



# Senate, Gov tossups; Trump up 5%

Trump could impact down ballot; Young has clearer path; Gregg, Holcomb deadlocked

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Hoosier voters are bracing for an unprecedented election homestretch, with the U.S. Senate and gubernatorial races separated by a mere 1 or 2%, while Donald Trump has a precarious 5% lead over Hillary Clinton in the latest WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll released today. This survey



## Indiana Statewide

Key findings from a statewide survey of 600 likely voters in Indiana, conducted October 3-5, 2016.

conducted by Public Opinion Strategies pollster Gene Ulm Oct. 3 to 5 included 600 likely voters, with 360 landline phones and 240 cells, with a margin of error at +/-4.0%. The party breakdown was 37% independent, 31% Republican and 29% Democrat.

In the race that could determine control of the



Gov. Mike Pence joined Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb and U.S. Rep. Todd Young at a Fort Wayne rally last Friday that drew only about 300 people, raising questions about what the turnout will be like on Nov. 8. Some 4.7 million Hoosiers have registered.

U.S. Senate, Democrat Evan Bayh leads Republican Todd Young 42-41% with Libertarian Lucy Brenton at 8%, or a 3% increase from our September poll. Bayh led Young

**Continued on page 3**

## Young has the momentum

By **MARK SOUDER**

FORT WAYNE – The second WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll provides additional good news to every television station as well as other Indiana media, because if you think you've seen a lot of candidate ads for senate and governor, wait until you see what is coming.



Congressman Todd Young has come from far behind to, at worst, within 1% of the early assumed winner, former governor and senator Evan Bayh. The race that may decide who controls the United States Senate is essentially tied.

Former Indiana House Speaker John Gregg holds a two-point edge over Lt. Gov.



**“We have 92 election systems. We have five different voting systems. None of them are on the Internet and none of them are networked together. I’m not saying it’s impossible, I’m saying it’s next to impossible.”**

*- Sec. Connie Lawson, on potential hacking of election*



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Holcomb, but that means that they also are basically tied in the race that will determine which direction our state will head.

Even the presidential race has tightened a bit, and there are some signs that while Donald Trump and his running mate, Gov. Mike Pence, are still likely to defeat Hillary Clinton here, the race could tighten even further.

**Before discussing** the details I feel it is important to note the dramatic drop in the number of conservative voters in this poll as opposed to the first poll. It was a 13% drop. In other words, Todd Young and Eric Holcomb gained even though the number of moderate and liberal voters significantly increased. It means one of the following things: Indiana has become significantly more liberal since September; or one poll either over-sampled or under-sampled conservatives.

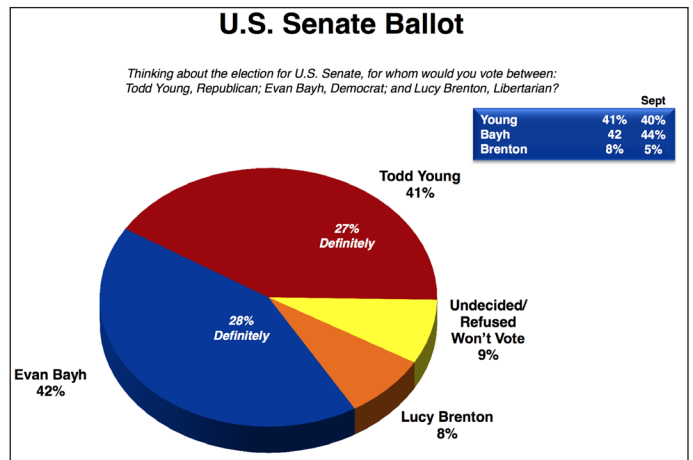
Since exactly 586 people identified their ideology in both polls, it becomes easier to convert the actual raw data to percentages. In September, 52.3% identified themselves as conservatives of some type, and 47.7% said they were moderates or liberals (tilting moderate). In October, only 41.6% identified as conservatives and 58.4% were moderates and liberals. Even more dramatically, the "very conservative" category – those most likely to vote for the Republican candidates – dropped at the greatest rate.

**Using the September** number of conservatives, of which Young received 63% and Bayh 22%, the shift to Young would change the October bottom line to: Young 43.5% and Bayh 39.7%. In other words, Young would be ahead by nearly 4%. Furthermore, in October, Young actually increased his dominance among conservatives to 70%-15%. Assump-

tions matter in close races.

Like good pollsters do, there were 290 pages of cross-tabulations. It is impossible to fully digest all the data to meet our rapid publication deadline but here are some core thoughts on the big three races:

The presidential race looks like it tightened from a Trump lead of 7% down to 5%. That's partly because of rounding rules (he's actually above 43 and she's below 38). Trump received the same number of raw votes, and she increased by nine.



This is in spite of Trump's first debate disaster and the partial release of his tax data. His terrible week didn't translate to much Indiana gain for Hillary.

**Her glimmer of Indiana** hope in this poll is in the Gary Johnson vote. He continues at 11%, receiving exactly the same number of votes as in September. The break-outs make it clear that more Johnson voters are Democrats than Republicans. His vote is heavily skewed to the two younger age voter categories.

The Libertarian Party vote for Senate and governor clarifies this the most. The self-identified conservative vote for Libertarian statewide candidates is more than double that for Johnson (i.e. the more conservative Libertarians vote for all the Libertarians). This strongly suggests that perhaps half of the Johnson voters in Indiana are disgruntled, younger Bernie Sanders voters. If those Democrats came home, Clinton would be pretty close in Indiana (certainly within the margin of polling error). In

other words, it is not clear how Trump gains much, but Hillary has a slight window.

The Senate race does not present the same hope for Bayh. The Sanders voters seem to be largely in his camp already. But he has an even bigger problem. Even though he has outspent Young in the period between the polls, and mixed a few positive ads in with his media blizzard of negative ads, Bayh has had a steep rise in his unfavorable rating combined with a drop in his favorable rating. Young's ratio remained about the same, but Bayh dropped from heavily favorable (48-28 in September) to narrowly favorable (43-39).

**This is, I would again point out,** in spite of having substantially fewer conservatives in this poll. Bayh had not been hit with many negative ads for decades. He began as a warm fuzzy because he is a nice guy, but his vote on Obamacare, his obviously false claim that he isn't a lobbyist, and his time away from Indiana have sent his positive image crumbling.

Furthermore, Bayh has already consolidated the Hillary vote. Young still has not rounded up all the Trump voters. In other words, Young has more space to grow his vote.

The national Republicans are likely to be thrilled with these results. The Democrats may, if this trend line

continues, need to begin to focus on a few more winnable races. That said, I have watched Evan and his dad recover before. Anybody in Indiana who underestimates a Bayh should get out of politics and political commentary.

The most remarkable thing in the gubernatorial race is the inability of John Gregg to put away Eric Holcomb. Gregg has practically been camping in our living room for months with his television bombardment of Fort Wayne. And he ran for governor, backed up with millions in ad dollars, in the last campaign. The biggest thing I hear relative to Eric is "Tell me again, who is the Republican running for governor?"

Gregg seems to have a locked-down vote, but it is not yet enough to win. The only question is whether Holcomb can continue to gather in the Republicans who have yet to make their choice. Young may have more momentum, but Bayh is a much tougher candidate to defeat than Gregg.

The number one conclusion from this second Howey Politics Indiana poll is this: Here in Indiana, we are likely in for a continued wild ride to the finish line. ❖

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

**WTHR/Howey Poll, from page 1**

44-41% last month. In the gubernatorial race, Democrat John Gregg leads 41-39% in a race that could be decided by who wins the presidential race. Libertarian Rex Bell is at 5%.

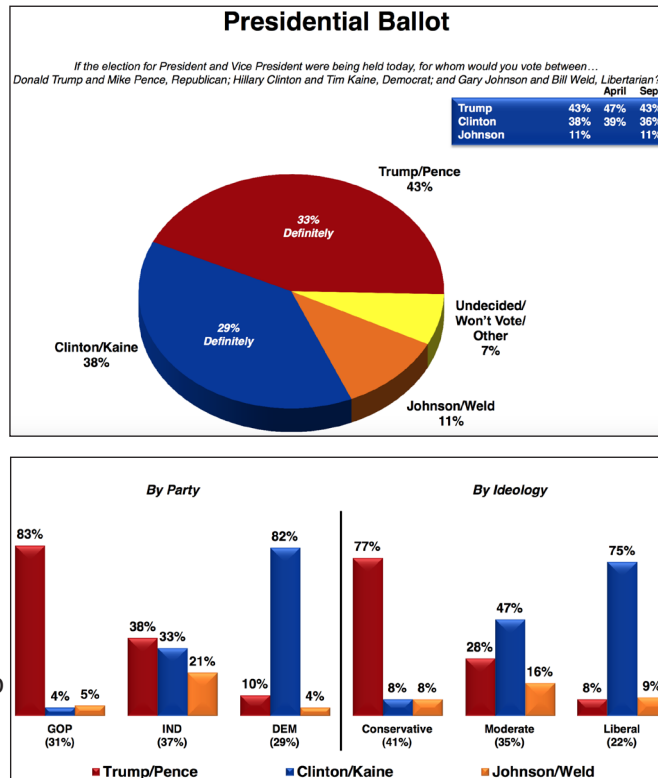
And in that presidential race, Donald Trump's poor first debate and his feud with a beauty queen has his 7% September lead shrinking to 43-38%, with Libertarian Gary Johnson holding steady at 11%. After months of Trump denigrating women, it could be independent women voters who could decide all three of these races.

"Independent women decide every race," Ulm said, noting that Clinton leads Trump 41-32%. "If he has another 10 days like the last 10, and that differential goes higher, that's where the movement will be. And importantly, that will affect others as well. Those are voters that Todd Young has

to do better among. Trump will have huge impacts."

This third WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll comes after an epic, rollercoaster cycle that saw Trump clinch the Republican nomination in the May 3 Indiana primary, pluck Gov. Mike Pence out of a reelection battle he might have lost, and then saw post convention bumps for both major party presidential nominees. Trump appeared to be closing on Clinton heading into the first debate at Hofstra University, where Clinton sprang the trap involving Miss Universe Alicia Machado. Trump took the bait, wouldn't stop talking about Machado's weight, and even invited his supporters to view a sex video that doesn't seem to exist. Many Hoosier voters who could decide this election weren't impressed.

While Gov. Pence seems to have found a national renaissance, as the Trump whisperer and mitigator, he continues to be a polarizing figure in his home state, where 47% view him favorably and 45%



unfavorably. At a Fort Wayne rally last Friday with Holcomb and Young, a mere 315 supporters showed up at the Coliseum. Rallies at the same venue for Sarah Palin in 2008 and Vice President Dan Quayle in 1992 drew big crowds and long lines.

Ulm said that while the presidential and gubernatorial races are tracking each other, the Bayh/Young race has created its own dynamic and could see close to \$50 million spent, as was the case in 2012. "Indiana is now ground zero for the Senate," Ulm said. "The circus is coming to town."



"I think this is an up-or-down vote on Evan Bayh," Ulm said, calling him a "functional incumbent" even though he left the Senate in 2011. He came back with his \$10 million campaign war chest, but since he returned in late July, Young and his super PAC allies have driven his negatives up 16%. "That is a massive movement in a month," Ulm said of the attack ads that have assailed Bayh for being a lobbyist and living in million-dollar homes in Washington and Florida, while he maintains a \$60,000 condo in Indianapolis. Ulm said that the only path for Bayh to win would be to disqualify the challenger.

On two issues tested, an overwhelming 73% favor the legalization of medicinal marijuana and 53% oppose an expansion of civil rights to include LGBT citizens.

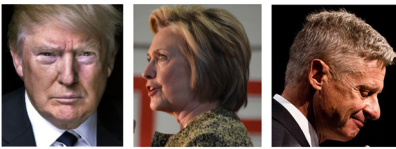
### Presidential race

Whoever wins the presidential race both nationally and Indiana will likely be determined over who this race is about.

Despite Gov. Mike Pence on the presidential ballot, the showdown between Republican Donald Trump and Democrat Hillary Clinton lies just outside the margin of error even here in Indiana in the latest WTHR/

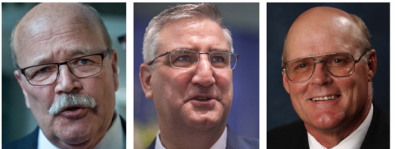



**President**




**HPI Status: Leans Trump/Pence**

**Governor**



**HPI Status: Tossup**

**U.S. Senate**



**HPI Status: Tossup**

Howey Police Indiana Poll. Trump has a 43-38% lead over Clinton, with Libertarian Gary Johnson holding steady at 11%.

Clinton is up 2% over the Sept. 6-8 poll that showed Trump leading 43-36%.

"He is severely testing a red state like Indiana," Ulm said, saying that Trump's first debate with Hillary Clinton, who drew him into a trap involving a beauty pageant queen, is impacting voters even in Pence's home state. Trump kept engaging Alicia Machado, waging a midnight Twitter war and discussing the topic during TV interviews in the days that followed the debate. "His favorable/unfavorable is 41/56% in Indiana for a Republican running for president. Bob Dole barely won the state in 1996 and his negatives were in the low 30s."

The poll asked two questions about whether people are voting for a candidate, or against the other. In the first question, 56% said, "I am definitely voting for Donald Trump," while 43% said, "I am

reluctantly voting for Donald Trump, mostly because I just can't vote for Hillary Clinton." On the second question, 64% said they are "definitely voting for Hillary Clinton," while 35% said, "I am reluctantly voting for Hillary Clinton because I just can't vote for Donald Trump."

Ulm said that if Trump "replicates" his disastrous performance in Sunday's second debate, Clinton could actually win the state.

"If she wins the Indiana, it's over."

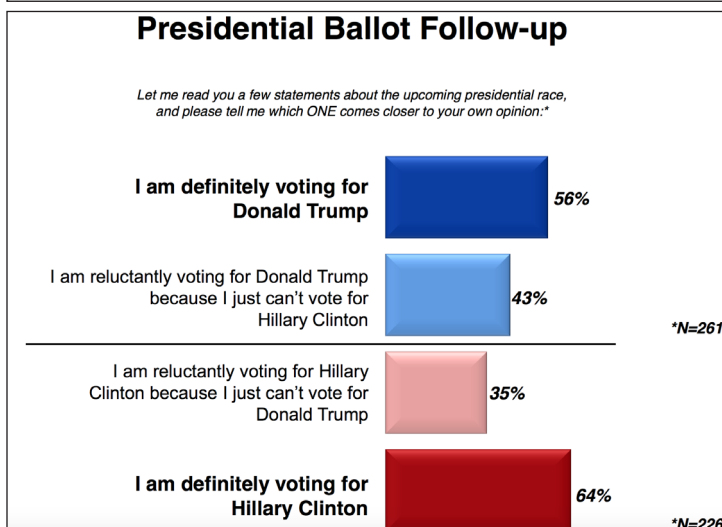
While Trump is favored by 77% of Republican women, Clinton leads him among independent women, 41-32%. Ulm said it is that demographic group that will not only decide the presidential race, but the Indiana governor and Senate races.

A normal Republican candidate would benefit from the national right track/wrong track numbers that stand at a dismal 25/70%. Since the September survey, Trump's

### Presidential Outlook

*I'd like to read you a few phrases, and please tell me whether you believe each one better describes Republican Donald Trump... or... Democrat Hillary Clinton. The phrase can describe both candidates or neither candidate.*

	Trump	Clinton	Both	Neither
Will improve race relations	23%	46%	5%	25%
Will improve the job and economic situation	49%	33%	6%	12%
Will do better on Immigration	42%	38%	3%	14%
Will protect Americans from terror	45%	32%	8%	13%

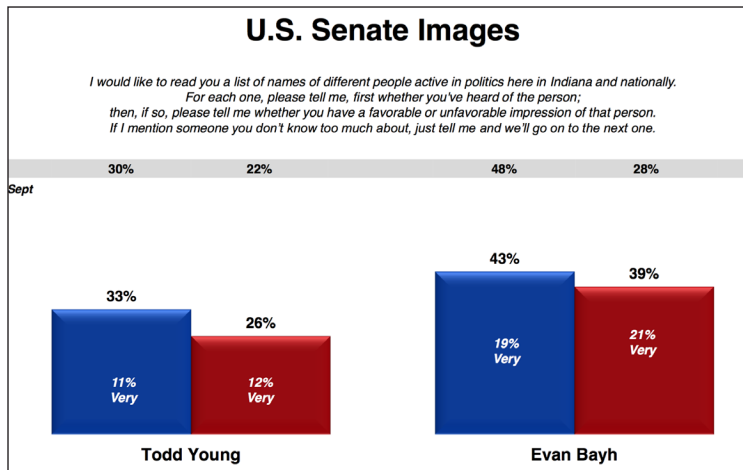


unfavorables ticked up 2% to 56% while his favorables declined a point to 41%. Clinton's favorables increased from 34 to 37% while her unfavorables stood constant at 62%. Both Clinton and Trump unfavorables are at historic highs. Gov. Pence's remained static, with 47% having a favorable opinion and 45% unfavorable. About half of this survey occurred after Pence debated Democrat Tim Kaine on Tuesday night.

"We've never had an election with candidates with this high of negatives," said Ulm, who has polled in the state for the Indiana Realtors since 1996. "There is nothing we can use to calculate that impact."

As for the issues, the economy and defeating ISIS and terrorism are the top two issues. By 45-32%, Hoosiers believe Trump is better geared toward protecting the country from terrorists and by a 49-33% margin, is in a better position to improve the economy.

"Those are the two top issues," Ulm said. Clinton gets better marks, 46-23%, for improving race relations,



and Trump has a nomination 42-38% lead on the question of who will do better on immigration.

On the temperament issue, 46% said Trump's was "very poor," 13% said poor, 24% said mixed, 8% said good and 8% said very good. That contrasts with Clinton, where 29% rated her very poor, 9% poor, 24% mixed, 16% good and 22% very good.

Is there a path for Clinton to win Indiana? "I think there is," Ulm said. "If Donald Trump replicates his debate performance, and Johnson continues to poll in double digits."

### U.S. Senate

This race could come down to the Marine v. the lobbyist. Locked in an unexpected dead heat with Bayh leading 42-41%, the Bloomington Republican appears to have a better path to victory, particularly if Trump doesn't self-destruct and he can pick up more of his supporters.

With about \$25 million already spent on this campaign and perhaps another \$20 million in the pipeline,

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all fueling attack ads, Bayh saw his negatives increase 16%, compared to 1% for Young. In our September survey, Bayh's fav/unfavs stood at 48/28%, but came in at 43/49% in this one. Young went from 30/22% in September to 33/27% in this survey.

Young has used ads to portray Bayh as a lobbyist who has made millions of dollars since leaving the Senate in 2011. The residency issue that killed U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar in 2012 has also been effective against Bayh. The reason it didn't work against U.S. Sen. Dan Coats, who moved back in 2010, is that was a mid-term election.

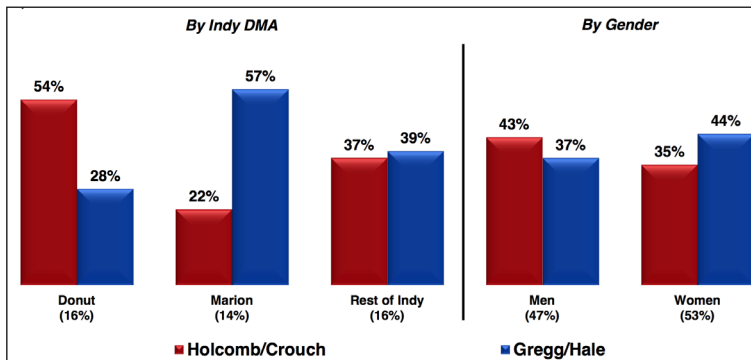
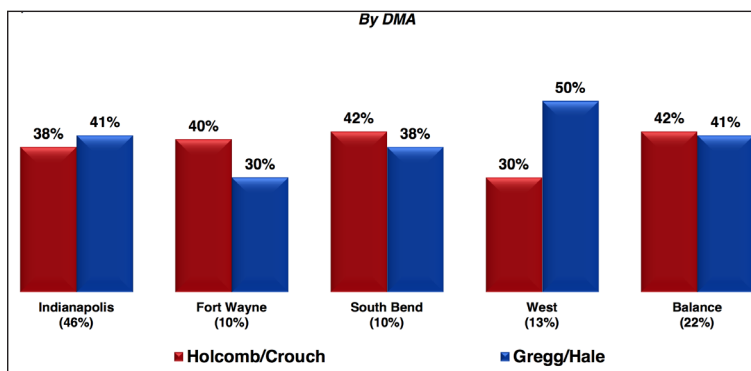
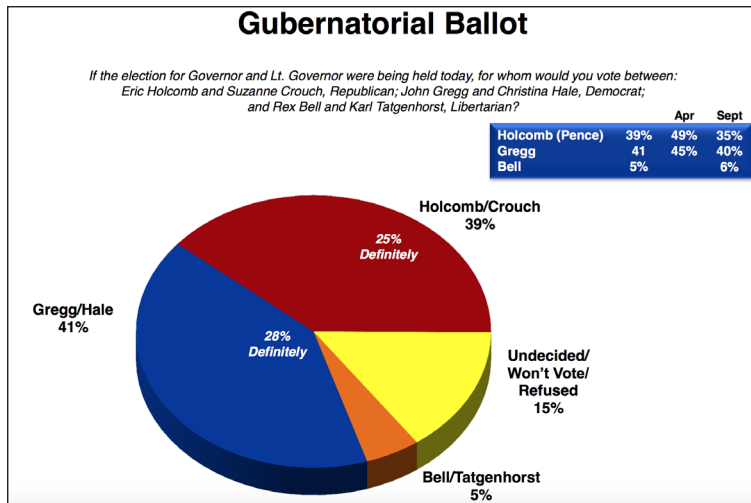
"This is a horrible year to be an establishment, legacy candidate," Ulm said. "Can you think of another candidate who fits that more than Evan Bayh?"

Part of Bayh's success in his two gubernatorial and U.S. Senate victories is that he polled more than 20% of the Republican vote. But in this survey, Bayh was getting only 12% of GOP men and 11% with GOP women. In Indianapolis, one of the most Democratic cities in the state, Bayh had just a 43-41% lead over Young, compared to Gregg's 41-30% lead in the capital city over Holcomb.

### Governor

Democrat John Gregg has not been able to distance himself from a still largely unknown challenger in Eric Holcomb, with 33% of Hoosiers unsure of who Holcomb is, compared to 29% for Gregg. The Democrat has a 41-39% lead, but his support has ticked up only 1% from September when the former House speaker led 40-35%. That was before Holcomb's TV ad campaign had kicked in, while Gregg had been advertising statewide since May 5.

The problem for Gregg is that his campaign was aimed at Gov. Pence, who exited the race on July 21 when he was nominated for Republican vice president. In the April WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll, Pence led Gregg 49-45%,



so Pence's exit has fundamentally changed this race. The Indiana right/wrong track stood at 47/44% in September and now stands at 50/42%, another element that could favor Holcomb.

Gregg's path to victory is to find a new message that can cut through the clutter of the presidential and U.S. Senate races. Despite a month of intense advertising, Gregg's fav/unfavs stand at 34/18%, almost identical to the 33/19% in September. Holcomb's fav/unfavs went from 17/14% in September to 24/16% in this survey. So clearly, the messaging and attacks in this race are not finding traction.

"The governor's race is tracking very close to presidential race," Ulm said. "If I would bet money, if Donald Trump wins Indiana, Holcomb wins. If he loses, Holcomb loses."

"Gregg has to break out of the presidential construct, the presidential architecture," Ulm said. "Indiana is a red state, so there's a slightly shorter path for Holcomb to get there."

### Issues

On the question of the legalization of medicinal marijuana, 73% favored and 25% opposed.

On the civil rights expansion issue, this survey asked, "Do you support or oppose an expansion of civil rights covering jobs, housing, and public accommodation to include lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people, also known as LGBT. Expanding public accommodation would allow people to use the public bathroom, including bathrooms at public schools, of the gender they most closely identify with regardless of the gender they were born as." On that question, 43% supported and 53% opposed. Previously, this question had support in the 58% range, but this question included a fuller explanation of the so-called transgender "bathroom" issue. ❖

# Clinton doesn't get the debate bounce

By **CHRIS SAUTTER**

WASHINGTON – Hillary Clinton is enjoying a big bounce following her strong showing, and Donald Trump's singularly weak performance, in the first presidential debate. Most of the polling since the debate almost two weeks ago shows Clinton's support growing nationally, with leads over Trump by as much as 10% in some polls.



If those numbers hold, Clinton will enjoy a solid victory Nov. 8 in both the popular vote and in the Electoral College. But, with two more debates to go and an electorate craving change over the status quo, the race will likely tighten, at least to some degree.

Several of the Senate candidates running in battleground states are being helped by the Clinton surge. In Florida, Marco Rubio's double-digit lead over Patrick Murphy has shrunk to 4 points in the past week and observers are now calling the race too close to call. In New Hampshire where Clinton is leading, incumbent Republican Senator Kelly Ayotte's re-election campaign against Gov. Maggie Hassan is in serious trouble due.

Likewise in Pennsylvania, Katie McGinty has been leading Republican incumbent Pat Toomey in most polls in spite of Toomey's attempts to assert his independence from Trump. And, polls in North Carolina show the race between incumbent Republican Richard Burr and Democrat Deborah Ross, a political newcomer, a dead heat.

However, a WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana poll released today tells a slightly different story. In Indiana, Clinton's improved numbers do not seem to be helping Democrats Evan Bayh and John Gregg. Trump leads Clinton in the Hoosier state by 5%, 43% to 38%, down from 43% to 36% in the September Howey/WTRC poll. Those numbers reflect a slight improvement in Clinton's favorable ratings, from 34% to 37%, while Trump's unfavorable ratings have ticked up 2% from 54% to 56% negative.

**Meanwhile, Evan Bayh's** situation has worsened in the U.S. Senate race. Bayh, who led by double digits according to his own polls when he entered the race in July, now leads U.S. Rep. Todd Young by just 42%-41%. Even more troubling for Bayh, his favorable ratings have dropped 5%, from 48% to 43% over the past month, as he has faced millions of dollars in negative ads by conservative special interest groups. Meanwhile Bayh's negative ratings have jumped up 11 points from 28% to 39%. Support for the former governor and senator is highest among older voters – voters who would remember him best – and declines progressively with each age group.

As in other presidential years, voters are having to sort through conflicting polling numbers. A New York Times poll released the same day as the WTHR/Howey poll, for example, gives Bayh a 4-point lead and a 73% chance to take over retiring Sen. Dan Coats' seat. Either way, expect the Indiana Senate race to go down to the wire with the race currently trending toward Young.

**The Indiana gubernatorial** race has also tightened even as Clinton's numbers have improved. John Gregg's lead over Eric Holcomb is now just 2 points, down from a 5-point lead a month ago. Holcomb remains largely unknown with only 40% of voters able to rate him (24% favorable/16% unfavorable). Gregg is better known than Holcomb, but only slightly, with a 34% favorable (up from 33%) and 18% unfavorable (down from 19%). In other words, Holcomb's standing is improving ever so slightly while Gregg's position has remained static.

In a separate 9th district poll released earlier in the week, Democrat Shelli Yoder is in a tight race with Republican Trey Hollingsworth. According to the poll, commissioned by the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee and conducted by Fred Yang, who polled for HPI in 2012, Yoder trails Hollingsworth 44% to 42%, an improvement of 5% over a DCCC poll from August. Yoder is over-performing the top of ticket despite lower name recognition than her opponent (Clinton trails Trump by 50% to 43% in the 9th District). Yoder is now known to 41% of voters, compared to 59% for Hollingsworth. Yoder's ratings are 28% favorable/ 13% unfavorable compared to 27% favorable/ 23% unfavorable for Hollingsworth.

The question is why are Bayh and Gregg not being helped by Clinton's slightly improved standing in Indiana and her big bounce nationally following the first debate?

**First, Indiana is a fairly** reliable Republican state while the other states mentioned are Democratic-leaning or swing states. Indiana's lack of diversity relative to states like Florida, North Carolina, and Virginia make it more challenging for Democratic candidates in the year of Donald Trump and an increased racial divide.

Secondly, coverage of the presidential race is so intense it is to some degree eclipsing down ballot races. That would help explain why voters know so little about candidates like Gregg, Holcomb, Hollingsworth, and Yoder. As a result, voters will mostly follow their regular voting habits once they have made a decision on the presidential race unless special circumstances are brought to their attention. Democrats will ultimately be helped or hurt by how the top of the ticket performs. If Trump's position in Indiana substantially improves in the final month of the campaign, Bayh and Gregg are likely to fall short. Conversely, if Trump continues to self-destruct with poor debate performances and controversial post-debate comments, Bayh, Gregg, and Yoder will all three find themselves in a position to win. Whatever the case, this year provides closer contests in top races in Indiana than any time in recent memory. ❖

# The rightward populist fronts here and abroad

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – While the pundits, the intelligentsia and the establishment as we’ve known it for years are grappling with the rise of Donald Trump, trying to make sense of it all, a significant swath of the people know.

They see a world changing, where the Caucasian race steadily slips into minority status. Where people of different sexual persuasions unite and seek mainstream treatment. Where mixed race marriages are increasing. Where a troubled world full of jihadists and suicide bombers, hackers and cyber thieves invade their public spaces and their personal bank accounts, creating a world they perceive as increasingly unstable and inherently risky.



So when Gov. Mike Pence decides to ban Syrian refugees from resettling in his state,

the pundits like myself and the intelligentsia object, but there are few cries from the public. The issue, Democratic sources tell me, polls well for the ban. It prompted 7th Circuit Appellate Judge Richard Posner to write in his decision maintaining a lower court injunction on the Pence order, “The governor of Indiana believes, though without evidence, that some of these persons were sent to Syria by ISIS to engage in terrorism and now wish to infiltrate the United States in order to commit terrorist acts here. No evidence of this belief has been presented, however; it is nightmare speculation.”

When Trump accepted the Republican presidential nomination on July 21, he gave the antithesis of President Reagan’s “Morning in America.” He told a rattled nation, “Our convention occurs at a moment of crisis for our nation. The attacks on our police, and the terrorism in our cities, threaten our very way of life.

Any politician who does not grasp this danger is not fit to lead our country. Americans watching this address tonight have seen the recent images of violence in our streets and the chaos in our communities. Many have witnessed this violence personally, some have even been its victims.”

**Trump then said,** “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. The most basic duty of government is to defend the lives of its own citizens.”

While most of the Hoosier RNC delegation only came around to Trump after Pence was selected for the

ticket, many with more internationalist Lugar roots, they’ve been swept up in a movement against globalism and integration. They find their constituents chanting, “Build that wall.” Look no further than Europe to find a nationalist, rightward movement fueling on similar fears.

Last spring, British voters stunned the pollsters by supporting the “Brexit” with 52% of the vote, setting the stage for Great Britain to leave the European Union, a turn of events that has President Putin grinning. In Austria the Freedom Party founded and led by two former Nazi SS officers a generation ago, has positioned Norbert Hofer to win a December runoff election after coming within 31,000 votes of the mainstream contender earlier this year.

**The Alternative for Germany Party,** founded in 2013 as an anti-EU organization, has gained footholds in 10 of 16 state parliaments. The Sweden Democrats went from 6% to 13% between 2010 (the year the U.S. Tea Party rose) and 2014. Denmark’s ultra conservative parties taking aim at liberal refugee immigration policies have gained strength. In the Netherlands, the Party for Freedom stands to take dozens of seats in the nation’s 150-seat parliament. The right wing Hungarian government is building a wall to keep Syrian immigrants out, with wide public support. The governments of Estonia, Poland, Slovakia and Bulgaria want to accept only Christian refugees.

And in France, Marine LePen’s National Front won a record 6.8 million votes out of 25 million cast in regional elections, making him the presidential frontrunner in 2017, while drawing former President Sarkozy out of retirement in an attempt to fend off the movement.

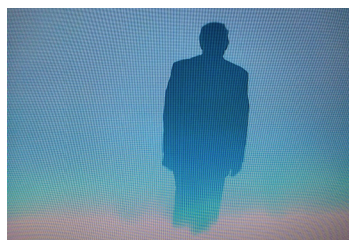
As TIME magazine observed, “All the rising rightist parties are aligned with Trump in what they encourage voters to fear: Migrants taking your jobs, Muslims threatening your culture and security, political correctness threatening your ability to speak your mind and, above all, entrenched elites selling you out in the service of the wealthy and well-connected.”

In Britain, France, Belgium and the Netherlands, polling shows that people believe about a quarter of their populations are foreign born, when the actual number is 12%, TIME reported.

In the United States in August, Fox News reported that “1,992,219 checks were conducted through the National Instant Criminal Background Check System, or NICS. The number represents an increase of nearly 200,000 checks, or more than 10 percent, over September 2015.” Americans are rapidly arming themselves.

Austrian Social Democratic Party leader Michael Häupl told TIME, “We come from the tradition of European Enlightenment, the Age of Reason. So we find it extremely hard to face down the emotional force of right-wing populism using rational arguments. It lives off the emotion of fear, and it’s a lot harder to take these fears away than to create them.”

“People are pouring into our country; we have no idea who they are,” Trump said at a rally in Maine earlier





this summer. "This could be the great Trojan horse of our time." That's why during the vice presidential debate, Pence noted that Hillary Clinton backs a "550% increase" in Syrian refugees resettling in the U.S., technically an accurate statistic. In reality, Clinton wants the U.S. to accept 65,000 Syrians, up from President Obama's goal of 10,000 this year, still a drop in the 324 million U.S. population bucket.

**This Trumpian populism** in the U.S. prompted NBC Meet the Press moderator Chuck Todd to observe that whether Trump somehow wins on Nov. 8 or not, the Republican Party and the broader American establishment will be left to grapple with why more than 40% of the voters have rejected mainstream politics. The Bushes, the Romneys, the Foreign Service, the military establishment, mainstream Protestants and a significant portion of the Republican Party have warned about this populism, which flies in the face of Chairman Reince Priebus's "Growth Opportunity Project" autopsy of March 2013, which advocated the party be more inclusive.

The reality of 2016 is that Trump and Pence are headed in the opposite direction. It is why Pence can call Trump's Muslim ban proposal of December 2015 "unconstitutional and offensive," yet switch his position in July on a "60 Minutes" broadcast.

It's why in the face of Judge Posner's searing rebuke of Pence's terrorism fears, the governor's office

reacted to the ruling, saying, "The safety and security of the people of Indiana is Gov. Pence's highest priority. The state of Indiana took decisive action last year to suspend resettlement of Syrian refugees after the terrorist attack in Paris and because the FBI and the Department of Homeland Security acknowledged security gaps with regard to screening refugees from Syria."

And that's why Pence responded to Tim Kaine when attacked on the refugee question during Tuesday's debate, saying, "I have no higher priority than the safety and security of the people of my state. So you bet I suspended that program. And I stand by that decision. And if I'm vice president of the United States or Donald Trump is president, we're going to put the safety and security of the American people first. Donald Trump has called for extreme vetting for people coming into this country so that we don't bring people into the United States who are hostile to our Bill of Rights freedoms, who are hostile to the American way of life."

**This is a bargain with** the demographic devil. This could be a closing window for Trump/Pence. They might be able to pull off a stunning upset next month, then work to change laws favoring a white, aging population in statistical decline. The math beyond is one of a browner population, more urban, more tolerant. A different type of populism lies over the horizon. ❖

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# Pence's debate might have helped himself more than Trump

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS - Indiana Gov. Mike Pence attempted to stabilize the erratic presidential campaign of Donald Trump Tuesday night in his only debate with his Democratic counterpart Tim Kaine, with the impact still unknown.

Pence won wide praise on style points as Kaine interrupted the Indiana governor dozens of time. But when it came time to defend Trump's wild statements and

bizarre conduct, the governor deflected, prompting Kaine to say at one point, "Six times tonight, I have said to Governor Pence: I can't imagine how you can

defend your running mate's position on one issue after the next. And in all six cases, he's refused to defend his running mate, and yet he is asking everybody to vote for somebody that he cannot defend." Pence continued to deflect on NBC's Today Show, ignoring questions to the point that host Savannah Guthrie threw her hands in the air in exasperation.

The real value of Pence's debate might not come until the 2020 campaign cycle begins if Trump can't overtake Clinton. Pence will point to this performance as one where he rose to a presidential level.

As we've come to understand in Indiana, Pence's top priority is his own political career. His legislative agenda over the past four years was built to provide a presidential race foundation. When faced with a tough reelection bid, he figured a way to bail into the national ticket. Instead of passing along \$6 million or so to his successor nominee Eric Holcomb, he kept it Bayh-style, ready to shower future allies spanning the continent with vital IOUs aimed at 2020.

Pence articulated a full-throated criticism of Hillary Clinton, saying her campaign had flung "an avalanche of insults."

**"If Donald Trump had said** all of the things that you've said he said in the way you said he said them, he still wouldn't have a fraction of the insults that Hillary Clin-

ton leveled when she said that half of our supporters were 'a basket of deplorables,'" Pence said, taking a tack against Clinton rhetoric that Trump ignored last week. "She said they were irredeemable, they were not American. I mean, it's extraordinary." In doing so, Pence described Trump as "thoughtful, compassionate."

Pence also took on Kaine's record as governor of Virginia. "I come from the state that works, a state that balances budget with \$2 billion in the bank," Pence said. "That's a little different than yours. You tried to raise taxes, left state \$ 2 billion in the hole. I think he's a very fitting runningmate." He accused the Democrats of advocating "\$1 trillion in tax increases, more regulations, more of the same war on coal. Hillary Clinton and Tim Kaine want to expand Obamacare."

**In return, Kaine accused** the Trump/Pence ticket of snuggling up to Russian dictator Vladimir Putin and castigating Mexico and the Mexican people. "He loves dictators, he's got kind of a personal Mount Rushmore," said Kaine, citing leaders like Mr. Putin and Kim Jong-un of North Korea. "Did you work on that one a long time?" Pence responded to what he called "several well-crafted lines."

Kaine countered, "Can you defend it?" Pence responded, "I couldn't be more proud to be standing with Donald Trump," Pence said. Pence described Putin as a "small and bullying leader. The Russian bear never dies, it just hibernates."

"I just have to tell you that provocations by Russia need to be met with American strength," said Pence, shifting the topic to the civil war in Syria. "And if Russia chooses to be involved and continue, I should say, to be involved in this barbaric attack on Aleppo, the United States of America should use military force to strike the targets of the Assad regime, and prevent Aleppo."

Whether Pence's confident performance will be enough to right the Trump campaign where the nominee spent the past week obsessed with a former beauty queen while threatening to raise Clinton infidelities, remains to be seen. The Trump/Pence ticket had pulled even and taken leads in key swing states such as Ohio and Iowa until Trump's first debate with Clinton last Monday. Polls after that first clash showed Clinton regaining small national leads while rebounding in states such as Pennsylvania, Colorado and Florida. It sets up the second presidential debate at 9 p.m. Sunday night in St. Louis.

A CNN/ORC snap poll released Wednesday morning revealed 48% saw Pence winning, compared to 42% for Kaine, who spent much of the early part of the debating interrupting the Indiana governor. But less clear is how



Pence did with his new boss. John Harwood of CNBC and The New York Times quoted a Trump adviser saying that the GOP nominee was less than satisfied with his running mate. "Pence won overall, but he didn't win with Trump," the adviser told Harwood. But Trump's last tweet last night read, "Mike Pence won big. We should all be proud of Mike!"

Pence tried to create a performance fitting for his hero, President Ronald Reagan, at one point using an old line from the Gipper, turning to Kaine and saying, "Here you go again."

**Responding to**

Kaine's comments about the improving economy, Pence said: "Honestly, Senator, you can roll out the numbers and the sunny side, but I've got to tell you: People in Scranton know different. People in Fort Wayne know different. People are struggling." And Pence went on the offense over Clinton's record at the State Department. "In the wake of Hillary Clinton's tenure as secretary of state, where she was the architect of the Obama administration's foreign policy, we see entire portions of the world, particularly the wider Middle East, literally spinning out of control," Pence said.

Pence wasn't timid in weighing in on hot button issues that play to the Trump base. On the spate of police violence, Pence said, "We ought to stop seizing on these

RealClearPolitics Election 2016			
President	Senate		House
Election 2016	Clinton	Trump	Spread
RCP Poll Average	48.1	44.2	Clinton +3.9
4-Way RCP Average	43.9	40.1	Clinton +3.8
Favorability Ratings	-10.3	-19.6	Clinton +9.3
Live Betting Odds	76.0	24.0	
Electoral College	Clinton	Trump	Spread
RCP Electoral Map	205	165	Clinton +40
No Toss Up States	322	216	
Battlegrounds ● ○	Clinton	Trump	Spread
Florida	45.8	43.0	Clinton +2.8
Ohio	39.8	43.6	Trump +3.8
Pennsylvania	45.4	41.0	Clinton +4.4▲
Michigan	43.0	38.0	Clinton +5.0
North Carolina	44.0	42.7	Clinton +1.3▲
Colorado	42.5	39.2	Clinton +3.3▲
Nevada	42.4	41.6	Clinton +0.8▲
Wisconsin	43.0	38.0	Clinton +5.0
Minnesota	44.3	40.0	Clinton +4.3
Iowa	37.8	42.8	Trump +5.0
Virginia	44.0	37.0	Clinton +7.0
New Hampshire	42.7	36.7	Clinton +6.0
Maine	40.8	37.0	Clinton +3.8
Arizona	38.2	40.4	Trump +2.2

moments of tragedy. Enough of this seeking every opportunity to demean law enforcement broadly by making the accusation of implicit violence every time a tragedy occurs." Trump had been declaring himself the "law and order candidate."

**And Pence raised** a defense for Trump, particularly on his decision not to release his tax returns. "His tax returns showed he went through a very difficult time, but he used the tax code the way it was meant to be used, and he used it brilliantly," Pence said.

Pence also tried to underscore his commitment to life issues, attempting to convey his nationally recognized stance to Trump. "The very idea that a child that is almost born into the world could still have their life taken from them is just anathema to me," Pence said. "Donald Trump and I would never support legislation that would punish women who made the heart-breaking choice."

The Trump campaign in Indiana called Pence's performance a winner.

"Gov. Pence has always been a great leader who has been able to articulate a vision as good as anyone in politics today," said Indiana chairman Rex Early. "We have known this for years in Indiana and now the rest of the country and the world are realizing it. He brings a unique combination of knowledge, common sense, humor and leadership in government that balances out our Republican ticket and provides the American people with a sense of stability. He is a great partner for Donald Trump and they will be a great team for all Americans in the White House to Make America Great Again." ❖

## Clinton retakes Ohio poll lead

Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump are running neck-and-neck in Ohio in a new poll that suggests Clinton's post-debate bounce has brought her back in a state that had been leaning toward the Republican. A new Monmouth University poll released Wednesday shows Clinton with a 2% lead in Ohio, 44% to 42%, well within the poll's margin of error of plus or minus 4.9 percentage points (Politico). Another 6 percent of likely voters are undecided, 5 percent say they support Libertarian Gary Johnson, 1 percent will vote for Green Party nominee Jill Stein and another 1 percent support another candidate.

Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump are running close in New Hampshire, according to a new Boston Globe/

Suffolk University poll released Thursday that also shows incumbent GOP Sen. Kelly Ayotte leading her Democratic challenger (Politico).

Clinton leads Trump by just 2 percentage points in the poll, 44 percent to 42 percent — within the poll's margin of error of plus or minus 4.4 points. Libertarian Gary Johnson is at 5 percent, Green Party nominee Jill Stein is at 1 percent — and 8 percent say they prefer another candidate, are undecided or refused to answer.

That's closer than other public polls in the state. Clinton had a 7-point lead over Trump in a MassINC/WBUR-FM poll conducted last week in the wake of the first presidential debate. The gender gap tilts slightly toward Clinton: She leads by 16 points among female voters, while Trump has a 13-point lead among men. ❖

# Refugees, LGBT surface in gov debate

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Gov. Mike Pence was more than 500 miles away preparing for his own debate on Tuesday, his name rarely came up, but he cast a nameless shadow in the second gubernatorial encounter at the University of Indianapolis Monday night between Republican Eric Holcomb, Democrat John Gregg and Libertarian Rex Bell.



Holcomb declared that he would continue the economic growth over the past decade that created a 4.5% jobless rate and historic employment under the

governorships of Pence and Mitch Daniels. Gregg said that struggling Hoosier families “know better,” with many working two jobs as per capita income has declined. And a U.S. Court of Appeals 7th Circuit rebuke of Pence’s attempt to ban Syrian refugees found Gregg and Holcomb on the same side. The other divisive social issue - whether to expand civil rights to include LGBT Hoosiers - became a point of contention.

The three Republican 7th Circuit judges upheld a lower court decision to overturn Pence’s attempt to bar Syrians earlier in the day. In its ruling, the judges said, “The governor of Indiana believes, though without evidence, that some of these persons were sent to Syria by ISIS to engage in terrorism and now wish to infiltrate the United States in order to commit terrorist acts here. No evidence of this belief has been presented, however; it is nightmare speculation.”

**Gregg responded to** a question from a citizen on the topic, saying, “I disagree with what governor has done. It’s not right to ban on people based on their ethnicity, religion and nation or origin. It’s just wrong.” Holcomb said during the debate, “What is happening in Syria is heartbreaking in the least. I understand where Gov. Pence was when he made the decision, hearing the FBI director say we don’t know if they’re infiltrating the network.”

After the debate, Holcomb was asked if he would have tried to ban the refugees. “I’m not going to look in rearview mirror,” Holcomb initially said, adding that “I definitely understand where the governor started from. I would honor the court decision.” Pressed by reporters, Holcomb said, “I wouldn’t go against a court ruling.” Asked

if he would continue to fund the refugee program, Holcomb said, “I would support it . . . as long as it is working.”

Gregg said at his post debate press conference, “I commend Mr. Holcomb on that.”

On the civil rights extension, Gregg said that CEOs from Eli Lilly, Cummins, Hillenbrand Industries and Salesforce have all told him that it is a priority. “The truth is this has hurt us economically,” Gregg said of the 2015 Religious Freedom Restoration Act. He vowed that on his first day of taking office he would sign an executive order extending civil rights protections for state employees, as well as to pursue hate crime legislation.

**Holcomb said that in traveling** to all 92 counties, “I’ve gotten a lot of feedback. There are good people on both ends with different and contrasting opinions.” He said that both sides have dug in and “did not come to any consensus. Both sides said they would not seek a compromise.” He added that local communities have been passing their own civil rights ordinances.

Asked by HPI after the debate whether a governor should take a position and build a consensus, Holcomb noted that former Gov. Mitch Daniels, whom he served as deputy chief of staff, had “called for a truce” on social issues.

Gregg said a strong governor would build consensus. “That’s the type of governor I would be, bringing both sides together to find that common ground.” He added that it wasn’t a Democratic issue, that Republican mayors such as Greg Ballard of Indianapolis, James Brainard of Carmel and Lloyd Winnecke of Evansville have all pushed local ordinances and back a statewide expansion. “It’s still an issue,” Gregg said.

The other big point of contention came on the economy. Holcomb cited the metrics, saying at one point that under the last two Republican administrations, “We’ve come further and faster than probably any other 12-year period throughout that 200” years.

Gregg responded, “Our wages in Indiana are growing less than the state of Kentucky. That’s nothing for us to brag on in Indiana. Imagine having a governor that shows respect for all Hoosiers, that doesn’t discriminate. Imagine having a governor that focuses on the economy, on high-wage jobs and on attracting jobs, not scaring them away.”

The three nominees will debate at the University of Southern Indiana for a final time on Oct. 25 in Evansville.

**Holcomb to report \$7.6 million**  
Republican gubernatorial nominee



Eric Holcomb will post \$7.6 million for the third quarter. It came as he started raising money after receiving the nomination to replace Gov. Mike Pence.

"That's pretty remarkable since the period started on July 1 and Eric didn't start raising money until July 26," spokesman Pete Seat said of the date when Holcomb won the nomination with the Indiana Republican Central Committee.

The \$7.6 million only includes \$1.25 million from Gov. Mike Pence's reelection campaign, after it either failed or refused to move most of the \$7 million he posted on June 30. When Pence took the vice presidential nomination on July 21, his money fell under FEC guidelines. Pence could have moved all or most of his war chest to the Indiana Republican Party, the Republican Governors Association, Holcomb or one of the other three candidates.

Holcomb reported more big donations between Sept. 29 and Oct. 1, including another \$500,000 from the RGA Right Direction PAC, \$100,000 from Roger Penske, \$40,000 from the Northeast Indiana PAC for Better Government LLC, \$40,000 and \$24,409 from the Indiana Republican State Central Committee, \$24,409. Other big donations include: Wildcat PAC, Indianapolis, \$17,750; Corradino LLC, Indianapolis, \$2,500; Willis Connor, Indianapolis, \$2,500; Rex Sinquefeld, St. Louis, Mo., \$40,000; Citizens for Snyder, Portage, \$1,000; Family Express Corp. Valparaiso, \$2,500; 68 Lincolway LLC, Valparaiso, \$1,000; DLZ Indiana LLC, South Bend, \$5,000; Michael Aylesworth, Hebron, \$1,000; Sandra Williams, Valparaiso, \$1,000.

Gregg reported \$2,000 from Matthew Troyer of McCordsville; SEIU Healthcare Indiana Hoosier PAC, \$75,000; Herbert Simon, Indianapolis, \$10,000; Michael Browning, Indianapolis, \$25,000.

## Holcomb announces community plan

Holcomb announced the third part of his four-part Taking Indiana to the Next Level plan Tuesday at Ash Skyline Plaza in Fort Wayne. Ash Skyline Plaza sits adjacent to Skyline Tower which was the recipient of the first Regional Cities Initiative distribution in the state. "We understand and respect the challenges communities...face every day in attracting and retaining talent," Holcomb said in announcing the plan. "We want to partner with you to help improve the quality of life and quality of place in communities across the state." The plan includes:

Investing in local community development to make Indiana the best place to live; Enhancing the safety of our communities; Addressing and acting on public health, mental health and drug addiction challenges; and Protecting Indiana's vulnerable citizens from abuse, neglect and exploitation.

He added, "This plan is not only a long and ambitious list of ideas and goals, this is our duty: To strive for the best, to always focus on the future and to work together to do what's best for all Hoosiers so that they feel safe and protected in their growing and vibrant communities."

## Gregg touting economic plan

A 30-second video posted to the website of John Gregg for Governor touts the Democrat's economic plan. "My 35-point economic plan cuts waste, keeps taxes down, and no more handouts for companies that send jobs to China or Mexico," Gregg said in the video. "We'll attract companies instead of scaring them away. The bottom line - build an economy that works for working people."

## Senate

### GOP ties Bayh to big payout

The Indiana Republican Party released another email bashing Democrat Evan Bayh for his work after leaving his U.S. Senate seat in 2011. "... according to financial documents released by Marathon Petroleum... Bayh has been paid \$1.35 million for serving on their board after voting against increased axes (sic) and the elimination of exemptions for oil and gas companies," the email stated. "Being paid \$1.35 million from a company that benefited from his votes in the Senate is just one of the many questionable actions Bayh has made since leaving Indiana."

### RTL endorses Young

The Indiana Right to Life Political Action Committee (PAC) endorsed Todd Young in his race for U.S. Senate. The PAC also endorses U.S. House candidates Jackie Walorski (District 2), Jim Banks (District 3), Todd Rokita (District 4), Susan Brooks (District 5), Luke Messer (District 6), Catherine (Cat) Ping (District 7), Larry Bucshon (District 8) and Trey Hollingsworth (District 9). "It is imperative that Hoosiers send pro-life voices to represent them in Congress," said Mike Fichter, Chairman of the Indiana Right to Life PAC. "We are confident that Todd Young will be a dependable vote for life in the Senate. Among other important issues facing our next Senator will be the confirmation of a Supreme Court justice to replace Justice Antonin Scalia. We need a pro-life Senator who understands how crucial it is to truly vet the judge who may sway abortion-related Supreme Court decisions for a generation.

## Congress

### Dems accuse Walorski of debate dodge

Indiana Democrats are charging that U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski (R-IN) "is dodging campaign events and her Hoosier constituents in Indiana's 2nd District," the release reads in part. "Not only did Walorski agree to only one debate in a remote part of the district, the debate's moderator is a former Republican colleague from the Indiana Statehouse. This latest turn of events is in stark contrast from 2010 when Jackie Walorski challenged then U.S. Rep. Joe Donnelly to six public debates. ❖

# The drivel from John Gregg's mouth

By CRAIG DUNN

KOKOMO – Just listening to the drivel falling out of John Gregg's mouth can give you first class case of the Hoosier heebie-jeebies. As I listen to the political flatulence that passes for the Gregg for Governor advertising campaign, a wave of emotions washes over me. The wave



of emotions is somewhat akin to the feeling I would get if I was told that I had an incurable flesh-eating bacteria. You know it will eventually end, but how much misery will you have to go through to reach the end.

It never ceases to amaze me that Democrats still think they can get away with the politics of the big lie. I suppose if I knew that the army of fact checkers were either on

my payroll or working pro bono through the mainstream media, I might try and get away by telling a few whoppers myself.

Now I know that there might be a few people reading this who might say, "But Craig, whatever are you talking about? John Gregg would never tell a fib in the pursuit of his election to governor. Surely, you must be mistaken." Well, I'm old enough and experienced enough to not just rely on my own political party's communications mill. I'm here to tell you that I lived through John Gregg's enlightened leadership of the Indiana House while he served as both majority leader and speaker.

**During his tenure in Democratic** leadership I served as a member of a local school board. The state's payments to our school corporation were delayed six months and in an effort to help us avoid financial disaster, the Democrats came up with their "rob Peter to pay Paul" strategy of allowing money from the capital projects account to be transferred to our operating budget. Students and teachers were adversely affected. The quality of education suffered because of Democratic leadership. Perhaps if John Gregg spent a little less time kowtowing to his teachers' union paymasters and more time studying education issues, he'd learn that in the last budgetary session, Indiana education received its largest increase in history.

So exactly what changes would John Gregg make in Indiana education? He says he would stop teachers "teaching to the test." Well that ship has sailed and significant changes are coming in the way students are tested. What John Gregg really means is that he wants to kill charter schools. He wants to kill school choice. He wants to kill right-to-work so that teachers' unions can once

again force teachers to financially support what is essentially nothing but a political machine.

During John Gregg's tenure, I also got to witness another one of his sleight-of-hand techniques in order to keep plowing forward with his tax-and-spend drive in the Indiana Legislature. My wife works for a not-for-profit that works with mentally and physically challenged children and adults. Once again, monies owed by the state were withheld for six months, driving many social service organizations to the precipice of bankruptcy. This was bad for fragile children and for severely impaired adults. What Gregg won't tell you in his slick, huckster-like television ads is that Democrats tried to balance their state budgets on the backs of children and the disabled.

**The "new" John Gregg** is a "Kumbaya" singing proponent of live and let live when it comes to the RFRA issue. The "old" John Gregg, the one that ran for governor in 2012, supported an Indiana Constitutional Amendment to define marriage as between a man and a woman. The hypocrisy of Gregg's magical and mystical transformation into a rainbow-flag-waving crusader is staggering. What is even more staggering is Gregg's claim that Indiana was economically damaged by RFRA. First, it is a claim that is almost impossible to prove. Secondly, virtually all economic, tourism, convention and job growth data flies in the face of Gregg's claim.

The "new" John Gregg is deeply concerned about our roads, and yet as majority leader and later speaker, he did nothing to deal with the problem. In fact, as the Democratic leader in the House of Representatives, John Gregg fought against Gov. Mitch Daniels' visionary approach to funding our highway infrastructure improvements through Major Moves. Every step along the way, Gov. Daniels had to battle a tight budget and Democratic intransigence.

Finally, John Gregg just doesn't like the direction that our economy is going. Say what?

Indiana either leads or is among the leaders in virtually every type of viable economic measurement used as a yardstick to measure the economies of our states. The incredible economic turnaround crafted by Gov. Daniels and continued by Gov. Pence has become legend throughout neighboring states and across our country. We are increasing wages and workforce participation. We are decreasing unemployment to unheard-of levels. Just what direction does John Gregg want to change? Can his entire strategy be dependent on low information voters who sit at home and play Nintendo instead of going to work? Look at the help-wanted ads for proof!

**I understand that no candidate** for governor is ever going to step up to the microphone and declare that they don't have a single plan for improving the state. It will never happen. Instead, big union money will hire political strategists who will mince and parse words and facts in an effort to confuse issues and to look like a meaningful candidate. Indiana deserves better than this. The turnaround orchestrated by Gov. Daniels and Gov. Pence has been nothing short of amazing. Why Hoosiers would want

to turn back to the sad, ineffective days of Democratic do-nothing leadership just beats the heck out of me. In the end, I don't think they will.

**At the finish line,** I believe that Eric Holcomb will be elected as your next governor. When Gov. Daniels was advocating for Major Moves, local government restructuring, property tax reform and government streamlining, the man on the tip of the governmental spear was Eric Holcomb. He led the fight in the trenches for governmental and education reform that put our children first. It is only natural that after fighting and winning so many critical legislative battles that the people of Indiana would put their

trust in him.

I trust in Hoosier common sense to reject the specious Democratic argument for a change of leadership.

The Hoosier ship of state was just about crushed on the shoals of doubt, debt and despair during the leadership tenure of John Gregg. Big money and big lies don't alter big truths. Indiana is better off under Republican leadership in the governor's office and Eric Holcomb is the man to lead us forward. ❖

**Dunn is chairman of the Howard County Republican Party.**

## Under developed Hoosier resources

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – Apologies to my fellow dataphiles; there are no numbers in this week's column. This will delight those who suffer dataphobia. I've seen the numbers and they are too embarrassing to Indiana to be displayed here.



Our candidates for governor want to create jobs for Hoosiers. They want "good-paying jobs." But they also admit Indiana's workforce is not prepared for "high-tech" jobs.

For several decades, Indiana has said it won't subsidize new jobs paying less than the average wage in the county. This is a self-destructive policy. If Hoosier workers are not qualified for higher paying jobs, does that mean we shouldn't make every

effort to find them jobs nevertheless? Is unemployment preferable to a low-paying job that can be the springboard to something better?

This brings us to travel and tourism. In the past, I was not an advocate of this sector of the economy, but I've been on my own Damascus road and seen the light. Indiana does an inferior job of promoting itself for tourism and luring travelers. We dismiss our assets and lament loudly our lack of mountains and seashore.

**Just start with the Indiana** highway map. Half of it is advertising from the tourism industry. Not a single ad makes me want to visit places in Indiana. It's mainly commercial bilge. The state would rather sell space for revenue than to insert city maps to make our cities convenient to navigate.

I cannot imagine why Indianapolis is the only city honored by a map. If you wanted to stop in Terre Haute, Evansville, South Bend or any of our other major cities, Indiana's highway map is useless. Other states feature their cities on maps available free at their attractive welcome centers. When I stopped at the Terre Haute I-70 welcome center last Monday afternoon, there were no maps, no greeter, and two out-of-date maps posted on a wall. Budget cuts? The brochures available included something about muzzle-loading guns. How nice; a tribute to our burgeoning high-tech economy.

**If we want to attract businesses** and people who can help Indiana thrive, we need to present ourselves in our best light. This means featuring our great assets, natural and cultural. There is nothing wrong with agri-tourism. But where are the tours of our ultra-modern manufacturing facilities? Rather our little burgs present themselves as good places to rediscover the world of 1910 in their "historic downtowns."

Indiana has numerous spectacular locales and institutions. We have some good websites wooing the wanderer. Our state and local parks, as well as the state and national forests, offer great natural beauty. Our museums and local restaurants feed the soul and the most demanding appetites. But we haven't told the world enough about them.

Our location makes us accessible, but our legislature won't allocate the funds necessary to tell our story well, to increase visits, and to create jobs. ❖

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

# Clinton regains edge in Electoral College

By LARRY SABATO, KYLE KONDIK and GEOFFREY SKELLEY

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. – As we await the second debate, it's obvious that Hillary Clinton got a bounce from the first debate and has re-established a clear lead in the presidential race. Her national lead in the RealClearPolitics average has gone up at least a couple of points since the debate (to about four points nationally in two- and four-way ballot tests), and it has increased to more than five points in the HuffPost Pollster average. She has arrested her September decline and has grabbed a lead that suggests she could match or even exceed Barack Obama's 2012 victory (four points nationally and 332 electoral votes). But her path may look slightly different than Obama's.

While we have had Clinton as a favorite to win the White House ever since we released our first Clinton vs. Donald Trump electoral map back in late March, we decreased her chances a few weeks ago, moving her from 348 electoral votes at least safe/likely/leaning to a map where she only had 272 safe/likely/leaning. So we had her over the magic number of 270, but just barely.

So while we've always had Clinton ahead of the 270 mark, she's in a much better position now.

Although polls are still close in Florida and North Carolina, it appears that Clinton is opening up a little bit of a lead in both. She's up about three points in Florida and she's edged ahead by just about a point in North Carolina.

**Both states are** beginning to report early and absentee voting statistics, and while it may be too early to draw conclusions about Florida (where Clinton's polling lead is clearer), North Carolina's early numbers suggest Democrats are slightly improving on their numbers from four years ago. (Barack Obama won Florida by less than a point and lost North Carolina by two). Here's where Clinton's better-funded turnout operation might come into play in diverse states where running a strong ground game requires months of preparation and millions upon millions of dollars. It may also be that Trump has less room to grow in states like these because the white voters without

a college degree in those states are already so Republican. These voters seem to be moving toward Trump in this election, but whites in the South already were more Republican than the national average and thus Trump may benefit less from his appeal among that demographic along the Atlantic Coast.

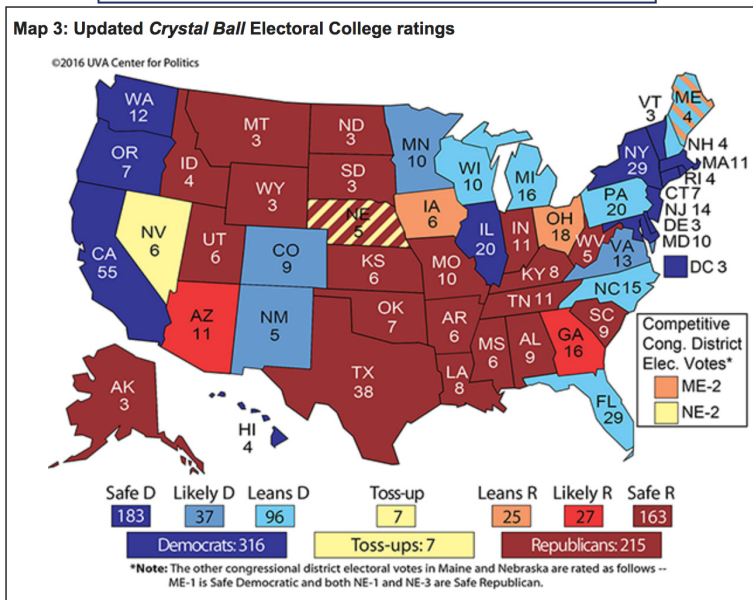
**That's less true in whiter,** Midwestern states like Iowa and Ohio, which we are holding at Leans Republican despite Clinton's national improvement (the Crystal Ball's Kyle Kondik, author of *The Bellwether: Why Ohio Picks the President*, took a closer look at Ohio this week and argued that Trump will do better there than he does nationally.) There has not been much post-debate polling of either Iowa or Ohio. Dueling Quinnipiac (Trump up five) and Monmouth (Clinton up two) polls suggest a close race in Ohio, while

we haven't seen any new numbers from Iowa post-debate. It may be that these states will head back toward Toss-up as we get more information, but as of now we see Trump maintaining a small edge in each. The same goes for Maine's very white, blue collar Second Congressional District, which we also lean to Trump. The Atlantic's Ron Brownstein, who is as shrewd an observer of the Electoral College as there is, recently wrote about how the Trump nomination might have

sped up changes that were already likely to happen over time: Namely, that the whiter Midwest would lean more Republican while the more diverse and faster-growing Atlantic Coast states would trend Democratic.

**However, there is little sign** that Trump is making progress in some other states that the Crystal Ball rates as Leans Democratic. Clinton's lead in Pennsylvania appears solid right now -- she's been up four, nine, and 10 points in three post-debate surveys, and Trump appears to be toxic in the Philadelphia suburbs, which more than makes up for whatever improvement Trump may make over Mitt Romney's 2012 showing in more blue-collar parts of the state. There's also no indication that Trump is improving in Michigan, New Hampshire, or Wisconsin (if anything, he's also declining in those states, too, although there aren't many new numbers in those places). Although we're keeping these four states, all of which have voted Democratic in at least the last three presidential elections, in the Leans Democratic column, they are closer to being Likely Democratic than to being Toss-ups. Practically

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speaking, Trump probably can't win unless he carries at least one of those, and maybe two.

That's because Colorado and Virginia, two growing, highly-educated states that George W. Bush won twice, have never looked all that promising for Trump. A few pre-debate polls showing those states closing were probably a mirage, and more recent surveys have shown Clinton building a bigger lead. Given the demographics of this election -- Trump running stronger with non-college whites but losing ground with white college graduates and potentially nonwhite voters too -- both of these states should end up voting more Democratic than the national average. They move from Leans Democratic to Likely Democratic. One interesting development in Colorado is that Democrats have taken a lead in statewide party registration for the first time in three decades, and this also will be the first presidential election with all-mail voting in the state. These two factors make the state even more of a reach for Trump. Aiding Clinton in Virginia, besides the state's long-term trend toward the Democrats and favorable demographics in this specific election, is Sen. Tim Kaine (D-VA), Clinton's running mate. Kaine is probably giving Clinton an extra point or two in Virginia, as is common for running mates in their home states. We doubt that Tuesday night's vice presidential debate at Longwood University in Farmville, Virginia moved the needle much one way or the other.

**The news is not all bad** for Trump, though. A couple of small states might be trending more competitive. Trump already apparently leads in ME-2, but the entire state of Maine may also be close. Clinton will win ME-1, the more affluent and liberal southern district that contains

Portland, but several statewide polls only show Clinton with a modest lead. Might Maine vote more Republican than New Hampshire this year, something that hasn't happened in more than half a century? It's possible given the particulars of this election plus Trump's overperformance with non-college whites but underperformance with college whites: The Republican research and analytics firm Echelon Insights estimates that more than two-thirds of Maine's electorate will be made up of whites who do not have a college degree, but those voters will be only about half of New Hampshire's.

We're moving Maine's two statewide electoral votes from Likely Democratic to Leans Democratic. So, just to be clear, Maine has four electoral votes -- and three different ratings. The two statewide EVs are Leans Democratic, while ME-1 is Safe Democratic and ME-2 is Leans Republican.

**Additionally, some polls** have shown New Mexico close, with former Gov. Gary Johnson, the Libertarian nominee, getting an outsized share of the vote. The Land of Enchantment has the highest percentage of Hispanic voters in the nation, so Trump has a steep climb here, but perhaps a big-enough third party vote could cause an odd outcome. We're moving the state from Safe Democratic to Likely Democratic.

As of now, we only list seven electoral votes as Toss-ups: the state of Nevada and the single electoral vote in Nebraska's Second Congressional District (all other states besides Maine and Nebraska are winner-take-all in the Electoral College). Forced to choose -- and we'll eliminate all Toss-ups by Election Day -- we'd probably pick Clinton in both Nevada and NE-2. If that's how it worked out -- the two Toss-ups going to Clinton and all else on our map remaining the way it is now -- Clinton would win 323-215 in the Electoral College, along the lines of Obama's 2012 victory.

Trump needs to hope that Clinton's post-debate polling bump -- much like Mitt Romney's in 2012 -- was a mirage. The challenge for him is that Clinton has basically been leading the entire duration of the race, while Romney was trailing for most of his contest. ❖



# Coleman on DCCC's 'emerging' list

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Lynn Coleman's seemingly long-shot candidacy for Congress is "emerging," described that way by the most important national evaluator of his 2nd District race against Republican Congresswoman Jackie Walorski.



The evaluation comes from the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. The DCCC has played a key role in determining the fate of Democratic challengers in the district, going back to when it didn't give a cent to Sen. Joe Donnelly when he first challenged then-Congressman Chris Chocola – Chocola won

big – but then poured resources into the district as Donnelly trounced Chocola on a second try.

The attention of the DCCC, while not yet guaranteeing big resources, was a factor in the Cook Political Report's change of its rating of the district from "Solid Republican" to "Likely Republican," meaning that the nationally regarded report now regards the race as competitive, not a sure thing for Walorski.

"We can win this election," Coleman says, confident now that he will have funding to keep running TV spots until election day and that Democrats will have a far superior get-out-the-vote effort.

Maybe. But Walorski has far superior funding, enabling a TV blitz beyond any ad buys Coleman can afford. Also, she is running in a sprawling 10-county district, Republican flavored in redistricting, in which she carried nine counties in winning a second term in 2014. She lost only St. Joseph County, largest in the district. She came close even there.

**Coleman, a 23-year** South Bend police veteran who also was a South Bend mayoral assistant, says he is confident of winning in St. Joseph County by one of those old-time Democratic margins. He also counts on carrying LaPorte and Starke counties and doing much better than the 2014

Democratic challenger in the Republican-tending counties, especially Elkhart County, where he has concentrated extra effort.

Maybe. But this is an election in which hard-to-predict enthusiasm or lack thereof of various voter groups will determine the outcome of many races. Coleman counts on the enthusiasm factor being a plus for him. If it isn't, he has no chance.

"We will have people who have never voted before," Coleman predicts, referring to voters in minority groups that don't always turn out in large numbers in the district, Hispanics and blacks.

"Some Republicans will come across the aisle," Coleman adds, "because even in her own party, she (Walorski) is not super popular." He says polling shows that.

The first indication that there actually could be a competitive race in the 2nd District came when Politico, a source of national political news, reported that Republican pollsters, concerned about lack of enthusiasm among GOP voters, found the district, thought safe, to be instead "surprisingly close."

**Then the DCCC placed** the Coleman challenge on its "emerging races" list. That doesn't mean immediate new funding. The DCCC decides pragmatically where to channel resources for the best chance of winning. It won't give a cent to Coleman if it finds in new polling that he doesn't seem to have a real chance.

The listing of the Coleman race as "emerging" does provide some help. It signals to possible sources of Democratic funding that he is a candidate to be considered when deciding where to provide help. The new Cook Political Report evaluation, with praise for how Coleman, "under the national radar . . . has assembled a respectable campaign," also helps.

Coleman says he hopes it also will signal to the news media in the district to take the race seriously and provide more coverage. He expresses frustration at lack of news media coverage of Walorski's refusal to accept numerous debate opportunities. Walorski, still regarded as ahead and still with higher name recognition, sees no political advantage in any actual debate.

"It's disrespectful of the voters," Coleman contends. "That (debates) is what the public wants." It also could be disrespectful of her political consultants for Walorski to agree to debate. ❖

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

**2nd CD**

**HPI Status: Leans Walorski (R)**

**8th CD**

**HPI Status: Likely Bucshon (R)**

**9th CD**

**HPI Status: Leans Hollingsworth (R)**

# Visclosky brings clout like Madden, Benjamin

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – There were many who thought Northwest Indiana would fall apart in 1976 when Adam Benjamin defeated longtime U.S. Rep. Ray Madden, who was an institution in Congress. Actually, things got better for the Region because of Benjamin’s legislative brilliance and ability to get along with elected officials on both sides of the aisle.



When Benjamin died of a heart attack on Labor Day weekend in 1982, there were many who thought the Region wouldn’t be able to recover from a second blow. After enduring two years of U.S. Rep. Katie Hall, Northwest Indiana got it right in 1984 when it elected U.S. Rep. Peter Visclosky to Congress. Visclosky, who was on Benjamin’s staff, discovered his body in his Washington, D.C., apartment.

It pretty much has been all good since. Within two years, Visclosky found his way onto the House Appropriations Committee where he continues today. Visclosky has grown in stature and is near the top in seniority on the Appropriations Committee. And as his clout in Congress has grown, so too have the number of federal dollars he has brought back to the Region. With his influence – and dollars – countless major projects have been financed with federal funds.

Perhaps the most significant was the Little Calumet River Development and Flood Control project that has drastically reduced flooding along the river that flows east and west. On the front burner now are the South Shore Railroad extension project to Dyer and likely another to Valparaiso.

**Helping fund that** project financially is the Northwest Indiana Regional Development Authority that was created by the Indiana General Assembly. And, even though Visclosky is in Congress, he played a vital role in the creation of the RDA. Since the day he arrived in Congress, Visclosky has been a leader in the fight to stop the dumping of foreign steel.

Visclosky was honored back home

the other night when he was presented the South Shore Leadership Center’s Crest Award, an honor that was well deserved. Since arriving in Congress, Visclosky has spent much of his time in the district bringing people together on a host of projects. As those in political circles know, trying to bring Northwest Indiana together is akin to herding cats.

Visclosky was the third to receive the Crest Award. The only question is why he wasn’t the first. Visclosky



is easily the favorite every time he puts his name on the ballot. Although there are several Democrats who covet his job, no one has dared to challenge him.

And chances are that Visclosky will be around for a long time. His father, John, who became mayor of Gary when a vacancy occurred in the early 1960s, will

celebrate his 101st birthday in December. ❖

**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.**

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

**Dana Millbank, Washington Post:** Stylistically, Pence was strong: Calmer than Kaine, interrupting less often, and repeatedly luring Kaine to respond to him. He likely won the debate on points, helped by a canned and sometimes shrill Kaine. But in a broader sense, Pence succeeded by avoiding discussion of Trump and his policies. To the extent he defended Trump at all, he did so by denying Trump had said and done things that Trump had, in fact, said and done. In that sense, you might consider this the first appearance of Mike Pence's 2020 presidential campaign. He didn't turn against his running mate, but he helped himself more than he helped Trump. Republicans watching Pence's strong performance Tuesday night had every reason to kick themselves. Had Republicans chosen a mainstream conservative like Pence — or Jeb Bush, Marco Rubio, John Kasich or a number of others who offered their services in the primary campaign — there is every reason to believe that candidate would be leading Clinton, who has proved to be a weak general election candidate in this year of change. Pence hasn't tweeted about a sex tape at 5 a.m. He hasn't shamed a woman publicly for gaining weight. He didn't mock a political opponent's pneumonia-induced stumble, nor claim that his opponent is "crazy" and unfaithful to her husband, nor suggest that returning soldiers with PTSD are weak. ❖



**Frank Bruni, New York Times:** Back when Mike Pence hosted a talk radio show in the 1990s, he described himself as "Rush Limbaugh on decaf." For much of Tuesday night, he was like Forrest Gump on chamomile, squarely and steadily plodding forward, seldom tugged from his talking points and never particularly rattled. His expression was a sort of upbeat blur. His voice was a lulling drone. It wasn't exactly a vivid performance, but it was an eerily consistent one, and it answered the question of how a man who supposedly prides himself on his virtue defends a running mate who is often bereft of it. He sets his jaw. He slows his pulse. He practices a bemused chuckle, perfects deafness to anything he prefers not to hear and purges from his memory anything he doesn't want to own. That included the whole grotesque cornucopia of Donald Trump's slurs and bad behavior, which Tim Kaine had studied up on exhaustively, knew by heart and kept throwing at Pence, pressing for the barest glimmer of shame or the slightest hint of apology. It was pointless — a point that Kaine himself made about an hour into this exercise in futility. "Six times tonight, I have said to Gov. Pence: I can't imagine how you can defend your running mate's position on one issue after the next," Kaine said, his voice somewhat squeaky with frustration. "And in all six cases, he's refused to defend his running mate, and yet he is asking everybody to vote for somebody that he cannot defend." That's a fair enough summary of the vice-presidential debate, and it flagged what made the event so fascinating,

which was Pence — specifically, the astonishing peace he has made with Trump and his wholehearted readiness to promote a man who should be so offensive to him. ❖

**Byron York, Washington Examiner:** Even allowing for spin, Republican and Democratic insiders gathered here at Longwood University drew vastly different takeaways from the vice presidential debate between Mike Pence and Tim Kaine. Republicans said: Can you believe what a jerk Kaine was? He wouldn't let Pence say three words before interrupting him. Surely the audience hated that. Democrats said: Who cares whether anyone likes Tim Kaine? His job was to plant Donald Trump's greatest hits in the public brain: Miss Universe. Tax returns. Mexican rapists. PTSD. And that's what he did. A few hundred miles away in Ohio, members of a focus group convened by the GOP strategist Frank Luntz did not like what they saw of Kaine. "Mike Pence is winning because Tim Kaine cannot debate like an adult without interruptions," Luntz tweeted early in the debate. By the end, the 26-member group voted 22-to-4 that Pence won. ❖

**Betsy McCaughey, Fox News:** Gov. Mike Pence and Sen. Tim Kaine went 90 minutes in the ring Tuesday night without either side scoring a knockout punch. But Pence won the debate by conveying the Trump ticket's vision for the future. He deftly avoided a slugfest over the petty issues that have dominated headlines — birtherism, Miss Universe, and the candidates' tax returns. ❖

**Ezra Klein, vox:** No one believes Mike Pence has Donald Trump's ear. If Trump were listening to Pence, he wouldn't have done any of the things he did over the past week. If Trump had added Pence to the ticket as part of a pivot toward a more Pence-style doctrinaire conservatism, then he would have made that pivot months ago. Trump isn't even using Pence as a prime surrogate: He's sending out sycophants like Rudy Giuliani and Newt Gingrich — the guys who have his back and will deliver even his strangest self-justifications with a smile. Pence's purpose on the ticket is as Trump's ambassador to the Republican Party. It's Pence who keeps GOP heavyweights like Paul Ryan and Mitch McConnell hopeful that a Trump win might lead to a conservative presidency. But Pence's role in the Trump campaign is that of a salesman, not a strategist or close adviser — no one believes Trump is relying on the genial, generic Midwestern conservative for guidance. Trump himself has been at pains to signal his disinterest in Pence's advice. When he introduced Pence as his running mate, he stood at a podium without Pence's name on it, talked about himself for 28 minutes, and walked off the stage as soon as Pence walked onto it. The message has long been clear: Pence may be useful to Trump, but he's an employee, and not a particularly valued one at that. ❖