



Baron Hill surveys his race v. Young

Democrat expects DSCC to help fund in a rematch with Republican Todd Young

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Twenty-six years after he ran a close race against U.S. Sen. Dan Coats, Democrat Baron Hill is making a second run for the upper chamber. In the intervening quarter century, the Citizens United decision has dramatically altered the political finance system and the former congressman faces the man who defeated him in the 9th CD six years ago in Todd Young.

We sat down with Hill in the HPI offices on Tuesday, giving him the opportunity to survey the political and financial landscape in a race that may have already crested the \$10 million mark, coming on the heels of the last U.S. Senate race in 2012 where \$50 million was spent.

Hill said that the Democratic Senatorial Campaign



Committee has just elevated his race to its priority list. He is preparing to defend his Obamacare vote in 2010, and he plans to tie Donald Trump to the Young campaign at a time when the Bloomington Republican says he backs his party's presidential nominee, but plans to run a parallel campaign.

The WTTH/Howey Politics Indiana Poll gave Young a 48-30% lead, though Hill says that Young benefitted from the exposure and expenditures related to

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Ominous poll for Pence

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The first post-primary poll shows Gov. Mike Pence in serious jeopardy for reelection. The flash poll conducted by Bellwether Research on behalf of Bill Oesterle's Free Enterprise PAC shows that while

Pence leads Democrat John Gregg 40-36%, with Libertarian Rex Bell at 2%, the governor lags behind or is tied with the Democrat in several issue categories and in job approval.

This flash poll of 600 likely voters was conducted by Bellwether pollster Christine Matthews May 11-15 and has a +/-4% margin of error. Matthews tweeted on Wednesday that 71% of the poll was via



“I am going to run for the Republican National Committee post again. I feel real good about the support.”

- John Hammond III, who will face a rematch with Jim Bopp Jr. Hammond said he will support Donald Trump



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cellphones. And in the most unsettled element to Gov. Pence's reelection, the poll had a plus 12% Republican makeup, 39-27%.

"This is a Republican sample," said Oesterle, who heads the Free Enterprise political action committee. He formed that PAC following the Religious Freedom Restoration Act controversy in March and April 2015. "When you look at the cross tabs, the governor is underperforming in every category."

The poll put Pence's reelection number at 36%, with 49% wanting a "new person" as governor and 15% didn't know. Six in 10 independents are looking for a new governor, while the same number of Republicans support Pence's reelection. Women under age 45 want a new governor by a 59-21% margin.

On the job approval question, 40% approved of Pence's performance in office and 42% disapprove. A further breakdown of those numbers had 22% strongly approving of Pence's job performance, 9% somewhat approving, 18% somewhat disapproving while 33% strongly disapproved and 18% don't know. In the overwhelmingly Republican doughnut counties, voters approve by only a 48% - 37% margin.

College-educated voters disapprove of Governor Pence's performance (36% approve - 50% disapprove), while non-college voters narrowly approve, 42%-38%. Driven by voters under age 45, independents overwhelmingly disapprove of Pence's performance (31% approve - 54% disapprove). Senior women give the governor a positive 45% - 30% approval rating, but women under 45 are the opposite, with a 30% approve - 47% disapprove rating.

The poll comes as Gregg began a statewide TV ad campaign on May 5, with the governor's campaign going up on the air a couple of days later. Both have remained on the air.

It follows the WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll conducted on April 18-21 that had Pence leading Gregg

49-45%. That poll was conducted before the Indiana Libertarian Party nominated Bell as governor.

In the Bellwether Poll presidential race, presumptive Republican nominee Donald Trump had a 40-31% lead over Democrat Hillary Clinton. Trump wins 68% of all Republicans, but among those who say they supported another Republican candidate in the May primary, he gets 44% and 14% support Clinton. There is a 12-point gap between Trump's support among GOP men (74%) and GOP women (62%). Clinton garners 52% from Democrats who say they voted for Sanders in the May 3rd primary, while Trump gets 10% of their vote.

That compares to the pre-



Gov. Mike Pence participates in the Renaissance District ribbon cutting in South Bend with Mayor Peter Buttigieg and Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb last week as part of his Regional Cities Initiative.

primary WTHR/Howey Poll that had Trump leading Clinton 47-39%. That occurred before Trump and Democrat Bernie Sanders won the Indiana primary, both with 53% of the vote.

In the Bellwether U.S. Senate race, Republican Todd Young led Democrat Baron Hill 36-22% with a whopping 27% undecided.

That compares with the WTHR/Howey Poll prior to the primary that had Rep. Young leading Hill 48-30%.

**Pence lags on
2 out of 4 issues**

The Bellwether flash poll tested four issues, and Gregg outperformed the governor on two of them.

■ On the question of who

performs better in attracting jobs, 39% said Pence and 38% said Gregg.

■ On who could do a better job improving education, 42% said Gregg and 32% said Pence.

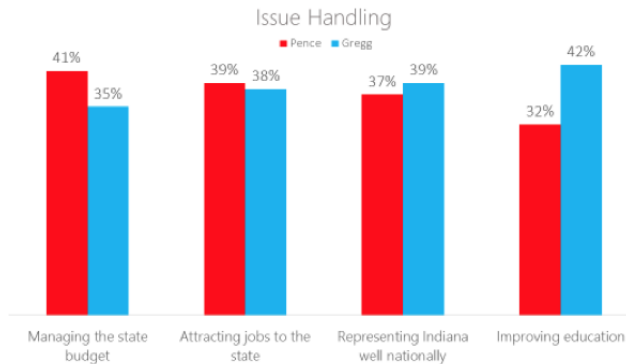
■ On who represents Indiana better nationally, Gregg came in at 39% and Pence at 37%.

■ On the question, who would do a better job managing the state budget, 41% said Pence and 35% said Gregg.

Both Pence and Gregg have been articulating their perceived strengths on job creation on both the campaign trail and in their first three TV ads.

Pence spent part of the Bellwether polling period on his "Start Your Engines" statewide campaign kickoff tour with Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb. He also participated in a series of ribbon cuttings in places like Elkhart, Goshen, South Bend and Evansville as part of his Regional Cities Initiative. These events drew considerable local media

Which candidate (Mike Pence or John Gregg) would do a better job in each of the following areas?



coverage.

The education performance question should be a red flag for Pence, who spent three years butting heads with Democratic Supt. Glenda Ritz over control of education issues. Another warning sign came in Hamilton County, where State Rep. Jerry Torr was expecting to easily defeat challenger Tom Linkmeyer, a local school administrator. Linkmeyer spent very little money and did not conduct a conspicuous campaign, but

Torr only won 7,896 to 7,111. It suggests that remnants of the education/social media network that helped Ritz upset Republican Supt. Tony Bennett in 2012 despite being outspent by more than \$1 million is still in play.

Bellwether pollster Matthews has polled for the Indiana Republican Party, Gov. Mitch Daniels, the Indiana Manufacturers Association and in 2012 she teamed up with Democratic pollster Fred Yang to conduct the Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Polls. ❖

Baron Hill, from page 1

the primary. That poll was taken April 18-21. A Bellwether Research Poll released today has Hill trailing Young 36-22% with 16% undecided.

Hill gave HPI an overview of where he thinks the race is now:

Hill: I'm not going to sugarcoat anything. If you'd asked me that question six months ago I would have said we're not doing very well, because the focus was on the presidential race, the focus was on the governor's race. People just weren't talking about the Senate race. People just weren't interested on the Democratic side in particular. In the last month it has been very noticeable all of a sudden because of the rise of Trump, people are interested in my race. My fundraising has tripled. People are calling me wanting to set up events. It's just different in terms of energy and enthusiasm.

HPI: Your early reports were unimpressive. Is the Democratic Senatorial Committee going to get involved?

Hill: There's was an article by Ezra Klein this morning, all about Democrats and the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee and strategists are now adding more targeted races. There were six targeted races and they've expanded that list to 10. They've endorsed me. Chuck Schumer has endorsed me. So the answer is yes.

HPI: I've written extensively about the 2012 U.S. Senate race between Lugar and Mourdock, and then

Mourdock and Donnelly. It was a \$50 million race and \$30 million came from super PACs. That's a vastly different scenario than when you ran against Sen. Coats in 1990. Just today the Koch brothers are talking about putting \$30 million in Republican Senate races. And, my primary count had Young and Stutzman in the \$10 million range. How much did you spend in your first Senate race?

Hill: I think it was, like, \$1.5 million.

HPI: So we're seeing an exponential rise in spending. Are we going to see another \$50 million Senate race here?

Hill: I don't know. I have every intention of making this a very competitive race. But I don't know what the Koch brothers are going to do and I don't know what the Democratic super PACs are going to do. I just don't know. You've got that wall where you can't communicate with anybody. If the Democrats see this race as doable and the Republicans see it going down, I think there's going to be a lot of money coming in, unfortunately.

HPI: Our WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll had you trailing Todd Young by double digits. Have you polled? Are you seeing the same thing?

Hill: Not really. I polled last year to see if I wanted to get into this race. The poll told me to get into this race because you can do this, against Stutzman or Young, or at that time Holcomb. The poll that you guys did was a reflection of all the Republican money in that primary, so I don't worry about that. That will all change when we get

into the general election. The thing that really caught my eye was in the Lake County media market I was behind. Well, I'm not going to lose Lake County.

HPI: There were four or five Democratic super PACs in 2012. Will there be that many this time?

Hill: Maybe. I talked to Joe (Donnelly) about all of this last year and he mentioned the \$50 million and he told me about all the super PACs involved. He told me, "Baron, they're going to do the same with you."

HPI: When you ran for the Senate in 1990 and since then seven congressional races, all were pre-Citizens United. A candidate could control basically the money and the messaging. Back in those days you could actually talk to the PACs. What's it like now when much of the money and messaging are beyond the control of the candidate? As a candidate that has to be bizarre not to have a full grasp of the messaging, not only against you, but on your behalf.

Hill: When I entertained the idea of running last year, that comment that you just made about the outside money caused me to pause, because you do lose control of the outside money. That's the reason members of Congress need to overturn that Supreme Court decision. But I decided to move forward because of what is facing the country in 2016 and what's at stake. There is risk in anything; there is more risk in this race because of the outside money, but I'm willing to take the risk. I think the issues and stakes are very high for the country. Frankly, I think there need to be more moderates in the Congress, like myself. The middle has largely disappeared in Congress and I think that's why you have the partisanship and bickering. I think people are just sick and tired of all the bickering. I never took part in all of that; I've always respected both Democrats and Republicans and have tried to work with everybody in Congress and do what's right for the people in the 9th District. I will try to do the same thing in the Senate for the entire State of Indiana.

HPI: How many Blue Dog Democrats were there in the House when you were there?

Hill: There were 54 of us.

HPI: And how many now?

Hill: Fifteen.

HPI: If you win this race, would you like to form a similar centrist coalition?

Hill: Yeah. I've talked with Heidi Heitkamp, Sens. Warner and Carper, Sen. Joe Donnelly, all moderate to conservative Democrats. You know they've all contributed to my campaign. So, yes, I think we'll be a voice to be heard in the caucus.

HPI: Back on the money, any other advice that Joe Donnelly gave you that we'll see surfacing in the cam-

paign? I know so many Republicans who say, "I really like Joe Donnelly." I hear that all the time.

Hill: Joe and I are similar in our approach, aside from the strategy. Joe and I share a common philosophy. We're not beholden to the party; we're Democrats and proud of it, but when we disagree with our party, we are going to vote in a way that represents the best interest of Indiana. I did that as a member of the House and was listed as the most centrist member of the House by the National Journal.

HPI: How are you going to frame your election bid?

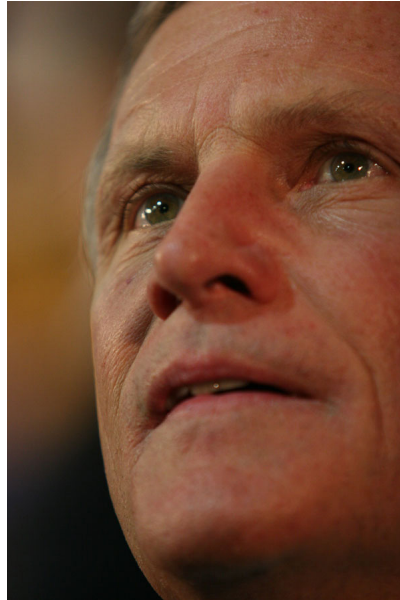
Hill: People in Indiana feel unsure of their future in relationship with jobs and the economy. They are unsettled. I like to tell the story of my parents. I was the last of seven kids. Most people remember me as a member of Congress or as a basketball player; they don't know I'm the last of seven. My mother and father raised all those kids on a shoemaker's salary from the Gerwin Shoe Company in Seymour. They struggled to raise seven kids, but I always had food in my belly and a basketball in my hand. My mother and father lost their jobs when I was 17 years old. I saw the look of despair on their faces. What were they going to do next? They had no pension, no health insurance. They had nothing. When you live with something like that as a teenager, it sticks with you all your life. When

I travel around the state, I get that same sense from the people; they are unsure of what's next. Are they going to have a job? The people who lost their job with Carrier, I understand exactly what they are going through. My focus on this campaign is going to be about them. It's going to be on how we restore the middle class. As a U.S. senator, I will focus like a laser beam on that issue.

HPI: I had a conversation with Purdue President Mitch Daniels about the transition from an agrarian economy a century ago to heavy manufacturing, and from manufacturing to a service/information economy this past generation. There were always enough jobs, but he's not so sure about what's ahead, because manufacturing is so advanced. There may not be enough middle class jobs. What can a U.S. senator do to impact that dynamic?

Hill: We've got to look to our strengths. The automobile industry and the steel industry were our strengths back in those days. One of the strengths that we have now is with life sciences. We have Lilly here, an anchor for life sciences; we have Wellpoint and great hospital systems. The life sciences is an area where we can create good-paying jobs in the future. I focused on that when I was a member of the House.

HPI: One of the thing your opponent talks about is the need to reform the tax code. What are your thoughts on that?



Hill: We need reforms. The tax shelters in other countries, where businesses take advantage and don't have to pay taxes here, is just not right. So I'm for closing these loopholes.

HPI: In the presidential race, Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump are feeding off the same energy, albeit 180 degrees apart. What's happening in the workforce and Carrier is going to the Senate race issues. Differentiate yourself from Rep. Young.

Hill: There are things I will support that he won't. When you talk about the middle class on the core issues that affect people, he wants to privatize Social Security, I don't. He wants to create a voucher system for Medicare, I don't. I support family medical leave. I don't know where he stands on that but I guess he doesn't. I want to lower the interest rate for student loans and I don't know where he's at on that, either. These are core issues that we disagree on that affect the middle class.

HPI: Hillary and Bill Clinton are calling for the re-financing of student loans, as well as lower rates. Do you agree with them?

Hill: Yes. Excellent.

HPI: Young is going to bring up Obamacare.

Shaw Friedman wrote an HPI column after the 2014 election very critical of Democrats for not defending Obamacare, and, in fact, ignoring it while Republicans beat them with it. We've got 400,000 joining Medicaid via Gov. Pence's HIP2.0, which wouldn't exist without the ACA. The uninsured rates in this state have also fallen dramatically. You voted for Obamacare. Joe Donnelly has won two elections in this state since his vote for the ACA. Young is going to attack you on it, so frame how you will approach the issue?

Hill: Todd Young has already publicly said he would vote to repeal. Does he favor 300,000 people now covered under Medicaid out the door? Is that the choices the people are going to have? Vote for Baron Hill and he's going to support the Affordable Care Act and consider it a work in progress that is going to be tweaked so it can better serve. I'm not going to throw 300,000 people off insurance here in Indiana. Young will. Do we want to eliminate pre-existing conditions? Is that what Todd Young is offering; go back the old way where you can't get insurance? Do we want to eliminate 26-year-olds having the ability to stay on their parents' policy? Do we want to do away with those things? If you're going to do away with the Affordable Care Act, you're going to put people back on the street.

HPI: Will you run TV ads on the Obamacare is-

sue? Make it a core part of your pitch to voters?

Hill: Let's put it this way, I won't run away from it. I voted for it. I believe in it. I think it's done a lot of good for a lot of Americans. You shouldn't be talking about repealing it.

HPI: I just saw a poll that had more than 50% wanted to repeal Obamacare, but 58% of those favor a single payer system.

Hill: That's the thing in these polls. I'm glad you've seen that. There are people who want to repeal Obamacare and replace it with single payer. I think most of those people, given the option they're not going to get single payer, would not want to repeal it. They may want to change some things in it, but wouldn't want to repeal it. I think most Hoosiers don't want to repeal it, they want changes in it.

HPI: I had a friend up at the lakes who's about as conservative a Republican as you can get and a career insurance executive, and I asked him a few years back, Charlie, what health care system should we really be doing, and he whispered to me, "Single payer."

Hill: I'll tell you a story. I was with Bill Cook.

We were all debating the Affordable Care Act and it was something we hadn't voted on yet, and Bill Cook said "There's one solution to our health care system." I said, "What's that?" He said, "Single payer."

HPI: My last conversation with Bill Cook, he was pretty exercised about the ACA but it was over the medical device tax. Did you back the repeal of the medical device tax?

Hill: I'm going to be accused as a lobbyist, when I was lobbying on preserving

Hoosier jobs here in Indiana by working with Cook Group to repeal the medical device tax, which we effectively got accomplished.

HPI: Where do you see Todd Young's vulnerability? Everywhere he goes, he tells voters "I can beat Baron Hill. I've done it before."

Hill: The ones we've talked about are the most important. As a Blue Dog Democrat, I still believe balanced budget, spending taxpayer money wisely and prudently, but outside of the issue, there's a character issue here. It's one thing to not pay your property taxes. I can understand when you make a mistake, but then to bounce the check when you make the payment, but it's not just that. It's the fact that he was fined by the FEC for campaign violations. And this sloppiness on getting the signatures on the ballot. If it was just one thing, you could forgive it or ignore it. If it was two things, you could say, ah, okay. But when it's three things, property taxes,



Of the three Democratic House members who voted for Obamacare in 2010, Joe Donnelly (left) won reelection and a Senate seat, Brad Ellsworth (center) was a late entry into the 2010 U.S. Senate race and lost to Sen. Dan Coats, and Baron Hill was defeated by Todd Young in the 9th CD. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

campaign violations where you get fined, and you didn't legitimately get on the ballot, there's a pattern developing. What's next?

HPI: One of the things Marlin Stutzman said in his HPI Interview last week was that Young "went after my family," that he has a Virginia "mansion." The Young campaign is going to go for your jugular. Talk to me about the tenor of the coming campaign.

Hill: I always contended it's OK to go after somebody if it's truthful, and not distortive. What I just outlined to you is truthful and not distortive. That's fair game. Now if people want to categorize that as nasty, just because it's the truth ... I will always be truthful. That's fair game.

HPI: Your stance on the Iran nuclear deal?

Hill: The recognition that 70% of the population of Iran is young and pro-West is something we need to nurture and cultivate. I think that makes us safer. Are there risks here? Yes, but we need to make sure that members of the U.S. Senate are watching the negotiated agreement very carefully, and if there are violations, we need to come down hard. But I think we need to see if it can work. There's another big difference between me and Todd Young. It's the vote to shut the government down.



He has and that's totally irresponsible. For a responsible member, a responsible conservative, that's not responsible.

HPI: What are your thoughts on confronting ISIS?

Hill: Here's the deal with ISIS that no one is talking about: We need to do a much better job of winning the propaganda war. ISIS and these other terrorist groups are recruiting young men and women with crazy ideas about a caliphate government that's going to usher in Armageddon. We need to be countering these crazy suggestions with our own internet and social media to educate young people who

are being misled about what ISIS is saying. We're not doing a very good job of that. It's not just a military solution; we have to win the propaganda war, too.

HPI: Todd Young says he will support the Republican presidential nominee. Will you attempt to tie Donald Trump to your opponent?

Hill: Donald Trump is portraying a vision of America that has never been acceptable to responsible people in this country, either Republican or Democrat. It's a vision of America that degrades women, Latinos, and the disabled. A ban on Muslims and all those things is not the vision of America we have accepted. If we accept Donald Trump's vision of what America is, or should be, then we

4 Drivers
33 Goals
1 Mission

FUELING ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY
AND PROSPERITY
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might as well kick the Statue of Liberty into the New York harbor. America is for everybody. We made these mistakes in the past, like when we put the Japanese into concentration camps. Later we knew that was not the America we accept. My argument in this election is if Todd Young does not denounce those things, then he accepts a vision of America that is not accepted in this country by people with responsible leadership. He has to denounce those things. I am going to hold him accountable for those things that Donald Trump believes. It is not the America I believe in and I don't think it is the America most other Americans believe in as well. The Republican primary is different from a general election. The things that Donald Trump got away with in the primary are a result of prejudice and hatred by the right wing of the Republican Party. It will come back to haunt them. I do think in a general election, the things Donald Trump is saying are not going to be acceptable.

HPI: Do you think we'll start seeing that reflected in the polls this summer?

Hill: Yes I do. I think we have to be prepared for the worst as Democrats. We have to be prepared that

this has worked for Donald Trump in the primary, but we can't let that work for the general election. We have to express our own vision for America, and I just did. Here's what I think is going to happen and I will point out in this campaign: In Northern Indiana, some kids from one high school were mocking the Hispanic high school, chanting, "Build a wall, build a wall." Is that the role model we want? I've got three daughters and three wonderful grandchildren and I don't want them looking to Donald Trump and seeing him as a role model. I'm going to denounce this. I want my grandchildren to understand that that kind of behavior is unacceptable. It's important for political leaders, in this particular case Todd Young, to denounce those things. That's not the kind of America we want. It's going to be an interesting election.

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

Hill: The one thing I want to add here is, there is a clear choice between me and Todd Young. ❖

Young prepares for battle with Baron Hill

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Democrat Baron Hill plans to hold his Republican U.S. Senate opponent Todd Young "accountable" in issues raised by presumptive presidential nominee Donald Trump. Young has said he will support the Republican nominee.



He told HPI on Tuesday, "As I've said before, I don't think we can afford a third term for Barack Obama. That's exactly what we'd get if Hillary Clinton is the next president. I'm going to support the Republican, but at the same time I'm going to be fo-

cused on holding onto this U.S. Senate seat. It could come down to control of the U.S. Senate. Frankly, I'm not spending a lot of time discussing other races."

In an HPI Interview, Hill said, "If Todd Young does not denounce those things, then he accepts a vision of America that is not accepted in this country by people with responsible leadership. He has to denounce those things. I am going to hold him accountable for those things that Donald Trump believes."

HPI asked Young about Trump's proposal from last December, which apparently has

morphed into a "suggestion" that Muslims be banned entry into the United States. Does he agree with the Trump stance?

Young responded, "I'm willing to take stances on appropriate issues by other candidates for other offices, whether they are Republicans or Democrats. But with respect to that particular proposal, as a former Marine Corps intelligence officer, I've learned to deal with threats. I first identify threats and situation and try to deal with those threats in a targeted way. I think the way one deals with this threat is be focused on the geography as opposed to just one's religion. Setting aside the very serious constitutional reservation with regards to this proposal because it is over broad, I think it is a matter of taking security and it makes more sense to take classical parameters around our integration policies."

Young campaign manager Trevor Foughty told HPI after our interview with Rep. Young, "His broad point here was that he wasn't going to comment specifi-

cally on Trump's proposal, but to express his own views on the refugee issue. In his view, it is more productive to look at 'geography' instead of 'religion'. That is, we should ensure that we are properly vetting



Todd Young and U.S. Rep. Baron Hill debate in Jasper in October 2010.

refugees from certain countries (Syria, for instance) more, as opposed to vetting all adherents of a certain religion (in this case, Islam)."

Foughty added, "Even President Obama's own National Intelligence Director James Clapper has said we can't properly vet refugees from Syria, and that should give us pause."

HPI asked Young about Trump's tax proposal, which has wobbled between tax cuts for the wealthy, and then more taxes for that class. Here is how Young responded, all but ignoring the presumptive nominee: "We need tax reform policy that makes it simpler, that is flatter and is fairer. This speaks to the fact that it creates winners and losers through the tax code, incentivizing types of activities and expenditures. Often these feature a parochial interest over a broader national interest. Our lodestar needs to be economic growth. There are members of the caucus who believe we can double annual growth. So I think, as we approach tax reform, I personally want to maximize economic growth. This will benefit all Americans, regardless of personal income and also happens to be consistent with maximizing individual freedom."

On another issue likely to come up in his race against Hill, Young said he advocates the repeal of Obamacare. Young called Hill one of President Obama's "lieutenants" of the Affordable Care Act that passed in March of 2010. While U.S. Rep. Joe Donnelly went on to win reelection and then a U.S. Senate seat in 2012, Hill was the lone Hoosier Democrat to lose a reelection after the vote (U.S. Rep. Brad Ellsworth lost the U.S. Senate race that year after a belated entry following the sudden retirement of U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh, who also voted for the bill).

"He will have to defend that vote," Young said of Hill. Young said that he would vote to repeal Obamacare and replace it, likely in a series of bills that "actually control health care costs in a sustainable way."

Asked about what elements of an Obamacare replacement would look like, Young said there would have to be "more access to all Americans. To incentivize investment in health care innovation as opposed to disincentivizing things like taxing medical devices. Obamacare fails on all of these counts."

Young added, "It was a sold on a series of lies. We were told the insurance premiums would decrease. They have, dollar for dollar, increased by thousands of dollars. We were told if you liked your doctor, you could keep him, instead the exact opposite has happened. Countless people have lost their doctors. We have seen people of modest incomes have their hours reduced because of Obamacare. We can do better."

On Tuesday Gallup released a new survey that said that Americans presented with three separate scenarios for the future of the Affordable Care Act (ACA), 58% of U.S. adults favor the idea of replacing the law with a federally funded healthcare system that provides insurance

for all Americans. At the same time, Americans are split on the idea of maintaining the ACA as it is, with 48% in favor and 49% opposed. The slight majority, 51%, favor repealing the act.

Young responded, saying, "I welcome the dialogue. I don't think (a solution) is the single payer system. I question these polls and the way they are asked. All I'll say is it's my job to spend a lot of time on the ground, listening to what Hoosiers want out of the health care



system. They don't want taxes and regulations around their health care. They do want access to their preferred doctors. They do want innovative health care."

Young said that his focus for the general election will be "creating good jobs." Asked what the next U.S. senator could do on that front, Young cited tax code and regulatory reform. "New business creation has tanked," he said. He cited his REINS Act legislation in the House, that would cut federal regulations that he believes burden small businesses and job creators. Young said that tax form will create a "rising tide that while it does not lift all boats, it will most boats." He called for access to "post-secondary training" so a person can be "relevant in a 21st Century manufacturing economy. He called for "investing in student access."

Young also called for welfare reform, saying the current system is "failing the at-risk" citizens. "We need to rethink the entire system," Young said, adding that he has passed legislation out of the House Ways & Means Committee that creates "social impact partnerships" that incentivize private investment into what has been traditionally government-run programs.

As for his emphatic 67-33% primary win over Marlin Stutzman, Young said his campaign has "built considerable momentum" and that he is working to attain "broad support."

In the HPI Interview with Baron Hill, the Democrat cited Young's improper homestead property tax exemption, as well as an \$8,000 FEC fine for campaign finance violations. Asked about the property tax fine, the Young campaign cited a previous quote he made to CNN.

Here is Todd's statement in the original story: "I accept full responsibility for these embarrassing oversights and have paid all the taxes and fees I owed. I regret the errors and offer no excuses." ❖

Gregg LG forecast: Myers, Hale, Becker, Buttigieg, Osili on list

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – In early June Democratic gubernatorial nominee John Gregg will make his second lieutenant governor nomination. The campaign has said that he is exploring about 20 individuals in both the private and public sectors.

That list is probably in a winnowing stage at this point, as the campaign is shooting for unveiling the ticket by June 10 on the eve of the Indiana Democratic Convention. "We want someone who will work with me," Gregg told Indiana Public Media. "Someone who will share my vision in focusing on the economy, on jobs, on education. I want someone who's not, midway, going to leave the ticket." That was in reference to former Lt. Gov. Sue Ellspermann, who left the ticket in March, resigning so she could accept the Ivy Tech presidency on Wednesday.

As we do every four years, here's a tiered list of potential candidates. The first part of our list is one we suspect will be people in the final cut.

First tier

Dr. Woody Myers: The former Indiana and New York City health commissioner checks off a number of boxes. He would be the first African-American on a gubernatorial ticket, though his street cred in the neighborhoods isn't that strong. He has a prodigious corporate and venture capital background. When he was Indiana health commissioner, he worked emergency room shifts at Wishard Hospital in an effort to tap into issues on the street. Indiana has a huge opioid/meth crisis and his medical and policy experience would be relevant there. And he played a key role during the Ryan White AIDS saga during the 1980s, which plays into civil rights component. Myers also could bring a big checkbook to the campaign.

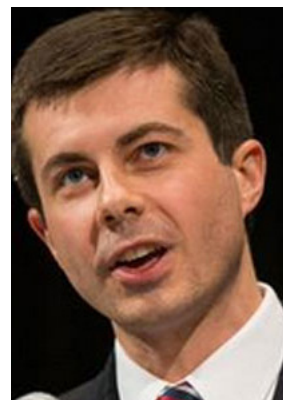
State Rep. Christina Hale: The Indianapolis Democrat is widely perceived to be a rising star in the party. She has had an international portfolio with Kiwanis International where she worked on global health issues. Since going to the General Assembly, upsetting conservative State Rep. Cindy Noe in 2012, she has worked on female and youth issues. One drawback is that without her in HD87, that seat could flip to the Republicans, and House Democrats cannot afford to lose any more ground there.

David Becker: He has served as chairman of the board and chief executive officer of First Internet

Bank since its inception and has served as president since January 2007. He has founded three other companies, OneBridge, a credit and debit card processing firm; DyKnow, a company specializing in educational technology for interactive learning experiences; and RICS, a firm that provides inventory control and POS systems for retailers via the Web. Becker is tight with Gregg, having served on the Vincennes University Board of Trustees during the era when Gregg was the university's interim president. He was under consideration for the LG job under former Gov. Joe Kernan. Like Myers, Becker could bring a self-funding component to the campaign.

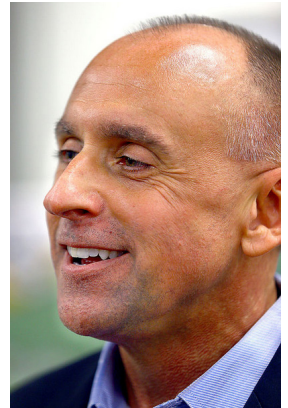
South Bend Mayor Peter Buttigieg: The two-term mayor won reelection last year with 80% of the vote. He ran unsuccessfully for Indiana treasurer in 2010, losing to Republican incumbent Richard Mourdock. Last year, Buttigieg became the highest ranking Hoosier public servant to announce he is gay. He is a Rhodes Scholar and temporarily left the mayor's office in 2014 to serve as a U.S. Navy intelligence officer in Afghanistan. This Democratic rising star offers the ticket a contrast with the Pence/Holcomb ticket on several fronts, from civil rights to business development, as well as a nominee with recent military experience in a theater of war.

Indianapolis Councilman Samuel Ifeanyi "Vop" Osili, Jr.: The African-American turnout is critical for Gregg and Osili has more street cred on this front than Myers. He was the 2010 secretary of state nominee, losing to Republican Charlie White. He was then elected to the Indianapolis City/County Council in 2011, winning 80% of the vote. Osili was born in Lagos, Nigeria, to a Nigerian father and an American mother. He was said to be a very talkative as a tod-



Potential Democratic lieutenant governor would include (from top) David Becker, State Rep. Christina Hale, South Bend Mayor Peter Buttigieg and Dr. Woody Myers.





Other potential Democratic lieutenant governor nominees include (from left) former legislator Peggy Welch, Indianapolis Councilman Vop Osili, State Rep. Terri Austin and Kokomo Mayor Greg Goodnight.

...der, which led his parents to nickname him "Vop," short for "Voice of the People." In the midst of the Nigerian Civil War, he and his mother fled back to the United States; his father didn't follow them for another five years. He is an architect and founding partner of A2SO4, an Indianapolis-based architectural design company.

Second tier

State Rep. Terri Austin: The Anderson Democrat is an adjunct professor at Anderson University and has served in the Indiana House since 2002. She is

the Democratic Caucus whip. In 2005, she authored Indiana's landmark law to protect small business from government intrusion and burdensome regulations, which would give the ticket some credibility on one of Gov. Mike Pence's key issues.

Peggy Welch: Gregg has stressed that he wants to work in a bipartisan manner. Welch is a former Democratic legislator from 1998 to 2012, but was also a former staffer to Republican U.S. Sen. Thad Cochran of Mississippi. She joined the office of Republican Lt. Gov. Sue Ellspermann, where she worked as a liaison between

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state and local governments, leaving that office shortly after Ellspermann did to join FSSA.

Gary Mayor Karen Freeman-Wilson:

In her second term, Freeman-Wilson is a former Indiana attorney general, appointed by Gov. Frank O'Bannon in 2000 to fill out the term of Jeff Modisett. She lost the 2000 election to retain that office to Republican Steve Carter. After leaving the AG office, Freeman-Wilson went on to become CEO of the nonprofit National Association of Drug Court Professionals. She was Gary Municipal Court presiding judge. She was elected mayor in 2011 on her third try, losing races to Mayors Scott King and Rudy Clay in 2003 and 2007. With former Lake County Judge Lorenzo Arredondo on the Democratic ticket as attorney general, Gregg already has a presence in Lake County.

Fort Wayne Mayor Tom Henry: The third-term Democrat mayor of Indiana's second largest city. Sources tell HPI that Henry was on Gregg's short list in 2012.

Kokomo Mayor Greg Goodnight: The third-term mayor has led Kokomo on a renaissance after a near-death experience with the 2008-09 near-collapse of the domestic auto industry. Goodnight is remaking downtown Kokomo, which is rife with development, including a new municipal baseball stadium. He was a union leader at Haynes International and a former congressional candidate.

Vi Simpson: The former state senator and gubernatorial candidate was the 2012 LG nominee and has a close relationship with Gregg.

Former Lt. Gov. Kathy Davis: The former Indianapolis controller is popular in Democratic circles and checks off the female, public servant and private sector boxes. She became the 48th lieutenant governor in 2003 when Gov. Joe Kernan appointed her to that office after he took the helm following the death of Gov. O'Bannon. Davis has also been secretary of the Family Social Services Administration, potentially bringing executive experience to the ticket. She is CEO of Global Access Point, a computer network connectivity company headquartered in South Bend. She holds degrees from MIT and Harvard Business School.

Republican National Convention

Hammond, Bopp rematch for RNC

A rematch is taking shape for one of the Indiana Republican National Committee slots as former committeeman Jim Bopp Jr., will challenge current Committeeman John Hammond III. He confirmed to HPI on Wednesday that not only will he seek the post again, but will support Donald Trump for president. Last year, Hammond had called Trump "unfit" for office.

Hammond told HPI he can better influence events by seeking the post again and supporting Trump. He said

he has surveyed the CD chairs and vice chairs. "I feel real good about the support," said Hammond, who defeated Bopp in June 2012. Bopp had suggested a "litmus test" for Republicans prior to that contest.

In an email he sent to Indiana Republican Central Committee members on Wednesday, Bopp wrote, "I believe that our Nation and our Party face one of the most critical challenges in our history. President Obama has aggressively and illegally used the awesome power of the federal government to fundamentally change America. And I believe that a Hillary Clinton administration will irrevocably complete this transformation to, at best, a weak and vulnerable European-style Socialist state. I believe that this challenge transcends any of the differences that we may see between us."

Bopp called the GOP "a large and diverse" party and added, "We accommodate many different points of view. This year, the Indiana primary was a historic fork in the road on our path to nominating our candidate for President. Instead of taking one fork toward a contested convention, our Republican voters overwhelmingly chose to take the other fork – choosing Donald Trump as our presumptive nominee before the convention. He is now the only person who is standing between Hillary Clinton and the Presidency."

Bopp added, "Republican leaders have an essential responsibility to lead by word and by example. As a Republican activist and party leader, I have without hesitation or reservation supported our nominees at all levels."

Governor

Pence releases second ad

The Pence campaign began running its second ad statewide on Wednesday. Pence is seen talking to a group where he said that 130,000 net new jobs have been created with a record \$4.7 billion in investment. "We have more Hoosiers going to work than ever before," Pence says. "That's what I call a good start and I'm determined to keep my head down and keep Indiana growing."

"Gov. Mike Pence is excited to continue sharing with folks across our state the remarkable story of Indiana's growing economic momentum with record investment and more Hoosiers going to work than ever before," said Marc Lotter, deputy campaign manager. "Indiana is just getting started, and we will continue to build on our successes under Gov. Mike Pence."

The ad comes after Pence and Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb conducted a statewide, multi-city "Start Your Engines" campaign tour, hitting more than a dozen cities.

Pence is reaping the political benefits of his Regional Cities Initiative, joining Democratic and Republican mayors for a series of project ribbon-cutting ceremonies this past week that piggybacked on to his "Start Your Engines" statewide reelection bid. And there will be dozens more of these in the coming months in the north central,

northeast and southwestern areas of the state. This is why that extra \$42 million for a third region came about. It underscores the classic political axiom of "good policy makes good politics."

Democrat John Gregg continued a statewide run of his first TV ad. Campaign spokesman Jeff Harris said that the ad is running in all Indiana TV markets, as well as cable in the Chicago media market that reaches The Region.

On the "Start Your Engines" tour, both Pence and Holcomb suggested that electing Gregg governor will bring back the days of deficits, delayed payments to schools and local governments, and higher taxes. Indiana Democrats pushed back, suggesting that when Gregg was speaker, he worked in tandem with House and Senate Republicans.

But Indiana Democrat Party spokesman Drew Anderson said, "Pence is attacking the current House Speaker Brian Bosma and Senate Republicans, who signed off on every decision that was made when John Gregg was speaker of the Indiana House."

Campaigns skirting money limits

Pence and Democratic challenger John Gregg could be headed toward one of the most expensive races in Indiana history, as big-money donations flow to both in ways that, while legal, skirt state limits on how much corporations or labor unions may contribute (Chokey, Associated Press). The campaigns have taken in more than \$12.7 million combined as of Monday, since the beginning of last year. An Associated Press analysis of fundraising reports shows more than \$4.5 million of that has come from contributors using entities like limited liability companies or political action committees to give as much they wish while obscuring the origin of the money. Pence and Gregg are stockpiling funds for what is shaping up as a fierce rematch of the 2012 election. Their total fundraising is about \$18 million since then, and by November could rival the record \$33 million spent on the 2004 Indiana governor's race by Republican challenger Mitch Daniels and Democratic Gov. Joe Kernan. Both campaigns tout high percentages of Indiana contributors in fundraising announcements, but much of the big money has come from out-of-state sources sidestepping the \$5,000 annual cap set by a 1986 state law for donations from corporations or unions. Pence's campaign has received nearly \$1.6 million from the Washington-based RGA Right Direction PAC, funded by the Republican Governors Association. Gregg's campaign has reported its top donations were of \$200,000 or slightly more each from six labor union PACs based outside the state and the Democratic Governors Association.

Horse Race Status: Tossup.

Congress

8th CD: Orentlicher files for recount

David Orentlicher officially filed for a recount yes-

terday vs. Ron Drake after a close election for Democratic nominee for Congress for the 8th CD. The race remains tight after the end of the official canvas, with final results showing Orentlicher trailing by only 53 votes, one less than HPI reported yesterday. With the numbers still up in the air, Orentlicher took to Facebook calling the now 53-vote defect "less than one-tenth of a percent of the more than 59,000 votes cast and also less than the margin of error for vote counting." Orentlicher called the recount to make sure that there was "more careful counting" of the results. No official schedule or dates have been set for the recount yet.. The 1984 recount lasted from November to April with lots of political drama along the way. With the recount now filed, it may be a month or more before the 8th CD finds out who is facing Republican Larry Bucshon come November.

- **Thomas Curry, Howey Politics Indiana**

Statewides

Walorski endorses Curtis Hill for AG

The campaign for Curtis Hill, who seeks the Republican nomination for Indiana attorney general, announced Monday that he has been endorsed by Rep. Jackie Walorski, R-2nd (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). She said that Hill "has stood for freedom, fought for families and inspired those around him, including me." **Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

Differences between Wooten, McCormick

Republicans have another establishment-versus-outsider contest brewing, this one for state school superintendent. Yorktown Superintendent Jennifer McCormick and IPFW instructor Dawn Wooten both criticize incumbent Glenda Ritz's management skills and conflicts with the State Board of Education (Network Indiana). And both stress their opposition to the already repealed ISTEP test. They say they'd be on guard as superintendent to make sure the new test is more than just a rebranded version of the old one. But Wooten's touting her outsider credentials. She's a homeschooler and anti-Common Core activist. "Schools are having to send home packets to the parents so the parents can help their kids with their homework. That should not be happening," says Wooten. Wooten describes herself as "a freedom-loving, almost more Tea Party" candidate, a stance she predicts puts her in tune with the Republican convention delegates who will choose the nominee. McCormick says experience still counts. "Being a teacher for 10 years and then a principal has sat well with folks out in the field. It's also important to parents when I talk to them that I have been in the classroom and I understand what it's like to lead a district." **Horse Race Status:** Likely McCormick. ❖

Tremors from Trump, Cruz and Sanders

By **CRAIG DUNN**

KOKOMO – Okay, let’s cut out the bull and talk about what the presidential primary results were all about. The Trump, Cruz and Sanders campaigns were all about revolution. The masses are damn angry and they have



made their voices heard. That’s how we do revolutions in a democracy. Rebel at the ballot box!

It is unarguable that the Trump, Cruz and Sanders campaigns were about battling the status quo. Although each candidate found a somewhat different set of elements to assail, each of their campaigns was born from an anger that had been building for close to

50 years. Just like an earthquake fault line, the longer the interval between pressure relieving quakes, the greater the magnitude of the tremor. The current political situation is somewhat akin to linking the San Andreas fault to the New Madrid fault and watching the United States political scene go shake, rattle and roll.

The typical Donald Trump supporter that I’ve met is terribly angry about what they perceive as the decline of American greatness. They long for a time when we were the only big kid on the block internationally. Trump supporters are tired of not finishing and winning wars. They want an end to wars fought with no clear definition of victory.

They love the middle class and have been sickened by the steady outsourcing of jobs to Mexico, China, India and everywhere else, where children and adults work for pitifully low wages in factories unprotected and unobstructed by government regulations.

Trump supporters remember when Americans made tangible things that people needed and you could understand the entire manufacturing and distribution process from mining raw materials, assembling the products and then distributing the products around the world. A good hard worker could find a good job straight out of high school, live a comfortable life, raise his family, have a nice home and retire with some dignity. They openly disdain the Silicon Valley billionaires who have made a fortune manufacturing products or ideas that don’t require a big hunk of steel.

Trump supporters don’t buy the economic message that free trade is good for them. They ignore the fact that millions of jobs have been created by free trade. Why? Because their skills and geographic location didn’t correspond to the realities of a world economy and they

became the odd men out. They’ve seen their incomes slide over the years as their personal economic lives have become filled with uncertainty.

Trump’s supporters want their jobs and their futures put back together like they once were, and they are willing to trust the Donald to deliver.

The Cruz campaign largely consisted of the soundly religious wing of the Republican Party. He made his name fighting against the inexorable social change rolling over our country. With the Constitution in one hand and a Bible in the other, Cruz’s obstinate refusal to play nice with others drove his genteel comrades in the United States Senate crazy. While he waged a quixotic campaign in the U.S. Senate against gay rights, abortion rights and anything the Obama Administration did that clashed with his interpretation of the Constitution, Cruz became the darling of those who generally believe that *Roe v. Wade* marked the beginning of the great American slide into oblivion.

Cruz supporters see a return to Biblical principles and values as the only way our nation may be saved from the evils of the world. Every problem has a solution found somewhere between Genesis and Revelation.

Campaigning for president with Jesus as your running mate and the Bible as your playbook is always a good formula for locking down a good 25% of the Republican vote. Unfortunately for Cruz, playing the religious card in 2016 was trumped by the America first, nativist message. An unemployed or underemployed American worker is a Trump supporter first, second and last. All other considerations are just background noise.

What about the revolutionaries on the Democrat side? Bernie Sanders supporters represent a sad element of our modern political revolution. They believe the deck is stacked solidly against their futures by the evil partnership of Wall Street, big business and fat cat millionaires who don’t believe in sharing. The typical Bernie Sanders supporter ran up tens of thousands of dollars in student debt while pursuing a college degree in philosophy, archaeology or modern feminism. They are deeply troubled by the fact that our world economy today is not looking for philosophers, archaeologists or modern feminists.

Thus, driven into the underbelly of the American economy, working as baristas at Starbucks, these 21st Century idealists blame Wall Street and Republicans for their misery. Cobbling together a ragtag army of the disaffected, Bernie Sanders has led a doomed but determined nuisance campaign that has tied Hillary Clinton up in knots. After all, despite her many overtures to the proletariat, she is the leading recipient of Wall Street largesse and the 74-year-old socialist Bernie Sanders just won’t put down his political Molotov cocktail of class warfare and go home to Smuggler’s Notch.

Sanders supporters are loud, shrill, unwavering, committed, focused and seldom confused by the facts. They are the perfect left wing counterparts to Trump’s forces in the new American Revolution.

How does all of this end? I'm not sure. It is safe to assume that the majority of the votes cast during this primary season were by voters who were as mad as hell and not willing to take it anymore. These voters will not go away after the November election. If Hillary Clinton wins and does nothing but continue the economic, moral and international slide of our nation, then 2020 will make the 2016 look like child's play. If Donald Trump wins and does not deliver on his promises of bluff and bluster, then

he will pay a terrible price in 2020. Either way, the angry voter of 2016 will be with us for quite some time.

Let us hope for all of our sakes that the angry revolution of 2016 remains confined to the ballot box and that the pitchforks and guillotines remain locked away in another time. ❖

Dunn is chairman of the Howard County Republican Party.

Trump is no friend of the working class

By SHAW FRIEDMAN

LaPORTE – To hear giddy Republicans like Craig Dunn tell it, they think that Donald Trump is the second coming of Ronald Reagan in his appeal to white, working-class voters and his supposed ability to steal away “Reagan Democrats” this fall. As Lee Corso so often says on his ESPN College Gameday predictions, “Not so fast, my friend.”

There's no question that Trump's rather simplistic saber-rattling against admittedly weak trade deals has won



him some initial converts, but I predict we will win at least the necessary 40 percent of white working-class voters across the country most experts say is necessary to carry our presidential ticket this fall, in addition to the overwhelming numbers expected from African-Americans, Hispanics, women and younger voters.

See, the problem for Republicans is that in the hard glare of reality and the brutal testing of a true general election campaign, either one of our Democratic candidates has a better record of standing up for working families to take to the voters than carnival barker Trump, and a far stronger record on Wall Street accountability and financial reform than Trump.

Give the flamboyant showman his due. He's been able to dupe many Republican and independent voters with these simplistic appeals about shredding trade agreements and negotiating “smart and tough” trade deals, but all his actions, whether in business or politics, have actually shown a complete indifference to the needs of working families.

The big problem for Trump is that at no time in his lengthy career has he really shown a genuine sympathy or support for working families. This latest incarnation of Trump as someone who claims to “love the under-educated” belies a track record of consistently fighting

against the little guy in one endeavor or another. He will betray working-class voters just as readily as he told Fox & Friends that anything he says on the campaign trail is “just a suggestion.”

Take a look at this completely contradictory behavior on issues important to working class voters: Would he support hiking the paltry \$7.25 minimum wage? Nah. He believes that “wages are too high already” which he stated at a November debate and then repeated on a morning talk show.

How about “making things in America” which is a stock part of his appeal? You think if he wanted to have credibility on that signature line in his stump speech he wouldn't outsource his trademarked clothing line to low-wage Chinese factories. “It's very hard to have anything in apparel made in this country,” he blithely claimed to CNN. C'mon, Mr. Trump, you really think voters will buy that malarkey when there are still all kinds of domestic clothing manufacturers hanging on for dear life who would greatly have loved your clothing business?

Same with his casinos. Trump's credibility as a savior for white working-class voters is put to the test every day as he fights maids, bartenders and food servers at his five-star hotel in Las Vegas. Check out the protesters outside the casino, who are furious that Trump refuses to allow them to join a union which could raise their pay an additional \$3 an hour.

Trump's simplistic solution for long-suffering working families is to brag about simply putting a 45-percent tariff on all goods shipped from China without talking about the inevitable trade war that would set off or the need to target tariffs in particular industries. It's just an easy applause line that he can't possibly believe in or follow through with, particularly since Article 1 of the Constitution says that responsibility for tariffs rests with the congressional branch and not the executive.

Leaders of organized labor who know that Trump is playing some of their members for fools in his initial appeals won't be dissuaded from truth-telling this fall either. Said Richard Trumppka, president of the AFL-CIO, “Trump isn't interested in solving the problems he yells about and swears about. He delivers punch lines.”

Both Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders have far more credibility in terms of standing up to the enormous financial forces that present such a threat to working-class

voters than Donald Trump. Hillary Clinton's plan to rein in Wall Street was laid out well in a New York Times op/ed dated Dec. 7, 2015, that talks about real protections for working families such as the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, and efforts to get a handle on the worst practices and risky behaviors of the financial industry that nearly cratered our economy in 2008. She plans to strengthen the Volcker Rule to close the loopholes that allow bankers to make speculative gambles with taxpayer-backed deposits. She wants tough regulation and jail for execs who cross the line. Outsized executive compensation would also be reined in.

While there are variations in the type of financial sector regulation proposed by Bernie Sanders, I expect that somehow all that will get hashed out in platform discussions before our national convention in Philadelphia. Sanders has legitimately brought on board millions of supporters among working-class voters who are enraged by income inequality and a sense that the system has been rigged to favor big bankers and wealthy executives. Sanders rightly inveighs against "too big to fail" institutions and has the credibility and the record with having stood with working class voters during his entire time in the

U.S. Congress, whether it was going after big bonuses to bank execs, proposing a financial transactions tax, or even pushing to cap credit card interest rates at 15 percent.

Yes, it's still a little messy on our side until this primary season is over, but I'll bet you dollars to donuts, Craig, that when the Sanders and Clinton camps finally make peace and reconcile on a program and a platform, the combined muscle mass of these two candidates and their equally strong records of advocating for working families will "trump" the shallow and empty appeals that "the Donald" is making right now.

To borrow the phrase of one ole Texas pol, Trump is "all hat and no cattle" when it comes to really advocating the economic interests of working-class families. In addition to rolling up big numbers with the Obama coalition of women, younger voters, African Americans and Hispanics, mark my words, we will secure at least the 40 percent of white working-class voters needed to win. ❖

Shaw Friedman is former legal counsel for the Indiana Democratic Party and a longtime Howey Politics Indiana columnist.

Lake GOP optimistic

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – There are those who contend that this could be a pretty good year for Republicans in Lake County. Yeah, believe it or not, Republicans in Lake County are feeling pretty good about themselves. Foremost for the GOP is the possibility of winning one of the three county commissioner seats, each of which is held by a Democrat. If Republicans can't win one of the three seats this year, they have no one to blame but their own.



The Indiana Election Commission, which is controlled by Republicans, redrew the 2nd County Commissioner District to give the GOP an excellent chance to win the district. It wasn't a matter of responding to population changes revealed in the

2010 Census as some would have you believe. No, this had everything to do with politics.

What the state did was remove some heavily Democratic precincts from the district, and add some precincts that produce a strong Republican vote. What the election commission is trying to do is make up for the mistake it made following the 2000 Census. Back then, the commission drew the three Lake County commissioner districts with the hope that Republicans could win two of the three districts and take financial and operational

control of Lake County. Lo and behold, they didn't win any of the three districts. Following the 2010 Census, Republicans put greed aside hoping to win one district. And this is the year, so they think. The Republicans nominated Jerry Tippy of Schererville who will face long-time Commissioner Gerry Scheub in the fall. Scheub always has had an ability to draw a substantial Republican vote. The same year the state Republicans redrew the Lake County commissioner districts to favor themselves, the Legislature also adopted new Indiana House and Senate seats to further their own interests.

Republicans William Fine and Julie Olthoff lost the 12th and 19th House Districts, respectively, in Lake County in 2012, the first election after the new districts were adopted. But things were different in 2014 when Olthoff defeated Rep. Shelli VanDenburgh in the 19th District and Fine topped incumbent Mara Candelaria Reardon in the 19th District. There will be replays in both races this year. And then, along came Donald Trump, the presumptive GOP presidential nominee. No one in their right mind had a clue that Trump would be heading the party's ticket in the 2016 general election. That scares a good number of Republicans who fear that Trump's presence on the ballot could end up hurting other Republicans on down the ballot. It all raises an interesting question. Could the gerrymandering by state Republicans go for naught because the party is about to nominate a loose cannon to be their man for president? ❖

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

2016 cycle a smashing hit at the polling booth

By RHODES COOK

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. – No matter what one thinks of this often surreal presidential primary campaign, it has been a hit at the ballot box. Republicans have already smashed their record of 20.8 million ballots, set in 2008. Through the May 10 contests, the 2016 GOP primary turnout stands at 26.1 million and counting.

Democrats are on course to have their second-highest presidential primary turnout ever. Their record of 36.8 million votes (the high for both parties) for the Barack Obama-Hillary Clinton race in 2008 is well out of reach for both Democrats and Republicans this year. But with nearly 22.2 million primary votes cast thus far in 2016, the Democrats should soon breeze past their second-highest total of nearly 23 million primary votes cast in 1988.

Put the two 2016 numbers together and the combined total of Democratic and Republican primary votes this year could very well reach an all-time high. The current total of nearly 48.3 million is within 10 million of the record 57.7 million votes cast in both parties' primaries in 2008. And in that year, 8 million primary votes were cast in California alone (which will hold its primary this year on June 7).

The major reason for the Republican primary turnout success this year is obvious: Donald Trump. He is unique, compelling, irreverent, and "in your face" – a media "darling" who has been intriguing to voters, a nightmare for much of the Republican establishment, and befuddling to his primary opponents. There is little doubt that he has attracted hordes of voters to the Republican primaries, though there have surely been many others who have cast a GOP ballot in order to vote against him.

Trump's emergence has tended to overshadow the Democratic contest, although Hillary Clinton has developed a winning primary coalition of women and minorities, and her long-running rival, Bernie Sanders, has built a passionate army of supporters that rivals Trump's.

Yet even in high-turnout years such as this one, the number of primary voters has never reached even 50% of the November presidential election turnout. There are several reasons for this.

First, not every state holds a presidential primary. Since 1980, the number of primaries has stayed largely

in the 35 to 40 range, with the rest of the states holding lower turnout caucuses. (Caucus results are not included in the tallies in this article because caucuses are run differently from primaries and draw a fraction of the votes that are cast in primaries.)

Second, in many of the states that hold primaries, not every registered voter can cast a ballot. In "closed" primary states, where only voters affiliated with a particular party can participate in that party's primary, the large swath of independent voters is excluded.

And third, in most election years the nomination in at least one party is settled long before the end of the primary season. That is the case for the Republicans this year, with Trump clearing the last of his 16 rivals from the GOP race in the wake of Indiana's May 3 primary. For all practical purposes, Trump will be running unopposed from here on out, and the GOP turnout in future primaries could very well be much more modest than if the Republican contest had remained competitive.

Still, those who do vote in the presidential primaries are often a decent cross-section of each party's base. They tend to be the more loyal voters, while the general election tends to attract many of those who are more casual in their voting habits.

At this point, the \$64,000 question is what the high turnouts in this year's primaries might mean for the fall.

If 2008 is a guide, there very well could be a record number of voters swarming the polls in November. Eight years ago, the expansive primary turnout in the winter and spring was followed by a record presidential election turnout of 131 million voters in the fall.

But it is much harder to tell at this point whether either party would enjoy an advantage. There are few historical precedents, with this being only the fourth open election for president since the primary-dominated era in nominating politics began in the early 1970s.

In the open election of 1988, nearly 11 million more ballots were cast in the Democratic primaries than the GOP, but Republican George H.W. Bush was elected president that fall.

In the open election of 2000, fully 3 million more primary votes were cast on the GOP side, and Republican George W. Bush won the White House. But it was a weird election. Bush won the all-important electoral vote, while Democrat Al Gore took the popular vote, creating the first Electoral College "misfire" in more than a century. Only in the open election of 2008 was there a clear cor-



Election	Total primary votes cast	Democratic primary votes cast	Republican primary votes cast	Party with higher primary turnout	Party that won general election
1972	22,182,246	15,993,965	6,188,281	D	R
1976	26,426,777	16,052,652	10,374,125	D	D
1980	31,438,276	18,747,825	12,690,451	D	R
1984	24,584,843	18,009,192	6,575,651	D	R
1988 (Open)	35,127,051	22,961,936	12,165,115	D	R
1992	32,935,932	20,239,385	12,696,547	D	D
1996	24,939,013	10,947,364	13,991,649	R	D
2000 (Open)	31,201,862	14,045,745	17,156,117	R	R
2004	24,122,770	16,182,439	7,940,331	D	R
2008 (Open)	57,689,496	36,848,285	20,841,211	D	D
2012	27,976,800	9,206,764	18,770,036	R	D
2016 (Open)*	48,263,408	22,155,316	26,108,092	R ahead	TBD

relation between the primary turnout and the November outcome. That year, 16 million more votes were cast in the Democratic primaries than the Republican ones, which proved a precursor of Democratic success that fall.

In 2016, the Republican edge in the primary vote is much smaller than the Democrats enjoyed in 2008. Coming out of the May 10 primaries in Nebraska and West Virginia, the GOP margin stands at 4 million votes and shrinking. Among the eight states left to hold their presidential primaries are deep blue California and New Jersey. And in 2008, more than 2 million more votes were cast on the Democratic than Republican side of the California ballot.

GOP turnouts were particularly impressive this year in the early weeks of the primary season. In Texas March 1, for instance, there were more than 2.8 million Republican primary votes compared to barely 1.4 million Democratic. It was a complete reversal of the 2008 primary vote, when nearly 2.9 million Texans took a Democratic ballot, while less than 1.4 million voted on the Republican side.

The GOP primary turnout advantage this year has been evident in traditional battleground states such as Florida, Michigan, New Hampshire, Ohio, Virginia, and Wisconsin.

But in recent weeks, Democrats have had the turnout edge in Democratic-oriented "closed" primary states such as New York, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. Both Trump and Hillary Clinton have proven to be strong vote-getters in this year's primaries. Clinton has won more primary votes than Trump (12.5 million to 10.7 million) and taken a higher percentage of the Democratic primary vote than Trump (56.5% to 41.2%) in the more crowded GOP field.

Trump, though, has won more primaries, 26 to Clinton's 22.

And both candidates have built up comfortable leads over their nearest opposition in the aggregate nationwide primary vote. Clinton is running 15 percentage points ahead of Sanders on the Democratic side, while Trump is 14 points in front of runner-up Ted Cruz in the now quiet GOP race.

Trump's showing in the primaries is in line with that of the last two Republican nominees during the competitive period of their primary campaigns. In early March 2008, John McCain had a 17-point lead in the aggregate primary vote (42% to 25%) over runner-up Mitt Romney at the point when McCain's opposition had been whittled down to Ron Paul. In early April 2012, Romney held a 12-point lead (40% to 28%) over second-place Rick Santorum when the latter quit the Republican race.

But there are flies in the ointment for both Clinton and Trump. She has been faltering in the homestretch, losing primaries in Indiana and West Virginia to Sanders in the last two weeks. Both were states that Clinton won against Obama eight years ago. Before this month, Clinton also lost primaries in several battleground states – Michigan, New Hampshire, and Wisconsin – where independents, a key part of the November electorate, could vote.

As for Trump, he did not win a majority of the Republican primary or caucus vote until his home state of New York voted April 19. It is an indication that the Manhattan billionaire was the beneficiary of "divide and conquer" when the GOP field was larger, a tactic that would be more difficult to exploit in a two-way race in the fall.

So, what lies ahead as this year's presidential campaign pivots from the high-turnout primaries to the general election scuffling? Without a decided partisan primary turnout advantage this year as there was for the Democrats in 2008, this author's crystal ball looks a bit hazy. Still, there will surely be pundits six months from now who will look back at the 2016 election and say: "Oh, yes, we saw that coming in the primaries." ❖

Trump leads Clinton in national Fox Poll

Donald Trump tops Hillary Clinton in a hypothetical head-to-head matchup, according to a new Fox News Poll that also finds majorities of voters feel both frontrunners lack strong moral values and will say anything to get elected. Trump has a 45-42 percent edge over Clinton, if the presidential election were held today. That's within the poll's margin of sampling error. Last month, Clinton was up by 48-41 percent (April 2016). Clinton is ahead by 14 points among women (50-36 percent). Yet Trump leads by a larger 22 points among men (55-33 percent). ❖



Biden follows Cuomo footsteps to Notre Dame

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND — A New York television crew was at Notre Dame recently for interviews about campus reaction to the university's invitation to a nationally known Catholic, a political figure publicly criticized by some bishops for not fighting against "choice" on abortion.

No, not Vice President Joe Biden. Biden was at Notre Dame commencement Sunday to receive, along with former House Speaker John Boehner, the Laetare Medal, described as "the oldest and most prestigious honor accorded to American Catholics." The New York television station was looking farther back, nearly 32 years ago, when the late Mario Cuomo, a Catholic then New York governor and widely regarded as a future Democratic presidential nominee, spoke at Notre Dame, explaining where and why he drew a line between faith and law on abortion.

Cuomo's views then were similar to Biden's now. Similar views brought similar reaction, similar debate, among Catholics, at Notre Dame and elsewhere: Should a Catholic political figure go beyond personal opposition to abortion and push for governmental action to ban all abortion? And if the official didn't listen to those in the clergy calling for a ban, should that official be welcomed at an official event at Notre Dame, a Catholic university?

There was criticism of Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, then Notre Dame president, for giving Cuomo a platform to speak. There is criticism now of Rev. John Jenkins, current university president, for selection of Biden for the Laetare Medal. Some students and faculty protested, then and now. Most, each time, welcomed a national political figure and were not of one mind on the divisive abortion issue.

Cuomo's speech on Sept. 13, 1984, drew national attention due to his subject and because earlier that summer he had electrified the Democratic National

Convention as he told a "tale of two cities," contrasting the "shining city on the hill" seen by President Reagan with "the left out" in cities of neglect. Stirring oratory in the keynote speech in San Francisco was interrupted by applause after almost every sentence. Many delegates wished that Cuomo rather than Walter Mondale was to be their nominee.

At Notre Dame, Cuomo spoke for 53 minutes and only once was interrupted by applause, for a joke about a political character named Fishhooks McCarthy. The New York TV correspondent here for a documentary on Cuomo noted from viewing close-up film of the speech that Cuomo was sweating profusely at the conclusion. No wonder. Cuomo said afterward that he didn't know what the silence meant as he explained his acceptance of Catholic Church teaching on abortion, but contended that seeking to write that teaching in a constitutional amendment would be futile and dangerous.

Would the audience, listening so intently, applaud at the end or boo him out of Washington Hall? He joked at the start that he was perhaps playing the role of a key figure in a college biology lab, not as teacher but "as the frog." In an oft-quoted passage, Cuomo declared: "We know that the price of seeking to force our beliefs on others is that they might some day force theirs on us."

Most Americans didn't favor banning abortion, he said, and if an amendment to do so could somehow be pushed through, it "would be Prohibition revisited, legislating what couldn't be enforced and in the process creating disrespect for law in general." At the conclusion, Cuomo

received a standing ovation from Notre Dame students and others in the audience. Father Hesburgh praised his distinction between personal faith and governmental realism. There were, however, protesters outside with signs calling him a coward.

Now, with such bitter partisanship, how would Biden be received? Biology class frog this time? The vice president's remarks in accepting the Laetare Medal, calling for bipartisanship and respect and recalling the welcoming words of Pope Francis, brought loud applause, indeed a standing ovation from many in Notre Dame Stadium, the commencement site. Outside, a couple of dozen protesters at the main gate, some from Chicago, held signs with messages such as "Shame on Notre Dame."

Similarities abound from 32 years ago and now. ❖

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



Former House Speaker John Boehner, Notre Dame President John Jenkins and Vice President Joe Biden on last Sunday's commencement. (South Bend Tribune)

Ryan Nees, Facebook: One remarkable, and remarkably undiscussed, oddity about Donald Trump's campaign is the near total absence of ordinary people. Trump doesn't visit diners and meet voters who tell him about their lives. He doesn't hold townhalls and take their questions. He doesn't glad hand with them at pig roasts. He never personally meets disabled people, or jobless people, or the families of shooting victims, or the kids of immigrants, or LGBTQ people, or black and brown people brutalized by police, or people without health insurance, or non-Christians. Or, replace these folks with their conservative counterparts. Has he met with evangelicals forced to marry gay people, or manufacturing workers who have had their jobs outsourced, or families forced to pay Obamacare penalties, or a veteran mistreated by the VA, or a victim of some immigrant-committed rape, or a hunter threatened by gun control? Indeed we have scarcely little evidence he has ever, over the entire course of his campaign, met another person and then felt empathy for that person as a result. His is a campaign conducted in airport hangar rallies, over telephone interviews, on cable news, and by Twitter. Photo ops may be staged things, but consider a campaign that has never held any at all. Trump has given up an opportunity to use his campaign to learn about the country he hopes to lead. ❖



important respect. He attacked the Republican establishment as low-energy, cowering weaklings. Now Republican leaders are lining up to surrender to him — like low-energy, cowering weaklings. The capitulation has justified the accusation. It would be impolite to name names. So I should not mention that former Texas governor Rick Perry, who now angles for Trump's vice presidential nod, once said: "He offers a barking carnival act that can be best described as Trumpism: a toxic mix of demagoguery, mean-spiritedness and nonsense that will lead the Republican Party to perdition if pursued. Let no one be mistaken — Donald Trump's candidacy is a cancer on conservatism, and it must be clearly diagnosed, excised and discarded." I should resist the temptation to recall how Rep.

Peter King (N.Y.), who now (reluctantly) backs Trump, once asserted he is "not fit to be president, morally or intellectually." Singling out individuals is unfair in so great a company. One by one, Republican senators have made their peace with a Trump nomination. Many in the House GOP leadership and caucus have urged Speaker Paul D. Ryan (Wis.) to get it over with and endorse the presumptive Republican nominee. It is humorous — in a sad, bitter, tragic sort of way — to see Republican leaders, and some conservative commentators, try to forget or minimize Trump's history of odious proposals and statements. ❖

Doug Ross, NWI Times: The Republican Party is on the cusp of a major change. The selection of Donald Trump as the presumptive GOP nominee in the presidential race is a clear sign of that. So is the pronouncement by House Speaker Paul Ryan that, in effect, the presidency doesn't trump Congress. But what will that change be? And how will the party's tenets change with Trump as the leading standard bearer? That remains to be seen. The crystal ball is, at best, murky. We're seeing a deep fracture in a party, something former Gov. Mitch Daniels hinted at when he urged the party to call a truce on social issues and focus on fiscal conservatism. Ryan is a staunch fiscal conservative. Trump is a shoot-from-the-hip kind of guy, which went over well in last week's Indiana primary. Trump received 590,170 votes in Indiana, more than all eight other candidates combined. He stands for...well, it's hard to say what he stands for. Trump has focused so much on living in the moment that it's difficult to see a clear path for the future from him so far. Chris Salatas, Lowell Town Council president and chairman of the Lake County Young Republicans, offered a good definition of Trump Republicans, the latest group to join the Republicans' big tent: "disenfranchised people that are just fed up with the way the system works." ❖

Jeff Greenfield, Politico: If you're masochistic enough to plow through the next three months of vice presidential speculation, you might want to pause and ask a more fundamental question: Why would anybody want that job under Hillary Clinton or Donald Trump? If either of them becomes president, we will probably see the most marginalized vice president in a generation. Imagine yourself as Trump's vice president. What are your chances of serving as a trusted, respected adviser on politics and policy? Look at the last president who had something like the mixture of massive self-regard and massive insecurity that defines Trump, Lyndon Baines Johnson. Having lived through the hell of being a scorned and shunned vice-president under John Kennedy — "I hated every minute of it," he later said — he treated his own second, Hubert Humphrey, with equal contempt. In 1968, Johnson made clear his contempt for his would-be successor ("Hubert squats when he pees"). Trump's contempt for rivals, critics and even allies makes LBJ's bullying look like something out of Mr. Rogers. The video of him curtly ordering endorser Chris Christie to "get on the plane and go home" ought to be fair warning that a vice president under Trump should not expect better. The challenge is different for a prospective Clinton running mate—and one that no past veep has ever faced. Yes, past vice presidents have found themselves in a battle for the ear of POTUS with key White House aides and Cabinet members. But they've never had the challenge of competing with a presidential spouse who also happens to be a former two-term president. ❖

Michael Gerson, Washington Post: Michael Gerson, Washington Post: In the category of credit where credit is due, Donald Trump has been exactly right in one

Ellspermann to head Ivy Tech

INDIANAPOLIS — In a move that was widely expected once she resigned as lieutenant governor of Indiana, Sue Ellspermann became the next president of Ivy Tech University on Wednesday (Osowski, Evansville Courier & Press). The Ivy Tech board of trustees made the move official at the school's Indianapolis headquarters. The announcement came after months of speculation that Ellspermann would get the job, replacing retiring president Tom Snyder, who has been at the helm since 2007. Ellspermann, originally from Dubois County, will become the school's ninth president and is the first woman to hold the position. She will start on July 1. "I am so excited to be back in higher education," Ellspermann said. "We are going to take Indiana to new heights and we will do it together." "The historic selection of Sue Ellspermann as the next president of Ivy Tech Community College is a win for education in Indiana and for the more than 170,000 students who will benefit from her energetic and visionary leadership," Gov. Mike Pence said. "I commend the Board of Trustees and members of the search committee for choosing this uniquely qualified leader to serve as president of the largest post-secondary institution in our state and offer my heartfelt congratulations to my friend and former Lieutenant Governor on her selection.



Coats, Donnelly speak for Ong

WASHINGTON — Sens. Dan Coats (R-Ind.) and Joe Donnelly (D-Ind.) testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee during a hearing on judicial nominations. The Indiana senators spoke in support of Winfield D. Ong, who was nominated to fill the

vacancy on the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Indiana. Ong, a native of Evansville and resident of Indianapolis, graduated from DePauw University and has spent most of his career working in Indiana. Ong currently serves as Chief of the Criminal Division for the U.S. Attorney's Office in the Southern District of Indiana.

Messer authors restroom bill

WASHINGTON — U.S. Rep Luke Messer introduced the Public School Act (H.R. 5275) which states that decisions regarding gender identity and the use of school bathrooms and locker rooms should be made at the State and local level, not by the federal government. It also ensures no school would face Federal penalties for failing to comply.

"Everyone on both sides of this debate should be treated with respect," said Congressman Messer. "And, through public discourse, I believe we can come to a solution that protects the privacy and dignity of everyone involved. But, it's irresponsible for the Obama Administration to begin this social experiment in the bathrooms of our nation's elementary schools. Decisions of this magnitude should be made at the state and local level by people who will put the interest of our kids ahead of political ideology." On May 13th, the Justice Department issued guidance to schools across the country regarding transgender students. It states schools must allow transgender students to use the bathrooms and locker rooms of their gender identity, not their biological sex or face losing Federal funding under Title IX.

Rokita school lunch bill passes panel

WASHINGTON — WASHINGTON — A divided House panel Wednesday approved Rep. Todd Rokita's bill that would change the federal school lunch program to ease nutri-

tional standards and make it harder for schools to qualify for federal assistance so they can offer free meals schoolwide (Groppe, IndyStar). Rokita, R-Indianapolis, argues that the bill would give schools greater flexibility in meeting nutritional standards while targeting assistance to students most in need. "This is hardly unreasonable, and it's hardly unfair," he said, after complaining that critics had turned the bill into a "partisan food fight." Democrats say the bill would result in fewer kids eating healthy meals. "This bill is more representative of child nutrition policy out of 'The Hunger Games,'" said Virginia Rep. Bobby Scott..

Misconduct case filed vs. Brizzi

INDIANAPOLIS — The Indiana Supreme Court's Disciplinary Commission recommended disciplinary action Monday against former Marion County prosecutor Carl Brizzi (WRTV). A verified complaint for disciplinary action filed this week claims Brizzi committed three violations of the Rules of Professional Conduct for Attorneys at Law related to a real estate deal in Elkhart, Indiana, and a plea deal given in a criminal case in Marion County — both connected to his friend and then-business partner Paul Page. Two co-defendants in that case, John M. Bales II and William E. Spencer, were found not guilty by a St. Joseph County jury. Brizzi, who owned the building jointly with Page, was never charged. According to the disciplinary complaint filed against Brizzi, the former prosecutor had an agreement with Page that he would receive 50 percent of any proceeds from real estate business he brought to Page's company, L&BAB LLC. The complaint alleges Brizzi failed to disclose his interest in the deal in statements of economic interest he was required by law to file as prosecutor. Brizzi told RTV6 he was surprised with the disciplinary commission's complaint. "They sent a letter last year stating all matters were closed," he said.