boehner. ... Todd Young is a yes-man."

Kelley told HPI with regard to McConnell, "All that does is clarify who's with the establishment and who is

ready to take on a broken system."

Stutzman did pick up three endorsements this week, with former presidential candidate Carly Fiorina endorsing on Wednesday. The former Hewlett Packard CEO said, "As a farmer, Marlin Stutzman understands how incompetent government bureaucracy destroys jobs and crushes family-owned businesses. A tireless fighter for the Constitution and the rights of the unborn, Marlin is an unapologetic conservative, and isn't afraid to stand tough against the political class of both parties when our values are under attack."

U.S. Sen. Mike Lee said, "When you find a conservative champion like Marlin Stutzman, you have to take a stand." Conservative commentator Mark Levin last week waded into the race, supporting Stutzman (Right Blade). Levin heaped praise on Stutzman while speaking to the three-term congressman by phone Thursday. "I know you're a solid, constitutional, free-market, secure-the-border, national-security conservative," Levin said. "I also know you by the enemies you have attracted, including Mitch McConnell."

As for Monday's debate, both sides see it as an opportunity to reinforce the themes of their campaign. "It will be a great opportunity for Marlin to highlight his career goals and his stand on conservative principles." Young campaign manager Foughty said, "It's a chance for Todd to get his message out. In the debate he will offer a clear contrast." **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Young.

## Governor

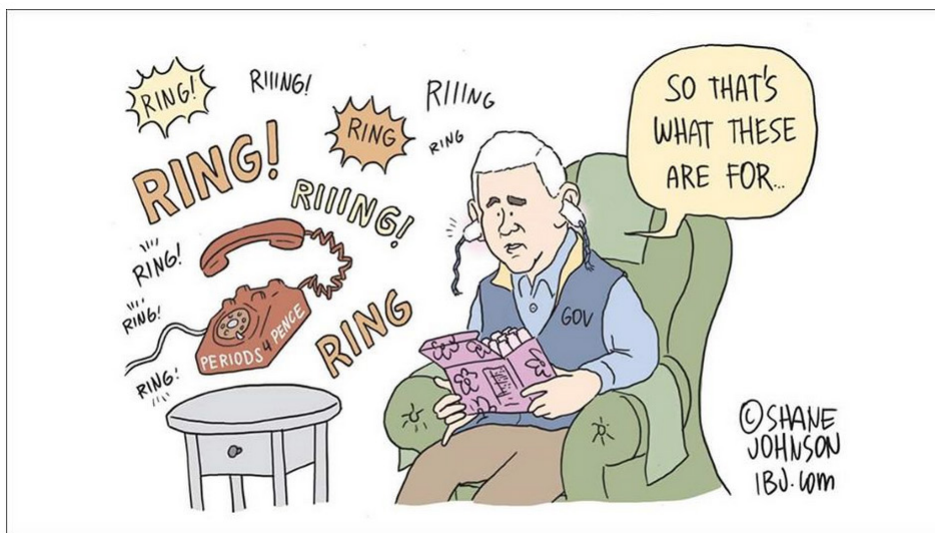
### Abortion law igniting social media

There is absolutely no question that when faced with a political fork in the road, Gov. Mike Pence prioritized his social conservative base over the past four months,

whether it was on civil rights expansion, to the coming Supreme Court selection, and lately the new abortion law.

Now the question heading into the first Howey Politics Indiana/WTHR-TV Poll later this month is whether that base is secured, and whether he loses support with women and independents, two critical voting blocs that will determine who win his rematch with Democrat John Gregg.

Dominating news coverage for the past 10 days is HEA1337, the controversial abortion bill that Pence signed "with a prayer." The rushed legislation that makes illegal abortions performed based on birth defects was rushed



through the process and comes just as the Centers for Disease Control is warning that the Zika virus is more severe than first thought and is now poised to strike pregnant women as far north as southeastern Indiana.

Whether it's the "Periods for Pence" Facebook page that as of Wednesday morning had drawn 47,782 "likes," or the IndyStar story speculating on how the governor stands with female voters, there were dozens of news stories on Indiana and national websites for most of this time span.

A rally at the Statehouse Saturday drew between 1,000 and 2,000 protesters. More news was generated with the ACLU, and Planned Parenthood filed suit. And HPI has observed "Fire Mike Pence" signs popping up in rural areas south of Indianapolis this past week.

Is this a RFRA redux for Pence? It's too soon to tell. What will be gleaned from the coming HPI/13 Poll will be a continuum extending back to September 2012, when Pence led Gregg by 13% in a Howe/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll. On Election Day, Pence lost the female vote by 5%. Since then, Lt. Gov. Sue Ellspermann resigned and dropped off the ticket. Potentially exacerbating his standing with women would be the nomination of Donald Trump on the Republican ticket. Poll after poll shows Trump toxic with female voters.

On that front, Pence told reporters late last week that he "hasn't ruled out" a presidential endorsement. An Associated Press-GfK poll reported that close to 70% of the electorate view Trump negatively, an opinion shared by majorities of men and women; young and old; conservatives, moderates and liberals; and whites, Hispanics and blacks. AP termed it a "a devastatingly broad indictment of the billionaire businessman. Even in the South, a region where Trump has won GOP primaries decisively, close to 70% view him unfavorably."

Republican pollster Christine Matthews of Bellwether Research told the IndyStar she believes the abortion restrictions will have an impact but it hasn't been fully realized. As for women suffering miscarriages, the measure requiring those remains to be interred or cremated "could apply directly to them," she said. "The extent to which women will view this as not being in touch with their



concerns could be a problem. Given RFRA, this is something that can add to a perception that Gov. Pence leans toward a viewpoint that they may not agree with."

Pence's ideology also came under scrutiny after Indiana State Police Trooper Brian Hamilton was fired for preaching to motorists he stopped for various traffic violations. It prompted WRTV to raise the question of whether the 14-year veteran was penalized when "the state's elected officials aren't penalized for doing the same." WRTV noted that, in January during his State of the State address, Pence spoke at length about protecting the freedom of religious beliefs and invoked God's blessing on four separate occasions. On Thursday, just hours after ISP announced Hamilton's firing, Pence tweeted this from his official account: "With faith in our state, faith in our country, and faith in God, I know Indiana's best days are yet to come."

For a candidate whose campaign who went to extraordinary lengths to avoid social issues in 2012, Gov. Pence is up to his neck in them this cycle.

On the campaign side of things, the Gregg campaign said its pre-primary finance report will be robust. "We feel good about our numbers," Gregg spokesman Jeff Harris said. "They are strong numbers." As for the Democratic Governors Association, Harris said the campaign is in touch with them on a daily basis. "Indiana and North Carolina are the top races in the nation," Harris said. Both states have

seen conservative governors sign, and then roll back, the divisive religious freedom laws.

Pence received a \$500,000 check from the Republican Governors Association. The Gregg campaign characterized it as a face-saving move, similar to the \$1.5 million it pumped into the campaign just prior to the Dec. 31 campaign finance reporting deadline. Pence posted \$1.117 million in large contributions, compared to \$1.084 for the former House speaker. Harris told HPI that in both cases, Gregg would have out-raised Pence without the RGA donation.

Pence campaign spokesman Joe Frank noted that the governor "has raised millions for the RGA" and called them "great partners." The Pence campaign returned the volley, suggesting that union money is propping up the Democrat's numbers. In comparison, the Democratic Governors Association has made about \$70,000 in in-kind

contributions to Gregg, though those numbers are expected to increase dramatically after the primary. **General Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

**General Assembly**

**SD16: Long faces social conservative**

Social conservatives are targeting Senate President Pro Tempore David Long, R-Fort Wayne, because of his effort to expand the state’s civil rights laws to add protections for gay Hoosiers. He faces John Kessler, 39, a Marine-turned-economist at Indiana University-Purdue University Fort Wayne, who pledges to fight for religious freedom. Monica Boyer, a local Tea Party activist, said Long is the next politician who will have to learn that actions have consequences. “I support John Kessler because he will protect our religious freedom, which David Long attacked during this last session,” he said. Kessler, 39, is opposed to increased protections for the LGBT community, saying the government should not be involved in private business decisions on whom they serve. He also might support further protections for religious freedom, including overriding local ordinances that protect civil rights for the LGBT community. Fort Wayne is among several cities that have an ordinance that prohibits discrimination based on sexual orientation. “As an evangelical Christian, I do believe God designed marriage to be between a man and a woman unequivocally,” he said. **Primary Horse Race**

**Status:** Likely Long.

**SD20: Kenley foe focuses on K-12 funding**

Senate Appropriations Chairman Luke Kenley is being scrutinized over his role in writing the state’s education funding formula (Sikich, IndyStar). Scott Willis, Kenley’s opponent, said that as he launched his campaign he quickly realized many local parents, teachers and administrators think the state awards school funding unfairly. The state awards more dollars per student to urban districts such as Indianapolis Public Schools that face poverty and other social problems. For years, growing suburban districts like those in Hamilton County have complained that funding should more faithfully follow each student. Consider that Indianapolis Public Schools receive \$1,556 more per student from the state than Hamilton Southeastern Schools this year. The gap used to be wider, but the General Assembly has narrowed it considerably since Republicans took control of both chambers of the General Assembly in 2010. Still, Willis points out that even with that shift in dollars, Hamilton County Schools rank near the bottom in funding received by the state. Of 365 districts, Noblesville ranks 336 in state funding, Westfield-Washington 358, Hamilton Southeastern 363 and Carmel-Clay 364, according to Indiana Department of Education data compiled by Willis’s campaign and shared with IndyStar. “I’m not sure that he understands the impact that the growth is having on our community and particularly on our school

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systems," said Willis, who is married with three kids in Westfield-Washington schools. "I think it's time for a fresh perspective." "The issue that is being raised, I find that to be almost perplexing," Kenley said. "I am probably the one guy who has pushed the hardest to get Hamilton County schools fair funding." **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Kenley.

### SD32: Donnelly endorses Wiley

U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly announced his endorsement of Democrat Sara Wiley. "I endorse Sara Wiley for her bid for State Senate in District 32 because she is a dedicated educator and will work hard to better the lives of Hoosier families," said Donnelly. Wiley is a public school teacher at Beech Grove Middle School who has dedicated her career to educating Hoosier children. She has witnessed first-hand the impact of debilitating budget cuts and increased standardized testing requirements imposed on public school districts as a result of Indiana's recent "education reform."

Wiley also advocates for finding long-term solutions to fix our state's crumbling roads and bridges, and supports legislation to address drug addiction and provide support services for those affected by this epidemic. Wiley is unopposed and will take on the winner of the primary between Republicans Aaron Freeman and Zachary Taljonick. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Freeman



Seymour School Trustee Nancy Franke (left) is facing State Rep. Jim Lucas in HD69 Republican primary.

### SD36: Sandlin gets endorsements

Indianapolis Councilman Jack Sandlin has received official endorsements from several notable sources. In providing its endorsement, the Indiana Right to Life PAC thanked Jack for his "support for the sanctity of life" and is encouraging pro-life voters in his district to support him. Other endorsements have come from Greenwood Mayor Mark Myers, Greenwood Sheriff Doug Cox, former State GOP Chairman Rex Early and former Marion County Prosecutor Scott Newman. In addition to these endorsements, Sandlin received an AQ rating from the NRA-PVF, which is the highest rating given to a non-incumbent candidate. Meanwhile, Jefferson Shreve, the officially endorsed candidate in Senate District 36 by the Marion County Republican Party, today began airing a second television ad in advance of the May 3 primary. The commercial, titled "From the Ground Up," highlights how Jefferson Shreve started a small company right after graduating from Indiana University and grew that company into a successful business with 91 locations across five states. "As a small businessman, I understand that businesses, not government, create jobs," said Shreve, former Indianapolis City-County councilor. "As state senator, Hoosiers can count on me to fight

for balanced budgets, lower taxes, and keeping government small so Indiana stays a great place to create jobs and raise families." "I believe that Jefferson Shreve is an exceptional, rare talent. He will be a wise, respected Republican voice in the state senate, representing the people of Senate District 36 extremely well while positioning the state for the future," said former Mayor Greg Ballard. "I've always admired Jefferson Shreve's intellect and dedication, and he has my full support for the state senate." **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Shreve.

### HD69: Franke challenges Lucas

Two Seymour residents are seeking the GOP nomination for the state House District 69 seat in the May 3 primary election (Rutherford, Seymour Tribune). Incumbent Jim Lucas, the owner of a small, local business, faces a challenge from Nancy Franke, a Lutheran school teacher in Columbus. Lucas has made headlines by authoring legislation protecting gun ownership rights and proposing to take the state out of the business of issuing marriage licenses.

"I love serving the public and really enjoy politics," he said. "It is very gratifying talking to people and

being able to address their issues, working with others and being involved in the process that affects people's everyday lives."

Franke is promoting major education reforms as part of her campaign bid. Having served as a school board trustee for Seymour Community School Corp., she said she now feels she can make a greater difference by being elected to state office. "With my experience, I have learned we have many issues to tackle, obviously with education, but also with so much more which affect our communities," she said. "After several people asked me to consider a run for state legislator, I realized this may be the area where I can be most proactive for the people of our communities. I have learned the value of reaching across the aisle and truly listening to a different perspective. Sometimes, we need to value the input of others as we find common ground necessary in making decisions. As much as privatization has a place in our state, I am a firm believer that our public schools are the backbone of our communities. We need to work on legislation which will help strengthen our community schools, which in turn works for a stronger community and enhances our economy." **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Lucas.

## HD85: Rep. Cox faces two challengers

Three men well-known to the community are running for the Republican House District 85 nod, an incumbent lawyer, a longtime business executive and a local Realtor. All have sought the seat before, though only Rep. Casey Cox, R-Fort Wayne, has been successful (Kelly, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). "I feel like in my fairly short time in the legislature I have been effective on a whole host of issues and would like to continue to do that," he said. A month after the death of Rep. Phyllis Pond in September 2013, Cox was appointed in a caucus of party insiders to fill the remainder of her term. Dave Heine and Denny Worman, his two competitors this year, also ran in that caucus, but Heine was the only one to come close, earning 20 votes to Cox's 37. "I just believe that House District 85 is being underrepresented," Heine said, noting that Cox is an attorney in Fort Wayne while the majority of the district is agricultural. Worman, mean-



State Rep. Casey Cox is facing a challenge from Dave Heine in the HD85 Republican primary.



while, has sought the seat four other times unsuccessfully, but he likes to note that Abraham Lincoln lost five elections before becoming president. "My attitude is I may not win enough votes to get a seat, but I care about the people and the community and I want to serve," he said. Cox, 33, is probably most well-known now for authoring a bill this year that further limits abortion in the state, as well as creating new regulations for how to deal with aborted or miscarried fetal remains. The most controversial provision, which bars women from having an abortion if it is because the fetus has been diagnosed with a disability, wasn't in Cox's original bill. The Senate added that part at the end of the session, though Cox could have fought the provision. "I am pro-life, and it is a core value, so I am glad to accept that responsibility," Cox said. "It's a hard job and it's a sacrifice. You go through the wringer sometimes." **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Cox. ❖

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# Clever Joseph Albert III playing the system

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – He’s rich. He lives in a gated luxury Jeffersonville community. He’s got a beautiful wife. And he’s ambitious.

But what are the long-term plans of Joseph Albert “Trey” Hollingsworth III? As we peel back the onion of the 9th CD Republican, the address of his “Trey For Congress, Inc.” should raise eyebrows, particularly if you’re Rep. Todd Rokita, Rep. Susan Brooks or Sen. Mike Delph pondering a 2018 U.S. Senate race. The “228 S. Washington St., Ste 115” address in Alexandria, Va., is also home to the Senate Conservative Fund. The SCF lists the address on its FEC filings.

So perhaps what we’re looking at here is a mysterious, millionaire Republican seeking a quick perch in the House before a 2018 challenge to U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly.

Another relationship at the same address is the company Huckaby Davis Lisker (HDL), which is a political firm that provides FEC legal services, filings and accounting for candidates. It also has the same mailing address of SCF. (228 South Washington Street #115, Alexandria, VA 22314). This firm is listed on this 2015 end year FEC report as providing FEC compliance.

Attorney General Greg Zoeller, who is battling Hollingsworth for the nomination, told HPI, “After years of fighting scam artists, I fully expect the FEC report of the PAC will not clearly identify the source of funds.” Those FEC reports should come to light by early next week.

We’ve also figured out why Hollingsworth posted stock B-roll on his website last winter. It can be used by both his political campaign and the murky Super PAC Indiana Jobs Now that legally isn’t supposed to coordinate with the candidate or his campaign. It’s a clever sidestep of campaign finance laws, perhaps with the assistance of Huckaby Davis Lisker.

In a Roll Call article by Simone Pathé, Hollingsworth was described as “one of this year’s most elusive congressional candidates,” who resides in a luxury high-rise across the Ohio River from Louisville.

Pathé reported: Voters know Hollingsworth’s name, but plenty of 9th District residents with whom Roll Call spoke last week still don’t know much about him. “Who is this Trey guy?” was one refrain. In a phone interview with Roll Call (the campaign did not make Hollingsworth available for a sit-down interview during the reporter’s five-day visit to his state), Hollingsworth deflected questions on residents’ concerns about his newcomer

status in the district. “When you say ‘a lot of residents,’” he said, “you mean the other candidates.” As for outside money, Hollingsworth said he doesn’t know anything about the \$221,000 Indiana Jobs Now has spent on his behalf or who’s financing it. When speaking to Roll Call several hours after the super PAC’s poll came out late last week, he said he hadn’t seen it.

WTHR-TV’s Kevin Rader did get a sit-down with The Most Elusive Candidate of the Cycle. Are you a Hoosier?” Rader asked. “I am a Hoosier. I am a proud Hoosier. I have partnered with Hoosiers to create companies. My customers are Hoosiers. My vendors are Hoosiers. My friends are Hoosiers. My family members are Hoosiers. I am a proud Hoosier,” he answered.

Rader reported that with an estimated wealth in excess of \$58 million and a life lived outside of Indiana, he has been susceptible to charges of carpetbagging a congressional seat. “So much of what Washington is about is politicians’ careers and advancing their own interests and not the interests of the people. I think it’s about begin-



ning to change that culture and beginning to tear down that system. We’ve lost that sense of true citizen statesman and replaced it with professional politicians moving from position to position and advancing their own careers and not advancing the people’s interest,” he summarized.

**Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

## 2nd CD: Walorski posts \$1M

Jackie Walorski (IN-02) today announced her campaign has raised over \$1 million dollars for the 2016 campaign cycle and will report over \$850,000 cash on hand. In the first quarter of 2016, Walorski raised over \$225,000. She faces Jeff Petermann in the GOP primary.

“I’m honored by the grassroots support that our campaign has received from every corner of the district and I’m excited about the momentum we have coming in to an important election year,” said Walorski. “I remain as committed as I was on day one to take Hoosier common sense solutions to our nation’s Capitol. I go to work every day to protect our nation’s security and keep our families safe from terrorist threats at home and abroad, restore fiscal responsibility to Washington, cut out of control regulations to create jobs, fight for veterans, and protect the unborn.” **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Walorski. ❖

# Hoosier sons Lincoln, Willkie won nods after multiple GOP ballots

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – In May of 1860, as the nation tumbled toward the Civil War, the former Hoosier backwoodsman Abraham Lincoln made an observation relevant today. “Only events can make a president,” the Spencer County native would intone.

Eighty years later, with Fascist regimes storming across Europe, another native Hoosier, Wendell Willkie of Rushville, would win the nomination amid cries wafting from the rafters, “We Want Willkie!” Both Lincoln and Willkie won after multiple ballots. Neither of them had the lead on the first.

With attention shifting to the emerging Indiana Republican National Convention delegation this past week and cries from frontrunner Donald Trump of a “corrupt” and “crooked” process, it’s worth noting how two Hoosier dark horses sought the reins of power as American entered two of its darkest chapters.

And a third thrives this very day in West Lafayette. Lincoln captured the nation’s attention in the 1858 Illinois U.S. Senate race, one which he lost to the “Little Giant,” Stephen A. Douglas. A year later, Lincoln traveled widely across the Midwest, New York and New England, with speeches at the Cooper Union galvanizing his coming but underdog candidacy. Lincoln showed up in Indianapolis on Sept. 19, 1859, where he made a case against the “peculiar” institution of slavery.

“The ordinance of 1787 was passed simultaneously with the making of the Constitution of the United States,” Lincoln explained in what was essentially a history lesson. “It prohibited the taking of slavery into the North-Western Territory, consisting of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. There was nothing said in the Constitution relative to the spread of slavery in the Territories, but the same generation of men said something about it in this ordinance of ‘87, through the influence of which you of Indiana, and your neighbors in Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan, are prosperous, free men.”

Indiana, in her territorial condition, Lincoln continued, more than once petitioned Congress to abrogate the ordinance entirely, or at least to so far suspend its operation for a time, in order that they should exercise the “popular sovereignty” of having slaves if they wanted them. “The men then controlling the government refused Indiana that privilege, so, had it not been for the ordinance of ‘87, Indiana would have been a slave state, and all the other states included in the North-Western Territory,” Lincoln said. “Thus, down through a period of 60 years, until the last inch of that Territory came into the Union, the prohibition of slavery was religiously adhered to. In the State of Indiana, of all that is produced, seven-eighths of it is produced by the hands of men who work upon their own ground; and no more than one-eighth is produced by hired men. The condition of the hired man was not worse than that of the slave.”

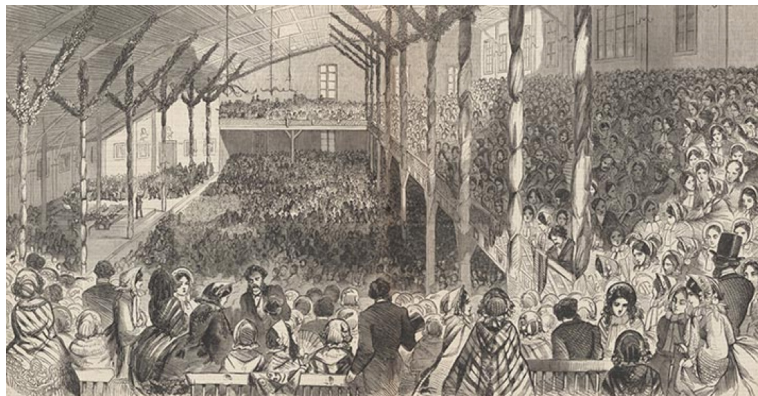
It was a lesson that weighed heavily on the hearts of Hoosier Republicans.

As the Republican National Convention in Chicago neared, Lincoln faced a New York frontrunner, William H. Seward, and Ohio governor and Sen. Salmon P. Chase, along with Judge Edward Bates of Missouri. In his classic book “Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years, the War Years,” Carl Sandburg recounts four tumultuous days at the “Wigwam” (pictured below), a large downtown convention hall. Gubernatorial candidates Henry S. Lane of Indiana and Andrew G. Curtin were both pushing for a Lincoln nomination, weaving from caucus to caucus, each running for governor and each “solemnly positive their states would be lost if Seward was nominated.”

The platform was approved on May 17, and the Seward forces pushed for the first ballot, confident he would win, only to be denied by Chairman George Ashmun as “the tally sheets had not been prepared.” A quick motion to adjourn “by a light, unrecorded vote” followed. It was a fateful turn of events, giving Lincoln almost an entire day to line up support. That May 17, the main Lincoln backers worked all night and clinched important deals. Judge David Davis telegraphed Lincoln: “Am very hopeful. Don’t be excited.”

The Lincoln advocates went into conference with the Pennsylvania and Indiana delegations. “We worked like nailers,” said Richard J. Oglesby. An employee of Chicago Tribune publisher Joseph Medill would report: “We are going to have Indiana for Old Abe for sure.”

How did you get it? Medill asked. With huuuuuge deals. “By the Lord, we promised them everything they asked,” he was told. Caleb B. Smith was to be secretary of



the Interior and William P. Dole, commissioner of Indian affairs. Indiana would vote as a solid bloc for Lincoln on the first ballot and those that followed.

Other huuuuuge deals were in the works. The Pennsylvania delegation wanted Simon Cameron to be secretary of the treasury. Lincoln wired back from Springfield, "I authorize no bargain and will be bound by none." He would say later, "Make no contracts that will bind me." But Judge Davis eventually

secured the Pennsylvania delegations by promising Treasury to Cameron, reasoning, "We are after a bigger thing than that. We want the presidency and the Treasury is not a great stake to pay for it."

Still, Pennsylvania seemed tenuous, so it was arranged for them to be seated between the Illinois and Indiana delegations.

For the first two days of the convention, Seward's supporters occupied conspicuous stations about the Wigwam. But on May 18, Lincoln supporters were "shoved through the doors until they filled all the seats and standing too. Hundreds of New York hurrah boys couldn't squeeze in.

Delegate Burton Cook observed, "The idea of us Hoosiers and Suckers being out-screamed would have been bad. Five thousand people leaped to their seats, women not wanting, and the wild yell made vesper breathings of all that had preceded. A thousand steam whistles, ten acres of hotel gongs, and a tribe of Comanches might have mingled in the scene unnoticed."

So Team Lincoln had delayed the process, worked the centers of power, cut huuuuuge deals, packed the venue (are you taking notes, Mr. Trump?), setting the stage for a first ballot, which Seward led 173.5 to 102 for Lincoln, and the rest to Chase and various other favorite sons. On the second ballot, it was Seward at 184.5 and Lincoln at 181. On the third ballot, Lincoln 231.5 and Seward at 180.

Prior to the fourth ballot, Medill made an offer to the Buckeyes: "Shift to Lincoln and Chase can

have anything he wants." Lincoln was bound with a future cabinet of enemies, but won the nomination on the fourth ballot with 364 delegates. Lincoln accepted the nomination from the notification committee in Springfield, saying he would cooperate "imploing the assistance of divine providence." He would need it.



### Willkie was a true darkhorse

Unlike Lincoln, Wendell Willkie was a true dark horse. The leading candidates in 1940 were Sen. Robert A. Taft of Ohio, Thomas E. Dewey of New York (notice a trend here?) and Sen. Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan. While they campaigned vigorously for the right to take on two-term President Franklin D. Roosevelt, they had sewed up only 30% of the delegates. Taft was a non-interventionist, Dewey was a babe in the woods, and Vandenburg had a Jeb! Bush-style energy problem.

Thus, an opening for a dark horse.

Willkie had been an FDR New Deal backer, was a Wall Street-based industrialist and CEO of the Commonwealth & Southern Power Company. Like Trump today, he had never run for office. Willkie was also a friend of embattled Great Britain. He would say the U.S. should support the Brits, "short of declaring war." The Nazi blitzkrieg into France shocked Americans (like Paris, San Bernardino and Brussels have today) and Willkie moved into second place behind Dewey in a May Gallup Poll with 17%. By the time the delegates arrived in Philadelphia, Willkie had surged to 29%, trailing Dewey who had 47%.



With the convention gaveled in (pictured left), Minnesota Gov. Harold Stassen, the keynote speaker, shifted his support for Willkie and headed his floor operation. The Willkie supporters packed the rafters with the iconic "Weeee waaaaant Willlllllllkie!" battle cry and the candidate found himself in third place on the first ballot, trailing Dewey (360) and Taft (189) with 105 delegates. Willkie and Taft gained ground on the second ballot with the native Hoosier trailing

(Dewey 338, Taft 203 and Willkie 171), but he vaulted to second on the third ballot with 259 delegates (Dewey at 315) before taking the lead on the fourth (306, to 254 for Taft and 250 for Dewey). He would win on the sixth ballot with 655 delegates, with Taft second at 318 and Dewey falling to third at 11. He officially won the nomination with 998 after delegate shifts on the final ballot.



**Could there be a second dark horse Hoosier?**

Purdue University President Mitch Daniels has surfaced as a potential dark horse as Trump, Sen. Ted Cruz and Ohio Gov. John Kasich head to a potential contested and brokered convention in Cleveland. Howey Politics Indiana reached out to the former Indiana governor, offering him a chance to make a "General Sherman statement" disavowing a potential nomination or service.

Julie Rosa, assistance vice president for strategic communications at Purdue, reported back: "He laughed and said you could put him down as half General Sherman and half Sgt. Schultz on this one – but otherwise he doesn't have anything to say."

The message to other potential supporters from Daniels, Rosa said, is "Thanks for thinking of me."

This all came on the same day that House Speaker Paul Ryan, who has made a career out of disavowing nominations and offices he ended up with, made it emphatical-



Wendell Willkie (top) accepts the GOP nomination in 1940 after six ballots. And in 2011, pressure mounted on Gov. Mitch Daniels to run in 2012.

ly clear he wasn't interested. "I do not want, nor will I accept, the Republican nomination," Ryan said. "Let me speak directly to the delegates on this: If no candidate has a majority on the first ballot, I believe you should only choose a person who actually participated in the primary. Count me out."

Sources close to Gov. Daniels during his 2010-11 exploration of a run in 2012 tell Howey Politics that there is nothing organized afoot at this time. Four years ago, when speculation swirled about a prospective Daniels bid, he often admonished the Indiana press for asking. In 2015 Don Cogman's book "Run Mitch Run" revealed a multi-month effort to do just that.

One key player in the Daniels inner circle of that era told HPI on background, "I wouldn't rule out anything these days, but I don't anticipate anything. There is more talk of the No. 2 slot. Of more unrealistic options, the vice presidency is more realistic."

The source added, "In the back of our minds, we're hopeful, but nothing is happening."

Might the Daniels Family Female Caucus relent to a 14-week presidential slog if a Draft Mitch Draft movement surfaced, as opposed to the 18 months and all the invasive scrutiny that would have been needed in 2011 and 2012? Said one Daniels confidante, "With a genuine draft, it would be much

more difficult to say no."

The takeaway here: These are no echoes of Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman. Only events can make a president, and there's a big event in Cleveland coming up in July. ❖

**Presidential campaigns set up in Indiana**

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS – The presidential primary race opened in Indiana this past week with a flurry of campaign office openings, a Republican delegate power move and perceived threats to "establishment" party members from Donald Trump supporters.

Now all we need are some candidates to hit the ground. On Wednesday's edition of MSNBC's Morning Joe, Bloomberg News analyst Mark Halperin stated the obvious: "The only way to stop Trump is to slow him down in Indiana."



On Wednesday, the Republican State Central Committee approved the 27 delegates, and Howard County Republican Chairman Craig Dunn told HPI that there is representation across the three candidates, contrasting with a Saturday Politico story that suggested a movement was underway to shut out Donald Trump. Dunn said that didn't happen. He said that when Chairman Jeff Cardwell releases the list, there will be recognition that all three candidates will have delegates.

On Saturday, a Politico story on the selection of 27 delegates in Indiana's nine congressional districts did find a seam of anti-Trump sentiments from congressional district chairs. Tom John, 7th CD chairman, said, "Donald Trump doesn't represent what I want my party to represent."

Sullivan County GOP Chairman Bill Spring-

er told WTHI-TV questioned the delegate process "So they come up with this ... ahem 'process' that nobody was really notified of until January," Springer said. "I do not think it is my place to elect the President. It's the people of the 8th district's place to elect the President."

On Sunday, Dunn, John and Kyle Babcock in the 3rd CD were all receiving threatening emails. "Wrong side Kyle. Hope the families well (sic)," said one from The American. "Your name and info was sent to me on a list that is going public. Think before you take a step down the wrong path, the American people want to have faith in your but it looks like a future in hiding is more appealing."

**The Trump Indiana campaign** reacted Monday morning, with vice chairman Tony Samuel telling Howey Politics Indiana "There should be no threats. That is absolutely the wrong way to react to this. The only way is to get out and vote on May 3 for Donald Trump."

It appeared to be a continuum of the Trump campaign M.O., where the candidate talks in a provocative stream of consciousness, Tweets in a similar vein, and some of his supporters get rowdy and threatening. The Indiana State Police investigated, but found the threats were not criminal. "The messages brought to the attention of the Indiana State Police constitute political speech and do not rise to the level of being criminal in nature," Capt. Dave Bursten, a state police spokesman, told the IndyStar.

Trump seemed to be late in the delegate process, as he was handed organizational defeats in Colorado and South Carolina over the weekend. But an NBC News analysis revealed that Trump has benefited far more than Ted Cruz under the party's arcane rules for allocating delegates. Trump now leads the Republican field with 756 delegates — or 45% of all delegates awarded to date.



Yet he has won about 37% of all votes in the primaries, according to the NBC analysis, meaning Trump's delegate support is greater than his actual support from voters.

Samuel acknowledged the Trump Indiana campaign is getting a late start. "They now realize what a second strategy needs to be in case they don't get to 1,237," Samuel said. "They are behind because to effect delegates, that kind of thing should have been going on for months, if not longer. He's done great things to get to this point and now they think they realize there needs to be a new phase."

Samuel added that what is happening in Indiana "is not fair. It looks like you've got district chairs or others trying to pick people who are delegates who are anti-Trump. That does not seem democratic when an election has not taken place. It's not right. I don't blame people from being upset. But they should go out and vote on May 3."

**By mid-week, Trump and Clinton** had opened up three campaign offices. Jeremiah Dunleavy, regional field director for Ted Cruz for President 2016, opened up an office at 9615 E. 59th St., in Indianapolis. State Rep. Mike Karickhoff, sources tell HPI, will chair the Kasich campaign.

Trump is expected to win more than 90 delegates in his home state of New York next Tuesday. Following that are a spate of Northeastern states such as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut and Maryland where he is expected to benefit from media coverage in New York City.

Then, on May 3, Indiana stands alone. So the last week of this month and the first few days in May will likely bring a dozen or so appearances. A Trump win in Indiana, which many expected to be competitive, will be key to Trump. It's still important for Clinton, but the nomination math for Bernie Sanders is arduous if not impossible. ❖

## Early attracted to Trump's call for a wall

By MAUREEN HAYDEN  
CNHI Statehouse Reporter

INDIANAPOLIS – Republican insider Rex Early was on the fence about the GOP presidential race until he heard Donald Trump talk about a wall.

The celebrity mogul's pledge to build a massive border barrier to keep out illegal immigrants scored a hit with Early, along with the candidate's call for expanded gun rights and his complaints about foreign labor stealing American jobs.

"I thought, 'Amen, brother,'" said Early, recounting

his moment of conversion last fall.

"Those are the bedrock principles of what I call the 'good old boy' conservatives," said the 81-year-old Early.

Last week, the former GOP party chairman and Ronald Reagan loyalist, went public with his role as the Indiana Trump campaign

chairman. The announcement surprised some. Early had paid \$500 to co-host an exclusive fund-raiser last year for Ohio Gov. John Kasich, held at the private Columbia Club, a swank Republican gathering spot in downtown Indianapolis.

Early's establishment Republican resume, including eight times as delegate to the GOP national conven-



tion, and a perennial state convention delegate since 1960, helped pull in a small but well-heeled crowd to the event. But Early, who says he's more a thorn in the side of the GOP establishment rather than a stalwart, said his heart wasn't really in it. At the time, he recalls, Kasich was one of a slew of Republicans with their sights set on the nomination. And Early was already doubting Kasich's conservative chops, after hearing him defend the Common Core, a red flag for conservatives who hate how the education standards tie states to federal dollars.

**"Back when I was** in Lincoln High in Vincennes, I had three or four girlfriends at the same time," said Early, launching into an explanation by way of analogy. "I liked them all, but I knew I had to pick one."

Quietly, the bromance had begun.

Last October, as Trump gained ground as an unlikely populist front-runner, Early sent Trump's national political director the deadline details for getting on the Indiana ballot for the May 3 primary.

And he sent the contact list for every national Republican delegate who'd served in 2012, many of them likely to end in the same role for the 2016 GOP convention in July. "I thought they'd be a pretty valuable pieces of information," Early said. The Trump campaign had little problem meeting the state ballot access rules, early on gathering many more than 4,500 voter signatures needed.

The delegate situation is proving tougher.

Early, 82, is convinced that Trump will take the state, winning over not only Republican conservatives who like Trump's tough talk, but some cross-over Democrats too.

Part of what makes him think so is a meeting he had this week with some Tea Party-affiliated women at a Knights of Columbus club.

**Despite polls that show** the blustery Trump has high negatives with women, Early heard nothing but praise. Trump bumper stickers went fast, and the women were clamoring for more. "I don't think he'll have a problem with women," Early said.

But he may have a problem with delegates. Behind the scenes, younger and more moderate Republican state leaders, including GOP national committeeman John Hammond III, have been recruiting anti-Trump delegates for the national convention, electing many of their picks last Saturday at local party meetings.

A recent Politico story on the process predicted

Trump may already be shut out, as Indiana delegates prepare to jump to another candidate if Trump fails to clinch the nomination outright.

**Early's presence with the** Trump campaign may help neutralize some of that opposition, said Howard County GOP chairman Craig Dunn, a longtime Early friend. "Rex brings legitimacy to the Trump campaign, along with a lot of longtime relationships," Dunn said.

But Dunn, who sits on the state party committee which has huge influence with delegates, is the also the man who told Politico that he'd wouldn't vote for Trump as party nominee unless Satan was the only alternative.

Early says he knows what he's up against. He and campaign communications director Tony Samuel, a lobbyist and former congressional candidate, are critical of the Trump national campaign's decision to wait so late before opening an Indiana office.

Early says he was forbidden from telling anyone he'd be Trump's campaign chairman until a week ago, just two days before national convention delegates in Indiana were picked. "That should have never happened," he said. "We would have never waited too long."

#### **Early and Samuels**

both think the Trump campaign will soon make up ground. They praise Trump's recent hiring of Paul Manafort, a longtime Republican strategist who knows how to play the campaign ground game.

And Early is counting on some of his own appeal. Described by some, privately, as curmudgeonly, he sees a kinship with Trump.

For example, both have been critical of national GOP chairman Reince Priebus, who Early once described as ineffective and like "mayonnaise on white bread."

Back in 1992, Trump and Early shared a stage in Indianapolis, at the Indiana Gridiron Dinner, a then-annual roasting of newsmakers.

Early was there because he was state party chairman. Trump was a fellow roast target because he'd just won a bid to open a casino, a plan that later fell apart.

Early says it was the last time he'd talked to Trump and doubts if the mogul remembers him: "He don't know me from a pile of wood," he said. ❖



**Rex Early holds court at the Antelope Club on Tuesday where he talked about linking up with the Trump campaign.**

# Democrats shelve Jefferson/Jackson

By MAUREEN HAYDEN  
CNHI Statehouse Reporter

INDIANAPOLIS – A signature of Democratic politics, as iconic as donkeys and blue banners, may be headed toward retirement as the state party renames its signature fundraising dinner to avoid the stigma attached to slavery.



Indiana Democrats' annual Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner, long a big-money raiser and morale-booster for the party faithful, will be called the Hoosier Hospitality Dinner when Democrats meet in Indianapolis this June, in a nod toward inclusiveness. Democrats elsewhere are making similar moves to distance themselves from party founders Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson, former presidents and slave-owners.

Indiana's Democrats say their move isn't directly linked to that trend. Instead, they said the new name, which they won't say is permanent, is intended to illustrate the difference between them and the Republican Party under the leadership of socially conservative Gov. Mike Pence.

"We knew, when we were thinking about this dinner, that we'd been pushing to restore Hoosier hospitality," said Democratic Party spokesman Drew Anderson. "We want to reclaim it as the image for our state, especially after what Mike Pence has done." The allusion is to Pence's much-criticized handling of a religious freedom law that brought threats of a boycott from critics who saw it as license to discriminate against lesbians and gays.

**This being politics**, changing the Democratic dinner's name coincides with an election year that finds Pence campaigning to keep his job against a challenge from Democrat John Gregg. Democrats hope the renamed event will remind voters of actions by Pence that led to bruises on the state's reputation.

Eight years ago, Indiana's Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner took on national prominence. Then candidate-Barack Obama spoke at the 2008 fundraiser, firing up party loyalists who helped him win the traditionally Republican state in that November's election. And party leaders here downplay the connection to

rename their dinner to the national trend that sees Democrats dumping the Jefferson-Jackson label. At least four states – Connecticut, Georgia, Missouri and Iowa – have gotten rid of the reference, and others are contemplating it.

"When Democrats come together, that is the name of their event, and it's been that way for decades," said University of Evansville political scientist Robert Dion. "To change the name of their signature event, across the country as the party is doing, can't go without notice."

**Some party leaders** in Indiana hope the change is permanent. "It's time to drop the label," said St. Joseph County Democratic Chairman Jason Critchlow, who dumped the Jefferson-Jackson moniker from his county-level fundraising dinner a year ago. He renamed it simply the Democratic Gala. Critchlow said Jefferson's ideals of opportunity for all and Jackson's appeal as a populist helped shape and grow the party. But both men, the third and seventh presidents of the United States, respectively, come with complicated legacies.

Jefferson, who wrote "all men are created equal" in the Colonies' Declaration of Independence, owned 600 slaves during his lifetime. Jackson, a fellow slave-owner, forced thousands of Native Americans from their homelands in the Eastern United States and toward their deaths. Having Jackson in the namesake dinner was particularly problematic in his county, Critchlow said, where members of the Pokagon tribe are more politically active.

"For them, Jackson represents the enslavement and massacre of Indian tribes, many right here in our area," he said. Critchlow said he got little pushback for the decision. "Most of what I heard was overwhelmingly positive," he said. "I got maybe one or two complaints."

**The state party's** decision to rename its dinner won't force county leaders to follow suit, but some seem willing. "I'm not afraid of change," said Steve Gore, treasurer of the Brown County Democratic Party, who is hosting a local Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner this week. "But there will always be some traditionalists who will object."

Ball State University political scientist Joe Losco said the permanent name change may be inevitable, given the demographics of the party. "It's now a more diverse party than ever," he said. "Democrats are trying to show their tent is very broad. So broad, they're even willing to rethink their past." ❖



Barack Obama speaks at the April 2008 Jefferson/Jackson Dinner in Indianapolis. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howe)

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# Surveying the Indiana presidential primary

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Indiana’s May presidential primary, usually coming too late to matter in selection of the nominees, will be important this year, probably for both parties. Some questions?

**Q.** On the Democratic side, won’t Hillary Clinton already have the nomination sewed up by the May 3 vote in Indiana?

**A.** She might be closing in on the delegate support needed for nomination, but there’s no indication that Bernie Sanders will call it quits by then. If he keeps winning, as he did in Wisconsin, some of the “super delegates” supporting Hillary could slip away. Bernie could continue on through the last big batch of primaries on June 7, still a long shot perhaps, but still trying.



**Q.** On the Republican side, won’t Donald Trump, already with so many delegates, be unstoppable by May 3?

**A.** Even if Trump is close to the “magic” number of delegates for a first ballot win, “stop Trump” efforts will continue right up to the Republican National Convention, with efforts to pry away some of the delegates now seemingly committed to Trump. His defeat in Wisconsin shows he is not yet unstoppable.

**Q.** Will national focus really be on Indiana?

**A.** Yes. Indiana is the only state with a presidential primary on that Tuesday. After a flurry of primaries in the East on the prior Tuesday, focus of the candidates and the national news media will shift to Indiana.

**Q.** How many delegates does Indiana have?

**A.** Indiana will have 57 delegates to the Republican National Convention, beginning July 18 in Cleveland, and 92 delegates to the Democratic National Convention, starting July 25 in Philadelphia.

**Q.** How come there aren’t the same number of delegates?

**A.** Because the parties establish the rules, not state law, and each party has different overall totals and a variety of ways to select delegates in the individual states.

**Q.** Is it winner take all in Indiana?

**A.** No. It’s close to that in the Republican primary. At-large delegates all go to the candidate who finishes first in statewide Republican voting. But three delegates are at stake in each of the nine congressional districts. The candidate winning a district gets all three of the delegates in that district. So, a candidate losing in the statewide totals could still win some

delegates by finishing first in one or more of the districts. On the Democratic side, there is proportional allocation.

**Q.** What’s the proportional formula for Democratic delegates?

**A.** It’s based on the percentage a candidate gets statewide for at-large delegates and also on the percentage in the individual districts, where 56 district delegates are at stake. A candidate must get at least 15 percent to win any delegates statewide or in a district.

**Q.** As in other states, does Indiana have those Democratic “super delegates” that are not required to follow the state’s presidential primary results?

**A.** Yes, nine of them. They are people like Sen. Joe Donnelly and other top elected officials and party leaders.

**Q.** Is that a good idea to have so many uncommitted delegates despite the primary results?

**A.** Well, Republicans have far fewer uncommitted slots, and many in the GOP wish they had more to stop Trump, who won so many delegates early but then reached record highs in disapproval in nationwide polling.

**Q.** Do voters pick the individual delegates when they vote on May 3?

**A.** No. In votes for the presidential candidates on the ballot, they determine how the delegates will be pledged in support on the first-ballot roll calls. The individuals who will occupy the Democratic delegation seats will be determined at the Democratic State Convention in June. The individuals for the Republican delegation will be selected by party leaders before the primary in a process beginning this weekend.

**Q.** Since primary voting determines commitments, does it matter who the individuals are?

**A.** Sure could on any second ballot and in rules and seating disputes. ❖

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

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



# Competing for jobs in a global economy

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – What do Hoosiers have against San Francisco (Calif.), College Park (Md.), or Romeoville (Ill.)? Those are just three cities from which companies are relocating to Indiana.

What do Hoosiers have against Arizona, Texas, California, Mexico, China, England and other places where Indiana companies have moved production, offices, and even headquarters?



Our government officials are proud they can “claw back” subsidies granted to Carrier, which is moving production to Mexico over a period of years. In a paroxysm of patriotism, the Indiana House voted 60-34 to have companies repay property tax abatements they receive, if the firm moves out of the country.

Our pence-wise and pound-foolish governor wants to bring more jobs to Indiana. Good, but he is sworn only to protect the constitution of Indiana, not to cause damage to people living outside our borders.

A study several years ago by the Economic Policy Institute said NAFTA cost the United States nearly 700,000 jobs. More recent work at the Wharton School (University of Pennsylvania and Donald Trump’s alma mater) says this does not take into account the gains in American jobs and the lower costs of goods to American consumers.

There is no question Indiana needs more jobs. What we seek are environmentally sound firms that improve the income of workers where they live, and that reuse existing structures where possible. We need jobs that pay wages commensurate with the skills of workers, particularly in areas of high unemployment.

But where are jobs being located these days? The answer given by the actions and silence of the Indiana Economic Development Corporation (IEDC) is: High-paying jobs, in technologically intense fields, will be located anywhere in Indiana those firms wish to locate.

**This is consistent with** our free market ideology. However, it is also desirable for the state to seek job growth in the 21 cities/towns where the unemployment rate is a full point above the state level (5.4 percent in February 2016, not seasonally adjusted).

In areas of chronic unemployment, it is often difficult to get to jobs, even when available in the next county. Many workers lack the skills to meet the demands of high tech employers. Often a full-time job relieves the burdens and tensions derived from a part-time job where unemployment is endemic and persistent.

Of these 21 places with 6.4 percent or higher

unemployment rates, nine are in Lake County. Three more are nearby in Northwest Indiana (Michigan City, La Porte and Portage). The remaining nine are scattered from Logansport and Peru to Bedford and Terre Haute including the cities of Connersville, Muncie, Anderson, Marion and Martinsville.

**To bring the headquarters** of small and/or promising high-tech firms to metro Indianapolis is fine. To court visiting Millennials, while ignoring the range of skills and experience in our state, is not consistent with working for the best interests of people who are in need. ❖

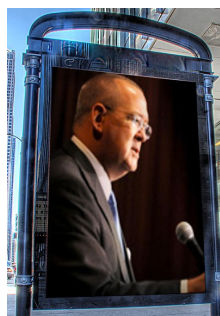
**Mr. Marcus is an economist, writer, and speaker who may be reached at [mortonjmarcus@yahoo.com](mailto:mortonjmarcus@yahoo.com).**

# Free tuition a gift for rich families

By **MICHAEL HICKS**

MUNCIE – It is early in the electoral cycle, but at least two U.S. presidential candidates have adopted as a policy platform, free college tuition. This is popular of course, but behind that popular rhetoric is simply another gift to affluent households. Let me explain.

There’s no denying the sticker shock of a college education. As both a professor and father I know it is



daunting. Tuition at an in-state, public research university is typically \$8,000 a year. Fees, books, food and housing along with various other expenses will usually push the visible out-of-pocket expenses to more than \$25,000 a year. But what does this really mean? For the past decade or so, actual expenses related to teaching have been fairly flat. The increases in tuition driven almost wholly by decreases

by state aid to public universities. This decline in state aid should not surprise anyone. The share of educational benefits accrue to the graduate, they ought to pay most of the cost.

**Moreover, there is a strong** argument that the real sticker shock of a college education is caused by federal intervention. Huge loan and grant programs allow schools to be less cost conscious, so they compete on amenities like nifty dorms and recreation facilities. Add to this an unbelievable morass of federal regulations on almost every aspect of a modern university and non-tuition cost growth is inevitable.

In the end, an hour of class is just about as expensive as an hour at the movie theater. The teaching part

of college is not only reasonable, a college degree has the highest rate of return of any investment. But, the candidates pushing 'free tuition' don't care about the effectiveness or cost of the program, it is its popularity that matters. And that is the unconscionable part of their policy, because it is nothing more than a gift to upper middle class families.

**The great hidden fact** about college tuition is that schools ruthlessly engage in price discrimination. Most students receive some sort of tuition discount. These discounts are fictitiously based on high school grades or athletic ability or test scores, or community works, or a great admissions essay. In reality, these discounts are designed separate students by their ability to pay for college. Poor and hardworking students benefit enormously from the current tuition models. But who benefits from the 'free tuition' proposals?

The real benefits of 'free tuition' accrue to the

'puppetry and street performance' or 'non-quantitative social science' major with a 2.21 GPA from an upper middle class family. If you are a hard-working kid with good grades and a couple varsity letters, it is no help at all, except you'll be paying higher taxes in ten years.

Still, the upper-middle class giveaway program isn't the real sin of this proposal. 'Free' tuition doesn't do a damn thing for poor kids, except that it necessarily shifts resources away from such things as early childhood education to that mediocre, fifth-year puppetry or aviation psychology major. But then I suppose those folks make great campaign volunteers. ❖

**Michael J. Hicks, PhD, is the 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.**

## Gary turns its back on detention center

By **RICH JAMES**

MERRILLVILLE – I can't help but shake my head as the protest against a proposed immigrant detention facility enters its second phase.

Just last fall, the city of Gary turned down a zoning change to block construction of the detention center on less-than-desirable land near the Gary/Chicago International Airport. Gary Mayor Karen Freeman-Wilson back then came out in support of the facility, before political pressure forced her to make a dramatic turn and come out in opposition. Freeman-Wilson initially was all for the detention center, saying the prospect of 200 full-time jobs paying at least \$15 per hour was



something Gary couldn't afford to pass up. Gary has the highest unemployment rate in Northwest Indiana.

**But it was just a few** days later that a variety of civic organizations essentially told the mayor that if she didn't change her stance, they would make it difficult for her to win reelection. The GEO group is back seeking a zoning variance to allow it to build the detention center. The Board of Zoning Appeals rejected the request this week, but GEO says it thinks it still has a chance to win and will take its case before the Gary City Council, which is the final authority.

Highland attorney James L. Wieser represented

GEO before the BZA. Wieser has a history of taking on tough environmental causes. Several years ago, he was the lead local attorney for Hickory Hills, which was the name of a proposed landfill east of Lowell. Hickory Hills came within an eyelash of winning approval from the Lake County Solid Waste Management District. Since Hickory Hills' defeat, Lake County hasn't found an alternative solution for disposal of its solid waste.

**A host of groups and** individuals spoke against GEO, including former Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher, former Lake County Sheriff Roy Dominguez, and Bishop Donald Hying of the Catholic Diocese of Gary. There also were a number of organizations that spoke in opposition, including the Northwest Indiana Federation of Interfaith Organizations, Black Lives Matter – Gary/Northwest Indiana, the Baptist Ministers Conference of Gary and Vicinity, Twin City Ministerial Alliance and Concerned Citizens of Gary.

Each of the opponents – individuals and organizations – talked about how the detention center would be a detriment to the quality of life in Gary.

There are questions that someone needs to be asking those protesters. They should be asked where they are when young people are being shot to death on the streets of Gary. They should be asked where they are as the amount of black-on-black crime continues to escalate in Gary. They should be asked why they don't take to the streets, as they did before the BZA meeting, to protest crime in their city.

Much of the crime in Gary is a result of gang violence that is an outgrowth of the unemployment problem. GEO would help solve the program, not make it worse. ❖

**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.**

**Joe Webb, Evansville Courier & Press:** One may as well begin with the impromptu vagina monologues. Caller: "Hi there. I was just wanting to know if the governor could refer me to a good gynecologist?" Assistant: "Ma'am, you know that's not something he can help you with." That's one of the rare printable exchanges highlighted on "Periods for Pence," a Facebook group protesting Indiana's controversial abortion law. For a couple of weeks now, women involved in the cause have been calling Pence's office and swapping menstrual anecdotes with harried administrative assistants. It's funny because asking Pence for advice on women's rights is like asking a bulldozer for decorating tips. And it's sad for the same reason. It's time for your semi-regular reminder that, when it comes to social issues, two-time Democratic gubernatorial candidate John Gregg is just Mike Pence with a teaspoon of logic and a shovel of mustache. "It's time to bring back Mitch Daniels' truce on social issues so we can move Indiana forward again," Gregg, who identifies as pro-life, told the Indianapolis Star after Pence signed the bill. "Like so many other policies put forth by Mike Pence and the Republican legislature, this does nothing but further damage our state's reputation and divide our people." Ah, yes. The shimmering era of Daniels' truce on social issues. Well, except for 2011, when Daniels signed legislation to block Planned Parenthood from receiving federal funds. But other than that? Yes, the Democrat says. Bring back the golden days when the Republican was in charge. Of course a moratorium on social issues would never happen. Mainly because the Indiana legislature, like Ted Nugent crashing a Hummer into a Sierra Club meeting, longs to alienate large groups of people. ❖

**Mickey Mauer, IBJ:** Deep within the netherworld of the Indiana conservative movement there arose a diabolical plan—a con game worthy of Billie Sol Estes or Professor Harold Hill—a plan to eviscerate Roe v. Wade. While acknowledging a woman's right to an abortion, the right-wing-controlled Indiana Legislature placed so many barriers and restrictions on this activity that when the hapless patient figures it all out the unplanned child will be distributing leaflets at anti-Planned Parenthood rallies. Prior to the passage of this latest affront to Hoosiers, Indiana had already boasted one of the most restrictive abortion laws in the nation—we ranked in the bottom four when it comes to access to this safe, legal, and constitutionally protected medical procedure. We can also lay claim to being unfriendly to immigrants and the LGBT community. If this right-wing cabal continues with its war on immigrants, homosexuals and women, our country will consist of 49 states and one caliphate. Many fear that pregnancies in Indiana will now be terminated in back alleys by unqualified and probably unsafe practitioners or by desperate women who take matters into their own hands with pos-

sible catastrophic results. I read about this growing up. Is Indiana in a time warp? This cockeyed law is disrespectful to women and their relationship with their doctors. It is disrespectful to taxpayers who will have to foot the bill to confirm its unconstitutionality, and it is disrespectful to the Constitution and the clear direction of Roe v. Wade. In fact, it is disrespectful to the majority of Hoosiers who bow their heads in shame over the despicable behavior of our leaders. I recall the words of candidate Ronald Reagan in the 1980 debate with President Jimmy Carter. Reagan's famous line, "There you go again," is apropos. Gov. Pence, your enthusiastic support of the Religious Freedom bill cost our state millions of dollars, made a mockery of Hoosier hospitality and subjected our state to international ridicule. Well, there you go again. ❖

**Gordon Durnil, Facebook:** What in the Hell is going on with our presidential nominating process? The confusion spread by the media, and some of the candidates, who think the nomination for president process is undemocratic, sent me back to reading the constitution about how candidates for president shall be nominated. Guess what? Nothing there. There is Article 2 and the 20th amendment dealing with the Electoral College, but nothing about how the candidates are nominated. In the beginning, only George Washington was considered. There were no political parties and

Washington thought them a bad idea. Political parties did organize as Washington's terms were ending. The Federalist Party (John Adams) and the Democratic-Republican Party (Thomas Jefferson) started the two-party practice in our nation. The Whig Party, among others, was popular for a while and my g.g.g. grandfather, Jonathan Denton Kelso, was elected Mayor of New Albany in 1854 as a member of the Know Nothing Party. But since 1856, we have primarily had two major parties ... the Republicans and the Democrats. So, how do those two parties (and any other) nominate a candidate to represent their party in the general election? It's true that nothing about presidential nominations is mentioned in the constitution, with the only qualifiers being that a president be at least the age of 35 years and a "natural born citizen." A candidate could be younger and born in Timbuktu, but he couldn't be sworn in. The Supreme Court has never defined the meaning of "naturally born." As you know, the 10th Amendment says that any powers not delegated to the United States is left with the states or to the people. Which obviously means that the nominations for president are up to the political parties in each state with perhaps some state government regulation of the non-governmental political party's processes. It is up to the candidates to know and work the process in each state. ❖



## Weslyan students balk at Pence

MARION — Indiana Gov. Mike Pence will be the commencement speaker for the 10 a.m. ceremony April 30 after accepting Indiana Wesleyan University President David Wright's invitation more than one year ago — prompting mixed responses from students and staff members (The Sojourn). Wright said he asked Pence to be the commencement speaker in December 2014. The invitation was prior to Pence signing the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA), choosing to close the state to refugees and to pass the recent abortion restrictions. Various students and professors have expressed concern towards the decision since The Sojourn broke the the news in a Facebook post April 4. Luke Garfield sent out a Facebook post that night calling on students to write letters to administrators expressing their concerns. According to Garfield, he received six letters that night and more in the following days. "The problem is that this is my graduation and that this guy is going to be sending me off into the next stage of my life," said Garfield. "He is someone who has passed legislature that is directly harmful to me and my friends." "IWU believes that we are all loved by a gracious God," said Jessica Dugdale in her letter. "Male or female, black or white, gay or straight, republican or democrat. Such love has no limits. Shouldn't our commencement speaker be one who echoes this message?"



## Lynch commends Indy police

INDIANAPOLIS — U. S. Attorney General Loretta Lynch has commended the Indianapolis Metropolitan Police Department's officer safety and wellness program (Associated Press). Lynch visited IMPD offices Wednesday as part of her national Community

Policing Tour of six communities that excel in areas cited in a report created by President Barack Obama's Task Force on 21st Century Policing. U.S. Attorney Josh Minkler said IMPD was chosen because of its award-winning Office of Professional Development and Police Wellness. Lynch says "it takes a different kind of courage" for an officer to ask for help dealing with the stress and trauma and they confront on the job.

## Peabody Energy in bankruptcy

NEW YORK — Peabody Energy, the nation's largest coal miner, has filed for bankruptcy protection as a crosscurrent of environmental, technological and economic changes wreak havoc across the industry (Associated Press). Mines and offices at Peabody, a company founded in 1833 by 24-year-old Francis S. Peabody, will continue to operate as it moves through the bankruptcy process. However, Peabody's planned sale of its New Mexico and Colorado assets were terminated after the buyer was unable to complete the deal. New energy technology and tightening environmental regulations have throttled the industry and led to a wave of mine closures and job cuts. Peabody makes most of its money by selling its coal to major utilities that power the nation's electric grid.

## Rubio won't keep all of his delegates

WASHINGTON — When he suspended his campaign, Marco Rubio said he wasn't running for president but urged local GOP officials to let him keep his delegates (NBC News). A month later, Rubio is still third in the Republican hunt, ahead of John Kasich, with an impressive 10 percent of all delegates awarded so far. It's a potentially pivotal margin for an open convention. It turns out, however, that Rubio won't get to keep them all.

The Florida senator's strategy is hitting some turbulence, NBC News has learned, because several state parties have determined Rubio does not get to hold onto all his delegates. Only 34 of the 172 delegates Rubio won in the primaries will be immediately up for grabs on the first ballot in Cleveland.

## Trump CM won't be prosecuted

JUPITER, Fla. — Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump's campaign manager will not be prosecuted on a charge of misdemeanor battery over allegations he grabbed the arm of a reporter, the campaign confirmed late Wednesday (Fox News). Trump campaign social media director Dan Scavino posted on his Facebook page that the charge would not be pressed against Corey Lewandowski. The decision not to prosecute Lewandowski was first reported by Politico. Palm Beach County State Attorney David Aronberg was scheduled to formally announce his decision on Thursday afternoon.

## Ex-Batesville mayor pleads guilty

BATESVILLE — Former Batesville Mayor Richard Fledderman entered the plea Wednesday for patronizing a prostitute. Indiana State Police say Fledderman paid Randy Wigle-Stevens for sex last June and that Wigle-Stevens had threatened to go public unless Fledderman paid him off. Wigle-Stevens was sentenced last month to 908 days on probation after pleading guilty to charges of prostitution, intimidation and not disclosing his HIV-positive status to Fledderman. The 61-year-old Fledderman issued a statement Wednesday saying he regrets his actions and is sorry for the hurt he has caused his family in the community 60 miles southeast of Indianapolis. He says he's focusing on moving forward with his family. Fledderman resigned as mayor after his arrest. ❖