



# Holcomb faces time, money gauntlet

GOP nominee must staff up, unbind the Pence funds and form a ticket

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – If there was an understatement enunciated on Tuesday when Indiana's sensational political cycle reached another apex on a cascading range, it was newly minted Republican gubernatorial nominee Eric Holcomb saying, "This year, as many of you know,

has taken many twists and turns and I am ready to take this next call and lead us to victory." He preceded that

observation by saying, "We've got work to do and a short time to get there."

Just minutes after Holcomb won a second-ballot nomination by the Indiana Republican Central Committee, after leading 11-9-2



Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb reacts to his nomination Tuesday as U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks looks on. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

over U.S. Reps. Susan Brooks and Todd Rokita on the first ballot, Politico reported that a main stanchion for the Holcomb nomination, having access to Gov. Mike Pence's \$7.4 million campaign fund, wasn't completely correct. And as Holcomb, Brooks and Rokita made their cases before the committee, this dilemma didn't come up,



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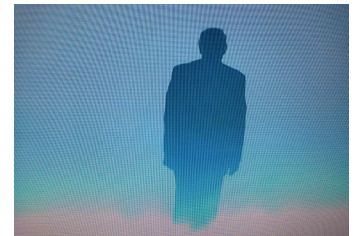
## Pence's unique history

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Republican vice presidential nominee Mike Pence will occupy a unique perch in the pantheon of modern Indiana governors. Since the Indiana Constitution was changed to allow governors to serve two

consecutive terms, Pence will be the elected "one-termer" in a group of seven to have served in the era. He could be only the second governor to move up the political food chain and into the federal executive branch, joining Doc Bowen who served as secretary of Health and Human Services, but that is a verdict to be determined in November.

Other governors in this era advanced in other arenas,



**"Russia, if you're listening, I hope you're able to find the 30,000 emails that are missing. If Russia, China or any other country has those emails, I mean to be honest with you, I'd love to see them."**

- Donald Trump





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with Mitch Daniels taking the presidency at Purdue University, Robert Orr becoming ambassador to Singapore, and Evan Bayh joining the U.S. Senate for two terms. Should there be a Vice President Pence, it would come 100 years after Gov. Thomas Marshall served in that office, 131 years after Gov. Thomas A. Hendricks was elected to the office, and 28 years after the last Hoosier, Dan Quayle, ascended. The difference between Pence, Hendricks and Marshall is that the two Democrats weren't forced by law to give up their gubernatorial nominations to seek the vice presidency.

He could have been the second sitting governor to lose a race, joining Gov. Joe Kernan, but that is a situation that will go unresolved in history. Pence led Democrat John Gregg in every independent poll taken during the 2016 cycle, but he was ominously lodged in the lower 40th percentile in most head-to-heads with Gregg, and his reelect stood at 36%.

Pence framed his reelection bid around economic development, citing the 147,000 private sector job additions since 2013, and a jobless rate that fell by more than 3% under his watch. He would often proclaim the most employed Hoosiers in the state's 200-year history. In 2015, he observed that more than \$3 billion had been invested by Indiana businesses during that year alone, with the total figure during his term certainly north of \$5 billion.

**Pence would** cite his "largest tax cut in Indiana history." The state's corporate income tax rate has been steadily decreasing, standing at 6.25% and destined to 4.9% by 2021, the year he would have exited had he won reelection in November. Pence expanded school choice, creating the nation's most robust voucher program, and invested \$800 million in roads and bridges. He ended Common Core, the "first governor" to do so, and that was

often seen as a key argument for a presidential bid.

So why was the Pence reelect under such duress? Gene Ulm, the Public Opinion Strategies pollster for WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana, said of Pence's 49-45% lead over Gregg in April (with a 44/40% approve/disapprove), "Indiana should be a slam dunk for Republicans. But you have an incumbent governor polling at 49 percent for all the reasons you know,



**Gov. Mike Pence** listens to Donald Trump's acceptance speech last Thursday in Cleveland. (HPI Photo by Randy Gentry)

against a Democratic nominee unknown to half the voters. This is an up or down vote on Pence. That's what's driving it."

**The reasons** "we all know" is that after conspicuously avoiding virtually any discussion of divisive social issues during his 2012 campaign with Gregg, Pence's evangelical allies led him into the HJR-3 constitutional marriage debate in 2014, the Religious Freedom Restoration Act in 2015, and the HEA1337 abortion law this year. Pence didn't initiate any of these controversies as governor, but he acquiesced on RFRA and HEA1337 with bad staff work and disastrous optics and criticism. The RFRA episode, and his dodgy defense of the law on ABC's "This Week" in late March 2015, for all intensive purposes ended any notion of his own presidential bid in 2016.

He also persistently locked horns with Democratic Supt. Glenda Ritz, angering the sprawling education networks that fueled her upset of Supt. Tony Bennett in 2012. That network was poised for reactivation this November.

Essentially, Pence became the most polarizing governor in modern Indiana history, which was ironic given his sunny, upbeat personality. All of his television age predecessors had emerged from the mainstream and centrist or business wings of their parties. There wasn't an ideologue or radical until Pence came along.

Donald Trump threw Pence a political lifeline. Even though his RFRA "fix" signing created problems on his political right, Pence's squeaky clean background and his general good standing with national social conservatives, as well as the Capitol Hill relationships he has with heavyweights like House Speaker Paul Ryan, made him an attractive vice presidential contender. His RNC speech last week was a resounding success, stroking all of those constituencies. Pence's reelection tribulations were mere footnotes in the national media and hardly disqualifying.

**But Pence is now at a tipping point** in his career. His relationship with Trump has been erratic from the start, with the presidential nominee vacillating on the Pence selection in the hours after Mike and Karen Pence boarded the flight to Teterboro. Long seen as a principled conservative, unlike Trump who has been all over the map on an array of issues, Pence is now changing his positions. Trump's Muslim ban, which Pence originally termed "offensive" and "unconstitutional" now has his imprimatur. After Trump's Wednesday night air kiss, after Pence's ringing acceptance speech, the presidential nominee followed up a night later by calling for LGBT rights. As governor, Pence blocked such civil rights expansions. He has remained mute on the issue thus far, but it almost certainly will come up in his Oct. 4 debate with Democrat Tim Kaine.

And then there was Trump's Wednesday remarks where he called on the Russians to find Hillary Clinton's

30,000 emails. He then said this: "Honestly, I wish I had that power. I'd love to have that power." That's a statement that would make a Watergate burglar blush.

Pence found himself rebuking his running mate, saying, "The FBI will get to the bottom of who is behind the hacking. If it is Russia and they are interfering in our elections, I can assure you both parties and the United States government will ensure there are serious consequences."

Chilling.

**Part of Pence's success** has been his discipline as a stay-on-message politician. Google "Mike Pence" and "crazy quotes" and all you find are talking points, a much different proposition than doing so with Trump, Ted Cruz or Chris Christie. It made Pence predictable. Most members of the Indiana Statehouse press corps can easily recite his points. A conversation with Pence came inside a form, with topic restrictions and time allotments much like the last presidentially ambitious governor (Evan Bayh). Governors without such ambition lead to much more interesting conversations on a wide range of topics.

As one Indiana Republican Central Committee member observed, the Pence vice presidential nomination is like "a baseball trade that was good for both teams."

So at this writing, it could be either Vice President Pence, or he could be poised for the dustbin of failed vice presidential nominees (i.e. William Miller, Geraldine Ferraro, Jack Kemp, Dan Quayle, Joe Lieberman) who never resonated as presidential candidates. Pence could get a Fox News show. He could challenge U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly in 2018. Or he could plot a 2020 presidential try, running at the risk of another celebrity candidate or perhaps Ivanka Trump. ❖

## Holcomb, from page 1

informed and reliable sources tell HPI.

In Pence's two-week mad dash to the vice presidential nomination, the critical decision that wasn't made was moving those funds to either the Republican Governors Association, the Indiana Republican Party or a specific candidate. When Pence accepted the nomination on July 20, the money fell under new FEC guidelines. "Since Day One of his governorship to yesterday, this has all been about Mike Pence," one influential Republican told HPI. "There was not adequate time to research all the issues."

On Wednesday morning, Republican kingmaker Bob Grand

told HPI, "It's all going to get worked out. It's not a problem and it's not going to be a problem. Eric Holcomb is going to have plenty of money to run this race. A fair amount of it will come from the Mike Pence campaign. The other piece is there's a lot of money being raised and people are really energized about the race."



Lt. Gov. Holcomb visits with former Republican chairman Mike McDaniel in Cleveland last week. (HPI Photo by Brian A.

Holcomb said Wednesday at his first joint appearance with John Gregg, "I'll let Gov. Pence speak for every penny he decides to spend. I am concerned about raising the money I need. I am confident I can do that. We'll raise the millions it will take to get the message out over the next 100 days."

Holcomb ended up with the support of the financial tandem of Grand and Dan Dumezich. As Brooks gained

momentum late last week – something Grand says didn't happen – sources say that Grand helped orchestrate a series of endorsements that included Pence, Sen. Dan Coats and National Committeewoman Marsha Coats, National Committeeman John Hammond III, former chairman Jim Kittle and others who positioned Holcomb for the nomination. The Holcomb camp consistently claimed enough support for a first-ballot win, but ultimately couldn't get over the top during the first round. On the second ballot, sources believe that Domezich switched his vote from Rokita to Holcomb, giving him additional mojo in the emerging Holcomb universe. Not forgotten was Brooks' primary victory in 2012 over Domezich ally David McIntosh, who now heads Club For Growth.

The Pence money dilemma can be solved, one source told HPI, with a chunk of the RGA money returned to that organization, which can then be reallocated to Holcomb, or simply spent by the RGA. For an individual who donated \$5,000, for instance, \$2,700 can be spent by the campaign under FEC rules now that Pence is a federal candidate, and \$3,300 could be returned to the donor, who could then donate it back to the Holcomb campaign.

But in a 100-sprint that the campaign against John Gregg has become, having to jump through such hoops to gain access to funding has the potential to bog the machine down. And it comes as U.S. Senate nominee Todd Young is facing a similar mad dash-for-cash dilemma, having found himself going from a significant money edge over Baron Hill to trailing Evan Bayh by a nearly 10-to-1 margin. Bayh is currently redefining himself with heavy statewide TV buy and it is only a matter of time before he begins his assault against Young. Sources tell HPI that the GOP donor class, now under heavy duress, believes that out-of-state super PAC money will stabilize Young's finances, as a current \$1 million super PAC ad buy demonstrates. But in a race that could decide control the U.S. Senate, Bayh also stands to bring in such funds. Young campaign manager Trevor Foughty believes a lot of money for both Holcomb and Young will flow in nationally. "These races will turn on a lot of factors, but not money. There will be plenty of help," he said.

## Holcomb steps into a maelstrom

Holcomb won the 22-person committee vote with a combination of a "next man up" sentiment, longtime relationships with many of the committee members, and the Pence endorsement. Had Holcomb lost, it would have been an embarrassment for Pence in Trump world, where power is everything and weakness is akin to a four-letter word.

While Holcomb was elevated by Pence to LG, many committee members view him through the Mitch

Daniels prism, where Holcomb was a deputy chief of staff, an enforcer, who then managed Daniels' 2008 reelection that churned through the Barack Obama phenomenon to forge a 58% landslide win. Holcomb would then take the helm of the Indiana GOP.

"I am ready to take Indiana to that next level," Holcomb said in the kind of parlance that Daniels used back in his "comeback" days. "We have accomplished so much in the last decade. I've had a front row seat and learned a lot. I've been at the table helping Gov. Mitch Daniels and Gov. Mike Pence. We cannot, cannot, and the reason I ran, is we cannot afford to allow the state to slip and go backwards into debt and delayed payments to schools."

"The only way we can continue Indiana's progress is by joining together which we have done this morn-

ing and this afternoon," Holcomb said as he was flanked by Brooks, Rokita and Chairman Jeff Cardwell, who had promised a "level playing field." While a united front was presented, it was a bruising process that played out in a scant 12 days in Cleveland and Indianapolis.

When the dust settled, Holcomb had \$20,000 in his own campaign account and, according to John Gregg campaign sources, has statewide name ID in the 15% range. He faces the Democrat who has raised more than \$10 million, including close to \$1 million in the

three weeks plus since the mid-year reporting deadline. The Democratic Governors Association just put \$500,000 cash into the Gregg campaign, and there is another \$2 million to \$3 million in that pipeline, according to knowledgeable Gregg campaign sources.

Since Gregg began his TV ad campaign on May 5, he not only has defined himself, but his statewide name ID is now 61% and growing. Gregg campaign spokesman Jeff Harris said that the RGA ads aimed at Gregg "have had no impact on our polling. It was so over the top in tone."

## Party unity and LGBT

Rokita and Brooks appeared unified, but tired, at the end of Tuesday's historic caucus. Both will rally around Holcomb. But there was a dissonance in some quarters.

"Let me just reiterate, I am going to support him," Rokita said. Brooks added, "I want to congratulate Lt. Gov. Holcomb on his selection by the state committee to be the Republican nominee for governor of Indiana and thank the committee for their time and consideration. He is a strong representative of our party and is committed to continuing the past 12 years of fiscal discipline, low taxes and conservative leadership of our state that has boosted our economy and brought good jobs for Hoosiers. Over the next 105 days, I will work hard to support Lt. Gov. Holcomb and to



**Lt. Gov. Holcomb nominated Gov. Mike Pence for vice president at the Republican National Convention in Cleveland.**

ensure that we beat John Gregg in the fall.”

But not everyone was on board. Former Angie’s List CEO Bill Oesterle tweeted following the caucus: “Between the abortion bill, the (Sue) Ellspermann axing, and the Brooks passover, 2016 has been debilitating for GOP women. Makes me sick.” He also pointed to the Lugar Series, which claims, “We are increasing the number of Republican women in elected and appointed government political positions at local, state and federal levels.” It was something that Brooks spent significant time advocating at the Republican National Convention.

“I can’t speak for Congresswoman Brooks. But if I were her, I would declare this a total farce,” Oesterle tweeted.

Many Republicans view Oesterle as estranged from the GOP, though his credentials as Gov. Daniels’ first campaign manager, his \$150,000 donation to Mike Pence in the 2012 campaign and his push for LGBT civil rights expansion, resonate in the moderate, business wing of the party. That Pence polled only 59% among Republicans in the doughnut counties in the April WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll was a glaring problem for Pence’s reelection.

The LGBT civil rights expansion surfaced within minutes of Holcomb’s selection. Asked where he stood on LGBT rights, he said, “We’ll play it as it comes to my desk. We have a balance of protecting our religious liberties while not discriminating. That’s how we’ll approach the issue. We’ll continue to move this state forward.”

The issue resurfaced after Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump made a sharp departure from the party on the issue, with running mate Pence by his side. “As president, I will do everything in my power to protect LGBTQ citizens from the violence and oppression of a hateful foreign ideology,” Trump said during his Republican National Convention acceptance speech, which was greeted with applause. Then he went off script: “And, I have to say, as a Republican, it is so nice to hear you cheering for what I just said.”

Asked whether he would seek a “truce on social issues” with the Indiana General Assembly, that his boss, former Gov. Mitch Daniels had called for in 2010, Holcomb said, “The General Assembly will focus on what the General Assembly wants to focus on. I’m going to focus on economic development, community development and to make sure the state provides excellent service.”

Holcomb was asked about the impact of Trump on the Indiana gubernatorial race and he called Trump “a strong asset. I consider a strong Trump/Pence ticket a strong asset.”

Holcomb began his U.S. Senate campaign on March 26, 2015, just hours before Gov. Pence signed the disastrous Religious Freedom Restoration Act. In his campaign kickoff, Holcomb said, “This campaign will be about what we are for, not simply about what we are against. This campaign will seek to attract people of diverse backgrounds and perspectives and experiences. We will welcome and engage them.”

Holcomb is straddling a line here, much like Pence. He can’t alienate the party’s evangelical wing, where his roots are. Holcomb came into the Daniels universe via U.S. Rep. John Hostettler. For Daniels, Holcomb was an early emissary to the evangelical and social conservative wing of the party. But Holcomb knows he needs independents and moderates to defeat Gregg. In an interview with HPI in Cleveland, Holcomb reiterated his support for Pence during the civil rights debate, but acknowledged that he joined the Pence administration without a litmus test, and said he had expanded perspectives in the tight Pence inner circle.

## Selecting an LG

Holcomb now faces a critical lieutenant governor selection and he will certainly be looking at gender. Asked about forming a ticket, Holcomb said, “We have much work to do today. I’ve told the state committee I want to get their advice and counsel and we’ll start doing that now.”

Friday is the filing deadline for candidacy and the Central Committee will reconvene next Monday to formally select a running mate, though Holcomb will have significant input in that process. Holcomb said Wednesday, “I have received over the last 24 hours a lot of interest from folks inside the typical box to outside the box. I don’t want to rule anything out at the moment. We’ll know a lot more by the week’s end. I do want someone who is willing to work every day to make this state better.”

That list will almost certainly include Secretary of State Connie Lawson (who, sources tell HPI, was invited to be vetted for the Ellspermann opening last winter), Treasurer Kelly Mitchell, Auditor Suzanne Crouch, State Sen. Erin Houchin, as well as LaPorte Mayor Blair Milo, an early Holcomb backer who nominated him at the Indiana Republican Convention in June. Another source said that Holcomb has his eyes on retired Maj. Gen. Erika Stuterman of Lafayette and Greenwood Mayor Mark Myers.

Curt Smith of the Indiana Family Institute is known to be pushing U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman, who finished second to Todd Young in the U.S. Senate race. Others likely to make an original list would include former Indianapolis Mayor Greg Ballard, who would help the ticket in Indianapolis and the more moderate doughnut counties, and Attorney General Greg Zoeller. Portage Mayor James Snyder



Treasurer Kelly Mitchell, Auditor Suzanne Crouch and Secretary of State Connie Lawson could be on Holcomb’s LG list.

is openly seeking the job, lobbying for it at the RNC in Cleveland.

### Epilogue

Holcomb found a midsummer way station on one of the most stunning rises in Hoosier political history, winning a 12-day gubernatorial nomination sprint after Gov. Pence ascended to the vice presidential nomination. In the span of five months, Holcomb had evolved from a third-place U.S. Senate candidate to the party's gubernatorial standard bearer in the most unpredictable election cycle during the state's bicentennial year.

He is known as a happy warrior, with vivid relationships in all 92 counties. He is in a groove when it comes to his rhetorical skills, his talking points, his reasoned criticism of Gregg, and making a case for his candidacy. Holcomb said on Wednesday that he will "lean into it" with his eyes "on the windshield and not on the rear view mirror."

Holcomb faces a time and money crunch. He will inherit the remaining parts of the Pence campaign team who didn't depart for Trump Inc., and he faces a furious



Lt. Gov. Holcomb greets Democrat John Gregg at their first joint appearance in Indianapolis on Wednesday. (WRTV Photo)

pace in filling in the gaps.

In Gregg, he faces a much more disciplined and funded candidate than the Democrat was in 2012. The Gregg 2.0 campaign comprises Hoosier operatives, instead of the DGA-placed team of outsiders in 2012. Longtime O'Bannonite Tom New has set the proper tone and oversight for this enterprise. Gregg's media via SKD Knickerbocker looks, sounds and resonates better than his folksy 2012 TV ads. And Gregg is working in tandem with Supt. Glenda Ritz, whereas four years ago there wasn't such synchronicity. That year, Ritz benefitted greatly from the sprawling and disaffected education network that is poised to reactive this fall.

Key telltales will be how the RGA responds next week, who Holcomb's LG pick is, who takes command staff positions, and whether the Pence war chest can be unlocked and put into use in a timely fashion. But given the sensational twists and turns, HPI is moving this race. **HPI Horse Race Status:** Leans Gregg. ❖

4 Drivers  
33 Goals  
1 Mission

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# Obama passes baton before united party

By **THOMAS CURRY**  
and **MARK CURRY**

PHILADELPHIA – President Obama spoke of optimism and how he is ready to “pass the baton” onto nominee Hillary Clinton when he spoke to a “crazy united” Democratic National Convention. “We don’t fear the future; we shape it, embrace it, as one people, stronger together than we are on our own. That’s what Hillary Clinton understands – this fighter, this stateswoman, this mother and grandmother, this public servant, this patriot – that’s the America she’s fighting for.”



Obama also took the opportunity to thank Bernie Sander’s supporters, essentially extending an olive branch to the Sanders supporters who have not come around to Hillary yet. “We all need to be as vocal and as organized

and as persistent as Bernie Sanders’ supporters have been. We all need to get out and vote for Democrats up and down the ticket”

It came on the third night of the Democratic National Convention, Democrats rolled out their most star-studded speaking line up yet, creating a stark contrast to the Republican National Convention that saw many high ranking Republicans sit out; including the staple Bush family.

The first two nights saw moving speeches from runner up Sen. Bernie Sanders, First Lady Michelle Obama and former President Bill Clinton in an attempt to both unify the party and humanize Hillary Clinton after her ratings plummeted to 38% in the wake of the email scandal. Wednesday night saw more political big leaguers address the convention with a speakers list including President Barack Obama, Vice President Joe Biden, former New York City mayor Bloomberg, and Senate Minority leader Harry Reid.

Biden excited the crowd and delivered a passionate speech that perhaps had delegates wandering if Biden was the right man for the Presidential job he chose not to run for earlier in the year. Joining in on one of the major themes of the convention of attacking Republican nominee Donald Trump, Biden called out Trump’s lack of foreign policy experience and questioned his knowledge on governing. “He has no clue about what makes America great. Actually, he has no clue period.....no major party nominee

in the history of the nation has ever known less or been less prepared to deal with our national security.”

Biden went on to endorse Hillary fully saying “Everybody knows she is smart. Everyone knows she is tough. But I know what she is passionate about. I know Hillary. Hillary understands. Hillary gets it. The 21st century is going to be the American century. Because we lead not only by the example of our power, but by the power of our example. That is the history of the journey of Americans. And God willing, Hillary Clinton will write the next chapter in that journey.”

In contrast, VP nominee Tim Kaine didn’t illicit the same response and energy from the crowd that the current VP did. However, it was still an effective speech by Kaine who gave a similar message to the introduction of himself he gave in Florida last week. The Virginia Senator talked about his life story and how he entered into public service, with his union worker father being an important role model to him and the impact of spending a year as a Jesuit missionary in Central America.

He also attempted to sell himself to the Sander’s supporters who were unsatisfied with him being the VP pick. “We all should feel the Bern” Kaine proclaimed as the Wells Fargo Center broke out into Bernie! chants. It was when Kaine mocked Donald Trump’s signature “believe me” slogan that the VP nominee show how he would fare in the traditional attack dog role given to VP’s on the campaign trail. Mocking Trump’s voice, Kaine jestered with the crowd on Trump not releasing his tax returns saying “Hey,



Donald, what are you hiding? And yet, Donald still says, believe me. Believe me. Believe me? Believe me? I mean, here’s the thing, most people when they run for president, they don’t just say, believe me, they respect you enough to tell you how they will get things done.” He went on further to ask “So here’s the question, here’s the question, do you really believe him?” and the audience responded with a resounding no.

Many in the Indiana Delegation saw Wednesday nights line up as great speakers who moved to unite the party. South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg told HPI that

"Obama made a compelling case for Hillary" and that "America is called to our highest values...those values make us unite as Democrats and the more we see of those values the less we will see of Donald Trump."

A significant portion of Bernie Sanders's Indiana delegation did not attend the convention Wednesday night, however Elizabeth Hyde, a Sanders delegate who was involved in his Indiana campaign, thought that the night's speakers would go a long way to satisfy Berners. Hyde particularly appreciated Kaine's "shout-out" to Bernie calling it a "very smart decision."

It appears that while it may be slowly coming around during the week, party unity is achievable for the Democrats in Philadelphia after a rough week of party divide. The stage is set for Hillary Clinton to speak tonight to delegates in what is leading up to be a critical speech in boosting Hillary's chances come this fall.

Last night's all-star lineup at the Democratic National Convention may have succeeded in pulling the party together if the comments of Hoosier delegates are any indication. Or, as a Bernie delegate said at the end of the night, the Democratic Party "looks crazy united to me."

## Indiana delegates react to speeches

"I supported Sen. Sanders because of his honesty and his devotion to work for the good of all people," said Tricia Gaustad, a Bernie delegate from Lawrenceville. "I knew after the California primary that Bernie would not win the nomination. So I was intellectually prepared for Clinton to win. But last night, after seeing Larry Sanders choke up and knowing how hard Bernie had worked for all of us, I just broke down. So many hearts like mine were broken. But the next day, we got up, got dressed and are prepared to move forward with his vision and the most Progressive Platform ever."

Sue Spicer of Indianapolis, firmly in the Sanders column, told Howey Politics Indiana before the night's proceedings that she believed national party leadership bungled an opportunity to move forward with reconciliation earlier in the convention. In part, she said, Bernie supporters were disappointed to find themselves outside the process after investing months of time and talent in a campaign they were convinced could win in November. Much of the division within the party might have been avoided if the convention schedule had provided time and incentive for Sanders' supporters to buy into the Clinton nomination and negotiate a perceived gap in values.



State Rep. Linda Lawson, (D-Hammond), House Democratic Floor Leader, joins in conversation with South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg while awaiting the start of Day 3 of the 2016 Democratic National Convention. (HPI Photos by Mark Curry)

"Bernie Sanders gave an incredibly profound and gracious speech on Monday," explained Bernie delegate Elizabeth Hyde of Indianapolis. "We were touched by his words, and Bernie has done his part to mend fences. Party unity is an interesting concept. By definition, a party is a group of many people, with many strong opinions on many issues. Those in the movement begun by Bernie Sanders are a remarkable group of bold new leaders, and like any group of leaders, we are not easily led."

Many of the Vermont senator's supporters were unhappy when Hillary selected Kaine, a senator from Virginia who is not well known by most Democrats. Both

Spicer and Hyde anticipated Kaine's convention speech could make or break party unity.

"To be more enthusiastic about Kaine I first need a better sense of who he is," Hyde said hours before the Virginia senator spoke. "Demographically, a middle-aged white man isn't very new or exciting - I had hoped a person of color would be the choice for vice president. Representation is important... Our energy and passion is a powerful force and I hope he'll acknowledge that and reach out to us."

Acknowledge and inspire he did. Several minutes into his speech, Kaine, himself the former mayor of Richmond, Va., elicited cheers of "Bernie!" when he said, "I work on the Budget Committee with our great Democratic leader of that committee, a spectacular senator who used to be a mayor, Vermont's Bernie Sanders. And, everybody, we all should feel the Bern and we all should not want to get burned by the other guy."

Geof Benson, a Hillary delegate who also serves on the Town Council of Beverly Shores, texted HPI during Kaine's speech. "He is winning over the crowd," Benson said. "His depth of service and interest for doing for all is impressive."

Rep. Cherrish Pryor (D-Indianapolis) lauded Kaine's speech and is looking forward to a debate between Kaine and the Republican vice presidential candidate, Indiana's native son Mike Pence. "We could not afford for [Pence] and Trump to make the mistakes at the federal level that [Pence] has made at the state level."

Sharon Krieg, a Bernie delegate from Columbus, said after the Kaine speech that she stands "95 percent" in agreement with the candidate. She predicted the majority of Sanders supporters will stand with Clinton, but added "there will be always be a few hardcore Berners... The best thing is I feel hopeful," Krieg said. "I feel proud. I feel excited. So much better than the scare tactics last week."





# Hoosier Republicans embrace a strongman

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

NASHVILLE, Ind. – In a conversation last autumn, Indiana Republican National Committeeman John Hammond III took measure of the growing Donald Trump phenomenon and produced this theory: Some Americans want a “strongman.” A Yankee version of Vladimir Putin, who makes decisive decisions and takes dramatic action. As the Ukraine overthrew its Russian backed leaders, Putin initiated an insurgency and simply took the Crimea. No one could stop him.

On Thursday night in Cleveland, Trump confirmed Hammond’s observation. In 76 rambling minutes, Trump fulfilled the desire by a shrinking white minority defined by a growing list of grievances, much of it situated in the Republican Party. Trump sees it as a Nixonian “silent majority,” which in 1968 it was. But demographically, this voting bloc will soon be an American minority.

“The forgotten men and women of our country — people who work hard but no longer have a voice: I am your voice,” Trump declared, his face reddening as glistening with sweat as he continued. “I will restore law and order.”

“I have a message for all of you: The crime and violence that today afflicts our nation will soon come to an end. Beginning on January 20, 2017, safety will be restored,” Trump said, setting up the most chilling line of the night.

“I alone can fix it.”

Was Trump setting the stage for martial law? It sounded like it. Republicans on the convention floor embraced the notion, shouting “USA, USA” and “Build that wall!”

**For Hammond, the** growing Trump power was a dilemma, prompting him not long after we talked to declare Trump “unfit for the presidency.” But like many American and Hoosier Republicans, coming from a state where 53% would vote for Trump in the Indiana primary which clinched the nomination, a final determination after much consternation and, finally, his own friend and governor elevated to the ticket, Hammond came around. He would support Trump, as did most of the Indiana delega-

tion which, in its original form, was decidedly anti-Trump. They now own what is emerging strongman rhetoric, appeal and potentially the actions that follow if Trump can steer through a narrow path and defeat Hillary Clinton. The consequences of such buy in are impossible to gauge in the first drafts of history.

An American president can do little all by himself. There’s that pesky body called “Congress.” There are laws. There’s the Supreme Court, which has the capacity to render such declarations moot. Like many convention speeches, they are broad on themes and short on specifics. Usually there has been or quickly supplied white paper outlining goals. It’s not always doable. In 1980, Ronald Reagan promised to cut taxes, rebuild the military and balance the budget. He accomplished two out of three. But the policy underpinnings were there for all to inspect. With Trump, Republicans have a leap of faith sentiment. Specifics? “We trust our leader knows. We trust our leader will furnish the details on Jan. 20, 2017.”

**Conservative Washington Post** columnist Michael Gerson, a former aide to U.S. Sen. Dan Coats and U.S. Rep. Mark Souder, reacted, saying, “Our constitutional system was designed to make personal rule both impossible and unnecessary. The idea that political salvation might be found simply by replacing one leader at the top of government would have been regarded as perverse by the Founders. The United States has benefited from skilled leaders — a Lincoln or an FDR — at moments of genuine national crisis. But this is not such a time. And this is not such a leader.”

So when Trump says, “Nobody knows the system better than me,” adding, “which is why I alone can fix it,” this is populist authoritarianism in the making. The irony, with Indiana Gov. Mike Pence firmly in the Trump wings, is that it is godless.

The Atlantic’s Yoni Appelbaum observed, “He broke with two centuries of American political tradition, in which candidates for office — and above all, for the nation’s highest office — acknowledge their fallibility and limitations, asking for the help of their fellow Americans, and of God, to accomplish what they cannot do on their own.”

By Wednesday of this week, Trump stunned the political establishment, urging Russians to permeate an American presidential election. “Russia, if you’re listening, I hope you’re able to find the 30,000 emails that are missing,” Trump said in reference to Hillary Clinton emails, which, in fact, are not missing. “I think you will probably be rewarded mightily by our press. They probably have them. I’d like to have them released. It gives me



no pause, if they have them, they have them. If Russia or China or any other country has those emails, I mean, to be honest with you, I'd love to see them." He added, Trump said, "Honestly, I wish I had that power. I'd love to have that power."

Spoken like a strongman!

**These remarks come** after Trump told the New York Times he wouldn't come to the rescue of a NATO nation if it was behind in its payments to the organiza-

tion, which is music to Putin's ears. The same Putin who murders journalists, sows civil war and annexes territory.

Trump's dire assessments and grievances bring a sharp contrast to that other actor turned revolutionary populist, Ronald Reagan, who yearned for that "shining city on a hill," brought us "morning in America" and tried to eradicate nuclear weapons. Trump on Thursday night gave us a dark foreboding moment before the clock strikes midnight and all hell breaks loose. ❖

## Questions after RNC

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – The Republican National Convention is over. Questions remain.

**Q.** Was the convention a success for Donald Trump?

**A.** There were ups and downs for Trump. No matter what the TV pundits say, the verdict that counts is being delivered this weekend in the polls of Americans showing whether Trump got a convention bounce in support and, if so, whether he has caught up in the presidential race.



**Q.** The most important event was Trump's acceptance speech. Did he hit a home run or strike out in seeking to convince voters that he is presidential, not a buffoon; a steady leader, not a loose cannon?

**A.** No home run. His speech lacked the cadence of stirring oratory and dragged on at times, no doubt losing viewers in many homes around the nation as he spoke for over an hour and a quarter. But he didn't strike out. Trump touched all the areas of fear and anger that won decisive support in the primaries. He didn't let down those primary supporters. Nor did he go off script with some controversial insult. Let's say he hit a double, getting halfway there. Now he needs to move to third base and home in the debates and campaigning in order to score the winning run.

**Q.** How did Indiana Gov. Mike Pence do in his speech accepting the nomination for vice president?

**A.** Great. Pence spoke clearly and confidently about conservative principles. Unlike many other speakers, including Trump at times, he wasn't shouting a message to noisy delegates in the hall but instead speaking plainly and directly to millions of Americans watching on TV in their homes. He called Clinton "the secretary of status quo," more appropriate than vile insults of numerous other speakers. Pence sounded what should have

been the theme, the focus of the convention: "It's change versus status quo."

**Q.** What was the convention focus?

**A.** Hatred of Hillary. Knowing that Trump was regarded in a negative way by nearly two-thirds of Americans – three percent viewing him unfavorably in a recent Gallup poll – Republican convention speakers focused on increasing the also-high negative view of Clinton. Speaker after speaker didn't try to promote Trump but rather to sell that "she's worse." Some attacks were so negative that they brought loud chants of "Lock her up!"

**Q.** Should they have skipped the negative?

**A.** No. They could have stressed substance over snarky in drawing contrasts. But negative works. Just ask John Kerry. His strategists instructed speakers at the 2004 Democratic National Convention to avoid attacking President George W. Bush and Republicans and to stick to a positive theme. Kerry got no bounce in the polls from the convention. He actually dropped in the Gallup poll. And then speakers at the Republican National Convention ripped into Kerry, who sank to defeat.

**Q.** Why did Sen. Ted Cruz refuse to endorse Trump after Cruz was given time for a major speech?

**A.** In addition to the fact that Cruz despises Trump for attacks on his wife and father and on himself in the "Lyn' Ted" mantra, Cruz chose to bet his political future on the belief that Trump will lose big in the presidential election. If Trump is trounced, Cruz will be there in an I-told-you-so position to seek to unify conservatives behind him as the 2020 Republican presidential nominee. If Trump wins or comes darn close, Cruz loses his bet.

**Q.** Why did the Trump strategists let Cruz speak when knowing he wasn't going to endorse?

**A.** They knew he would get a hostile response and helped to orchestrate the loud booing. The response helped to unite delegates behind Trump. Even some Cruz supporters in the Texas delegation were angry that Cruz didn't endorse the nominee.

**Q.** What could Trump have done to be better?

**A.** Maybe take speech lessons from daughter Ivanka. ❖

**Jack Colwell is a South Bend Tribune columnist. Write to him at [jcolwell@comcast.net](mailto:jcolwell@comcast.net).**

# Notes from Cleveland

By **CRAIG DUNN**

CLEVELAND – I confess that I wasn't really looking forward to attending the Republican National Convention in Cleveland. It had the potential to range all the way from nauseating to dangerous, based on the hype leading up to the event. Advance news reporting by the major media outlets predicted deep divisions in the convention between Trump supporters and anti-Trump forces, deadly terrorist attacks, paralyzing traffic jams caused by civil disobedience and a list of speakers that excited no one.



Once again, the big media got it wrong, totally wrong. The Republican National Convention was an outstanding success. It was full of drama, full of excitement and a good showing for Team Trump. As to the location, I don't want to hear another person refer to Cleveland as the "Mistake on the Lake." Cleveland

rocked, literally and figuratively. Cleveland is a great city with big city attractions and some of the friendliest people in the nation.

Of course, the big worry going into the RNC was the question of public safety. We were told there would be thousands of protesters wreaking havoc on Cleveland and the convention. The reality was that Cleveland was possibly the safest city in the United States last week, as thousands of imported law enforcement officers and a shortage of serious protesters made for a great environment. A delegate almost had to go out looking for protesters to see any. Score a big win for public safety.

**The RNC kicked** off its festivities on Sunday evening with a gigantic rock-n-roll and food festival on the Cleveland lakefront. Fifty food vendors, multiple beer gardens and three live entertainment stages kept delegates stuffed, hydrated and rocking the night away. The evening concluded with a gigantic fireworks display that left everyone oohing and ahing. I've been to a lot of big events in cities trying to put their best foot forward. Cleveland ranks near the top in staging one heck of a party.

Monday, Donald Trump and the Republican Party dodged a big ole bullet when the Rules Committee

made no changes regarding freeing delegates to vote their conscience, to allow delegates to dump Trump. First in the Rules Committee and then later beating back a petition effort, proponents of "Dump Trump" were decidedly thumped by a big plurality in the committee and then by some apparent good old-fashioned arm twisting.

The majority of delegates in nine states signed a petition to force a roll call vote on the issue. However, miraculously, delegates in three states changed their minds and the strategy fell two states shy of success. Score a big win for the Trump Team. The effort to allow a conscience vote smelled an awful lot like the handiwork of the Ted Cruz forces.

**Amazingly, Trump** and RNC Chairman Reince Priebus allowed Cruz to address the convention on Wednesday. Cruz spoke for about 15 minutes to a respectful audience. As it became obvious that he was wrapping up his speech, it dawned on the delegates that Cruz had no intention of endorsing Donald Trump. As the delegates grew restless, a murmur and then a low booning began from both ends of the convention hall. The booning rose, with Cruz making a snide comment to the New York delegation. Then the convention burst out in yelling, more booning and taunting of Cruz. He was literally booed off the stage. I'd like to thank Ted Cruz for doing what Donald Trump could never do, uniting the Republican Party.

What about Ted Cruz's future in presidential politics? I may be wrong, but he came across as a spoiled, petulant little crybaby who is a colossal sore loser. But hey, that's just my opinion. Unfortunately for Sen. Cruz, I heard a lot of former Cruz delegates express their disgust for his actions.

What about the bizarre world of Ohio Gov. John Kasich? This one hurts me personally because I endorsed

Kasich, donated money to his campaign, and took a bunch of arrows for expressing my support. Kasich totally sat out the RNC in Cleveland in a demonstration of bad form and worse hospitality. After all, even the Democratic mayor of Cleveland welcomed the convention. Gov. Kasich worked hard to entice the Republicans to Cleveland and then didn't show up to his own party.

**Making matters worse,** he staged a big party at the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame, making invitees feel that it was going to be a somewhat intimate affair and then leaving hundreds of supporters sweltering outside waiting to be allowed in by the Cleveland fire marshal. I hope John Kasich enjoys being governor. He won't be going any further.

A rising star in the Republican Party emerged from the convention. Delegates were extremely impressed



**Sullivan County Chairman Bill Springer with the Indiana stanchion, which will end up in the Smithsonian Institution.**

with Arkansas Sen. Tom Cotton. He gave a dynamic speech and positioned himself well for a future presidential run.

Speaking of rising stars! Either as reality television stars or future political powers, Ivanka, Eric and Donald Trump Jr. established themselves as extremely impressive progeny with bright futures. With well-known names and a billion dollars, you have to think there will be a Gov. Trump or Sen. Trump in the not-so-distant future.

**Two speakers** at the convention surprised the delegates with their renewed energy and effective speeches. Rudy Giuliani showed personality and potent punch in his speech that left delegates wondering where was that Rudy in 2012. In the same category, Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker delivered a popular message that belied his disappointing 2016 campaign. The delegates also appreciated Walker's willingness to bury the hatchet and rally to the Trump cause.

Some of my most enjoyable moments came in taxi rides to the Quicken Arena. Hani, a Turkish American Lyft driver, told me that his sister and brother had been fired from their jobs as teachers as a result of the Turkish attempted coup. His brother has even been detained. Their offense? They are secular Turks; Islamic, but not Islamic enough for President Erdogan. Hani fears for the safety of his family and the future of his homeland. He blames President Obama for a weak response to Erdogan's excesses. He plans to vote for Donald Trump.

My other enlightening taxi ride came with Uber driver David, a native Clevelander who has seen his income drop significantly as the business environment in Cleveland deteriorated over the last 20 years. He blames the loss of the manufacturing industry in Cleveland on NAFTA and Bill Clinton. He believes that Donald Trump will bring jobs back to the United States. He's voting for Trump.

**On Wednesday afternoon**, I spoke to the Foreign Press Corps as a guest of the United States Department of State. My job was to explain the role of a delegate to the national convention and field questions. Of course, when they heard that I was from Indiana, all they wanted to talk about was Mike Pence and Donald Trump. I found one question in particular to be of interest. I was asked if I thought Donald Trump would be transformative for the Republican Party. I answered no. I said that I believed that he was a one-off candidate and would not dramatically alter our party.

I now think that I may have been wrong.

Donald Trump asked Peter Thiel, the openly gay

founder of PayPal to address the convention. Thiel stated that with all of the problems facing our country we should be focusing on what is important and not on who uses which bathroom. The delegates jumped to their feet and exploded with applause. Later, Trump promised to protect the LGBTQ community from acts of violence. Perhaps, the words of Thiel and Trump and their popular reception can put this divisive issue behind the Republican Party permanently. I sure hope so.

Mike Pence, Indiana governor and Trump vice-presidential candidate, faced a staggering task in closing the proceedings on Wednesday evening. The prospect of



Gov. Mike Pence and First Lady Karen Pence await Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump Thursday in Cleveland. (HPI Photo by Randy Gentry)

a relentless Thursday media spin being about a terribly divided Republican Party was destroyed by a Reaganesque speech that enlightened, informed, excited and motivated the assembled delegates. An evening that began with the question of "Mike Pence, who dat?" ended with the Republican Party thinking that Donald Trump had pretty good judgment when he tapped Pence for the job.

**The Indiana delegation** aggressively chanted "Mike, Mike, Mike" at the beginning of his speech. By the end of governor Pence's speech, the cheers of the Indiana delegation were drowned out by chants of "We like Mike. We like Mike," emanating from all corners of the convention hall. Pence's speech further served to unite the party by bringing the skeptical evangelicals together with skeptical Trump supporters who hungered for red meat. The governor delivered for both. To Gov. Pence I say, "Job well done." And on this point I must agree with the Democrats, "Pence Must Go" – only "to the White House!"

Despite the faux drama beaten to death by the media, it was a pretty good week for Donald J. Trump. I never thought I would say this, but I think I could get used to seeing him in the Oval Office. ❖

# The Indiana Democrat retreads

By MARK SOUDER

FORT WAYNE – The Democrats have given us deja vu all over again, to quote Yogi Berra in this time warp. Clinton. Bayh. Gregg. Even the Russians are back.

This year Indiana and national Democrat Party have chosen to offer voters a full slate of retread tires. Hillary Clinton, defeated by Barack Obama eight years ago, has re-emerged. She was impatiently tapping the table, chair and floor waiting for the Obama interlude to end so we could bring back the glorious days of the Clinton Era.



At least Hillary offers the historic chance for America to establish that failure is not because you are a woman or a man. Failure in governing is not because one is white, black or

brown. She has already proven that women can use unfair methods to get nominated. Now Hillary wants the opportunity that liberal ideas are the problem, not gender or race.

But this is an undeniable fact. No one should underestimate the inspiration she is far beyond just grown women. The fact is that little girls across this nation feel differently about their potentials this week. That isn't just Democrat hyperbole.

In Indiana, the Democrat retreads offer no such breakthroughs. They are just old tires. Bayh has launched his campaign with an attack ad on Todd Young's supposed desire to destroy Social Security. The ad copy is virtually identical to what Jill Long ran against me in 1994, which was over two decades ago.

**In 2010** Bayh wrote in the New York Times about why he quit and decided to store his money: "In a time of national peril, with our problems compounding, we must remember that more united us as Americans than divides us."

My personal relations with Sen. Bayh were not frequent, but when they occurred, they were always pleasant. This new axe-wielding Bayh, hauling out some of the nastiest divisive ads from the retread closet are purposely designed to falsely scare senior citizens. They sound like a more desperate, angry man. Like Bayh's earlier complaints about the influence of money in politics, while his wife was earning big bucks working for companies that lobbied, the Bayh image does necessarily match his actions.

There is also an increasingly distressing trend in both political parties (and not only in Indiana) for people of great wealth like Bayh to live in other places, then ask residents of an area to choose them as a representative,

even though they don't eat, shop, go to church or know much about the people they desire to "represent." What is the point of our system if the legislators don't even have to begin as someone who lives among us?

**Even with my personal** humiliation of resigning, we chose to live in Fort Wayne. It was and is not easy living among friends and people supported you, after you let them down. But this is our home. I fought for them in Congress because I was, and am, one of them. What in the world has happened to this old-fashioned concept?

We might as well just pick out a couple of Washington, D.C., residents we like best, and hire them as our senators and congressmen. Actually that is precisely what Evan Bayh is asking us to do.

And then there's Forrest Gregg. I realize that his name is John, but every time I hear his name I think of Forrest Gregg, the Hall-of-Fame lineman for the legendary Green Bay Packers. Forrest Gregg always looked old even when he was young. He was surrounded by glamorous Paul Hornung, fan favorites like Bart Starr, Jim Taylor, Boyd Dowler, Ray Nitschke, Herb Adderley, Jim Ringo, Willie Davis and many more. Not to mention coach Vince Lombardi. And then there was old reliable Forrest Gregg, not inspiring anybody, but always there as a solid dependable blocker doing his duty so flashier stars could become famous.

Sorry about the reminiscing. There's just something about our Gregg, and all the Democrats running for that matter, that brings back the 1960s.

As for my party, retreads would not be the word to describe our candidates. The new Republican nominee for governor, Eric Holcomb, is nearly the polar opposite of Evan Bayh's weaknesses. While Bayh has lived most of his



life in Washington, Eric seems to have eaten at nearly every diner in the state, shot basketball hoops in most small towns, and circulates around the state like he's in running for head of the tourism department.

No one has accused Holcomb of stockpiling money or being too focused on raking in the big bucks. He has worked the details inside the governor's office, and worked the state for Sen. Dan Coats. He is, as Coats stated,

among best-prepared candidates in Indiana history to be an actual governor. What he doesn't bring is experience as a candidate or premier fundraising skills.

**If the Republicans don't** select a female to be the lieutenant gubernatorial candidate, one would have to consider whether or not they are serious about winning this race. There are numerous very qualified female options who could add needed credibility as opposed to adding a retread male to the ticket.

Congressman Todd Young offers the perfect stark contrast to Evan Bayh. He is anchored in Indiana. A graduate of Indiana public schools and the Naval Academy, he has an MBA from the University of Chicago and a law degree from Indiana University. He is a seriously qualified candidate. There is a reason he was a leader in naval operations.

While the Democrats are offering retreads, the Republicans are offering experience in the next generation of top talent, including Curtis Hill for attorney general. They also are people who live here, fight for Hoosiers, and aren't just treating us as people whose votes are for sale. Whatever the problems are with Trump, our Indiana slate is one to be proud of. Selecting a forward-looking female

for lieutenant governor can seal the extraordinary contrast to the tired path chosen by the Indiana Democrats. ❖

**Souder is a former Republican congressman from Indiana.**

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# Trump gets a post convention poll bounce

By **KYLE KONDIK** and **GEOFFREY SKELLEY**

PHILADELPHIA – After Donald Trump picked Mike Pence to be his running mate two weeks ago – that feels like two months ago, right? – we suggested that Trump could end up taking at least a temporary lead because of the convention bounce that presidential candidates typically get after their conventions.

It appears that Trump has in fact gotten a bounce, at least in some polls. The most dramatic change so far came in the CNN/ORC poll, which shifted all the way from a seven-point Hillary Clinton lead to a three-point Trump edge. On the other hand, the NBC News/SurveyMonkey poll didn't change at all (it showed a 46%-45% Clinton lead both before and after the convention), and there were some other contradictory signs. Nonetheless, Trump's numbers generally improved, as is common after a convention. Based on the median of five polls surveyed in the period after the GOP convention that have been released so far, Trump has experienced a three-point bounce relative to his median the week before Republicans gathered in Cleveland. That's clearly a small sample, but put it all together and Trump has taken a small, one-point lead in the RealClearPolitics average, while Clinton has an equally small one-point lead in the HuffPost Pollster average (that average is less sensitive to short-term changes). Our advice would be to wait before drawing conclusions: Clinton still has an opportunity to get a bounce from her convention, and we also may have some more polls later in the week to further measure the size of Trump's bounce.

**For the time being**, we're sticking with our current Electoral College ratings, which show Clinton with 347 electoral votes safe, likely, and leaning to her, with 191 safe/likely/leaning Trump. We agree that if the election were held today, it would almost certainly be closer than that -- and that Trump could very well win. But the election isn't being held today -- it's actually still about 100 days away. Our ratings are a forecast for November, not a reflection of the day-to-day state of play, and we still see Clinton with an edge.

If the dust settles from the conventions the next few weeks and the numbers are still what they are today, then we very well may have to reassess. We've long sug-

gested that a generic Republican may have been favored to win this election, but that Trump wasn't a generic Republican. But maybe we're wrong about that, and that the same factors that would boost a generic Republican, like a desire for change after eight years of Democratic rule, are enough to get Trump over the finish line, too. Sean Trende, friend of the Crystal Ball and astute RealClearPolitics analyst, has been urging caution over regarding Clinton as a big favorite, and his latest column is well worth reading in that regard.

**Trump, in spite of everything**, is hanging tough, and it seems like the vast majority of Republicans have embraced him as their own.

If the millions upon millions of largely unanswered campaign dollars that the Clinton campaign and its allies are pouring into the swing states are having an effect, it's hard to say there is an obvious one. Perhaps the Trump strategy of holding his more limited resources back for later in the campaign is a wise one. In fact, there is scant evidence that early ad spending makes a lasting impression, although the Obama and Romney 2012 campaigns would disagree; those professionals believe Obama's early ad blitz against Romney helped negatively define the Republican. But it may be that the early Clinton campaign ads are not making much of a difference.

Meanwhile, there are two days left to go at the Democratic National Convention. On Tuesday evening, Clinton became the first

woman to be officially nominated by a major party for president. The stand-out event of the roll call vote was surely Bernie Sanders asking the convention to nominate Clinton by acclamation following the vote counting for every delegation. Sanders' move was obviously a well-choreographed attempt to improve party unity, a key goal of the convention. But will it work? Thus far, polling has been a bit mixed on where Sanders voters lie. Pew found that 90% of "consistent" Sanders backers plan to back Clinton, which suggests there will be relative unity among Democratic and Democratic-leaning identifiers. But as for Sanders voters overall, the jury is still out to some degree, and there were some limited protests inside and outside the convention on Tuesday night.

**Just like at the Republican** confab, there are clearly some delegates and attendees here who have little use for Clinton, who is now the nominee. One Sanders die-hard told us she prefers four years of Trump to eight years of Clinton (as if either outcome would be guaranteed in 2020). But we also think the number of true #Never-Hillary Democrats is small, just like the number of true



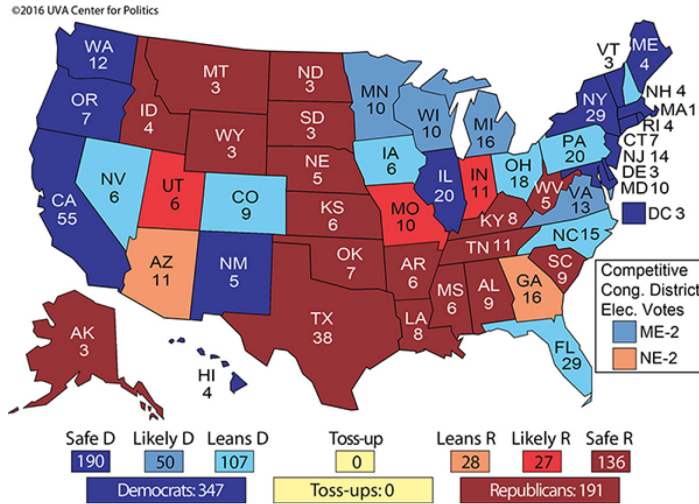
RealClearPolitics Election 2016			
President	Senate		House
<b>Election 2016</b>	<b>Clinton</b>	<b>Trump</b>	<b>Spread</b>
RCP Poll Average	44.6	45.7	Trump +1.1 ↗
Favorability Ratings	-17.2	-21.1	Clinton +3.9
Betting Odds	68.0	32.0	
<b>Electoral College</b>	<b>Clinton</b>	<b>Trump</b>	<b>Spread</b>
RCP Electoral Map	202	164	Clinton +38
No Toss Up States	322	216	
<b>Battlegrounds</b> ● ○	<b>Clinton</b>	<b>Trump</b>	<b>Spread</b>
Pennsylvania	45.5	42.3	Clinton +3.2
Michigan	41.0	35.8	Clinton +5.2
Ohio	42.6	41.8	Clinton +0.8
Florida	43.5	43.8	Trump +0.3
Iowa	41.3	40.8	Clinton +0.5
Wisconsin	44.3	38.7	Clinton +5.6
New Hampshire	43.0	39.3	Clinton +3.7

#NeverTrump Republicans is also small. Conventions are supposed to be a positive public relations show for the party that spur party unity, and the pageant isn't just for the TV viewers, it's also for the delegates in the hall, a kind of shock therapy that wears down the resistance of the holdouts.

**Despite some** rocky moments, the GOP convention probably helped the Republicans achieve a greater level of unity. The same is probably true of the Democratic convention. Just think about it, on the first day of both the RNC and DNC, there was some very public dissent on both convention floors. But by the time of the nominating votes themselves, there were few major waves at either convention. Even Ted Cruz's non-endorsement of Trump on the third

**The Crystal Ball's 2016 Electoral College ratings**

Updated July 22, 2016



night probably hurt Cruz more than it hurt Trump. And it does not seem like Clinton will have to suffer through a Cruz-esque speech tonight or Thursday. There's the potential for further dissent at the DNC but day two was better for the party on that front than day one.

Clinton's own speech looms large over the remainder of the proceedings. She clearly has a lot of work to do to improve her very weak favorability ratings. A little contrition for her email antics might be

wise. Whenever the Trump campaign does go on the air, they will have some potent ads to cut on the issue, and whatever Clinton has done to try to defuse it has so far been clearly inadequate. ❖

# Photography With Punch

Mark Curry On Indiana Politics

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# Progressives can easily embrace Sen. Kaine

By SHAW FRIEDMAN

LaPORTE – Sorry, Fox News. That dog won't hunt. In the hours after Hillary Clinton announced her choice of Sen. Tim Kaine (D-Virginia) as her vice-presidential pick, certain voices on the right clucked that there might be resistance from factions within the Democratic Party to the supposedly "safe" choice of Tim Kaine vs. what some viewed as more "inspiring" picks like Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-Mass.) or Sen. Sherrod Brown (D-Ohio).



Fact is, once again, the talking heads at Fox have not done their homework. As former head of the Indiana Progressives PAC, I'm in a pretty good position to spot a "progressive" when I see one, and I have to say, as one who has followed Tim Kaine's career, this is a guy whose progressive values were formed early and mainly through his religious

upbringing as a Catholic in the Jesuit social justice tradition.

Look at the decision he made while at Harvard Law School to eschew the traditional resume-building track of a high profile judicial clerkship or an internship at one of the white shoe law firms on Wall Street. Instead, Tim Kaine made the decision to "step away from the treadmill" to "decide on my path in life" and he actually took a year off to join Jesuit missionaries in Honduras, an experience that clearly had a lasting impact on him. There, he worked with young men facing grinding poverty as he helped run a technical school set up by the Jesuits. At the school, he trained young Hondurans in various crafts who were hungry for hope and opportunity, and he had a chance while there to make a difference.

**This is a guy whose** "progressive" values were formed early and his decision to move to Richmond, Virginia, and settle in an integrated neighborhood and take up housing discrimination law were also very formative and influential on his world view. Again, rather than seek out a position at one of the old-line Virginia law firms that were swooping up Ivy League law school graduates at the time, he represented not only death row inmates, but he took on representation of victims of housing discrimination. The team he worked with actually won a \$100 million jury verdict in a red-lining case against Nationwide Insurance. While the verdict was overturned on appeal, his team was able to negotiate a \$17.5 million settlement, bringing much needed relief to victims of housing discrimination.

Not only does Tim Kaine talk the talk, he's walked the walk. As governor of a state that is practically home

to the National Rifle Association, he took on the nation's gun lobby, pushing for common sense restrictions on gun purchases such as signing an executive order after the tragedy at Virginia Tech that would keep guns out of the hands of the mentally ill. In the U.S. Senate, he's supported increased background checks.

**Though personally pro-life** by virtue of his Catholicism, he's been a forceful and articulate advocate for the rights of women to make that difficult choice in tandem with their physicians and he wins plaudits from Planned Parenthood. Also, unlike our governor, who for much of his career has parroted the absurd line pushed by the tobacco industry that cigarettes do not kill, Tim Kaine had the difficult task in the heart of a tobacco-growing state to sign a statewide smoking ban in restaurants. And while we are at it comparing Tim Kaine to Mike Pence, unlike our governor who inexplicably turned down an \$80 million federal grant that would have provided universal pre-K to young Hoosiers, Tim Kaine brought universal pre-K to the Old Dominion State.

When I was called by one of my strongly progressive friends in Indianapolis after Hillary made her choice and who seemed disappointed with the choice of Tim Kaine, I quickly reassured my friend that this progressive is very comfortable with the notion of Kaine. Sure, he's not anti-TPP as most Democratic progressives are, but I'm willing to cut him a break on an issue or two when I see a worldview and a civil, decent and compassionate approach to politics that someone like Tim Kaine has practiced during his entire time in elective office. I frankly think it was an inspired choice and am most comforted by the fact that Tim Kaine as a practicing Jesuit has notions of social justice that are deeply imbedded in him.

**Having had the opportunity** to attend Notre Dame Law School as I did in the early 1980's, I came to understand and appreciate the commitment that Jesuits have to making a huge difference in the lives of people they encounter. I suspect that year spent in the poorest neighborhoods of Honduras had a deep and abiding impact on the man who could be our next vice president. It's clear from his choices made while in law school and afterward when he went into law practice that Tim Kaine felt a need to put his religious values to work in his profession.

Having picked this Spanish-speaking Christian missionary was not only the politically savvy thing for Hillary Clinton to have done, but it's also the right thing to have done. We progressives ought to be tickled pink with this choice. ❖

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

# Controversy follows Palmateer to Philly

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – There doesn't seem to be an end to the saga of Randy Palmateer and a March drunken-driving arrest. So widespread is the story that it extends this week to the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia.

Palmateer is the business manager of the 25,000-member Northwestern Indiana Building and Construction Trades Council. The March arrest was the second in five years. And, as was the case with the first one, this one was reduced to reckless driving, as are many drunken driving charges in Lake County.

It wasn't terribly surprising that Palmateer had his March drunken-driving arrest reduced to reckless driving even though it was his second in five years. The Building and Construction Trades Council can be a powerful force in statewide and local elections. To anger the organization's leader isn't a wise political move.

The Palmateer case prompted The Times of Northwest Indiana to investigate how drunken-driving cases are handled in Lake County. When it was learned that the majority of drunken-driving charges were reduced to reckless driving, The Times turned the issue into a crusade. As a result, Lake County Prosecutor Bernard Carter has told his deputies that future drunken-driving charges no longer will be reduced to reckless driving.

**The case also has played** a major role in shaping the Indiana delegation to the DNC. Palmateer ran for national delegate at the state convention in June. John Buncich, Lake County sheriff and county chairman, wasn't named an automatic delegate as has been the case with party leaders in the past. Because of Palmateer's arrest record, Buncich declined to run against him. Palmateer ran, but lost.

But Palmateer was on the convention floor Tuesday with the rest of the Indiana delegation. It seems one of the delegates didn't show and the Indiana delegates picked Palmateer. Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr. said the Indiana delegation did so because it wanted more labor representation. "I think it is a shame and disgrace to our delegation there," Buncich said on learning of Palmateer's appointment.

Palmateer suffered a good bit of embarrassment, but in the end he came out a winner, as he had his drunken-driving charge reduced and he became a delegate to the DNC. ❖



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

# Who benefits from Regional Cities?

By MORTON MARCUS

INDIANAPOLIS – Indiana loves fat. No, don't put down that pork tenderloin, but we do love fat documents.

Here's the evidence: Three regions were awarded \$126 million in matching funds for economic development projects. Seven regions submitted applications. Central Indiana's plan was a skinny 26 pages; no money. The West-Central plan was beefed up to 88 pages; no money. East Central bulked up to 134 pages; no money. Northwest

Indiana offered a hefty 178 pages; still no money.



The winners of \$82 million each: Northeast waddled in with 194 pages, Southwest presented a portly 224 pages, but the North Central region topped them all with a sumo-style 371 pages.

**Now remember** these grants are to be matched by other money well in excess of the state portion. Hence, we may never see any of the proposed projects funded. Plus each project must have the approval of regional boards and the Indiana Economic Development Council, which may have new priorities under a new governor. There are many different ideas about regions. Currently, America and Indiana are focused on major cities surrounded by dependent urban nodes with the intervening areas filled in by urban sprawl and agriculture.

Some futurists insist low cost communications, the connectivity of the internet, will shape how we live and work in the coming decades. Elkhart and Ethiopia, Princeton and the Philippines, Crothersville and China could be paired in production – if all have high-speed, highly reliable internet service.

**Recent data from the** U.S. Census Bureau indicate 84% of 2.5 million Hoosier households have computers, which sounds good, but ranks 38th among the 50 states. In addition, one of every seven Indiana households with a computer does not have internet access. In sum, over 700,000 Indiana households are not connected to the world.

What does the regional cities program do for the connectivity of our students, our workers, our businesses? Communications alone are necessary, but not sufficient to move Indiana forward. ❖

**Matt Tully, IndyStar:** Eric Holcomb has worked closely over the past dozen years with Indiana's two most recent governors. Now, as he seeks to follow those men into the state's highest office, one question looms arguably above all others. Is Eric Holcomb more Mitch Daniels, or more Mike Pence? The answer to that question could help determine the outcome of the November election for governor. And while Holcomb will surely never answer it — it's far too politically charged — he would be wise to send clear signals that his leadership style, political focus and policy heart are more in line with his former boss Mitch Daniels than his current boss Mike Pence. Much of Indiana doesn't know Holcomb, a longtime Republican staffer and operative who has served as lieutenant governor for only a few months, and who has no legislative voting record to scrutinize. But they do know his two most prominent bosses. One, Mitch Daniels, is remembered as a big-ideas conservative leader who kept his focus on the issues most important to Indiana and who made transformational changes to the operation of state government. The other, Mike Pence, has offered four years of lightweight policies and weak leadership while being distracted by damaging and divisive social-issue crusades. Mitch or Mike — which one has more influenced Eric Holcomb? The answer is critical, for the state and for the Republican Party. Both Indiana and the GOP could use a protégé of Daniels. Neither needs another four years of Pence. Holcomb has an opportunity to define himself. Two Republicans who have worked closely with Holcomb insisted to me that he is more like Daniels than Pence, more pragmatic than ideological, and more focused on issues such as the state's fiscal and economic situation than on social debates. We will see if that is true. ❖



being named Trump's running mate, he backed down on that. When Trump bashed U.S. District Judge Gonzalo Curiel, who was presiding over class-action lawsuits against Trump University, calling him a "hater" and saying he is biased because "he's a Mexican," Pence came to the Indiana-born judge's defense. "I don't think it's ever appropriate to question the partiality of the judge based on their ethnic background." He's not saying that now. As you can tell, I haven't agreed with all of Pence's stances. But I gave him credit for standing up for his beliefs. Now, unfortunately, he appears en route to becoming Chris Christie redux, a once-strong leader kowtowing to a more forceful politician, no doubt destined for some sort of humiliation. Pence has lost his focus as a Christian, a conservative and a Republican, in that order. ❖

**Stephen Hayes, Weekly Standard:** Yes, Donald Trump is crazy. And, yes, the Republican party owns his insanity. Fewer than 12 hours after Republicans rallied in support of his nomination for the presidency, Trump once again implied that Rafael Cruz, Ted Cruz's father, was involved in the JFK assassination. At a press availability during an event to thank campaign volunteers Friday morning, Trump revived suggestions that the elder Cruz was an associate of Lee Harvey Oswald, Kennedy's assassin, and that they two were together months before the assassination. Both Cruz and his father have vehemently—and repeatedly—denied any suggestion that the man in the photograph is the elder Cruz or that he was an associate of Oswald, contrary to Trump's claim. That hasn't stopped Trump's innuendo. This isn't the behavior of a rational, stable individual. It should embarrass those who have endorsed him and disgrace those who have attempted to normalize him. ❖

**Tim Etheridge, Evansville Courier & Press:** Say what you will about Mike Pence, but Indiana's governor always has seemed a man of principle. When he abetted and encouraged the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, a bad idea that harmed our state and its reputation, he stood behind his beliefs that Christians could be facing discrimination. When he signed into law one of the most restrictive abortion bills in America, one that was opposed by Republican women legislators, he said that it would "ensure the dignified final treatment of the unborn and prohibits abortions that are based only on the unborn child's sex, race, color, national origin, ancestry or disability, including Down syndrome." So Pence appears to be what he consistently professes to be, "A Christian, a conservative and a Republican, in that order." Then Donald J. Trump came calling, and Pence has, more and more, appeared to be first a politician. When Trump first said that America's borders should be closed to all Muslims, Pence correctly tweeted that "Calls to ban Muslims from entering the U.S. are offensive and unconstitutional. The U.S. cannot discriminate on the basis of religion." After

**Timothy Lee, vox:** Everyone is talking about Donald Trump's call for the Russian government to release emails it may have stolen from Hillary Clinton's private email server. But that wasn't the most chilling thing Trump said in his rambling answer to a question about who hacked the email server of the Democratic National Committee. "Honestly, I wish I had that power," Trump responded. "I'd love to have that power." The thing is, if Trump gets elected president, he probably will have the power to hack into the private communications of his political opponents. And that's terrifying. Thanks to whistleblower Ed Snowden, we know that the National Security Agency has one of the most sophisticated offensive hacking programs in the world. The NSA has a team of researchers who look for security vulnerabilities in popular technology products, and it also sometimes buys information about security vulnerabilities from outside hackers. That means the NSA is often able to break into computer systems that would repel less sophisticated hackers. ❖

# Pollster Conway predicts hidden Trump voters

By MAUREEN HAYDEN  
CNHI Statehouse Breau

INDIANAPOLIS — A Donald Trump adviser predicts a record turnout for the celebrity real estate developer, saying he has tapped deep pools of resentment and angst, and some of his supporters are too embarrassed to admit it. "There are a lot of hidden Trump voters - people who find it's not socially desirable to admit to be voting for Donald Trump," Kellyanne Conway, a pollster, told a meeting of the American Legislative Exchange Council on Wednesday. Conway was joined at the gathering of conservative state lawmakers by another Trump surrogate, economic adviser Steve Moore, who said his supporters are more likely to watch professional wrestling than Fox News. "I don't love Donald Trump, but I love his voters," said Moore. The group expected to hear from Trump's running mate, Indiana Gov. Mike Pence, but he backed out of a scheduled keynote speech to stay on the campaign trail. Pence is now slated to speak to the group Friday. Conway, who also has polled for Pence, is credited with helping coax Trump into picking the Indiana governor as a vice president, calling him a "window to party unity" after a fractious GOP primary fight.



## Trump Russian remarks draw ire

WASHINGTON — Donald Trump's call on Russia to hack Hillary Clinton's emails has shocked, flabbergasted and appalled lawmakers and national security experts across the political spectrum, with one saying it was "tantamount to treason" (Politico). Few would argue Wednesday that what the Republican presidential nom-

inee said will directly cause Russia to conduct more cyber-espionage against the U.S. than it already is doing. But several described Trump's statements as dangerous for America's global standing. Some echoed the Clinton campaign in calling the comments a threat to national security. "It's just one more example of the reckless and dangerous comments that Donald Trump makes that compromises American foreign policy objectives,"

said Sen. Ben Cardin of Maryland, the ranking Democrat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Leon Panetta, a former CIA director, told CNN's Christiane Amanpour that Trump's comments were "beyond the pale" because he was "in fact asking the Russians to engage in American politics." An aide to House Speaker Paul Ryan, the Wisconsin Republican who has endorsed Trump, added, meanwhile, that "Russia is a global menace led by a devious thug" and that it should stay out of the U.S. election. "The United States should not tolerate Russian meddling in November's election," said House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Ed Royce (R-Calif.). "Period."

## Carson addresses DNC on Pence

PHILADELPHIA — U.S. Rep. Andre Carson took the stage at the Democratic National Convention on Wednesday to say the country cannot let the "terrible judgment" of Donald Trump and his running mate, Gov. Mike Pence, affect civil rights (Schneider, IndyStar). "I'm from Indiana," said Carson, an Indianapolis Democrat. "I have seen Mike Pence's terrible judgment up close. Pence has fought against same-sex couples having equal rights."

## Obama library site chosen

CHICAGO — President Barack Obama's presidential library will be built in a park along the shores of

Lake Michigan and a short walk from the university where Obama taught constitutional law on Chicago's South Side, a personal familiar with the selection process told The Associated Press on Wednesday. The Barack Obama Foundation decided to build the library at Jackson Park near the University of Chicago, according to a person briefed on the selection.

## Secret Service code for Pence

WASHINGTON — According to multiple sources, Mike Pence's Secret Service code name is "Hoo-sier." Which, factually accurate, if not overly creative. His running mate's code name, appropriately enough, is "Mogul."

## HIV crisis could have been avoided

MUNCIE — Not only was the nationally publicized HIV crisis in rural Indiana last year preventable, but other U.S. communities are at high risk for nearly identical outbreaks, according to a recently released study from the prestigious New England Journal of Medicine (Slabaugh, Muncei Star Press). The study also reveals contradictions between what Indiana public health officials think is best for the state and the policies currently in place. In conclusion, the study found that Scott County's public health crisis -- which left 181 people in South-eastern Indiana HIV positive -- was caused by a "close network" of residents injecting opioid Opana and sharing needles. It suggests that Indiana and other largely rural states should focus on prevention measures such as more HIV testing, identifying networks of intravenous drug users, increasing access to treatment, considering syringe-exchange programs and education. "A lot of things could have been done differently with our resources and capacity," Carrie Lawrence with the Indiana University School of Public Health Rural Center for HIV/STD Prevention said Wednesday.