



# WTHR/HPI Poll: A polarized gov race

Pence remains sideways with voters with a 49-45% lead, John Gregg 'a blank slate'

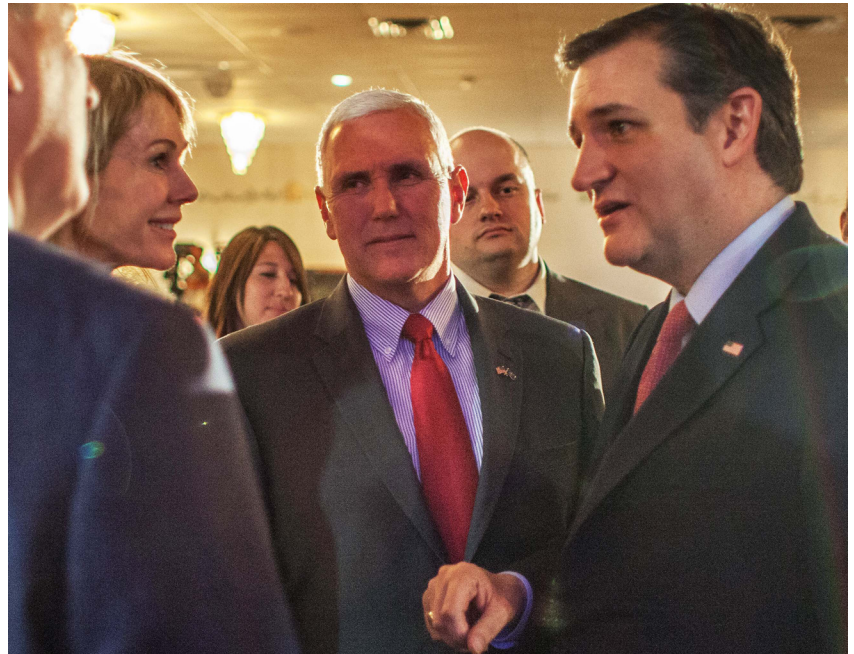
By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

NASHVILLE, Ind. – Gov. Mike Pence has become one of the most, if not the most, polarizing governor in modern times. The WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll shows that Pence will be in a dog fight with Democrat John Gregg, leading him

in a general election head-to-head 49-45% with a mere 5% undecided. It is a virtual mirror image of the final 2012 results.

The poll by Public Opinion Strategies

(April 18-21, 500 likely voters, with two sets of over samples of Democrats (479) and Republicans (507), with a 4.3 +/- % error rate) was taken prior to Indiana Libertarian Party selecting Rex Bell as its nominee on Saturday. In recent elections, the Libertarian



Gov. Mike Pence introduces Sen. Ted Cruz at the Indiana Republican Spring Dinner last week. (HPI Photo by Mark Curry)

Rupert Boneham polled 3.9% in 2012 while Andy Horning had 2.1% in 2008. Bell will probably shave at least a

**Continued on page 3**



## Indiana Statewide

Key findings from Indiana statewide surveys of 500 likely general election voters, 507 likely Republican primary voters, and 479 likely Democratic primary voters; conducted April 18-21, 2016.

# Gauging 'The Deal'

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

FRANKLIN – In the width and breadth of Indiana political history, through Bobby Kennedy's whistle stops across our state in 1968, through the Bulen era power struggle between President Ford and The Gipper in the spirit of '76, after all the Budweisers and bourbon shots were gulleeted by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton eight years ago, we've never seen anything quite like "the deal."

This devil's pact between Sen. Ted Cruz and Ohio Gov. John Kasich to "steer resources" out of each other's way in order to deny Donald Trump a first-ballot nomination in Cleveland wasn't cut in Indiana, though it



**"Leave Tom Brady alone. Enough is enough."**

*- Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump, campaigning in Rhode Island, on the reinstated suspension of the Patriots QB for 'deflategate'*



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came over the weekend where Cruz stumped in Plainfield and Lebanon on Saturday when talks began, and was sealed after he rallied in Terre Haute and Evansville on Sunday. But it will play out in vivid fashion here over the next week.

The New York Times reported today that it was "already fraying almost to the point of irrelevance on Monday, only hours after it was announced to great fanfare."

There was a flood of national calls coming into Howey Politics Indiana throughout the day with pretty much the same question: What will the impact be? Will Kasich supporters gravitate toward Cruz in enough numbers for him to win the primary?

And my answer? I have no idea. No one does. We likely won't know whether this was an 11th-hour desperation shot or a stroke of political genius until sometime late in the evening May 3. My initial gut reaction was this came a week or two too late.

The only telltale clue came in the Fox News Poll which asked the "second choice" question. Kasich received 27% while Cruz received 24%, with 25% potentially changing their minds.

**The candidates** had predictable responses on Monday. "This is about winning the votes of the Hoosier State, giving Indiana the opportunity to choose, and we're at a fork in the road. We're at a fundamental fork in the road," Cruz said in Borden, Ind., Monday morning. "And I'll tell you, here in the state of Indiana, Donald Trump at the top of the ticket, losing in a landslide, would cost Republicans seats all throughout the state. We're not gonna let that happen."

Sitting in a Philadelphia diner, Kasich, wolfing a sandwich said, "Now, you know the fact is we don't have all of the resources in the world, but we're still going. And we have to husband our resources, and I feel that it's very fair for me to be able to go to

areas where I can spend my resources most effectively, and the same is true for Sen. Cruz. What's the big deal?"

**Well, governor**, the big deal is that you and Ted are trying to cut a huuuuuge deal against the most epic dealmaker.

Trump immediately framed the deal into his populist complaint, that the system is rigged, the participants are crooked, something he will impress when he appears with Bobby Knight at the Indiana Fairgrounds at 6 p.m. Wednesday. "It is sad that



**U.S. Sen. Ted Cruz campaigns at the Johnson County Fairgrounds in Franklin on Monday. (HPI Photo by Mark Curry)**

two grown politicians have to collude against one person who has only been a politician for 10 months in order to try and stop that person from getting the Republican nomination," Trump said. In his view, Cruz is in "free fall" and Kasich is a slob at the dinner table.

Cruz reacted to that by saying, "Listen, I don't doubt that Donald Trump is going to scream and yell and curse and insult and probably cry and whine some as well. That has been Donald's pattern."

So will it work?

Until we see more tracking polls later this week, everything is going to be gut feeling, anecdote and conjecture. But as a lifelong Hoosier, from someone who lives in both urban and rural Indiana, here are some thoughts:

■ Hoosiers are independent folk. They don't like to be told what to do. It's why I have a rusted DNR sign declaring "No hunting" pierced by a

very large round, hanging on my back porch down at the cabin, just as a reminder. I wouldn't be a bit surprised to see a decent number of Republicans voting for Trump, just because. So there!

■ The Mitch Daniels wing of the party found a reasonable option in Kasich because poll after poll showed him doing the best against Hillary next fall. The only reason they would vote for Cruz now is to deny Trump that first ballot victory, potentially sending the convention toward a multi-ballot dark horse.

■ Speaking of Daniels, who is the ultimate poker player, we gave him a chance to give a "General Sherman" when the convention dark horse chatter picked up. Instead he gave us a hybrid with Sherman that included Sgt. Schultz from "Hogan's Heroes," whose famed line is "I. Know. Noth-ing!" Which leads me to believe that Our Man Mitch actually knows quite a bit. Remember, as George Will put it, Our Man has the greatest brain mass ratio to body weight of anyone in politics.



U.S. Sen. Ted Cruz poses for photos in Franklin on Monday, one of four Indiana stops after "the deal" was announced with Sen. John Kasich. (HPI Photo by Mark Curry)

Who will win the Indiana primary? Donald Trump has the verbal bombers (and Bobby Knight) and lots of money to spend. Cruz has built a grassroots organization, has made 10 stops in the past three days, most coming in the doughnut counties where he trailed Trump by 5%. Cruz is an excellent retail politician and gives great speeches.

**Trump is expected** to win five states tonight in the mid-Atlantic, and then there is just a week before Hoosiers vote. As MSNBC's Joe Scarborough said this morning, "Little Indiana is the center of the universe!" Cruz faces a critical test Wednesday and Thursday in resetting the narrative.

Speaking at the Johnson County Fairgrounds on Monday, Cruz defined "politics" as "'poli' means many. And 'ticks' are blood sucking parasites, which is a fairly accurate description of Washington, D.C." The crowd of about 1,200 roared with laughter.

Perhaps, just maybe, this deal could produce a huuuuuuuge upset. ❖

## Pence-Gregg, from page 1

couple of percentage points away from Pence.

Mining down below the top lines, Pence is upside down with Hoosier voters. His approval stands at 44% with 41% disapproving, terrible numbers for an incumbent governor. With female voters, Pence trails Gregg 52-41%, and independent women voters 54-40, following a trend from September 2012 when he led Gregg among women by 13% in a Howey DePauw Poll, before losing the gender in the general election by 5%. This comes after Pence dropped Lt. Gov. Sue Ellspermann from the ticket, replacing her with Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb.

While Pence is getting 84% of the Republican vote, in another eye-popping number he is leading Gregg in the Indianapolis doughnut counties by only 59-34%. "That's the most Republican area of the state," said pollster Gene Ulm, who has been polling Indiana annually since 1996 for the Indiana Realtors. "Not only is it the most Republican, it is the most suburban, wealthiest part of the state. It is less religious, more mainline Republican. He's just cross-pressured those folks."

Gregg leads Pence among independent voters by 4%. Among moderate voters, Pence is sideways at 28%/58%.

Gregg leads in only two DMAs in the state, Indianapolis 49-47%, and the west (which includes The Region) 47-43%. Pence leads in the Fort Wayne market 62-32%.

Of the undecided voters, Pence's fav/unfavs stand at 9/21%. "They are not going to go his way," Ulm said.

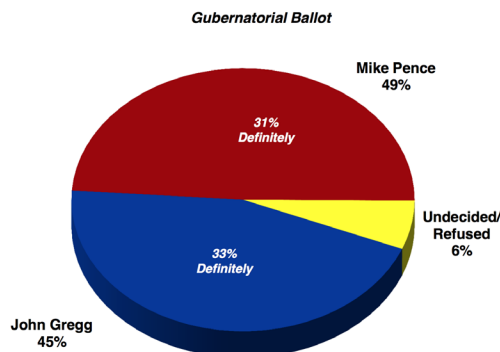
The right track/wrong track numbers for Indiana are also troubling for Pence, standing at 44% right, 45% wrong track, including 29% of Republicans. The poll results show 62% of Republicans felt the state was headed in the right direction while 28% felt otherwise. Only 24% of Democratic voters said Indiana was on an upward trajectory while 71% felt the state was on a downswing.

"Every governor we looked at always outperforms the right direction number by 10% or so," Ulm said. "Pence's numbers are Scott Walker numbers. Where his right direction, his ballot score is all the same, keep in mind, these are October numbers we're seeing in the spring. People are already in."

In a Marquette Law School Poll in March, Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker had a 43% job approval, with 53% disapproving. The Wisconsin right/wrong

### Indiana Gubernatorial Ballot

If the election for Governor were being held today, for whom would you vote if the candidates were Mike Pence, Republican...and...John Gregg, Democrat?



track was 44/52%.

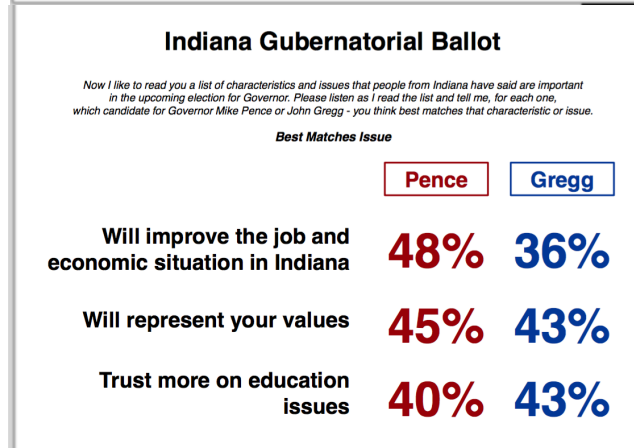
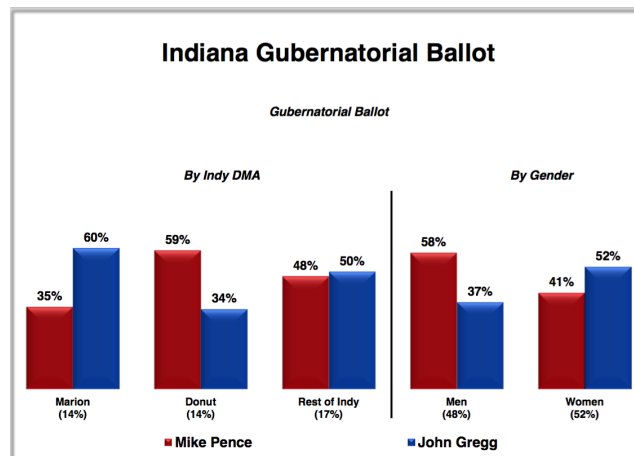
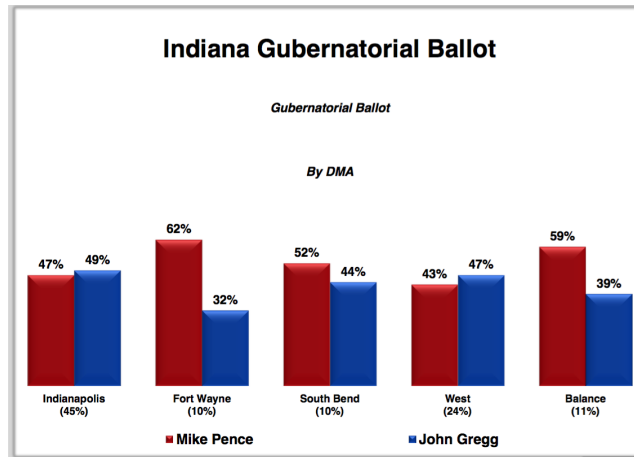
On two issues that could help define the campaign, likely voters were asked: "Do you support or oppose an expansion of civil rights covering jobs, housing, and public accommodation to include lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people, also known as LGBT?" On this question, 58% supported and 36% opposed, virtually mirroring recent surveys by Bellwether Research, Princeton Research on behalf of Ball State University's Bowen Center, and the IndyStar over the past year.

On the issue of HEA1337, we asked: "As you may have heard, Gov. Mike Pence recently signed a bill that would prevent a woman from having an abortion based on detected birth defects. The bill also requires the burial or cremation of the fetus. Do you support or oppose this bill?" On this question 56% opposed, including a whopping 41% who are strongly opposed, while 37% supported (21% strongly).

These are two issues where Pence has sided with his social conservative base, possibly at the expense of independent, female and moderate voters. Another interesting wrinkle is that among "very conservative" voters, which would cover the so-called evangelical vote, Pence's favorable was at 76%, with 16% unfavorable. Pence took intense criticism from evangelical and social conservatives after he modified the Religious Freedom Restoration Act a year ago, and then took months to decide not to push for an LGBT civil rights extension.

Ulm explained, "Keep in mind, Pence has had a problem on the right. Their support is unstable. It's the way he goes about it. Personality makes a difference and that's why he's underperforming. The position on abortion by former Gov. Mitch Daniels probably isn't much different than Pence's, yet there's a massive job approval difference."

While some expect the social issues might make



the difference, Ulm believes it will be the economy and pocketbook issues that ultimately decide the race. He said that voters are already dug in on social issues.

"The evangelical voters are as pro-life as ever, but that's not where their focus is. Their focus is, 'Why is my adult child still living in my basement?' Evangelical voters are older, poorer, haven't had a pay raise in 12 years. Their children can't get jobs. They see economic stagnation. That's what they're voting. They are dissatisfied with their own leaders. They are much more populist and that's where their focus is. The governor has touched that rail several times."

That is also why U.S. Sen. Ted Cruz has struggled to win a majority of evangelical voters, or carry socially conservative states like South Carolina or Alabama. They are voting for Trump based on economic issues.

The polling does offer Pence some light. When we asked what list of characteristics are important to voters, Pence leads Gregg 48-36% on "will improve the job and economic situation in Indiana." Gregg has leveled criticism that Pence is failing to bring high-wage jobs to the state. On the topic, "will represent your values," Pence leads Gregg 45-43%.

On the topic "trust more on education issues" Gregg leads Pence 43-40%. This is a potentially volatile area for Pence. He has sparred for three years with Democrat Supt. Glenda Ritz,

attempting to create a parallel agency (CECI) with the Department of Education before folding it a year later. The two have clashed over testing, and the state must make a decision in the fall on how to replace the ISTEP test.

Gregg has closely aligned himself with Ritz, with the pair making numerous campaign appearances together. Ritz was able to activate a wide social media network of teachers and retirees, their families, and other educators in her stunning upset of Republican Supt. Tony Bennett in 2012. Gregg didn't take advantage of that network in 2012, but will likely do so this cycle.

There is also troubling news for Democrats. Gregg, despite more than two decades in the General Assem-

bly and six as speaker, and despite his 2012 nomination and his near upset, is not only not very famous, he is undefined, or, as Ulm put it, "a blank slate." Only 46% of general election voters know of Gregg, including only 48% while his fav/unfav stands at 20/8%. Essentially, this election has become an "up or down vote" on Pence, with much of Gregg's support simply a reflection of anti-Pence sentiments.

**At last Thursday's Republican Spring Dinner,** Pence and Holcomb laid out some themes that will be used in the coming months. Holcomb reminded Republicans that Democrats left the state in \$800 million debt, owing local governments and schools money, raiding the Teacher Retirement Fund and at the BMV, "It took seven hours, not seven minutes." Gregg's tenure as speaker will be woven into that argument.

Gregg will almost certainly remind voters that the Senate Republican majorities of that era were complicit in the deficits, delayed payments and other issues. But another issue that never came up in 2012, Gregg's 11th hour

2002 deal with Republican Senate President Pro Tempore Robert Garton to pass health care for life for legislators, will also be used.

Pence reminded Republicans that Indiana was the first Midwestern state to pass Right to Work (but that was under Gov. Mitch Daniels in 2012) "and we cut taxes across the board every year. Unemployment has gone from 8 to 5%. Indiana is one of the 10 best states to start a business. Indiana is home to the largest voucher program in America. We've accomplished much."

This poll will almost certainly ignite an early race between the Pence and Gregg campaigns just days after the May primary to define the Democrat. "He is very vulnerable to attack," Ulm said of Gregg.

**Bottom line:** "Indiana should be a slam dunk for Republicans," Ulm said. "But you have an incumbent governor polling at 49 percent for all the reasons you know, against a Democratic nominee unknown to half the voters. This is an up or down vote on Pence. That's what's driving it." ❖

## Young leads Stutzman 43-31%; 26% undecided

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

NASHVILLE, Ind. – Todd Young's seismic money advantage with his campaign and super PAC allies appears to be pushing the Republican U.S. Senate race out of reach of Marlin Stutzman. In the WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll, Young has forged a 43-31% lead over Stutzman.

If there is a silver lining for Rep. Stutzman, it is that 26% are undecided. In a Howey Politics Indiana interview on Friday, Stutzman said he believes he can pull out a victory by attracting those voters. However, the GOP Senate primary has taken a back seat to the presidential race. The Indianapolis Business Journal reported over the weekend that pro-Cruz super PACs have dumped more than \$3 million into Indiana. Trump is also advertising extensively in the state. Those campaigns have begun eclipsing the Senate race advertising.

The potential general election matchups may reveal why Young has an advantage in the primary. Rep. Young leads Democrat Baron Hill 48-30%, compared to Stutzman's 39-36% lead

over the former congressman from Seymour.

A staple of Young's primary campaign pitch is that he has already defeated Hill, 52-42% in the 2010 9th CD race. Young has also emphasized his military career with the Marine Corps and Navy, as well as his pro-life and pro-gun cred. Stutzman had positioned himself as a congressman who had voted against the election of Speaker John Boehner, while challenging other House leaders.

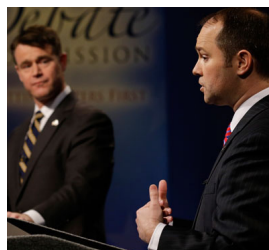
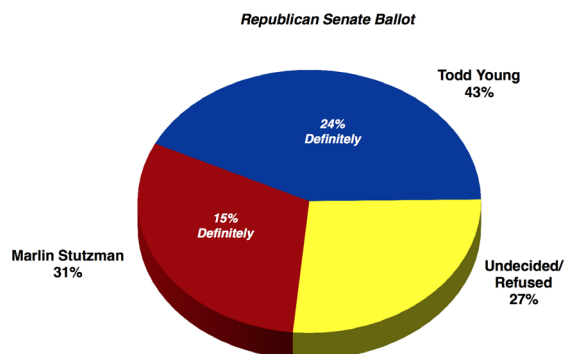
Pollster Gene Ulm of Public Opinion Strategies cited Young's wide lead among base Republicans (20%), a tie with Stutzman among "soft" Republicans, and his lead among independents at 7%. "We have a situation where Stutzman can bring it close if turnout increases," Ulm said.

Stutzman had hoped to take advantage of the Donald Trump induced "first-time voters," since both the Manhattan billionaire and the farmer from Howe have framed their primary battles against a "broken" system in Washington. However, among first time voters, Young leads Stutzman 30-17%. Among "occasional" voters, Young leads Stutzman 37-30%. And among core Republican primary voters, Young has a 46-32% lead.

Stutzman's hopes of capitalizing on the Trump populist appeal appears to be following the trend of other states like Alabama, where Trump easily won the primary but had no

### U.S. Senate Republican Primary Ballot

*If the Republican primary election for U.S. Senate were being held today, for whom would you vote between Todd Young and Marlin Stutzman?*



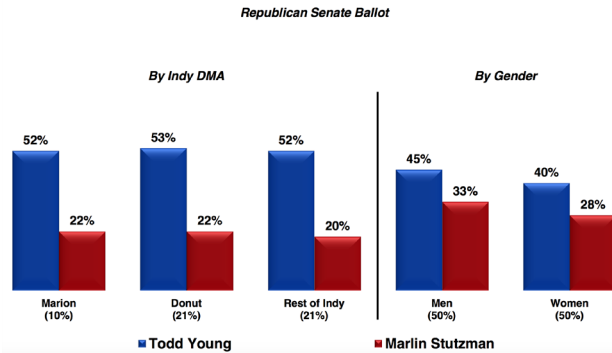
coattails down ballot.

Among "very conservative" voters that include the evangelicals which are a key demographic in Stutzman's 3rd CD, Young has a 43-37% lead over Stutzman. This group makes up 45% of the Republican likely voters. Among "somewhat conservatives" (28% of GOP voters) Young's lead increases to 44-24% and among moderates (23%) Young leads 43-27%.

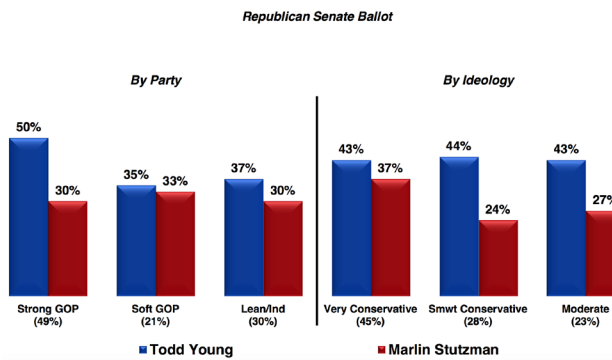
Young has a 52-21% lead in the Indianapolis TV market (53% of the state), where he has advertised extensively in his three 9th CD campaigns in three cycles, giving him a built-in advantage. Young also leads 53-22% in the doughnut counties around Indianapolis. Among men, Young leads 45-33% and 40-28% among female voters.

Stutzman has sig-

### U.S. Senate Republican Primary Ballot



### U.S. Senate Republican Primary Ballot



nificant leads in the Fort Wayne market where his 3rd CD is located, 72-22%, and in the South Bend market which covers the northwestern part of the 3rd CD, 60-17%, but those two combined markets account for only 23% of the state's voters. Young has a 37-15% lead in western Indiana, though in the Northwest Indiana region, Stutzman leads 42-26%. Lake County is the third largest GOP voting bloc in the state.

In Southern Indiana, home to the 9th CD, Young has a 51-10% lead. In his three 9th CD races, Young has also advertised extensively in the Louisville media market.

In the general election matchups, Young leads Hill in every region of the state, including 50-32% in the Indianapolis media market, 63-18% in the doughnut counties, 60-28% in the Fort Wayne market, 52-24% in the South Bend market, and among

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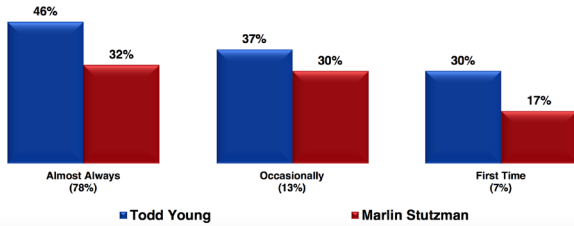
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### U.S. Senate Republican Primary Ballot

Republican Senate Ballot

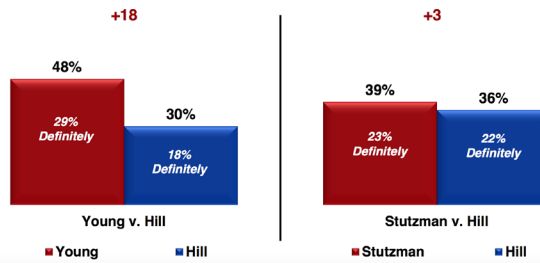
By Vote History



### U.S. Senate General Election Match-ups

If the election for U.S. Senate were being held today, for whom would you vote if the candidates were Todd Young/Marlin Stutzman, Republican...and...Baron Hill, Democrat?

Senate Ballot



Going into the primary, Stutzman had been endorsed by Club For Growth, but the super PAC did not seek bundled money for the congressman in its December 2015 pitch, nor has it run TV ads for him in April. Young has more than a two-

men 56-29% and 42-36% with women.

In general election matches with Stutzman and Hill, the two are tied at 37% in the Indianapolis market, though Stutzman has an advantage in the doughnut 43-24%, and while female voters back Hill 43-32%.

to-one campaign finance report edge on Stutzman and he has benefited from large super PAC buys from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the Senate Leadership Fund, an ally of Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell, R-Ky. ❖

## Stutzman says prez race can benefit him

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS – U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman sat down with Howey Politics Indiana last Friday at Shapiro’s Deli to discuss his U.S. Senate campaign. Here is our conversation:

**HPI:** Give us your overview of the campaign at this point?

**Stutzman:** I think we’re in a great spot. In a campaign, you measure things differently. You try to figure out things and the money being dumped in against us, I think that’s a signal that even our opposition sees we’re in a good spot and this is a real race. Even though

we’ve been behind in the money game from the very beginning, we’re competitive if not in the lead. I’m really encouraged the way things are going, but the next week is really critical for us.

**HPI:** We’ve got polling data coming out that there is a large pool of undecided voters. How are you going to approach them?

**Stutzman:** It seems like the presidential race sucks up a lot of oxygen. We’ve seen that in our polling. There is a large number of undecideds and it’s been that way for a long time. We see these late breakers for awhile, and we’re completely ready for a full-out campaign next week that we have prepared. We think we know where

they are at in the state, we know our level of messaging is really critical at this point and the fact that I’m assertive in fighting the establishment in Washington is really resonating with Indiana voters.

**HPI:** One aspect in our poll about the presidential race is the more first-time voters show up, the better Trump and Sanders do. They are feeding off the same energy. You are not dove-tailed with Trump on many social issues, but you’ve positioned yourself as the change agent, confronting the establishment. What’s your strategy to align yourself with these first-time voters?

**Stutzman:** I believe we’ve got a lot of Cruz and Trump supporters. The strategy in my mind at the 30,000-

foot view, is we win three-quarters of the Cruz supporters and half of the Trump supporters and we win. Because I am the outsider, anti-establishment candidate and the two candidates left in the presidential race are Cruz and Trump, both outsider, anti-establishment candidates. I hear over and over from voters, “I’m not mad at the Democratic Party, I’m mad at the



Republican Party," because they are not doing what they said they were going to do. My record shows that as soon as Republican leadership is willing to move forward on an aggressive mode, I've been there. But it's always been, we've got to win the election races first.

**HPI:** Are we going to see ads from the campaign aimed at Cruz and Trump voters?

**Stutzman:** Our ad that is already running shows my opponent is being supported by Mitch McConnell and the special interests in Washington, D.C. As we make calls to voters, we try different messages and as soon as we tell voters that my opponent is supported and endorsed by Mitch McConnell, people are very upset. They are very upset with Mitch McConnell and Republican leadership and don't believe they are really fighting for conservatives in Washington. Mitch's endorsement of my opponent is very telling of his record in Washington and who he's going to be beholden to once he gets there.

**HPI:** I know you can't coordinate with Super PACs, but are you disappointed in Club For Growth sitting this race out for you?

**Stutzman:** I'm going to wait and comment on them until after the election.

**HPI:** Were you satisfied with your debate performance?

**Stutzman:** I was. I thought Todd would engage

more in our voting records and in the Lincoln-Douglas style questioning. I thought he would ask me a question and he never did; he just made a statement. I thought that was a unique part of the debate. I asked him a question about the debt ceiling and if that's where he was going to go without any real reforms. He didn't answer and didn't ask me a question back. He's trying to distract and stresses that he's beat Baron Hill before.

**HPI:** Anything you'd like to add?

**Stutzman:** I think it's exciting the presidential candidates are here. It helps us. It helps Hoosiers look us candidates in the eye and really make a decision. This is such a crucial election for our country. We've seen the war in the Middle East, the efforts by some to take out Assad, and we have to have a strong leader before that decision is made. If we're going to go in and root out terrorism we're going to have to do it entirely. I also think it's important to have a leader who is going to force a coalition in the Muslim world as well as outside the Middle East, in Europe, to root out terrorism. On the economic front here at home, we haven't seen 3% economic growth in our GDP. I am the real conservative in this race and I've shown I can get things done and I've been willing to fight the fight. ❖

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# Trump, Clinton begin with single digit leads

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS – In just two short days, reliable scientific polling data has tumbled into the Hoosier polling desert, all showing Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton with single digit leads. Fueling the campaigns of Trump and Bernie Sanders is a significant uptick in first time voters.

The WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll released at noon Friday showed Trump leading Sen. Ted Cruz 37-31% with Ohio Gov. John Kasich coming in at 22%. On the Democratic side, Clinton leads Sen. Bernie Sanders 48-45%. The poll was conducted by pollster Gene Ulm of Public Opinion Strategies from April 18-21, with a 500-base sample, with over samples of 507 for Republicans and 479 for Democrats, with margin-of-error rates of 4.34% and 4.47%.

Later on Friday, a Fox News Poll showed Trump leading Cruz 41-33%, with Kasich at 16%, and on the Democratic side, Clinton

leads Sanders 46-42%.

On Sunday, the CBS News Tracker had Clinton leading Sanders 49-44%, Trump leading Cruz 40-35% with Kasich at 20%. That poll has a large 8.2% margin-of-error rate.

The Real Clear Politics composite average has Clinton with a 3.5% lead and Trump with just over 5%.

This is why Cruz campaigned in Plainfield and Lebanon on Saturday and will appear in Evansville on Sunday. A Cruz win in Indiana could block Trump from winning on the first ballot in Cleveland. NBC "Meet the Press" moderator Chuck Todd told WTHR-TV that Indiana is "an opportunity for Donald Trump to essentially declare

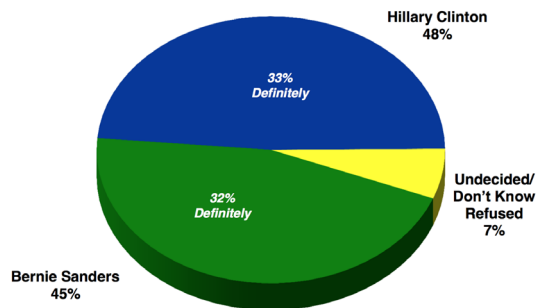
victory, declare the nomination over. He could rhetorically do that. I think the stop-Trump forces wouldn't have much to come back with. Or it could become the linchpin of the stop-Trump movement. Indiana has an opportunity to be very influential either in securing this thing for Trump or in being the linchpin to stop."

Unclear at this writing is the impact of the "deal" between Cruz and Kasich that began forming on Saturday and was announced late Sunday night. The Fox News Poll asked respondents for a "second choice" and Kasich received 27% while Cruz received 24%. The Fox poll says 25% of Indiana Republican voters may still change their minds. Kasich and Cruz supporters are more likely than

## Democratic Presidential Primary Ballot

If the Democratic primary election for President were being held today, for whom would you vote between Hillary Clinton or Bernie Sanders?

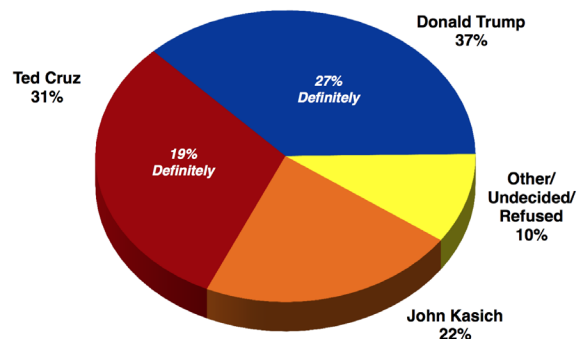
Democratic Primary Ballot



## Republican Presidential Primary Ballot

If the Republican primary election for President were being held today, for whom would you vote between Donald Trump, Ted Cruz, John Kasich, or one of the other candidates?

Republican Primary Ballot



### Indiana Statewide

Key findings from Indiana statewide surveys of 500 likely general election voters, 507 likely Republican primary voters, and 479 likely Democratic primary voters; conducted April 18-21, 2016.



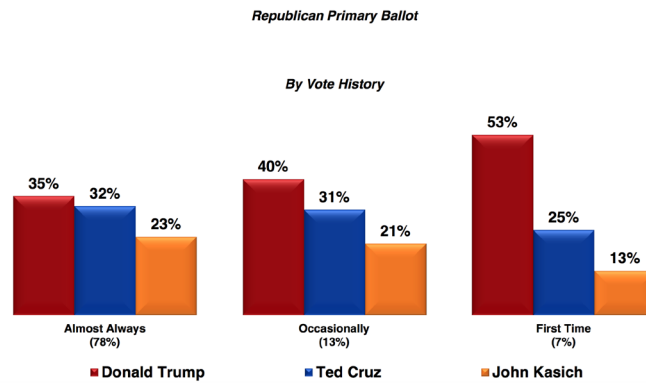
Trump's to choose another candidate.

Going deeper into the WTHR/Howey Politics Poll, Trump leads Cruz 35-30% in the Indianapolis media market (53% of the state) with Kasich at 23%. This would include areas of the Indianapolis doughnut that are more mainstream Republicans with fewer evangelicals, an area Kasich needed to do better. Due to the deal, Kasich has cancelled all appearances here. In Indianapolis, Cruz and Trump are at 36% with Kasich at 21%, and in the doughnut Trump has a 30-28% lead with Kasich at 26%. If there is a surprise, in the Indianapolis DMA, Trump leads Cruz 36-30%, with Kasich at 21%.

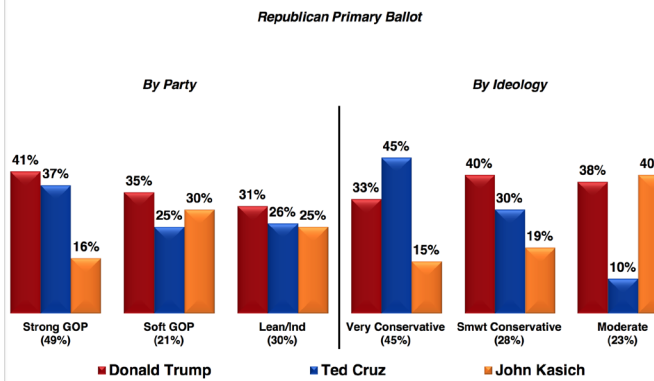
In the Fort Wayne market, Kasich comes in at 27% (Ohio is part of that market) with Trump at 35% and Cruz at his high water mark of 35%, fueled by the evangelical nature of the 3rd CD. In the South Bend market, Trump leads Cruz 48-28%, with Kasich at 19%. In Western Indiana, that includes the Northwest Region (the third largest pool of GOP voters are in Lake County), Trump leads Cruz 42-36%.

Trump leads in all Republican Party categories with 41% with "strong Republicans," 35% with "soft" and 31% with "leaners." By ideology, Cruz leads Trump among "very conservative" voters (which would include evangelicals) 45-33%. Among moderates, Kasich finds a little sunshine, leading Trump 40-38%, with Cruz at 30%. "They are much more populist," Ulm said of the very conservative and evangelical voters.

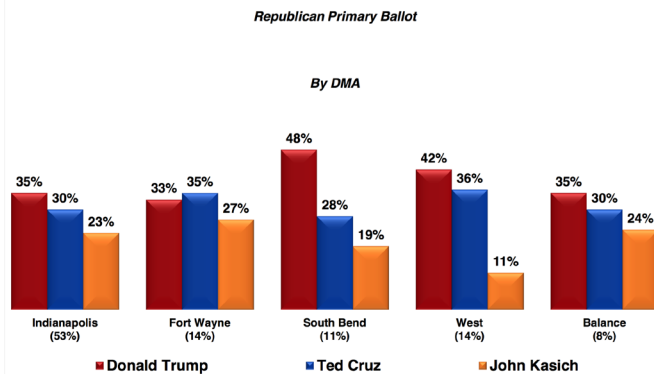
### Republican Presidential Primary Ballot



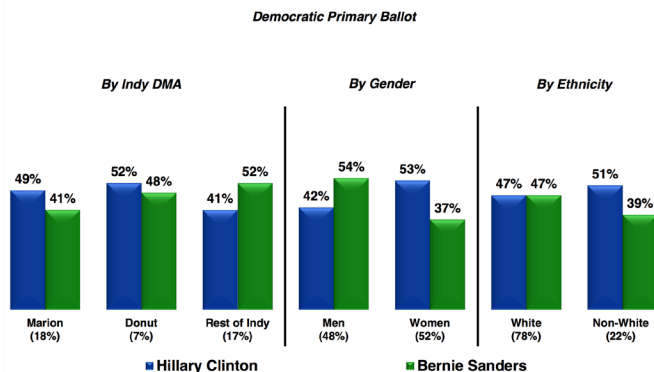
### Republican Presidential Primary Ballot



### Republican Presidential Primary Ballot



### Democratic Presidential Primary Ballot



"They wonder why is my adult child living in my basement? They are voting on pocketbook issues."

But here's the thing that is really fueling Trump's lead: Among "first-time voters" or 7% of the WTHR-HPI survey, Trump has a 53-25% lead over Cruz, with Kasich mopping up at 13%. Among occasional voters, Trump leads 40 to 31% over Cruz and 21% over Kasich.

On the Democratic side, Sanders leads Clinton 47-46% in Indianapolis (42% of the state,) and 54-39% in South Bend, while Clinton leads 50-44% in Fort Wayne, and 51-42% in western Indiana (including The Region).

Among "strong Democrats," Clinton has a 62-33% lead, 48-47% with soft Democrats, and trails Sanders 63-27% among leaners. Like Trump, first-time voters are giving Sanders considerable buoyancy, winning 66-27%. Among occasional voters, Sanders has a 55-40% lead.

"Turnout will be a factor," Ulm said. Of Trump and Sanders, "Their new supporters are a huge factor. The larger it is, the better they will do." Secretary of State Connie Lawson said this week that with early voting doubling in the first eight days over 2012, there could be "unprecedented" turnout. As for the Clinton/Sanders race, Ulm added, "Turnout is a more important factor. Sanders is bringing newer voters. Trump and Sanders are relying overwhelmingly on non-traditional voters."

In hypothetical fall matchups, Trump leads Clinton 47-39% in Indiana, while Cruz has a 53-36% advantage over Clinton.

Ulm said that both Clinton and Trump have historic negatives. "She's alarmingly close to Trump," he said.

Hillary Clinton campaigns today in Hammond and Mishawaka while Bill Clinton will be in Indianapolis and Evansville. ❖

# Predicting those rare primary upsets

By **CHRIS SAUTTER**

WASHINGTON – The party nomination process is a bit like March Madness. We root for the upset in the early rounds, but we expect the established teams to end up in the finals. We root for upsets in politics too, even though they are infrequent. They are especially rare in primary elections.



Primary election upsets are rare mostly because those backing the established candidate have too much at stake to lose and are willing to put their money where their mouth is. But occasionally voters decide that it's time to stick it to the establishment candidate.

In 2012, in what is arguably Indiana's biggest ever primary upset, State Treasurer Richard Mourdock knocked off six-term incumbent Sen. Dick Lugar, who was considered so unbeatable that Democrats did not even field a candidate against him in 2006. In 2008 former Congresswoman Jill Long Thompson defeated Jim Schellinger for the Democratic nomination for governor, although Schellinger was recruited to run by party leaders and he outspent her by more than 2 to 1.

There have been other notable upsets and I wrote about some a few years back in a column titled "Indiana's Top Ten Primary Upsets." At the top of my list was Bobby Kennedy defeating Indiana Gov. Roger Branigin and Sen. Eugene McCarthy in 1968.

**Some today may** wonder how a Kennedy win would be considered an upset. But RFK's advisors counseled against running in the Indiana primary, his first after announcing he would challenge incumbent President Lyndon B. Johnson. Kennedy didn't think he could win the nomination if he avoided states like Indiana, even though the entire Hoosier Democratic establishment was backing Branigin (who was a stand-in first for LBJ and then Hubert Humphrey after Johnson bowed out) and Gene McCarthy who had cornered the anti-Vietnam War vote. Kennedy won by patching together an unlikely coalition of African Americans and Hoosier rednecks — what speechwriter and journalist Jack Newfield called "black power and backlash."

This year, Donald Trump is the underdog turned frontrunner in the GOP nomination race. After stumbling in Wisconsin, Trump rides into Indiana on a roll. The Real Clear Politics polling average puts Trump ahead of Sen. Ted Cruz by 6.3%. But the establishment sees the Hoosier showdown as perhaps the last chance to stop Trump from amassing enough delegates to win the nomination

on the first ballot. Realizing this, Cruz and Ohio Gov. John Kasich have cut an old-fashioned political deal whereby Kasich pulls out of Indiana and Cruz takes a pass on Oregon and New Mexico. Of course, there is no guarantee Kasich's voters will follow script and stomach a switch to the detestable Cruz. But the arrangement does shake up the race, making the outcome of the primary now virtually impossible to predict.

**On the Democratic side,** Hillary's Real Clear Political polling composite of 4% is within the margin of error. Still, it would be a mild upset if Sanders would win Indiana, given most Democrats have concluded he can no longer win the nomination (unless the FBI intervenes with a report so damning her support collapses). However, Indiana has been hospitable at times to Democratic presidential underdogs. Gary Hart beat Mondale in 1984 and Hillary Clinton (by May of 2008, Obama was the clear frontrunner) nosed out Barack Obama in 2008. Don't be surprised if Sanders narrowly pulls off the mild upset.

The action in the U.S. Senate primary is all on the Republican side, since Democrat Baron Hill is running unopposed. Congressman Todd Young, the pick of the GOP establishment, enjoys a double-digit lead over conservative Congressman Marlin Stutzman. Stutzman might have had a chance in this one but he has run an extremely poor campaign punctuated by last week's revelation that he converted campaign funds to personal use. Young reminds some observers of Dan Quayle, a bit of a lightweight whose career has been aided by impeccable timing. There will be no upset in the U.S. Senate primary.

GOP primaries in the 3rd and 9th CDs are the most competitive in the state. In the 3rd district (Fort Wayne area), there are six Republicans vying for a nomination that is almost certainly tantamount to election. According to most observers, State Sen. Jim Banks and farmer Kip Tom are leading the pack with Banks considered the frontrunner. The Fort Wayne Journal Gazette endorsed Tom, who is running as an outsider and has spent a great deal of his own money. An upset victory by outsider Kip Tom over establishment Jim Banks is a definite possibility here.

**In the 9th CD,** Trey Hollingsworth and his father have spent a couple of million dollars turning the entire Republican establishment and the Indiana media against him. He's even managed to generate interest from the national media with his spending spree. Attorney General Greg Zoeller began the race as the frontrunner. Negative ads by a super PAC run by Hollingsworth's father have brought Zoeller's numbers down and may have knocked him out of the race. State Sen. Erin Houchin, who won her seat upsetting Democratic Senate leader Richard Young, is now running ahead of Zoeller. It's hard to imagine that a candidate from Tennessee winning an election in Indiana wouldn't be considered an upset. But recent polling suggests Hollingsworth could outlast a divided field of four others. Multi-candidate primary elections can produce unanticipated results and just about any result is possible

here.

**In the 2nd, 8th, and 9th CDs,** favored Democratic candidates face nuisance opponents. In the 2nd CD, the likeable Lynn Coleman, a former South Bend deputy mayor and police officer, is a first-time candidate, but should win the nomination over Douglas Carpenter for the right to face Republican incumbent Jackie Walorski. In the 8th district, former State Rep. David Orentlicher, a Harvard educated doctor and lawyer, faces former state legislator Ron Drake before taking on incumbent Larry Bucshon, also a physician. Orentlicher has raised over \$200,000 to Drake's \$2,500, so Orentlicher should win.

And, in the 9th district, 2012 Democratic nominee and Monroe County Council member Shelli Yoder should easily defeat two primary opponents with little name recognition. If any of these favored candidates are upset, Democrats will turn tough general election races into impossibilities.

While there is not likely to be an upset on the scale of Mourdock over Lugar, overall next Tuesday's primary election may be one of the most interesting in recent times. ❖

**Sautter is a Democratic consultant based in Washington.**



## Hoosier Pulse survey predicts Trump, Clinton

INDIANAPOLIS – In the first-ever Hoosier Pulse, a Hathaway Strategies/Bellwether Research Indiana Opinion Leader Survey, Hoosier opinion leaders predict good nights for Donald Trump, Hillary Clinton and Todd Young on May 3, but see a tight race between Mike Pence and John Gregg in November and a flip of Indiana's Electoral College votes to the Democratic column if it's Hillary vs. Trump. Respondents include Republican and Democratic Party officials at the local, district, and state level, former party officials and elected officials, leading interest group, policy, and business leaders and lobbyists, academics, former journalists, and other opinion leaders from across the state. The partisan composition of the full list is roughly 47% Republican, 43% Democrat and 10% not identified or independent: 72 participated in the April Hoosier Pulse survey which was conducted April 19–24. One in four who participated holds a party position.

Among the key findings:

### Presidential Contest

Before John Kasich announced he was suspending his Indiana campaign, 63% of Hoosier Pulse opinion leaders (Republicans, Democrats and independents) predicted Donald Trump will win the May 3 Republican primary in Indiana, while 29% said Ted Cruz will win. Most of the input came before the release of public polls in the state, but Republican insiders pick Trump to win over Cruz at about the same margin as voter preference (49%-42%, while 9% chose Kasich). \*Note, pollsters did not ask personal vote preference. This is a prediction of outcome. Although public polling in Indiana shows a relatively competitive contest between Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders, Democratic and Republican insiders overwhelmingly believe Hillary Clinton will win Indiana (89% Clinton vs. 11% Sanders). A majority (58%) of Hoosier insiders believe Donald Trump will be the Repub-

lican nominee coming out of Cleveland, while 22% say Ted Cruz, 15% say John Kasich and 4% say it will be someone not currently in the race (with one hopeful vote for "My Man Mitch"). Republican insiders were a little less bullish on Trump's chances (53%), while splitting between Kasich (21%) and Cruz (21%). If Ted Cruz or John Kasich is the Republican Party presidential nominee, he is predicted to carry Indiana (Kasich is seen as particularly strong), but if Donald Trump is the nominee, by a 57-43% margin insiders think Hillary Clinton would carry the state.

### U.S. Senate Primary

By an overwhelming 82%-18% margin, Hoosier Pulse insiders think Todd Young will defeat Marlin Stutzman in the U.S. Senate primary. Republicans are even more confident (88%) that Todd Young will prevail.

### Gubernatorial Contest

Hoosier Pulse participants are split on the likely outcome of the gubernatorial race, giving a slight edge (51%) to Mike Pence over John Gregg (49%). Over eight in 10 Republican insiders predict Pence will win, while 96% of Democrats say John Gregg will win. Opinion leaders are divided about the issues or topics that will dominate or define the gubernatorial election. Republicans hope economic and fiscal issues will dominate and that their healthy status will help Pence's reelection bid. Insiders also say that Gov. Pence has pushed social and cultural issues like abortion and gay rights to the forefront and Democrats will highlight this. Based on verbatim responses: Although the Gregg campaign has shown strong fundraising prowess recently, the Pence campaign's cash-on-hand advantage, and the fact that Indiana is reliably Republican (exception: 2008) in presidential years are seen as advantages for the incumbent. Confounding the situation for Pence, though, is the question over who will be the Republican presidential nominee. If it's Donald Trump, insiders think Hillary Clinton will carry the state. While insiders believe that Pence has hurt himself, there are questions about whether John Gregg is a strong or effective enough candidate to take advantage of it. ❖

# Trump at the nexus of 'Mad Max,' 'Network'

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – After attending my first Donald Trump “show,” I’ve come to the conclusion that this dystopian political race has devolved into a hybrid of the movies “Mad Max” and “Network.”

On Wednesday, fearful and angry Hoosier voters who are mad as hell and aren’t going to take it any more were treated to a stream of consciousness from the Manhattan billionaire, while the cable news networks churned out a 24/7 stew of talking heads, soothsayers, polling data sets, Twitter screen captures, B-roll and prophets. All this comes prior to an Indiana presidential primary that actually could determine who is nominated.



Trump was fascinating because his campaign has been a strange amalgamation of incendiary rhetoric from his spec-

tacular brain with scant white paper and policy experts to back anything up. His Tweets continually pop through the ether. He didn’t build a campaign to navigate the intricacies of actually winning enough delegates to prevail in Cleveland this July, and over the past month Sen. Ted Cruz has exploited the vacuum. Hand size aside, Trump has turned these shortcomings into populist rant: The system is “rigged” and the stewards are “crooked.” And the crowd goes wild.

He has reliable lines that churn the masses into frenzy. His most stirring battle cry is, “We’re going to build that wall, believe me that wall is going to be built,” and the throng chanted, “Build that wall! Build that wall!”

**In response** to Carrier leaving Indianapolis for Mexico, Trump promises a 35 percent tax on its imports back. On the Chinese dumping of steel into the U.S. at the expense of the northwest Indiana cluster, Trump said, “That’s not fair trade, that’s stupid trade and we’re not going to do it any more.” The details are deep inside his marvelous brainpan.

The speech was



high on proclamations and complaints, and devoid of policy. But the message was clear. Or as Trump puts it, “We get smaller and smaller, weaker and weaker. Our country is being taken advantage of. I would never use the word our country is going to die, but it will be a very different place.”

On that front, Trump is correct. On Saturday in Bloomington, former Democrat congressman Lee Hamilton, who chaired the House Foreign Affairs Committee and served on the 9/11 Commission, described a devolving America. When he began his 34-year career in the U.S. House in 1965, America’s population was 130 million people. Today Hamilton surveys a nation of 320 million, with white Americans poised to be in the minority in just a few decades. Much of the population is in angst at trends they don’t understand.

In the presidential race, Hamilton observes a “breathtaking gap” between campaign rhetoric and policy substance, echoing what Purdue President Mitch Daniels told me last winter. “This is a very tough country to govern,” Hamilton said, adding the next president will “find 50 percent of the American people dead set against him or her.” The CBS/New York Times Poll unfavorables of Trump (57 percent) and Hillary Clinton (52 percent) are historic.

**Fueling that anger** are fundamental changes in the economy as manufacturing processes become more productive, require fewer people, and more and more jobs are automated. In a week where he learned that the neighborhood bank branch is soon to be obsolete, we ponder the wage stagnation and grapple with, as Hamilton said, “the idea that our children will do better than we did has faded. A lot of that anger is about the future of the country.”

Former senator Richard Lugar spoke at his alma mater of Denison University last week and observed, “Frequently, candidates have excused their incivility by saying that they are giving voice to an angry majority. Implicit

in this storyline is that voter anger is justified and will only be relieved by overturning the system.

“Anger disconnected from a realistic reform agenda and lacking in respect for pluralistic views is not a political virtue,” Lugar said. “It is possible for anger to be real and heartfelt, but simultaneously misguided and destructive. We know from numerous lessons of history that popular anger can be manipulated in ways that lead

to intolerance, civil unrest, violence, and self-destructive national policies."

**Lugar cited four "establishment" virtues:**

Civility, experience, studiousness, and compromise. But he adds, "In this election cycle we have seen these virtues not just deemphasized, but scorned. Civility is equated with weakness, experience with corruption, studiousness with pedantry, and compromise with a lack of principles. Instead, candidates have run on vacuous and sometimes cartoonish proposals that lack any political realism or programmatic details."

In the 1979 movie "Mad Max," the character Fifi observes, "They say people don't believe in heroes any-

more. Well damn them! You and me, Max, we're gonna give them back their heroes!" Max responds, "Ah, Fifi. Do you really expect me to go for that crap?"

To which Fifi says, "You gotta admit I sounded good there for a minute, huh?"

Last Wednesday Trump told the thousands of mad as hell Hoosiers that he will cut epic deals, restore the military, build the wall, and make America "great again." The details, as we fume and vent, must await a later day. ❖

**The columnist is publisher of Howey Politics Indiana at [www.howeypolitics.com](http://www.howeypolitics.com). Find him on Facebook and Twitter @hwypol**

# Slow and uneven economic process

**By MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – This week several readers asked: What percent of households had incomes less than \$25,000? The answer: 23.6 percent, nearly a quarter of all households in the United States, had incomes in 2014 under \$25,000, according to the Census Bureau. That's like working 40 hours a week for 50 weeks, at \$12.50 per hour.



However, if we back up to the Good Old Days (1967) and adjust for price changes, then 27.3 percent of American households had less than \$25,000 in 2014 dollars. In 2014, 46.8 percent of households had income less than \$50,000. A half century earlier, in Limbaughland, that was 58.2 percent of households.

Yes, it's called progress, but it's slow and uneven. Yes, in the aggregate, it's what we want, a rising standard of living for increasing numbers of people. But there is a problem.

In 1967, the top 10 percent of households had at least twice the income of the median household. By 2014, they were up to three times the level of the median household. That's significant change. It means in 1967, the top 10 percent could out-spend the median household by at least \$49,000. By 2014, that differential grew (even after adjustment for inflation) to \$104,000.

**Over the same period,** the median household's income remained four times higher than the lowest 10 percent of households. People in the middle were slipping compared to the people at the top and not separating themselves from those at the bottom.

The upshot? Those in the top 10 percent could enjoy at least 13 times more buying power in 2014 than households in the bottom 10 percent. This was up from a

nine-times advantage in 1967. The top was drawing away from the middle and the bottom.

If this were going on at the Indy 500, we'd say nothing is wrong. It's meant to be this way. Some teams find ways to get more speed from their cars while others do not. It's a competition, the rules are the same for everyone, and to the skillful and the lucky go the rewards. Or we could slow down the fast cars with governors on the motors. Alternatively, give the slower cars the front rows and put the fastest cars qualifying in the trailing rows.

**But the Indy 500 is not** the model for the kind of nation we want. We don't want our neighbors to be spectators, watching others compete for great rewards, while they themselves struggle to figure out what is going on far out of their sight.

Far out of sight may be the root of the problem. We tend to see people who are like us and ignore the others. People at the top don't socialize with people at the bottom. People at the bottom only see what the people at the top leave in their wastebaskets at night. We are often blinded by the little that we see. Therefore it's easy to believe what we are told about them. ❖

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

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

# Kasich's deal brings disappointment

By CRAIG DUNN

KOKOMO – I returned home from a weekend out of town to find my yard resembling a hayfield. After nearly three hours riding the tractor, my final gesture was to set my “Kasich for President” sign out in the front yard. I took extra care to stick the prongs of the sign frame deep in



the ground and I made sure that the sign was visible from all directions, yet not too close to the road to make it easily removable by a passerby.

Farmers have told me over the years that you can do a powerful lot of thinking while you're out on a tractor. My time Sunday was spent listening to the Eagles anthology on my iPod player and thinking about the delicious prospect of the

first contested Republican presidential primary to roll into Indiana in years.

I've made no secret of my belief that it is to Indiana's great detriment that we hold our primary so late in the election year cycle. We get passed over, flown over and overlooked by nearly everyone in the presidential quest. We vote solidly Republican in November and rarely see a presidential candidate once the general election campaign begins. Hoosiers just don't get the chance to tell the candidates about the perils of corn root worm, the challenges of keeping our children close to home after graduation, or the unparalleled joy of wrapping your hands around a gigantic Indiana breaded tenderloin.

**Finally, Indiana** Republicans were to have their moment in the national spotlight. Not one, not two, but three presidential candidates would be coming to the state for an uninterrupted week of Hoosier campaigning. Lincoln Day dinners, campaign rallies and other political events were planned to take advantage of this all-too-infrequent anomaly.

The Indiana primary was off to a great start. Ted Cruz's father, Raphael, kicked off the season with a whirlwind tour of the state. Donald Trump spoke to a packed house of his faithful at the Indiana State Fair-

grounds. Ted Cruz popped in and addressed the Indiana Republican Party Spring Dinner on Thursday and John Kasich planned a full day of events on Tuesday. But then it all changed in the wink of an eye!

Late Sunday evening, it was announced that Ted Cruz and John Kasich had reached an agreement that would see Kasich suspending his campaign in Indiana, in favor of Cruz. Cruz would then suspend his efforts in Oregon and New Mexico, in favor of Kasich. Bing, bang, tha, tha, tha, that's all folks!

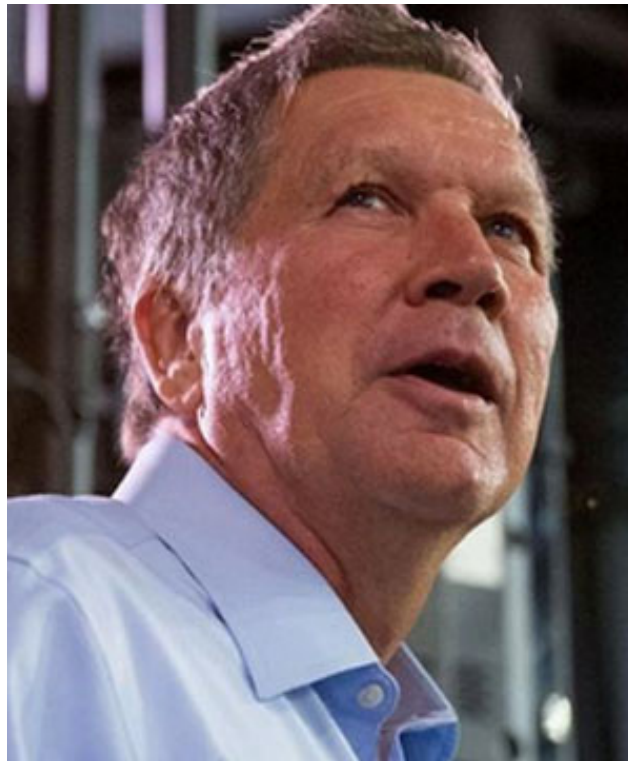
**I've got to tell you that** I haven't experienced something this disappointing since Rubens Barichello hit the brakes to let teammate Michael Shumacher win the United States Grand Prix at Indianapolis. There's something about this carving up the pie that doesn't sit right with me.

The Stop Trump effort has never been attractive to me. In my book, the nominating process should be more about supporting candidates because you like them and not just because their victory will serve to stop someone else. I signed on as a supporter and contributor to John Kasich's campaign way back in October. Back then, the number of Kasich supporters was pretty small and generally consisted of those who felt that he was one of the few responsible adults in the room when the debates were held.

I never wavered in my support of Kasich. In fact, as time went by, I became stronger in my conviction that John Kasich would bring mature responsible leadership to our country. By my count, I also gave that same opinion to over 20 national media outlets and last Thursday to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

From the very beginning, it was obvious that John Kasich was not going to get 1,237 delegates locked up before the Republican National Convention. This presidential primary season was all about the outsiders. The early primary states so divided up the votes in a way that the firebrands could win with a minority of the popular vote. We faced the unenviable reality that the Republican Party might nominate a candidate that nearly 60 percent of our party did not want.

One by one, the original field of 16 candidates dwindled down to



Ohio Gov. John Kasich was expected to have a chance in Indiana, but he took the state off the table on Sunday.

three. The campaign that seemed over on Super Tuesday wasn't. Donald Trump could not seal the deal and new life was breathed into the campaigns of Ted Cruz and John Kasich. Slowly, the reality dawned on everyone that not only Kasich and Cruz would not get to 1,237 delegates, but that Donald Trump might not make it either.

**This possibility that Trump** might fall short of the 1,237 needed to win on the first ballot at the convention led to the Faustian bargain that Cruz would act like a candidate in Indiana and that Kasich would act like a candidate in Oregon and New Mexico, all in the name of stopping Donald Trump on the first ballot and sending the contest into a free-for-all second ballot at the RNC. This may all make political sense at the 10,000-foot view, but to the political grunts on the ground, there is something a little unsavory about it.

I clearly remember my first taste of beer. I was excited about trying it for the first time. The first taste was bitter and left me with the thought of, "I sure hope it gets better, 'cause this tastes terrible." And so it goes with the Cruz and Kasich strategy for the remaining primary states. It leaves a bad taste but I hope I get used to it.

I want the person who wins the Republican nomi-

nation for president to be the best person for the job, not just the best at gamesmanship. My rallying cry was not "Stop Trump at all costs." It was and is "Stop Trump with your message, leadership and vision." If staying the course leads to a contested convention, so be it. I can defend the 1,237-delegate vote requirement for nomination as a 158-year tradition that Lincoln, Eisenhower and Reagan all were forced to navigate. It just seems to me to be a little disingenuous to carve up the remaining pie on a Sunday evening and expect the Hoosier Republicans to dine on what has been left for us.

**I let the dogs out this** morning before leaving for work. While they did their business, I did mine. I walked out to the front yard and removed the "Kasich for President" sign. I think that spot in my yard will remain empty. ❖

**Dunn is chairman of the Howard County Republicans.**





# Indiana's big shot

By MARK SOUDER

FORT WAYNE – It is March 30, 1987, all over again. The clock is winding down. The Hoosiers trail Syracuse by a point. Keith Smart launches a shot from the corner that gives Indiana a one-point victory and the national championship. Indiana is on top of the world.

My son Nathan won't forget. He was seven. I was working on Capitol Hill for then Congressman Dan Coats. Doc Bowen was secretary of HHS at the time. He brought Coach Bobby Knight and the team to the HHS auditorium where we Hoosiers could have a private celebration. I sped out to west Fairfax, pulled Nathan out of school and we attended the small gathering together. Getting out of school, unplanned, because of a basketball thing was probably what he remembered most.



It was a big thing for Dan too. He kept the videotape. When you visited his house, you got to watch Keith Smart do it over and over. Perhaps he still does.

"The Shot" was actually "The Shot #2." In 1986, one of the greatest movies of all time had been released. "Hoosiers" was a movie version of the original "The Shot," where small town Bobby Plump defeated the powerful Muncie Central with a last-second winning basket. Muncie Central had won two of the previous three state championships. Milan had 161 students. Nathan and our daughter Brooke remember "Hoosiers" well. We watched it over and over. I played the cassette tape of the inspirational music all the time. To me, it was real life.

There were 68 kids in my Leo High School graduating class in 1968. We annually went to the Fort Wayne sectionals to get crushed. "Attention, attention, Leo students, someone left your tractor lights on," the big city kids would chant. Very funny. We cherished the year we upset heavily favored Fort Wayne North Side by 18 points. Maybe eight. Anyway, it was a big deal.

Donald Trump is now bringing his nostalgic tour for a muscular, male white-dominated society to Indiana. It is only appropriate that former IU coach Bobby Knight would join him. Knight won three IU basketball national championships, most importantly, the last one back in '87.

**Indiana used to be very important.** From President Abraham Lincoln in 1860 (our line is "Indiana made Lincoln, Lincoln made Illinois") through Vice President Thomas Marshall in 1920, there was always somebody running on the national ticket from Indiana. Our "Bernie" – Eugene V. Debs of Terre Haute ("Gene! Gene!") – ran for president five times on the Socialist ticket.

Marshall, when asked why Indiana produced so many vice presidents but no native born president (Benja-

min Harrison moved to Indianapolis), famously replied that Indiana produced more first-rate, second-rate men than any state in the nation.

Around the turn of the century, by that I mean leaving the 19th Century, we Hoosiers also dominated the literary world. Among top-selling books, about half were written by Hoosiers. It was said that Hoosiers were born either writing or talking, becoming either politicians or authors. Things started to go south, and west, in the 1920s. D.C. Stephenson led the Ku Klux Klan to political domination. He's dead, or perhaps Trump would have called him back on stage as well. I am a pretty nostalgic guy, but it is dangerous when selective memory colors political decision-making. Knight was an excellent basketball coach in his time but also had a violent temper, bullied people, and was not known for advanced views on the role of women in public life.

**But Hoosiers are excited.** For one week, we are IMPORTANT again. How will we respond? Here are a few thoughts on the Republican primary:

**1.)** The most important voting result in the Republican primary is the statewide total. Of the Indiana first-ballot votes, 30 are based on the statewide vote and 27 on the nine districts. The congressional districts are also winner-take-all. Losers don't get rewards in Indiana.

**2.)** The districts will split, but the margins will be of great importance statewide. Theoretically, Trump could win three districts but win statewide. Watch his vote in northwest and southern Indiana in particular. Those are the regions that have struggled most economically.

**3.)** The George Wallace remnants. In 1964 George Wallace pulled strongest in Northwest Indiana, Southwest Indiana, and the collar around Indianapolis. In 1968 Wallace pulled best in The Region, in southern Indiana, and in the collar counties.

**4.)** The Mitch Daniels-Eric Miller 2004 gubernatorial primary, social conservative showdown. Generally speaking, for decades and decades, a very conservative candidate could always pull about a third of the statewide vote. Miller focused on gay rights in particular. His strongest area was the 2nd CD, which he only narrowly lost to Daniels because of Miller's victories in Elkhart, Kosciusko, and Marshall counties.

**5.)** The Richard Lugar-Richard Mourdock 2012 Senate primary: The Republican establishment versus the Tea Party insurgency. I believe that Mourdock, having won multiple times statewide, was going to top the typical one-third conservative vote. But the race broke late, and I don't believe ideology decided it. The undecided vote respected Lugar but believed he had served too long and was "out of touch." Mourdock's "gaffe" was in the general election, which has distorted post-election analysis.

**6.)** Mourdock's ideological vote, especially the social conservatives, should break for Cruz. But how many of Mourdock's voters were ideological and how many anti-establishment?

**7.)** State Rep. Bob Morris of Fort Wayne illus-

trates the irrationality of Trump politics. Morris infamously refused to support a resolution honoring the 100th anniversary of the Girl Scouts because of his opposition to some regional Girl Scouts positions on Planned Parenthood and transgender inclusion. Yet there he was on stage with Trump, who supports both.

**My delegate estimates**, assuming a near Trump sweep in the eastern primaries Tuesday, illustrate

the desperate nature of Cruz's Last Stand. If Trump wins statewide plus three districts (39 first ballot votes), I have him at a likely 1200. I believe that such momentum would result in a California crushing as well, and a Trump first-ballot win.

Indiana is really, really important again. That makes us happy, for now. Hopefully Cruz outperforms Custer. ❖

## 'Most important' state

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – "The Most Important Primary Is . . . Wait. Indiana?"

That headline on a New York Times "Upshot" political analysis reflects both the significance of Indiana's May 3 presidential primary and the surprise, nationally and in the state, that the Indiana vote, usually coming too late to matter, now is so important.

The importance was underlined by Donald Trump's decision to fly to Indianapolis for his first campaign rally after his landslide victory in New York.

In the Times analysis, factoring in expectations of big wins by Trump in northeast states next week as well as a New York triumph, writer Nate Cohn cites later states where stop-Trump efforts could work. He concludes that Indiana, a tossup, could hold the key to whether Trump wins the 1,237 delegate total for a first-ballot victory at the Republican National Convention in July in Cleveland. The "most important" tag was affixed to the Republican



primary.

Indiana results in the Democratic primary take on less significance after Hillary Clinton trounced Bernie Sanders in New York, where Sanders needed to win to keep from falling further behind in the delegate count. Still, Indiana could determine whether it really is all over for Sanders, just as it signaled the end of Clinton's quest for the nomination in 2008. She actually won over Barack Obama back then, but so narrowly, when needing a big win, that it was clear she couldn't catch up in delegates. Also, Clinton lost in North Carolina that day.

**There is no divided attention** this time. Only Indiana votes on May 3. The focus of the candidates and the national news media will be on Indiana.

The different ways the political parties in Indiana select their delegates and first-ballot commitments is significant. It's huge, as Trump would say.

Actually, Trump says much more. He says the Indiana Republican system is "rigged." His main complaint?

That he can't count on "his" delegates on a second ballot. That of course won't matter if he has enough support to win on a first ballot.

For Sanders, the awarding of Democratic delegates on the basis of vote percentages makes it difficult for him to make much of a dent in the Clinton delegate lead without an overwhelming win all over the state.

**Indiana has 57 delegates** to the Republican National Convention, 92 to the Democratic National Convention.

On the Republican side, it's winner-take-all in statewide voting for at-large delegates and also in each of the nine congressional districts. Three delegates are at stake in each district. If Trump finishes first, even by a narrow margin statewide and in most of the districts, he could sweep up almost all of the delegates and head on toward a first-ballot victory. Ted Cruz and John Kasich seek, however, to win delegates in Indiana and improve their own prospects of a win in a contested convention in which there's no first-ballot winner.

The individual Republican delegates already have been selected by party organization leaders. Trump worries — and he should — that many of these individuals, even if "his" in terms of commitments in the primary results, would turn to somebody else on a second ballot. Indeed, Cruz and Kasich organizations both are seeking second-ballot promises.

**On the Democratic side**, there is proportional allocation of delegates. The number of commitments is based on the vote percentages for the candidates. That's both in voting statewide for at-large delegate commitments and in the congressional districts. There are 56 district delegates. All districts don't have the same number.

Unlike with the Republicans, the individual Democratic delegates haven't already been picked. They will be selected at the Democratic State Convention in June.

Without the Republican winner-take-all aspects, it will be hard for either Clinton or Sanders to sweep up any large portion of Indiana delegates.

It's Sanders, with time running out, who needs a sweep. A draw is a win for Clinton. A big Clinton win could wrap up the nomination. ❖

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

**Gary Welsh, Advance Indiana:** A WTHR/Howey Politics poll shows Todd Young with a healthy, 12-point lead over his Republican Senate primary opponent, Marlin Stutzman. The poll of Republican voters gives Young a 43-31% edge over Stutzman with more than a quarter of the voters still undecided with a little more than a week to go before election day. I wouldn't count Stutzman out yet. I expect the final vote count will see the winning candidate prevailing by a single-digit vote margin. Stutzman polled much better on election day six years ago than he did in polls prior to the 2010 Senate primary election where he finished second behind Dan Coats. A poll taken a week before that election showed Stutzman trailing in third with only 18% of the vote, with Coats in the lead with 36% of the vote. Stutzman wound up second on election day with 29% of the vote compared to Coats' winning margin of 39%. The Trump factor is a big unknown. Will those who traditionally don't participate in Republican primary elections who come out to vote for Trump cast a vote for Stutzman or Young? Neither Stutzman nor Young has endorsed a presidential candidate, although Young did attend an anti-Trump gathering of wealthy GOP donors in Palm Beach, Florida last month. What will the rate of voter participation look like this year? Will the decision of Cruz and Kasich to collude in an effort to deny Trump the nomination affect voter turnout? Early voting numbers to date aren't particularly impressive. The Indiana Secretary of State's office reports that more than 110,000 people have already cast early votes in this year's primary election. More than 64,000 of those, or about 58%, are Republican voters. That's only about 10% of the total number of Republican voters who participated in Indiana's presidential primary election four years ago. Compare that to the 2008 Democratic primary election in Indiana against Clinton and Obama when nearly 1.3 million voters participated in the primary election. ❖



voters, (all of whom will drop out if I am not in the race) it is yet another example of everything that is wrong in Washington and our political system. This horrible act of desperation, from two campaigns who have totally failed, makes me even more determined, for the good of the Republican Party and our country, to prevail!" All Kasich supporters in Indiana aren't going to vote for Cruz. Two, it's not a sure thing that all of Kasich's voters in Indiana will support Cruz. According to a Fox poll released over the weekend -- which showed Trump leading Cruz in the Hoosier State by eight points, 41%-33% -- 53% of Kasich voters said Cruz would be their second choice, while 22% said it would be Trump. So without Kasich in the equation, the Indiana contest becomes much closer. But it doesn't guarantee a win for Cruz. What's more, Kasich is STILL on the ballot, and he hasn't instructed his supporters in Indiana to vote for Cruz; instead, he just said he won't actively campaign in the state. And Indiana voters have been voting absentee since April 5, which means some Kasich supporters have already voted for the Ohio governor. In fact, that same Fox poll (conducted April 18-21) found that 4% of Indiana Republicans had already voted in the primary, and that sliver of the electorate could matter in a close contest. Indiana is more important to Cruz than it is to Trump and his path to 1,237. And three, Indiana and its 57 delegates on May 3 aren't Trump's only path to 1,237 delegates. According to our math, Trump could get SHUT OUT of Indiana, but still win a majority of delegates on a first ballot at the convention -- if he sweeps California and takes most of its 172 delegates on June 7, and if he wins most of Pennsylvania's 54 unbound delegates. Make no mistake: Success in Indiana would make 1,237 more doable for Trump. But it isn't his only path. Indeed, Indiana is much more important to Cruz than it is to Trump, which explains the alliance. Cruz and Kasich HAD to do it to keep their candidacies alive. ❖

**Chuck Todd, Mark Murray & Carrie Dann, NBC News:** On paper, the alliance between Ted Cruz and John Kasich -- whereby Kasich will skip the May 3 Indiana primary to help Cruz against frontrunner Donald Trump, while Cruz will skip Oregon (May 17) and New Mexico (June 7) to help Kasich -- makes a lot of sense. After all, when you add up the Cruz-Kasich percentages in recent polls, that number beats Trump's percentage. The alliance is also necessary, given that the three public polls out of Indiana now show Trump ahead -- and if Trump wins the Hoosier State, it's game over for Cruz and Kasich. But we can count three reasons why last night's announced alliance/truce could end up backfiring. One, it plays right into Trump's argument that Republican forces are conspiring against him, and that the contest is rigged. Indeed, he released this statement last night: "When two candidates who have no path to victory get together to stop a candidate who is expanding the party by millions of

**Dave Bangert, Lafayette Journal & Courier:** So to the 3,561 Tippecanoe County voters who cast ballots early, as of Sunday, John Kasich says: Never mind. The Ohio governor and GOP presidential dark horse's Emily Litella impression late Sunday -- rest in peace, "Saturday Night Live" original Gilda Radner -- is part of a revised, bald-faced strategy to undercut Republican frontrunner Donald Trump. To win Indiana, Kasich figured that he has to give up Indiana. He's pinning hopes on a new and unholy alliance with Ted Cruz, telling his backers to vote for the U.S. senator from Texas to keep Trump from going to the GOP convention in Cleveland with a lock on enough delegates to win the nomination. Desperation? Trump says so. What the Kasich-Cruz deal tells Hoosiers, though, is that Indiana is just part of a complex calculus that has less to do with voting for someone and something, and more to do with playing the angles. That, and vote early at your own risk. ❖

## Banks leads in IPFW Poll

FORT WAYNE — State Sen. Jim Banks leads a crowded field of Republican candidates in northeast Indiana's 3rd Congressional District, according to an IPFW poll released Monday (Francisco, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). The survey commissioned by the Mike Downs Center for Indiana Politics found that Banks, R-Columbia City, is favored by 29.3 percent of respondents, compared with 23.3 percent for Kosciusko County farmer Kip Tom and 21.8 percent who support state Sen. Liz Brown, R-Fort Wayne. But the Downs Center said in a news release that between one-fifth and one-fourth of the support for the three in the six-person race "is not strong. This suggests some volatility in the electorate even at this late date." The Downs Center also pointed out that 20 percent of respondents were undecided. The primary election is May 3, although early voting started three weeks ago. The telephone survey of 400 likely Republican voters was taken April 13-19 by Research Solution Center of Moorhead, Minnesota. The margin of error is plus or minus 4.9 percentage points. Former Wisconsin state senator Pam Galloway of Warsaw placed a distant fourth in the poll, picked by only 4.8 percent of respondents. Mark Baringer and Kevin Howell, both Fort Wayne residents who have campaigned little, split 1 percent in the poll. "We're talking a tiny difference" in strong support between Banks and Tom, Downs said.

## Knight to appear with Trump

INDIANAPOLIS — Republican presidential front-runner Donald Trump will hold another rally in Indianapolis on Wednesday, but this time he'll be joined by famed former

Indiana University basketball coach Bob Knight. Trump will conduct a rally 6 p.m. Wednesday at the Indiana State Fairgrounds where last week he drew thousands of supporters at his first campaign stop ahead of the state's May 3 primary. Trump mentioned the endorsement by Knight at a Saturday rally in Connecticut. AOL News reported that Trump said, "The truth is he did endorse me... We are gonna have Bobby Knight in Indiana in a week." Bill Clinton is expected to be in Indianapolis Tuesday morning. Security officials expect him to arrive in Evansville later in the day. Hillary Clinton



is making campaign stops at factories in Hammond and Mishawaka today, while Bernie Sanders will do rallies at Purdue and Indiana universities in West Lafayette and Bloomington.

## Libertarians tab Bell for governor

HAGERSTOWN, IND. — A Wayne County man will be on Indiana's gubernatorial ballot this fall (Muncie Star Press). Rex Bell of Hagerstown was chosen as the Libertarian Party candidate for the office of governor over the weekend at the party's convention in Indianapolis. Bell said he won by a margin of about 2-1, defeating candidate Jim Wallace of Fishers. Karl Tagenhorst of Valparaiso is the party's candidate for lieutenant governor. Bell credited his win to his lengthy experience as both a Libertarian and a candidate for office. Bell, the chairman of the Wayne County Libertarian Party, joined the party in 2000 and is making his eighth run for office. In the past, he has run unsuccessfully for county, state and federal offices. Bell's best showing was in 2010, when he received 21 percent of the vote in a three-way race for District 54 state representative. "That puts us 13 percent away from winning a three-way race, and we are seeing a lot more dissatisfaction with the incumbent governor than we did with the incumbent representative in 2010," Bell said.

"People are upset with government overreach, and the Libertarian Party offers them a chance to vote for less government and more freedom." Bell said he intends to "hit the road" soon and already is making arrangements to travel for campaign appearances in many Indiana cities, as well as being involved in local events.

## Baron Hill backs LGBT protections

INDIANAPOLIS — Baron Hill, former Indiana Representative and Democratic candidate for U.S. Senate, spoke Monday at an artisan shop in Indianapolis about the damage RFRA has done to the state's economy. Hill says if elected he would back a federal bill that offers LGBT protections (Indiana Public Media). Hill says the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, which Governor Mike Pence signed into law last year, has cost the tourism industry \$60 million. He says he would support a proposed federal law called The Equality Act that seeks to patch up the holes created by laws like RFRA, which some say allow for legal discrimination against members of the LGBT community. "There are certain protections that need to be had by the LGBT community," Hill says. "These businesses here are paying the price for this legislation."

## Cruz accepts 2 Indiana debates

INDIANANAPOLIS U.S. Sen. Ted Cruz has accepted debate invitations from WRTV and WIBC. Donald Trump has not responded. Cruz said, "Today marks forty-six days since the last Republican debate," Cruz said in his statement, hitting Trump for continuing to "cower in Trump Tower, afraid to defend his positions. The reason he's been afraid to do so is he has no answer when he's asked how to bring jobs back to America. He has no answer when he's asked how to keep America safe from radical Islamic terrorism," Cruz said.