



## Subaru's political evolution in Indiana

A campaign liability in 1988 comes full circle

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

LAFAYETTE – Just hours after Gov. Mike Pence returned from a week-long economic development trip in Japan, he was on the road to Lafayette. It was here that he sealed a \$140 million deal with Subaru of Indiana Automotive.

The flourish would be 1,200 new high-paying jobs, a welcome news cycle after Pence had taken a series of



Gov. Mike Pence joins Subaru executives and Lafayette Mayor Tony Roswarski for a 1,200 job announcement on Monday.

broad­sides from Democratic challenger John Gregg, who has criticized Pence for a first-term legacy of creating low-paying jobs.

"Last week's meetings with government leaders and business executives across Japan have strengthened our economic ties with companies operating in Indiana and sparked momentum for job creation in the Hoosier State," Pence said as he was surrounded by Subaru executives, Democratic

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## Ellspermann's heavy hand in Fiorina debate

By **PETE SEAT**

INDIANAPOLIS – When you can't follow the rules, change the rules. That was the strategy of Carly Fiorina's campaign as it struggled to cope with the reality that she might fall short of a spot on the main stage of the second Republican presidential debate. But she made it. And her team has one Hoosier in particular to thank.

The journey began on April 20 in the ballroom of a downtown Indianapolis hotel where the former Hewlett-Packard CEO rocked the house



**"The innocent victim of abortion, children who die of hunger or from bombings, immigrants who drown ... the environment devastated by man's predatory relationship with nature."**

*- Pope Francis, speaking of challenges in Washington*



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in front of 800 Hoosier politicians at the Richard G. Lugar Excellence in Public Service Series annual event (full disclosure: The Lugar Series is a client of the firm I work for and I helped secure Fiorina's appearance, but did not attend the event).

Among those present that afternoon was Indiana's Lt. Gov. Sue Ellspermann. An unabashed supporter of women in the political arena, Ellspermann was a natural audience for Fiorina's story of overcoming obstacles and building a successful career. So it came as only a slight surprise when on June 29 Fiorina's campaign announced that Ellspermann would serve as the campaign's Indiana co-chair. In that announcement, Ellspermann said Fiorina would "place problem-solving before politics, a behavior Americans desire and deserve."

Little did they know that both of their problem-solving skills would be put to use so quickly.

Coming out of the first debates of the presidential campaign season, Fiorina was flying high. The consensus quickly cemented that she dominated the "undercard debate" in which candidates polling outside the top 10 were invited to participate. On that stage, surrounded by the likes of former senator Rick Santorum and current U.S. Sen. Lindsey Graham, Fiorina exuded confidence and poise and an ability to deftly swipe at Hillary Clinton in a way other candidates had been incapable of doing. All of that is, of course, a subjective measure. "Winning" a debate is not a real thing; it's simply a perception of viewers and pundits and not based in any actual

reality.

Nevertheless, Fiorina's supporters hoped to turn that subjective, yet universal, consensus into concrete support heading into the next debate because CNN's criteria required as much. Based on the rules put forth by CNN on May 20, a month after Ellspermann and Fiorina first crossed paths and over a month before Ellspermann officially joined the campaign, polls dating back to July 16 would be used to determine the 10 candidates invited



Lt. Gov. Sue Ellspermann greets Republican presidential candidate Carly Fiorina last spring for a Lugar Series event. Ellspermann played a key role in getting Fiorina into the Sept. 16 CNN debate.

on stage for the three-hour prime-time debate. Those rules were effectively stacked against candidates who gained late summer momentum and in favor of those who showed promise a few months ago.

Recognizing the obstacle they faced, on Aug. 26 the campaign sent an email to CNN in an attempt to change the rules. That entreaty was met with resistance. A CNN spokesperson responded that, "We believe that our approach is a fair and effective way to deal with the highest number of candidates we have ever encountered."

Fiorina's campaign naturally disagreed and quickly developed a lather, rinse, repeat public relations campaign to shame CNN into doing their bidding. That effort hit its peak on Sept. 1 when Ellspermann sent an uncharacteristically sharply worded

letter to CNN head Jeff Zucker demanding the rules be altered in Fiorina's favor.

The letter, which was co-signed by more than 250 individuals from across the country including nine other influential Hoosiers, stated, "Carly Fiorina has already proven that she deserves to be on the main debate stage. It's time for CNN and the (Republican National Committee) to recognize it as well."

**Within a few** hours, CNN relented and amended their rules to stipulate that any candidate placing in the top 10 in polls conducted after the first debate would also earn a spot in the next primetime debate, ballooning the stage to 11 participants and securing Fiorina coveted space in the spotlight.

With their problem solved, it was up to Fiorina to deliver and just as in the first debate the universal consensus quickly gelled that she one of the few bright stars of the night. As a result, Fiorina could be off to the races. If she plays her hand correctly and builds considerable momentum between now and the Oct. 24 debate, she could invariably find herself not only in the top 10, but in the



top tier of three or four serious contenders for the nomination.

In an interview with WTHR's Kevin Rader, Ellspermann downplayed her role in the effort. "Our letter, my letter, might have been one piece of (getting her on stage), but the important thing was we got it done and she was on that stage and America got to see her... and I think America is now watching and I look forward to a very strong Carly now going forward."

As America watches the weeks and months unfold, let the

historical record show it all started with a letter from Indiana's lieutenant governor. ❖

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## Subaru, from page 1

Lafayette Mayor Tony Roswarski and members of the Indiana Economic Development Corporation. "Subaru chose Indiana as the home for its only assembly plant outside Japan, and now the company is choosing Indiana once more."

This news also came as Indiana's jobless rate descended to 4.6% in August, an eight-year low, below the 5.1% U.S. rate, and the lowest in the Midwest.

It is hard to believe that a generation ago, in the 1988 gubernatorial race, Subaru was a controversial topical news item. It helped pave the way for Democrat Evan Bayh to end the two-decade-long Republican gubernatorial dynasty.

"I can still see that TV ad," said Mike McDaniel, the campaign manager for Lt. Gov. John Mutz, who was trying to fend off the Bayh insurgency. "That first commercial claimed it was a bad deal and that all the jobs were

going to go to the Japanese. And the word 'Japanese' was in big, red, capital letters.

"It was a powerful ad at the time," McDaniel said. "I'll never forget it. That ad was pretty brutal. And they were playing on some old animosities dating back to World War II."

The Los Angeles Times observed in an October 1988 story on the Indiana race: "When the Japanese come to town in the Midwest to announce the opening of an auto plant, they are typically met by a frenzied celebration. But in Indiana, they have been met instead by political controversy, seemingly built upon latent American fears of a Japanese invasion of the nation's industrial heartland."

As the Bayh-Mutz race reached the homestretch, the \$500 million Subaru-Isuzu joint venture was taking shape in former farm fields on the edge of Lafayette. It was the first-of-its-kind deal, proposed in May 1986 and

finalized that December after the two automakers explored seven states. As lieutenant governor, Robert Orr had pioneered Indiana's economic de-

Governor of Indiana, 1988			
Party	Candidate	Votes	%
Democratic	Evan Bayh	1,138,574	53.2
Republican	John Mutz	1,002,207	46.8

velopment with Pacific rim nations. Elected governor in 1980 with Mutz as his running mate, Orr turned the economic development portfolio over to Mutz. And it was Mutz who hammered out the deal. "Mutz led most of the negotiations and landed the deal,"



Lt. Gov. John Mutz (third from left) celebrates his birthday with "Hoosiers" screenwriter Angelo Pizzo in 1985. McDaniel said. "Orr Mutz played the key role in landing Subaru, now a prized Indiana company employing 3,800 Hoosiers. asked John to take the lead on economic development."

**Karl Berron was Mutz's** legislative director and remembers Democratic House Speaker Michael K. Phillips taunting legislative Republicans with a map of the Midwest showing where Japanese auto plants were located, with Indiana the big hole in the middle. "That used to drive us nuts," said Berron, who now heads the Indiana Realtors. He said that Mutz was a masterful negotiator. "He was so good in that setting," Berron said. "He talked the lingo. He and McDaniel knew how to close a deal."

So what was thought to have been a key campaign issue benefiting Mutz was turned on its ear by the Bayh campaign. The Bayh TV ad criticized the \$55 million in state subsidies Mutz used to land the deal. The Los Angeles Times reported: "The Japanese auto companies have repaid that kindness, the commercial continues, by hiring a Japanese construction company – rather than an Indiana contractor – to build the facility. Throughout the ad, words and images repeatedly hammer home thoughts of 'Japan' and 'the Japanese.'"

"That has been a major issue in the campaign, and it's one of the main reasons we've been competitive in the race," Bayh campaign press secretary Fred Nation told the Times.

**The Mutz campaign** fought back. "All you have to do is listen to or watch the ad – they mention the word Japan or the Japanese four times in the space of 30 seconds," said Mutz spokeswoman Jan Powell. "We have never said that Evan Bayh is racist, but he is appealing to the darker side" of voters, added Powell. "He has taken a poll and found a fear of foreign investment, of Japanese investment, perhaps left over from the war, that we know is out there." She noted that investments by Dutch or German companies never came up in the campaign.

The Bayh camp denied racist overtones. "It's not racism we're appealing to, but a concern and fear over foreign ownership of industry," Nation explained. "We're not anti-Japanese."

Across Indiana, in the east central 2nd CD, a young Columbus lawyer named Mike Pence watched the ad in the context of his challenge to U.S. Rep. Phil Sharp,

the first of two races he would lose.

Gov. Bayh would later come around to the notion of Japanese automakers making Indiana home. The Subaru plant would open under his watch on Sept. 11, 1989. In 1996, in the twilight of his governorship, Bayh would land the massive Toyota plant near Princeton. That plant was Toyota's second recognized wholly owned plant in North America and it currently employs approximately 4,700 "associates," of whom approximately 84% are Hoosiers.

**Subaru of Indiana Automotive**, employs more than 3,800 Hoosiers and produces 300,000 cars annually. Since 1989, the facility has built more than 4 million vehicles. The company's expansion is also expected to spur growth of its direct material suppliers as well, including 28 located across Indiana. Among all U.S. states, Indiana has the largest amount of Japanese investment per capita and is home to more than 250 Japanese business facilities that employ more than 52,000 associates.

Pence told HPI, "Remember, it's 1,200 jobs at Subaru but it could be several times that at suppliers around the state who will need to ramp up their production to meet the new demand."

The IEDC offered Subaru of Indiana Automotive up to \$7.65 million in conditional tax credits and up to \$250,000 in training grants based on the company's job creation plans. These incentives are performance-based, meaning until Hoosiers are hired, the company is not eligible to claim incentives.

**Despite the success** of Subaru, and the arrival of Toyota and Honda to Princeton and Greensburg giving Indiana the largest cluster of Japanese automakers in the nation, there still exists a historic Hoosier mistrust of "fer-ners." It last surfaced in 2006 when Gov. Mitch Daniels leased the Indiana Toll Road to a Spanish/Australian consortium and was opposed by Democrats in the General Assembly.

As Gov. Pence dives into what appears will be an intense reelection bid, don't be surprised if Subaru's latest investment becomes fodder for campaign ads in 2016. The thrust, however, will almost certainly be a sharp departure from the xenophobic tones echoing from 1988. ❖

# A good/bad news week for Pence reelect

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The past week had both good and bad news for Gov. Mike Pence’s reelection bid. The obvious good was the 1,200 jobs he announced in Lafayette with Subaru Indiana Automotive that came on top of the August unemployment rate of 4.6%. Not only is that an eight-year low, it is well under the U.S. rate of 5.1% and lowest in the Midwest.



The bad came with IndyStar report that 200 recent road projects used asphalt

that will prematurely crumble years ahead of schedule. “Our concern is did (contractors) include enough binder to make the pavement perform as it was intended,” said Robert Tally, INDOT deputy commissioner for materials and construction management. He emphasized that testing continues and they haven’t reached any firm conclusions. But in some cases INDOT has already notified local transportation officials that the lifespan of their new roads could be 30 percent shorter than usual.

It prompted Democratic gubernatorial candidate John Gregg to call for an investigation into INDOT. “Over \$71 million wasted, and more to come,” Gregg said. “The Indianapolis Star just reported that nearly 200 Indiana road projects built in 2014 ‘could crack and crumble years ahead of schedule,’ due to flaws in the asphalt mix used to build them, and that doesn’t even include projects built in previous years. Gov. Pence’s administration failed to stop this waste and we deserve to know how and why. It’s time for an independent investigation into how \$71 million in taxpayer money was wasted on Gov. Pence’s watch. Sign my petition now. Pence’s fixation with moral policing and extreme ideology has already cost Indiana money and jobs. And this latest scandal suggests that his administration may not be competent to oversee the basic functions of government.”

By Wednesday, Gregg’s call for an investigation was getting traction within the GOP Gen-

eral Assembly super majorities. Two influential Republican legislators, House Roads and Transportation Chairman Ed Soliday and Senate Homeland Security and Transportation Chairman Carlin Yoder, were either calling for an investigation or headed in that direction. “Newly paved roads shouldn’t be cracking up. This could be costing the state a lot of money for years to come, and we need to find out who is accountable,” Yoder said. Soliday explained, “If we can’t get to a conclusion, we can use the bully pulpit. There are only two paths out. You can get an independent third party to take a look at it and say here’s the right thing to do, or you let a judge decide it. I’m not real fond of that one. If they can’t agree, then we may have to referee.”

Democratic Chairman John Zody began framing the coming debate: “We’ve seen what happens when Gov. Pence and Statehouse Republicans are late to the game to fix Indiana’s roads and bridges, and now they throw the blame on others after they approve an asphalt mixture that only temporarily fixes the long-term problem with our state’s crumbling infrastructure. This is not the leadership Hoosiers deserve. Gov. Pence has yet to present a common sense plan to fix our crumbling highway system, and he continues to hold Indiana back from its full potential. Only when a comprehensive plan is presented would Gov. Pence then begin to repair Indiana’s coveted Crossroads of America reputation.”

So this is part of a “death by a thousand cuts”

scenario that hounds any political executive immersed in an array of scandal, controversy and crises. There are low-grade problems surrounding the Bureau of Motor Vehicles overcharges and improper influence issues, and the state is grappling with the Triple H hydra – heroin, HIV and HepC – that has prompted about 20 counties to seek needle-exchange programs.

On top of that is the civil rights expansion, with former Angie’s List CEO Bill Oesterle forming a Tech for Equality coalition while declaring “There is not room to compromise on civil rights. If you are going to serve the public, you need to serve the public. We wouldn’t tolerate an exclusion for religion or race. It would be unthinkable to us.”

On the issue that could alienate either the governor’s base or independent and female voters, Pence spokeswoman Kara Brooks issued the stan-



**Republican operative Bill Oesterle formed a Tech Equality coalition and vowed “no compromise” on the civil rights expansion issue on Monday. (HPI Photo by Mark Curry)**

standard statement of the times: "The governor is listening to people on all sides of the issue in order to determine how best to move forward," she said.

Just how dicey is that one? The IndyStar reported: Republican leaders in the House and Senate have repeatedly avoided commenting on the issue and could not be reached Monday evening.

### Governor: Sugar exits with diatribe

Short of a return by Evan Bayh, the Ten Million Dollar Man, John Gregg has essentially wrapped up the Indiana Democratic gubernatorial nomination. The assurance came in the form of a bitter diatribe by Tom Sugar, who in a sprawling statement Monday afternoon said he would not challenge the 2012 party nominee for the right to challenge Gov. Mike Pence.



Sugar (pictured right), the former chief of staff and campaign manager for former governor and senator Evan Bayh (who has been sitting on a \$10 million war chest for half a decade now), said that while Hoosiers were willing to back his gubernatorial bid, the party elders were not. The oddity there is that a good portion of the influential "party elders" have been key supporters of his former boss.

"As I've travelled the state over the summer, Hoosiers from all walks of life have strongly expressed their support for such an effort. They are ready and willing to join this fight and demand a government that is rightfully theirs," Sugar said. "At the same time, the Indiana Democratic Party and many of its key financial supporters did all they could to discourage my campaign, fearing a primary challenge to John Gregg. I believe this is wrongheaded and hope to live long enough to see the day when Hoosier Democrats begin to behave like winners, confident enough to welcome new leaders, new energy and new ideas. Sadly, it doesn't appear this will be the case in 2016."

The irony there is that the same thing happened to State Rep. Christina Hale, the Indianapolis Democrat who pondered entry into the U.S. Senate race. With Bayh sitting on the huge and unprecedented \$10 million, any potential statewide candidate has to make that call. And it was a call that went unreturned to Rep. Hale, who decided in late June to pass on that race and seek reelection. Former congressman Baron Hill is the only announced Democrat.

At the beginning of the summer, it looked as if Indiana Democrats were going to have a multi-candidate primary. But within a two-week period in August, Supt. Glenda Ritz and State Sen. Karen Tallian dropped out of the race, with neither finding much traction on issues or with fundraising. Sugar and Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr., were the only other Democrats pondering the race. Earlier this month, Sugar teased a decision, saying

on Twitter we should "stay tuned." But that ended with his critical statement Monday.

Sugar attempted to use the idea of a redistricting commission to propel a potential gubernatorial campaign, and he received decent earned media from a number of political columnists and reporters around the state. But many Democrats Howey Politics Indiana and other reporters talked with didn't see it as the kind of bread-and-butter, bring-home-the-bacon big idea issue that can galvanize support for a gubernatorial run. Mayor McDermott expressed concern that Sugar was politicizing the independent redistricting commission idea, which has the tacit support of Republican House Speaker Brian Bosma.

Sugar's statement Monday afternoon was tinged with bitterness. "Sadly, our politicians have not only ignored this 200-year-old promise, they've flipped it on its head. Today, they think they have the power, and they abuse it for their own benefit," said Sugar. "Simply put, our elections are rigged. I'm not talking about stuffing ballot boxes or voter fraud; these things rarely happen. I'm talking about how politicians secretly slice and dice our state, our counties, our cities and towns purely for their political gain. It's called gerrymandering. Here's just one example: Eight of our counties are currently divided for a single, twisted reason; so one party is sure to win most of the seats in Congress. And they've gotten so skilled at rigging the system that the vast majority of our politicians are virtually guaranteed reelection before the first votes are cast! How else can one explain how so many politicians keep winning when voters think they're losers?"

The other irony is that Bayh, the one Democrat with the longest coattails, passed on the 2016 gubernatorial race, complaining that the Republican super majorities would not have allowed him to govern effectively. And perhaps the greatest irony of all is that it was Bayh's stunning decision just hours before the filing deadline in February 2010 that proved to be the biggest catalyst for the Republicans to not only retake the House, thus controlling the redistricting process in 2011, but to pave the path for the super majorities that bedevil Indiana Democrats today.

### Gregg stances on vouchers, marijuana

In an interview published in today's Kokomo Tribune, John Gregg talked issues:

**Voucher Schools:** "I think what we need to do is rather than continue down this road, we need to kind of take a breath, sit back and look, and really take a hard look and see what's working, and what's not. And I think there's a lot of pride of ownership in a lot of this education reform. People were so heaven-bent on making this happen that they don't want to admit maybe it needs tweaked or it has problems with it."

**Marijuana:** "If a doctor would have told me that's something you need to consider, why shouldn't we have? I mean, my dad had lived 80-plus years, had 63 years of marriage to my mother, and his quality of life his last few weeks of life was not good. And there are some people

with chronic illnesses that it helps. What I would want to stress to people is decriminalization does not mean legalization. Not everyone remembers that or realizes that. I would imagine if we went over to the Howard County Jail, we'd find ... the citizens of Howard County are paying their precious tax dollars to keep some kid in there who had a joint or two. I realize that it's against the law, but the fact of the matter is, I want my law enforcement in Indiana to look at child abusers and rapists and murderers and people who do armed robbery in stores and homes."

**Mayors**

**Indianapolis: Big Hogsett TV ad buy**

Advertisements released days apart in the Indianapolis mayor's race reveal exactly where the candidates stand: Democrat Joe Hogsett is the well-funded front-runner while Republican Chuck Brewer is prudently picking his spots (IBJ). Hogsett's new commercial is his eighth, underscoring the vast fundraising advantage he has over the underdog Brewer, a little-known political novice who hasn't even made his first television buy with less than seven weeks until Election Day on Nov. 3. Hogsett's new ad is a confident, light-hearted 30-second spot that shows the Democrat mowing his lawn, while his wife, Stephanie, good-naturedly makes fun of him for being so frugal. Chuck Brewer's ad, the first of his campaign and promoted so far only online, not on TV, is much more biographical, focusing on his military background and identity as a business leader. Brewer's ad is scheduled to go on TV later this week. A key difference in the campaigns is how much they have to spend on advertising and where they're planning to spend the money. Hogsett has significantly outraised and outspent Brewer's campaign. Hogsett had \$2.1 million in cash on hand as of the latest filing deadline on April 10 compared to Brewer's \$657,000. Hogsett has spent more than \$400,000 on TV ads with local stations just this month. His campaign started advertising on TV in early June. Before Brewer's ad goes on the air later this week, he'll have reported spending no money yet on TV advertising.



The Indianapolis Chamber endorsed Hogsett on Wednesday. Hogsett reacted, saying, "I am honored to accept the endorsement of the Indy Chamber's Business Advocacy Committee. In our conversations over the last year, it has been clear that the civic leaders and corporate partners represented by the Chamber share my vision of a vibrant, welcoming Indianapolis. If elected mayor, I look forward to working with Chamber President Michael Huber and his team to continue moving our city forward." Republican Chuck Brewer said, "The committee's decision has a

lot more to do with politics than it does business acumen. I started two successful small businesses in Indianapolis and I worked my way up the ladder at a Fortune 500 company. If I have the honor to serve our city as Mayor, I will proudly represent the business community and work closely with the Chamber on policies that attract good-paying jobs and talented people to Indianapolis." **Horse Race Status:** Safe Hogsett.

**Fort Wayne: Harper public safety plan**

If he wins the Fort Wayne mayoral election in November, Councilman Mitch Harper wants to bring some changes to the Fort Wayne Police Department (Gong, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). Harper, R-4th, on Thursday unveiled his "Secure Our City" public safety plan, through which he pledged to increase the size of the police department, restore the reserve officer program and put more emphasis on traffic stops and community policing. He'd also make some changes to the department's command structure. Chief among Fort Wayne's public safety needs is the number of police officers, Harper said. The department currently staffs about 450 officers. Harper said he would like to increase that number to 500 but wasn't specific about how he would pay for the additional officers. "We've got some movement we can make in terms of what we can propose to the city council in budgeting, and even though we're about to consider the 2016 budget, the new mayor on the first day can propose changes to the city council and ask for their ratification to switch some of the priorities in the budget," he said. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Henry.

**Evansville: FOP to endorse Winnecke**

The local Fraternal Order of Police union will formally endorse Mayor Lloyd Winnecke for re-election at 2 p.m. today (Evansville Courier & Press).

Winnecke is blaming some city council Democrats for coordinating a political attack that he says could affect hundreds of local vendors and put some city services at risk (WFIE-TV). Last Monday night, the city council tabled a request from the mayor to transfer \$8 million. In the past, that transfer could take place without the council's approval. But, this is the first time that the mayor has had to take his request before the council. He wants to take money out of other city accounts and place it into the general fund. The money taken out would then be replaced once the city receives its property tax revenue in November. Mayor Winnecke tells us this is a common practice in city government, and one that needs to take place in order to make payroll and pay the city's bills. "City employees could not be paid," said Mayor Winnecke. "There are not-for-profit organizations who have community development block grants. Money that flows through city accounts will not be paid. There are certain vendors that provide

services to the city that would not get paid. Again, this is money, we have the money and we've done this in our previous three years in office."

Democratic mayoral nominee Gail Riecken said, "There is a crisis going on in Evansville and it is manifesting with the mayor asking the city council to transfer funds from the Rainy Day fund and Riverboat fund to make sure the city can pay its bills. For the past three and half years the mayor has played loose with the city's purse strings, running down the city's reserve funds and putting the city half a billion dollars into debt. The mayor is starting to sound more and more like a tax-and-spend Republican than the fiscal conservative he would like to be." **Horse Race Status:** Likely Winnecke.

### **Richmond: Mayoral debate set**

All three Richmond mayoral candidates have agreed to participate in a debate organized by the city's media outlets (Richmond Palladium-Item). The three candidates – Libertarian Kamara Gard, Republican Kyle Ingram and Democrat Dave Snow – all confirmed Monday they will participate in the Sept. 30 event at the studio of Whitewater Community Television. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Ingram.

### **U.S. Senate**

#### **U.S. Senate: Young's conservative cred**

U.S. Rep. Todd C. Young, on a stop in Terre Haute on Monday, said he believes he can bring conservative leadership, while spending less time engaging in what he calls political pageantry and instead advancing conservative principles if elected to the U.S. Senate. "I am within the mainstream of the Republican primary. I am a pro-life, pro-gun Marine who wants to repeal and replace Obamacare," Young, a U.S representative in Indiana's 9th Congressional District, said in an interview at the Tribune-Star. "This campaign is very much focused on an atmosphere where more jobs can be created, that pay well and turn into meaningful careers. It is focused on keeping America safe and secure by staying smartly, but selectively, engaged in the world. That means economically, diplomatically and, where necessary, militarily as well," Young said.

Young said he opposes new clean air standards (Bloomington Herald-Times). Young said based on the data he's seen, lowering the regulation level from 75 to 65 would "leave 98 percent of Indiana in non-attainment," meaning that companies looking to build new structures in nearly all of the state's 92 counties would have to come up with offsets. "We just wouldn't see new businesses locating in our state, by these estimates, if these new standards were to be put into place," Young said during a Wednesday morning conference call.

Young has picked up more legislative endorsements for his U.S. Senate campaign. State Reps. Jerry Torr and Tony Cook will endorse, as well as Fishers Mayor Scott

Fadness and Fishers Council President Pete Peterson.

### **Congress**

#### **3rd CD: Club For Growth endorses Banks**

The Club For Growth PAC announced Thursday its endorsement of Indiana State Sen. Jim Banks for 3rd CD. "The Club For Growth PAC strongly endorses Jim Banks for Congress," said club president David McIntosh (Howey Politics Indiana). "Jim is a top conservative leader for economic freedom in the Indiana legislature. He was at the forefront of the right-to-work fight and led in the battle to end the state's death tax. The Club's PAC believes Jim Banks would be a strong voice in Congress for lower taxes, less spending, and smaller government."

Four Republican congressional candidates for Indiana's 3rd Congressional District used the 228th anniversary of the U.S. Constitution to hammer at a Democratic president and others who they claim are dismantling the document (Francisco, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). For three of the candidates, what began as a history lesson turned into a condemnation of liberals, progressives and President Barack Obama. Pam Galloway of Warsaw complained about gun control efforts she labeled "leftist political attacks" on the 2nd Amendment. She said that although terrorist bombings are blamed on people, many people attribute mass shootings to guns. "Using this leftist logic, spoons will be responsible for obesity, cars will be responsible for drunk driving, and Louisville Sluggers will be responsible for bludgeoning deaths," said Galloway, a former state senator in Wisconsin who is an NRA-certified pistol instructor. State Sen. Liz Brown of Fort Wayne contended that states' rights under the 10th Amendment have suffered "a trampling" during Obama's two administrations. She cited environmental regulations and education mandates as examples of "an abuse of power at the federal level." "What we've seen is creep and overreach where the states are merely the beggars at the feet of the federal government, asking, 'Please, may we have home rule. Please, may we the people govern ourselves?'" Brown said. State Sen. Jim Banks of Columbia City lamented what he sees as Obama's violations of Article II, Section 2 of the Constitution that spells out a president's authority. "For the last 6 1/2 years, our nation has been led by a president who repeatedly, unabashedly and without hesitation has demonstrated contempt for the constitutional limits of power," Banks said. "Repeatedly, President Obama has refused to enforce laws because he doesn't simply agree with them."

### **General Assembly**

#### **HD91: Grimes to challenge Behning**

Jim Grimes, former Marion County sheriff candidate, is planning to challenge State Rep. Robert Behning in the Republican primary (Howey Politics Indiana). ❖



# Tom Sugar's spice was not so nice

By SHAW FRIEDMAN

LaPORTE – Like many Hoosier Democrats who are pleased that a unifying consensus has emerged behind our state ticket nearly a year before the 2016 elections, I rolled my eyes when a former staffer to Sen. Evan Bayh, Tom Sugar, announced about a month ago he was seriously considering running for governor.



Knowing that Tom had served at the feet of Evan Bayh, Indiana's political zen master and a man who is considered the father of the modern Indiana Democratic Party, many of us figured that he would take the soundings from his former boss and act accordingly. We thought he'd quickly realize that there was no visible means of support to a challenge to our likely nominee,

former Indiana House Speaker John Gregg, and that Sugar would make a graceful exit while making a spirited push for his pet project, redistricting reform.

We could not have imagined that in choosing not to run on Monday that he would unleash a bitter diatribe against not only the Indiana Democratic Party, but against all elected officials currently serving in the Statehouse. Sugar showed with his statement why he certainly doesn't have the temperament or demeanor to serve as an elected official and why he's probably also done incalculable damage to his worthy pet cause, redistricting reform.

Sugar's statement that rejection by fellow Democrats of his prospective candidacy was "wrongheaded" and that he hoped to "live long enough to see the day when Hoosier Democrats begin to behave like winners" exudes an arrogance and sense of entitlement that other successful former Bayh staffers have never projected. For a guy who said he was setting up a consulting firm, I'm not sure how the statement was a winning formula to make friends, influence people or even land new clients.

**Rather than follow the** tried and tested formula of other former chiefs of staffs to elected Democratic leaders who often seek office themselves and maintain relationships and undertake party building during their time as staffers or as former staffers, Sugar tended to take a different approach. After Evan Bayh left the U.S. Senate, Tom Sugar went off on a not-for-profit educational venture and there's no record of his ever fundraising for fellow Democrats or helping organize campaigns. As a member of the board of the Indiana Democratic Victory Committee, I know which of my fellow Democrats have been out there raising funds and helping other Democrats organize cam-

paigns, and candidly, Tom Sugar has been MIA for years.

Take a look at successful elected Democrats who were able to leverage their relationships and their time as the right hand to popular elected officials into public office in their own right: Congressman Pete Visclosky, who served as chief of staff to the late Adam Benjamin, built a network of friends and acquaintances who were personally committed to him so that by the time he decided to run for Congress himself he had an organization ready to go. Plus, he went out and worked his tail off knocking on 30,000 doors in the 1st Congressional District in that memorable three-way primary of 1984.

**The same could be said** of former Bayh chiefs of staff Bart Peterson and Joe Hogsett, who both understood the need to help their boss, Evan Bayh, build party and make linkages throughout the state so that by the time they each ran for political office themselves, there was a built-in network of friends, colleagues, and fellow staff they could count on to help advise, fundraise and organize. By contrast, Sugar had no former Bayh staff or key donors at his side or anyone willing to put their name on the line saying they were for him.

Sugar's statement blasting elected leaders of both parties in the Statehouse with grotesque generalizations about all of them acting "more like Washington insiders than citizen legislators" or "Indiana politicians out of touch with their values" shows someone so completely consumed with his own self-importance that he's not able to distinguish that in any elected body, there are good and bad and some significant differences in motives or commitment to various issues. Rather than paint all of Indiana government as "badly broken" and "dysfunctional," he couldn't even muster a kind word for Democratic legislators or elected officials who are doing their best to help advance good government? What about Sen. Tim Lanane, who appointed Sugar to the bi-partisan redistricting study panel. Doesn't he deserve a shout out? (Personal to Tim: How about we give you a do-over on your appointment to that panel?)

**Tom Sugar did not do the hard,** slogging work ever to be considered as a credible statewide candidate, much less a candidate for the legislature. Neither rank and file nor party leadership ever took to his candidacy and that's why it went nowhere. Contrary to Sugar's absurd claim that he hopes to live long enough to see Hoosier Democrats behave like winners, I wish he had come to last week's St. Joseph County Democratic Party dinner and witnessed 450 Democrats (from across the spectrum from conservative to liberal) rise in unison and give our likely nominee John Gregg a standing ovation, partly in tribute to his successful winning of the "pre-primary," where he skillfully and assiduously pulled together party leaders, city and county officials and labor leadership together behind his campaign.

Frankly, as I said in a recent column, I have rarely seen Hoosier Democrats more committed and united to making a change in the governorship than I've seen in the

last few months. And as for “Democrats behaving like winners,” how about Tom Sugar stops bloviating long enough to appreciate the successes of committed public servants like Joe Donnelly and Glenda Ritz, who have shown recently that Democrats can run and win statewide?

**Simply put,** Tom Sugar hasn’t earned the right to critique this party or our nominee. A favorite saying of Texas politicians would apply to Sugar’s ill-fated candidacy, “He’s all hat. No cattle.”

I only wish Tom Sugar had someone near him to urge him not to hit “send” when that slash-and-burn press release went out on Monday. Just like Jerry McGuire made

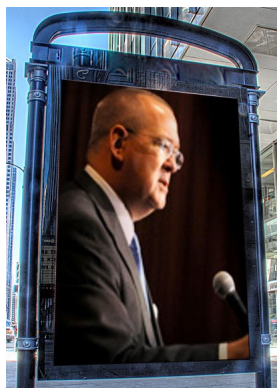
the mistake of distributing his “mission statement” after a sleepless night without consulting anyone ahead of time, it’s a shame Sugar didn’t consult with his longtime mentor before he sent out that diatribe. I guarantee you that Evan Bayh would have advised Sugar that “mission statement” was better left tucked away in a desk drawer, than printed on the front pages of the Indianapolis Star. ❖

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

## Regional cities is already a success

By **MICHAEL HICKS**

MUNCIE – Over the past 50 years, only two Indiana counties have grown faster than the nation as a whole. The rest have been in relative or absolute population decline for a half century. Over that time, we have reformed and modified every tax, repaved and widened almost every road, reformed K-12 education and spent well over \$50 billion in incentives, abatements and outright gifts to attract jobs to Indiana.



In some respects, things are clearly improving. We have a business climate ranked first in the nation and clear momentum on improving human capital. Still most places in Indiana are losing people at a rate that spells long-term fiscal and economic disaster. For several years economists and demographers have warned that Indiana needed stronger, more amenity-rich cities to thrive in the 21st century.

For more than two years, thoughtful state leaders have pushed the need for Indiana to focus attention on population growth. Indiana’s Regional Cities Initiative is one of the most creative and thoughtful public policies to come out of any state in a generation. The results have already been prodigious.

**Last month, seven** Indiana regions representing more than 4.6 million Hoosiers, 70 percent of our population, applied to participate in the first round of this initiative. The process required each region to submit outlines of what they will do over the next few years to attract people to their communities. The vast majority of these plans had to be private sector investment. The state money involved is small, just enough to get regions to

work together. Judged on that metric alone, the program is already a colossal success.

Some have criticized this initiative, arguing that it encourages Indiana communities to compete, or that these dollars would be better spent on traditional economic development efforts. Those views are faulty. Many Indiana communities are competing in a race to the bottom, turning workers into commodities and desperately paying businesses to relocate to their regions. That hasn’t worked in Indiana or anywhere else for the last two generations. We have long needed a different and sustained approach to economic development.

**The Regional Cities Initiative** urges communities to be better places, competing against their former selves, not one another. Without another dollar of state investment this has been a great benefit to Indiana, forcing meaningful dialogue and creating new alliances bound by a grounded vision of a more prosperous region. Most telling perhaps is that the best plans are clearly from those regions that have already turned their attention to attracting talent.

Finally, it is important to talk about the courageous politics of this initiative. The Regional Cities Initiative is not in the national GOP playbook, which is too heavily dominated by tax cuts. Neither is this a Democratic program, since it relies so heavily on the private sector. The Regional Cities Initiative is simply the type of truly innovative, low-cost, high-yield public policy designed to make Indiana a better place to live, raise a family, make a life, and grow old in.

**Michael J. Hicks, PhD, is the director of the Center for Business and Economic Research and the George and Frances Ball distinguished professor of economics in the Miller College of Business at Ball State University.**

# GOP culling, Biden's rise and Hillary's free fall add definition

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS – The past eight days have brought new, though far from complete, definition to the 2016 presidential race. The culling process has begun with Republicans, the frontrunners have damaged themselves, and storm clouds continue to gather over what looks to be another three-way showdown for Democrats as Hillary Clinton continues to be in free-fall.



The key events were:  
**The Sept. 16 Republican Debate:** This is where Carly Fiorina leapt into the top tier with her aggressive debate performance that included the shaming of frontrunner Donald Trump, who attempted to make amends over derisive comments in Rolling Stone about her looks. "I think she's got a beautiful face and I think she's a beautiful woman," Trump said in the meekest statement out of his big candidate mouth. Fiorina's icy glare said it all as a weak smile creased under Trump's squirrely pompadour. The debate audience was not impressed with the front runner.

**Ben Carson and Muslims:** Responding to a question from Chuck Todd on NBC's "Meet the Press" Sunday morning, Ben Carson described the Islamic faith as inconsistent with the Constitution. "I would not advocate that we put a Muslim in charge of this nation," Carson said. "I absolutely would not agree with that." But Carson failed to explain how Islam runs counter to the U.S. Constitution. Two Congressional Muslims, Democratic Reps. Keith Ellison of Minnesota and Andre Carson of Indiana, have both taken the oath of office vowing to uphold the Constitution. On NPR, Rep. Andre Carson explained, "Saying the United States should not elect a Muslim president is as absurd as saying we should not elect a neurosurgeon as president. Freedom of religion is a founding principle of our nation, and for any candidate to suggest that someone of any faith is unfit for public office to me is simply asinine because the founding fathers

were very visionary – still imperfect, as we all are – when they established very clearly and explicitly Article Six of the U.S. Constitution, that there shall not be a religious test to hold public office." The next day, Ben Carson appeared to double down on Fox News' Sean Hannity Show, saying, "Absolutely, I stand by the comments. What we have to do is we have to recognize that this is America, and we have a Constitution, and we do not put people at the leadership of our country whose faith might interfere with them carrying out the duties of the Constitution." But by Tuesday, Ben Carson was backing off, perhaps realizing he has imperiled his candidacy, saying the remarks were "taken out of context." MSNBC's Morning Joe replayed the Meet the Press sequence leaving little doubt about the context. Carson is now a damaged candidate.

**Fiorina rises in CNN/ORC Poll:** The CNN/ORC International poll released Sunday morning shows Fiorina with 15 percent support among Republican respondents, up from 3 percent in a similar poll earlier this month. Trump remained the frontrunner with 24 percent, falling 8 percentage points from earlier this month, however. Ben Carson also slipped in the latest ranking, down 5 points to 14 percent. The critical question for Fiorina is whether she can capitalize on the exposure and build the state-by-state organization needed to secure the nomination. If she fails at that, she will be the strongest contender for the vice presidential nomination.

**GOP culling begins:** First it was former Texas Gov. Rick Perry, who dropped out last week. On Monday, it was Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker, who ran a nonsensical campaign that featured flip-flops on immigration and birthright, a comparison of U.S. labor unions to ISIS, and the

famed foreign policy cram course last spring so he could be the leader of the Free World. Walker was supposed to appeal to the social and economic wings of the party, but he was a poor candidate who ran an idiotic, bloated campaign.

**Biden second in Bloomberg Poll:** The Democratic race is now in complete turmoil. A Wednesday Bloomberg Poll had Hillary Clinton at 33%, the undeclared Vice President Joe Biden at 25% and U.S. Sen. Bernie Sanders at 24%. Biden appears to be headed toward a candidacy as reports that his wife, Dr. Jill Biden, will support a campaign that comes at the deathbed urging of the late Beau Biden. Adding to the good news for the vice president: His favorability ratings are on the rise. Since the last Bloomberg poll in April, Clinton's favorability ratings have dropped 10 points, from 48 percent to 38 percent. Biden's 49



percent favorable score represents a 3-point uptick.

**FBI recovers deleted Clinton emails:** Clinton faces further damage. After the Bloomberg Poll, Bloomberg News and CBS reported that the FBI has been able to retrieve deleted emails from her private server she used as secretary of state. Clinton had said the server had been "wiped" clean. CBS reported: The request for the Justice Department investigation came after the inspector general (IG) for the State Department and the inspector general for the intelligence community penned a memo in late June suggesting that Clinton's private account had "hundreds of potentially classified emails" in it. The two IGs were concerned about the possibility that classified information may have been compromised. HPI prediction: If it is revealed that Clinton's private server has been hacked or compromised with classified information exposed, her campaign will collapse. She already faces an obstacle-strewn October that includes an appearance before the House Select Committee on Benghazi. Her campaign says the testimony will occur on Oct. 22. If past emotional Clinton committee appearances are considered, her candidacy could collapse just on this alone.

**Bayh pushes Clinton ballot petitions in Indiana:** Former senator and governor Evan Bayh is pushing Indiana Democrats to get Hillary Clinton on the Indiana 2016 presidential primary ballot. The last time that happened in 2008, it was discovered that petitions in the 2nd CD were forged, resulting in the convictions of four St.

Joseph County officials. Bayh said in an email to supporters on Saturday, "We all know our friend Hillary Clinton is running to be our next president, and I'm so excited to have you join me as we support Hillary and turn Indiana blue again in 2016! First, though, we have to make sure Hillary's name appears on the May primary ballot. That process requires her campaign to collect 500 valid signatures from registered voters in each Indiana Congressional district. That's why I'm writing to ask for your help." Bayh outlined three steps that included downloading the petition form and providing a mail-in address at Hoosiers for Hillary, P.O. Box 44784, Indianapolis, IN 46244. "We'll take it from there – safeguarding and ensuring the petitions are delivered to the right county clerk's office once the filing deadline opens in January," Bayh said. The petitions can be downloaded by clicking here: [bit.ly/hoosiersforhillary](http://bit.ly/hoosiersforhillary).

**Major unions pass on Clinton endorsement:** Politico reported that the 2-million-strong Service Employees International Union and AFSCME have passed on endorsing Clinton. The SEIU gathered last weekend. "We are determined to take the time necessary to make sure every voice is heard," an AFSCME official told POLITICO.

After 2008, it was hard to fathom a more interesting, compelling and potential sensational nominating process. But the prospects of two riveting nomination fights are high, with the potential for either to be undecided by next May's Indiana primary are high. ❖

**Photography With Punch**  
**A Fresh Look At Indiana Politics**  
**Through The Lens Of Mark Curry**  
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# McIntosh promises to keep pressure on Trump

By MAUREEN HAYDEN  
CNHI Statehouse Bureau

WASHINGTON – David McIntosh, president of the conservative Club For Growth, never imagined that he'd be spending \$1 million to knock down Donald Trump.

Earlier this summer, the former Indiana congressman was convinced the billionaire's fast rise in popularity among Republican primary voters would quickly plummet once Trump's past words and deeds – donating to Democrats and Republicans alike and supporting higher taxes and national health care – were exposed.

McIntosh was so convinced that Trump wouldn't even make it to the first debate, he instructed his staff not to bother with the policy analysis they'd done for other Republican competitors.

"I was wrong about that," McIntosh said last week.

That admission came just days after McIntosh, now in his ninth month at the club's helm, found himself doing the unthinkable. His group has launched a massive ad campaign now unfolding in Iowa, home of the first critical presidential caucus votes, designed to expose Trump as what McIntosh calls just another fast-talking politician.

"This is what the club is all about," said McIntosh during an interview in his corner office, seven blocks from the White House. "We tell truth about people when they're pretending to be conservatives and they're not."

That role is welcomed now by establishment Republicans who view the uncensored Trump as alienating the critical voters, among Hispanics and women, they'll need to win back the White House next year. The deep-pocketed club, with 100,000 donors and a hyper-focus on lower taxes and less government, has vowed to keep up the anti-Trump drumbeat for as long as it takes, McIntosh said.

**The club tends** to focus on a handful of races, often contested primaries in which a conservative is running against a more establishment figure, and steers contributions to its preferred candidates. The group spends millions of dollars each election cycle on ads. Founded in 1999 by conservative economist Steve Moore, the club has grown in member numbers and influence. In the 2012 elections, it spent \$16 million on 18 congressional races. Half of its endorsed candidates won, including U.S. Sen. Ted Cruz, R-Texas, now running for president.

The club has not always aligned with the Republican establishment, having dumped money on fierce

primary battles to take out GOP incumbents that its board, headed by Arkansas billionaire Jackson Stephens Jr., does not deem fiscally conservative enough. In Indiana, the club invested \$3.5 million in 2012 in the Republican primary to defeat U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar. The elder Senate statesman, in the club's view, had compromised too often with Democrats on tax and fiscal policy.

The club's candidate in the race, Tea Party favorite Richard Mourdock, ended Lugar's 36-year lock on the Senate seat, but he unexpectedly lost to the Democrat, Joe Donnelly, in the general election. In sharp parting words, Lugar criticized Mourdock directly, and the club indirectly. "He has pledged his support to groups whose prime mission is to cleanse the Republican Party of those who stray from orthodoxy as they see it," he said.

**McIntosh isn't offended.** "The club stands by that endorsement," he said. "Some in Washington criticized us: 'By supporting Mourdock, you turned the seat over to Democrats.'" But better to have lost than to have compromised ideals, he argues.

"I've been in politics a long time," said McIntosh, who worked in the Reagan White House before returning to Indiana to run for Congress, where he served from 1995 through 2000. "You meet people who really care about the office and the title more than the ideas. We look for the folks who are committed to ideas," he said.

McIntosh has undergone his own evolution. Raised in the small Indiana town of Kendallville, McIntosh was in kindergarten when his father died of cancer. He grew up identifying with Democrats including his mother, who was elected town judge. A transformation occurred when he went off to Yale University, where he found his Christian faith and limited government views better aligned with conservatives. Those ideas were cemented at University of Chicago School of Law, where he founded the Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy, a group dedicated to a smaller national government and more power for the states.

McIntosh and club leaders don't view Trump's evolving views in the same way. They argue that Trump's track record, including his support of government tax incentives to boost businesses in contrast to the club's free-market beliefs, proves him to be fickle.

**Trump, in turn, has** trashed the club. On Twitter last week, he called it "little respected" and accused its leaders of unsuccessfully soliciting a \$1 million contribution from him earlier this year. "Now they are spending lobbyist and special interest money on ads!" Trump tweeted.

McIntosh is dismissive of those criticisms. He's said it was Trump who sought the meeting with the club soon after McIntosh took over its leadership from former Indiana congressman Chris Chocola.



What McIntosh wants now is for the Trump saga to end. "We'd like to get back to focusing on our Senate and House races," he said. That includes the club's endorsement of Indiana Congressman Marlin Stutzman among the three major Republican candidates running to succeed retiring Republican U.S. Sen. Dan Coats.

**Stutzman, a fiscal and social** conservative who's been a thorn in the side of GOP House leaders, fits the club's bill. McIntosh hailed the congressman's 2013 opposition to a bipartisan compromise that ended a partial government shutdown and restored the government's borrowing authority.

McIntosh says Stutzman has a proven record of opposition to wasteful spending, but his primary opponents argue they do, too. U.S. Rep. Todd Young, who's raised about four times as much in campaign donations as Stutzman, cites legislation he's supported that's been backed by the Club For Growth. He claims that his record appeals to those who support "advancing conservative solutions in Congress," a poke at Stutzman's more obstructionist stance.

Meanwhile, candidate Eric Holcomb, who worked for former Gov. Mitch Daniels before becoming Coats' aide,

is also claiming conservative credentials to counter the club's endorsement of Stutzman. Holcomb's spokesman, Pete Seat, said he spent a decade championing pro-growth economic policies that helped Indiana pull itself out of a spending deficit while also cutting property tax rates.

McIntosh, meanwhile, is pleased to see the Indiana candidates vying for the fiscal-conservative vote, and he plans to hold the winner to the promises made during the campaign. Both he and Chocola, his predecessor who retired after six years with the club, have committed themselves to tracking what candidates said to what they do in office.

**"Telling people what** you're going to do and then doing it, I think that's a Hoosier value both Chris and I share," said McIntosh. "We grew up thinking that's what people do. Then we came to Washington and found out that's not true." ❖

**Maureen Hayden covers the Indiana Statehouse for CNHI's newspapers and websites. Reach her at [mhayden@cnhi.com](mailto:mhayden@cnhi.com)**

## Rating the GOP presidential field

By **CRAIG DUNN**

KOKOMO – One of my first jobs was working for a large public utility in southern Indiana. One of the old hands I worked with told me a story about an occasion when he disconnected the service, for non-payment, of a woman that he was pretty sure worked as a lady of the evening. He told me that after he cut her service off, she stormed into his office to complain about the disconnection. When he told her that her service would not be restored until she paid the bill and a deposit, she proceeded to remove her high heel shoe and beat him with the stiletto. In fact, she worked him over pretty good and sent him to the hospital.



Last Wednesday, while watching Carly Fiorina field a question about Donald Trump's insulting comment about electing her face, I got the oppor-

tunity to view the verbal equivalent of a beating with high heels as she decimated the blustery billionaire. Not to mix metaphors, but game, set and match to Carly Fiorina!

I won't recite the highs and lows of the debate again, but I would like to give my view of where the Republican presidential quest stands at this point in time. I'll divide the candidates into three groups: Stick a fork in them, long shots and contenders.

First, those with a fork protruding from them, or please open your mail so you get the memo:

**Former Virginia Gov. Jim Gilmore:** If you can't even qualify for the junior varsity debate, that's a pretty clear signal that you are toast.

**Louisiana Gov. Bobby Jindal:** A very smart man lacking in essential charisma. I believe his days are numbered.

**Former Sen. Rick Santorum:** I can't believe that Santorum seriously believes that he has a chance at this point. His slim opportunity was in 2012 against a far weaker field. Too many other candidates share his beliefs and his base. Game over.

**Sen. Lindsey Graham:** He may hang around until the South Carolina primary, if for no reason other than having a chip in a potential poker game at the Republican National Convention. If he doesn't win his state's "third in the nation" primary, count him out. He's currently on life support.

There's a growing list of long shots who will probably fall to the wayside, but who might conceivably catch on fire:

**Gov. Scott Walker:** When I heard him speak at an Indiana Republican Party state dinner I was surprised at how unexciting he was. I am no longer surprised. To

gain traction as a candidate you must have a message that resonates with the voters and the ability to get their attention. This is why Walker folded on Monday.

**Sen. Ted Cruz:** Brilliant, dogmatic, combative and focused, Cruz lacks a critical likability factor. I sense no warmth in him and just can't see the average voter willing to cozy up to him. He needs to learn to smile every once in a while. This presidential run may just be a trial run for a bid in 2020. He has the money to hang around for quite some time and can go deep into the primary season before crying "uncle." He could inherit some of Jindal's and Santorum's support should they fold their tents.

**Mike Huckabee:** If you could blend Huckabee's likability with Cruz's brilliance, you might be able to work up a respectable candidacy. It's hard not to like the former Arkansas governor. I met him at the Midwestern Republican Leadership Conference as we rode down the elevator together. I mentioned that I was meeting my wife in the lobby and he insisted on coming over to meet her. You can't teach that skill. Unfortunately, Huckabee's human relations skills get overridden by a message parroted by too many other candidates and a media bent on dragging his religious beliefs into every discussion. As a conservative client of mine told me last week, "I liked Huckabee until he supported the Kentucky county clerk. He lost me there." He'll be back on Fox News in time to cover some of the late-March primaries.

**Kentucky Sen. Rand Paul:** Although his libertarian beliefs are appealing on many issues to a large number of Republicans, he will always carry the baggage of a reluctance to use the military and the stigma of marijuana legalization. At this time of great challenges in confronting ISIS, North Korea and Russia, it appears voters are a little reluctant to embrace a candidate whose views come off as isolationist. I believe he'll be done well before the Kentucky Senate primary.

**New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie:** He talked tough before Donald Trump entered the picture, but the lingering controversy over Bridgegate and the emergence of Trump have sealed Christie's fate. There are still a large number of Republicans who won't forgive the "Obama hug." New Hampshire will probably be his swan song. Christie's future may well rest in the attorney general's office.

**Pediatric neurosurgeon Ben Carson: Dr.**

Carson is very smart, personable and popular with a chunk of Republican and Tea Party voters. Lack of governmental experience is both his weakness and his strength. It is obvious to me that he needs to do some serious study work on government policy, legislation and procedures. His low key demeanor turns on some supporters and turns off others. He is the polite outsider in the race. A lack of funds will severely limit his ability to get his message out during the critical month of March. Carson will most likely run the distance fueled by his army of true believers. As the field shrinks due to attrition, I see his support remaining relatively constant. He too could pick up a chip for the Republican National Convention poker game should a brokered convention occur.

This leaves us with the five candidates who I believe are the most serious contenders for the Republican nomination:

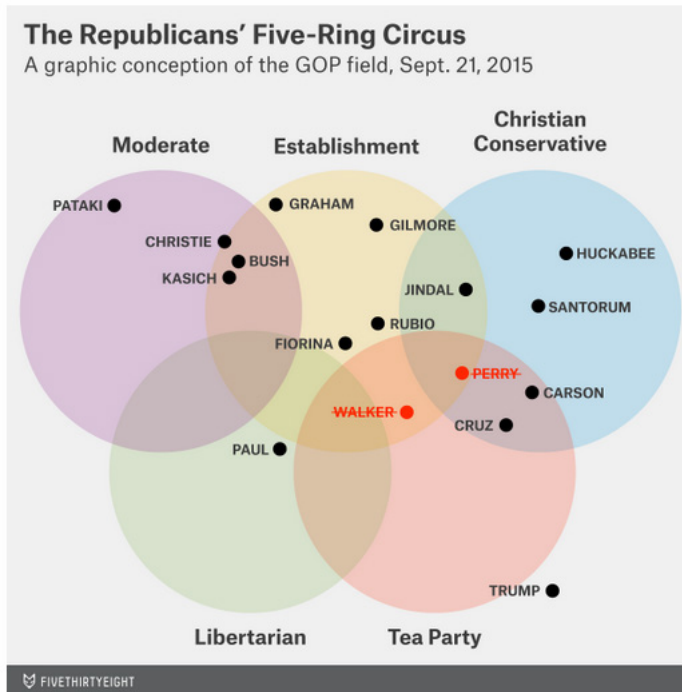
**Former Florida Gov.**

**Jeb Bush:** Experienced, smart and well-financed, he should be dominating the primary field. His biggest stumbling block is serving as the apologist, defender and explainer-in-chief for his brother, former President George W. Bush. Many Republicans that I talk with greatly respect Jeb Bush but just don't want to go through

the media assault of "Oh no, not another Bush!" However, his huge campaign war chest and bevy of talented political experts bodes well for his long-term chances. He's in it to win it.

**Ohio Gov. John Kasich:** The man is razor sharp, forceful and quick on his feet. He is compassionate and has a winning message of working together to make our country great. He will most likely get stronger as the months unfold. His weakness is that the typical Republican primary voter may view him as a moderate, the political kiss of death. He should be able to finance a run to the finish.

**Billionaire Donald Trump:** He has the outsider image and the slick, easy message of, "Throw the politicians out," and, "I'll hire the best people to make America great!" This message always draws a big early crowd of supporters but generally fades when a lack of details kills the buzz. Usually the money fades with the poll numbers and the candidate makes a March exit. However, Trump has the money to fight it out to the finish and take it to the convention. While I just can't see Trump winning the nomination, I could see him causing a brokered convention. Then, as the Rev. Jeremiah Wright might say, "The chickens will come home to roost." Trump's verbal abuse



will come back to haunt him.

**Carly Fiorina:** I'm not sure this dynamo can be kept off of the Republican ticket. She has proven to be tireless, inspirational and crystal clear with her message. She is a great speaker, a superb debater and certainly counters the old "war on women" attack. Time will tell if she can go the distance but if she fails to get the presidential nomination, she will be on everyone's short list for vice president.

**Florida Sen. Marco Rubio:** This guy is the real deal. He gets it. He is eloquent, has a great message of living the American Dream, brings a needed demographic element to the Republican Party and demonstrates an amazing depth of knowledge. He might just be the guy to electrify both the Republican base and the vast number of

young, ethnic and independent voters. He has the funds to survive and will go all the way to the convention. If he fails to grasp the brass ring, he'll also be on everyone's short list, except Bush's, for vice president.

If I had to handicap the contenders today, I would rank their chances as follows: Jeb Bush, Marco Rubio, Carly Fiorina, John Kasich and Donald Trump. Of course, this is how the Republican field looks to me today, but popularity can change on a whim. Just as my box of Wheaties cereal says, "Contents of box may settle during shipping."

Shift happens! ❖

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

## The Gary school death wish

By **RICH JAMES**

MERRILLVILLE – You've got to think the Gary Community School Corp. has a death wish. Every time you turn around, it seems the school system has done something else wrong. If it's not one thing, it's another. And last week things got worse.

The Indiana Department of Education declared several years ago that the school district was "high risk" because of its pathetic performance academically. Well, it appears things have gotten worse.

Part of that problem, of course, rests with the parents who seemingly don't take an interest in the progress, or lack thereof, of their children. And if it isn't the poor performance of the students, it's something else.



Most notably, perhaps, is how the school corporation watched Roosevelt High School decline both academically, athletically and physically.

Almost from its inception, Roosevelt was one of the premier all-black high schools in the nation, academically and athletically. In the 1960s and 1970s, the school won a host of consecutive state track championships and was a power in basketball, where it also won a state championship and would have won another had it not run into the great Oscar Robertson in the state title game.

**As Roosevelt fell** from on high, so too did the building that housed the students. The building deteriorated to the point that the facility wasn't usable for a good

while. But, all along, no one seemed to care. No one did anything to right the wrong.

And as the schools were falling apart, test scores were plummeting and the corporation was on the brink of financial ruin. And at the same time, some of the school board members were running up exorbitant bills as they traveled the country, turning education conventions into vacations at the corporation's expense.

**And as the school's enrollment** plummeted, school officials did nothing to close unneeded buildings or get rid of unneeded teachers. And now, a state audit has determined that the corporation has pretty much hit rock bottom financially.

In a 105-page audit, State Board of Accounts deputy field examiner Tammy White said the corporation is in such disarray that the state cannot determine if the claimed bank balances and spending reports are accurate. "There are things we do not see every day in this report," White said.

White added that other issues identified include a lack of documentation for employee pay rates and hours worked and the co-mingling of federal grant awards with other district funds, preventing review of how grant money was spent, and the submission of inaccurate financial data to the state.

**And all the while** the corporation's debt continues to mount. There is a \$23.7 million operating deficit and long-term debt of \$92 million.

Gary schools Superintendent Cheryl Pruitt pledged to work with state and federal education officials to improve the corporation's financial condition. Given the dire situation, you've got to wonder if any heads will roll. ❖

**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.**



# Pence-Gregg II could be a different race

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – If it's the same, it will be far different. If it's Democrat John Gregg vs. Republican Mike Pence for governor next year, as now seems quite likely, it will be the same candidate match-up as in 2012, when Pence won to become governor.



If it's Gregg vs. Pence again, the race will be far different, even if the outcome turns out to be the same.

Gregg, in Mishawaka Thursday for a St. Joseph County Democratic dinner, had a quick response when asked how a 2016 race

against Pence would be different. "This time he's running on his record," said Gregg. The former Indiana House speaker went on to cite the furor over the Pence-backed "religious freedom" act that was criticized widely in the state and nationally as really providing for freedom to discriminate.

Pence also backed an amendment to the act and said it clarified that there was no intent to discriminate against same-sex couples.

Gregg said the damage was done, with the state "humiliated nationally" and becoming known not for Hoosier hospitality but Hoosier hostility by businesses, convention planners and tourism groups threatening to boycott Indiana. Noting that Pence proposed a "roadmap for Indiana" in that 2012 campaign, Gregg quipped: "He said he'd put us on the map. By golly, didn't he?"

**Gregg used** a similar quip that brought loud applause in his speech to the capacity crowd of 450 at the Democratic Gala, formerly known as the Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner. He also won loud applause when he called for repeal of the amended "religious freedom" act and as he criticized Pence for "a war on public education" and "war on organized labor" and failure to maintain highways.

Yes, a big difference would be that Pence now has a record as governor. Pence, of course, looks at that



record as positive and will cite a budget surplus and lower unemployment.

Gregg said he will hit back that jobs added have been low-paying and that some of that surplus should have been spent to fix the roads and bridges.

Another change is in campaign funding. Gregg couldn't raise much in 2012 and was badly outspent. He is doing much better this time. He actually raised more than Pence in the first six months of the year.

The reason for much better campaign funding? Gregg this time is regarded as having a real chance to win. He was written off even by most Democrats in 2012. Pundits and pollsters viewed Pence, who chose to leave a prominent role in Congress to run for governor, as sure to win big. There was speculation that he then would run as a successful governor for the Republican nomination for president in 2016.

**The different view** of Gregg was shown by the standing ovation he received at the dinner. At this stage before the last governor race, many folks at Democratic dinners didn't even know who Gregg was when he walked in.

Despite a slow start and poor campaign funding, Gregg darn near pulled an upset last time. Pence didn't even get 50 percent of the vote in narrowly escaping defeat in the closest race for governor since 1960.

A key factor was the Mourdock effect. Richard Mourdock, the Republican nominee for the U.S. Senate, self-destructed with campaign blunders, losing what was supposed to be a sure GOP seat and dragging down the totals of other Republicans, including Pence.

Another difference? Mourdock won't be running this time. Also, Pence ran only "positive" TV ads, figuring to coast to victory. He won't count on coasting this time.

**Will Gregg and Pence** for sure be the nominees? There has been speculation that Pence could be challenged for Republican renomination by Indianapolis Mayor Greg Ballard. Doubtful. Tom Sugar, a former key aide to Evan Bayh, has been contemplating candidacy for the Democratic nomination. Possible. But it certainly appeared that the crowd at the St. Joseph County Democratic dinner would be difficult to pull away from

their enthusiasm for Gregg, referred to repeatedly as "our next governor." ❖

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

# Democracy is always a work in progress

By LEE HAMILTON

BLOOMINGTON - Our Founders began with an inspiring set of beliefs about how a nation ought to govern itself, but they also ignored women and chose to set aside the question of slavery. Representative democracy is always a work in progress; we never really get the balance between liberty and justice exactly right.



With a presidential election year fast approaching, we're in for a lot of public talk about the state of American democracy. Much of that discussion will be insightful and thought-provoking, but there's a good chance you'll also find a lot of it vague and hard to pin down.

There's a reason for this. Even our political leaders, the people who are most familiar with the system's workings, have a hard time describing it.

In fact, they even have a hard time labeling it. Ours is not actually a pure democracy; it's more accurate to say that we live in a "representative democracy," that is, the people don't themselves make decisions, but delegate that authority to their elected representatives. In this sense, we really live in a republic, a word you don't often hear from the podium.

Perhaps the best way to start thinking about what American representative democracy really means is to recall the Pledge of Allegiance, which is an oath to the Republic that our flag symbolizes, and in particular to an ideal: That our nation will strive for liberty and justice for all. Plenty of well-meaning people, in the heat of the political moment, seize on one or the other of those twin poles to support their agenda: They insist upon liberty or they demand justice. The Pledge, however, makes it clear that these core principles are inseparable.

Still, they are ideals.

They're not sufficient to define a representative democracy.

**Indeed, no** single feature does. One of our core tenets holds that the people are sovereign; that we give our consent to be governed through regular participation in the elections that decide who will represent us. Yet elections in and of themselves don't define our republic, either; there are plenty of countries around the world whose elections are used to distort

democracy.

So the rule of law is also key, and along with it the notion that everyone ought to be subject to equal justice under the law. The separation of powers among the different branches of government creates a balance designed to protect the people from overweening power. The rights guaranteed by our Constitution ensure that the rights of minorities of all kinds are safe.

**The big challenge** in all this is to set up the structures and practices that protect and defend these beliefs. The courts, legislative bodies and executive branches at the federal, state and local level are an example of this, along with a system of checks and balances that promotes accountability and transparency. So are the freedoms we often take for granted: Under our Constitution, we do not put to a vote whether to continue protecting freedom of religion or the right to express unpopular sentiments or publish news that challenges those in power.

While representative democracy rests on a core set of principles, it remains a constantly evolving concept. At the beginning, ours was limited; our Founders began with an inspiring set of beliefs about how a nation ought to govern itself, but they also ignored women and chose to set aside the question of slavery. This was a democracy of white males of a certain age who owned property. Representative democracy by its nature is always a work in progress; we never really get the balance between liberty and justice exactly right.

This is worth remembering at the moment, when the problems we confront seem so overwhelming and our institutions are under so much strain. The problems they have to resolve – the outsized role of money in politics, excessive partisanship, the sheer complexity of the policy challenges we face – are daunting, but that doesn't mean representative government itself should be called into question.

**In fact, it is our great strength.** It protects against arbitrary authority, strives for justice, hears our varied and conflicting opinions before it acts, and moderates tensions among competing interests. It works in a measured fashion that tends – over time – to encourage policymakers to find consensus. It is the form of government that, when allowed to work properly, is most likely to lead to wise policy, firmly rooted in the consent of the ordinary people on whose shoulders it rests. ❖

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

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

**Nate Silver, FiveThirtyEight:** If you've been following FiveThirtyEight's election coverage, you'll know we've been bullish about two Republican candidates throughout the campaign. One is Marco Rubio, who's done reasonably well so far and is rising in the polls after two solid debate performances. The other is Scott Walker, who just called it quits.<sup>1</sup> We liked Rubio and Walker for pretty much the same reason: They seemed to have the best claims in the field for balancing conservatism with electability, historically a sweet spot for Republican nominees. Rubio's policy positions are close to the mean of Republican elected officials — which is to say, they're quite conservative without being "extreme." But Rubio's also a disciplined politician and potentially has the charisma to connect with a broader group of voters (hailing from a swing state like Florida and being Latino doesn't hurt his electability case, either). Walker is slightly more conservative than Rubio — perhaps slightly "too" conservative for a general election candidate.<sup>2</sup> But he had a genuinely impressive electability record in his favor, having been elected three times in four years (including a recall election) in a blue-leaning swing state, Wisconsin. Put another way, it looked like Walker could potentially be the best of both worlds for Republicans — bridging the gap between the establishment and the insurgent wings of the party by being a credible nominee with both groups. But any time a new product is billed as the best of all possible worlds, it could wind up being the worst of all possible worlds instead. A certain type of tablet computer might be advertised as a perfect substitute for both a laptop and a smartphone, for example. But it could turn out to be worse than a laptop at laptop things and worse than a smartphone at smartphone things, leaving pretty much no one satisfied. Likewise, Walker seemed to be nobody's first choice — to the point that he polled at an asterisk (less than 1 percent of the vote) in CNN's most recent poll after the second Republican debate. Voters craving a political outsider had shinier objects to chase down — most notably, Donald Trump. ❖



**Doug Ross, NWI Times:** Former Lake Station Mayor Keith Soderquist did some good things for the city. But when you do something really awful, it often outweighs the good. Soderquist was convicted Sept. 11 on a string of felony public corruption charges. If taking candy from a baby is bad, taking money from a food pantry to feed a gambling addiction is even worse. But this isn't about kicking someone when he's down. This is about learning lessons from this situation in hopes of preventing something similar from happening again. Stealing money is wrong, no matter how tempting it might be. "Lead us not into temptation," the prayer goes, so the key here is to reduce opportunity, if not motive. Candidates and their advisers need to make it more difficult to access money from campaign contributions. For these accounts, an ATM card

is a bad idea. Writing a check requires more work, plus it offers a visual reminder that there's a paper trail whenever a person withdraws money from the account. Make it more difficult to access funds in city accounts, too. Soderquist had easy access to food pantry funds, which was clearly a mistake. That brings us to a related, but important, point that must be made: Government is not a family business. And yet Soderquist's wife, Deborah, served as his administrative assistant and was involved in the operation of the food pantry. She was also treasurer of her husband's campaign. His stepdaughter, Miranda Brakley, also a Lake Station employee, was indicted on separate public corruption charges at the same time the Soderquists were, but that case remains unresolved. Candidates, choose someone trusted, but outside your family, to serve as treasurer. The Soderquist case shows you need this extra protection from temptation. ❖

**Matthew Tully, IndyStar:** I guess it's no surprise that Carmel is taking a roundabout route toward an expanded civil rights ordinance. Roundabouts are kind of Carmel's thing, after all. And, in the end, there is nothing wrong with methodically working through the democratic legislative process and making sure that what gets passed is worded correctly, fully aired out, and free of accusations that it was rammed through the City Council. Still, it seems that leaders in Carmel, as with leaders in Indiana, are making this harder than it needs to be. They are being nervous where being direct would do. They are looking for nuance when the answer is a simple declaration that all people be treated equally. They are, in some cases, worrying about divisive forces from outside the city (Eric Miller, that means you) when all they need to do is what's best for the community. The state legislature damaged cities such as Carmel last spring when it passed a religious freedom law that, according to Miller's written words, was motivated by a problem some have with gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender Hoosiers. The law hurt Central Indiana in significant ways, most visibly by throwing unnecessary challenges in front of economic development efforts. ❖

**Dan Shaughnessy, Boston Globe:** The only Patriot haters doing worse than the Ravens are the Colts. What a joke. We thought we would have to wait until Oct. 18 to see the Colts pay a price for their hand in Deflategate, but it's been Christmas in September for Patriot fans who put the evil eye on Indy. The Colts have eight turnovers in two games. Evidently, they miss the days of playing with those oh-so-easy-to-secure deflated footballs. Andrew Luck has been outplayed by Ryan Fitzpatrick and Tyrod Taylor, and overwhelmed Indy coach Chuck Pagano is sniping at general manager Ryan Grigson. The Patriots might beat the Colts, 73-0, next month. ❖

## Fiorina, Bush coming to state

INDIANAPOLIS - Republican presidential contender Carly Fiorina will be in Carmel Nov. 11 for an evening fundraising event at the upscale Lucas Estate (Cook, IndyStar). The former Hewlett Packard chief executive joins several other candidates seeking Hoosier campaign cash, including former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and former Florida Gov. Jeb Bush. Fiorina, the only woman in the Republican field, has taken off in the polls following her debate performance last week. That prime time appearance was made possible in part with help from Indiana Lt. Gov. Sue Ellspermann, who sent a letter to CNN's president urging him to include Fiorina in the debate. But Fiorina's rise has also made her a target for frontrunner Donald Trump, who has taken aim at her business record. U.S. Sen. Marco Rubio held a fundraiser here earlier this month and Bush will visit Oct. 12 for a fundraiser at the home of businessman Al Hubbard. Clinton campaign manager Robby Mook will be in town for an Oct. 1 fundraiser at the Rathskeller. An invitation for the event seeks donations of \$100 to \$1,000. Clinton has raised more money from Hoosiers than any other candidate, bringing in about \$323,500.



## Trump holds on to big Fox Poll lead

WASHINGTON - Donald Trump is holding onto his sizeable lead among Republican primary voters, a Fox News poll showed Wednesday, despite being perceived as delivering the worst performance in last week's debate. The poll has the billionaire businessman nabbing 26 percent support, with retired neurosurgeon Ben Carson gaining on him with 18 percent, and former Hewlett-Packard

CEO Carly Fiorina also edging up with 9 percent.

## Carson up 5% in Quinnipiac Poll

WASHINGTON - In the latest Quinnipiac poll, retired neurosurgeon Ben Carson came in second with 17 percent, an increase of 5 points from last month, followed by businesswoman Carly Fiorina at 12 percent, up 7 points, former Florida Gov. Jeb Bush at 10 percent, up 3 points, Florida Sen. Marco Rubio at 9 percent, up 2 points, and Texas Sen. Ted Cruz at 7 percent, who remained steady. Other candidates polled at 2 percent or less, with 9 percent undecided.

## Coats comments on Pope address

WASHINGTON - U.S. Sen. Dan Coats (R-Ind.) today issued the following statement regarding Pope Francis's joint address to Congress: "As one of the most consequential spiritual leaders in the world, Pope Francis has dedicated his life to serving those in need. Like Billy Graham and other religious leaders, the Pope's message transcends the borders of nations and the divide of political parties. My hope is that today Pope Francis can provide spiritual guidance and words of encouragement from Scripture that change lives and encourage souls at a time when our nation desperately needs it."

## Sex assault task force reforms

INDIANAPOLIS — Activists trying to fight Indiana's high rate of sexual assault announced a new publicly-funded organization that will work to prevent sexual assault Wednesday, roughly one year after a similar group was disbanded by a court-appointed manager because it was financially insolvent (Associated Press). Supporters of the Indiana Coalition to End Sexual Assault say they will take fiscal accountability seriously

and have learned from the fate of the former Indiana Coalition Against Sexual Assault, which dissolved in June 2014 after it could not pay its taxes. Former U.S. Attorney Deborah Daniels, the court appointed manager who shut down the old group, said people involved in that effort were well intentioned, but not focused or collaborative enough to raise the money needed to survive. "They didn't put together the kind of organization that had accountability," said Daniels, who was present at the announcement but does not serve on the board.

## Wayne County seeks needle exchange

RICHMOND — An eastern Indiana county facing a rise in hepatitis cases has taken steps to get a needle-exchange program that was established under a new state law. Wayne County Health Department executive director Eric Coulter says county health officer Dr. David Keller has declared a health emergency. Coulter says county commissioners have agreed to provide a letter backing a needle-exchange program.

## Messer, Rokita press Supt. Ritz

WASHINGTON - U.S. Reps. Luke Messer and Todd Rokita are calling for Indiana Superintendent of Public Instruction Glenda Ritz to explain why some charter schools lost more federal Title 1 poverty funding than traditional public schools this year, alleging they were not treated "fairly and equitably" by the state Department of Education. The Republican congressmen sent Ritz, a Democrat, a letter Monday asking the department to explain the formula used this year to determine Title 1 funding levels. Charters said the budget cuts exceed federal limits meant to protect schools from sudden program changes. "This is particularly troubling given that no traditional public school corporation experienced similar cuts," Messer and Rokita wrote.