

# Trump/Pence down rigged rabbit hole

Trump's 'I'll keep you in suspense' contradicts Pence on accepting what they call a 'rigged election'

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – For more than an hour last night, Donald Trump had his steadiest, most coherent debate against Hillary Clinton. Then moderator Chris Wallace of Fox News twice asked him if he was prepared to accept the verdict of the voters.

"I will look at it at the time," Trump responded. "It is so bad. The media is so bad, the piling on is so bad."

Pressed by Wallace again, Trump said, "I will tell you at the time. I will keep you in suspense."

Thus, Trump did what no other major party presidential nominee has ever done, set in motion the prospect of political chaos and destabilization that could undermine



the nation's most prestigious institution: Elections and the peaceful transfer of power.

It was a direct contradiction just minutes before the debate from Gov. Mike Pence, who told NBC News "Well, I think Donald Trump's gonna be elected president of the United States and I know he'll absolutely accept the outcome of this election."

**Continued on page 3**

## Trump and Catholics

By **MAUREEN HAYDEN**  
 CNHI Statehouse Bureau

INDIANAPOLIS – Conservative Catholic radio host Gail Buckley, known as the "Bible Lady" to her national audience, has never really trusted Donald Trump. She worries that if he is elected his volatile temper and access to the nuclear code "could get us all blown up."



The recently released contents of a 2005 audio tape, capturing him lewdly bragging of sexually assaulting women, horrified her more. It left the reliably Republican-voting Buckley in what she called a "huge struggle" over how to justify her vote.

But as an ardent oppo-



**"Because the state police had mentioned this in their original report, we just felt like we needed to let the voters know to continue to check their voter registration information."**

*- Sec. of State Connie Lawson  
 in HPI Interview, page 5*



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ment of abortion, she's resolved now.  
 It's Trump.

"I could never vote for Hillary Clinton or an administration that promotes abortion," she said. "I'm concerned about voting for Trump. But there's just no other choice for me."

Catholic voters nationwide are facing a similar dilemma. Church teachings are firm that there is no other issue more important than respect for human life, which church catechism says begins at conception.

Trump, damaged by controversy and battling the expanding divisions within his own party, needs to keep Catholic voters like Buckley as he slips further behind his Democratic opponent.

The current Real Clear Politics average of polls puts Clinton ahead by almost 6 points. No past presidential candidate this far behind in the campaign has managed to make up a deficit that large in the national polls.

**The Catholic vote**

Catholic voters, who make up 20 percent of the American electorate, are no monolith.

Sister Maureen Fiedler, a Catholic nun who hosts public radio's Interfaith Voices, is a self-described "progressive Catholic," who has long worked on issues including social justice, racism and gender equality. She says the impact of Trump's stinging rhetoric on immigrants and Muslims, coupled with attacks on Clinton, women and political opponents, is toxic.

It negates the newly found commitment of Trump, made after he entered the race, to oppose abortion by pledging to put "pro-life" justices on the U.S. Supreme Court and to protect the Hyde Amendment, which bars certain federal funds from paying for abortion.

"Catholics, especially the nuns I know, are royally turned off by Trump's behavior and find it extremely offensive," she said. "I don't know a

single soul who's voting for Trump."  
 But the souls seem split.

Asked by reporters this month how he would advise the American faithful on choosing between Clinton and Trump, Pope Francis said he would never interfere in an election campaign. "I'll just say this," he said. "Study the proposals well, pray, and choose in conscience."



Most surveys show Clinton leading among Catholic voters, a swing bloc that gave President Barack Obama just over 50 percent of its vote over abortion-opponent Mitt Romney in 2012.

A Public Religion Research Institute poll released Oct. 11 shows white evangelical Christians – crucial to Trump – stick-

ing with the GOP candidate, with 65 percent in his camp.

But the same poll showed Catholics now favor Clinton over Trump, 55 percent to 34 percent. He fares worst with Latino Catholics, which experts attribute to Trump's earlier comments accusing Mexico of exporting rapists and drug dealers into the United States.

"I'm not sure the Catholic vote is so unique from the American vote anymore," said University of Notre Dame political scientist Geoffrey Layman. "Catholics have come to represent a microcosm of America to some extent, increasingly racially and ethnically diverse."

Catholic leaders are calling on the faithful still firm, despite the revolution they may have for Trump.

Marjorie Dannenfelser, head of the pro-life Susan B. Anthony List, argues there's too much at stake for Catholics to walk away from the Republican nominee. In an interview with NPR after the Trump videotape was released, she cited the appointments that will be made by the next president to the nation's highest court: "You look at a Supreme Court that will last for generations and be changed one way or the other," she said.

## The Trump effect

Trump may have done more to drive Catholics away than Clinton has done to win them over.

In February, he picked a fight with Pope Francis after the Pope criticized Trump's pledge to build a massive border wall. Trump blasted the leader of 1.2 billion Catholics around the world as "disgraceful" and a "political pawn" of Mexico.

Massimo Faggioli, a Catholic theologian at Villanova University, said Clinton-supporting Catholics took comfort in the Pope's words and in his further calls to elevate other church teachings – on mercy, the environment, and the dignity of life, among others – into the public discourse of politicians.

It makes it easier then, for them to disregard the push from Catholic bishops to put abortion as the sole qualifying factor in the presidential vote.

"The bishops, they overestimate the importance of what they say," Faggioli said. "Catholics listen to them, but it's no longer a Church where voters think they must vote the way bishops tell them to or face going to hell."

Officially, the Catholic Church doesn't endorse candidates or tell members how to vote.

But the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops does urge church members to follow its 2007 guide, "Forming Consciences for Faithful Citizenship." The document urges Catholics to vote, and to do so with an informed conscience guided by Scripture and church teachings.

And as the election draws near, individual Catholic

bishops have been more outspoken, urging their flocks to toe the line on abortion, elevating it to the most prominent of the church's core teachings on life.

Some too have been openly critical of Clinton's running mate, U.S. Sen. Tim Kaine, a Roman Catholic who worked as a missionary in Honduras. He's personally opposed to abortion but maintains it should remain legal.

That's not enough for some Catholics. The Catholic Association, an organization of conservative lay Catholics opposed to abortion, calls Kaine "completely out of step" with the church.

Some church leaders were also infuriated by revelations in the latest batch of documents published by Wikileaks this week that appear to show two Clinton aides, one of them Catholic, mocking conservative Catholics and evangelicals.

Philadelphia Archbishop Charles Chaput, in a letter to his diocese members in August called it "blasphemous" to assume God backs any political party.

Yet, in language mirrored by other church leaders, he wrote the "right to life undergirds all other rights" and can't be set aside in favor of other rights "without prostituting the whole idea of human dignity."

For Catholics like Gail Buckley, the radio host, that means sticking to the decision she's made to support Trump. But it will come with no joy.

"I wish I had another choice," she said. "But I don't. ❖"

## Rigged election, from page 1

The most persistent message from Trump and Pence over the past week is that we are on a precipice of a "rigged election."

The two seemed to contradict each other over the weekend. Pence said on NBC's "Meet the Press" Sunday morning, "Look, the American people will speak in an election that will culminate on November the 8th. But the American people are tired of the obvious bias in the national media. That's where the sense of a rigged election goes here. One of the great traditions of America is the peaceful transfer of power. And elections ... always get pretty rough, but as Donald Trump said in that first debate, I'll say to you again today: We're going to accept the will of the American people."

**Just hours later, Trump** was tweeting, "The election is absolutely being rigged by the dishonest and distorted media pushing Crooked Hillary – but also at many polling places – SAD." On Monday, Trump tweeted, "Of course there is large scale voter fraud happening on and before election day. Why do Republican leaders deny



what is going on? So naive!"

So Pence is transfixed on "national media" bias as the source of the rigging, while Trump is suggesting that election officials in key states are in the process of pulling off the kind of voter fraud that allowed John F. Kennedy to win Texas and Illinois in 1960 and actually steal an election. Politifact, the Pulitzer Prize-winning fact checker, weighed in on Monday, calling Trump's assertion "pants on fire" false, saying, "There is still no evidence."

### When the Trump/Pence

campaign is pressed for data, it points to a 2012 Pew Research Center on the States report titled, "Inaccurate, Costly and Inefficient: Evidence that American Voter Registration Systems Needs an Upgrade." It pointed out that 24 million voter registrations are no longer valid or are significantly inaccurate," and that 1.8 million dead people are still on the roles. It prompted former New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani, a Trump surrogate, to observe last week that "dead people generally vote for Democrats rather than Republicans."

Republican election officials express confidence in the system. "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," Secretary of State Connie Lawson told HPI on Sept. 30. "I'm not saying it's impossible, but with 9,000 election systems in the United States, I'm saying it is next to impossible" that the Nov. 8 election would be discredited or disrupted. She also noted in the HPI Interview that two Indiana State Police investigations are underway involving Patriot Majority USA and the change in an abnormal number of birth dates and first names. But Lawson said there is no evidence of a hacked system or systemic fraud.

Republican Ohio Secretary of State Jon Husted said over the weekend that the U.S. election system is "one of the bedrocks of American democracy," and added that "we should not question it or the legitimacy of it. We make it easy to vote and hard to cheat. Any time that your comments draw into question the legitimacy of the election process, they have crossed the line. Particularly if you can't back it up with evidence."

On the media bias front that Pence is frequently citing, there has been press commentary that tends to come when a person in the public eye makes false, brash or nonsensical statements. Trump is in a league all his own in this, the "post-truth election." When a political candidate flips and flops over multiple issues from abortion to taxation to immigration, seeks to ban an entire religion from entering the country, berates scores of ethnic groups, calls women "pigs" and "slobs" and his own daughter a great "piece of ass" on the Howard Stern Show, that is going to stoke derision with the opinion leaders and shapers.

**Pence himself called** Trump's proposed Muslim ban "offensive" and "unconstitutional" last December. But the news media is hardly alone in calling out Trump on fantastic, bigoted and incoherent policy positions and statements. Last week USA Today cited 26% of Republican governors and members of Congress who are on record saying they won't vote for Trump, as well as scores of Foreign Service and military retirees.

Patrick Buchanan, a former presidential candidate and speechwriter for President Nixon, observed to Real Clear Politics, "Consider Big Media, the elite columnists and commentators, the dominant national press, and the national and cable networks, save Fox. Not in this writer's lifetime has there been such blanket hatred and hostility of a presidential candidate of a major party." He quoted author Theodore White, who observed, "The power of the press in America is a primordial one. It sets the agenda of

public discussion; and this sweeping power is unrestrained by any law. It determines what people will talk about and think about, an authority that in other nations is reserved for tyrants, priests, parties and mandarins."

Fox News media critic Howard Kurtz wrote, "From Trump's vantage point, the press is pounding him with past allegations of sexual misconduct from nine women, which he vehemently denies. And he is using more dramatic rhetoric, as in this tweet: "Polls close, but can you believe I lost large numbers of women voters based on made up events THAT NEVER HAPPENED. Media rigging election!"

**Kurtz continued,** "From the media's vantage point, on-the-record allegations from the women accusing

Trump are worthy of reporting, as they were in many cases during Bill Clinton's sex scandals during the 1990s. And many journalists fear Trump is laying the groundwork for discrediting the system if he loses the election – and blaming the press. What's stunning to me is that the Republican nominee is spending so much time building a case to explain a possible loss in three weeks, rather than stressing the issues that could help him win. He is riling up his base, which is good for him, but doing little to expand that base as he trails Hillary Clinton. Bottom line: The media can certainly influence an election, but they can't steal it. Ronald Reagan and both George Bushes won the White House without much admiration from the mainstream media."

The bizarre spectacle of Trump/Pence is that they seem to be playing into a strategy hatched by none other than Russian President Vladimir Putin, who is seeking to destabilize and delegitimize the American election. CBS

News reported that a top Russian general, Valery Gerasimov, who has president Vladimir Putin's ear, called for a new kind of warfare using covert and propaganda tactics to turn a "perfectly thriving state" into a victim of "foreign intervention," causing it to "sink into a web of chaos."

Adam Meyers, the head of intelligence for the cyber security firm CrowdStrike, told CBS Gerasimov's doctrine is behind the recent hacks of election databases and the Democratic National Committee. "Imagine if, on election night, reports come out that cause people to think that the results of the election are questionable," said Meyers. "All they need to do is call into question the results that come back from one district, one state. And that might cause such a reaction that they call for a complete recount."

It prompted Steve Schmidt, a former manager for John McCain's 2008 presidential campaign and a senior adviser to President George W. Bush, to call the Trump/Pence "rigged election" talk "incredibly toxic for a democracy."



**Russian Gen. Valery Gerasimov with President Putin, and MSNBC analyst Steve Schmidt, a former campaign manager for John McCain, who called the rigged election talk "cancerous."**

Schmidt explained on MSNBC's "Morning Joe," "The first person who addresses the victor in a presidential election that matters, right, isn't the staff. It's the opponent. It was John McCain calling Barack Obama. Very difficult moment. I've been on both sides of this. The Bush campaign and the McCain campaign. But making that concession call, that kicks off the process of the peaceful transition of power. The loser grants legitimacy to the winner through the concession speech and initiates. That process that culminates with the inauguration begins with that concession call. I think all of that's in doubt in this campaign."

**Schmidt explained Trump's** talk of a "rigged system" has "no validity to it. There are isolated incidents, but in all the western democracies there is no more decentralized, more clean system than the American system for elections. While it is true you can find some isolated incidents, there is no systemic problem."

Schmidt called the Trump/Pence assertions "cancerous" to the body politic. "Donald Trump is going to lose this election. He intends to be martyred. He intends to

go out and wave a bloody shirt on Election Day and so say to 40 percent of the country who will not accept the legitimacy of the result," Schmidt said. "The failure to do that is a fundamental attack on institutions of profound importance to our country."

**Ezra Klein of Vox,** added, "Trump is pouring gasoline atop the foundation of America's democracy and playing with a match. His promise to make America great again is backed by a threat to burn it down. There's much to be said about that, but the simplest point is that it's fundamentally unpatriotic. It shows how little Trump understands, or values, what America has built."

So Donald Trump and Mike Pence talk about the rigged system, from nuts and bolts to broad themes of distrust and anarchy.

Pence was even confronted with an Iowa woman ready for revolution in the streets. They have become unwitting tools by a former KGB agent ensconced in the Kremlin who sows seeds of doubt.

Vladimir Putin is smirking. ❖

## Sec. Lawson weighs in on ISP fraud probes, hacks, and rigged talk

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – On Sept. 30, with allegations that the Russian government is trying to discredit and destabilize the American presidential election and with FBI Director James Comey advising states to "dead bolt" their systems, Howey Politics Indiana reached out to Secretary of State Connie Lawson to gauge her confidence in Indiana's process.

"We check every log-in," Lawson explained. "We've had 15 million log-ins and we've checked every one. We have not had any from the URL that were in the FBI alert." She added, "We have 92 election systems. We have five different voting systems. None of them is on the internet and none of them are networked together. I'm not saying it's impossible, but with 9,000 election systems in the United States, I'm saying it is next to impossible" that the Nov. 8 election would be discredited or disrupted.

Since Sept. 30, we've learned that the Indiana State Police are investigating the Patriot Majority USA organization in 56 counties for voter registration misconduct. That probe became public when ISP raided their offices



and later, when the organization began running a radio ad alleging Gov. Mike Pence and the Indiana State Police were attempting to suppress voting in the state. In a rare statement to Indiana media, Pence told the Terre Haute Tribune-Star over the weekend that those allegations are "completely false and beyond absurd."

On Tuesday, Lawson alerted the public of another potential voter fraud investigation and wouldn't rule out linking it to the Patriot Majority probe, but she seemed to rule out any connection to the Russian hacking of systems similar to what has occurred in Arizona and Illinois. "We ran a report in the Statewide Voter Registration System and found thousands of dates of births and first names were changed," Lawson said in a statement.

"These records were changed on paper forms, at the BMV and online. At this time, my office is not sure why these records were changed, but we have evaluated the Statewide Voter Registration System and have found no indication it has been compromised.

"We believe this may be a case of voter fraud and have turned our findings over to the state police, who are currently conducting an investigation into alleged voter fraud," Lawson said. What she does not see as a problem are foreign hackers accessing the system to change results.

But on Wednesday Lawson acknowledged to the Associated Press that many of the thousands of altered registration forms she flagged might just be from residents rushing to correct their names or birth dates ahead of the election. That backtracking has prompted Indiana Democratic Chairman John Zody to schedule a press

conference at 10 a.m. today with the IPD suggesting that Lawson was “echoing rhetoric currently seen across the country.”

With the Republican president ticket of Donald Trump and Gov. Mike Pence alleging a “rigged” system, and with Trump citing potential voter fraud in large cities, it was time to get an assessment from Lawson and where things stand less than three weeks before the Nov. 8 election.

Lawson explained that when voters go to find their registration record online at Indianavoters.com, they are required to put in their name, county of residence and date of birth. If the date of birth or name is incorrect, the voter cannot find their registration, leading them to believe they are no longer registered to vote in the upcoming election. The voters who have encountered this issue and have contacted the secretary of state’s office did vote in the primary election. Lawson said that voters who voted in the primary election and can no longer find themselves on Indianavoters.com are encouraged to contact their local county election officials. The county election offices may be able to find a voter’s record if there is an issue with a voter’s date of birth or first name. Since the voter registration deadline has passed, only the county election offices may be able to assist voters to correct information under limited circumstances.

Julia Vaughn, policy director for the nonpartisan

government watchdog group Common Cause Indiana told the South Bend Tribune that before Lawson makes allegations of possible fraud, her office “should make sure the voter file records haven’t been altered through software snafus or human errors made by people in county or state agencies. There is almost no history of this kind of fraud here so her response helps to fuel irrational claims by Donald Trump and others that the election will be stolen through voter fraud,” Vaughn said

Here is our conversation with Sec. Lawson:

**HPI:** We have one, perhaps two Indiana State Police investigations into voter fraud, with have the specter of the Russian government trying to destabilize the American presidential election, and we have Donald Trump and Mike Pence saying that this election will be “rigged.” What do Hoosier voters need to know that would result in confidence in the system?

**Lawson:** When we were close to the deadline, and then after the deadline, to register, we had voters calling our office saying a couple of things. First of all, they said they had received a notification that they had changed their birth date and they in fact did not change the birth date. We’ve also had voters call to say they could not find their name in the system and when they called the county offices, the name was there, but their first name had been changed. So we ran a report and looked at numbers. There are reasons; maybe their birth day was

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off by a day. Maybe they wanted to go by a different first name, maybe Bradley instead of Brad. So there are reasons people get on line to change that kind of information. We ran a report and we had an unusually high number of birth names and dates of birth had been changed this year before the deadline. Some of them were legitimate changes. Others have been, maybe they've gone to BMV and requested a new license and maybe the BMV person entered in a different name. Some of the birth date changes had come from BMV. Many of them had changed on a paper registration the counties do. The counties receive these pieces of paper and they input the information. Because the state police had mentioned this in their original report, we just felt like we needed to let the voters know to continue to double check their voter registration information. If you don't find yourself, check with the county.

**HPI:** So you believe these changes occurred on paper, and not on an electronic system.

**Lawson:** It was all three, online, paper and electronic. We think those are people who came in and corrected their own record. People show up at the BMV and change their information as well. But the paper information is what we're more concerned about.

**HPI:** Your press release said "thousands" may have been altered. Do you have any idea how many?

**Lawson:** We do. We've got a number but the state police have taken those reports. It's their investigation now and they are asking us not to say anything. I didn't feel comfortable knowing someone is not going to vote on election day because they think they are not legitimately registered anymore. I just want them to double check with their counties. Believe me, the counties are so busy right now, they are voting early, they've got registration applications in the system. I talked to one county this morning and they still had 2,000 left to go and they've been working to 7 or 9 o'clock at night or Saturdays and Sundays. They are so busy. I did not take this press release lightly at all. I just felt I needed to be vigilant about it. But we do not think, and we have no indication at all, that this is coming from an outside sources. It's coming from information sources that would be normally expected. It's just an unusually high number.

**HPI:** Could election officials in some counties be changing these names and dates?

**Lawson:** The county clerk and voter registration offices are the only people who can change information in the system unless it's an online voter registration. That doesn't even change it. That information arrives in the counties to the que. The county looks at it and approves it and that generates a notification to the voter that a change has been made.

**HPI:** Is this related to the Patriot Majority USA investigation? Or this something different?

**Lawson:** It could be.

**HPI:** It could be? So walk me through what Hoosier voters need to know about the state police investiga-

tion into the Patriot Majority situation?

**Lawson:** It's an on-going investigation and normally you and I and the rest of the voters wouldn't have even known there was an investigation, except that they felt there were exigent circumstances because we had that voter registration deadline coming up. So to keep voters from being disenfranchised, they made the investigation public. Then there was the raid the press knew about. Because of these circumstances, they are not talking about the investigation anymore.

**HPI:** How many counties are involved in the Patriot Majority probe?

**Lawson:** The last release was 56. Dave Burstin said on WIBC he entered in one county twice. It was up to 56 by the time of the voter registration deadline. Since then it has expanded and they are not talking about it.

**HPI:** And then we have all the campaign rhetoric from Gov. Pence and Donald Trump saying that this is going to be a rigged election. That's my concern here: The man on the street hears about the state police investigation, and then the campaign rhetoric. Do you want to make a general endorsement of Indiana's election system and whether it can be compromised?

**Lawson:** Sure. I want voters in Indiana to have confidence in the system. It is working. I explained to you the difference between the campaign side of things and the voting machines. The voting machines, the five different vendors in 92 counties, are not connected to one another nor are they connected to the Internet. When that machine totals out that night, that's where the totals are. I would bring your attention to the recounts in the 8th CD and the state SD36. We had a thorough recount and we had a six vote difference in 19 counties in the congressional district. I have confidence the election reporting is correct and that the county clerks and officials are doing a great job. You reported it very well last time. It may be not impossible, but it is almost impossible for someone to rig the results.

**HPI:** There were media reports that cited states, including Indiana, which don't have a paper audit trail. Tell us about a lack of a paper audit trail and does that make any difference?

**Lawson:** It depends on the type of voting system. Here in Indiana, some voters will see a paper audit trail when they leave and some will not. They can see the paper when they cast that ballot. It is not a requirement of the system here in Indiana, that's correct. But I will tell you, I am speaking from my days as county clerk, even with direct recording electronic machines, voters can move back and forth on the screen and check their ballot to make sure that their vote is recorded properly before they hit that final button. When they hit that vote button, there is a tape inside that machine and a printer run and those records are scrambled throughout the day and they wouldn't be able to pick out a single person's vote. But there is a paper tape in those DRE machines and I can tell you from experience, we had a hotly contested council



race in Hendricks County and one of machines broke down in a busy precinct in Plainfield. We got a working machine as quickly as possible. We were able to pull the tape out of that machine and manually count those votes.

**HPI:** In the presidential race, you've heard what the governor and Donald Trump have been saying that the system is rigged. You've heard your colleague in Ohio, Secretary of State Jon Husted, saying there is no evidence of a rigged election system or any type of widespread voter fraud. Talk about what Hoosiers voters are hearing in the campaign and the proper perspective they should have?

**Lawson:** When I hear Donald Trump use that word "rigged," I hear him saying that he's worried about the media reporting. You'll remember during the primary he was worried about how the party systems were run. He was worried about the convention and the way the delegates were voting and how those voters were given to each candidate, and how each state had different rules. That's what I hear when he uses that word "rigged." I know our system here in Indiana works. Since I've been secretary of state, we have had two cases that have been prosecuted. One was Butch Morgan up in St. Joseph County and the other was Mike Marshall in Jennings County. I think that our local prosecutors take those kind of things seriously and those people do get prosecuted. I have faith in our system. ❖

## Chairman Zody reacts

INDIANAPOLIS – Indiana Democratic Chairman John Zody, reacted to the latest voter fraud probe, saying, "There is a heightened sense of uneasiness this fall, unfortunately stoked by partisan motivations from those who want to erode the public's confidence in our elections system. Instead, I am calling on leaders in all parties to work together to build confidence in our system of elections both locally and at the state and national levels. Yesterday's news from the secretary of state citing irregularities in voter registration information should be examined – and it should be done so in a transparent fashion so that everyone involved in the administration of elections can seek to find the answers that will enfranchise every eligible voter in our state – and we should not rush to judgment and assume fraud."

Zody wants:

1. Any confirmed acts of fraud should be dealt with accordingly by the proper authorities. Period.
2. The Indiana secretary of state needs to make available the list of voters that her office alone, without input from bipartisan staff at the Indiana Election Division, determined contained voter registration irregularities that have been characterized as "in the thousands." Requests by bipartisan staff for this information have thus far been denied, keeping the public in the dark. ❖

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# Young, Bayh spar over Obamacare

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – There is little doubt that when it comes to Obamacare, Hoosiers in landslide fashion oppose the Affordable Care Act. It has been a campaign staple for congressional Republicans. During Tuesday night’s U.S. Senate debate between Evan Bayh and Todd Young, Obamacare was a frequent theme. The two shared the stage with Libertarian Lucy Brenton, whose continuing argument was for less government involvement.

U.S. Rep. Young unleashed a persistent attack, repeatedly saying that Bayh cast the deciding vote in March 2010 for Obamacare, just a month after the Democrat dropped a bombshell saying he wouldn’t seek a third term. That was delayed until last July, when Bayh made an improbable re-entry, replacing Baron Hill on the ballot. Young characterized

Obamacare as the “largest tax increase in history,” made possible by Bayh’s vote.

“Obamacare never needed to pass,” Young said at one point, saying Bayh ignored the interests of Hoosier voters. “As a Washington insider, he listened to his party bosses.”

Bayh defended the vote, saying that Gov. Mike Pence’s Healthy Indiana Plan 2.0 brought 350,000 Hoosiers health insurance as part of the ACA. “We need to fix part that needs to be fixed,” Bayh said. “He wants to deny health coverage for 350,000. I don’t think that’s what Hoosiers want.”

Young responded, “These are Washington talking points with no basis in reality. Evan Bayh wants to maintain Obamacare.”

While the Affordable Care Act has consistently polled poorly in Indiana – 43% supported it in a 2013 Ball State University Indiana Poll and 53% opposed – it has not been a lethal political issue. U.S. Rep. Joe Donnelly also voted for the ACA, then beat back a challenge from Republican Jackie Walorski in 2010. That same year, Young defeated U.S. Rep. Baron Hill using the issue as a contrast in the 9th CD.

**Two years later,** Donnelly fended off persistent attacks from Republican nominee Richard Mourdock to win the seat of U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar, who had been defeated in the primary. Had the Mourdock/Donnelly race turned into a referendum on Obamacare, Donnelly probably would have lost. But in Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll results in September 2012, Donnelly maintained a small lead, which expanded to 11% following the Republicans’ debate fiasco on the issue of rape and abortion. He eventually won by 7%.

For Young in this cycle, Obamacare is the tip of his political spear.

Asked by a citizen about how they work in bipartisan fashion, Young said he moved to repeal the 30-hour provision of Obamacare “to restore the 40-hour work week. I’ve been very proud to get that passed out of the House.”

**Bayh followed,** saying he agreed with Young on the issue, adding he wanted to up the definition of a small business from 50 to 100 employees. “Young wants to take us back to unlimited insurance company profits, leaving 350,000 without insurance,” Bayh said. He also said that repeal of the ACA would allow women to face higher premiums and give insurance companies skyrocketing profits.

Young responded, saying, “Evan Bayh just defended Obamacare. Hoosiers don’t like Obamacare because it’s the largest tax increase in American history,” adding that it increased “21 different taxes.” Later, Young said, “We would not have Obamacare if it weren’t for Evan Bayh’s deciding vote.”

“We don’t need to go back to those days, and I’ll make sure that we won’t,” Bayh said. “What we need to do is fix the parts of the law that need to be fixed and keep



those that are working well.”

The hour-long debate featured Young lobbing charges at Bayh, saying at one point the former senator had supported a carbon tax on agricultural fuel and fertilizer. “Where do these ideas come from?” Young asked. “Not from Hoosiers. They come from special interests, including one that Evan Bayh works for as a lobbyist.”

Young mentioned 10 times that he is a former U.S. Marine, a trademark he has used throughout the campaign. Bayh said he worked in bipartisan fashion to pass the 21st Century Scholars program as governor and worked with Republican U.S. Sen. Susan Collins on Alzheimer’s legislation in the Senate.

While Young kept mentioning his Marine resume,

Brenton at one point said she was from the "Mom Corps" and added she was moving away from the podium, saying, "I feel like I need to step away from them a little bit. They're slinging so much mud, and I'm wearing a white suit."

There was volley after volley of accusations. Young accused Bayh of voting to tax Social Security benefits. Bayh responded, "Last time I checked, Young is in Congress. If you don't like Congress, don't vote for Congressman Young." Bayh noted that he worked with Sen. Lugar to "save 100,000 auto jobs" in 2009, adding that Young "would have let them go bellyup."

"It's not true that I have ever been a lobbyist; it's simply not true," Bayh said. "But Congressman Young is familiar with lots of them. He's taken \$160,000 in campaign contributions from lobbyists, and he's voted with the lobbyists for the big banks to repeal consumer protections. He's voted with the lobbyists for the insurance industry. ... He's voted for the lobbyists for the tax deductions for Carrier (Corp.), that has been shipping our jobs overseas."

Young responded, saying, "OK, he's a partner with a lobbying firm. Maybe they don't pay him \$2 million not to lobby. He added that Bayh is "a career politician, spewing out talking points with very little veracity."

After the debate, Bayh bristled at Young's tactics. "I thought we had a good, earnest discussion. I think it was unfortunate that Congressman Young went so negative and frankly I think the people of Indiana have had enough of that thing and enough of the attack ads." Bayh said he was seeking a return to the Senate to "get things done, and not lash out at my opponent."

Later, Bayh said that Young had made "so many unfounded allegations, it was almost impossible to correct them all." It was a similar reaction to U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman after his April debate with Young prior to the May 3 primary.

Bayh added, "I've always voted for the best interests of Hoosiers and their families without exception. Unfortunately, Congressman Young has consistently voted for big banks and insurance companies. We had Carrier workers outside here tonight and I met with them before I came in. He never did answer why he backed tax deductions that helped ship their jobs to Mexico."

Bayh then said, "It seemed

like he was kind of losing it there at the end, jabbing his finger at me and that kind of thing."

Young was asked about that exchange following the debate. "I'm not sure what he means by that. What do you think he means by that, John?" Young responded to a question from Franklin College's John Krull. WTHR-TV's Kevin Rader jumped in, saying to Young, "You took the money and ran."



**Young then said,** "Let me rephrase it. Am I passionate that Evan Bayh left Indiana to work for others? Yes. Am I passionate that Evan Bayh ignored the wishes of rank and file Hoosiers and cast a vote for the most partisan law in a generation that has led to skyrocketing premiums and is absolutely unsustainable? Yes. Am I passionate about Evan Bayh casting a deciding vote for the largest tax increase in history as we headed into a trough in our economy and has wreaked so much damage on our Hoosier communities? Yes. So I don't apologize for my passion and my conviction on behalf of Hoosiers and their families."

**Here is how the candidates addressed other issues:**




**War:** Young said 10 times during the debate he was a U.S. Marine and called for NATO and Middle Eastern allies to "pool resources" to develop "multilateral strategies" on airstrikes. He called for the establishment of safety zones for refugees. Bayh seeks to "win the war of ideas" and backs the current offensive to take back Mosul and Raqqa from ISIS.

**Gun control:** Bayh affirmed his support for the 2nd Amendment, but said guns should be prohibited from people on terror no-fly lists, those convicted of felonies, and the mentally ill. Young said reforms "should ensure that no one who is mentally ill has access to a firearm." Young echoed a National Rifle Association ad aimed at Bayh, saying, "Your gun rights will be jeopardized should Evan Bayh become the next senator" when it comes to choosing Supreme Court justices.

**Climate change:** Bayh said he backed renewable energy sources, improved business and home energy efficiencies, as well as ethanol and "clean coal generation." Young targeted Bayh for supporting carbon taxes, something that the Democrat vehemently denied. ❖







**President**




**HPI Status: Leans Trump/Pence**

**Governor**

**HPI Status: Tossup**

**U.S. Senate**

**HPI Status: Tossup**

# Bayh tries to bat back residency issue

By MAUREEN HAYDEN  
CNHI Statehouse Bureau

INDIANAPOLIS – U.S. Senate candidate Evan Bayh stood on a debate stage Tuesday night, facing accusations from his opponent that he's a Washington insider who has lost his status as a Hoosier.



It was familiar territory for him.

In 1988, when running for governor, the Democrat Bayh defended himself against a Republican lawsuit that claimed the year-and-a-half he spent working in the nation's capital disqualified him from seeking Indiana's top office.

Bayh weathered the storm, handily winning the race to end the GOP's 20-year hold on the governor's office. Now he's hoping to retire the residency question again.

A poll released just before Tuesday's only debate among the Senate candidates shows voters may not care that Bayh has been living in Washington for the last six years. The Hoosier Survey found 71 percent of voters did not see Bayh's residency as an issue. Only 21 percent said it would affect their decision of who should represent the state in the Senate. "It's hard to say he's not a Hoosier. He's got the pedigree," said political science professor Joe Losco, of Ball State University, which commissioned the poll with WISH-TV.

Raising questions about a candidate's residency is a standard tactic of campaigns to raise doubts about whether an opponent is focused on constituents' concerns. But it's used with varying success in Indiana. In the last U.S. Senate race, in 2012, such questions contributed to the downfall of longtime Sen. Richard Lugar. His winning primary opponent, Richard Mourdock, attacked him for staying in hotels whenever he visited Indiana, after making his primary home in Virginia.

Bayh has come under a similar attack by his Republican opponent, U.S. Rep. Todd Young.

**Early in the race,** Young and his supporters spent millions of dollars on television ads highlighting the fact that Bayh owns a modest one-bedroom condominium in Indianapolis but mostly has lived in multi-million dollar homes in Washington since his election to the Senate in 1998. After leaving the Senate, Bayh went to work for a Washington law and lobbying firm.

One ad featured Bayh's Indianapolis neighbors claiming they've never seen him. It includes a clip from a news interview in which Bayh got his Indianapolis address

wrong. The Young campaign thinks it's a winning tactic. Bayh's early 20-point lead has narrowed since he parachuted into the race in July.

The Hoosier Survey has him six points ahead in a two-way race. But several polls, including the WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana poll released earlier this month, have Bayh and Young close or in a statistical dead heat when Libertarian candidate Lucy Brenton is included. "Evan Bayh's epic collapse started when it was revealed he was an inactive voter in Indiana who couldn't remember his own address," said Jay Kenworthy, a Young spokesman.

**Kenworthy said it's** become more of a problem for Bayh following revelations that he's earned millions of dollars since leaving office.

But there's some irony in the claim. Young and Bayh are running to replace retiring Republican Sen. Dan Coats, who faced accusations that he was a Washington insider who'd made a fortune as a lobbyist before seeking to reclaim his Senate seat in 2010. Coats, who'd left the Senate in 1999, citing a self-imposed term limit, later served as U.S. ambassador to Germany and worked for seven years as a lobbyist. He'd left Indiana, owning homes in North Carolina and Washington.

But the criticism against Coats didn't stick in 2010. Howard County Republican Chairman Craig Dunn

said the scenarios are different. Coats entered the race early in the primary stage and faced four opponents who hit him hard on the issue. That helped neutralize the question by the time the general election came around, he said. Bayh, on the other hand, stepped into the race late, after primary winner and former U.S. Rep. Baron Hill bowed out, reportedly under pressure from party leaders.

"Dan Coats didn't believe he was anointed. There was no attempt by anybody to clear the field," Dunn said. "He came back like any normal candidate and subjected himself to the hits."

**Political scientist** Andy Downs, of the Mike Downs Center for Indiana Politics, said Bayh has spent his time ignoring the criticism, denying he's ever worked as a lobbyist and claiming that he never severed his Indiana roots. "Coats didn't continue to portray himself as 'Mr. Hoosier' the way

Evan Bayh has," said Downs. "So, he's sort of created the problem for himself."

Bayh's campaign staff declined to comment on the issue, instead releasing a statement given to WISH-TV on results of the Hoosier Survey poll showing him ahead of Young. "Evan is dedicated to bringing bipartisan compromise back to Washington, and is grateful for the continued support of Hoosiers," said the statement from campaign spokesman Ben Ray. "This election is going to be competitive to the end, and we are going to be working hard every day to secure a victory for Hoosier common sense."

❖





# Tsunami warning and collateral damage

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – We’ve all watched arguably the worst month any presidential candidate has had since the summer of 1972 when George McGovern had to jettison his running mate. As Donald Trump spirals away with Mike Pence in tow, the question now is what kind of down-ballot carnage, if any, follows. On the Indiana scene, this renewed HPI Tsunami Warning has the potential to impact four races: Governor, U.S. Senate, and the 2nd and 9th CDs.



WTHR/Howey Politics

Indiana will poll once more, but those numbers will come less than a week before the election. In the gubernatorial race between Democrat John Gregg, Republican Eric Holcomb, and importantly, Libertarian Rex Bell, the latest polling has been problematic. Last week, Monmouth University had Gregg leading Holcomb 50-38%, a number almost no one was buying. In the WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll of Oct. 3-5, we had Gregg leading 41-39% with Bell at 5%. Democratic sources tell HPI they were seeing a similar margin, though with fewer undecideds. Holcomb sources also believe this race is within the margin of error.

Wednesday’s Ball State/WISH Poll had the race at 48-43%, but the problem there is that the survey did not include Bell. In 2012, Libertarian Rupert Boneham polled 3.9%, which is not an insignificant percentage when the major party candidates are in or near a dead heat. While Bell has not been a particularly impressive candidate (especially compared to Senate nominee Lucy Brenton), the fact that presidential candidate Gary Johnson was polling 11% in our last two polls shows that many voters are capable of choosing the third party option.

**Ball State Prof. Ray Scheele** told HPI, “The Libertarians are not much of a factor below the presidency. Our ‘other’ category on the down-ballot races captures some Libertarians. The Hoosier Survey matches very closely with Monmouth, aside from their governor numbers.” Joe Losco, director of the Bowen Center for Public Affairs, believes Bayh has weathered the storm, saying, “He’s got strong support among the youngest cohort, Millennials, and some good support among those over 65. He’s seemed to have weathered any storm about his residency.”

In the 2012 U.S. Senate race, Libertarian Andy Horning captured 5.6% of the vote, again, not an insignifi-

cant number in a close race. In the BSU/WISH Senate race survey, Evan Bayh had a 49-43% lead over Republican Todd Young. Scheele explained, “The issues that Young has used thus far simply have not taken root in terms of Bayh’s people moving away from him.”

The Young campaign notes that without Brenton included, the numbers lack clarity.

**As for the 2nd and 9th CDs**, there is no independent media polling. In the 9th, Democratic pollster Fred Yang has released two polls showing the open seat race between Democrat Shelli Yoder and Republican Trey Hollingsworth a dead heat. The Democratic Majority PAC is running a TV ad on behalf of Yoder portraying Hollingsworth as a carpetbagger who doesn’t pay his taxes here.

In the 2nd, we are not seeing the telltales of a frightened incumbent, other than U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski’s weird biannual debate skirting, this time with Democrat Lynn Coleman, and national money doesn’t appear to be pouring into either of these districts.

Having said that, the potential of Trump’s spiral to become an outright barrel-rolling nosedive cannot be ruled out, and the collateral damage could extend down ballot. The 2nd CD is Indiana’s most competitive, rating +6 Republican in the Cook Partisan Index, and the 9th is +9 Republican. A Trump-created tsunami could swamp Wal-

orski, prompting Sabato’s Crystal Ball to move the 9th from “safe” to “likely” (see chart to left).

Hollingsworth, who famously moved into the state in September of last year, filing a month later, may not have the entire Republican establishment with him. You have to wonder whether Gregg Zoeller, Brent Waltz, Erin Houchin and their allies might not lift a finger for ol’ Trey, trading two years

of Rep. Yoder for a chance to recoup the seat in what can be expected to be a Republican 2018 cycle.

**So with the CD races**, this is visual flight rules, as opposed to those with instruments. Like the wave years of 1964, 1972, 1974, 1980, 1994, 2006 and 2010, national dynamics can create late breaking eddies and whirlpools, if not outright dam breaks. We will not be surprised if we aren’t raising eyebrows by midnight Nov. 8.

The gubernatorial and Senate races are different, as all of the nominees are sticking with their party’s presidential nominees. Both Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton are exceptionally toxic, and as Adam Wren’s Politico story out of Bellwether Vigo County on Wednesday indicates, female voters now seemed to be repelled by the Trump spectacles of fat-shaming a beauty queen and his tawdry locker room talk. A month ago, Hillary Clinton appeared more toxic. But with Trump leading by only 5% in the pre-Access Hollywood WTHR/Howey Poll, and only 4% in last week’s Monmouth Poll, Indiana could make sensational news if it ends up in the blue column sometime late Nov.

Member/district	Old rating	New rating
Pete Aguilar (D, CA-31)	Likely Democratic	Safe Democratic
Jeff Denham (R, CA-10)	Leans Republican	Toss-up
Darrell Issa (R, CA-49)	Leans Republican	Toss-up
Steve Knight (R, CA-25)	Leans Republican	Toss-up
Jackie Walorski (R, IN-2)	Safe Republican	Likely Republican
Bruce Poliquin (R, ME-2)	Leans Republican	Toss-up
Mike Bishop (R, MI-8)	Safe Republican	Likely Republican
John Katko (R, NY-24)	Toss-up	Leans Republican
Lee Zeldin (R, NY-1)	Toss-up	Leans Republican
PA-16 Open (Pitts, R)	Likely Republican	Leans Republican
B. Comstock (R, VA-10)	Leans Republican	Toss-up

8. Our pollster, Gene Ulm of Public Opinion Strategies, wouldn't rule out a Clinton win in Indiana, saying if Trump had another 10 days like he did just prior to our latest poll, anything could happen. Well, Trump did have an even worse 10 days. A key telltale as to how toxic Trump is across our amber waves of grain is if you see Gov. Pence schedule campaign stops in his home state in an attempt to save face.

Pence already needs to take a long, hot, soapy shower at Aynes House sometime in mid-November to wash off the Trumpian roadkill. If he loses his home state, it is hard to see how he emerges as a credible presidential candidate in 2020.



**Governor**

**Holcomb wants locals to deal with LGBT**




Holcomb says the debate concerning civil rights protections for the LGBT community should be addressed at the local level (de la Bastide, Kokomo Tribune). Holcomb, the Republican Party candidate, met Tuesday with editors and publishers for the Community Newspaper Holdings Inc. newspapers from around the state on Tuesday at the offices of the Anderson Herald Bulletin. At times, Holcomb was demonstratively hitting the table and using his hands to make points during the 75-minute meeting that covered a wide range of topics from economic development, education, paying for infrastructure, civil rights, presidential politics and immigration. When asked about the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA) passed and amended in 2015 by the Indiana General Assembly, Holcomb said the legislation is as "good as it can get." Holcomb said Indiana is a state that welcomes and doesn't discriminate. He said Indianapolis had a record year in tourism. "I don't discriminate," he said. "I respect the law of the land."

**Gregg cites RFRA damage, calls for rights**

Gregg said Wednesday that the passage of the Religious Freedom Reform Act has hurt Indiana economically and damaged the state's reputation (de la Bastide, Anderson Herald Bulletin). The RFRA, which initially allowed Indiana businesses to cite religious beliefs to deny services to people based on sexual preference, touched off a firestorm of controversy after Gov. Mike Pence, a Republican, signed it into law in 2015. Gregg is running







**2nd CD**




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

**8th CD**

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

**9th CD**

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

for governor for a second time and is opposed by Republican Eric Holcomb and Libertarian Rex Bell. Gregg met Wednesday with editors and publishers for Community Newspaper Holdings Inc. from around the state. Holcomb had met with the editors and publishers Tuesday. As he's stated in the past, Gregg said civil rights protections should be extended to the LGBT community and that he would sign an executive order extending those protections to all state employees. He noted that moderate Republican mayors around Indiana have had LGBT civil rights protections adopted by their cities.

**Cardwell ties Clinton cash to Gregg**

Indiana Republican Party, party Chairman Jeff Cardwell stated (Howey Politics Indiana): "What a difference \$500,000 can make. When John Gregg was last asked if he supported Hillary Clinton he wouldn't 'directly answer.' Five-hundred thousand dollars later and he's back to being a loyal soldier to her coal job-killing, tax-and-spend policies."

**Gregg says Holcomb runs nasty campaigns**

"Eric Holcomb ran one of the 'nastiest campaigns in Indiana history,'" begins a video published to the John Gregg for Governor website. The 30-second video seeks to counter multiple attacks from his opponent in the governor's contest, Republican Lt. Gov. Holcomb. Among claims made in the video: Gregg cut property taxes while speaker of the Indiana House; he balanced the budget while funding police and education; won a national award by working across party lines; and, paid his own premiums for the state health plan.

**Statewides**

**Ritz reports \$617k cash on hand**

Superintendent Ritz's reelection campaign announced that they continue to see robust support from Hoosiers and public education advocates. "Since this campaign began," said Annie Mansfield, campaign manager, "We have seen that Hoosiers continue to support Supt. Ritz's grassroots level of support to our students, teachers, schools and communities." The campaign has raised \$885,000 total thus far and has a healthy \$617,000 cash on hand. "Of the 936 donations this quarter, 85% were grassroots donations and 98.5% came from Hoosiers," Mansfield said. ❖

# Making the Young case

By CRAIG DUNN

KOKOMO – Indiana deserves a better United States senator than Evan Bayh. Although I may be accused of using trite political rhetoric, I assure you, my motives and words are sincere. I have five reasons why Evan Bayh should not be elected to the Senate.

First, and perhaps most important, Evan Bayh was a totally ineffective senator for 12 years. The “boy governor” turned “boy senator” was so focused on riding a Senate seat to the White House that he assiduously avoided saying anything or taking any legislative stands that might raise any political angst in either conservative Indiana or in the liberal bastions of the liberal left coasts. Don’t believe me? Stuart Rothenberg from the Washington Post wrote critically of Evan Bayh and quoted James Hohmann from the Power Post:



“One of the many reasons that so many of his Democratic colleagues

did not like Evan Bayh during his tenure in the Senate was his excessive caution. The hyper-ambitious, always privileged and ever-calculating son of a senator long dreamed of becoming president, and he represented a conservative-leaning state. So he was perennially nervous about taking tough votes or courageous stands. He often seemed to waffle and have his finger in the wind.”

Ouch! In fact, I challenge you to name one piece of significant legislation passed in Bayh’s 12 years occupying a desk in the United States Senate chambers. Don’t bother looking. You won’t find it.

My second reason for rejecting Evan Bayh is that he proved to be a cry baby quitter when Indiana and the United States needed a patriot and a man of courage. Instead of calling out the arcane procedures and rules of the Senate that led to frequent inaction and gridlock, Bayh hit the road and got out of Dodge. Bayh’s reason for leaving the Senate was the deadlock, gridlock and acrimony of the Senate. Six years later and, voila, his reason for wanting to return to the Senate is because of the deadlock, gridlock and acrimony. Go figure.

**Evan Bayh does not pass** the Hoosier smell test. I’ve come to appreciate from my many years of living in the great State of Indiana the innate common sense of the average Hoosier. Regardless of walk of life, income, education level or political affiliation, I have found the average Hoosier to have a pretty good sense of what smells right when it comes to community leaders and politicians. Bayh comes up smelling like a cross between Lake Michigan alewives washed up on shore and a three-week-old dead rat.

Run this one past your old Hoosier proboscis: Son

of Indiana politician with little or no assets is elected governor of Indiana. He serves eight years earning less than \$100,000 per year. He is elected to the United States Senate. He makes a whopping \$175,000 per year as a senator for 12 years. He now owns two multi-million-dollar homes in the Washington, D.C., suburbs, a mega-million-dollar playhouse in Florida and has amassed millions in assets.

Does this sound reasonable to you? Does it pass your smell test? Evan Bayh’s final year in the U.S. Senate resembled less “Mr. Smith Goes to Washington” and more of Monte Hall’s “Let’s Make A Deal.”

**In a personal tactic that rivals** some of the poorest judgment ever demonstrated by a senator, and I need not tell you how high a bar that is, Evan Bayh spent much of his last year in the Senate shuttling back and forth between Washington and New York City, shopping his many talents to lobbying and investment firms, looking for meaningful work in his post-Senate career. Bad form, Senator! This one oozed from the slime.

Here’s what our friends at the Indianapolis Star had to say on the subject: “During his final months in the U.S. Senate, Evan Bayh broke ranks with most of his fellow Democrats several times to oppose or reduce the impact of legislative proposals that threatened the bottom lines of private equity firms, banks and oil companies. But that wouldn’t be Bayh’s last interaction with those industries. Within weeks of leaving public office, Bayh became a senior adviser to Apollo Global Management, one of the world’s largest private equity firms. Several months later, he landed lucrative corporate board appointments at Fifth Third Bank and Marathon Petroleum.” Ouch! What did the esteemed former senator do when confronted by the Star with these inconvenient details? His staff told a big ole Flatrock Fib.

**Once again, here is what** the Indianapolis Star had to say: “Bayh landed a lucrative job with private equity giant Apollo Global Management shortly after leaving office in January 2011. He had in the months prior worked against a tax increase on carried interest and a provision of the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform act that would have hurt the bottom lines of companies like Apollo. The timing of the new job prompted IndyStar to ask Bayh’s campaign about a half dozen taxpayer-funded trips Bayh took to New York City during the last half of 2010. The flurry of travel was unusual for Bayh; he hadn’t used taxpayer money to travel to New York City since 2002.

“In response to IndyStar’s inquiries, the campaign said in early September that Bayh didn’t meet with anyone from Apollo during those trips. Turns out, that wasn’t the case. The Associated Press reported Saturday that Bayh stayed overnight three times at one Apollo executive’s New York City residence, and met twice with the company’s chief executive, Leon Black. The report was based on Bayh’s previously unreleased 2010 schedule.”

In plain words what does all this mean? It means that while Hoosiers were still hurting and suffering from the effects of the 2008 Great Recession, largely caused



by the reckless activities of investment banks and private equity firms, Evan Bayh, while serving on the Senate Banking Committee, was busy brokering his soul for the multi-millions that go with the often dark world of private equity. The regulator traded his work in the Senate for a high-dollar future in finance. What did Apollo get for all of the millions paid to Sen. Bayh? Access. Access. Access.

**Finally, Evan Bayh really** does not want to be a lowly senator from Indiana. According to the Washington Post's Rothenberg, who had discussed a potential return to the Senate with Bayh, previously: "Given those conversations, I was pretty sure I knew how he felt and what he thought about serving in the Senate again. He hated the idea. Unequivocally. Emphatically. No ifs, ands or buts."

Ge, what changed his mind? Property taxes on his three multi-million-dollar mansions? Bentley need a new leather steering wheel? The Affordable Care Act making his healthcare unaffordable? Let's be generous and just

say that you can bet that his reasons are not the slightest bit altruistic.

Indiana has an opportunity to accomplish two equally worthy results with the defeat of Evan Bayh's cynical attempt to return to the land of milk, honey and easy money. We have an opportunity to soundly reject allowing Bayh to resume his self-aggrandizement in the United States Senate at the expense of the citizens of Indiana, and send a talented young man to represent Hoosier values and common sense to the den of vipers.

Todd Young has demonstrated an amazing lifetime of academic, professional and public service achievements that warrant our vote. He spends his evenings in Washington, not out on the town with hedge fund and private equity billionaires, but in his office. This guy Young is a real Hoosier! ❖

**Dunn is Howard County Republican chairman.**

## Moonshine brewing along the Wabash

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – The campaigns for governor and 125 seats in the General Assembly are winding down. We'll be relieved soon from the slurs and insults of competing camps. Commercials will return to products supposed to make us regular again.



The big question of these elections is, "Will anything be done by state government to make Indiana more attractive as a place to live and a place to run a business?" Every candidate told us s/he has a plan. That's wonderful. But plans don't do well in our legislature because most Hoosiers believe we don't have any real problems and they elect people who agree with them.

After all, we already have the Lord's blessing ("Ain't God good to Indiana?"). Plus many business publications declare Indiana the winner in promising few quality government services and delivering less.

**We're becoming the** North Korea of the Western Hemisphere. Our state government tells us how fine life is here and most of our news media print and broadcast all the good news they can find in self-serving press releases. However, Indiana is trending down relative to other states. We currently rank as the 16th most populous state, with 6.6 million residents. We gained 136,000 since the Census of 2010 (22nd among the 50 states), which translates to a 2.1 percent increase (32nd) compared to the national growth rate of 4.1 percent.

Natural increase, the excess of births over deaths, accounted for 95 percent of our population growth. You aren't troubled by meeting strangers in Indiana. International migration ranked us 20th at 57,000, offset by net domestic out migration of 47,000. Thus, we ended up with only 10,000 new residents. We also lost 3,000 for unknown reasons.

**Did you get that?** 47,000 more Americans chose to leave Indiana than to move here from elsewhere in the U.S. In a free country, where you can move anywhere, anytime, without a permit from the government, losing population through domestic migration is – at minimum – embarrassing.

To add to our embarrassment, 58 of our 92 counties lost population, during an economic recovery, between 2010 and 2015. And we're told how well Indiana is doing.

Why are people leaving? There are many reasons, but our state's economy is one. No, it wasn't the recession, as some politicians want you to believe. Between 2005 and 2010, the Indiana economy, measured by Real GDP, grew by 3.3 percent, a shade better than the 2.9 percent increase enjoyed by the nation. Yet, when the recovery got rolling, 2010 to 2015, the U.S. gained 9.5 percent while, Indiana – "the state that works," "business friendly Indiana" – advanced by only 1.7 percent.

Our share of U.S. GDP fell from 1.91 percent in 2005 to 1.86 percent in 2015. I can hear it now, "What's the fuss over 0.05 percent?" The answer: "\$6.7 billion in foregone output by Hoosier businesses and possibly 66,000 Hoosier jobs in 2015."

Yes, indeed, somebody's been drinking strong moonshine while the moonlight's fair along the Wabash. ❖

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

# Mist lifts off map for Clinton, Indiana shifts

By **LARRY SABATO, KYLE KONDIK**  
and **GEOFFREY SKELLEY**

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. – The mist is lifting from the map of the United States and the moment of clarity for the 2016 general election campaign has arrived. Yes, there is still uncertainty about some states in the Electoral College. But nearly all of it comes in states that Mitt Romney won in 2012 or a couple of Barack Obama states that Hillary Clinton doesn't need to win.

With less than three weeks to go, and all of the debates blessedly in the rearview mirror, Clinton is in a commanding position in the contest to become the 45th president. Clinton has taken a significant lead in national polling and is now up by about six to eight points in two-way and four-way presidential matchups in both the HuffPost Pollster and RealClearPolitics averages. Her leads in the key states that would get her to 270 votes are in some instances smaller than that, but she has a healthy advantage in more than enough states to get her to an Electoral College

majority, and smaller leads in states that she doesn't need but Trump does, including big, typically Republican-leaning prizes like Florida and North Carolina. A few Obama states seem more tenuous for Clinton, including Iowa and Ohio (the latter of which we still lean to her), but if Clinton is up by a fair amount nationally these states get harder for Trump. Clinton's embarrassment of Electoral College riches may well produce poverty for America's presidential billionaire.

**We doubt the third debate** will change all that much. The first part unfolded along predictable partisan lines on the Supreme Court, abortion, and other topics, leading to exchanges that reinforced differences between the parties. Based on the breaking news alerts that came out from several news outlets as soon as he said it, we suspect that the biggest story to come out of the debate will be Trump's irresponsible refusal to say whether he would accept the results of the election if he does not win. If that's what happens, the coverage will be negative and will be just another distraction Trump can hardly afford with less than three weeks to go until Election Day.

Our conclusion is simple. As we reassess our Electoral College ratings, we don't think any new states are

moving toward Trump at this point, and there are some surprising conservative places where he is registering very thin, soft support.

**A striking development** in recent days has been the smattering of polling showing Trump with weak leads in some reliably Republican states. He's barely ahead in some polls of Alaska, Indiana, Missouri, South Carolina, and Texas -- states that shouldn't be close in any competitive election. We still guess Trump will win all of them, but by significantly reduced margins from Mitt Romney's 2012 performance. All of these states move from Safe Republican to Likely Republican. The Clinton campaign is set to spend money on Indiana and Missouri, probably as more

of an effort to help Democrats Evan Bayh and Jason Kander, respectively, in their Toss-up Senate races.

But perhaps most fascinating of all is Utah, where independent conservative Evan McMullin is dedicating much time and energy. After the release of the Trump/Billy Bush video and the mass rejection of Trump by Republican leaders in the Beehive State, we moved Utah all the way from Safe Republican to Leans Republican. Since then, polls have shown a close three-way race among McMullin, Trump, and Clinton. In a state where neither major-party candidate is spending much time or money, McMullin's cultivation of Utah (he's a Mormon who went to Brigham

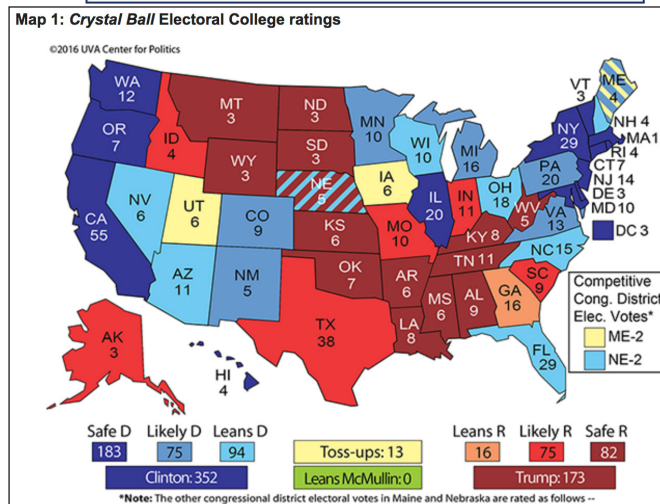
Young University) could bear fruit, and he may have the most room to grow in a state where Clinton and Trump are very unpopular.

**Therefore, we have moved** Utah to Toss-up. Seriously, did you ever even for a second think Utah would be a Toss-up in late October? If McMullin won Utah and secured its six electoral votes, he would be the first non-Democrat or non-Republican to win any state since the segregationist George Wallace won a handful of states and received 46 electoral votes in 1968.

Utah is about 60% Mormon, and Trump is not the favorite of Mormons in any state, as far as we can tell. McMullin is only on the ballot in 11 states, but among those is heavily Republican Idaho, which has the nation's second-highest percentage of Mormons (the state is about a quarter Mormon). The only recent poll there did not include McMullin, but it showed Trump at only a weak 40% of the vote, up 10 points on Clinton. McMullin is moving into Idaho as well, holding two well-attended rallies in the state over the weekend. We're pushing Idaho from Safe Republican to Likely Republican just as a way to flag that the McMullin conservative insurgency has spread there as well. Trump is a much clearer favorite there than he is in

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## SABATO'S CRYSTAL BALL





Utah, however.

While some typically Republican states are getting closer, the big red-state prize for Clinton is Arizona. Polls there have been close for the entire general election cycle yet Trump has generally held onto a small, persistent lead. Now, though, a few new surveys show Clinton with a small lead, and Trump may be stuck because he doesn't have the resources to match the firepower Clinton is directing to the state. Later on Thursday, First Lady Michelle Obama is holding an Arizona event. This is deployment of arguably the campaign's top surrogate, and Team Clinton is targeting the state in other ways.

The Trump campaign's Arizona crisis reminds us in some ways of how John McCain's 2008 campaign ended up losing Indiana. Because McCain was at a resource disadvantage against Obama -- just like Trump is now out-manned against Clinton -- the 2008 nominee could hardly spare any resources to protect Indiana, a typically red state where Obama vastly out-organized and out-spent him. Obama was able to very narrowly flip the state. Four years later, Obama didn't bother competing for the state, and it reverted to its Republican roots (Mitt Romney won it by about 10 points). Could Arizona work out the same way?

**This is something** of a leap of faith, but we're moving Arizona all the way from Leans Republican to Leans Democratic. If we were basing this just on polls, Toss-up would be the designation, but we're trying to project a little bit here. We just don't see Trump making a dramatic recovery nationally, and he may not be able to fight off the Clinton ambush in a Latino-rich state where he should be solidly ahead. Of all the states that voted for both McCain and Romney, Arizona appears to be the most vulnerable for Trump.

We're also moving Iowa and Maine's Second Congressional District from Leans Republican to Toss-up. Polls aren't necessarily driving the movement here -- Trump still leads in survey averages in both places, although there is scant recent polling. But we believe that if Clinton is truly up half a dozen or more points nationally, then probably Trump no longer has an advantage in Iowa and ME-2,

even though both places are demographically favorable to him (they are filled with the white, blue collar voters with whom Trump has the potential to over-perform). Ohio, too, has a lot of these voters, and public polling there has persistently shown Trump doing well (he leads by less than a point in Ohio in the RealClearPolitics average, while Clinton is up by less than two in HuffPost Pollster). As we've previously noted, Trump will do better in Ohio -- and likely Iowa and ME-2 as well, for similar reasons -- than he does nationally, but our sense is that Clinton remains a small

favorite in Ohio, and most of our sources agree. Aside from Arizona, Ohio is the most tenuous Leans Democratic state on our map. If Trump recovers to some degree, these may be the first dominoes that fall to him, along with Iowa and ME-2.

**Finally, Clinton's** seeming recovery in ME-2 means that Maine's two statewide electoral votes go from Leans Democratic to Likely Democratic. At the very least, we believe that Clinton's margin in Maine's Safe Democratic

First Congressional District will be bigger than whatever the margin is in ME-2, which means she's in a good position to carry the state overall even if Trump grabs the northern district and its electoral vote.

Today's changes push Clinton to 352 electoral votes, the highest we've had her in the whole election cycle (her previous high water-mark was 348 electoral votes). ❖

State/District	Old EC rating	New EC rating
Alaska	Safe Republican	Likely Republican
Arizona	Leans Republican	Leans Democratic
Idaho	Safe Republican	Likely Republican
Indiana	Safe Republican	Likely Republican
Iowa	Leans Republican	Toss-up
Maine	Leans Democratic	Likely Democratic
ME-2	Leans Republican	Toss-up
Missouri	Safe Republican	Likely Republican
South Carolina	Safe Republican	Likely Republican
Texas	Safe Republican	Likely Republican
Utah	Leans Republican	Toss-up





# Presidential debates should be changed

By LEE HAMILTON

BLOOMINGTON – We should change the nature of presidential debates to put control of the process on the voters’ side, and not let the candidates get away with fluff.

We’re in the middle of the presidential debates, and not surprisingly, they’re drawing viewers in great numbers. The contest is close, and the chance to watch the two candidates spar with one another face to face makes for entertaining television. This is hardly a bad thing. Overall, presidential debates are a plus for the public dialogue.



cials.

They get tremendous coverage throughout the media universe, both while they’re taking place and in the days that follow. They let the voters see the candidates under pressure and gauge their performance. As scripted as they can sometimes seem, they still let us watch the candidates think on their feet. They’re serious events, and are certainly more substantive than campaign speeches and television commercials.

It’s true that they don’t usually change the trajectory of a race, although we won’t know until election night whether this year’s debates played a role in the outcome. They can reinforce enthusiasm, but it’s rare that they create it from scratch. Yet I think our focus on debates, at least in the form they currently take, is misplaced. It’s not so much that they reward one-upmanship, a quick wit, and clever zingers, although they do. Rather, I think they don’t actually help us make a good choice.

**Over my years in** Congress and afterward, I’ve sat in on a lot of meetings at the White House where foreign and domestic policy were discussed. For the most part, I came away impressed

by the process by which presidents make tough decisions. They go around the room, asking each guest, “What do I do now?” They ask participants to define the issue, lay out the options, identify American interests at stake, and make recommendations. It’s usually a sustained, unhurried process, with very little fancy oratory; instead, I’ve heard sharp debate and thorough discussion characterized by forceful, reasoned, fact-based,

and responsible arguments. Presidents pay close attention and sometimes take notes. They want to hear different opinions, seek advice, and then make a decision.

You have to remember that the choices a president has to make are complicated and often very difficult. Almost by definition, an issue doesn’t get to that level unless it’s a tough one. I’ve sat in on meetings with both Democratic and Republican presidents, and one of the things that often impressed me is that ideology has played a smaller role than you’d imagine. The conversations are quite pragmatic.

What all this means is that the real quality you’re looking for in a president is judgment, the ability to consider issues from all angles, weigh options carefully, and then choose the wisest course, sometimes from among a tangle of unpalatable alternatives.

**That is what presidents do.** But the qualities necessary to do this do not come through in the debates, which tell us very little about how candidates would do at exercising judgment in the fog of policy-making. A campaign event that calls for impassioned oratory, a quick wit, one-liners, and sharp digs is not especially helpful for helping us choose who is going to make the best decisions. I think we can do better. Selecting a president is serious business. We want to put control of the process on the voters’ side, and not let the candidates get away with fluff.

How do we do this? We change the nature of the debates. To begin with, there should be a series of them, each focused on a single issue, education, say, or national security. Candidates should face a panel of questioners asking them to address the toughest questions on those matters, people who are sharp and incisive and are prepared to follow up and press candidates when they spout mush. Ideally, the candidates should face this panel one at a time, rotating who goes first, and with other rules to assure fairness.

The point is, we want voters to go to the polls not just with a good idea of where the candidates want to take us, but how they’re going to get there. We also want voters to have a clear sense of how sound the candidates’ judgment is, because that’s ultimately what will make or break their presidency. ❖

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**Dave Bangert, Lafayette Journal & Courier:**

In the week since Mike Pence gathered speculation that he was ready to bail out on Donald Trump and threw it all back into the face of what his new boss calls the disgusting media, Indiana's governor has been overcompensating for his freshly unshackled running mate in the election's home stretch. Who knows whether Pence truly believes what he's saying these days in defense of Trump or whether he simply figures he's come this far on a campaign predisposed to all things volatile, why let a little public relations triage on the campaign stump get in the way now. Anymore, it just is what it is. And, really, it is what everyone warned Pence it would be. As it was in July, it shall be in November: This can't end well for Pence. But even in all the straight-up crazy of the past week – Trump's civil war tactics against the Republican Party, personal scores to settle with media and, worse, a constant drumbeat about a rigged election – Pence has offered moments of lucid thought, no matter how fleeting, in the face of conspiracy, as slight and obvious they would be in any normal election cycle. This season, of course, defies normal at every turn. On Sunday, Pence gave a surprisingly clear and concise answer – not always his forte during his time as governor here – when asked about what will happen on Nov. 9 if Democrat Hillary Clinton wins the White House. "We will absolutely accept the result of the election," Pence said on NBC's "Meet the Press." In any other year, that's a throwaway question and a throwaway line. On Sunday, it was breaking news. ❖



**Jon Webb, Evansville Courier & Press:**

Sixty-seven percent of Americans don't believe the results of political polls. Furthermore, 54 percent of them don't believe polls are free of conservative or liberal bias. And of those 54 percent, 19 percent believe such polls, conducted via calls to landlines, are malicious government operations to tap your phone and gather information on you until we are all inevitably hog-tied and hurled into Obama-mandated reeducation camps, where we'll be forced to speed-read "The Communist Manifesto" and prepare low-calorie school lunches. I know all the numbers above are true, because I made it up just now. I don't know who to believe. And even if I did, I wouldn't believe them. A Monmouth University poll released on Friday showed Democrat John Gregg leading Republican Eric Holcomb by 12 (!) points, 50-38. Libertarian Rex Bell nabbed five percent. That's not unbelievable in a vacuum. Then you remember the Howey Poll that gave Gregg a mere two-point lead. A Rasmussen poll that went against every other metric to give Trump a two-point edge over Clinton nationwide. You start to think that Facebook commenter you saw under the Courier & Press' original Monmouth story was correct: polls are horse(expletive). And maybe they are. This election has stripped away my ability to reason and replaced it with fear. ❖

**Doug Ross, NWI Times:**

When it comes to exciting elections, Indiana has it all this year. The Hoosier state settled the GOP nomination for president in the primary season and offered a vice presidential candidate in July. The races at the top of the ticket are close enough to be toss-ups. And to think just a year ago, we were worried about voter apathy. Indiana was dead last in the nation for voter turnout. "We've got three live-wire races (presidential, Senate and gubernatorial) at this point," according to political analyst Brian Howey. And if Democrat Hillary Clinton is elected president, as the polls suggest, what would that mean for Gov. Mike Pence? It could mean the end of his political career. "Name me a losing vice presidential nominee who ever did anything politically. There are not many," Howey said. "The Trump ick might stick," Downs said. "But at this point, he's in a better position than he was before he accepted the nomination," Downs said. "He has been the adult on that ticket. He has been the one that has been acting most presidential." "Our governor has essentially checked out," Howey said. "You haven't seen him in East Chicago, where we have a humanitarian crisis" — a line that drew loud applause. "We have a heroin epidemic that is sweeping the state that the governor's office is ignoring. He has gone national. He's nationwide. If this turns into a Reagan vs. Mondale, a 49 states to 1 debacle, then I think anybody and anything associated with the Trump ticket could be tainted," Howey said. ❖

**Adam Wren, Politico:**

Signs are, in 2016, Vigo, situated in his running mate Mike Pence's home state, is firmly in the Trump column. But on this day inside Pizza City, as members of a France 2 television crew hovered boom mics over the proceedings, Trump's Indiana team weren't playing offense, but defense. A dour mood filled the air. Only days before, video had surfaced of their candidate bragging about his prowess in assaulting women, and the subject had overtaken the matter of early voting as the topic of conversation. Polls weren't looking as rosy as they once had, either. In August, Trump led Hillary Clinton in Indiana by 11 points. But only a week or so before today's visit, a WTHR/Howey Politics poll in the field from October 3 through October 5 had Trump up with only a five-point margin in his running mate Gov. Mike Pence's own backyard, 43 percent to 38 percent. Meanwhile, a Monmouth University poll released a few days later would show Clinton trailing Trump here by a margin of four points. All was not well in Importantville, as Trump himself had dubbed the state during Indiana's decisive primary. As political gossip around Terre Haute had it, Trump's comments about women had caused a surge of female voters registering in the waning hours before early voting began. Could Trump lose Vigo County? And if he did, that could mean, well, he couldn't lose here, could he? ❖

## Trump Indiana calls for poll monitoring

INDIANAPOLIS — Donald Trump's top surrogates in Indiana said Wednesday that voter fraud is "very real," the media are biased in favor of Hillary Clinton and polls don't reflect how popular Trump is (Francisco, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). About 30 supporters of Trump attended a rally at Allen County Republican Party Headquarters to pick up yard signs and find out what they can do to help the campaign of the GOP presidential candidate.

Tony Samuel, vice chairman of the Trump campaign in Indiana, instructed the audience to be "watchers at the polls, work the polls, look for any kind of, you know, funny business and report it. Because the elected officials are doing a good job, but they can't catch everything. And there's always stories about some ballots that were tossed away in a closet that are found later, things like that." Samuel said, "You've got to guess that there's a lot more going on that you don't catch." Suzie Jaworowski, Trump's state director, said about voter fraud, "We know it's real; it's very real." She also said, "We know there is an orchestrated effort to cheat the system. There are some organizations out there that are finding people's information and then they'll go and do an early vote with that person's information or they'll send in an absentee ballot, and so that's one way they are doing that," Jaworowski said.

The Journal Gazette later called Beth Dlug, director of elections for Allen County, and asked whether she has any evidence of voter fraud locally. "I have no evidence of anything like that going on," Dlug said. She said there are three Republican poll workers and two Democratic workers - an inspector, two judges and two clerks - at every voting site. The GOP gets the advantage because Indiana's top elections official, Secretary of State Connie Lawson, is a

Republican. "So it's all bipartisan, and there's a reason for that - so that the alleged funny business that is going on doesn't, because everybody is there to protect their party," Dlug said.

## Media vulnerable to election hacks

NEW YORK — Despite spending hundreds of millions of dollars on security upgrades, U.S. media organizations have failed to properly protect their newsrooms from cyberattacks on their websites, communications systems and even editing platforms — opening

themselves up to the possibility of a chaos-creating hack around Election Day. In just the past month, BuzzFeed has been vandalized, and both Newsweek and a leading cybersecurity blog were knocked offline after publishing articles that hackers apparently didn't appreciate. Journalists are seen as especially vulnerable soft targets for hackers. Their computers contain the kinds of notes, story ideas and high-powered contact lists coveted by foreign intelligence services. They also work in an environment that makes them ripe for attack, thanks to professional demands like the need for a constant online presence and inboxes that pop with emails from sources whom they don't always know and which frequently contain the kinds of suspicious links and attachments that can expose their wider newsroom networks.

## Chamber upsets Bayh, Democrats

WASHINGTON — In a campaign twist with significance in the battle for the Senate, the nation's leading business lobby is going all out to defeat Mr. Bayh, the former Democratic senator from Indiana trying to reclaim his old seat (Hulse, New York Times). The chamber is doing so despite the fact that Mr. Bayh, considered a business-friendly centrist, was on the chamber payroll as recently as June and made appearances on

the organization's behalf after leaving the Senate in 2011. The chamber's decision to attack its former ally has angered Senate Democrats to no end because capturing the Indiana seat is a crucial element of their plan to take back the Senate majority. Democrats' efforts to persuade the chamber to stay out of the race as a demonstration of bipartisanship were rebuffed. The result has strained ties with Democrats, who might be chilly to future overtures from the chamber, particularly if they are running the Senate. "I was disappointed to see the U.S. Chamber putting partisan politics over a longstanding relationship," Mr. Bayh said in a statement issued by his campaign. "I was pleased to work with the chamber for many years and have actually agreed with them on several important issues. Their decision reflects just how polarized and partisan Washington has become."

## Daniels says state on 'right track'

INDIANAPOLIS — Purdue University President Mitch Daniels believes Indiana is on the right track (Carden, NWI Times). He told Hoosier manufacturing leaders Wednesday that the state has made tremendous gains in business climate, disposable income relative to cost of living, infrastructure, education and environmental quality. "I like what the future may hold for us if we can keep these trends continuing," Daniels said. "We should not allow people to mislead us that somehow we're in a position of relative disrepair." Daniels seemed to flirt with breaking his vow of "political celibacy" during his 30-minute address to the Indiana Manufacturers Association. But ultimately he refrained from directly endorsing the gubernatorial bid of his former top aide, Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb. Instead, Daniels deployed his data-laden PowerPoint presentation to emphasize that Indiana today is in far better shape than it was when he took office in 2005 - following 16 years of Democratic governors.

