



The Johnson option to Clinton, Trump

Libertarian presidential nominee has conversation with Daniels at Purdue

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

WEST LAFAYETTE – When Hillary Clinton’s unfavorables are 62%, Donald Trump’s are 54% and Gov. Mike Pence stands at 45%, as they were in the WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll released last Friday, the obvious question in this strange, strange election cycle is whether Hoosier voters

are open to exploring an alternative. Such an option showed up at Purdue University on Tuesday when Libertarian nominee Gary Johnson had a “conversation” with President Mitch Daniels, students, the



Purdue President Mitch Daniels during his Tuesday “conversation” with Libertarian presidential nominee Gary Johnson. (HPI photo by Brian A. Howey)

public and press.

The two walked through the issues for about 20 minutes and then fielded well over a dozen questions from students. The same invitation has been extended to both Clinton and Trump. Daniels ended the public proceedings

by saying, “I want to thank our guest. You just gave a string of intelligent, candid, politically risky, unpredictable answers all apparently grounded in an apparent philoso-

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The Hoosier undecideds

By **MAUREEN HAYDEN**
 CNHI Statehouse Bureau

INDIANAPOLIS – Hillary Clinton may wish the long controversy over her use of a private email server while secretary of state would go away. But for Matt Duncan, it remains a troubling issue. The Indiana University law student fears that the Democratic presidential nominee needlessly risked national security, then tried to deflect blame before eventually admitting her mistakes.

“This email controversy raises serious questions about her trustworthiness,” said Duncan, echoing a perception that continues to haunt Clinton in the waning weeks before the Nov. 8



“Indiana is very important. The presidential poll in Indiana has actually tightened. I saw a poll today, it’s single digit, 6 to 7% I’ve been behind more than that.”

- Democrat VP nominee Tim Kaine on WTHR/HPI Poll



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presidential election.

Duncan is among those vot-
ers who've not decided whom they'll
support, or even if they'll vote, in the
election. One issue that continues to
arise for those voters as they weigh
their choice between Clinton and
Republican Donald Trump is what
the email controversy says about her
character and candor, or lack thereof.

Earlier this
summer, the FBI found
evidence that Clinton
violated federal rules
when exchanging clas-
sified information on a
private email domain.
The FBI's investigation
revealed that some of her
emails were deleted dur-
ing a congressional probe
of the matter. The FBI
did not recommend that
Clinton be prosecuted,
but Director James Comey called her
handling of State Department email
"extremely careless."

For Jason Thornbury, the
controversy weighs heavily in his deci-
sion since he believes Clinton showed
a blatant disregard for security rules
that others have to follow.

Thornbury is a war veteran
and active duty reservist with security
clearance. "If I did the same things as
Mrs. Clinton, I would not have a job,"
he said. It's one reason why he won't
vote for her, he said. Still, his dislike
of Trump is strong, too – enough that
he can't commit his vote to the GOP
candidate, either.

Thornbury is not alone in his
indecision. A newly released WTHR/
Howey Politics poll, conducted in early
September, found Trump leading Clin-
ton by seven points among Indiana
voters. Twenty percent of voters either
supported a third-party candidate or
claimed to still be undecided. Both
Clinton and Trump remain intensely
disliked, the poll found. More than
half of Indiana voters have unfavor-
able views of both, though Clinton is
disliked more.

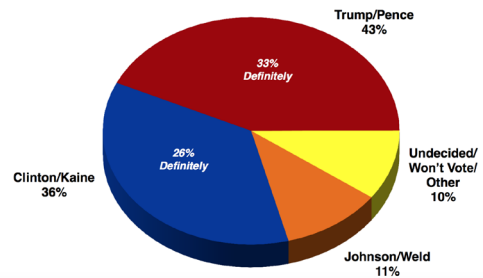
Other polls suggest that the
email controversy is weighing down
Clinton's candidacy.

A CNN poll early this month
found that nearly two-thirds of vot-
ers agree her use of a private email
server is "an important indicator of
her character and ability to serve as
president." That number has steadily
grown since last year.

Earlier this week, during
a televised NBC forum, Clinton was
grilled by moderator Matt Lauer on

Presidential Ballot

*If the election for President and Vice President were being held today, for whom would you vote between ...
Donald Trump and Mike Pence, Republican; Hillary Clinton and Tim Kaine, Democrat; and Gary Johnson and Bill Weld, Libertarian?*



her handling of classified information.
She repeated past statements about
her use of a private server being a
mistake. "It was something that should
not have been done," she said.

That wasn't enough to quell
the concerns of Patricia Moore, a
nurse and mother of six from Lo-
gansport. Moore said she wishes the
investigations of Clinton's use of an
email server had turned up more in-
formation about her decisions related
to the 2012 attack by Islamic militants
on the U.S. diplomatic compound in
Benghazi, Libya. Four Americans were
killed, including the U.S. ambassador
to Libya, and Clinton's role in keep-
ing them safe, or failing to protect
them, has been repeatedly questioned
in multiple congressional investiga-
tions. Moore said both controversies
make her concerned that Clinton isn't
equipped to be the country's com-
mander in chief.

"The decisions any politician
makes can affect our ability to remain
a free society," she said. ❖

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Gary Johnson, from page 1

phy. What are you doing in this election?"

There was a fascinating backdrop to all of this, as Daniels will be one of about 15 Presidential Debate Commission members who will participate in a Friday conference call to determine whether Johnson will join Trump and Clinton on the stage Sept. 26 at Tufts University in Hempstead, N.Y., in what many believe will be a critically pivotal event in this unprecedented race. Daniels has strongly suggested Johnson's inclusion, and the former two-term Republican New Mexico governor made his case before students, the press and then in a private dinner with Daniels at his campus Westwood residence attended by students, Libertarian Party officials, academia and the news media.

"What they've said is you have to be at 15% in five polls," Johnson said in the first presidential press conference on Indiana soil this cycle. "There has not been one poll in this country where my name has appeared on the top line. Not one. If Mickey Mouse was on the top line of any poll done nationally, Mickey would be a 30% because Mickey is a known commodity. Bill Weld and I are the only third party candidate on the ballot in all 50 states. Given the fact that we're polling at 13%, shouldn't we be on the top line?"

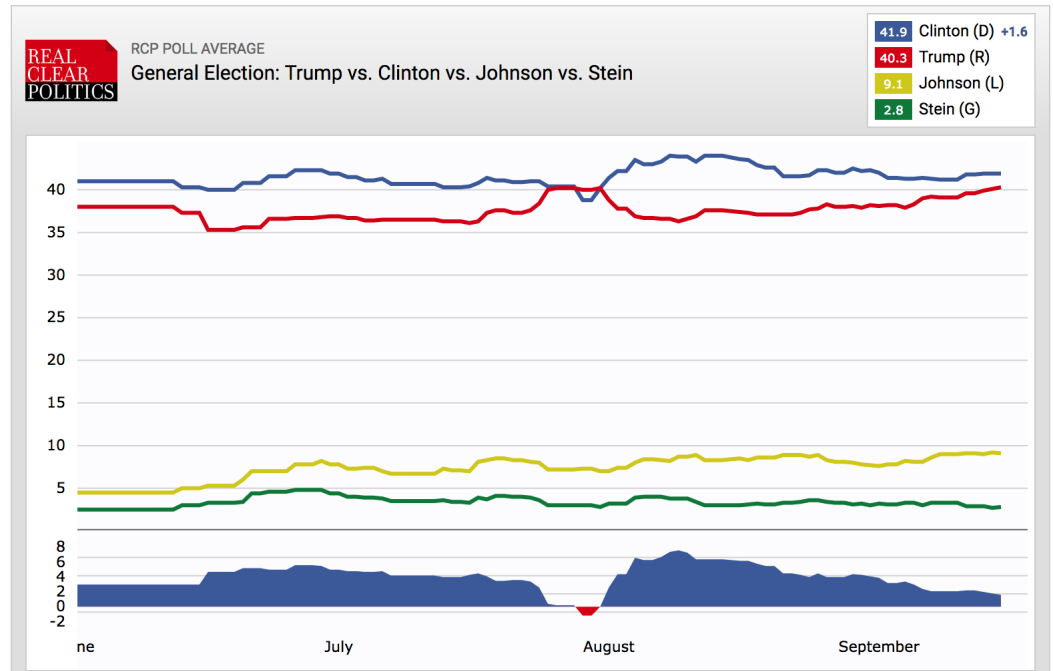
Johnson, who polled 11% in the WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll Sept. 6-8, trailed Trump at 43% and Clinton at 36%, and was at 9% in the Real Clear Politics composite polling and 9.1% in the Huffington Post composite.

The stakes for the presidential commission's inclusion of Johnson are enormous. The commission has said that Johnson must cross the 15% threshold in at least five national polls, even though the individual state polls are more telling, or he will be excluded from the Sept. 26 debate. Johnson made the case that his path to victory runs through the debate commission decision. "Neither I or Bill Weld would be doing this if we didn't think we could win the whole thing," Johnson said, answering a question from Daniels. "A wasted vote is voting for someone you don't believe in. We do believe we'll be in the presidential debate. This is a two-party system that needs crashing. There is nothing to fear of my voice being on that stage."

At Westwood, seated at Daniels' head table, Johnson explained further, "Right now our social analytics are off the charts. The polls are going up, the momentum

is streaming up right now. Will that be reflected in the first debates? It doesn't look that way, but now we go on to debate No. 2 and debate No. 3. We are not excluded from debates two and three based on debate No. 1. I'm at 13%, representing 18 million voters. The presidential debate commission is going to parse 21 million voters as opposed to 18 million voters? I think the presidential debate commission is going to have a riot on their hands."

Asked how he can win, Johnson cited his campaign social analytics. "Four weeks ago we were reaching from a social media standpoint 13 million people. That's a



big number. Two days ago that number of was 52 million. We did a rally two weeks ago in Vermont and there were 400 people. It was packed. The first speaker, a legislator, said 'This is the biggest audience I've addressed.' Two hours later 300,000 people had watched that same rally on Facebook Live. So this is the new dynamic. We raised a million bucks last week with a money bomb. The biggest day of the month came on 'Aleppo day.' Only surpassed by the next biggest fundraising day the day after."

That was in reference to his appearance on MSNBC's "Morning Joe" last Thursday when panelist Mike Barnacle asked Johnson what he would do about Aleppo, the wartorn Syrian city. "What is Aleppo?" Johnson asked, prompting host Joe Scarborough to call the lapse "disqualifying."

But Johnson is resilient, repeatedly making his case. "If we elect Trump or Clinton, does anybody think polarization will get better?" he asked at one point. "There's a third scenario, Johnson and Weld get elected," he said of him and his running mate, former two-term Republican Massachusetts Gov. Bill Weld. "There's a six-lane highway down the middle. It's an administration of Republicans and Democrats. Everyone will be of the Libertarian leaning. I think you can make a case the third scenario has

the possibility to succeed.”

Where does Johnson stand on the issues?

In the opening 20 minutes of his conversation with Daniels, the former Indiana governor who once pondered a presidential run himself, asked Johnson to stake out positions. What was his political philosophy? Daniels asked.

“First of all Bill Weld and I are on the ballot in all 50 states. Nobody else can lay claim to that. I think we’re speaking on behalf of 60%, who are fiscally responsible, for smaller government, and we’re socially inclusive. All of us want the freedom and liberty to make choices in our own lives as long as those choices don’t put others in harm’s way. Americans are skeptical of foreign interventions. I cannot think of a single example of it ever working out. I do believe free trade is what most of us really want. Free trade is not crony capitalism. Free trade is absent government interference. I’m the only free trade candidate in this race.”

Daniels asked about the war in Afghanistan, America’s longest that began in 2001 after the Sept. 11 terror attacks. “We were attacked and we attacked back,” Johnson said. “In seven months, we wiped out al Qaeda. I think we should get out tomorrow. Tomorrow would be the same if we got out 20 years from now.” Later asked by a student about foreign interventions, Johnson said, “We’re not going to involve ourselves in regime change,” adding, “Look, if we’re attacked, we’re going to attack back.”

What about the Iraq War? “We have the military surveillance capability to seek out any weapons of mass destruction. I was against the invasion of Iraq.”

“Your thoughts on Syria,” Daniels asked. “That’s where that Aleppo is.”

“Ah, Aleppo,” Johnson said with a laugh. “Syria is regime change. I opposed regime change.” He gave a detailed overview of where the Assad regime, the Free Syrian militia, and ISIS are geographically and politically with regard to Aleppo. Then he described the tangled relationships where allies end up fighting other allies, finally saying, “Are you getting just how complicated this becomes when you get involved in a civil war? Look at how much worse it has become. The only way to get out is to join hands with Russia diplomatically. I applaud the work of Secretary Kerry and hope this works out.”

How about drug legalization? “I said we should legalize marijuana in 1991. I was the highest elected official in the United States to call for legalization,” he said of his two terms as governor of New Mexico, adding that

10 million Americans have drug-related criminal records. “When we come to legalize marijuana, we’re going to have a quantum leap in looking at the drug issue as one of health, not criminal justice.”

Does he support the 2nd Amendment? “I support the right to bear arms,” Johnson said resolutely. “We should be open to debate on how to keep firearms out of the hands of the mentally ill.”

Daniels asked about the death penalty. Johnson said he reversed his stance, now opposing. “I still believe in an eye for eye, but the error rate may be as high as four percent. I don’t want to put one to death when 99 are guilty. I don’t want to do four and have 96 guilty. What price do you put on that? It costs more to put a person on death row than it does to lock them up for the rest of their lives.”

Then Daniels asked Johnson about immigration. Johnson audibly sighed. “We should embrace immigration,” he began. “I am speaking as a border state governor.

Mexico is a political bogeyman. They are the cream of the crop when it comes to workers. The reason there are 11 million here illegally is the government has made it impossible to get a work visas for jobs American citizens don’t want to do. We should make it as easy as possible to get a work visa; do a background check and given them a Social Security card. Building a wall across the border is crazy. Let’s dramatically increase immigration. These are hard-working people who are buying homes, cars, contributing to welfare, Medicaid,

Medicare, contributing to Social Security. It’s a good thing.”

Johnson was asked by a student what his first priority would be if elected. “Bill Weld and I in first 100 days will provide a balanced budget to Congress. We will give them the template on how to do that. We can’t balance the budget unless Medicare and Medicaid is reformed. Social Security is another matter, but it is simpler than Medicaid.”

Asked about his proposed 20% military spending cut, Johnson said that “we should have an invincible national defense.” He cited the military base closing program of the 1980s and 1990s. “With BRAC, 20% of bases could have been closed. We will reinstitute BRAC. We’re spending as much money on our military as the rest of the world combined. Do we really need nukes to blow up the world 20 times, when 16 do the trick?”

Prior to the issue questions, Daniels noted that Johnson has climbed the tallest mountains on seven conti-



nents, including Everest, referring to him as an "iron man." Johnson responded, "Anything that can go wrong will go wrong. It's how we deal with adversity that ultimately depends on success. For me and all of us, get a smile on your face and get after it tomorrow. Even if it's 29,000 feet above sea level."

Asked by a student on how people are saying they will vote for Clinton to keep Trump out of the White House and vice versa, Johnson responded, "Neither I or Bill Weld would be doing this if we didn't think we could win the whole thing. A wasted vote is voting for someone you don't believe in."

On the skyrocketing student debt, Johnson observed of student loans, "if they never existed, I believe tuition would be half what it is. If everyone boycotted college because of those high costs, those high costs will decrease dramatically." He then turned to Daniels and said, "This guy has taken some dramatic steps to lower tuition. I'd be open to legislation that if we bailed out Wall Street, what if all these student loans were refinanced and interest rates in line of Wall Street. I think that's worth looking at. I think it avoids a bigger disaster."

Both Daniels and Johnson noted that he vetoed 750 bills, including line item spending, during his two terms as governor. Daniels said it was probably more than the other 49 governors combined. Johnson noted, "Just leave the private sector alone. Give them consistency that taxes won't go up, but from a regulatory standpoint, I can't tell you how many bills I vetoed that were just going to add time and money to our lives. I think it will be more than made up with certainty on private side."

On a question about whether he is committed to the United Nations, Johnson morphed it into civil rights. "I would stay fully involved in United Nations. I like the concept of world peace and joining arms and hands." He then said that RFRA "is really just veiled legislation that discriminates against LGBT." But he added that when it comes to a Jewish cakebaker being asked to bake a cake for a Nazi, he explained, "What I stand for is religious freedom. If you're Jewish, you don't want to host a Christian reception in your synagogue. If you're a church that doesn't believe in gay marriage, you don't have to perform a gay marriage."

As for the concept of black lives matter, Johnson told a reporter, "All lives matter. But then follow that up with black lives matter. Why? They are getting shot at the rate of six times that of whites. When it comes to drug related crime, if you are a person of color there is a four-time chance you're going to end up behind bars than not. Blacks are being are being pushed up against the car. Stop

it! We're not getting shoved up against the car. We've all had our heads in the sand on it. It starts with awareness. We talk about it and recognize it."

Converting to Libertarian

At Westwood, the former Republican governor was asked about evolving to a Libertarian. "In 1971, I was given this handout, like a booklet. I read that booklet, and from the time I read that booklet, I have always described myself as a Libertarian," Johnson said. "At that time I was a registered Democrat. I became a registered Republican. I voted for Borland over Reagan for his second term because I was concerned about the deficits. It was always about smaller government and less money out of my pocket.

"When I changed my registration to Libertarian, it was like this had been lifted off my back. I no longer had to defend Republicanism. I always maintain that Republicans are socially inclusive. I'll always believe that. Most Republicans fall in that category. Regrettably in 2012 I would have been the only socially liberal on stage. I do think Donald Trump alienates more than half the Republicans and I think more than half of Democrats are alien-



ated by Hillary Clinton."

He talked about his career in business. "I hope my experience is called into question," he said. "Since I've been 17 years old, I've paid for everything in my life."

He grew a one-person handyman business into one that employed 1,000 people. "I've learned some lessons growing a business to that level. Sharing the profits is an incredibly magic formula," Johnson said. "Learning lessons about hiring and firing. There is nothing easier than hiring people. There is nothing more difficult than firing people. But if you can't fire people, things don't work. That's the breakdown between the private sector and the public sector. We elect a whole bunch of people who have never hired and fired. They find it real easy to hire and find it impossible to fire. You have this disconnect. If you're hiring people who have never hired and fired it becomes more compounded. I was incredibly successful in business, incredibly successful as governor."

Epilogue

These were a fascinating three hours at Purdue with two Republican governors, both with a Libertarian streak, talking pragmatically. They engaged students, the public and the media.

In a campaign where Trump and Pence demagogue the press and Hillary Clinton avoids most contact, here were two figures who conducted themselves with enhanced accessibility, sans rote talking points. Any topic was on the table. When Johnson was pressed on the Aleppo controversy, he acknowledged the mistake and learned from it. The defense shields never went up.

In an election cycle that has been everything from strange to bizarre, from the Purdue Rec Center to Westwood, the vibe was one of optimism, candor and inclusiveness. But Johnson offered up this assessment: "I think this is the end of the Republican Party, I do." ❖

Clinton poll leads continue to shrink

A new Quinnipiac poll shows Donald Trump is shrinking Hillary Clinton's lead, but voters don't really like their choices (Associated Press). In a race between just

RealClearPolitics Election 2016			
President	Senate		House
Election 2016	Clinton	Trump	Spread
RCP Poll Average	45.8	44.0	Clinton +1.8
4-Way RCP Average	41.9	40.3	Clinton +1.6
Favorability Ratings	-13.3	-20.2	Clinton +6.9
Betting Odds	68.0	32.0	
Electoral College	Clinton	Trump	Spread
RCP Electoral Map	209	154	Clinton +55
No Toss Up States	293	245	
Battlegrounds	Clinton	Trump	Spread
Florida	44.4	45.1	Trump +0.7
New Hampshire	43.0	38.0	Clinton +5.0
Ohio	44.6	45.2	Trump +0.6
Pennsylvania	46.8	40.6	Clinton +6.2
Iowa	41.5	42.3	Trump +0.8
Nevada	43.0	42.2	Clinton +0.8
North Carolina	44.3	43.5	Clinton +0.8

the Republican and Democratic candidates, Clinton has 48 percent compared to Trump's 43 percent. In Quinnipiac's previous presidential poll about three weeks ago, Clinton led Trump by 10 points.

Trump and Clinton are locked in a tight contest, with both candidates still struggling to win the confidence of their respective bases, the latest New York Times/CBS News poll finds. Mrs. Clinton, the Democratic nominee, has the support of 46 percent of likely voters nationwide, to 44 percent for Mr. Trump, the Republican, including those who said they were leaning toward a candidate. Looking more

broadly at all registered voters, Mrs. Clinton holds a wider edge, 46 to 41 percent. In a four-way race, Mr. Trump and Mrs. Clinton are tied at 42 percent each. Gary Johnson, the Libertarian candidate, has the support of 8 percent of likely voters, and the Green Party nominee, Jill Stein, takes 4 percent. The third-party candidates draw their strongest support from younger voters. Twenty-six percent of voters ages 18 to 29 say they plan to vote for Mr. Johnson, and another 10 percent back Ms. Stein. A little more than one in five political independents say they will vote for one of the third-party candidates. ❖

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Gov. Pence becomes a verb

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

WEST LAFAYETTE – The Trumpian march through the swing states polling tossups this past week has Democrats on edge and the fact is, Donald Trump can win the general election.

It is being aided and abetted by the shoddy campaign tactics of Hillary Clinton, whose “basket of deplorables” remark last Friday was a Trump style gift. Throw in Clinton’s 9/11 fainting episode, her diagnosed pneumonia revealed through a shroud of Clintonian secrecy, and this presidential race to the bottom continues like none other.

So this should have been a buoyant week for Gov. Mike Pence.

Not!

Pence is being pilloried not only by Mika Brezinski on

MSNBC’s “Morning Joe” for “Pencing the issues” (always a bad sign when your name becomes a verb), but his failure to get into the deplorable game has produced bad reviews from Trump campaign manager Kellyanne Conway and U.S. Sen. Mike Lee.

I thought the “deplorable” criticism of Pence in the Duke prism was piling on, but Conway and Lee weighed in. They were being pragmatic: Pence’s refusal was simply producing bad headlines.

Gov. Pence had his homecoming on Capitol Hill in an effort to convince his former GOP Brothers and Sisters that Donald Trump is a nice guy. It came on a day when DCLeaks, transmitting information most likely hacked by Russians, provided this quote from former Sec. of State Colin Powell, who reportedly called Donald Trump a “national disgrace and an international pariah.” Pence heard concerns, sources say, about Trump’s (and now Pence’s) bromance with Vladimir Putin and the nominee’s standing with women, a demographic group that Pence has had his own issues with over the past four years. And he was urged by stout conservatives like Sen. Lee to call out KKKlansman David Duke “deplorable” even as Pence admitted he “had no idea” why the issue keeps coming up. In the 2016, we have seen the rise of the “alt right” and we have key players living and speaking in an “alt universe.”

Posed the question on CNN’s “New Day,” hours after Pence told the same network that he would not use the word to describe the former imperial wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, Conway responded by tossing up her hands, “He should — sure. So that — so that he doesn’t get headlines saying, ‘Mike Pence will not say Donald Trump [sic] is deplorable’ and people can get satisfied,” Conway said, encouraging people to watch the entire clip of Pence’s

exchange and thanking the show for playing the extent of his remarks in which the Indiana governor said that the campaign does not want the support of Duke or people like him.

Because Pence refused to use the words “deplorable,” Hoosier newspaper readers of Gannett products found the story on front pages and featured on news sites across the state.

The New York Times reported the Capitol Hill foray like this: Mr. Pence struggled to press the attack: In separate news conferences, House and Senate Republican leaders declined to join Mr. Pence, the Indiana governor and vice-presidential nominee, in rebuking Mrs. Clinton over her remark. An otherwise friendly morning meeting with House Republicans turned awkward when Mr. Pence was pressed by Rep. Jeff Fortenberry of Nebraska about Mr. Trump’s difficulties with women, said two House Republicans who relayed the conversation. Mr. Fortenberry told Mr. Pence that his young daughter had come to him and said, “Daddy, Donald Trump hates women,” according to one of the lawmakers, who both insisted on anonymity to recount a private conversation. Mr. Pence faced resistance again when he met privately with Senators Mike Lee of Utah and Ted Cruz of Texas, neither of whom has endorsed Mr. Trump. Mr. Lee pressed the governor on his reluctance to denounce Mr. Duke and the so-called alt-



right movement more explicitly, stressing “that Republicans must identify David Duke’s racism as deplorable,” according to Conn Carroll, a spokesman for Mr. Lee.

This all came after Pence found his penchant for calling Trump the next Ronald Reagan under fire. Two former speechwriters for President Reagan weren’t ready to assert, as Gov. Mike Pence repeatedly has, that Donald Trump is on par with the 40th president.

“Having worked for Ronald Reagan and knowing Ronald Reagan, a few things come to mind. When a woman entered the room, Reagan stood up,” said Peter Rusthoven on WTHR-TV’s “Indiana Insiders” on Sunday. Rusthoven continued, “Reagan had on his desk a plaque that said there’s no limit to what a man could do or how much he could achieve if he doesn’t mind who gets credit.

I'll let viewers decide whether any of that reminds them of Donald Trump. It's not a comparison that leaps to my mind."

On CBS "Face the Nation," another Reagan speechwriter, Peggy Noonan, was asked about the Pence comparison and said, "I do not see the explicit similarities" and "temperament."

Pence met with Reagan once as a young congressional candidate in 1988. Rusthoven and Noonan worked and collaborated with him.

Pence's troubles weren't limited to Deep South Klansmen and the Russian steppes. The RFRA incident resurfaced when the NCAA, headquartered in Indianapolis, pulled tournaments out of North Carolina, which passed a new state law preventing cities and counties from passing protections based on sexual orientation and gender identity.

"I just heard about that this morning," Pence at a Capitol Hill press conference (he doesn't hold press avails in Indiana). "We don't have the details to comment other than to say the NCAA is based in Indianapolis. We have a great relationship with the NCAA." The NCAA had expressed concern last year when Pence signed into law a "religious freedom law" that critics said would enable businesses to discriminate against gays and lesbians.

Then there are two issues back home that continue to produce headlines: The East Chicago lead contami-

nation crisis and the I-69 work stall in Bloomington.

The Pence administration seems to be following the Flint script of Michigan Gov. Rick Snyder, who handled that controversy in ham-handed fashion. Indiana Public Media reported Democratic gubernatorial nominee John Gregg saying that as governor, he'd do more than just shift responsibility over to the federal government. "We've got to do everything we can to work with, goad, push the federal government along," said Gregg.

As for the I-69 work stoppage, Indiana Democratic Chairman John Zody, who lives in Bloomington, reported that the project was still shut down on Wednesday, making it a prime B-roll site for the Gregg/Hale campaign.

"As someone who uses this road daily, I can echo the frustrations many Hoosiers have about the Pence-Holcomb Administration's mismanagement on the I-69 project," he said. "This rivals their mismanagement of the I-65 bridge closure last year. Hoosiers are fed up with this administration putting political ambition ahead of doing the job they were elected to do, like fixing the state's crumbling infrastructure and paying people for their work. This is another stark reminder that Eric Holcomb isn't ready to lead Indiana. Like Mike Pence, he can't manage state government well and unlike John Gregg, he's offering no policy proposals." ❖

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Yoder optimistic she can beat Hollingsworth

By **THOMAS CURRY**

INDIANAPOLIS – After a summer of gathering endorsements and building up her campaign for Congress representing the 9th CD, Shelli Yoder is ready for Republican Trey Hollingsworth. Last week Politico's report cited internal GOP polls finding the race to be a tossup, after it had been considered safe Republican since 2010. Furthermore, Yoder has attracted national attention, including her addition to the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee's coveted Red to Blue list.

Despite that, Yoder would say that her biggest advantage is Hollingsworth's lack of Hoosier ties, in comparison to her lifetime of work in Indiana. In an interview with HPI in June, Hollingsworth addressed being labeled a carpetbagger in his Republican primary as a simple lack of communication on his part.

Hollingsworth went on to describe how he owns multiple businesses throughout Indiana, as well as in the 9th and talked about the hundreds of Hoosiers he employs.

After an HPI interview with Yoder earlier this month, it's clear she doesn't buy it and plans to make the label "Tennessee Trey" stick in voters' minds at the polling booth. Yoder said she "isn't afraid to sound like a broken record when it comes to letting Hoosiers know who my opponent is." As a daughter of two Hoosiers, a Monroe County councilwoman and university teacher, Yoder isn't afraid to throw some punches at her opponent.

"Hollingsworth says that he has business interest here in Indiana. I have friends here in Indiana," Yoder said. "I have family in Indiana. I care about the future of Indiana. He's only concerned about his business interest and I am concerned about the future of our state. That worries me."

Yoder pointed out that Hollingsworth has yet to release his tax returns, while also alluding to Hollingsworth's official address being the Republican Senatorial Campaign office in Virginia. "We don't have a history of him," Yoder said. "Tell us who you are. At least tell us where you last lived, which is a complicated answer for my opponent. Voters deserve to

know." Yoder vowed to continue pushing Hollingsworth to release his tax returns. She made a point to release hers, even having her staff email HPI a copy before the interview.

Yoder continued to call Hollingsworth a "weak candidate and someone voters see through. He is everything wrong with politics; someone who has independent wealth can look around the country and decide where to run. As someone who works at IU, who serves on the Monroe County Council and has kids who go to school here, I am offended by that."

Yoder said she has been received positively by voters in the 9th. "It's a real honor to meet people who believe in me and talk to important groups of people." For example, Yoder has been endorsed by the State Fraternal Order of Police after the FOP had endorsed Greg Zoeller in the Republican primary. During the endorsement announcement, the FOP spokesperson said that Hollingsworth had made no effort to contact the FOP and that "Shelli offers much more than her opponent." Additionally, the FOP believes that Yoder's family values and Hoosier roots go a long way toward making her a good representative in Washington.

The only scheduled debate in the race will be held at the Greenwood Chamber of Commerce, but Yoder hesitates to call it a debate. "It's an event for the chamber members. You have to pay to watch an event in the middle of the afternoon. I challenged my opponent to 10 debates and he only agreed to this one. I am glad the chamber offered this one but I never thought a paid entry, untelevised event would be our only debate. We have to make more opportunities for voters to get to know us."

Without the chance to debate, Yoder said she has been relying on the media and speaking to voters directly in order to spread her message. "Hollingsworth flies in the face of everything we value as Hoosiers," she said. "He is somebody who thinks Hoosier votes can be bought and sold by the highest bidder. He is someone who doesn't have strong ties to his neighbors or Indiana and who comes in here because his dad funds his campaign by a SuperPac. I am going to go everywhere in the 9th CD and let people know that and meet with every media member I can."

Yoder said that they have some media ads in the pipeline and that the campaign is closely watching Hollingsworth's media buys. "I don't know what he is planning, but we are watching every day."

Hollingsworth released his first ad this month, which focused on his warehouse rehabilitation business. The ad consisted of the same footage shot by the SuperPac backing him that was heavily featured during his unlikely primary win. Some reports estimated



2nd CD



HPI Status: Leans Walorski (R)

8th CD



HPI Status: Likely Bucshon (R)

9th CD



HPI Status: Leans Hollingsworth (R)

Hollingsworth spent \$2 million on ads in that primary. However, Hollingsworth has been quiet with media buys after the primary TV blitz.

Governor

Holcomb continues to pick up big checks

Republican gubernatorial nominee Eric Holcomb continued to line up big donations, picking up big checks from the governor of Illinois and a former Indiana Republican chairman during a close to \$200,000 haul. The checks were reported of the Indiana secretary of state website between Sept. 2-9: Illinois Gov. Bruce Rauner, Winnetka, Il., \$100,000; Sunrise Coal, Terre Haute, \$50,000; Lawrence Garatoni, Mishawaka, \$25,000; Allan Hubbard, Indianapolis, \$22,300; Frank Hoffman, Zionsville, \$20,000; Charles Durack, Fort Wayne, \$20,000; HealthPAC \$10,000; Hamilton County Professional Firefighters Local 4416 PAC, Noblesville, \$10,000; Sikhs PAC, Fishers, \$25,000; and Lenex Real Estate LLC, Indianapolis, \$10,000.

Democratic gubernatorial nominee John Gregg picked up \$30,000 in big checks, including \$10,000 each from Frank Kelly of Zionsville; the IN KY OH Regional Council of Carpenters Indiana COPE; Weinzapfel for Indiana, Evansville, \$10,000.

Holcomb began running a new TV ad today, citing delayed payments to local governments and schools, saying that when John Gregg was speaker "it didn't work, it didn't have a happy ending."

Senate

Ryan to stump for Young

Speaker of the House Paul Ryan will travel to Fort Wayne Friday to hold a fundraiser for Congressman Todd Young, a news release stated. Nearly 100 people are expected to be in attendance at the lunch event near downtown Fort Wayne. Earlier this week, former President George W. Bush made two campaign stops for Young in Indiana: one in Elkhart and one in Indianapolis.

Bayh twins debut in a campaign under fire

The Evan Bayh U.S. Senate campaign released "Basketball," the Democratic U.S. Senate nominee's latest ad focused on his record of working across the aisle for Hoosier families, saving 100,000 Hoosier auto jobs,

balancing Indiana's budget, passing the largest tax cut in state history, and refutes the lies spread by Congressman Young and his Super PAC allies.

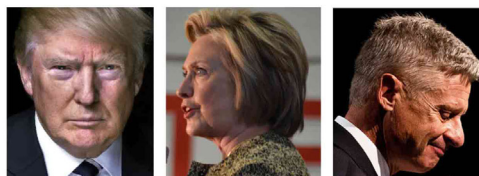
It came on the heels of the WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll showing him with just a 44-40% lead over Republican Todd Young. Bayh campaign manager Paul Tencher and pollster Fred Yang (who polled for HPI in 2012 with Christine Matthews) held a Washington briefing for insiders on Tuesday, but the campaign did release internal numbers.

But it prompted a Wednesday leading story on Politico of Republicans "pouring it on" a Democrat who entered what was figured to be a slam dunk comeback in July.

Politico reported: Young has never led in a public survey, but two recent ones suggest the race is closer than in four previous polls conducted by Democratic groups, including one from Bayh's campaign, that had Bayh's lead between 16 and 26 percentage points. An independent survey for Howey Politics Indiana and WTHR (conducted by a GOP firm) showed Bayh ahead 44 percent to 40 percent, while a previous Monmouth poll showed Bayh up 48-41. A private survey commissioned by a right-leaning outside group the week after Labor Day found Young within 10 points of Bayh, according to results shared with POLITICO. On the "informed ballot" — after respondents heard messages about both candidates — Bayh led Young only 45-43. Meanwhile, Trump has led over Hillary Clinton in recent surveys, too, making Indiana one of the few 2016 Senate states where Republicans aren't concerned about top-of-the-ticket drag. Asked about the recent polls, Bayh campaign spokesman Ben Ray said that "this is a competitive race in a red state." "We are ready," Ray said.

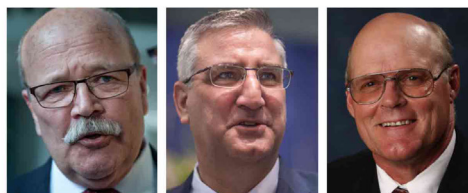


President



HPI Status: Leans Trump/Pence

Governor



HPI Status: Leans Gregg

U.S. Senate



HPI Status: Tossup

President

Kaine campaigns in Gary

Indiana is in play, Tim Kaine, Democratic vice presidential candidate, told campaign workers Wednesday during a visit to Northwest Indiana (Dolan, NWI Times). "Indiana is very important," he told a crowd at Gary Mayor Karen Freeman-Wilson's campaign headquarters on Gary's West Side. "The presidential poll in Indiana has actually tightened up. I saw a poll today, It's a single digit ... 6 to 7 (percent). That is still a little bit of a challenge, but that is very doable. I've been behind more than that," he said. ❖

LBJ was a big man when it came to rights

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – President Lyndon B. Johnson was a big man, 6-foot-4 and heavy-set, very heavy. I know. He once stepped on my foot. Accidental. Not because of anything I wrote. Happened as he toured devastation in Elkhart County from the 1965 Palm Sunday tornadoes. Secret service agents kept pushing me along right beside the president, either because he wanted the interview or



because I provided a nice shield.

LBJ was a big man also in presidential accomplishments, especially in civil rights, although he was diminished in stature by the war in Vietnam, one he couldn't win but couldn't figure out how to escape without being branded a loser. He didn't escape and was branded a loser, leaving office with such low voter approval that he declined to seek another term.

Last weekend, while in Austin, Texas, for a football game, exciting but featuring a seemingly defenseless Notre Dame team, I toured the LBJ Presidential Library and the nearby LBJ ranch, now a national park. While his foibles and problems with Vietnam weren't neglected in the presentations, it was the focus on the persuasive power of Johnson to get things done in Congress, including passage of the historic Civil Rights Act of 1964, that was of special interest to me.

One reason was that I had just read in the new book about Notre Dame's Theodore M. Hesburgh, "Fifty Years with Father Hesburgh," by Robert Schmuhl, of admiration the long-time Notre Dame president and key member of the Civil Rights Commission had for Johnson's determination to push through that 1964 act, despite the odds and political dangers.

The commis-

sion's recommendations for finally dealing with so many of the continued inequalities from slavery never were pushed for passage by President Kennedy. Too risky. Danger of losing support in what then was a Democratic "Solid South."

Johnson, a southerner, took on the task of passing the Civil Rights Act as a top and personal goal. He did it in the way he knew best in dealing with Congress. Pressure. Unrelenting. And not exactly with tactics that Father Hesburgh, as a priest, would recommend. As also a realist, Hesburgh knew it was what it took to get reluctant members of Congress to support the act.

The book, citing Hesburgh's recorded presentation to a class taught by Schmuhl, a Notre Dame professor, relates how Johnson, in Hesburgh's words, was "ruthless" in "a cause where nobody else could have gotten that law through."

Hesburgh told of how Johnson would make phone calls, even in early morning hours, to members of Congress such as a senator committed to vote against what Johnson called "my bill." What would happen, Johnson would ask that senator, if a Washington Post front-page story questioned what the senator was doing in a certain room of the Mayflower Hotel every Saturday night at 9?

The senator, realizing that Johnson, who seemed to know everything about everybody in Washington, could leak devastating information, would say in the example cited by Hesburgh something like, "My God, they will kill me."

And Johnson would reply, "You got that right. You better vote for my bill." And hang up.

LBJ persuasion wasn't all about blackmail. Re-



President Lyndon Johnson surveys the Palm Sunday 1965 tornado damage in Elkhart County, where more than 50 people were killed. As LBJ walked, the Secret Service pushed Jack Colwell and U.S. Rep. John Brademas along with him, no doubt with instructions to keep the local congressman and the local political writer right next to the president for obvious reasons. LBJ, by the way, joked with Brademas about all his girlfriends. Brademas then was a bachelor known for escorting pretty girls. (South Bend Tribune photo)

corded phone conversations at the LBJ Library let us hear how he played hardball with members of Congress over appropriations. Support "my bill" and I'll consider that extra appropriation you want for your state.

One recorded conversation was with Sen. Vance Hartke of Indiana, who was endangering passage of a bill Johnson wanted because of special treatment Hartke wanted for musical instruments, then a vital business in Elkhart.

The bill itself is what voters nationally were



concerned with, Johnson thundered, not band instruments. Hartke could only get in meekly that the instruments still were a concern in Elkhart.

The LBJ way got things done then wouldn't work today. Of course, now, no approach seems to get anything done. ❖

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

Population projections are running high

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – After the housing bubble collapse of 2007-8, I thought of forming Economists Anonymous, a self-help group of forecasting addicts. I couldn't get anyone to join me.

Forecasts and projections are in demand.

Someone will do them and they are best if done by people who are informed, trained, and cautious. Caution is important because statements about the future are taken seriously; lives and fortunes may depend on them.

Forecasts and projections are compared to what we believe we know about the present. Annual population estimates by the U.S. Bureau of the Census are as close as we can get to

how many people live where. These estimates, however, are not perfect. Thus, measuring projections against the estimates involves using two imperfect sets of numbers.

Matt Kinghorn at the IU Indiana Business Research Center (IBRC) does population projections. He meets all the criteria for a good forecaster and he doesn't give up. Whether his results are on or off target, he keeps going, testing, improving. He knows people in business and government need guidelines for their investments.

The IBRC projections Matt produced in 2012, based on history up to 2010, indicated Indiana would have a 2015 population of 6.68 million persons. The 2015 estimates from the Census Bureau came in at 6.62 million or 58,000 persons (.9 percent) shy of the projections. In the world of state population projections, that is on target; not

a bullseye, but very close. The IBRC projections exceeded the estimates in 74 of Indiana's 92 counties; they fell short of the estimates in only 18 counties.

Which is better, to exceed or fall short? If projections exceed our best guess (the estimates) of reality, we may have over-built, invested too much. But are we better off having more growth than expected and then finding we have not invested enough, ending up short on essentials?

Over a five-year span, when the differences in absolute numbers are small and the percentage differences are slight, it probably does not matter much. We should be pleased that the IBRC projections were within one-half of one percent (.5 percent) of the estimates in 18 counties and within 2 percent of the estimates in another 42 counties.

Yet users of Indiana population projections will be asking questions about the remaining third of the counties. Why did the projections come in 14,400 and 8,800 too high for Lake and Hamilton counties respectively? Why, in Marion County, were the projections 11,000 too low. Does the Great Recession explain everything?

According to the IBRC projections, Indiana will have a population of 6.85 million in 2020. But, if we continue on the growth path of the first five years of this decade, we will fall short of that figure by 93,700.

Matt Kinghorn is probably working on a new set of Indiana population projections. As the world continues to change, changes need to be incorporated into our thinking and planning for Indiana's future. ❖

Mr. Marcus is an economist, writer, and speaker who may be reached at mortonjmarcus@yahoo.com.



Trump rearranging the electorate

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

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. – Every presidential election is different, but nobody’s going to tell us that this one isn’t notably different from any other in the modern period.

It’s not just that the two major-party candidates are so disliked and unpopular with much of the public.

While Donald Trump’s numbers are no better and sometimes worse, Hillary Clinton’s unfavorables are about as bad as we’ve ever seen for a frontrunner, with about three in five voters saying she’s not honest and trustworthy, a product of the stories about the Clinton Foundation, her private emails, and decades-long controversies involving Clinton and her husband, the former president. Trump got some of the best polls he has enjoyed of the entire cycle on Wednesday, taking leads in the must-win (for him) states of Florida and Ohio. Clinton is struggling with concerns about her health, and her status as the frontrunner in this race is eroding. Perhaps she can pull herself out of her tailspin, and the upcoming debate on Sept. 26 should be a big moment. If she continues to sink, the electoral map we have long tilted in her favor will be getting a lot redder.

Nonetheless, the defining difference in this election is not Clinton but Trump. Forget Wendell Willkie: There has never been a presidential nominee like him. He has divided the Republican Party -- separating party elites from much of the party’s populist base -- and he has rearranged the electorate in ways we haven’t ever seen, at least to this extent. Minority groups appear to be rejecting him by margins as bad or worse than recent GOP nominees. Trump is having trouble winning a group that is normally quite Republican: college-educated whites. At the same time, he has drawn very sizable, exceptionally intense backing from non-college whites and, disproportionately, blue-collar white men, and he has the potential to out-perform Mitt Romney’s 2012 showing among that group.

Regular readers will have noticed that we have been publishing political scientists’ predictive models for 2016, the quadrennial attempt to use certain variables to project the election results (at least the popular vote) months in advance. We’re publishing our final update on these models this week. They are mostly derived from election fundamentals that don’t change much over time – economic conditions, the number of consecutive terms a

party has held the White House, and so on. Averaging all the forecasts together shows a two-party vote of Clinton 50.5% and Trump 49.5%. Obviously, that’s very close, and taken together these models produced a very similar prediction in 2012 (Obama 50.2%, Romney 49.8%). That undersold Obama, who won with 52.0% of the two-party vote.

The problem in 2016 is that the assumptions that undergird some models are disputable. Take our senior columnist, Alan Abramowitz of Emory University. His “Time for Change” model has an admirable record of prediction over many years, nailing the popular-vote winner in every cycle going back to 1988. Yet this time, Abramowitz

has declared that his model will probably miss the mark. Why? As Abramowitz explains it, the assumptions upon which the model is built are unsound: “First, that both major parties will nominate mainstream candidates capable of unifying their parties and, second, that the candidates will conduct equally effective campaigns so that the overall outcome will closely reflect the ‘fundamentals’ incorporated in the model.”

Abramowitz’s model predicts a modest Republican victory this November, and considering Clinton’s myriad weaknesses and a competitive political environment, it is easy to imagine it if the GOP had nominated a mainstream candidate. (We’ll let you go through the 17 contestants and decide which ones might have been able to unite the party, run a solid campaign, and win.) Trump is neither mainstream nor conducting a campaign that is anything close technologically and financially to the Clinton effort.

In our view, this is why, along with strong partisan polarization, the contest, while close, has had Clinton pretty consistently in the lead: Trump is underperforming the fundamentals and reducing the odds of a GOP win. In another era, say the 1960s through the 1980s, the 2016 contest might well have produced a Democratic landslide much as outlier candidates in 1964 (Barry Goldwater) and in 1972 (George McGovern) generated big swings to the other party. Yet dislike of Clinton and polarization have kept her margin to a few points, excepting the post-convention bounce period. Clinton also faces an unprecedented challenge: She is not simply seeking President Obama’s third term and, in a sense, being responsible for the Obama record (good and bad), but in a way she is also pursuing Bill Clinton’s third term, too. Never before has a party nominee been held accountable for two two-term presidents.

It may be that Clinton, if she does indeed win, will mimic one of Obama’s victory margins (four percentage points in 2012 or seven in 2008). Polarization was especially evident in Obama’s reelection contest. A four-point margin would be consistent with the Electoral College map



State/District	Old EC rating	New EC rating
Indiana	Likely Republican	Safe Republican
Kansas	Likely Republican	Safe Republican
Maine	Safe Democratic	Likely Democratic
ME-2	Likely Democratic	Leans Democratic
South Carolina	Likely Republican	Safe Republican
Utah	Likely Republican	Safe Republican

the Crystal Ball has largely maintained since March: Her total of 348 electoral votes would place her performance in between Obama 2012 (332) and Obama 2008 (365). For Clinton to duplicate Obama's 2008 broader sweep, Trump would probably have to collapse in the final weeks because of the accumulation of controversies and the lack of preparation in the ground game. If Clinton barely wins or Trump pulls an upset to rival 1948 (Harry Truman over Thomas Dewey), it probably means that Trump did something to improve voters' perceptions of his qualifications for office -- right now, a majority of the electorate does not believe he's qualified -- and Clinton, through a combination of mistakes, controversies, and Democratic apathy, can't generate the kind of Democratic turnout she needs.

The challenge for the Democrats is to keep 2016 from becoming a change election, which it might have been without Trump (and could still become). Prospective Clinton voters will have to be reminded constantly why she believes Trump is unacceptable and why they have to swallow hard and vote for a candidate many are not enthused about. While our Electoral College ratings still show a Clinton victory, the polls have clearly gotten closer in recent weeks. Clinton is generally up about two-to-four points nationally in polling averages (based on RealClearPolitics and HuffPost Pollster), considerably tighter than the lofty eight-point lead she enjoyed in both averages about a month ago, when she was still basking in a post-convention glow and Trump was making mistake after mistake. In the lead-up to Labor Day, Clinton faced several questions about her emails and the Clinton Foundation, and Trump's coverage became less negative by comparison.

Now Clinton is getting questions about her health (or, more appropriately, questions about how transparent she is being about her health) and Trump has succeeded, at the moment, in making the election less about him than about her. As former Obama speechwriter Jon Favreau observed, the race tends to get tighter when Clinton gets more attention and widens out to a bigger Clinton lead when Trump gets more attention, with an exception being the Democratic convention, which was essentially a big campaign ad for Clinton. This makes sense, particularly when the public views both candidates so poorly and coverage often focuses on their negatives (Trump's lack of qualification for office and controversial statements versus Clinton's lack of transparency and ethical challenges).

Generally, when the campaign has been more about Trump, he has suffered, and when it's been more about Clinton, she has suffered. Gallup has been asking Americans if they have heard or seen anything about Clinton and/or Trump in "the last day or two," which allows us to get a rough feel for which candidate is getting more attention on a given day.

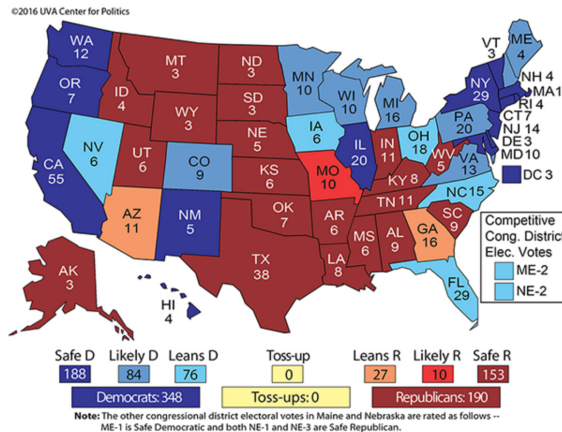
Over the period of July 5 to Sept. 13, there's a weak negative correlation (-.29) between Trump's polling margin in the HuffPost Pollster average and the margin between what percentage of respondents say they've heard about Trump minus the percentage who say they've heard about Clinton. That is, there appears to be at least a little bit of an inverse relationship between the relative level of coverage of Trump on the campaign trail and his polling margin. The more coverage, the worse his margin is, and vice versa. This

correlation is stronger (-.49) over the past month (Aug. 13 to Sept. 13), moving beyond the convention period.

What's problematic for Trump is that while we've seen this race yo-yo quite a bit over the past several months, it generally moves from a big Clinton lead to a small Clinton lead (where we are now).

What we have not seen in polling is a period where Trump takes a consistent lead nationally and in a significant number of state-level polls, although that may be unfolding right now. The key question of the moment is whether the race is clearly trending in Trump's direction, and he soon will start to take consistent leads, or whether Clinton will reassert herself. ❖

Map 1: Crystal Ball Electoral College ratings



Social media challenge to our democracy

By LEE HAMILTON

BLOOMINGTON – Does the ubiquity of information available through social media really help citizens understand complex issues, weigh competing arguments, and reach discriminating judgments about politics?

I've been involved in politics for the better part of a lifetime, and have spoken at a lot of public meetings over the years. One question I've heard more than any other: "If I want to be an informed citizen, which sources of information should I consult?"



For many years, I had a set answer: Read one or more of the respected national news sources, The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, The Washington Post, the Financial Times, The Economist, etc. I'm not sure how good that answer was at the time, but I know for certain it would be woefully inadequate now. Younger people, in particular, get far more of their information from social media

than from traditional news sources.

The internet and social media have upended our expectations of what it means to be well-informed. Platforms and websites that take advantage of online and mobile connectivity are like a firehose, providing enormous quantities of information, opinion, news, statements, videos, images, analysis, charts, graphs, all of it instantly available. Facebook, Twitter, Snapchat and other platforms have become the way many of our citizens communicate. They have become a force for mobilizing large groups of people to apply political pressure on short notice.

The question is, what impact does this have on the public dialogue, and on representative democracy?

Clearly, these are powerful tools. As the rise of the Tea Party and the alarm over price increases for the EpiPen demonstrate, they can galvanize large, energetic groups of people who oppose a specific target. They make more information quickly available from more sources. They make it possible for users to do their own fact-checking (I can tell you, it's quite intimidating as a speaker to watch members of the audience checking up on what you just said).

They allow people to get into the action and take part in political dialogue. They give citizens multiple ways to engage the attention and interest of policy makers – and give policy makers multiple ways to gauge public opinion and seek to understand the interests and needs of constituents. They've brought new groups into the public dialogue who were not there before, adding fresh voices

to the process and broadening our understanding of what it means to be American.

But if information has become more ubiquitous and powerful, so has misinformation. It spreads rapidly, passed along from user to user with no check. Posts tend to have no room for nuance; arguments can be explosive and arguers aggressive; drama and hysteria fuel polarization; special interests can't help but take advantage of the context-free nature of social media.

All of this makes it far more difficult for policy makers to sift through everything coming their way on any given topic. If a significant portion of the information that's available consists of misleading graphs, false facts, misstatements, and outright lies, the process of arriving at good policy becomes fragile and laden with traps. Which is why the sheer quantity of information bestowed on us by social media does not necessarily improve the quality of public dialogue. It does not always help citizens make good choices.

And that's really the key question: Does the ubiquity of information available through social media really help citizens understand complex issues, weigh competing arguments, and reach discriminating judgments about politics? Or does it overwhelm them with bursts of information that is so mixed as to quality that people simply throw up their hands, or, worse, charge full-tilt ahead based on a false understanding of reality?

The answer, of course, is that it's a mixed bag. The jury's still out on whether we're becoming better citizens because we have more information and opinion at our fingertips. Certainly, the information world we live in today is putting more stress on individual voters to make discriminating choices and on our representative democracy, which rests on institutions that were designed in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Our political process has proved resilient over centuries, and has served us well. But social media pose a powerful challenge. They've brought great gifts and equally great risks, and we'd be prudent to be cautious. ❖

Lee Hamilton is a Senior Advisor for the Indiana University Center on Representative Government; a Distinguished Scholar, IU School of Global and International Studies; and a Professor of Practice, IU School of Public and Environmental Affairs. He was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives for 34 years.

Northwest Indiana is Bayh country

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – While the latest poll shows Democrat Evan Bayh leading Republican Todd Young by four percentage points in the race for the U.S. Senate, the margin likely is much different in Northwest Indiana. For two generations, this corner of the state has been Bayh country.



It began with Birch Bayh, Evan’s father, who was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1962 and reelected twice. Birch Bayh, of course, lost a 1980 bid to become the first Hoosier to be elected to four terms in the Senate, falling victim to the national push in 1980 to throw out the most liberal from the Senate.

Bayh’s loss, of course, had a substantial impact on history, in that he was defeated by Dan Quayle who went on to become vice president. The senior Bayh

had a host of backers in Northwest Indiana, particularly then-East Chicago Mayor Robert A. Pastrick, who had a knack for turning out huge Democratic pluralities on Election Day. If Pastrick wanted something out of Washington, Bayh provided it.

In fact, it was Pastrick who was on hand to greet

Evan Bayh when he made his first Northwest Indiana appearance after announcing he intended to seek the Senate seat both he and his father formerly held. Besides Pastrick, the senior Bayh was the darling of labor unions who controlled the Region politically until their numbers began to dwindle in the 1980s.

Although he is much less liberal than his father, Evan Bayh, too, has been embraced by Northwest Indiana. Perhaps because of the hefty local plurality he enjoyed during his first run for governor, Evan Bayh named Lake County’s Michael A. Pannos as state Democratic chairman.

Although a good number of Democrats are still upset that Evan Bayh gave up his Senate seat six years ago, they have again embraced him. With the death of Gov. Frank O’Bannon and Bayh’s decision to retire from public life, Indiana was left without a Democratic leader. So Bayh now is being looked on as a savior of sorts.

Democrats know they are better off with Bayh running for the Senate than Baron Hill, who is not as popular and more liberal. Being a conservative Democrat, Bayh fits nicely into Indiana, which is one of the most red states in the country.

Bayh, who had designs on the presidency, was on the short list to be Hillary Clinton’s running mate if she got the nomination in 2008. Bayh will be in Lake County for the annual Democratic rally just prior to the election. His father’s old friends are expected to be there to greet him.

❖

Rich James has been writing about state and local government and politics for more than 30 years. He is a columnist for The Times of Northwest Indiana.

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

Jennifer Rubin, Washington Post: When Evan Bayh, Indiana's former senator and governor, announced in mid-July he would enter the race for the Senate against Rep. Todd Young (R-Ind.) both sides thought the Democrats had drawn an inside straight. A popular governor and senator, a moderate record and high name ID? Against a young, lesser-known congressman who was elected in 2010, Bayh seemed like he could be the nail in the GOP Senate majority's coffin. An early partisan Democratic poll showed him up some 26 points in August. An independent poll taken about the same time had Bayh up by 7. Now, the WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana Poll shows Bayh up just 4, within the margin of error. Word spread on social media that a closed door meeting with big donors and Bayh's pollster was set up, presumably to calm fraying nerves. Is Bayh a Democratic savior or, like Jeb Bush, a rusty professional pol out of office for more than a decade and unused to high pressure, Twitter-driven coverage? So far it seems like the latter. ❖

Chris Deaton, Weekly Standard:

In Indiana, Republican representative Todd Young is running for the U.S. Senate seat being vacated by Dan Coats; he's up against a ballot-box rarity, a lawmaker who voted for Obamacare who has yet to face the judgment of the voters, former senator Evan Bayh. A moderate Democrat, Bayh had at first been skeptical of Obama's health reform bill, but he became a pivotal convert on the legislation's path to the president's desk. Bayh provided one of the critical Senate votes Democrats needed to thwart the bill's opponents in December 2009. Two months later, Bayh announced his intention to depart public office, saying that while "my passion for service to our fellow citizens is undiminished ... my desire to do so by serving in Congress has waned." Time must have been restorative. Bayh was coaxed out of elective retirement earlier this year to replace a Democratic candidate who almost certainly would have lost. Young is betting that Hoosiers haven't forgotten how Obamacare was passed and will give Bayh a taste of what he missed six November ago. "They're seeking answers, and the answer is that Evan Bayh cast the deciding vote," Young says. Bayh was no typical backer of the law, however. He threatened to hold out through much of the legislative process in 2009 and only signed on when the measure's tax on medical device sales was halved from 4.6 to 2.3 percent. He later expressed buyer's remorse, writing in the *Wall Street Journal* that the tax proved to be a "law of unintended consequences," stifling the very manufacturers that Democrats believed would flourish under Obamacare as newly insured Americans made use of more medical products. Bayh called on his former colleagues to repeal the tax. His bio credit-line in the *Journal*—"He is a partner at the McGuire-Woods law firm, which represents several medical-device companies"—inspired mockery from the *New Republic* and



New York magazine, which wondered sarcastically if there was any overlap in Bayh's business interests and policy interests. Indiana is a major player in medical device manufacturing, with the industry employing more than 16,000 workers there. Determining the tax's economic consequences is difficult—the tax only took effect in 2013 and is now subject to a temporary moratorium. But Young points to anecdotal evidence that companies have nixed expansion plans because of it. Cook Medical (based in Young's hometown, Bloomington) put off building five new plants throughout the midwest. Southern Indiana hospital equipment maker Hill-Rom cited the tax as one of three factors prompting it to lay off 200 workers in 2012. "The issue most on Hoosiers' minds is job creation, job retention, and household income," Young says. "To the extent I can continue communicating to Hoosiers that Obamacare is an anti-jobs law, a piece of legislation that has cut into the income of regular Hoosiers, then we are going to persuade people that this is of great significance and a disqualifying factor as they assess my candidacy and compare it to Evan Bayh's." It's not a question Bayh wants to answer in reality.

(Bayh's campaign didn't respond to an interview request for this story.) It's a cautious position. And understandable—because for Bayh and the issue of the health care law, sunlight might be more of a pathogen than a disinfectant. ❖

Dave Bangert, Lafayette Journal

& Courier: During Gary Johnson's stop last week on "The View," Joy Behar, a cohost of the ABC roundtable talk show, asked the Libertarian presidential candidate to decide. "If someone had a gun to your head," Behar asked the former, two-term New Mexico governor, "would you vote for Hillary or Trump?" Johnson's answer: "I would let it go off." And on that note — a statement to sum up the national mood, not to mention the underlying tenet of his third-party campaign — Johnson arrived in West Lafayette on Tuesday evening for a public Q&A with Purdue President Mitch Daniels. In line outside the France A. Córdoba Recreational Sports Center, Corey Strain, a Purdue junior from Texas, pondered the same question. He was wearing a light-blue T-shirt featuring the Libertarian's face, circled by the words: "Feel the Johnson 2016." This election wasn't exactly a gun to the head, he figured. Still, what about Johnson's rhetorical point in general principle? "This definitely is a lesser-of-two-evils thing," Strain said. "It's like, 'I don't want this guy. And I don't want this woman.' And you start looking around and you find Gary Johnson. ... He seems, I don't know, like an actual person." Up and down the queue for the Co-Rec and then inside the gym — where the 1,840 seats set up were more than three-quarters taken — there was almost a desperation for anything other than this guy (Donald Trump) or this woman (Hillary Clinton). "I'm at the point of, 'What else do you got?'" said Terry Simons, who took the afternoon off work to drive to West Lafayette from Frankfort. "I know I'm not alone." ❖

Dean White dies at 93

CROWN POINT — Dean V. White was a developer, hotelier, theater impresario and major marketer, but never a self-promoter (NWI Times). In 2015, White had a net worth of \$2.5 billion and had been named to Forbes magazine's 400 richest people in the world many times. That same year, he was listed as the 268th richest American. White died Wednesday. He was 93. Forbes Magazine's real-time ranking of billionaires placed White as the 789th richest person in the world Wednesday. He also was a major Republican donor, and donated \$1 million to American Crossroads in the 2012 campaign cycle. White has supported numerous Indiana Republicans, including state Rep. and House Speaker Brian Bosma, R-Indianapolis, and has also donated money to the House Republican Campaign Committee of Indiana. White has been an unmatched powerhouse of funding for the war chests of Indiana's political party of power throughout the years. He personally pumped \$4 million into five of the Indiana GOP's six largest campaign funds between 2011 and 2014, a Times' analysis of state campaign finance records revealed.



State Democrat parties hacked

WASHINGTON — Hackers are targeting state Democratic Party officials and have successfully breached and impersonated some of them, according to a message the Association of State Democratic Chairs sent Wednesday to its members (Politico). "A number of chairs and state parties have been victims of hacks and impersonation recently," read the email, which POLITICO obtained. The message, titled "Security Alert: Please Do Not Search Wikileaks!," warned recipi-

ents to avoid the anti-secrecy site — which has posted leaked material from the Democratic National Committee — because of concerns about malware embedded in the leaks. "Due to the potential of malware attached to the site, we are under advisement from [interim DNC] Chair [Donna] Brazile to stay away in the interest of maintaining some security," added the email, written by Raymond Buckley, president of the Association of State Democratic Chairs, which is affiliated with the DNC.

Deadly heroin arrives in LaPorte

LaPORTE — It appears the deadly combination of heroin laced with the powerful painkiller fentanyl has found its way into LaPorte. At least six overdoses have occurred in the area since reports first surfaced Wednesday that heroin mixed with fentanyl had crept into the area, said LaPorte Metro Operations coordinator Harlan Williams (South Bend Tribune). The mixture of the two highly addictive opiates is suspected in each of the cases and could have played a role in a half dozen other overdoses here during a two-week stretch prior to that, authorities said. Less than 5 grams of fentanyl was recovered Sunday night during the arrest of a 39-year-old LaPorte man, who emerged as a target from a ramped-up police investigation aimed at quickly cutting off the source of the drug.

House to vote on Walorski Gitmo bill

SOUTH BEND — The U.S. House of Representatives is scheduled to vote Thursday on a bill that Rep. Jackie Walorski, R-Jimtown, authored to stop President Obama from transferring prisoners out of Guantanamo Bay (Allen, South Bend Tribune). The Obama administration has already indicated the president will veto the

legislation if it reaches his desk. The prison has been used to hold hundreds of terrorists and suspected terrorists since 2002; of the 61 detainees that remain there, 20 have been cleared for transfer. The Washington Post characterized Walorski's bill as "a final showdown in the eight-year struggle between Republicans and President Obama" over the future of Guantanamo.

Elkhart County treasurer dies

ELKHART — Elkhart County Treasurer Jackie Meyers, a 40-year county employee who was up for re-election to the treasurer's position this fall, died Tuesday (Elkhart Truth). Meyers, 61, had been diagnosed with breast cancer in the spring of 2015, according to Jodi Jones, the first deputy treasurer in the office. "She really treated us like family. It is definitely a tough loss for our office," Jones said.

Arguments in Syrian refugee case

CHICAGO — Attorneys defending Indiana Gov. Mike Pence's order to bar agencies from helping Syrian refugees resettle in his state faced unusually fierce questioning before a federal appeals court Wednesday, suggesting the panel might side with a lower court that found the order discriminatory. A three-judge panel for the 7th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Chicago zeroed in on the intelligence and intent behind the Republican vice presidential candidate's order, which a federal judge said in February "clearly discriminates" against refugees from the war-torn nation. Judges suggested that Indiana could've had a stronger argument for entirely opting out of the refugee program — for which states disperse federal money to resettlement organizations — instead of excluding Syrians. "If you're in, you play by the government's rules," Judge Frank Easterbrook said.