



Gov. Pence poised for Trump's ticket

Indiana governor expected to be join billionaire for Manhattan ticket unveiling

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Just two weeks ago, the notion of a possible vice presidential nomination was something Gov. Mike Pence's campaign denied was in the cards. But on Friday morning, the odd alliance of the populist and profane Donald Trump is expected to be enjoined by the evangelical Christian Indiana governor in Manhattan. Gov. Mike Pence was seen landing at Teterboro Airport in New Jersey late Thursday afternoon after leaving Mount Comfort Airport in Indiana.

Pence is prepared to turn his resignation from the ticket prior to the noon Friday deadline. The Indiana Republican Central Committee will have 30 days to choose a replacement.

It is the capstone of one of the most surreal and transformational weeks in Indiana politics since Gov. Frank



O'Bannon died in September 2003, setting off a cascade of change in Hoosier politics that broke gender ceilings and paved the way for a governor named Mitch Daniels. Gov. Pence ascends to the national ticket, bolting from the gubernatorial nomination he earned from voters last

Continued on page 4

Bayh emerges from ether

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – In a chaotic year of anti-establishment populism and charges of rigged systems, through the smoke and dust churned by great anxiety, fear and loathing, in walks Evan Bayh.



In a stunning turn of events that matched Bayh's February 2010 bombshell that prompted him to retire from the Senate just as the Tea Party embers were flaring and an Obamacare vote stood just over the horizon, Democratic Senate nominee Baron Hill bolted the ticket on Monday, setting the stage for Bayh and his \$10 million war chest to return to Hoosier electoral politics.



“I think it is appropriate that I make plain today that should there be a sudden need to name a new nominee for governor, I will not present myself as a candidate nor would I accept the nomination if offered.”

-Purdue President Mitch Daniels



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Hill told WTHR-TV's Kevin Rader, "This was something I decided. I hold the cards here. I've got the nomination. I don't have to leave this race. I did this on my own. Nobody pressured me to do this." But that comes from a former prep and collegiate basketball star whose competitive nature once had him kidney punching Mike Sodrel before a congressional debate. If you believe that Baron Hill voluntarily exited this Senate race after spending more than a year running, and as he prepared to walk from the Michigan line to the Ohio River, then I have a Delaware beach condo to sell you.

In the wake of Hill's withdrawal, there were kudos in store for the next Democratic leader of the Senate, New York's Chuck Schumer, who was credited with engineering the latest switcheroo that has defined the power behind this Senate seat. Bayh denied there was any national influence (see HPI Interview, page 11) It is the same seat that U.S. Sen. Birch Bayh used to author two of the 26 Constitutional amendments and Title IX. The same seat that Sen. Dan Coats refused to defend with young Bayh in the wings in 1998, that commenced his lobbying career. The same seat that Coats returned to in 2010 after Marlin Stutzman and John Hostettler failed to find money traction, and the same seat that Bayh fled a few weeks later, setting off the devastating "Bayh dominoes" that would force the Indiana Democratic Party out of its Ohio and Wabash river warrens, reducing it to a party of Lake, St. Joseph and Marion counties and a handful of college and university towns.

Evan Bayh had rescued the party from oblivion in 1986, and returned it there in 2010 to the point that by 2014, the atrophy was so severe that only a handful of Democratic legislators and mayors existed south of U.S. 50.

The Washington Post reported on Tuesday: "One of the many

reasons that so many of his Democratic colleagues did not like Evan Bayh during his tenure in the Senate was his excessive caution. The hyper-ambitious, always-privileged and ever-calculating son of a senator long dreamed of becoming president, and he represented a conservative-leaning state. So he was perennially nervous about taking tough votes or courageous stands. He often seemed to waffle and have his finger in the wind. As it started to become clear that Democrats would get buffeted by rough electoral headwinds in 2010, Bayh announced his retirement. Yesterday, though, we found out that the 60-year-old plans to try winning back



Evan Bayh with Baron Hill during a 1998 campaign swing across Southern Indiana. (HPI Photo by Brian A.

the Senate seat that he gave up. The surprise comes after Bayh rejected years of entreaties from leaders in his party."

So this could be the canary in the coal mine scenario for Trumpian Republicans. The mirage is that Trump trailed Hillary Clinton by a mere 3% in the latest NBC/SurveyMonkey rolling poll released on Tuesday, and while she leads in most swing states, the margins are within the margin of error. But that poll came after the darkest day for Clinton, her political indictment by FBI Director James Comey last week, and there are foreboding shadows across the GOP establishment that Donald Trump is so far beyond the mainstream pale, that his campaign is so unorganized and understaffed, that he has alienated so many demographic sectors, that it's only a matter of time before crust of

critical mass crumbles and the modern GOP falls into the fissures.

Or as the Post analyzed, "Considering his disposition, (Bayh's) decision to jump into the race in July speaks volumes about the growing confidence on the left that Democrats are going to have a red-letter year in congressional elections because of Donald Trump."

So Baron Hill has become, perhaps, the last and biggest Bayh domino, exiting, sources say, after receiving a call from Hillary Clinton herself, perhaps the biggest payback after Hill's April 2008 endorsement of Barack Obama.

While HPI agrees with the Cook Political Report that this is now a tossup race, this is not a slam dunk.

Bayh hasn't been on an Indiana ballot since 2004. There was his ignominious exit from the 2008 presidential race he long coveted as Obama eclipsed his star. He didn't return to Indianapolis or Bloomington, but instead settled into the K Street groove, making the big bucks. The Post put it this way: "Bayh is so confident that Trump is toxic for Republicans that he's willing to put up with months of attacks over his fancy lifestyle in D.C. and work for special interests on

K Street. In the spring of 2015 Bayh purchased his second home in Washington, a \$2.9 million Georgetown six-bedroom home that he described as his way of 'downsizing,'" Paul Kane notes. Then there is the \$3 million Florida beach home.

The enrichment didn't begin in 2010. According to Open Secrets methodology of parsing Bayh's Senate Financial Disclosure forms between 1998 and 2010, Bayh saw his average net worth rise from \$1.54 million to \$6.89 million, an increase approaching 350%. This was fueled not by the senator's \$174,000 salary, but wife Susan Bayh's corporate board income, inspired by her influential husband sitting on places like the Senate Banking Committee. There's bulging archive of Susan Bayh's multi-million income from companies that make pharmaceuticals, operate radio stations, sell health insurance policies and offer online banking, some that came under jurisdiction from Senate committees where Sen. Bayh served.

The Fort Wayne Journal Gazette's Sylvia A. Smith reported in 2007: "In the past four years, (Susan) Bayh collected more than \$1.7 million in pre-tax income when she exercised stock options from two of the corporations. Her actual income from exercising stock options is higher, but the details of one transaction were not publicly reported. During the same time, her husband, Sen. Evan Bayh, D-Ind., cast more than 3,000 votes, including some on issues of keen interest to the pharmaceutical, broadcast, insurance, food-distribution and finance industries."

Just days after bolting from the 2010 Senate race, Bayh penned a New York Times op-ed piece titled, "Why I Left the Senate." He explained, "There are many causes for the dysfunction: Strident partisanship, unyielding

ideology, a corrosive system of campaign financing, gerrymandering of House districts, endless filibusters, holds on executive appointees in the Senate, dwindling social interaction between senators of opposing parties and a caucus system that promotes party unity at the expense of bipartisan consensus."

Ezra Klein, then reporting for the Washington Post, noted in 2011 that Bayh "waxed rhapsodic" about that interim period after he left the Indiana governor's office and his first Senate term when he taught in Bloomington at Indiana University. "The 'corrosive system of campaign financing' that Bayh considered such a threat?" Klein observed, "He's being paid by both McGuire Woods and



Evan Bayh (left) at Gov. Mike Pence's inauguration in January 2013 with U.S. Rep. Todd Young at right. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

Apollo Global Management to act as a corroding agent on their behalf."

It's a guarantee that Republican nominee Todd Young is girding for what could be an epic showdown, with scores of Hoosier Republican preparing to defend the seat. "We are not trembling," said Young campaign manager Trevor Foughty, after he spent Monday morning alerting county chairs across the state that Bayh was attempting a comeback. "After he cast the deciding vote for Obamacare, Evan Bayh left Indiana families to fend for themselves so he could cash in with insurance companies and influence peddlers as a gold-plated lobbyist. This seat isn't the birth-right of a wealthy lobbyist from Washington; it belongs to the people of Indiana."

Bayh managed his father's 1980 campaign that fell upset to Dan Quayle. He knows the sting of defeat. In 2010, it was all about Evan.

Perhaps Bayh figures that out-going Sen. Dan Coats provides him cover, that voters will return to millionaires and billionaires, though Coats enriched himself on K Street after leaving the Senate. When he decided to return, Coats did so in time for the primary, where voters gave him their imprimatur in both May and November 2010.

Instead of filing for the primary last February, Bayh ends up strong-arming Hill out of the race, his very actions complying with Donald Trump's assertion that American politics is a "rigged" system.

Klein ended his 2011 story about Bayh, quoting him as saying of voters, "They look at us like we're worse than used-car salesmen." Today, he's got a 2010 Pontiac Aztec to sell Hoosier voters. ❖

Trump/Pence, from page 1

May. At the beginning of the year, the Pence/Ellspermann ticket was poised for a rematch with John Gregg. Now a short-circuited route to the governor's office will be set in motion. And it comes as former Democratic governor and senator Evan Bayh returned to the stage after the abrupt withdrawal of U.S. Senate nominee Baron Hill.

Two of the top ticket nominations forged in May will change in the next several weeks.

For the ambitious governor, who has long looked into the mirror and seen a future president, the new Trump/Pence ticket revives his national aspirations after they crumbled in March and April 2015 when he signed, then changed the Religious Freedom Restoration Act. It is a reprieve from his rematch with John Gregg, where victory was far from certain.

And it opens a new era for Indiana Republicans, where 24 Republican Central Committee members will choose from a field likely to include newly minted Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb, House Speaker Brian Bosma, U.S. Reps. Susan Brooks and Todd Rokita, State Sen. Jim Merritt, and GOP Chairman Jeff Cardwell.

There had been speculation that Purdue President Mitch Daniels might avail himself for a return to the Statehouse second floor, but as the Trump/Pence pitch reached a fevered din mid-day Thursday, he slapped away such a notion. "Ordinarily, it's neither necessary nor good practice to comment on hypothetical questions," Daniels told the Lafayette Journal & Courier's Dave Bangert. "But this year and the current political situation in Indiana is extraordinary to say the least. So I think it is appropriate that I make plain today that, should there be a sudden need to name a new nominee for governor, I will not present myself as a candidate nor would I accept the nomination if offered."

This has become a cycle of political redemption. Not only was Pence facing a reelection bid with low approval, reelect and head-to-head poll numbers, but it comes after Holcomb left his flagging U.S. Senate campaign. It came with a falling out between Gov. Pence and Lt. Gov. Sue Ellspermann, who now finds herself at the helm of Ivy Tech. And it comes with U.S. Rep. Todd Young an odds-on favorite to win a U.S. Senate seat, only to the find the \$10 million Bayh dynasty standing in his way.

Just a day after Bayh confirmed he would seek the seat that had been held by a member of his family for five terms, he was running statewide TV ads assailing the low approved and dysfunctional Congress, vowing a return to make it better.

But when it comes to a revival of fortunes on a

national stage, nothing can compare to Gov. Pence, who faced potential political oblivion, only to be elevated by the unpredictable Donald Trump. This unusual courtship began over the Fourth of July weekend when Pence and First Lady Karen were summoned to a Trump golf course in New Jersey. The ensuing conversation was described as "warm and productive."

Pence quickly found allies in the upper Trump sanctums. Campaign manager Paul Manafort saw him as a running mate who could be controlled, whereas Newt Gingrich had potential to veer off the reservation, and New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie had his bridge scandal and would probably be better suited as a future attorney general. The Trump children saw in Pence a sitting governor with a 12-year tenure in Congress including a stint in leadership and a bridge to evangelicals and social conservatives.

Gingrich himself said of Pence, "Mike's got a lot of strengths and he's substantially younger. I'm two years older than Trump and Pence is 20 years younger than me. I think having somebody who represents a somewhat younger voice would have some advantages."

The New York Times, reacting speculative to the Pence choice, noted that Pence is a "low-key man largely defined in public life by his Christian faith. Mr. Pence, 57, is seen as a cautious choice of running mate, a political partner who is unlikely to embarrass Mr. Trump, and who may help him shore up support among conservative voters still wary

of his candidacy. His staunch conservative views on certain social issues, like gay rights and abortion, may inject a new set of concerns into the general election debate that have been largely overlooked with Mr. Trump at the top of the Republican ticket. For Mr. Trump, selecting Mr. Pence would be a sharp departure from habit, and the surest sign yet that he intends to submit to at least some standard political pressures in the general election."

The Trump/Pence courtship

Thursday's announcement that Pence will be on the ticket ended one of the strangest political courtships in modern history. Trump had spent the previous week running his veep recruiting like his reality TV show "The Apprentice," campaigning on stage with them. Some, such as U.S. Sen. Bob Corker, didn't fare well on stage with the larger-than-life billionaire. Christie and Gingrich did fine. Pence was a distinct question mark.

So Trump had planned to swoop into Indianapolis Tuesday for a Columbia Club fundraiser and a rally in Westfield. Both events provided high drama. Pence aided and abetted Trump, raising more than \$1.5 million. The two journeyed together to Westfield, where Pence delivered a full-throated endorsement of what he called "no nonsense leadership" that Trump has displayed over the



Donald Trump points to Gov. Pence after he was introduced in Westfield on Tuesday. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

past 13 months as he won a conventional wisdom shattering nomination when he carried Indiana on May 3 with 53% of the vote. "We're ready to put a builder and a fighter and a patriot in the Oval Office," Pence told about 4,000 people gathered at the sprawling Grand Park Center in Westfield.

And he compared Trump to his hero, Ronald Reagan. "We're ready for a change this November," Pence's voice boomed across the sprawling Grand Park auditorium. "Donald Trump understands the hopes and frustrations of the American people like no other American leader in my lifetime since Ronald Reagan. We're tired of being told this is as good as it gets. We're tired of hearing politicians in both political parties tell us that we'll get through it tomorrow while we pile of mountain range of debt on our children and grandchildren."

Pence promised to place "Indiana the first state on the board to make Donald Trump the 45th president of the United States of America. Here in Indiana we know that strong, Republican leadership works. There are more Hoosiers going to work than ever before in our 200-year history in the great state of Indiana. That's what Republican leadership is and that's exactly the kind of no nonsense leadership that Donald Trump is going to bring to the White House this November."

And with Trump saying at one point he was seeking "an attack dog," he watched the governor assail the leadership of President Obama, adding, "We're ready for a change this November." Pence added, "Hillary Clinton must never become president," earning a ringing cheer from the crowd, adding, "we can make America great again," echoing the Trump campaign's slogan.

Trump entered the stage, the two smiled and shook hands, with Trump pointing to Pence, one of four known contenders for the vice presidential nomination at that time. "Wow. Wow," Trump said, gazing out at the crowd. "How's your governor doing?" The Manhattan billionaire added, "I don't know if he'll be your governor or your vice-president. Who the hell knows?"

Trump and the Pences dined at the Capital Grill at the Conrad Hotel later that evening, with Trump scheduled to fly off to California Wednesday morning.

Around 9:15 a.m. Wednesday, with Trump's jet sidelined for mechanical repairs, the billionaire's motorcade showed up at the Governor's Residence. Included were Manafort, son-in-law Jared Kushner, and children Donald Jr., Eric and Ivanka. That meeting lasted 75 minutes, with Trump returning to the Conrad, where he then created a surreal stir when Gingrich showed up with Fox News host Sean Hannity, and U.S. Sen. Jeff Sessions turned up later. Trump and Sessions ended up flying off to California as Wednesday drew to a close.

Indianapolis became the center of the universe just two blocks away from Pence's Statehouse office.

In an interview with Fox News' Bret Baier, Trump continued to send mixed signals. "I am narrowing it down. I mean, I'm at three, potentially four. But in my own mind, I probably am thinking about two."

"It's great to have them in Indiana, great to have a chance to break bread. Nothing was offered, nothing was accepted," Pence told reporters in Fort Wayne later that day. "We had a great conversation about the



Gov. Pence with Donald Trump at Tuesday's Columbia Club fundraiser.

country, challenges facing America and my firm belief that Donald Trump is going to provide the kind of leadership that America needs to strengthen our nation at home and abroad and give Americans the confidence that we'll be appointing people to the Supreme Court that will stand by our Constitution. I'm honored to be considered and humbled to be considered. The conversations that we had between two families is something Karen and I will cherish the rest of our lives whatever the outcome." He called the thrice-divorced Trump a "family man, a great dad, he's a builder, he's a fighter, and he's a patriot, and I think he's

going to make a great president of the United States of America."

Howey Politics learned that Trump and Pence talked once again late Wednesday evening. And at this writing, deputy Pence campaign manager Marc Lotter was flying to New York City. A ticket was about to be forged.

A fateful Thursday

National Republicans view Pence as a true believer, an ally of House Speaker Paul Ryan, who rose to leadership in the U.S. House, then left to burnish his executive credentials. Pence has wide support among Hoosier Republicans, but it has been a rocky relationship. Under Pence, the Daniels economic wing of the party was at odds with the social conservatives, who led Pence into the RFRA fiasco and other controversial legislation like HEA1337, a stringent anti-abortion bill that found a federal judge filing an injunction on June 30. Economic conservatives ranging from Bill Oesterle to the Indiana Chamber of Commerce pushed for LGBT civil rights expansion, while Pence resisted.

The WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll found Pence a polarizing figure, with his approval in the lower 40th percentile, locked in a dead heat with John Gregg. That polarization extended into the GOP, with Pence polling just 59% of Republicans in the more socially moderate doughnut counties around Indianapolis.

While Pence ultimately could have prevailed in his reelection bid against Gregg, the Trump offer is a true lifeline that pivots Pence back to a national stage.

While many Republicans fear the Trump candidacy, a spate of swing state and national polls shows a dead

heat shaping up with Hillary Clinton, though she leads in a number of swing states even after her political indictment by FBI Director James Comey over the email server scandal.

A spot on the ticket is not a slam dunk for success for the Indiana governor. Vice presidential nominees on tickets losing in a landslide often find themselves sliding into political oblivion. Jack Kemp, Joe Lieberman, Sarah Palin, Geraldine Ferraro, and Sargent Shriver never became presidential level power houses. A Trump/Pence victory certainly would place Pence into the vice presidential realm, though Walter Mondale, Dan Quayle and Al Gore never reached the White House on their own.

The other fascinating aspect of the Trump/Pence odd couple is that there is distance between Trump and Pence on sensitive issues such as abortion, LGBT rights and trade. Pence had called Trump's proposed Muslim ban "offensive" and "unconstitutional."

Pence's congressional career was one where he took principled stands based on his personal values against President George W. Bush's No Child Left Behind, Medicare Part D and the towering deficits that resulted from his two terms. How Pence would deal with a President Trump initiative on gay rights over increased trade tariffs could create friction points that a loyal vice president would simply have to get with the program.

What Pence sees in a president

In October 2014, as speculation swirled around Pence's own presidential ambitions, HPI traveled across Southern Indiana with Pence and asked him what a 2016 Republican nominee should look and sound like. Pence explained, "I've said as we develop those solutions, I'm challenging the leaders of our party that as a Republican you believe in the principles of limited government at the federal level and I think in some respect, over the last 25 years the Republican Party has become just the other party in Washington."

Pence noted that some candidates talk of running Washington like a state. "Washington is not a state. Not literally or quantitatively," Pence said. "I'm looking for someone who says, 'Send me to Washington and I'll make it possible for the next man or woman running my state to have more freedom, more flexibility.'"

And the second thing," Pence added, "the country is looking for someone who expresses optimism and confidence. I was drawn to the Republican Party because I perceived it to be a banner of optimism. Reagan has a great line toward the end of his first inaugural address, when he says something to the effect, and I'm paraphrasing, 'Why shouldn't we dream great dreams?'"

HPI would observe that Gov. Pence could have been looking in a mirror to find such a candidate.

Instead, he finds Donald Trump in the lens, with himself standing by his side. ❖

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Pence was ready to move to national stage

By MAUREEN HAYDEN
CNHI Statehouse Bureau

INDIANAPOLIS – Sitting down with Donald Trump on Wednesday, Mike Pence, by outward appearances, was ready to move from Indianapolis into a national campaign.

If chosen as Trump's running mate, the governor and former congressman would be called upon to rally conservative and evangelical voters behind the Republican Party's unorthodox candidate for president. He would be pressed into attack mode, focused on Democrat Hillary Clinton and her campaign.



And he would move that much further from where began, the son of an Irish Catholic family transplanted from Chicago.

It was unclear Wednesday if Pence had convinced Trump to pull him out of the Statehouse and onto the GOP ticket. The two were meeting just hours after campaigning together at a rally the night before, where Trump speculated on Pence's prospects by telling supporters, "I don't know if he's going to be your governor or your vice president."

Trump was also meeting Wednesday with another possible running mate, former House Speaker Newt Gingrich, at an Indianapolis hotel, as a mob of reporters waited outside.

For Pence, a decision must come soon. He faces a deadline of noon Friday to drop his reelection bid for governor, to give Republicans a chance to field another candidate in hopes of keeping the office in the party. xxx

For Trump, the decision may rest on whether he wants a flashier, more combative candidate, such as Gingrich. Or if he wants a man described as a reliably staunch conservative given to bragging that he was a tea partyer before the Tea Party was cool.

Trump has likely discovered, in a deep vetting of Pence, that the man who steadfastly championed a socially and fiscally conservative agenda in Congress and the Statehouse wasn't always so.

Democratic roots

A native of Columbus, Indiana, Pence was born in 1959 and grew up in a family of Irish Catholic Democrats who revered John F. Kennedy, the first Catholic elected president. Through his teenage years, Pence kept a shoe-

box of clippings on Kennedy. At age 15, he led the Young Democrats in his home county.

Pence admits that he voted for Democrat Jimmy Carter in his 1980 landslide loss to Ronald Reagan.

Even before that vote, Pence was undergoing a political transformation. Pence credits his conversion to his studies at Hanover College, a small, Christian-affiliated liberal arts school in southern Indiana. He studied American history, with a strong focus on the Founding Fathers' original writings. He has said that experience deepened his liking for one of his personal heroes, George Washington, who put a premium on civil public discourse

It was there, he's often said, that he learned the virtues of limited government that eventually led him to the Republican Party. Pence's political transformation was accompanied by a personal one. In college, he met his wife, Karen, at church, and became an evangelical Christian. They're now parents of three grown children.

Happy warrior

Pence is fond of telling those stories as shaping his often-repeated description of himself. "I'm a conservative," he says, "but I'm not angry about it." In picking Pence, Trump would be picking a seemingly polar opposite.

Trump's political views on a range of issues, from international trade to abortion rights, have morphed from a liberal stance to a conservative one. Despite the partisan leanings of his youth, Pence has remained a steadfast conservative for decades.

Early in his six-term tenure in Congress, in 2001, he bucked Republican President George W. Bush by voting against the sweeping No Child Left Behind Act, which sought to raise education standards. Pence argued that it was an unfunded mandate that would lengthen the federal government's tentacles.

He opposed Bush's 2003 expansion of the Medicare prescription plan; voted against Bush's \$700 billion bank bailout in 2008; and called for the federal government in 2011, under President Barack Obama, to stop its funding of Planned Parenthood. But Pence embraced the role of happy warrior in doing so. In a 2012 interview, as he was running for governor, he recalled his tenure on Capitol Hill with fondness. "When I wrap up my career in the House, I'll leave Congress with warm personal relationships on both sides of the aisle," he said. "I've always believed you can disagree without being disagreeable."

Old political friends say that genial, Teflon-like optimism may be Pence's best selling point. "He's a gentleman. In public, he's exactly the way he is in private," said Van Smith, a retired Muncie lawyer and early political mentor who says Pence's political ideology is softened by his personal manner. "If he lived in your neighborhood, you wouldn't think of him as an extremist," Smith said.



Divisive issues

Yet, that's how Pence's political opponents have painted him since he arrived in the Statehouse.

Pence vowed when he took office to focus on jobs and education, though he also campaigned on a description of himself as "a Christian, a conservative and a Republican, in that order."

He was soon pulled into divisive social issues.

Pence backed tougher abortion measures; opposed efforts to undo a state ban on same-sex marriage; and was slow to allow public health officials to implement a needle-exchange program when an HIV epidemic erupted among drug users in a rural Indiana county.

Tension at the Statehouse reached a boiling point last year, when Pence signed a religious freedom bill that critics said would allow businesses to deny services to gays and lesbians. The legislation set off a storm of criticism that forced Pence to sign a follow-up bill clarifying the law's intent – much to the dismay of his evangelical supporters who'd backed the original measure. That came just as Pence was contemplating his own run for president, an ambition cut short, in part, when he stumbled through a difficult, nationally broadcast interview with ABC's George Stephanopoulos. Not long after, just as Pence was getting ready to announce his reelection bid for governor, a poll conducted by Republican Christine Matthews of Bellweather Research found that 54% of Indiana voters said they

wanted a new governor. Fewer than one-third said they'd reelect Pence.

Late endorsement

Pence's poll numbers have since recovered, with the latest showing him slightly ahead of his Democratic opponent for reelection, John Gregg.

If Pence steps away from the race to join Trump's ticket, by Indiana law he'd have to pull his name from the governor's race, triggering a process that would compel the 24-member Republican Party state committee to choose his replacement.

In recent weeks, Pence has remained on the gubernatorial campaign trail while also being vetted by Trump as a potential running mate. Unlike Gingrich, who voiced early support for Trump, Pence has been a relative late-comer to the New Yorker's campaign. Pence endorsed Trump only after his first pick, Texas Sen. Ted Cruz, dropped out of the race, having lost badly to Trump in Indiana's GOP primary in May.

But Pence has since been effusive in his praise for Trump, while encouraging reluctant Republicans to get on board the Trump train, as well. "I think Donald Trump is the kind of leader and the kind of fighter who's going to bring about the change we need in D.C., so the prosperity we're seeing here in Indiana can be the prosperity we enjoy all across the U.S.," he said this week.

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That's the kind of moderate language that Pence is likely to repeat on the campaign trail if picked by Trump.

"Mike could add a lot to the ticket, but he probably wouldn't be raising his voice very much," said Bill Styring, a longtime friend and retired adviser. Styring isn't sure if

that will work.

"This is a crazy election," he said. "Maybe this is the election where people think they need to keep screaming at each other to win." ❖

Pence is making a historic mistake

By **JOSHUA CLAYBOURN**

EVANSVILLE – Just as Mike Pence basks in the glow of his selection as Donald Trump's running mate, a nightmare scenario lurks in the background. Leading advocates for "unbinding" convention delegates and letting them vote their conscience announced they have met a key benchmark on the way to denying Trump the nomination. While the chances remain relatively small, they seem to grow each day and could devastate Mike Pence's political future.



Most states, including Indiana, require delegates to vote for a particular candidate, typically the candidate who won the popular vote statewide or in the congressional district. Should the delegates be unbound and free to vote their conscience for a candidate of their choice, Trump's

campaign could come to screeching halt.

Many political analysts have focused on what the majority of the 112-member Rules Committee will do. However, only 28 committee members are needed to pass a "minority report," which then goes to the convention floor for all delegates to vote upon. Once it's put to a vote before the entire convention, it needs only a simple majority to pass.

Kendal Unruh, a Colorado delegate and member of the Rules Committee at the RNC, told the Daily Wire over the weekend that their effort does "have the 28 votes required for the minority report." However, "not everyone who is with us is willing to be public yet, due in part to the threats being made by Trump's campaign and the RNC itself." The Wall Street Journal's independent count indicates the effort is "remarkably close" to reaching the threshold.

By his own campaign's account, Donald Trump only has about 900 loyal delegates, far fewer than the 1,237 delegates needed to win the nomination. So if the decision to unbind is put before all of the delegates, it remains very possible for Trump to lose the nomination on the convention floor.

Against this backdrop Mike Pence begins his

dangerous dance as Trump's running mate. Indiana law prohibits candidates from running simultaneously for state and federal office, which effectively means Pence will have to remove his name from the ballot as a governor candidate by Friday, July 15. As Trump's running mate, Pence's political future, and indeed his political legacy, now rest in the unorthodox and unpredictable hands of Donald Trump.

Pence has long positioned himself as a pure, principled conservative voice. As a radio host he would tell listeners he was a "Christian, conservative, and Republican, in that order." He now seems to turn his back on the cause he spent a career supporting.

Erick Erickson, founder of RedState and one of the right's leading opinion makers, is a textbook example of how Pence's legacy is in the midst of a major makeover. Prior to 2016, Erickson had always been a Mike Pence fan. In 2008, he was one of a handful of people to privately meet with Pence and encouraged him to enter the presidential race that year.

Yet after Pence's failure to do more to prevent a Trump win in Indiana, Erickson wrote he was "now so thoroughly disappointed" in Pence. Pence's tepid involvement in the presidential primary helped Trump, "a shallow demagogue," which he believed served to "destroy all that Mike Pence so tirelessly for so many years worked to achieve." Erickson offered these stern words: "Others may forget. But I will certainly remember than in the face of devastation we all know Donald Trump will cause as the Republican nominee in 2016, Mike Pence did nothing. And should he have any future ambition, he will need to pay a price for his silence."

Mike Pence's credibility with both conservatives and moderates was already damaged from the RFRA fight and his awkward positioning in Indiana's primary. Now, as Trump's running mate, Pence has irreparably betrayed an army of conservative leaders and foot soldiers whom he won't be able to count on going forward.

Aides to Mike Pence suggest he believes a spot on the national ticket could simultaneously lift him out of a tough gubernatorial campaign and make him a top prospect for the Republican nomination in 2020 or 2024. But that calculation ignores the damage already done with his conservative base, which only a successful Trump presidency could hope to repair. If the effort to deny Donald Trump the nomination succeeds at the convention, Mike Pence becomes a general without an army. ❖

Claybourn is a Republican Evansville attorney.

What Pence brings to a Trump ticket

By LARRY SABATO, KYLE KONDIK and GEOFFREY SKELLEY

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. – Despite the heavy focus on Pence and the eventual Democratic running mate, it's good to remember that the vice presidential choice usually makes very little difference in the end. Well, that's true for politics at least. For governing, the pick couldn't be more important, since the VP is a heartbeat away from the Oval Office and is in the loop for most major decisions of any administration. But the last time a running mate may have really swung an election was 1960, when John F. Kennedy's selection of Lyndon B. Johnson helped Democrats narrowly hold parts of the traditionally Democratic South, particularly LBJ's home state of Texas. So while some running mates in the past five decades have helped or hurt a ticket, they have usually only benefited or hindered at the margins and have not proved decisive in and of themselves. We should expect that to be the case once again in 2016, particularly given the outsized personas nominated by the two major parties.

Few will believe what we've just asserted when the Veep-to-be is announced. The hoopla is overwhelming and the punditry overblown. But after the conventions, and except for a brief period surrounding the one vice presidential debate, voters hear little about the number twos – unless gaffes are committed – and people very seldom base their vote for president on anything the running mate has said or done.

The exception, of course, can be the VP's home state, but it is remarkable how often that isn't true or doesn't matter. Edwards couldn't carry North Carolina for Kerry in 2004, and Paul Ryan couldn't win Wisconsin for Mitt Romney in 2012, just to cite two recent examples. Frequently, the VP nominee's home state is already in the bag for his or her party – Dick Cheney's Wyoming, Joe Lieberman's Connecticut, Joe Biden's Delaware, or Sarah Palin's Alaska.

Political scientists generally don't think running mates have much of an effect on election results. For example, one study found that from 1884 to 1984, a presidential ticket did only 0.3 points better than expected in the running mate's home state. Another analysis, however, suggested that running mates are worth, on average, 2.2 points in the VP's state. That might have mattered if Trump had picked John Kasich of Ohio, a popular governor who probably could have helped win that bellwether swing state. Indeed, Thomas Dewey's selection of Ohio Gov. John Bif Trump needs Pence just to win Indiana – and he probably doesn't – he won't have much chance of winning anyway.

Why Pence?

Considering Trump's final shortlist included less-than-stellar options such as Gov. Chris Christie of New Jersey, former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich, and Lt. Gen. (Ret.) Mike Flynn, Pence may be the best possible pick for Trump under the circumstances. A social and economic conservative with strong religious views and think-tank credentials, Pence could conceivably shore up some of Trump's weaknesses among certain strands of the GOP base and some ideologically-committed conservatives inside and outside the Beltway. Pence also fits Trump's oft-mentioned preference for a running mate who knows politics. The Indiana governor is familiar with the ins

and outs of DC, having served six terms in the House of Representatives and two years as chair of the House Republican Conference. He is much liked in Congress on the

and outs of DC, having served six terms in the House of Representatives and two years as chair of the House Republican Conference. He is much liked in Congress on the GOP side, and Paul Ryan and company, who have serious doubts about Trump and don't fully trust him, are relieved. They'll have a point of contact in any Trump administration. Maybe the Pence pick earns Trump some goodwill in the establishment and suggests he'll be more reliable than they think. Perhaps this will quiet some of the dissident voices in the GOP and assist in reunification (though we're skeptics, for now).

The main question is, will Pence meet the foremost criterion for a running mate – do no harm? Of the available options, other, perhaps more attractive names recently removed themselves from consideration, Pence may be the safest pick for Trump.

Still, some have suggested Pence may struggle in the limelight, particularly when it comes to defending Trump's policy positions or controversies. (Pence is on record opposing Trump's Muslim ban, for example.) Moreover, Pence's work as a conservative talk-radio host during the 1990s might provide attack fodder. And while Pence is often described as being popular with social conservatives, his compromise on religious freedom legislation in Indiana may make that less true. It is worth noting that Trump has already consolidated 75%-80% of evangelical Christians, in line with the 78% of white evangelicals Romney won in 2012, so one wonders how much Pence can add there. Some claim Pence is well equipped by geography to help Trump in Ohio, Michigan, and throughout the Rust Belt Midwest, but we question that, too. Voters in those states, to this date anyway, have likely never heard of Pence and have no special connection to him.

Pence's tenure as governor has seen economic growth and increased employment. But his decision to sign Indiana's Religious Freedom Restoration Act attracted national attention and controversy. Criticized as anti-gay, the law angered numerous corporations and organizations while also alienating some moderate Republicans. Bill Oesterle, cofounder of Angie's List, even considered challenging Pence in the 2016 gubernatorial primary because of the new law. Having won renomination unopposed, Pence



was due to face his 2012 Democratic opponent, John Gregg, in a November rematch. Some Indiana Republicans believe the state party is better off without Pence running for governor since the incumbent's reelection was far from certain. Gregg may be the biggest loser in Pence's VP selection because some of Pence's potential replacements are less weighed down by baggage than the incumbent.

If it's true that Pence would have been a weaker gubernatorial nominee than his replacement on the ballot, then how much does he really help Trump? Indiana, the most Republican state in the Midwest, should go to Trump unless the presumptive Republican nominee ends up losing by a sizable margin.

For a politician with presidential ambitions, it's revealing that Pence decided it was better to take a chance running with Trump than continuing his reelection bid. Despite Trump's underdog status, the Indiana governor must have decided this move offers the best chance of putting himself in the conversation for future presidential elections.

This suggests Pence believes one of two things, or perhaps both: (1) Trump has a better chance of winning than many believe and/or (2) Pence's odds of winning reelection are hurt by Trump being at the top of the ticket and that it's better to take a chance with Trump than risk a reelection loss. ❖

Bayh seeks return to Senate to help middle class, restore civility

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – In the television age of politics, seven men have held U.S. Senate seats in Indiana. For 50 years, there was either a Lugar or a Bayh in the Senate. That looked to change in the 2016 race between Republican Todd Young and Democrat Baron Hill, until the latter dropped a bombshell similar to that of Evan Bayh in 2010. Hill would resign the ticket, paving the way for an Evan Bayh comeback.

Bayh announced on

Wednesday that he would

seek the seat he held for two terms and his father for three terms, saying, "With the challenges facing Indiana and our country, I can no longer sit on the sidelines and watch as partisan bickering grinds Washington to a halt. Hoosier families deserve more and I've decided to run to take their cause to the U.S. Senate. It's time for Indiana common sense, the principle that guided my work as governor, when we crossed the aisle to cut taxes, reform welfare and create a scholarship program to help Hoosier families afford college.

"One of the reasons I decided to retire was to spend more time with my twin boys and my wife," Bayh continued. "I am proud of that decision and cherish the time I've had with

them. Now, I see their future, and all of Indiana's future, put at risk by a broken political system. I'll work every day to put progress ahead of partisanship and to earn the support of Hoosiers so that we can get back to getting things done for Indiana."

Bayh brings close to \$10 million he had held since he announced he wouldn't seek a third term in 2010, whereas Hill struggled to raise money, failing to clear the \$1 million threshold. Republican nominee Todd Young has \$1.3 million cash on hand.

Young responded to Bayh's reemergence, saying, that Hoosiers believe "the system in Washington is rigged against them," and "Washington lobbyists" like Bayh are "part of the problem."

"Evan Bayh wouldn't defend Hoosiers from Obamacare when he was in the Senate, but as a lobbyist he defended corporations who paid him to oppose it. ... This Senate seat does not belong to the Bayh family

for whenever it's convenient. It belongs to the people of Indiana and Hoosiers expect a senator to share their values, and their experiences and represent their interests."

The Young campaign also noted: "Bayh has two homes in Washington, and a Florida penthouse. Bayh owns a house in the Spring Valley section of Washington assessed at roughly \$2.4 million, according to D.C. property records. ... He owns a house on N Street in Georgetown ... bought it in March 2015 for \$2.925 million ... a vacation home in Key Biscayne... [was] assessed at \$3.298 million. Meanwhile Bayh's Indianapolis condo is one room and roughly 1,000 square feet."

HPI conducted this phone



interview with Bayh around noon on Wednesday to talk about why he is returning to electoral politics.

HPI: Walk me through how you got to where you are now.

Bayh: There's only one reason to do this and that's to help middle class families in Indiana with their challenges. And I want to deal with some of the divisiveness in Washington. There is no other reason. So I want to focus on bringing good jobs and good wages, college affordability for our kids, enforcing trade deals to insure that other countries aren't ripping off our jobs and products. That kind of thing, that's all it's about. I talked to my wife and sons. Fortunately I married a wonderful woman. Just on a personal level, I'm 60 years old now and I want to know that at the end of my days, whenever that arrives, that I made as big a difference as I could. That's it. That's all.

HPI: There've been reports that Sens. Chuck Schumer and Harry Reid were involved.

Bayh: Ha! Well, no. Look, none of those people matter to me. My wife, my sons, they matter to me, talking this over. The people of Indiana matter to me. None of those national people matter to me. There's no way they talked me into this. That's crazy. I'm doing this for the right reasons.

HPI: Tell me about your conversation with Baron Hill. You must have talked with him at some point.

Bayh: He called me Thursday or Friday of last week. My first words to him: "Baron, frankly, I don't know what to say." He's a big man and he was willing to put the interests of the state and country ahead of his own personal political ambitions. That's a noble thing. If he was willing to do that, I felt like I had an obligation to do the same. I did a lot of soul searching and thinking and so here we are.

HPI: Baron called you and said "I'm going to drop out?"

Bayh: No, he called to say he made his decision. That's when I was kind of, "Baron, I don't know what to say." I told him how admirable it was to put his own ambitions secondary to the interests of the state and country. Baron Hill is a competitor, an athlete. I'm sure every instinct in his being was to fight and hang in. But he ultimately concluded that he had to do what was best for the state and country. I think that speaks volumes about the man's character.

HPI: Did you consider running in the primary? The reason I ask is, by the end of this month we could have a Republican gubernatorial nominee who was not elected by voters in the primary and we're going to have a Democratic U.S. Senate nominee not elected by primary voters. It seems like we're rendering the primary process moot.

Bayh: I never considered that. Never.

HPI: You wrote that famous op-ed piece for the New York Times a couple of weeks after the year 2010 decision to retire. Talk about the dysfunction in the Sen-

ate. Do you think it's gotten worse? And how does your potential reentry make a difference?

Bayh: I do think it's gotten worse; a lot worse. I'm not naive. This won't be easy. There are no magic wands. I think we may have a unique opportunity, with a new president, new Senate leadership and a new speaker in the House. People in America and Indiana say they've had enough of gridlock and partisanship. I think that may create an environment to find practical solutions to the problems we face. I think that it's worse, it has to be better, we have a chance to make it better, and I think we have an obligation to try.

HPI: Politically speaking, does having you on the ballot improve Hillary Clinton's chances of carrying Indiana?

Bayh: I have no idea.

HPI: Todd Young's campaign is pushing out information about how the Bayh family enriched themselves while you were still in the Senate, and that you didn't move back to Indiana, choosing a lobbying career on K Street. Would you address that?

Bayh: The only thing I have to say about that is that Congressman Young wants to attack me personally and that's his choice. I want to focus on the families of America. I think people are sick of the negativity. The last thing we need is more of that in Washington. We need more reconciliation. That's what I'm about.

HPI: In your view of Donald Trump, we're seeing a completely different kind of candidate who has been provocative, nativist, and hitting on racially charged themes. How does the Trump factor influence your coming campaign?

Bayh: I won't speak about Mr. Trump. But I will say this, in the level of divisiveness in my country, this really breaks my heart. We have real challenges both abroad and at home. We need to find a way to come together and work together to meet those challenges. I understand the anger. I share the anger of many who are frustrated with Washington and look at the gridlock and political fighting. Congress has a 15% job approval rating, Brian. It deserves it. So we need to make some changes. I understand the anger and frustration. But the answer to that is more reconciliation. The genius of our country isn't that we're all alike or thinking the same thing. The genius of America is we're all different and we find a way to reconcile those differences, to find a way to work together. That's what our country is about and what our politics should be about. When Robert Kennedy was here in Indianapolis on the day that Martin Luther King was shot, Indianapolis was the only major city that did not have civil disturbances. One of the reasons was that Kennedy eloquently said that what America needs today is not more anger or hatred. We need more togetherness, reconciliation and love. He was right about that. I guess the final thing I'll say, forgive me I'm a little emotional and I'm tired, we have enough divisiveness in this country without politicians getting into the act. ❖

Evan Bayh plays the Jimmy Chitwood role

Rollin: "What can I do for you, Jimmy?"

Jimmy Chitwood: "I got something to say."

Rollin: "All right, say what you've gotta say"

Jimmy Chitwood: (to crowd) "I don't know if it'll make a difference, but I figured it's time for me to start playing ball again."

By SHAW FRIEDMAN

LaPORTE – So much of the Hoosier political world's attention has been focused this week on whether Donald Trump picks our governor as a running mate, but an equally seismic matter politically happened this week that deserves notice and comment.



The Indiana Democratic Party's Jimmy Chitwood, former U.S. senator and governor, Evan Bayh, decided as well that it's time he started playing ball again. Though he left the Senate six years ago, he's been persuaded to come back and contend for his old seat, instantly turning the race from one that national political oddsmakers had rated as "Sure Republican" to "Toss-up" or even "Leans Democratic."

Former Congressman Baron Hill's action this week in gracefully bowing out and deferring to the much better known and better financed Evan Bayh was one of the more selfless, non-ego-driven acts we've seen in politics. It's a prime example of why our team, the Indiana Democratic Party, is best positioned this year to finally make some headway at cutting into the Indiana GOP's traditional, heavy-handed lock on statewide offices.

Compare that selfless act with the unseemly posturing displayed by four Indiana GOP elected officials who began openly lobbying Republican state committee members for a governor's nomination before the body of Mike Pence was even cold. Should Pence not have some say in who his potential successor might be? It's been remarkable to watch the ravenous ambitious personalities in the state GOP line up with the long knives out for each other as they contend for a vacancy that had still not happened as of this writing.

Compare that with Baron Hill taking stock of polling data and trying to assess who would be the strongest possible candidate to take on Todd Young and contend seriously for the U.S. Senate. Baron Hill knows how much is at stake with control of the Senate hanging in the balance and the likely U.S. Supreme Court vacancies in the next few years. What did this beloved former Congressman say to his party? "Please send in our franchise player

to beat Todd Young."

It was like that moment in the movie "Hoosiers" when the whole team turns to Coach Norman Dale and balk in unison at the last play he's drawn up for the final seconds of the state championship game. The whole team turns to Coach and says, "Let Jimmy take the last shot." Well, who better to take our last shot than Evan Bayh?

As a party, we've gotten our act together. Folks are putting aside turf and ego and ambition and we are fielding the strongest possible team. What did Coach Dale tell the boys of Hickory in practice? "Five players on the floor functioning as one single unit – Team, Team, Team – no one more important than the other."

We've got a governor candidate in John Gregg and a lieutenant governor candidate in Christina Hale who have blended well with our Schools Supt. candidate Glenda Ritz and our Attorney General candidate Lorenzo Arrendondo. Each brings different strengths to this contest. Add to that squad, our Jimmy Chitwood, Evan Bayh, an outstanding shooter from the perimeter who has brought wins home in every election he's been in. By my count, that's five players on the floor functioning as one single unit, a marquee state ticket that will seriously contend this year.

I've spoken to a lot of Indiana Democrats in the past three days who are excited about the prospects for this state ticket going up against the vaunted Republican state machine that has dominated Indiana politics for so long. Preacher Purl cited a fitting passage from the Bible when he sent the boys from Hickory out there to face their foe: "And David put his hand in the bag and took out a stone and slung it. And it struck the Philistine on the head and he fell to the ground. Amen."

We're also saying a prayer as our starting Five now take to the floor.

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

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

Looking at race after Dallas PD murders

By CRAIG DUNN

KOKOMO – As I’ve watched hour upon hour of coverage on the shooting deaths of five policemen in Dallas, and the seemingly senseless deaths of two black citizens in Minnesota and Baton Rouge, my mind wanders back 54 years to Minerva Butler and her class of smiling third graders at Willard-Douglass Elementary School in Kokomo.



ing third graders at Willard-Douglass Elementary School in Kokomo.

Mrs. Butler ruled her class with an iron fist. Actually, it was an iron finger. She could dispatch justice or motivation in the form of a flicked finger quicker than the blink of an eye. The thud of finger meeting skull served the dual purpose of awakening the transgressor and serving as a warning to those who might stray from the

straight and narrow.

Thinking back about the 54 years that have flown swiftly by, I contemplate the state of racial relations in our country today and find that much has changed for the better, some things have changed for the worse, and a few things are disappointingly the same. Fifty-four years is a long time and it is sad that, overall, we are still wrestling with many of the same problems that we faced during 1962.

My fellow classmates and I were all born in the same year, 1954, as the watershed Supreme Court decision of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*. The year we were born, white children attended Willard Elementary. Two blocks down the street, black children attended Douglass (as in Frederick Douglass) Elementary. Kokomo schools’ solution to the Supreme Court decision was to house the first three grades of black and white students in the Willard building and grades four through six in the Douglass building.

By the time I entered Willard Douglass, most white families had deserted the neighborhood and moved to the other side of town. The less affluent families, mine included, stayed put and settled in to the brave new world of integration. To me, it was no big deal. All of my playmates were black. Almost all of my neighbors were black. My family didn’t talk about it and I certainly didn’t think about it. All of us in Mrs. Butler’s third grade class tackled “Fun With Dick and Jane” with equal trepidation and abandon.

Dick, Jane, Sally, Spot and Puff sure dealt with their share of challenges and intrigues as they navigated the brutal world of middle class white America, but we

never read about Dick buying crack cocaine from a dealer on the way to school or Jane getting pregnant in sixth grade. Those realities were taught by the school of hard knocks that began when the 3 o’clock dismissal bell rang.

As I look back over the intervening 54 years, I think of the amazing accomplishments that blacks have made during that time, enabled by the civil rights legislation that Republicans advocated in the face of Democrat Party bigotry. Lyndon Johnson would have been the first one to tell you that the Voting Rights Act was passed only through the efforts of Republicans in Congress. Over 80% of Republican representatives and senators supported the legislation.

All Americans can look back with pride on the selection of the first and second black Supreme Court justices, election of black politicians at every level of government, and the election of the first black president of the United States. Political progress has been matched by outstanding black accomplishments and recognition in virtually all sectors of American life. From military generals, scientists and writers to media titans, business czars and social advocates, black citizens have scaled mountains that were once to be climbed only by whites. For this fact of American life, we should justly be proud.

However, to point to singular racial triumphs without recognizing the many problems still faced by blacks and other disadvantaged peoples would be disingenuous. We still have significant racial problems in the United States. Statistics are a messy flicker of truth. Although they can be manipulated and misinterpreted, in their raw native state, they don’t lie. The truth is that we still have a festering problem with black inequality and the mountains of money that we have shoveled at the problem has yielded very few positive results.

According to the Economic Policy Institute:

- The black unemployment rate has consistently been double the white unemployment rate for the past 54 years.

- Black unemployment has exceeded recession levels for the last 50 years.

- The household income gap between blacks and whites hasn’t narrowed in 50 years.

- The black poverty rate is no longer declining.

- Black children are far more likely than whites to live in areas of concentrated poverty.

- Schools are more segregated today than in

1980.

Pew Research informs us that in 1960, 74% of white adults and 61% of black adults were married. By 2011, 55% of whites were married and only 31% of black adults were married. Statistics demonstrate that marriage is considered an indicator of well-being in part because married adults are economically better off.

According to ChildTrends.org, black parents, most of whom are less educated than their white counterparts, don’t expect their children to attain as much education as white parents expect. Lower expectations become self-ful-

filling prophecies, contributing to lower expectations from the student, less positive attitudes toward school, fewer out-of-school learning opportunities, and less parent-child communication about school.

Black parents may have less time and resources to devote to their child's education but the lack of black education equality has a negative compounding effect. According to U. S. News and World Report, the average number of words correctly read per minute was 102 for white adults and 85 for black adults. So, not only do 91% of white parents read to their 3- to 5-year-olds three or more times per week, while only 78% of black parents did the same, they do it more accurately.

The same U. S. News study showed that blacks are three times as likely to be retained a grade in school and are suspended or expelled at three times the rate of white students. Black students are twice as likely as white students to drop out of school. Now we may look at each other and give a knowing nod and then slip easily into a discussion of blacks and police relations without even connecting the dots and realizing that the problem is just the opposite side of the same coin.

AmericanProgress.org highlights these startling black crime statistics:

- While people of color make up 30 percent of the U.S. population, they account for 60 percent of those imprisoned. One in every 15 black males is incarcerated, versus one in every ----- white men.

- Bureau of Justice statistics show that one in three black men can expect to go to prison in their lifetime.

- Department of Justice studies demonstrate that a black person is three times more likely to be searched during a traffic stop than a white person.

- Department of Education studies say that students of color make up 70% of arrested or referred to law enforcement situations by schools.

- Black women are 69% more likely to be incarcerated than white women.

- The Sentencing Project says that black Americans are sentenced to 10% longer sentences and are 21% more likely to receive mandatory minimum sentences than white defendants for the same crimes.

Fifty years of anger over a persistent problem of inequality has spilled out onto the streets of America and our police officers are forced to bear the brunt of a problem in which we all play a role.

Once again, the incredibly ugly truth is that the United States has thrown trillions of dollars toward eradicating poverty, improving education for minorities and improving nutrition, health, housing and opportunity for black people over the last 50 years with very little to show for it from a statistical standpoint. While there are anecdotal triumphs to publicize, the real truth lies smoldering in the persistently ugly economic, educational and social statistics.

Now before I'm accused of being a latent lily-livered liberal, please allow me to give you my philosophy of compassionate conservatism. Solving a series of problems that has run our nation to the brink of bankruptcy and anarchy is not just compassionate but it is most assuredly conservative. Continuing another 50 years of spending trillions without anything to show for it has a name. That name is Democrat.

The first step to any progress is recognition that we still have significant problems and that the problems can't be fixed by merely throwing money at them or by socially engineering an artificial outcome. The second step is to have a meaningful dialogue between the stakeholders. A meaningful dialogue means that the reactionary rhetorical bomb throwers need to be excluded so that their prejudices and agendas don't overwhelm the discussion. The third step is crafting effective legislation or creating programs that fundamentally alter the current trajectory of our woeful racial statistics.

I would like to see the Republican Party, the party of Lincoln, the party of equal opportunity and the party of fairness, take the lead in a new paradigm regarding race in this country. Let's hope that a real leader will step forward and take up this cause that has eaten away at our nation's moral fiber for over 50 years. If we do nothing different as a nation, our problems will become more divisive and exponentially more expensive.

Mrs. Butler has been gone for many years now, but I wonder what she would think about an entire generation moving from primary school to retirement without figuring out the right answer to the problem. I can almost hear her say, "You knuckleheads need to pay attention and do it for yourself. No one is going to do it for you." I can almost feel the finger of fury thumping the skull that won't get the message. ❖

Dunn is chairman of the Howard County Republican Party.

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

Gregg out, Schricker in

By MARK SOUDER

FORT WAYNE – In yet another bold move, the Indiana Democrats have announced that former Gov. Henry Schricker will be pulled out of deep retirement to replace John Gregg as their 2016 candidate for governor. Polling was clearly showing that Gregg's previous campaign stressing his moustache had been working better than his current ads. "Many of us thought John had lost his creative edge and just turned into a complainer," said one disgruntled Democrat. "We needed somebody wearing a white hat."



Some snarky Republicans pointed out the fact that Schricker is dead and couldn't even vote for himself. Democrats quickly countered that they consider Starke County, Schricker's current residence, part of the Region where such things don't matter. They also noted that Hoosier voters seem to be more focused on name identification than any other variable this year.

The Schricker strategy to bail out the gubernatorial race was a by-product of the amazing initial excitement generated among Democrats of Evan Bayh's return from the politically dead to force Baron Hill out of the Senate race. Hill, whose sole strategy to win seemed to have been banking on Marlin Stutzman being the Republican Senate nominee, learned of his disposal yesterday.

Hill was walking across the state, somewhat oblivious to the news, when a bicyclist caught up with him shaking hands at a Yellowwood State Forest camping site to deliver the bad news. Baron expressed deep disappointment that he would have to give up his state walking tour in which he had hoped to meet hundreds, perhaps a thousand, voters.

Bayh emerged from his residence, noted as the only home in America designed to look like a Federal Reserve bank and one of the few equipped with at least four vaults for storing money, to announce that to keep the memory of Baron Hill alive, he, Bayh, would also be touring the state.

Bayh, who sits on the largest cash reserve of any retired legislator in history, will be touring the state in an armored Brink's vehicle shaped like an RV. He intends to offer every Hoosier a free Susan B. Anthony dollar coin. Bayh generously said that he was offering Hill the chance to pass out the dollars, so long as he didn't say anything substantive.

"It just seems appropriate to emphasize Susan with Hillary on the verge of making history as the first girl to be president," Bayh noted. If all 6.6 million Hoosiers

claim their free Anthony dollar, Bayh would still have some 4 million dollars with which to begin his campaign. This, of course, assumes that he will actually spend his money rather than continue saving it for something else that could come up. Sharing it, of course, is not an option.

Bayh's Republican opponent, Todd Young, pointed out the irony of Bayh's proposed strategy. "When Evan's dad was senator along with Vance Hartke, Republicans referred to them 'Bayh and Bought,' Young said. "He's just fulfilling his dad's legacy."

The thought of facing both Bayh and Schricker has Hoosier Republicans nervous. With incumbent Gov. Mike Pence auditioning for a role on the Trump Titanic, hoping that the iceberg named Hillary melts down enough that the ship can make it to port, the scramble for an alternative is on. I support Oliver P. Morton but then again, I was for Rubio for president. Betting odds are on Bobby Knight or Mike Tyson.

Seriously, the most likely replacement for Pence would be ... never mind, there is no seriously this election year. ❖

Souder is a former Republican congressman from Indiana.

Conservatives should be more like Bernie

By PETE SEAT

INDIANAPOLIS – Many conservatives missed the Donald Trump phenomenon, and the Bernie Sanders explosion, because it's difficult to detect and discern populist movements when one more naturally reacts from the head than the heart. Populism is about feelings, and if one doesn't have the same feelings it can be easy to dismiss the emotions of others. Facts, on the other hand, are indisputable. Of course, that's until those facts are uttered by a politician, at which point they become as useful as a dead cat.



And it's that inability to fully grasp and respect human emotion that puts conservatives, and their allied partisans the Republicans, in a bind. George W. Bush's "compassionate conservative" message elicited snickers from some corners of even his own party, but it's precisely that message that would most appeal to younger voters and could bring them to conservatism en masse.

Elections are about feelings. Voters want to feel good about their vote, or in the case of 2016, less bad than they would feel in voting for the other candidate. That's why pollsters ask a lot of questions related to perception. Where do people think things stand today? Are we on the right track or the wrong track? Facts be darned, how do you feel? Whether right or wrong, it drives the vote.

A thorough focus group study conducted by the College Republican National Committee put the case on paper when it found that one of the most important character traits young people look for in a candidate for office is whether that person cares about others. When looking at how conservatives sell policies to the American public, the idea of caring is an afterthought in most cases.

There are exceptions, such as the example cited by the College Republican National Committee of Speaker Paul Ryan's quest to better understand and fight poverty, but by and large empathy is lost in conservative quarters. Facts, figures, bar charts, pie graphs, those come before what's in our gut.

If there were more focus on human appeals to public policy, the 360-degree surround sound of populism wouldn't be so difficult to comprehend. We would know where people are coming from and take how they feel

seriously, despite what the economic growth numbers tell us. It's a message young people are sending us right now through their words and actions.

In its "Prescription for Winning Millennials," the College Republican National Committee put this in the top spot: "Prove you care about people of all walks of life and empathize with others." The report went on to say, "The harsh reality is that this is not an attribute associated with politics or specifically our party, but is critical for young voters." And just in case the point didn't come across, in big, fat, bold letters the authors add: "Millennials want leaders who care."

Conservatives are missing out on a generation of voters by treating heart discussions awkwardly. Look at how young people responded to the when-pigs-fly candidacy of Bernie Sanders. While his proposals are practically unworkable, he brought people to him by making them feel he cared.

I can't believe I'm writing this, but conservatives should be more like (gulp) Bernie Sanders. Don't confuse an attraction to his empathy as support for his policies. Ignore the head, trust the heart. ❖

Seat is a Republican consultant based in Indianapolis.

The 'what ifs' of Evan Bayh

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – When U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh suddenly backed away from seeking re-election in 2010, he turned Hoosier politics on its ear. No one then even speculated that he would do the same thing in the middle of 2016. But he just as suddenly announced that he would be getting back into politics with the intent of returning to the Senate.



With the state's most popular Democrat suddenly off the ballot in 2010, Republicans were giddy about the future. For certain, the Indiana GOP again knew that it likely would control both of the state's seats in the U.S. Senate. And, yes it hap-

pened, as Republican Dan Coats won in 2010.

One has to wonder what would have transpired in Indiana politics if Bayh had sought, and surely won, reelection six years ago. If Bayh had won in 2010, Hoosier Republicans and Democrats wouldn't be in the mess they

are in today.

One has to wonder whether Mike Pence would have defeated John Gregg four years ago if Bayh had been politically active and campaigning for Gregg. And if Gregg were governor, which Republican would be running against Gregg today?

Without Pence's four years as one of the nation's most conservative governors, Donald Trump surely wouldn't have considered him as a running mate. And, if Bayh were seeking a state record fourth term in the Senate, U.S. Rep. Todd Young surely wouldn't be trying to oust Bayh. And, if Bayh had stayed in the Senate, Dan Coats clearly wouldn't have won the seat in 2010. But Bayh left and Coats won, after beating Democratic U.S. Rep. Brad Ellsworth.

And then there's that Hillary Clinton and Evan Bayh thing. Had Hillary defeated Barack Obama for the presidential nomination in 2008, many think she would have picked Bayh as her running mate. And if Bayh had stayed in the Senate, Hillary, perhaps, would have chosen him this year.

What if? ❖

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.

Evan Bayh returns for Hillary Clinton

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Evan Bayh, sick of the divisive and unproductive Senate in which he served, turned down almost certain reelection six years ago, saying, “I do not love Congress.” Now, Bayh would love to be back in the Senate. In a surprised decision, he seeks the seat he gave up in the surprise decision not to run in 2010.

Why?



Hillary Clinton.

Bayh always has been close politically with Bill Clinton, in presidential campaigns and during the Clinton presidency, and with Hillary, backing her for the Democratic presidential nomination in 2008 and again this time. She might have picked him for vice president in '08. Barack Obama almost did. David Axelrod, Obama's chief campaign strategist, said it was

down to Evan Bayh or Joe Biden.

Politico reports that for months, Sen. Chuck Schumer of New York, third ranking Democrat in the Senate, “toiled on a seemingly fruitless task” of persuading Bayh to run for senator to “give Democrats a big boost in their bid to retake the Senate.”

The effort reportedly included polls showing Bayh with a double-digit lead if he ran.

But Bayh didn't run for the Democratic nomination for the Senate in the May primary election. Former Rep. Baron Hill did, winning it unopposed.

Hill, with scant funding and lacking name recognition, appeared to have no chance of winning the Senate seat in a fall race with Republican Rep. Todd Young, who won impressively in the GOP primary. All the projections were that the seat, being vacated by retiring Republican Sen. Dan Coats, was “safe Republican,” not in play in the Democratic quest to pick up at least four seats for Senate control in a situation in which a Democratic vice president was elected to break ties.

Schumer argued that Bayh still could step in, replacing Hill, and that the long-popular Hoosier Democrat, twice elected governor, twice elected to the Senate, could win the seat and be a decisive factor in taking Senate con-

trol away from the GOP.

Schumer and other Senate Democratic leaders no doubt were persuasive. But there are reports that the Clintons also urged their Indiana friend to run. Of course. And if Hillary Clinton were not running for president, Bayh would not be running for the Senate. He isn't running just to win one for the Schumer.

Bayh knows that if Clinton is elected president, as he hopes and expects, she would face stalemate and obstruction from a Republican-controlled Senate still led by an unfriendly Mitch McConnell. So, Bayh is running not to get back in a stalemated congressional situation that he didn't love, but to get the Senate back to a majority that would work with rather than against Clinton and be productive.

Hill stepped aside. What else could he do? He had almost no chance to win. If he refused to step aside to allow appointment of Bayh as the nominee, even his scant funding would have diminished. In withdrawing, Hill was gracious, saying Democrats have a better chance with a nominee with “the money, name identification and resources to win.” In other words, with Evan Bayh.

Funding is a plus for Bayh. He has \$9.3 million in campaign funds held onto since he decided not to run six years ago. Young reports just \$1.23 million in cash on hand. Young didn't need a lot in an easy race with Hill. Republicans were directing resources to close races elsewhere. Now, they will have to pour in funds for Young in a race for a seat suddenly in play.

The Cook Political Report quickly moved the Indiana race to “toss up.” Some other analysts gave an edge



to Bayh.

The Washington Post reported that strategists in both parties agree that Bayh “is the only Democrat who could beat Young.”

That's right. Those polls show that. Bayh knows that. Hillary Clinton knows that. And Bayh answered the call to give it a try. ❖

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

Michelle Cottle, The Atlantic: First, let us acknowledge a few uncomfortable truths about former Senator Evan Bayh, who just scrambled Indiana politics with the news that, any second now, he will replace former Representative Baron Hill as the Democratic Senate nominee. Number one: Bayh, a two-term governor turned two-term senator, is a quitter. In February 2010, in the midst of his Senate reelection campaign, Bayh announced that he had lost his taste for the game and would retire at the end of his term. He was, the senator explained in *The New York Times*, bone-weary of Congress's "institutional inertia," "strident partisanship," "unyielding ideology," and "corrosive" campaign-finance system. He charged that both Congress and the American public needed "a new spirit of devotion to the national welfare beyond party or self-interest," and he told *The Washington Post* that he was seeking "a greater sense of satisfaction about making a difference every day." He mused that he would probably join some worthy foundation or—better still—teach! Number two: Bayh instead became a shameless sell-out. In January 2011, he stepped straight from the Senate into lucrative posts as a partner and "strategic adviser" at a prominent law/lobbying firm and as a "senior adviser" with a private-equity firm. Two months later, he signed on as a contributor to Fox News. By that June, he had joined the U.S. Chamber of Commerce as a member of its anti-regulatory team. How's that for making a difference? Number three: The guy is crushingly boring. I say this not because Bayh is centrist or bipartisan or pragmatic or yet another middle-aged white guy with good hair and a nice smile. He is, to be sure, all of those things. But Bayh is something much, much more: the human equivalent of Ambien—anodyne to a degree that one normally associates with staff meetings, politicians' autobiographies, and televised golf. It's hard to overestimate how noxious progressives find Bayh, with his pro-business, mushy-middle politics. ❖



Erick Erickson, The Resurgent: Mike Pence would actually be the perfect vice presidential pick for Donald Trump because he lacks the courage of his convictions and would absolutely not overshadow Donald Trump. He gives Trump the veneer of conservatism without anyone ever having to worry that he'd actually fight for those principles. I very much wanted Mike Pence to run for President in 2012, but he would not do it. Pence has time and time again shied away from any fight in which he was not sure of the outcome before going into it. He didn't run for the Senate because the field wasn't cleared. He didn't run for President because the field wasn't cleared. Since he got in the House of Representatives, the one thing Pence ran for that he was not assured of was Minority Leader and he did a terrible job campaigning for it, losing to John Boehner 168-27. But then he got House Republican Conference Chairman and faded from the fights over con-

servative convictions. Once elected Governor of Indiana, Pence decided to fight the religious liberty battle, but once the legislation was passed, Pence scrambled to reverse himself and angered all sides in the process. Christian evangelicals, in particular, were disheartened that Pence threw them under the bus. The irony is that, as Trump's vice presidential pick, some of those evangelicals most critical of Pence at the time will now come out and say how awesome he is. But during that fight there was real bitterness in the evangelical community that Pence clearly did not have the courage of his convictions. When the national criticism from the gay mafia and press stormed into Indiana, Pence folded like a cheap suit. ❖

Kevin Rader, WTHR-TV: I always find it interesting when something big happens. I have a tendency to watch the ripples to see what is going on down stream. In the case of Gov. Mike Pence, the ripples are very interesting. The Indiana Republican State Committee, as I understand it, would have to wait ten days before naming a replacement on the ballot if Pence should be selected to be Donald Trump's running mate. The committee would also have to make that decision within 30 days. The names being bantered about are the ones you would expect. Brian Bosma, David Long and Todd Rokita. But there is another name, one that gives the GOP a breath of fresh air: Susan Brooks. Look, there is no way to determine if she is interested in being governor, but if I were a party leader in the Grand Old Party, I would be asking. She has experience in business, higher education, as a US Attorney and a congresswoman in Washington DC. She doesn't seem like someone who planned her whole life and career to be governor. Sometimes in politics and in life, timing is everything. No one could ever predict Gov. Mike Pence would be considered for a spot on a national ticket. No one could ever predict whether a former governor would even consider returning and no one could ever predict that a woman might emerge as a contender for governor of the state of Indiana (which would be a first for the Hoosier state). Sometimes the unintended consequences can be oh so intriguing. ❖

John Kass, Chicago Tribune: Hillary Clinton has disqualified herself from the presidency. No matter what your tribal politics may be, after FBI Director James Comey's withering testimony before Congress on Thursday over her email scandal, there really is no way around it, is there? She disqualified herself by her own hand. Mrs. Clinton, former secretary of state, has already proved she can't be trusted with national secrets. She put those secrets at risk by using a private email server kept in her basement, against security protocol. That server was likely hacked by foreign intelligence. She failed, miserably, in protecting the secrets of her nation. ❖

Daniels won't run for governor

INDIANAPOLIS — The political jockeying to potentially replace Gov. Mike Pence on Indiana's November ballot won't include his popular predecessor Mitch Daniels (Davies, Associated Press). Supporters of the Purdue University president had launched a "Draft Mitch" effort if Donald Trump names Pence as his vice presidential running mate. But the former Republican governor announced Thursday he won't seek the job, despite saying he had support from "apparent majority of the Republican State Committee" that would select a new candidate for governor. "I think it is appropriate that I make plain today that, should there be a sudden need to name a new nominee for governor, I will not present myself as a candidate nor would I accept the nomination if offered," Daniels said in a statement. Pence has been in a contentious re-election campaign against former Democratic Indiana House Speaker John Gregg and would have until noon Friday to withdraw his name as a candidate for governor since state law prevents him from seeking two offices at once. Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb, Indiana House Speaker Brian Bosma and U.S. Reps. Todd Rokita and Susan Brooks have been mentioned as possible options should Republicans need to replace Pence on the ballot. Indiana Republican committee member Barbara Krisher of Fort Wayne said she has talked with some candidates in recent days, but others might jump in once a Pence decision is known. "I've had some phone calls and I think probably everyone has," she said. "We wonder exactly how this is going to play out, nobody seems to know." Bosma, who has been the Indiana House speaker since 2010, declined Thursday to discuss possibly seeking the nomination for governor.



"It is all speculative at this point," Bosma said. "I'm really not publicly speculating about it."

GOP committee to select new nominee

INDIANAPOLIS — For the first time in state history, the Indiana Republican State Committee will determine the GOP candidate for governor in a process that could last into August (Associated Press). The 22-member panel has 30 days from the date Pence officially with-

draws his candidacy to choose Pence's replacement on the ballot. Once it's clear who will be vying for the Republican nomination, the committee must provide a 10-day notice before it votes. That means, at the earliest, the process will conclude in late July.

Justice Ginsberg regrets remarks

WASHINGTON — Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg says she regrets her "ill-advised" public criticism of Donald Trump (Associated Press). Ginsburg says in a statement issued by the court on Thursday that judges should avoid commenting on a candidate for public office. She promises to be more circumspect in the future. Ginsburg told The Associated Press last week that she did not want to think about the prospect of Trump winning the presidency. She escalated her criticism in subsequent media interviews. She herself came under attack for her comments in recent days, leading to Thursday's statement.

Palin won't speak at RNC

WASHINGTON — Sarah Palin was asked to speak at next week's Republican National Convention, but apparently the roughly 3,000-mile flight is too long for the former governor of Alaska to make the trip to Cleveland.

"She was asked," Donald Trump told the Washington Examiner in an interview Thursday. "It's a little bit difficult because of where she is. We love Sarah. Little bit difficult because of, you know, it's a long ways away." Palin, who lives in Alaska, endorsed Trump for the Republican nomination in Des Moines ahead of the Iowa caucuses and has campaigned with him on several occasions across the country, including in Florida, Oklahoma and a little closer to home in California.

Swing state polls show tight race

WASHINGTON — New polls out Wednesday find tightening races between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump in key battleground states. NBC News/Wall Street Journal/Marist polls released Wednesday afternoon found Clinton and Trump virtually deadlocked in Iowa and Ohio (CNN). Although the same news organizations found Clinton enjoying a 9-point lead in Pennsylvania, a Quinnipiac survey released Wednesday morning found a much closer race in the state, with the real estate mogul up 2 points, 43% to 41%, in the Keystone State. Quinnipiac also found Trump and Clinton running neck-and-neck in Florida and Ohio as well. And a new survey of likely voters in Wisconsin by the Marquette University Law School found Clinton topping Trump by only 4 points, 45% to 41%, inside the poll's margin of error. The polls, which were conducted around the same time the Justice Department decided to not pursue criminal charges against Clinton for her use of a private email server while leading the State Department, show the issue is likely to keep dogging her campaign. Quinnipiac's Florida poll marks an 11-point difference from a month ago in the Sunshine State. Now, Trump edges Clinton 42% to 39%, within the margin of error; a month ago, Clinton led 47% to 39%. With third-party candidates included, Trump's edge extends to five points, 41% to 36%.