



McIntosh, Club to bundle \$1M for Marlin

Stutzman will get TV ads to help fend off Young and Holcomb

By **MARK SCHOEFF JR.**

WASHINGTON – An influential conservative organization that has endorsed Rep. Marlin Stutzman (R-3rd CD) for Senate will soon launch an effort to increase substantially his campaign war chest.

The Club For Growth political action committee will start sending letters to its approximately 100,000 members over the next week or two asking them to donate to Stutzman, according to the organization's president, David McIntosh. The group hopes to bundle \$1 million for Stutzman, a big boost to his coffers,



U.S. Reps. Todd Young and Marlin Stutzman chat at the Republican National Convention in Tampa in 2012. The two will be in a dog fight for the U.S. Senate nomination. (HPI Photo by Randy Gentry)

which currently total \$848,853 in cash on hand, according to the Federal Election Commission.

In the fall, the Club For Growth super PAC, Club For Growth Action, will develop television ads for Stutzman that tout his voting record and offer contrasts with his two major opponents for the GOP Senate nomination, Rep. Todd Young (R-9th CD) and former state Republican Chairman Eric Holcomb.

In an HPI interview, McIntosh said that Stutzman is the

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Gregg bucking history

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – John Gregg is poised to achieve something that legendary Indiana governors Oliver P. Morton and Thomas A. Hendricks did, which is to win a gubernatorial nomination after losing a prior race.



With Supt. Glenda Ritz and State Sen. Karen Tallian exiting the Democratic gubernatorial race over the past two weeks, Gregg is now a clear frontrunner for the right to a rematch with Gov. Mike Pence.

It is an opportunity that has been elusive in Hoosier politics over the past 75 years. In modern Indiana politics, defeated nominees have often faced a one-and-done dynamic,



“If ... I am faced with a vote to authorize military force against Iran, I owe it to the men and women of our armed forces ... to have exhausted every other option to stop Iran.”

- U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly, who will support the Iran deal



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though in the 19th and early 20th centuries vanquished nominees often had a second or even third shot.

Since Indiana changed and allowed governors to serve two consecutive terms, there has not been a rematch. Pence defeated Gregg in 2012 by 1,274,424 to 1,200,016, or by a 49.49 to 46.56 margin. Only Govs. Evan Bayh (1,382,151 in 1992) and Frank O'Bannon (1,232,525 in 2000) have received more votes than Gregg among Democratic nominees. Gov. Mitch Daniels holds the Indiana record with 1,563,885 votes in 2008.

Among defeated nominees who received a second chance, the famed Civil War Gov. Morton lost the 1856 governor's race as a Know Nothing candidate, ran as the Republican lieutenant governor candidate in 1860 and won, then ascended to the governorship when Gov. Henry Lane resigned, only to be appointed by Morton to the U.S. Senate. Morton won a full term on his own in 1864.

Democrat Thomas A.

Hendricks lost razor-thin races to Lane in 1860 (51-48%) and 1868 to Republican Gov. Conrad Baker by just 961 votes, before finally defeating Republican Thomas Browne by just over 1,000 votes in 1872. In 1900 and 1904, Democrat John Kern lost to Republican Govs. Winfield Durbin and Frank Hanly. And in 1920 and 1924, Democrat Carlton McCullough lost races to ignoble Govs. Warren McCray (who was indicted, convicted and served a term in federal prison), and Edward L. Jackson (the Ku Klux Klan governor). Republican Raymond Springer lost consecutive races against Govs. Paul McNutt and Clifford Townsend in 1932 and 1936 at the height of President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal.

Since then, notable political figures such as Richard O. Ristine,

Larry Conrad, Robert Rock, Wayne Townsend, Stephen Goldsmith, and John Mutz won nominations, lost elections and never returned to the top rung of Indiana politics.

The Democratic gubernatorial

race took a decisive turn during the first two weeks of August when Ritz and Tallian dropped out, giving the beleaguered super minor party a chance to avoid a costly and divisive primary. Tallian told the NWI Times that she was ending her campaign saying, "I've got no choice." That came after the Indiana Steelworkers endorsed Gregg over the weekend,

only to be followed by the AFL-CIO. "I can't fight all of that." Tallian, who had hoped to find labor support, follows Supt. Glenda Ritz, who abruptly ended her campaign on Aug. 7.



Tallian explained, "After much consideration, I am announcing my withdrawal as a candidate for the Democratic Party's nomination for

governor. My congratulations go out to John Gregg, and I support his efforts to lead this state. I am humbled by the welcome I received from all corners of the state over the last few months. I will continue to build on my decade of experience as a state senator, fighting to ensure equal rights, well-paying jobs, and quality education for all Hoosiers."

In a statement

from AFL-CIO President Brett Voorhies, the 300,000 member union is standing by the 2012 Democratic nominee, saying, "John has spent his entire career standing up for working families and we know that he will continue to do that as our next governor. John Gregg will not only bring some much needed balance back to the Statehouse, he will bring the right priorities and right temperament to the office. He will focus on improving working people's

lives instead of a partisan agenda that does nothing to create jobs, improve schools or fix our infrastructure."

"We are proud to support John Gregg for governor because we know that he will work to rebuild our economy and unite Hoosiers with common sense policies that improve the lives of everyday working people like us," said United Steelworkers District 7 Director Mike Millsap. "From crumbling roads and bridges, challenges in public education, to an economy that is failing far too many Hoosier families, we can't afford to continue to be distracted by the radical ideological fights that Mike Pence has engaged in."

The unions have played a traditional role in Democratic gubernatorial politics, though that has diminished in the past decade. In 2008, key unions such as sheet metal workers and building trades actually endorsed Republican Gov. Mitch Daniels, even as their banners projected sponsorship of the Democratic Jefferson-Jackson Dinner that featured Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton. The Indiana State Teachers Association has not been as prominent due to field problems, though the UAW and Steelworkers are still prodigious in field operations and phone banking. The result were GOP super majorities that passed Right to Work and repealed the common construction wage since 2012.

How did Gregg claw his way into the position to sideline a modern trend? Gregg certainly used the Republican encroachments into the labor portfolio as he appealed for early support in the 2016 cycle. But it goes deeper than that.

"A couple days after the election, he put together a list of things he did right and things he did wrong," said Jeff Harris, who is voluntarily handling media for the Gregg campaign. "He learned it is quite a leap running statewide than for state representative. I think he learned a lot from four years ago. He is a completely different candidate."

Harris continued, "I've heard him say over and over again that losing an election that close was a personal disappointment, and even more so after watching the way Gov. Pence has governed."

"He's got a good team around him and he's listening to them," Harris said. "He's doing the the things he needs to do to build a team and do things better. He's a very focused candidate. He's on the phone a lot. When he's not in a fundraising mode, he's calling county chairs and elected officials. He's fully in."

In talking with Gregg over the past few months, the humor is still there, but the jokes that have made Gregg a popular political figure have fallen by the wayside. He has had a singular focus on fundraising. Gregg has declared himself to be in an improved position. "I'm a much better candidate this time, I'm running a much better campaign," Gregg told HPI last week. "Gov. Pence is running on his record and he's vulnerable."

Gregg set the stage for becoming the frontrunner when he raised \$1.7 million during the first half of the year, convincing key labor unions to get on board early, depriving Sen. Tallian an expected source of support. Supt.

Ritz also quickly discovered that Gregg had cut off potential funding and support.

After Ritz pulled out of the race on Aug. 7, Gregg burnished his list with endorsements from the United Steelworkers last Saturday, and from the AFL-CIO on Monday. The United Auto Workers will gather in French Lick on Saturday to make an endorsement decision. Then came the support from 37 mayors, including Gary Mayor Karen Freeman-Wilson on Wednesday. Of that group, Gregg picked up endorsements from Crown Point Mayor David Uran, East Chicago Mayor Anthony Copeland and Whiting Mayor Joe Stahura, potentially depriving support from potential rival Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr.

In addition to McDermott, former Evan Bayh aide Tom Sugar is weighing a bid. But if either Sugar or McDermott gets in, he will find a frontrunner with a big money advantage, and widespread and growing union and municipal support. ❖

Region intrigue as Tallian exits gov race

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – It has been a terribly interesting week for Northwest Indiana in terms of statewide politics. And, what transpired has left several questions unanswered.

News accounts surfaced on Tuesday that state



Sen. Karen Tallian of Ogden Dunes was dropping out of the Democratic race for governor, and that retired Lake Circuit Judge Lorenzo Arredondo of Crown Point will seek the attorney general nomination at the Democratic Party's state convention in June 2016.

The two announcements had inquiring minds wondering a number of things. Did the party force Tallian out of the governor's race with the promise

it would support her for attorney general?

Interestingly, Tallian declined comment on whether she is being urged by some party leaders to seek the attorney general nomination. And, Tallian said she hasn't had a discussion with gubernatorial candidate John Gregg about being his lieutenant governor.

One thing seems certain, the last thing party leaders want to do is encourage Tallian to run for attorney general. Lake County Democrats, who could play a major

role in deciding who will be the state's next governor, are unified in support of Arredondo, knowing he could be a key player in bringing out the Hispanic vote. And, a Northwest Indiana battle for attorney general makes little sense, particularly because it's rare to have someone from the area on the statewide ballot.

Tallian's decision also shows that labor unions remain king in Indiana Democratic politics. For the record, Tallian said she ended her quest for governor because the AFL-CIO and the United Steelworkers of America both endorsed Gregg's candidacy. Tallian said that without volunteer and financial support from the labor unions, she had little chance of winning the nomination for governor. "I can't fight all that," Tallian said.

Curiously, Northwest Indiana unions, which are the most extensive in the state, are not backing Tallian, who is considered one of their own.

Gregg stood with Lake County Sheriff John Buncich, who also is county Democratic chairman, and NWI

labor leaders at a Buncich fundraiser a month ago.

There was little doubt that the union support for Gregg was solid.

During the first six months of this year, Tallian raised \$23,700 while Gregg brought in \$1.7 million. Much of Gregg's money came from state and national labor organizations.

All that likely had Tallian shaking her head. If any candidate deserved union support, you'd think it would be Tallian, who has been a voice for labor as the top Democrat on the Pensions and Labor Committee in the Republican-controlled Senate. That leaves one to think the unions didn't see Tallian as electable against Pence. Tallian's Senate term runs through 2018. ❖

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

McIntosh, from page 1

candidate who best represents the Club's "free market, limited government principles."

The group was deeply involved in the 2012 GOP Senate primary in Indiana, playing a leading role in ending Sen. Richard Lugar's 36-year Senate career and propelling former state treasurer Richard Mourdock to victory. Mourdock lost the general election to Democratic Sen. Joe Donnelly in part because of comments he made about rape during the fall campaign.

Stutzman, a Tea Party favorite like Mourdock, also at times has stumbled rhetorically. During the government shutdown two years ago, he was quoted as saying he wasn't sure what Republicans were trying to accomplish but that it was a good idea anyway. A member of the far-right faction in the House that has at times tormented House Speaker John Boehner, Stutzman is sometimes a rabble rouser.

But McIntosh is not worried that he will veer off the road in his Senate campaign the way Mourdock did. "He'll be a really good candidate," said McIntosh, a former

Hoosier congressman who took the reins of the Club in January. "In particular, Marlin has thought about how to run statewide and win the Senate race in Indiana."



Club For Growth President David McIntosh is preparing to help bundle \$1 million for Marlin Stutzman's U.S. Senate campaign. (HPI Photo by Mark Schoeff Jr.)

Among the things that attract the Club to Stutzman is his willingness to stake out a position on budget cutting and stick to his guns, even though powerful lobbyists may be on the other side. McIntosh highlighted Stutzman's effort a couple of years ago to separate the farm bill from the food stamps program. The House voted once to bifurcate them, but ultimately they were combined in final legislation. Stutzman owns a farm in Howe. "That type of strength of character makes Marlin appealing to the Club," McIntosh said.

So does Stutzman's 93-percent voting record on tax-cut, deregulation and other bills targeted by the group. Young's 68 percent Club scorecard, which McIntosh called "disappointing," got him passed over. "He ran as a conservative; he's got a conservative district," McIntosh added.

The Club also points to a vote on an energy and water appropriations bill on which Stutzman and Young split. An amendment would have banned the use of funds in the bill for renewable-energy and wind-energy programs. Stutzman supported the amendment and Young opposed it. McIntosh said that the vote

shows that Young favors "tax credits for windmills."

"If a special interest group comes asking for a tax benefit, he'll work on that rather than lower taxes for everybody," McIntosh said. "I like Todd. He's a good man. But he wouldn't do as much work for the pro-growth agenda as Marlin."

The renewable-energy measure was part of a larger appropriations bill that would have cut off funding for a whole spectrum of energy-efficiency initiatives. It was not specifically about wind-energy tax credits. Rather it was a response to a proposed regulation related to wild birds being killed by wind-energy equipment.

The Young campaign disputes the Club For Growth's assessment of Young's conservatism. Unlike Stutzman, Young was the author of bills that have been approved by the House, such as legislation that would restore the definition of a work week to 40 hours under the health-care-reform law.

"Todd Young has a record as a conservative candidate who has proved he can win tough races, and as a conservative legislator who has proved he can get legislation to move," Young's campaign manager, Trevor Foughty, said in a statement. "That sets him apart in this race, and it's the sort of effective leadership Hoosiers are looking for."

McIntosh said that it often takes years for a bill to pass. Stutzman's effort to separate food stamps from the farm bill may come to fruition down the road, and may become a talking point in the race for the White House in this cycle. "I would predict that you would see some Republican presidential candidates saying that's the right approach," McIntosh said.

Holcomb, a former top aide to former Gov. Mitch Daniels, does not have a voting record. But that won't stop the Club For Growth from targeting him in contrast ads, too.

McIntosh also described Holcomb as a good man before criticizing him. "My sense is Eric would be more inclined [toward] corporate cronyism, the use of government to help big business," McIntosh said. "He would end up being part of the problem when Congress ends up voting for a wind-mill tax break or the Export-Import Bank. We want a leader who says, 'Let's get the government out of these businesses.'"

Holcomb's campaign said that he would concentrate on keeping major company operations, such as those for Roche Diagnostics Corp. and Cummins Inc., in Indiana. "Holcomb spent a decade, alongside former Gov. Mitch Daniels, championing the very pro-growth economic policies that helped Indiana go from broke to a triple-A credit rating, created a private sector driven infrastructure program that built a record number of road projects year after year, and built an environment that allowed entrepreneurs to flourish," Holcomb spokesman Pete Seat said in a statement. "Sadly, over that same period, we've witnessed Washington, D.C., founder. "

Young and Holcomb may be better able to work

with Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell, R-Ky., than Stutzman, a consistent thorn in Boehner's side.

"I want Mitch McConnell to be doing more conservative things so that we're all in the same camp," McIntosh said. "Part of getting there is to have senators like Marlin who will stand up in the Republican caucus and say, 'Let's do the right things. Let's be conservatives.'"

But that doesn't necessarily mean that Stutzman will automatically become an acolyte of firebrand conservative Sen. Ted Cruz, R-Texas, who often clashes with McConnell. McIntosh said that Stutzman has told McConnell that he is not running as a rebel. "That was a smart thing for Marlin to say," McIntosh said.

The Stutzman campaign did not directly respond to a question about whether he had spoken to McConnell. "Marlin has always had the courage and conviction to do the right thing for Hoosier families and will continue to do so as Indiana's next U.S. Senator," Stutzman campaign manager Brendon DelToro said in a statement.

All parts of the party will back Stutzman, should he emerge as the primary winner, McIntosh said. "The establishment is willing to help us get conservatives elected," McIntosh said. "When he wins the primary, it will be helpful to Marlin to have Republican Party support to win the general."

First, though, Stutzman is going to have to get through a tough primary.

Unlike 2012, when the goal of stopping Lugar was as important as electing Mourdock, in this cycle, the Club For Growth must elevate Stutzman above the others. "One of our roles will be to promote the positives of Marlin," McIntosh said.

In order to give him a boost, the group is trying to target postal mail and online ads at voters who are mostly likely to vote for Stutzman. It is buying data from the Republican National Committee and outside groups. "We're pushing ourselves about being sophisticated in using that data," McIntosh said.

Stutzman, as well as Young and Holcomb, is looking for every edge he can get in a tough primary battle.

Holcomb adds Milo, Noel to campaign

Republican Senate candidate Eric Holcomb announced Wednesday that LaPorte Mayor Blair Milo and Clark County Sheriff Jamey Noel will join the campaign as co-chairs.

Milo and Noel said in a statement, "Eric Holcomb is a next generation leader. He offers Hoosiers a solutions-oriented approach to addressing our nation's toughest challenges using the record of results he has compiled right here in Indiana. While there are many talented individuals vying to serve, Eric Holcomb stands head and shoulders above the rest." ❖

Dickerson to challenge Baron Hill for Senate

By **MATTHEW BUTLER**

INDIANAPOLIS — Longtime disability advocate John Dickerson announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for U.S. Senate Saturday morning. Before 50-some supporters at Shapiro's Deli on the south side of downtown Indianapolis, Dickerson was introduced by former Democratic Lt. Gov. Kathy Davis. Dickerson, until recently, was the executive director for The Arc of Indiana since 1983.



"I am running for the U.S. Senate," Dickerson said. "When I'm asked, 'Why are you running?' It's to bring this voice to the political discussion.

I've been honored to work with a number of wonderful people. And, I've learned and demonstrated that we can change government to change lives." Dickerson referenced the revolution in how government, society, families, and schools treat those with intellectual and developmental disabilities since the 1970s.

"I want to be your senator; I want to take your attitude to Washington," he told cheering supporters.

Dickerson said "a strong and vibrant economy" is his top goal. "We've got to make tough choices," he remarked. "We can use data, we can use information to move our resources into things that work and move them from things that don't work. When we make strategic investments we know where we are going."

Dickerson touched on the timely issue of infrastructure. He said a friend heading to the rally was stuck on I-65. "It's great that we're expanding and building I-69, but if we have a bridge falling down on I-65, we need an infrastructure bill enacted that puts Hoosiers to work building things again." He also said the No Child Left Behind Act was implemented without full funding for schools to make interventions for struggling students, such as summer school programs. "We didn't do that," Dickerson said. "We have to live up to our promises."

Social issues, such as marriage equality, were also addressed. "Too often, we are dividing ourselves on how we look and who we love and it is wrong," Dickerson said. "We have to fight for racial and income equality. We have

to protect the right for people to love and live and marry with whomever they choose."

Upon the March announcement that current U.S. Sen. Dan Coats would not seek reelection, the open Senate seat has created ripples throughout the Hoosier political landscape. It is currently a two-man race for the Democrats; former congressman Baron Hill announced he was running for the nomination earlier this spring. State Rep. Christina Hale of Indianapolis told HPI several months ago she had seriously considered a bid. There were speculation and rumblings that former occupant Evan Bayh would enter the fray with his \$10 million campaign war chest. His silence on the matter, many observers thought, froze the Democratic field for several months.

HPI asked Dickerson if there was something about Hill he found unsatisfactory and led him to run. "Well, this all started with a conversation about nine months ago, long before Baron got in the race and actually before Sen. Coats decided to retire," Dickerson told HPI. "And, I will tell you it started with a lunch conversation with Kathy Davis when I was encouraging her to see what her future was. She turned the tables on me and said, 'You've traveled the state of Indiana and worked together and made change. Why don't you think about the U.S. Senate?'"

"Three things happening shortly after that really



pushed me toward this decision," Dickerson said. "One was Sen. Inhofe throwing the snowball in the U.S. Senate. We cannot deny the facts of climate change. We've got to plan for it.

"The second thing was that Sen. Leahy working on the Voting Rights Restoration Act could not get one Republican senator to cosponsor. We have not only got to restore the Voting Rights Act, but we need a modern act that makes it easier for people to vote and gets more people involved in democracy.

"The third thing was watching discussion of the budget. We have fought two wars without asking the

American people to help with that at all except to go shopping. We need to figure out a path forward."

Addressing his lack of political experience, Dickerson told reporters, "As I've talked to people across the state, it's encouraging people that someone who isn't a career politician is out there willing to put themselves forward and talk about things. I've been involved in local politics as a precinct committee person getting people out to vote."

"It was those things that I saw that I could do rather than looking at Baron or anyone else," Dickerson said. "That's what drove me to this decision."

The campaign has launched a rather sharp-looking website and is on social media. Aaron Ketzenberger, Dickerson's campaign manager, told HPI they have a finance director and other senior staff selected. "Next, we're going to start all the necessary fundraising that all campaigns have to do and start heading out around Indiana. John has people who want to sit down and talk with him in living rooms all across the state," Ketzenberger said.

Dickerson told HPI he chose Shapiro's because it's been a meeting spot for political leaders spanning the ideological spectrum to chat and tackle problems. That still appears to be the case. After the Democrat's nomination event, HPI spied current Indiana Republican Party Chairman Jeff Cardwell having lunch with a friend and former chairman Mike McDaniel getting carryout.

"I have worked with Democrats and Republicans alike over the course of my career, and have been navigating those sometimes-tricky relationships for the benefit of Hoosiers," Dickerson said.

Davis said she worked closely with Dickerson when she headed the state's budget agency and the Family and Social Services Administration under the Bayh and Frank O'Bannon administrations. She said they worked together to streamline funding toward those in need. "Nobody cares more for all of us than John Dickerson," said Davis. "John Dickerson is a champion. He is a thoughtful, patient, persistent leader. He has trained hundreds of state legislators, FSSA secretaries, and FSSA staff on what it takes to get results for people. He has a lot of heart and a lot of skill and he is ready to bring all of that to move the country forward."

State Rep. John Bartlett of Indianapolis was among those in attendance at the rally.

There has been far more activity and knock-on effects on the Republican side of the Senate equation. Eric Holcomb, a former state party chairman and top advisor for both Mitch Daniels and Dan Coats, entered the race before anyone in late March. Since then he has been joined by U.S. Reps. Marlin Stutzman and Todd Young. Their candidacies have spurred five Republicans all currently holding elected office to announce congressional campaigns. State Sens. Jim Banks and Liz Brown seek to follow Stutzman whereas Attorney General Greg Zoeller and State Sens. Brent Waltz and Erin Houchin are vying for Young's seat.

9th CD: Yoder first Democrat to declare

Monroe County Councilwoman Shelli Yoder is the first Democrat to declare for the open 9th CD (Howey Politics Indiana). She unsuccessfully challenged U.S. Rep. Todd Young in 2012, then was elected to the county council in 2014. "I'm a different kind of Democrat, and I will always put common sense over partisan ideology," said Yoder, a former Miss Indiana who lives in Bloomington. "I believe good government and a strong private sector can work together without leaving hard-working Hoosier families behind, and I have a proven



track record of working across the aisle to solve tough problems as a public servant. More than anything, I understand as the mom of three young children that you can't fix anything if folks are always fussing and

fighting. It's time to put petty politics aside and move all communities and Hoosiers in the Ninth District forward." Yoder lost to Young 165,332 to 132,848. in 2012. Young is seeking the Republican U.S. Senate nomination. Yoder is a senior lecturer at Indiana University's Kelley School of Business.

3rd CD: Brown signs spending pledge

State Sen. Liz Brown has signed the Coalition to Reduce Spending's pledge to reduce spending. The pledge stipulates that Brown will not vote for any spending without offsets elsewhere in the budget and will vote only for budgets with a path to balance.

Mayors

Fort Wayne: Coats fundraiser for Harper

U.S. Sen. Dan Coats will host a fundraiser for Republican mayoral nominee Mitch Harper from 5 to 7 p.m. Monday at Hotel Fort Wayne. Sponsorship levels range from \$100 to \$2,500.

Elkhart: Neese, Moore spar

Elkhart Mayor Dick Moore is lashing back after Tim Neese, his challenger in the November election, criticized upkeep of the RiverWalk east of the city center (Vandenack, Elkhart Truth). Neese's "lack of experience in managing anything remotely like a city can't be disguised by walking the city and pointing out every weed," said a statement Moore issued Thursday. Moore, a Democrat seeking his third term in office, went on, noting heavy rainfall so far this year and a recent storm in Elkhart, seemingly suggesting that quick plant growth from the rain and damage caused by bad weather has hampered upkeep efforts. "Near record rainfall this year has tasked city resources as well," said Moore's statement. "And not too long ago, a storm came down on Elkhart." ❖

Microburst showdown as Trump, Sanders feed on inflows

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – A friend sent me a spectacular time lapse video clip of a wet microburst collapsing over Tucson recently. It brought back vivid memories of a microburst that hit my neighborhood while living in Elkhart. The skies glowered and blackened. There was a high-pitched squeal, followed by a thunderous roar, and then Mayhem appeared with a bandage over his eye. When we emerged from our basement, about a dozen very mature trees on our block had been uprooted. At a nearby intersection, all the stop signs were twisted, cranked into a bizarre clockwise position.

Thus, my metaphor for the current Republican presidential race.

Donald Trump is our microburst. He is impressive, dominating and vulgar. He is celebrity, or as Club For Growth's David McIntosh described him, he is a "showman." Washington Post columnist George Will termed him a "counterfeit Republican." And in this late summer of 2015, Trump has impressive leads in national, Iowa and New Hampshire polling. He is nipping at the beleaguered Hillary Clinton's heels, trailing her by just 6% in a CNN Poll. A Fox News Poll earlier this week had Trump leading Ben Carson 25-12%, while assumed frontrunners Jeb Bush and Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker were at 9 and 6% respectively. In swing state Quiniace Polling today, Trump leads Bush and Marco Rubio in Florida 21% to 17% to 11%.

For the pundit class, Trump is fun, wily, narcissistic and completely unpredictable. Trump is shredding conventional wisdom. And some, like Bloomberg's Mark Halperin, have come to a similar conclusion that I have, which is that Trump has the potential of winning the Republican presidential nomination. "Most importantly, we've reached a turning point with Trump, the major establishment campaigns of both parties now think Trump could win Iowa, and most of them think he could win the nomination, and a significant number think he could win the White House," Halperin said on MSNBC's "Morning Joe." The campaigns are in "full freak-out mode."

While I agree with Halperin that Trump could, maybe, win the GOP nomination even after dozens of flip-flops on issues that were once near and dear to true

believers, I don't believe he can win the general election. Democrats, independents, blacks and Latinos would restore equilibrium.

History is instructive here. In the summer of 2011, Republican midgets such as Herman Cain and Michele Bachmann were leading in the polls at various points. In the summer of 2007, Hillary Clinton was the presumptive Democratic nominee. The mirages of summer always seem to hit the hard wall of reality.

On Wednesday in Derry, N.H., Trump insisted, "I'm not going anywhere."

Indiana Republican Chairman Jeff Cardwell looks on this whole circus with the kind of wonderment most of us do. He went to Cleveland for the first Republican debate and found an "electrified" city with Republicans "excited and engaged." And Cardwell dreams the dreams of pundits, envisioning a May 2016 Indiana primary with the post-Trump survivors crisscrossing the state, just like Clinton and Obama did in 2008 when there were more than 150 candidate and family appearances. There could be a straw poll at the fall dinner, and big candidate confabs at the Indiana State Fair grounds next April.

So Donald Trump is the microburst. He is spectacular and impressive, and then lethally dangerous when he collapses. If, perhaps when, this occurs, there will be a torrent of wind that will rearrange the Republican field. Some will have died after Trump gobbled up all of their



oxygen and fundraising potential. Others will find themselves standing in places they do not recognize, some may have skulls impaled by straw and emery boards. Trump's helicopter may end up in Tijuana.

There will be survivors. Who, you ask? Despite Jeb Bush's willowy performances and his weird hugs of Iraq War 2003 stars such as Paul Wolfowitz, he will have close to \$200 million or more to spend. That can buy a lot of gross rating points and smooth out embarrassing scars. Perhaps Sens. Marco Rubio and Ted Cruz will survive, bringing along some machine gun bacon and a cigarette boat for the homestretch. Maybe Carly Fiorina persists, unless she completely loses grip on a right-wing wobble like she did on the issue of mandatory vaccinations, choosing

parental choice over common public health, an issue that has already bitten the strange, strange campaign of Sen. Rand Paul. Perhaps the sanity and compassion of Ohio Gov. John Kasich will prevail with the adults in the room (any adults out there? Any? Show of hands?)

The other fascinating aspect of this presidential race is that while Hillary Clinton wallows in her classified emails and server crisis, Vermont Sen. Bernie Sanders is feeding off the same inflows and moisture that fuel the Trump microburst. The Sanders campaign is growing off the same types of populist sentiments, but from an angle 180 degrees away. While Trump says he is so rich that no one can ever pay him off, Sanders decries the same big money purchase of American politics all while telling Iowans that he "forgot" his helicopter.

Can Sanders win the Democratic nomination if Clinton continues to grope? My theory here is that the more wounded Hillary becomes, the more likely that Vice



President Joe Biden gets into the race, making South Carolina his first battleground. This could set up a similar dynamic to Iowa in 2008 where Clinton, Obama and John Edwards battled it out.

How damaged is Hillary Clinton?

Other than Evan Bayh, who doesn't live in Indiana any more, I haven't heard of many Hoosier Democrats who have endorsed anyone. There is a growing cadre of Indiana Democrats who doubt Clinton will be the nominee. It's a similar dynamic that their Republican counter parts are experiencing. Hoosiers are waiting.

They are watching in fascination as the storm clouds gather and billow. They are hearing the storm warnings and the ominous thunder off in the distance. They see the lightning. They are preparing to seek shelter but don't know who will provide it. And they are transfixed on the awesome spectacle of politics and celebrity and the strange new realities that could transpire. ❖

Fiorina emerges from GOP second tier

By PETE SEAT

INDIANAPOLIS – Carly Fiorina, the former Hewlett-Packard CEO and one-time U.S. Senate candidate, found herself the talk of the town following an impressive performance in the first presidential debate of the 2016 cycle. Her crisp responses and sharp critiques of Hillary Clinton, Fiorina's go-to punching bag, earned her major plaudits from every corner of the media and political worlds. And rightfully so.



But can she capitalize on this?

There is undoubtedly a growing sense within the Republican primary electorate that Fiorina should be included on the main stage when the candidates next gather for two more rounds of debate at the Ronald Reagan Library on Sept. 16. But to get there she must overcome two big hurdles, turning fans into voters and CNN's debate requirements.

Fans equal votes

There's a distinct difference between people who

support Fiorina's inclusion in the debate and those who would cast a vote for her to be the nominee. For instance, I would venture to guess that if you assembled 10 Republicans in a room and asked them if Fiorina should be on the main stage of the next debate the enthusiastic answer would be, "Yes!"

In fact, that was one of the questions posed by Suffolk University in a recent poll of Iowa Republicans. When asked, "Should Carly Fiorina be invited to future televised debates against the top-tier Republican candidates?" the affirmative response was a resounding 92.84 percent.

But that's not the question that gets one onto the debate stage. The money question, so to speak, is some variation of "Who would you vote for to be the Republican nominee?"

If the former question was employed, I have no doubt Fiorina would be on the stage. It's the latter question that might prevent her from getting there, however. She needs to move more Republicans from merely fans to full-fledged voters.

CNN's debate requirements

The host of the next two debates, CNN, released criteria that vary from the requirements used by Fox News for their two debates last week. Whereas Fox used an average of five national polls taken in the days leading up to the debate to determine eligibility, CNN's rules state the network will use "an average of all qualifying polls released between July 16 and Sept. 10." By broadening the base of polls used, there will be multiple polls in which Fiorina

received zero percent of the vote, results that could diminish the impact of her current post-debate bump in support.

On this front, the good news is that the current RealClearPolitics polling average puts Fiorina in 11th place with 2.8 percent of the national primary vote (two days ago she was in 13th place with 1.3 percent). The bad news is when using the nine polls that CNN would count (they exclude outfits such as Public Policy Polling and Rasmussen), her average dips below 1 percent.

Nevertheless, Fiorina has time. If anyone is poised



to clear these hurdles right now, it's she. Despite the rush of stories about Donald Trump and the near constant swirl of controversy around his candidacy, Fiorina remains in a position to earn the support necessary to crack the top 10 and shine in primetime. ❖

Pete Seat is senior project manager at the Indianapolis-based Hathaway Strategies. He was previously a spokesman for President George W. Bush, U.S. Sen. Dan Coats and the Indiana Republican Party. He joins Howey Politics Indiana as a regular columnist.

Deportation follies

By MICHAEL HICKS

MUNCIE — Immigration is once again a policy topic, so it is good to apply a bit of arithmetic to proposed solutions. It is best to begin with legal immigration, where much of the later problems and costs accrue.

Legal immigrants to the United States are generally better educated, work at higher rates and earn more than native-born citizens. Given how hard it is to enter the U.S. legally, this should be unsurprising; only educated and relatively wealthy folks can afford to apply. This means poorer folks with similar lofty and, dare I say, traditionally American ambitions have little choice but to come here illegally.

Most estimates suggest a whopping 11 million illegal immigrants are in the U.S. That is fewer than four in every 100 people walking the streets, and here in Indiana that means a typical very large high school will have seven or eight illegal immigrant students in each grade.

This illegal immigration has both benefits and costs. The benefits should be obvious, as most of these folks want to work. They pay sales and property taxes, licensing fees on that work. Many, but by no means all, also pay payroll and income taxes. Like about half of native-born citizens, the typical illegal immigrant costs taxpayers more than they'll pay in taxes over a lifetime. So what to do about that?

We could, of course, revise the immigration

system and tax laws. We could craft a system that accommodates more temporary workers and collect more taxes on these folks. We could even charge a fine or fee for those who entered illegally, but who have afterwards been law-abiding citizens. This would enable us to more easily deport the folks who are actual criminals and allow us to support communities with high concentrations of immigrants. I don't think that idea will be much talked about, though. It is too easy, sensible and cost effective. Instead we hear calls for mass deportation. Let me briefly analyze such a proposal.

A commercial bus ride from Chicago to Brownsville, Texas can be had for \$198. So, if all of our illegal immigrants agreed to leave voluntarily, and Uncle Sam paid the bill, it'd be a bit over \$2.1 billion.

This is high fantasy though.

By my calculations this trip will require about a third of the 840,000 registered busses in the U.S., most of which are those big yellow ones that drive through my neighborhood five days a week. So, we'll have to plan this exodus in the summer, and it'll cost more than \$200 per deportee. The studies I have seen calculate the current cost of deportation from between \$12,000 and \$24,000 per person. That raises the costs of deportation to between \$132 billion and \$253 billion. This won't catch the bad guys though, they are too slippery.

Of course, most of those who argue for full deportation know this is an impossible plan. So, when someone tells you they support deporting all our illegal immigrants, it isn't that they are stupid enough to believe it. They just think you are. ❖

Michael J. Hicks, PhD, is the director of the Center for Business and Economic Research at Ball State University.



Putting all the money on Hillary Clinton

By CRAIG DUNN

KOKOMO – In poker, they call it “all in.” In the circus, they call it a “one trick pony.” As my dad used to tell me, “Remember, Lady Godiva put everything she had on a horse.”

I’m referring to the increasingly perilous strategy of the Democrat National Committee to bet everything they have on Hillary Clinton in the 2016 presidential sweepstakes. In the cotton-candy mind of DNC Chair Debbie Wasserman Schultz, the Democrats’ best chance at furthering the Obama agenda into the future is by putting all their chips on Mrs. Bill Clinton.



That’s why, when you see 17 Republican candidates line up to duke it out in nationally televised debates in August, you have to scratch your head and ask why the Democrats aren’t debating anything, anywhere at any time. There is a method to their madness and the fingerprints on this plan belong to Ms. Rodham-Clinton.

It would probably suit Mrs. Clinton’s deepest political fantasy if she did not have to discuss a single significant policy issue with the press or the American public until after the primaries are concluded next June. The trick bag that every Democratic presidential candidate finds themselves in is the need to list the political ship to port during the primaries and then move the ship to starboard during the general election.

The Republican candidate has the exact opposite problem. They must run to the right to secure the nomination and then take a much softer and gentler approach in the general election as not to spook foggy-minded voters who let Jon Stewart, David Letterman, Kim Kardashian and NBC news sway both their propensity to turn out and vote and their choice of candidates.

Unfortunately, most voters don’t tune into the political process until after Labor Day, in a presidential election year. Until then, the vacuous statements, false pledges and outright fibs go unnoticed by all but the most politically aware voters. The only political class that seems to hang on every word uttered during the long run up to the November election is the press and the internet. Words spoken in an Iowa coffee shop to a small group of voters can be resurrected in the final 60 days of a campaign to torpedo a thriving candidate. Mom used to say that words can hurt and that may be the only thing that my mother and Hillary Clinton ever had in common.

You see Hillary Clinton is in a most precarious

position. Unlike President Barack Obama, who didn’t leave any dirty footprints in the snow in his public life leading up to his 2008 presidential campaign, Clinton has a detailed record as First Lady, senator from New York and secretary of state. She’s on the record and her words and actions are fair game for political combat. Any investment prospectus will tell you, “Past performance is no indication of future performance.” In politics, past performance tells you everything that you need to know. Mrs. Clinton would prefer that she not have to defend her words, votes, behavior and record until she squares off against the eventual Republican candidate.

Until that time, Hillary would prefer to talk about that old nasty Republican war on women, nasty Republican attitudes about gay people, nasty Republican attitudes about immigration and nasty old, wealthy white men who rob from the poor and give to 527 PACs.

While most Republicans relish the opportunity to hear 17 pretty capable people debate issues, ideas and philosophies for the next few months, the national Democratic leadership would prefer that Hillary Clinton waltz through the primary season without getting pinned down in a “I’m more socialist than you” battle with Bernie Sanders and Martin O’Malley or in a pragmatic discussion with moderate Democrat Jim Webb. She would prefer to define herself after the primary season and not before her nomination is safely locked up, lest the wheels come off of the cart.

Why would the Democrat Party tee it up for one candidate at the expense of a fair and straightforward exchange of ideas? Because the Democrats’ one and only chance of winning the White House in 2016 rests solely with Hillary Clinton. There is no one of real substance waiting on the bench. She’s it. She has been it since President Obama won his second term.

The lady in waiting waits no more.

All that the pretenders to the throne, O’Malley, Sanders, Webb and possibly wacky Joe Biden can do is force Clinton further to the left on issues and nail her down on her explanations regarding Benghazi, the Clinton Foundation and the sewer of Clinton Servergate. None of this would be good for Hillary’s November 2016 chances. She would go limping into the election with all of her many political warts exposed. Not a pretty sight!

For good or bad, you will have ample opportunity to know everything about the eventual Republican candidate. They will have debated in nationally televised debates at least eight times, been exposed to endless interrogations by the media and had opposition research conducted on them by some extremely well-funded Republican opponents. The Republican candidates are showering in a glass box for all to see.

On the other hand, the Democrats’ duplicitous strategy is to carefully craft candidate Clinton’s image and roll out Hillary version 4.0 in the narrow window from the Democratic National Convention to Election Day. The philosophy of the Clintonites and Democrat string pullers is to

nominate a can of Play Doh and sculpt something for public consumption down the road. It is a sickening strategy that will serve neither the voters nor the United States.

Personally, I like the stable of Republican presidential candidates. I believe that the grueling process that they will face will bring the voters a qualified and ex-

tremely capable president. The Democrats' perilous strategy may only bring a lame old nag to the starting gate.

And they're off! ❖

Dunn is chairman of the Howard County Republicans.

Irrational exuberance at the Statehouse

By MORTON MARCUS

INDIANAPOLIS – What's important to watch in the economy? If you listen to the politicians, it's the monthly number of jobs nationally, statewide or locally. They generally try to take credit for all the gains and avoid comment about any losses.



However, if you pay attention to the media, it's the Dow Jones Industrial Average that's important. This daily stock market figure is often inconsequential and understood by fewer people than ordinarily attend IU football games.

Yet the political season is upon us again (did it ever leave us?), so let's talk Hoosier jobs.

The average of the monthly number of jobs in Indiana for 2014 was just 11,000 shy

of 3 million. Several pols and their pundit pals were ecstatic about being so close to Indiana's peak jobs number reached back in 2000 at 3,003,500.

With the hot temperatures of the season, we prefer not to chill the enthusiasm of Hoosiers in heat. Nevertheless, it should be noted that in 2000 there were 6,080,000 residents of Indiana. At that time, the number of jobs equaled 49.4 percent of the total population. If that same percentage is applied to the 2014 population, then our state "needed" 3,259,000 jobs, or 270,000 more than we actually realized in 2014.

We don't want any politician traveling around declaring Indiana has a "shortage" of 270,000 jobs. But let's not hear that we're close to our all-time high number of jobs. That previous peak may be meaningless in an economy where major changes have taken place in the intervening 15 years.

Now it is true that, by 2014, Indiana added 196,000 jobs from its 2009 low. But this "achievement" is largely a rebound from the sharp employment decline we call the "Great Recession."

This bust and boom was clearly evident in the Elkhart-Goshen metro area. Here was the highest percentage job gain in the state (26 percent) from the 2009 low. Yet, while adding 25,800 jobs in the recovery, Elkhart-Goshen workers will not forget the loss of 34,400 jobs from the 2006 peak to that low point in 2009.

Columbus placed second in the recovery with a 20-percent rise in number of jobs, followed by the mega-metro (Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson) where the rebound was 13 percent. In all the joy exuded by our political leadership about the state's recovery, you might have missed the fact that four Hoosier metro areas in 2014 had fewer jobs than they did in 2009.

Terre Haute was short 1,000 jobs (down 1.4 percent), Michigan City-La Porte was off 1,400 jobs (-3.2 percent), Evansville down 14,400 jobs or 8.5 percent, and Bloomington trailed with a deficit of 7,200 jobs or 8.7 percent lower than its 2009 level.

Yes, it's always good to be encouraged by signs of improvement in our economic condition. However, the euphoria pouring from the Statehouse over the past months has been unwarranted. But what else do they have to trumpet? ❖

Mr. Marcus is an economist, writer, and speaker.

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

Messer talks Iran deal, gun law reform and Planned Parenthood

By **MATTHEW BUTLER**

INDIANAPOLIS – U.S. Rep. Luke Messer opposes the Iran nuclear energy agreement, calling it a “terrible” deal. “It doesn’t make America safer. It doesn’t make Israel safer. It doesn’t make the rest of the world safer either.”



If the deal is so bad, we asked why did other negotiating nations, particularly allies such as France, Germany, and UK, sign off? Messer said the talks began with the international community unwilling to forcibly stop Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons. From that flawed premise, he says, the deal might appear sensible. Messer says nuclear proliferation to the Islamic Republic sets a precedent because its leadership are irrational and cannot be deterred. “They’re not a rational actor and they can’t be trusted,” he added. Messer laments the agreement did not address Iran’s refusal to recognize Israel and its human rights record. HPI noted that U.S.-Soviet nuclear weapon talks left their (very many) human rights abuses off the table. Messer again pointed back to deterrence: the Soviets had been and could be deterred, whereas Iran is a different case.

The issue of mass shootings and copycat attacks, often by mentally ill persons, appears to be on the rise. What can be done? “I think we need to have a broad examination of mental health policies in this country,” Messer said. “Frankly, I think the president has missed the opportunity on multiple occasions to call our nation to have a broad conversation on mental health by jumping first to controversial policies undercutting second amendment rights. Clearly there are people walking on the streets today who twenty or thirty years ago wouldn’t. I think that conversation needs to include resources, not just stronger enforcement.”

Asked if he supports gun background checks for mental health, Messer replied, “Bottom line, if you’re mentally ill you shouldn’t have a gun. We need a system in place to make sure we’re enabled to enforce that simple principle. I’m a huge champion of second amendment rights. I think to blame a gun for a crime is like blaming a

pencil for a misspelled word.”

In regards to the larger issue of crime, how can sentencing reform and other programs, like Indiana’s new community corrections effort, bring down America’s high prison population? “I think it starts with the recognition that Moses didn’t come down from the mountain to create our current law enforcement code. We do need to reexamine whether we hit the appropriate balance. I think, though, it’s important that we both maintain the ‘broken window’ policies of the 80s and 90s that have been very successful. In that era, police in communities across the country began to realize that small crimes matter. You have to enforce the misdemeanors. At the same time, I think you’re right, we need to examine all of our drug laws and see have we gone too far with mandatory minimums. Are there folks in jail when it doesn’t make sense for them to be in jail given the nature of their crime? What I’m worried about, if we’re not careful, we’re going to remake many of the mistakes of the 1960s and 70s. The truth is that crime rates are down. There is a reason for that.”

Messer says tackling such issues is why he successfully sought the chair of the Republican Policy Committee. “I think the Republican Caucus needs to be defined by more than just what we oppose,” he said. “I also think we need to articulate to the American people what America would look like if the Republican vision was successful.” He drew attention to hearings on millennials and improving law enforcement. He hopes future field hearings and forums on those issues will be bipartisan.

One area where Messer does not want loosen the rules is sanctuary cities for illegal immigrants. “We’ve seen in urban communities that are ignoring the law crimes occurring that should not occur,” Messer said. “I continue to believe there is an opportunity to build consensus on immigration reform.” He says the areas of consensus are “broad border security” and fixing the nation’s work visa program. “What we have today is de facto amnesty,” Messer said. “Unless you commit a violent crime, you’re not going to be sent away.”



HPI asked if a potential compromise over the status of millions of illegal immigrants within the country could be creating a pathway toward permanent legal residency with full citizenship removed as an option. “It’s an intriguing point,” Messer remarked. “The debate on citizenship is largely driven by politics.” He said 80 percent of green card holders never seek U.S. citizenship. Securing the border and fixing the guest worker program with a concomitant commitment of resources are issues that can be tackled today in a bipartisan fashion. “The debates about citizenships can wait for another day,”

he said. "Once the American people know our borders are secured and the people working here in American are legally part of our system, I think it would be a much different debate about citizenship than it is today. People feel like these rules are being broken and ignored."

With Planned Parenthood back in the news, HPI asked what's the best overall approach to reduce the number of abortions? We noted the number of Indiana abortions in 2014 were roughly half those in 1980. "I think we've had a cultural shift here in the last twenty or thirty years. America is more pro-life today than it was when I was a kid growing up," Messer replied. Asked about the role of sex education and access to birth control, Messer answered, "Those are all important. We live in the twenty-first century; we need better sex education and better birth control programs. I support those efforts."

We asked if the fees PP was reportedly charging for the fetal tissue was the key problem? "My understanding of the law, is it's one thing if they are covering any expenses and they are donating these remains of aborted fetuses, it's another if they are selling those products. To me there are questions surrounding that. To Joe Donnelly's credit, he said the reason he's voted not to fund PP is because those questions haven't been answered," Messer told HPI. Considering the fungibility of funds, Messer said he and Republicans do not want to fund PP even if they are comfortable with some of the organization's other non-abortion activities. He thought HPI's idea that PP divide into two completely separate organizations, one for abortions and the other for other types of reproductive health care is an idea worthy of consideration. Messer questions whether PP is the best provider for many of those services, like STD testing. Along those lines, Messer said he supports Indiana's new needle exchange programs, like in Scott County.

Messer speaks to NH education summit

On Wednesday six Republican presidential hopefuls descended on the town of Londonderry for the New Hampshire Education Summit being held by the K-12 education reform groups The Seventy Four and the American Federation for Children. At the event U.S. Rep. Luke Messer was invited to sit on a wide-ranging panel discussion on educational issues spanning from early childhood to higher education. It's an acknowledgement of his leadership in the Indiana legislature in creating what is now the county's largest school voucher program.

"I did not announce my candidacy for President of the U.S.," Messer quipped to HPI. What was his first trip to New Hampshire has coincided with all the buzz and excitement of the presidential primaries. Watching the dynamic impresses Messer. He equates running for president in the small New England state to conducting what is the equivalent of a congressional race in terms of organization, grassroots efforts, and meeting voters in intimate settings. "You can tell how seriously the people take their respon-

sibility to judge the character of these candidates," said Messer.

Before Messer's panel began, he met and saw Jeb Bush, Carly Fiorina, and John Kasich discuss education policy. The Associated Press reported that teacher unions were frequently targeted and school choice measures were praised. Perhaps most noteworthy among the field, Ohio Gov. Kasich reaffirmed his support for Common Core standards. "I think the most important point to take from the forum is that it happened at all. Eight years ago, twelve years ago most Republican presidential candidates did not have much of a broad-based education agenda and now virtually every candidate is talking about education choice-oriented reforms," Messer said.

Though presidential politics gravitate toward what are considered weightier issues, Messer believes average voters will keep education towards the front and center. "Obviously economic and foreign policy issues are important," Messer told HPI, "but you talk to families, their number one issue is educational opportunity. Parents want to make sure their kids go to a great school."

That intense interest at the voter level is what Messer partially credits for advancing reforms in Indiana and elsewhere. "It has been a parent-driven initiative," he said. Reformers and lawmakers across the country look to the Indiana example. Messer noted that Hoosier Republicans (and some Democratic and independent allies) setting an education reform agenda and following through can instruct others. "35,000 Hoosiers are at charter school, 30,000 in the voucher program, 75,000 kids are in our public choice program, we have to my knowledge the broadest (school choice) program in the country," Messer said.

"Not only did we pass these broad reforms but we also kept winning elections after passing them. Obviously, To`ny Bennett's campaign wasn't successful, but we elected a Republican governor after passing those reforms, elected broad supermajorities in the legislature."

In Congress, Messer has not dropped the education reform baton. He chairs the Congressional School Choice Caucus, a group he founded. "What I sense more than anything that there is this recognition that the time is now," he told HPI. He has proposed The Enhancing Educational Opportunities for all Students Act which would give states the option to use nearly \$14.5 billion in existing annual federal education funds to follow students to the public or private school of their choice. It would also permit 529 education savings account funds to be used for qualified Pre-K to 12th grade education expenses, not just college expenses. Along those lines, it would also eliminate the annual aggregate contribution cap of \$2,000 on Coverdell education savings accounts. ❖

St. Joe switches from Jefferson/Jackson

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – The traditional St. Joseph County Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner will have a new name, the 2015 Democratic Gala, when former Congressman Tim Roemer speaks at the annual event on Sept. 17 in Mishawaka.

"We were kind of ahead of the curve," says County Democratic Chairman Jason Critchlow. The name change was decided on in January, he says, long before all the recent attention in national publications to state Democratic organizations elsewhere dropping the names of Jefferson and Jackson from party dinners.



Critchlow stresses that there is no intent to repudiate Thomas Jefferson's role as a founding father and author of the Declaration of Independence or Andrew Jackson's populist advocacy of the common man. "But principles in their day were not very diverse," the chairman says.

"We know what our principles are today. So why name a dinner after any former presidents?"

Lack of diversity is reference to both Jefferson and Jackson owning slaves.

Jackson's treatment of Native Americans in advocating and signing the Indian Removal Act in 1830 also is cited by Critchlow and Democratic leaders elsewhere as a part of Jackson's presidency that should not be celebrated today.

"The Pokagons are becoming a huge part of our community," Critchlow adds, noting their particular aversion to the Jackson name due to the "trail of death," the forced march of many Potawatomi tribes from Northern Indiana, a result of the removal act.

A New York Times article last week told of a number of Democratic state organizations removing the names of Jefferson and Jackson from their annual dinners because of belief that the two men "no longer represent what it means to be a Democrat." States where Democrats have changed the name of the traditional fundraising dinners include Iowa, Georgia, Connecticut and Missouri. The Times reported that at least five other states were considering a change.

The name changing was ridiculed in a column for USA Today by Ross K. Baker, a Rutgers professor and member of the newspaper's board of contributors. It was carried on Tuesday in The Tribune.

"The Democratic Party has turned into the Church

of Perpetual Repentance," Baker wrote. "True, neither Jefferson nor Jackson could rise above prejudices of their day, but they are too important as historical figures and central to the evolution of the Democratic Party to be banished and, by implication, disgraced."

Baker suggested the name removal is pushed by "Democratic activists passionate about purging the party of any individual who could possibly be offensive to anyone."

Critchlow says he had no pressure from anyone to change the name of the St. Joseph County Democratic Dinner. "It was my idea," Critchlow says. "I was a little nervous when I brought it up back in January to the central committee." It was agreed to unanimously, he says, with intent to stress inclusiveness of the present, not to repudiate historic figures of the past.

"I have not heard a single negative thing," Critchlow says. He acknowledges that there no doubt are some party members who would have preferred retaining the traditional name. But he says that ticket sales are way ahead of the pace for the last Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner in 2014.

Just as the dinners have been a Democratic tradition around the nation, Lincoln Day dinners have been the Republican tradition for fundraising events.

Republicans, too, have had dinner name changes, or refusal to use Lincoln's name in some parts of the South. Republican Sen. Lindsey Graham of South Carolina once quipped while speaking at a Lincoln Day Dinner in another state: "We don't do Lincoln Day dinners in South Carolina. It's nothing personal, but it takes a while to get over things."

In some areas, in order to stress modern GOP principles, Republicans started holding Reagan dinners or Lincoln-Reagan Day dinners.

St. Joseph County Republicans stick with tradition, still holding their Lincoln Day Dinner.

Why Democratic Gala as the new name for the St. Joseph County Democratic event?

"My wife came up with it," Critchlow says. He calls it a better description of an event planned as more of a party celebration, a gala, than just a political dinner with speeches. ❖

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

Democrats will have competitive ticket

By **SHAW FRIEDMAN**

LAPORTE — Smell what I'm smelling?

No, it's not "napalm in the morning" or the smell of victory just yet. What Hoosier Democrats are smelling these days is the real, live chance that we are going to be highly competitive next year with the state ticket that is shaping up. With Glenda Ritz's decision this past week to seek re-election and to support John Gregg's nomination for governor, followed quickly on the heels by Sen. Tallian's decision to do the same, we've just averted a messy, intramural fight. Every dollar raised can now go to electing John Gregg as the next Governor and adding to our numbers in the Indiana House and State Senate.



Glenda's done an outstanding job as State Superintendent and has built a network of educators around the state who are passionate in their resolve to see her re-elected. Likewise, Sen. Tallian provides a much needed voice of reason and progressive principles in the State Senate and it's only fitting that she serves much of the territory in LaPorte County once represented by the "conscience" of the State Senate, the late Anita Bowser who was an accomplished constitutional scholar.

No, what we have witnessed in the past few weeks are party and labor leaders from around the state concluding that John Gregg gives us the best shot at re-taking the governor's office and coalescing in pretty rapid fashion.

Part of what our party is noticing is a different, more focused campaigner in John Gregg this time around. Aside from his diligence at fundraising, which he proved this last quarter where he actually out-raised incumbent Mike Pence, he's done a much better job this time of touching all the right

bases from Democratic mayors to party officials to members of the legislature. Best of all, he's getting and following advice from longtime Hoosier political professionals.

Let's be honest – we all chafed at the outsiders John brought in last time to run his campaign, particularly D.C. media guys and others from "out there." Those hokum TV spots were the "brain child" of East Coast types who have a vision of all Hoosiers as a bunch of ignorant hicks.

Fortunately, John Gregg knows better.

He was an unusually adept Speaker who wisely took counsel from folks who understood Indiana politics and governing. He's now shown as he develops a campaign team not only a discipline and commitment to this campaign, but a desire to run a truly Indiana-based campaign that recognizes the diversity and different interests that make up Indiana.

Then to add icing to the cake, word has surfaced recently that we have a respected jurist willing to seek the attorney general nomination. Highly respected retired Lake County Circuit Court Judge Lorenzo Arredondo will likely seek the Democratic nomination for Indiana Attorney General. Rather than our State party chair having to encourage a "sacrificial lamb" to throw his or her name on the ballot days before a state convention just so we could fill out a slate, we have the longest serving Hispanic state trial court judge to serve anywhere in the country looking to run.

Arredondo was one of the founders of the nationwide Hispanic Bar association and a professor at the national Judicial College. So respected is former Judge Arredondo that the justice center in Lake County was named in his honor. Having Judge Arredondo run for attorney general means having a marquee, top flight candidate for our party.

No - we're not doing an end-zone dance just yet about how this ticket is shaping up. But I have rarely seen Hoosier Democrats more excited about our prospects than I have in the past couple weeks. ❖



a longtime HPI columnist.

Shaw Friedman is former legal counsel for the Indiana Democratic Party and

Lugar, Johnston back Iran nuclear deal

By **RICHARD LUGAR**
and **J. BENNETT JOHNSTON**

WASHINGTON — Senator Chuck Schumer (D-N.Y.), a key voice in the Democratic Party leadership, has announced that he will not support the international agreement designed to prevent Iran from getting a nuclear weapon. We realize that all senators must balance their concerns about the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action against the consequences for the United States if Washington rejects it. We just do not agree with how the senator balances up the account. Here's why:

Schumer's explanation did not go into his views on the consequences of rejection. He says he will vote against the deal not because he believes "war is a viable option" or "to challenge the path of diplomacy." Instead, his reasoning is based on his belief that "Iran will not change." The deal, however, is not about trusting Iran, changing its regime or even avoiding war. It is about preventing Tehran from getting a nuclear weapon.

Schumer's alternative to the agreement is to "keep U.S. sanctions in place, strengthen them, enforce secondary sanctions on other nations and pursue the hard-trodden path of diplomacy once more."

He does not explain how his strategy would be accomplished without the support of Britain, France, China, Russia and Germany, the other parties to the deal besides the United States and Iran. He also does not address the consequences if Washington fails to honor its commitment to a multilateral agreement negotiated over 18 months.

Rejection of the agreement would severely undermine the U.S. role as a leader and reliable partner around the globe. If Washington walks away from this hard-fought multilateral agreement, its dependability would likely be doubted for decades.

Rejection would also destroy the effective coalition that brought Iran to the negotiating table. China and Russia would likely resume trade with Iran. U.S. allies, unsettled by Washington's behavior, would move their own separate ways.

The other five negotiators would likely have little stomach for going back to Iran "for a better deal." The ambassadors of the five countries recently assured members of Congress that their governments would not return to the negotiating table should Washington reject the agreement.

Future sanctions would then have to be largely unilateral U.S. efforts — and less effective. There would be no coalition standing by to restore sanctions or apply other pressures if Iran did not comply. It would also be difficult to develop joint forceful action against Iran should it decide to go for a nuclear weapon.

Schumer's suggestion that the United States "im-

pose secondary sanctions on other nations" would likely be challenged by Washington's friends and allies. It could rapidly lead to alternative financial arrangements disadvantageous to America over the long term. A U.S. policy of extending unilateral sanctions to other nations that had agreed to lift them on Iran would also risk damaging the power and influence of the U.S. Treasury.

Tehran would be the winner of this U.S. rejection because it would achieve its major objective: the lifting of most sanctions without being required to accept constraints on its nuclear program. Iran could also claim to be a victim of American perfidy and try to convince other nations to break with U.S. leadership and with the entire international sanctions regime.

Meanwhile, Israel would be the loser, as Iran would resume its nuclear program without inspections and would garner support from other nations around the world. Ninety countries, including Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states, have already supported the deal. Though Israel opposes it, many key Israelis do not, including retired senior generals and a former Mossad leader.

The history of Iran's efforts to build a nuclear program without constraints is instructive. From 2005 to 2013, Iran rocketed from about 200 installed centrifuges to 20,000, while Washington sought to stop them through sanctions. Unrestrained by the joint nuclear agreement, Iran could quickly resume its aggressive nuclear program: move from 20,000 to 200,000 installed centrifuges, resume enriching uranium to 20 percent in its deeply buried facility, finish its plutonium reactor and develop reprocessing.

Vindicated in his distrust of the United States, Iranian Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei would no longer have any incentive to negotiate. The much flaunted and powerful Iranian "hard-liners" would likely return to dominate national politics and push President Hassan Rouhani's more centrist team aside permanently. A return to the "hard-trodden path of diplomacy," as Schumer proposes, would have to be conducted without Iran and its six negotiating parties.

The scuttling of the agreement could also put the United States on a path to another war in the Middle East. The uncertainty about the restored, unrestrained Iranian nuclear program would rapidly become an unacceptable mystery. International Atomic Energy Agency inspectors would find the unprecedented inspections program of the Iran nuclear agreement foregone, probably forever.

The hair-on-fire spiral from fears of Iranian intentions would lead again — as in 2012 and 2013 — to demands for military action. As uncertainty mounted, Israel might again find it necessary to attack Iran and expect U.S. support.

Paradoxically, full U.S. military action against Iran would achieve only a three- to five-year delay in an Iranian surge toward a bomb, while the international nuclear deal would allow 15 years to test whether the agreement was on track to prevent Iran from getting a nuclear weapon.

An Israel-U.S. military attack would more than likely assure a decision by Iran to move rapidly for a nuclear weapon, a decision it has not yet taken, according to the director of U.S. national intelligence.

Within a month, Congress will face a momentous decision to kill this last chance for Washington to reach a verifiable Iranian commitment not to build a

nuclear weapon. Congress can either accept or reject it by overriding an expected presidential veto — thereby taking sole and exclusive responsibility for the grave consequences for U.S. national security that would certainly follow. ❖

Lugar is a former U.S. Senator from Indiana, and Johnston a former U.S. Senator from Louisiana.

Coats explains why he won't back Iran deal

By **DAN COATS**

WASHINGTON – Back home in Indiana last weekend, I sat down and read through the 159 page Iran deal. I also took time to review analysis from a wide variety of leading foreign policy experts on the pros and cons of this agreement. And since I returned to Washington, I have had the opportunity to review the deal's classified annexes.

The more I read, the more my concern grows.

This deal intends to slow down Iran's march to nuclear weapons capability, but even the White House concedes that the deal will not permanently stop Iran's nuclear ambitions. That in and of itself is concerning. More concerning is what the negotiators conceded in order to reach an agreement with a regime that calls America its enemy, brazenly violates U.N. resolutions, sponsors terrorism, threatens Israel's existence and is responsible for more than 1,000 American military deaths since September 11, 2001.

Rather than negotiate from a position of strength, the P5 + 1 negotiators' desire for a deal led them to negotiate from a position of weakness. The result is an agreement with benefits too small, a duration too short and a cost too high.

Consider just a few of the deal's numerous problems:

The period covered by the deal is way too short: The most significant constraints on Iran expire in eight, ten or fifteen years, at which time Iran will have one of the most advanced nuclear infrastructures in the world, with the technical expertise, material capabilities, wealth and formal international approval to pursue nuclear arms. The deal even requires the United States to help provide nuclear technical assistance to Iran. President Obama previously admitted that once the deal expires, Iran's breakout time to nuclear weapons "will be essentially zero." Of course, now the president, Secretary of State and White House are trying to back away from these statements.

Inspections of Iranian sites will be woefully insufficient. After U.S. officials pledged months ago that international monitors would be able to perform short-notice inspections anywhere and at any time, this agreement

would allow inspections of suspected sites only with the permission of Iran. If Iran objects, a drawn-out, weeks-long bureaucratic process would take effect. Turning "access anytime, anywhere" into "access when and where Iran allows" makes a mockery of the original American negotiating position.

The punishment for cheating is not credible. When our negotiators abandoned their position on gradual sanctions relief, they opted instead for "snap-back" provisions that would ostensibly punish Iran for cheating. The convoluted, byzantine scheme for such a return to sanctions would be exceedingly time-consuming and is not politically realistic. It is an illusion.

Arms embargos will be lifted. Although non-nuclear-related sanctions were to be off the table, the negotiators caved at the last moment to accept an agreement to suspend the UN conventional arms embargo after only five years, and missile embargo after eight. This is a full capitulation, contrary to many recent statements – including by the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff – that such a position was unacceptable.

Terrorism will be funded. The agreement would immediately give Iran over \$100 billion of withheld oil sales, money that could be used to fund Iran's continued terrorism in other Middle Eastern countries like Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Yemen, a likelihood even President Obama acknowledged.

These are just a few of the many deeply concerning aspects of this deal.

Members of Congress now have the opportunity to review the pending deal, and every member must determine what this deal buys us and at what cost. We must ignore the coming public relations campaign that will trumpet this deal as a victory for diplomacy and the false premise that the deal is a choice between peace and war.

President Obama has defended his deal by challenging critics to put forth an alternative. How about exercising American leadership and enacting more vigorous sanctions to persuade the Iranian leaders to reconsider their positions or persuade the Iranian people to reconsider their leaders?

Congress should reject this bad deal. ❖

Coats is Indiana's senior U.S. Senator.

Mark Schoeff Jr., *Howey Politics Indiana*:

Billionaire real estate developer Donald Trump may be winning over Republican primary voters at the moment, but he has failed to impress the Club For Growth. The conservative economic organization said that Trump would not promote “pro-growth” anti-tax and spending policies if he were to take the White House. Club For Growth President David McIntosh said that Trump has tapped into voter anger about Washington not listening to the American people. But he also has supported a government-run health care system and \$5.7 trillion in tax increases while opposing free trade with China. “There’s a lot of anger [among the electorate], and Trump’s given voice to that,” McIntosh said. “He’s identified the cancer, but he’s not the cure.”

A call to the Trump campaign office was not returned. The other 16 GOP presidential candidates have either not confronted Trump because they don’t want to alienate his supporters or they have taken him on and been drowned out by the sheer force of the Trump phenomenon. The Club For Growth can be a proxy for those who would oppose Trump, according to McIntosh. “We can go out and tell the truth about Trump and let the voters make up their minds,” said McIntosh, a former Indiana congressman and Republican gubernatorial nominee. In the meantime, Trump is overwhelming the GOP field. “Trump’s taken all the oxygen out of the room,” McIntosh said. “He’s a showman.” ❖

Steve Hinnefeld, *chalkbeat*: Superintendent of Public Instruction Glenda Ritz announced last week that she’s dropping her short-lived campaign for governor and throwing her support to John Gregg. That’s good news for Indiana Democrats: It means Ritz and Gregg can campaign together instead of spending the nine months until the May 2016 primary tearing each other down.

Abandoning the bid for the governor’s office and instead seeking re-election to her current position is also the right decision for Ritz to make. Here are three reasons: Superintendent is an important office. Ritz has been the most vocal and consistent advocate in state government for public education, for students and for teachers. She’s been a voice of sanity when it comes to testing, school grading, and teacher licensing and accountability. She has put a welcome focus on reading and literacy, and her frequent visits to schools around the state – while they may serve a political purpose – put a spotlight on education and its importance to Indiana. She can do better. True, she has been hamstrung by feuding with Gov. Mike Pence and the State Board of Education and by efforts by Republican legislators to reduce her authority. I’ve been reluctant to blame Ritz, but board members’ complaints about communication may have some substance, based on my interactions with Department of Education staff. Now, however, the board has several new members, and two of Ritz’s most vocal critics

are no longer part of the mix. It’s a chance to start fresh and an opportunity show herself to be an effective leader who can work across the aisle, a necessity for a Democrat in Indiana. She wasn’t going to win. Ritz’s campaign for governor got off to a rocky start with disclosures that it accepted contributions during the 2015 legislative session, a violation of state law. But the real problem was the lack of contributions before and after the session. Ritz raised \$30,529 in the first half of this year; Gregg raised \$1.76 million. Campaign money isn’t everything – Ritz proved that when she beat Tony Bennett in 2012 – but you need a well-financed campaign to beat Pence, who will be rolling in election cash. Gregg, a former speaker of the Indiana House, had a reputation as something of a

conservative in 16 years as a legislator. But lately he has been going after Pence over religious discrimination and other social issues. And it’s possible for a politician’s views to evolve. After all, according to an Indianapolis Monthly profile, Glenda Ritz often voted Republican until 2008. ❖

Karin Carmer, *Anderson Herald Bulletin*: Wendell Willkie seemed to come out of nowhere when he became the Republican Party nominee for president in 1940. But the Elwood native was president of a national utility company and a respected corporate lawyer, with support from businesses, national organizations, and newspapers. He was far more liberal than the party who nominated him. He was the first major party nominee who had not been an elected politician or a military hero. A former Democrat, and supporter of many of Franklin D. Roosevelt’s social policies, Willkie, 48, opposed a third term for Roosevelt, and also the president’s attempts to allow the federal government to compete with private enterprise. Many Americans had the same doubts. When Willkie became the party nominee in late May 1940, he announced he would make his acceptance speech in August, in his hometown of Elwood. The town, the county, and Indiana exploded in a frenzy of planning and excitement. In his formal acceptance speech on Aug. 17, 1940, in Elwood’s Callaway Park, Willkie dwelled on his differences with Roosevelt, but supported a national draft for compulsory military service, a measure vehemently opposed by the isolationist Republican Party. Roosevelt had been fighting Congress to pass the draft, and Willkie’s endorsement helped him get it through in September 1940. By that time, most Americans were resigned to the idea that America must prepare for what was coming: World War II. Willkie’s stand on the draft may have been a political misstep, but it showed leadership. Willkie was also the first major presidential candidate to take up the cause of civil rights for African Americans. In speeches before, during and after the campaign, he insisted that the government had a responsibility to address race relations. ❖



Govt. emails in hookup site

INDIANAPOLIS — Last month, a group calling itself Impact Team leaked data it claimed it hacked from Avid Life Media, a company that operates several online adult playground sites, including Ashley Madison, Cougar Life and Established Men (Welsh, Advance Indiana). The hackers claimed to have accessed the identity of the website's customers, including financial, personal and profile information. On Tuesday, the group uploaded 35GB of data to the Internet. Among the records were over 15,000 customer accounts using either a .gov or .mil e-mail address. A full list of the accounts using either a government or military e-mail address can be accessed here. Advance Indiana found eight customers had used indy.gov e-mail addresses, the e-mail domain address used by Indianapolis city workers. There were six customers identified as using bloomington.in.gov, the e-mail domain address used by Bloomington city workers. Four accounts used monticelloin.gov, the e-mail address used by Monticello city workers. Carmel employees' e-mail address, carmel.in.gov., showed up on two accounts. There was a single account using in.gov, which is used by Indiana state workers. Whitehouse.gov showed up on 44 accounts. There were 104 accounts with va.gov e-mail address used by Virginia state workers and 73 accounts using the ky.gov e-mail address used by Kentucky state workers. The State Department's e-mail address, state.gov, showed up on 33 accounts.

Hep C emergency in Monroe County

BLOOMINGTON — The Monroe County Health Department's health officer has declared a public emergency due to an epidemic of new

hepatitis C cases primarily contracted through injection drug use (Bloomington Herald-Times). Health Officer Dr. Thomas Sharp submitted the declaration of a public health emergency to the Monroe County Commissioners this morning, said Penny Caudill, administrator at the Monroe County Health Department. From 2009 to 2014, hepatitis C cases in Monroe County have increased 83 percent, according to data from the Indiana State Department of Health.



Rep. Brown upset by SNAP rules

GARY — Starting in November, about 50,000 Indiana residents will only be able to receive their Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) benefits if they are working or in job training, a change that one state legislator says is wrong (Post-Tribune). The change comes as a 2009 federal welfare law waiver expires. The waiver granted states the ability to waive work requirements for SNAP in times of high unemployment rates, such as during the recession that began in 2009. Rep. Charlie Brown, D-Gary, believes that getting rid of the waiver isn't fair for those who need it most. "It doesn't make sense," he said. "I just think it's outdated to say you can't get help unless you have a job."

Sharpton coming to Fort Wayne

FORT WAYNE — The Rev. Al Sharpton — civil rights activist, national broadcaster, White House adviser and lightning rod for conservative critics — will speak Sept. 6 at a Fort Wayne church (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). Sharpton, 60, is scheduled to talk at 6 p.m. at Come As You Are Community Church, 7910 S. Anthony Blvd.

DUI for Muncie clerk, but no jail

MUNCIE — Muncie City Clerk

Phyllis Reagon was arrested for driving while intoxicated on Saturday evening, but she was not jailed (Muncie Star Press). Muncie Police Chief Steve Stewart (who is Democratic city chairman) said the handling of Reagon's case was based on "compassion," not political considerations. "It's not unusual someone would not go to jail for this," Stewart said Wednesday. "It doesn't mean they're not going to face the charges."

Trump upstages Bush town hall

DERRY, N.H. — For Donald Trump, it wasn't enough to upstage Jeb Bush by booking a town hall meeting at the same time as the former Florida governor (Politico). Trump had to attack him, too. In a 30-minute news conference in Derry, New Hampshire, that was broadcast live on Fox News and CNN, the real estate mogul ripped into his GOP primary rival, saying, "I don't think he's electable." "Jeb Bush is a low-energy person. For him to get things done is hard," a feisty Trump said. Trump went after the former Florida governor on multiple fronts, dismissing Bush's positions on education, health care, immigration and foreign policy. After criticizing Bush's support for the Common Core educational standards, Trump turned to Iraq. Bush saying the U.S. had to show they had "skin in the game" by committing more resources to combating the Islamic State was "one of the the dumber things I've heard, ever, in politics," Trump said. "Between Common Core, his 'act of love' on immigration and 'skin in the game' with Iraq ... I don't see how he's electable. And then on top of that he talks about women's health issues," Trump said. "I think that Jeb Bush is totally out of touch on women's health issues, I mean totally," he said, referring to Bush's comment earlier this month that "I'm not sure we need a half a billion dollars for women's health programs" — a garbled reference to government funding for Planned Parenthood.