



## Young cash lead in unconventional cycle

Stutzman campaign shakeup; Holcomb marches to different beat; Hill posts \$269k

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The conventional wisdom from the U.S. Senate race third quarter FEC reports seems to reinforce the status quo. U.S. Rep. Todd Young is financially in the driver's seat with \$2.25 million cash on

hand. The campaign of U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman is in turmoil with dramatic staff changes coming at a critical point

in the campaign, and he will post \$618,000 and have about \$1 million in the bank. Stutzman had roughly \$60,000 in independent expenditures made on his behalf by the Senate



Eric Holcomb has broken in his cowboy boots as he traverses Indiana. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

Conservatives Fund and the Conservative Action Fund.

And then there's Eric Holcomb, who posted \$110,000 and is a distant third in cash on hand with \$300,000 in the bank.

So the early conventional betting line is that this is Young's race to lose. "Our continued fundraising success, especially with Indiana donors, shows Hoosiers are embracing Todd Young's campaign. The third quarter numbers are a good proxy to see the direction of this race," said campaign man-



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## Can Pvt. Ryan save House?

By **MARK SOUDER**

FORT WAYNE – Republican Party insiders wait with bated breath: Will Pvt. Paul Ryan run for Speaker and save the Washington congressmen from further humiliation?

The depth of the desperation of House Republicans is illustrated by the popularity of blaming everything on communication systems. In business graduate school, Notre Dame used the case analysis system developed by Harvard. The idea was to train managers to be able to go into any situation, have a systematic approach to identifying problems, and then propose solutions and measurements. For two years, it was drummed



**“Thanks, Bernie.”**

- Democrat Presidential candidate Hillary Clinton after Sen. Bernie Sanders said in Tuesday's debate he was tired of hearing the “damn email” story



is a non-partisan newsletter based in Indianapolis and Nashville, Ind. It was founded in 1994 in Fort Wayne.

It is published by  
**WWHHowey Media, LLC**  
**405 Massachusetts Ave.,**  
**Suite 300 Indianapolis, IN**  
**46204**

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**Subscriptions**

HPI, HPI Daily Wire \$599  
HPI Weekly, \$350  
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into me daily and I never forgot it.

One of those lessons was that if you identified communication as the source problem, you flunked. Failure to communicate can aggravate a problem. Flawed processes can squeeze out information needed to make wise solutions. Improved communication systems are often a key part of any compromise solution. But the key word is "compromise" not "communication." Otherwise clarity merely results in higher decibels of communication conflict.

**The "hot" memo** on Capitol Hill is from Daniel Webster. Not the famous Daniel Webster who said in his classic speech: "It is not to be denied that we live in the midst of strong agitations, and are surrounded by very considerable dangers to our institutions and government....I speak today for the preservation of the Union. 'Hear me for my cause.' I speak, today, out of a solicitous and anxious heart for the restoration to the country of that quiet and that harmony which make the blessings of this Union so rich and so dear to us all."

Most definitely not that Daniel Webster.

The current Daniel Webster is a congressman representing the 10th District of Florida. He is a former Speaker of the Florida House of Representatives and leader of the Florida Senate. He's a rock-ribbed conservative and a respected man. His well-publicized memo is titled, "Widgets, Principles and Republicans."

It is one page long and contains no real substance. Donald Trump is over-simplistic and usually wrong, but at least he attempts to address specific issues. "Widgets" says things like "power and principle cannot co-exist." Actually, that is the major point.

"Power demands to be heard; principle earns the right to be heard." Webster is the Freedom Caucus candidate for Speaker. His followers credit themselves with "bringing down" Speaker John Boehner. Was that "earned" or a "power" play? In other words, who gets to define "power" and "principle"? Well, actually power does in a democratic Republic. A minority, especially a small minority, in America (or Congress) deserves rights but the "right to prevail in votes" is not one of them.

But I forgot. "Power focuses on rights; principles focus on responsibility." Apparently the widgets memo and the Freedom Caucus believe that what is a "right" and what is a "responsibility" for a Congressman gets to be defined solely by them. For example, they believe that they have the right to let the nation default on its debts if their minority view can't be forced on the majority and that there is no responsibility to avoid it.

The pile of widget words is to get to this point: The Freedom Caucus wants to focus on the merits of the idea itself, not "an idea based on the position, loyalty, rank, or seniority of the sponsor." There you have it. Webster concludes with: "The Republicans have a choice. This is it. This is our moment. We only have one opportunity to make a first impression.

Flawed widgets or solid principles: Which will it be?"

I doubt that 200,000 true believers will be storming Washington so that the junior members can now have their names on amendments and get a new committee chairmanship. No wonder Paul Ryan is debating about whether he'd even accept one of the most powerful positions in the world. This really is the theater of the absurd.



**Chairman Paul Ryan and Lucas Babcock Monday night at Wrigley Field in Chicago. (HPI Photo by Kyle Babcock)**

We dealt with much of this when the Republicans first took over in 1995. I was a leader among the "rowdy freshmen" as we were not lovingly called. Newt Gingrich wanted to break the back of the pure seniority system from the time he first arrived in Congress. He never desired to be a committee chairman. He wanted the power in the speaker's office. We were his willing tools. We were principled, the new crusaders who had come to Washington.

We also had power. Seventy-three of us which, when combined with the sophomore class, constituted a majority of the conference. Some admired our principles. Newt and the leadership respected our power.

The power, not the principle, enabled us to get more members on the steering committee (which selects important committee assignments), in leadership meetings, chairmanships, and the like. We brought down some rules but were always soon back on the House floor with a modified plan because we were willing to accept compromises that could pass.

**Majority Leader Dick Armey** decided to implement weekly "unity dinners" at which a selected group of "moderates" and "conservatives" fought over the most contentious issues coming to the floor and the "amendment tree." I was honored to be the person who picked the conservatives and Congressman Jim Greenwood picked the more moderate members. The sessions were heated, and often personal. Gingrich, Armey and DeLay were working with a much narrower margin of control and back then we had many more moderates.

In other words, inclusive communication systems are vital to governing. However, the root problems in the Republican Congress go much deeper. For example, these are among the reforms necessary to function:

- 1) Respect one another. Just because you disagree doesn't mean that the other person is corrupt, without principle, or tainted. They just disagree with you.
- 2) You must be willing to compromise. Each

member of Congress represents roughly the same number of people. Each district is not the same. Even the so-called "base" is not the same in each area.

3) Learn how to count. Unless you have 218, you cannot pass legislation. Power is essential to passage of conservative ideas. Build your coalition. Don't whine and try to overturn democracy. Fight to be logically included in a coalition deal.

4) Understand the limits. There is a Senate. There is a President. They have power granted by the voters through the Constitution. You can't force them to do anything.

5) Lay out a vision of key principles a Republican Congress will fight for. Don't promise to make things law because that is not in your power. Don't talk about being honest; be honest. The original "Contract with America" stated only what we would pass. Criticism about what the Senate and President Clinton did or did not do was on them.

6) Don't make getting more personal power a key principle. It's not about you.

7) Risk having open town meetings and public debate. You represent the majority of America. Go home and persuade them. Get out of the circular loop of just talking to the people who agree with you. Publicize open meetings ahead. Take some heat. Generate some interest. Don't "holy huddle" in Washington with your friends.

Paul Ryan would accept this list because this is how he views the conference. He is not likely to agree to a list of "power" demands being given to him masquerading as "principle." If Ryan is given demands for guaranteed power by a small minority, the name of the Speaker is likely the same as the current one. John Boehner doesn't have to run for Speaker. He has not resigned. ❖

**Souder is a former Republican Member of Congress from Fort Wayne.**

**Senate race, from page 1**

ager Trevor Foughty. For the 2016 cycle, Young has now raised over \$2.16 million. Young has raised over \$1.7 million from individual donors (79%). For the third quarter, over \$646,000 came from individuals (90%). Young has now raised over \$1 million from individual Hoosiers (\$1.19 million total; 69% of all individual contributions), including nearly \$377,000 from Hoosiers in the third quarter (58%).

The fly in that ointment is that 2016 is shaping up to be anything but conven-



**Rep. Todd Young and Eric Holcomb campaign in Elkhart for mayoral candidate Tim Neese on Monday.**

tional. While Young and Stutzman have Beltway bonafides in fundraising leverage from the former's Ways & Means Committee post to Stutzman's support from Club For Growth and the Senate Conservative Fund, Holcomb says the constant message he hears as he traverses the state six or seven days a week is that Hoosiers are fed up with the dysfunction in Congress. "There is a disgust with what's going on in Washington," Holcomb said as he stopped by Howey Politics Indiana's North American headquarters Wednesday morning. "With my

experience deeply rooted in Indiana's turn around, I've experienced people wanting fresh values in Washington. I'm hearing that everywhere."

The Young campaign is cognizant of that perception, particularly if the void in the speakership continues. "The congressman shares a lot of that frustration," said Foughty. "We've had success in actually getting conservative legislation moving. But we're stuck until we find a candidate for speaker."

The question for Holcomb is that if there is searing dissatisfaction with the status quo that Young and Stutzman represent on Capitol Hill, why isn't that translating into better funding?

Holcomb quickly launches into the three vital components of his campaign: Money, organization and message.

"My focus has been on organization," the former Republican chairman began. "The width and breadth of our support is deep. It comes in layers that I've developed as chairman, and with Gov. Daniels and Sen. Coats. I'm very comfortable that we'll have the organization and when the time is right, will have the funds necessary to get our message out. We're playing to my strength early on. We have the messaging. We're turning on the Mitch Daniels network. It's not a plug and play. It's about relationships I've built, like with the firefighters network that is turning on right now.

"We're getting the band back together," Holcomb declared.

And Holcomb stresses the unconventional nature of the cycle, and the fact that more money doesn't always equate victory. He points to U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar's substantial money advantage over Treasurer Richard Mourdock in the 2012 Republican Senate primary, or Mike Pence's commanding money lead over Democrat John Gregg in the general election, not to mention Supt. Tony Bennett's huge money advantage over Democrat Glenda Ritz. Lugar and Bennett lost and Pence barely won.

"I'm running a campaign that's not based solely on who has the most money," he said.

There are other dynamics in the race that could play out in Holcomb's favor. One is that Club For Growth on behalf of Stutzman will target Young, portraying the Bloomington Republican as a "RINO."

And there's the unpredictable status of the Stutzman campaign.

## Turmoil on the prairie

Rep. Stutzman finds himself at a crossroads. His FEC report will show some of the Club For Growth and Senate Conservative Fund bundled money showing up, but Young's campaign suggests that much of Stutzman's money comes from out of state. Stutzman told HPI on Monday that "we hit our mark."

But he cites the unconventional nature of the cycle for making the campaign changes. "It's what I've been looking at for our team and where the political environment is right now," Stutzman said as he traveled to the Allen County Right to Life Harvest dinner in Columbia City.

"I thought it was good to have a team that has their finger on the pulse of Indiana politics." Stutzman confirmed that he has hired Mark It Red, the campaign consultant group headed by Mike Gentry, who heads the Indiana House Republican Campaign Committee. "I've been with Mark It Red and Mike since the 2002 election," Stutzman said. "With the environment the way it is now, I needed to go with some I've had experience with."

Stutzman said that with the presidential race in an unprecedented state of flux, with what looks to be a tossup Indiana U.S. Senate race, and the chaos on Capitol Hill, he and just about everyone else seeking office in 2016 is in uncharted waters. "What I'm referring to more with presidential politics is the intensity, and the sense of frustration. The entire political environment has changed. In the presidential race, I was a Scott Walker supporter, and he got hit by the tail of Donald Trump. The dynamic is demanding."

On the Capitol Hill front, Stutzman is a conspicuous member of the Freedom Caucus, which is deep into the prolonged leadership crisis after Speaker John Boehner resigned, then Majority Leader Kevin McCarthy bowed out of the race after his Benghazi Select Committee blunder.

Earlier in the day, TelToro told HPI, "Marlin and I had two different viewpoints on how best to run a Senate campaign and how to win. This is solely based on two different views on how to conduct that campaign. I would just say that I wish him the best. He and I had a difference of opinion on the direction of the campaign."

Multiple Indiana, Republican and Capitol Hill sources paint this scenario: The congressman's wife, Christy Stutzman, plays a big role in both the Congressional office and campaign. With the latter, the dynamic is one where decisions are made, sometimes with Christy Stutzman present, and they are later reversed after the couple goes home.



U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman and wife Christy at the Mike Pence campaign kickoff in 2011. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

## Stutzman and the Freedom Caucus

Stutzman is Indiana's only Republican member on the Freedom Caucus, the 40-member group made up of

mostly members elected in the last three cycles and headed by U.S. Rep. Jim Jordan of Ohio. Just prior to McCarthy's bug out, the Freedom Caucus announced it was backing Rep. Daniel Webster for speaker. As the week unfolded, there has been considerable pressure to get Ways & Means Chairman Paul Ryan to run. He has repeatedly begged off. But staffers suggested that if he did decide to seek the top spot, he would have to have all tribes in the caucus on board with his vision.

Jonathan Allen of Vox observed, "The Wisconsin Republican is the only person in the GOP Conference who excels at the four most important functions of a speaker: Building a coalition within the party; translating the party's vision into an agenda; articulating that message in the media; and negotiating deals with the other side." But others note that Ryan chairs the Ways & Means Committee, which is his "dream job."

So that pressure on inertia is now shifting to the Freedom Caucus, and in the context of the Indiana Senate race, which could be key to maintaining Republican control of the chamber, to Stutzman.

"I like Paul Ryan a lot," Stutzman told Howey Politics Indiana on Monday. "We are good friends. But he's not made a decision and this is a family decision for him. I'll wait for him. If he decides to run, I'd be happy to talk with him. Paul Ryan is very well respected and very well liked. I think there would be a very good chance for him being selected. It could come down to what his vision is and his management style."

Stutzman, who was elected to the House in 2010 as part of a Tea Party wave, explained, "I was advocating for Daniel Webster. I voted for him in January. He has a great reputation in Florida."

Stutzman said that Webster's key attraction for him is to open up the amendment process, something that U.S. Rep. Luke Messer told Howey Politics in the Oct. 1 edition. "We need to reexamine our rules in the House," said Messer, the fifth ranking House Republican. "Your typical state legislator has far more ability to influence debate in their state than a typical member of the House because of our rules. In a state legislature, if you're willing to fix your name on a sheet of paper and hold it up for an amendment, you're going to have a debate and you're going to get a vote. There are procedural hurdles, but even then you'll get a vote on the ruling. Yet in the House it is virtually impossible for a rank- and-file member to push a policy onto the House floor. I think we need to open up our suspension calendar to empower individual members,



Rep. Stutzman with members of the Freedom Caucus on Capitol Hill.

which then empowers the American people."

Stutzman called the current House Republican caucus a top-down structure. "Webster wants a member-driven structure," Stutzman said. "He and others came in and talked to the Freedom Caucus and he wants to change the process."

The Freedom Caucus has taken extraordinary fire in recent days. Conservative commentator Hugh Hewitt criticized U.S. Rep. David Brat and other members of the caucus, on NBC's Meet The Press on Sunday.

"There's like 15 of you people," Hewitt said of the caucus, which has about 40 members. "The Freedom Caucus is like 15 people. Paul Ryan is liked by 225 Republicans. Get with the program." And New York Times conservative columnist David Brooks wrote on Tuesday, "These insurgents are incompetent at governing and unwilling to be governed. But they are not a spontaneous growth. It took a thousand small betrayals of conservatism to get to the dysfunction we see all around." (See Brooks' column on page 19).

Asked what role he plays within the Freedom Caucus, Stutzman explained, "I do speak up in the Freedom Caucus. Jim Jordan and I are close. He was my mentor when I came to the House. It's the best deliberative group of people I've participated with since I've been in Washington. We don't always agree. Even getting to Daniel Webster, there was a lot of work to get to that point. Everyone wants to see the process works."

Stutzman said that his Senate candidacy has limited some of his engagement within the Freedom Caucus. "In the debate between Webster and Jason Chaffetz, a majority supported Webster. For me, because I'm running in the Senate race, I just told them I can't be in an active leadership role."

## Epilogue

The Republican Senate field in Indiana is set, with Young and Stutzman running more traditional campaigns, while Holcomb takes pages from Mitch Daniels' 2003-04 gubernatorial campaign, travels the state, continues to build relationships and is fueled by the widening and deepening "disgust" with Washington.

The race is wide open. The only independent polling available came from the Indianapolis Chamber Aug. 24-27 by Strategic Guidance Systems in Marion County that showed about 65% of likely voters undecided, and only Young anywhere close to the 20% mark. HPI has heard that this survey mirrors some statewide campaign polling that also shows a vast undecided segment.

Holcomb raised \$200,000 in the second quarter,

and \$110,000 in the third, but reports \$300,000 cash on hand. His tiny burn rate augments the unconventional nature of his organization. Holcomb insists that his organization building will pay off late next winter and spring, when there is the potential for a din created around the presidential race circus. Like his former boss named Mitch, success in his view comes from proper asset management, cogent messaging and savvy used of social media, an enthusiastic buy-in from those who have endorsed, and enough funds to spread the message.

For the Hoosier political junkie, this race seems to have it all.

## Hill posts \$269,187 for quarter

In just over 100 days since the launch of his campaign, Democrat Baron Hill has raised over \$420,000 including \$269,187 during the last quarter. "We are very excited about the continued grassroots support of our campaign. Over 95% of our donors are individual supporters, with 86% of our donors being from right here in Indiana. Our finance team continues to grow and I'm very optimistic as we head into 2016," said Sarah Russell, Hill's finance director.

Hill faces John Dickerson in the primary. Dickerson has not released his third quarter totals. ❖

# Pence moves into policy gauntlet

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Gov. Mike Pence began moving through a treacherous set of policy issues this week that will have a wide impact on his coming reelection bid.

On Tuesday, he unveiled a \$1 billion, four-year road and bridge maintenance plan that will need approval from the Indiana General Assembly. It was a policy response to criticism he and his administration have endured since the I-65 bridge closure near Lafayette in August, culminating in TV ads from BetterRoadsAhead.org that accused Pence of sacrificing lives to preserve a \$2 billion budget surplus.

On Monday, hours before he joined the Allen County Harvest Celebration for Life at the near Columbia City, an event hosted by U.S. Rep. Marlin and Christy Stutzman, Pence announced he had authorized a \$3.5 million statewide contract with Real Alternatives, a Pennsylvania anti-abortion group that offers free pregnancy and parenting

services. Pence keynoted that event. It is an attempt to deflect criticism that Pence is cutting female health access.

And last Friday, Pence reinstated school security funds that had been cut by 65% during the biennial budget passed last April. His action came in the wake of the 45th and 46th U.S. school shootings in Oregon and

Arizona the prior week, claiming the lives of 13 students and teachers. "Indiana was one of the first states to establish and fund a statewide program specifically designed with school safety in mind, and these additional funds will help ensure that Hoosier schools have resource officers to provide onsite security and quickly respond to threats," Pence said.

Still left in the quiver is how the governor and the Republican super majorities in the Indiana General Assembly will handle the proposed expansion of civil rights to include sexual orientation. As HPI observed last week, and the Associated Press analyzed over the weekend, all sides are digging in, with the so-called "Utah Compromise" not getting much traction.

On this front, Tea Party activist Monica Boyer wrote on her blog, "Not on My Watch," on Monday in a



Gov. Mike Pence makes his \$1 billion road plan public during a Tuesday press conference at an Indianapolis INDOT facility. (HPI Photo by Mark Curry)

letter to GOP legislators, "Word on the street says there are many backroom deals happening between your leadership, big business, and lobbyists to discuss the agenda of the upcoming legislative session. Some have even hinted at a potential compromise from the GOP. Now because Indiana is now owned by big money and liberal media

outlets, you want to create a special protected class and put Hoosiers of faith in the direct line of fire. What a far cry from the campaign trail when you boldly told us how much you loved our Constitution and liberty. We bought it and elected you. We didn't realize what you REALLY meant by liberty."

In five days, Pence has taken steps to reassure his social conservative base, tried to staunch the damage on the infrastructure front, and inoculate his administration in the event of the school massacre trend arriving in Indiana.

His foray to Columbia City to break bread with the Right to Life movement can be seen as a preparation step before he wades into the sticky civil rights issue.

Here's an issue-by-issue analysis of what the governor is facing and the potential benefits and fall out:

■ **Infrastructure:** The I-65 bridge closing was an engineering miscalculation by an on-site construction company, and not caused by delayed maintenance. But probable Democratic gubernatorial nominee John Gregg, Indiana Democrats and the BetterRoadsAhead outfit have pounded Pence on that incident, the D+ rating given to state roads and bridges by the American Society of Civil Engineers, and the news that hundreds of miles of recent asphalt may have a premature lifespan.

In an overt move, INDOT and the Indiana Republican Party jumped into the fray in a Twitter battle with Indiana Democrats last week. An INDOT press release sent Oct. 7 noted that bridges rated fair or better actually increased from 93 to 95.3%. The Pence proposals announced Tuesday would bring that up to 97% and comes on top of \$3.2 billion INDOT was preparing to spend over the next five years.

"Hoosiers can be proud of their infrastructure," INDOT Commissioner Brandye Hendrickson said. "INDOT's bridges and roads are rated at or above the national average and continue to improve, which will ensure Indiana remains 'The Crossroads of America.'" Indiana Republicans followed, with spokesman Robert Vane saying, "Their latest mail piece actually politicizes personal tragedies without remorse and proves once again they will say anything to attack Mike Pence. It's shameful."

At the INDOT garage in Indianapolis on Tuesday, Pence explained, "These additional funds will help INDOT

make future maintenance and repairs as the interstate system comes of age, and will help ensure that our roads can support the economic and employment growth our state has seen over the last few years. Just as Hoosiers seek to build a financial reputation that allows them to build a future, our state has put in the hard work to guarantee that Indiana's future is bright as we enter our third century."

After his announcement, Indiana Republican Chairman Jeff Cardwell said, "Gov. Pence's leadership on Indiana's transportation issues is making a real difference for Hoosiers and our economy. Today's announcement of the governor's '21st-century Crossroads Plan' is yet another example of the governor's commitment to building and improving our state's infrastructure, and will feature \$1 billion in additional funding on top of over \$600 million already dedicated for our roads and bridges since Gov. Pence took office. Speaker Bosma said he "appreciates"

the governor's proposals. Senate President David Long said that he is "glad to see our governor proposing ideas here in Indiana that invest in our infrastructure without raising taxes."

But House Minority Leader Scott Pelath called the initiative "sheepish." Senate Minority Leader Tim Lanane described it as a "drop in the bucket."

The Michigan City Democrat explained, "The sheepish proposal offered today is typical of the way this governor and his brood have handled Indiana's crises. They hear the cries through the wall, read the poll numbers, and attempt the bare minimum to make them go away. As you may recall, the governor and his House and Senate super majorities forgot our roads and bridges were falling apart until the day after the 2015 legislative session was over. They waited until the day after the session before they

admitted we might have a problem, and they'd set about fixing it sometime in the future. After a summer of interminable detours and closures, it turns out we really shouldn't be waiting. Something needs to be announced now, or at least long enough before the true start of a gubernatorial campaign where our governor's inaction will be made accountable."

Here's the danger for the Pence administration. Ask 10 people in an Indiana restaurant, bar or football game how they would rate state roads and bridges. Ask them if they are "proud" of their infrastructure. But after weeks of criticism, Pence and his administration have responded aggressively, as he did in Clark County on



Gov. Pence faces a gauntlet of policy issues that will frame his coming reelection battle. (HPI Photo by Mark Curry)

Wednesday when he hailed the early opening of a new Ohio River bridge.

■ **School safety:** One of the most perplexing budget cudgels from last spring was the 65% cut in school safety funds. While the U.S. has had 46 school or campus shootings so far in 2015, since the Newtown, Conn., massacre of December 2012, there have been more than 100 such incidents, though, luckily, none in Indiana where a student or teacher was injured or killed. The potential political fallout if a Newtown or Columbine style school attack takes place here would be severe for state and local officials. Look no further than South Carolina where severe flooding and dam breaches have prompted reporting that the state had spent little on dam inspections and repair. A multiple casualty school atrocity would bring that type of scrutiny 10-fold.

The unmistakable trend is that school shootings are up, they are perpetrated by mentally ill copy cats looking for headlines and infamy, and educators and public servants need to be preparing. Indiana Democratic Chairman John Zody observed after the fund reinstatement, "For the Pence Administration to say earlier this year that certain aspects of the program were no longer necessary, then decide they are, shows the governor's ideology got in the way of sound decision-making that impacts thousands of Hoosier children. School safety should have been – and should always be – a priority for Mike Pence. Period."

■ **Women's health:** While Gov. Pence and Republicans in Congress and the General Assembly have consistently targeted Planned Parenthood funding, the fact is that the general public, by a wide margin, supports such funding. In a recent NBC/Wall Street Journal poll, Planned Parenthood had a 47% positive perception and 31% negative, compared to 29/45% for the Republican Party. A USA Today/Suffolk Poll in late September showed 65% supporting federal funding for Planned Parenthood and 29% say it should be cut off. The timing of the Real Alternatives contract with the Allen County Right to Life Harvest event reveals an attempt to assuage the base, which has been sharply critical of Pence during the Religious Freedom Restoration Act and ensuing "fix."

But like the coming civil rights debate, this may be akin to squeezing the tube. Moving to bolster the base

support may mean bleeding with the independent, female voter likely to determine who the next governor will be. Between a September 2012 Howe/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll and the 2012 election, Pence saw an 18% drop in female support, and it nearly cost him the election. The political impact of the Real Alternatives contract is just beginning to gather. This one will play well with the base, but it may end up being a double edged sword as Pence attempts to draw independent, female support.



Governor Mike Pence @GovPenceIN · 17h

Enjoying Allen County Harvest Celebration for Life tonight @ Eshelman Farm w/ @FirstLadyIN #prolife @ichooselifefw



■ **Civil rights expansion:** This is the elephant on the table. As we analyzed last week, all sides are digging in and thumbing their noses the notion of compromise. This creates a situation where either Gov. Pence, Speaker Bosma or Senate President Long will have to take the lead. Bosma and Long ain't talkin' specifics, though Bosma said last week that a civil rights expansion won't be the No. 1, issue, and Long told Indiana Public Media that the Senate Majority Caucus will "have our own contributions to this discussion." Pence is playing his cards close to the vest. He has repeatedly said that he will listen to the "merits" of the coming, noisy debate as Freedom Indiana and the Indiana Pastors Alliance will hold dueling demonstrations during Organization Day in November.

Indiana University public affairs Prof. Paul Helmke, former Fort Wayne mayor, characterized the various sides digging in as setting the stage for "a huge mess." If the various stakeholders won't come to the table in an attempt to find common ground, then Pence will have to make a fateful decision that could end up pleasing one faction or the other, or perhaps nobody.

The bottom line, as seen in thousands of circus parades, is that the elephant on the table could end up creating one huge mess. ❖



# Local governments need sustainable road funding

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS – Gov. Mike Pence kicked off the infrastructure debate with a \$1 billion proposal to repair state highways, interstates and bridges. Local government officials want the governor and General Assembly to take it several steps further, and provide what the Indiana Association of Cities & Towns calls a “sustainable” funding source



Senate Minority Leader Tim Lanane called the Pence proposal a “drop in the bucket” and pointed out, “We can repave state highways all we want, the fact is the majority of roads in the Hoosier State are maintained by local governments. For every one centerline mile of

road the Indiana Department of Transportation maintains, cities, towns and counties maintain nearly nine. For every structurally deficient bridge INDOT must repair, locals have five.” IACT puts the statewide figures at 84,000 lane miles and INDOT/state maintains about 14,000 lane miles.

IACT President Matthew Greller told Howey Politics Indiana on Wednesday that the Pence plan is a good start. “The big thing is it’s good the administration is addressing infrastructure in a very serious way with a very serious proposal and a lot of money. But it includes no money for city and town streets and county roads. I’m disappointed because the vast majority of road miles in Indiana are maintained by local governments.”

Greller said that the Pence administration contacted local officials. “They did say that they will begin discussions about how we address local roads.” Those discussions will come almost three years after the first Pence biennial budget pumped in \$64.5 million for local roads.

**In IACT’s view, the future should provide a sustainable source of road funding.** “Everyone agrees we must build quality communities, attractive towns and cities, but how do we do that without infrastructure needs being met?” Greller asks.

“They did do a one-time infusion and that was appreciated,” he said of the 2013 budget. “That’s gone. We have to look beyond one-time infusions of cash. We have to find some type of sustainable, longterm funding mechanism.”

Greller believes that there are a number of incremental steps that can be taken quickly, and without a general gasoline tax hike. One would be to give cities and towns the authority to establish a wheel tax. Currently, only a county council can do that. Another would be to

allow local governments to use local road funds “interchangeably.”

“Often you’ll have money in one account but not the other,” Greller said.

**Another would be indexing the gas tax.** “That’s something we should have done 20 years ago. If we had, we wouldn’t be in the shape we’re in now. We’re at the very low end of state local road funding.” And, Greller added, the state needs to look at user fees. The example he gave would be electric and hybrid vehicles pay little or no gas tax, yet contribute to the wear and tear on roads, bridges and highways.

Are these ideas resonating with legislators? “To some degree,” Greller said, noting that House Roads and Transportation Chairman Ed Soliday has authored legislation that would allow for local wheel taxes. ❖



# Long term solutions needed for roads

By MAUREEN HAYDEN

TERRE HAUTE – Worn-out roads weren’t on Toby Daggett’s mind when he pulled his 1996 Chevy Cavalier into a Jiffy Mini-Mart on Tuesday.

He had enough cash in his pocket to buy a soda and about two gallons of gas to get his daughter to school and back for a few days.

Unemployed and disabled, Daggett said he can’t afford an increase in gas taxes even if the extra pennies help fill potholes and repair bridges.

“Can’t they get the money to fix the roads from someplace else?” he said.

Indiana Gov. Mike Pence thinks so. On Tuesday, he announced a plan to spend \$1 billion in new funding for state highways and bridges over the next four years without raising taxes.

Under increasing political pressure, Pence instead proposes pulling money from several sources, including the state’s surplus and general fund, to combine with borrowed dollars.

**“Indiana is committed to ensuring we have the infrastructure for our families and our communities and our state to prosper,”** he said at a press conference.

Skeptics say doing that will take much more. They cite studies that find the state’s current funding to maintain its infrastructure falls short by \$1 billion year. They want the governor and lawmakers to look long-term solutions, including at the unpalatable proposal of hiking the gas tax.

Scott Hornsby, an Indianapolis engineer, said Pence’s proposal is “better than nothing.”

"But we need a long-term fix," he said.

Hornsby heads a coalition of industries and individuals with a stake in road funding. The group, called Fix My Roads Indiana, is working to educate voters on how deteriorating infrastructure is already costing them money, from broken tire rims to time lost on congested highways.

They hope the argument softens the blow of an increase in the gas tax, now 18 cents per gallon, or other options that ask motorists to pay more.

**Justin Palmer, who was** also buying gasoline at the Jiffy Mini-Mart in Terre Haute, said he hasn't seen the campaign on social media or billboards, but he agrees with the premise. He said he is willing to spend another 20 cents for a gallon of gas, on one condition. "It would have to be spent on fixing the roads," he said.

The state's gasoline tax hasn't increased since 2003. But collections are eroding due to several factors: Increased fuel efficiency, reduced miles traveled and a decline in buying power because of inflation.

The state Department of Transportation, which has taken no position on a gas tax hike, estimates the average Hoosier spends about \$18 a month in federal and state gas taxes.

Had the gas tax kept up with inflation, increasing to 23 cents per gallon, Indiana would collect an additional \$500 million per year in road and bridge repair funds.

David Bottorff, head of the Association of Indiana Counties, said that money "would go a long way" toward helping communities repair aging infrastructure.

Of 22 percent of bridges that are considered structurally deficient or functionally obsolete, most are owned by counties, not the state.

Pence's plan doesn't include new dollars for counties, cities or towns.

"We'd hope locals would be included in (Pence's proposed) revenue stream," Bottorff said. "We've got 69 percent of the roads and over 12,000 bridges that we have to maintain."

**Rep. Alan Morrison, R-Terre Haute,** agrees that Pence's plan won't drum up enough money. "The roads in some parts of rural Indiana are awful, awful, awful," he said.

Many states, including those led by Republicans, are hiking gas taxes to keep up deteriorating roads and bridges. This year, six states increased gas taxes by a range of less than a penny to 7 cents on the gallon.

Purdue University economist Larry DeBoer says an increase of one penny per gallon will generate \$29 million for the state every year.

"Who's going to notice one cent, two cents or even a 10-cent hike? Gas prices fluctuate every day," DeBoer said. "But raising taxes just doesn't fly in Indiana." ❖

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

## Pence neglects Region, Cline Avenue bridge

By **RICH JAMES**

MERRILLVILLE – Gov. Mike Pence likes to call Indiana the Crossroads of America. And there are those who say it is the Crossroads of America because most people cross over but few actually stop.

The Republican Pence administration this week said the governor's \$1 billion highway improvement plan is designed to maintain the Crossroads of America label. The question is whether a \$1 billion highway plan over the next five years is enough to stop the bleeding, as Pence in some polls is a slight underdog in his quest for a second term.



The International Union of Operating Engineers would stand to gain from an expansive highway plan

because its members are heavily involved in road construction. But it is unlikely that the Merrillville-based union will remove the sign from its marquee that reads: Fire Pence, Hire (John) Gregg. The union twice supported former Gov. Mitch Daniels because of his Major Moves highway plan. But the union has turned against Pence because of his anti-union stance on a variety of issues.

The Pence highway plan won't win the favor of many in Northwest Indiana because of the Cline Avenue Bridge. Many in NWI look upon Daniels and Pence as the same person politically, especially where Cline Avenue is involved. Many view Pence's \$1 billion highway plan as a slap in the face because Daniels refused to rebuild the bridge even though the state had a \$2 billion surplus.

And now, Pence is taking almost \$250 million of the surplus to fund his highway plan that isn't expected to benefit Northwest Indiana. And Pence is taking the insult to NWI a step further by saying he wants to borrow \$240 million more to help fix Indiana's highways, while the state refused to rebuild Cline Avenue. Additionally, none of the \$250 million in state highway funding approved by the Legislature earlier this year was earmarked for NWI projects. All the while, construction of Cline Avenue by a private firm that will turn it into a toll road has yet to start.

**Pence's plan and highway funding** in general are expected to dominate the 2016 session of the General Assembly, just before voters go to the polls to pick a new governor. In a way, Pence has Democrats in a precarious position. While Democrats likely will be inclined to oppose Pence's plan, going against highway funding is somewhat like being opposed to apple pie. ❖

**Rich James has been writing about state and local government and politics for more than 30 years.**

# Banks reports \$161k; Kip Tom raises \$153k

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – State Sen. Jim Banks posted \$161,594.07 for the third quarter, bringing him to \$301,705.09 for the cycle, leading the 3rd CD race among those candidates who have reported.



Howey Politics Indiana has not received State Sen. Liz Brown's third quarter FEC report.

Banks had \$35,574 in expenditures and closed the period with \$259,076.17 cash on hand.

Banks received donations from Jim Bopp Jr. (\$250), John Hammond III (\$5,000), Dr. John Crawford (\$800), Rod Ratcliff (\$2,500), Dan Dumezich (\$1,000), Fred Klipsch (\$2,000), Brian Burdock (\$500), Rep. Casey Cox (\$526), John Popp (\$5,200), Committee to Elect Ben Smaltz (\$400), and Jim Jordan for Congress (\$2,000), and Christopher Judy for State Representative (\$500)

Leesburg farmer and businessman Kip Tom will report raising more than \$153,000 in the first 25 days of his campaign for Indiana's 3rd CD. "The response we've received from Hoosiers in the first weeks of this campaign has been overwhelming," Tom said. "Hoosiers agree Congress needs more conservative citizen legislators who have created jobs, met a payroll, and helped improve their communities, and fewer career politicians." Ninety-seven percent of Tom's contributions came from individuals. In addition, 98 percent of Tom's contributions are designated for the primary election and do not include any loans or contributions from the candidate. The campaign will report having more than \$144,000 cash on hand at the close of the filing period.

The campaign of former Wisconsin State Sen. Pam Galloway showed \$119,520 in receipts for the third quarter and she has loaned her campaign \$150,000. She ended up with \$50,498.95 cash on hand. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Banks

## Mayoral trends

Mayoral races are heading into the homestretch

and as of this writing, the biggest story seems to be the "minority party mayors" – the incumbents ruling in cities where the opposition party has more voters – seem to be in good shape.

In this group, we still see Fort Wayne Mayor Tom Henry (D), Terre Haute Mayor Duke Bennett (R), Anderson Mayor Kevin Smith (R) and Evansville Mayor Lloyd Winnecke (R) in relatively good shape. All have substantial money advantages, all have had an advertising advantage and none seems to be vulnerable for an upset in three weeks.

The most likely incumbents to lose appear to be Democrat Elkhart Mayor Dick Moore, who is facing an intense and well-funded challenge from former state representative Tim Neese, and Republican Logansport Mayor Ted Franklin, who is facing former journalist Dave Kitchell. We will be watching closely races in Jasper (Republican Terry Seitz), Portage (Republican Jim Snyder), Jeffersonville (Republican Mike Moore), and the open seat in Lebanon where Republican nominee Matt Gentry is facing a spirited challenge from Democrat school board member Michele Thomas.

We still are forecasting big wins for Indianapolis Democrat Joe Hogsett, Richmond Republican Kyle Ingram, Bloomington Democrat John Hamilton, Hammond Democratic Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr., Gary Mayor Karen

Freeman-Wilson, East Chicago Mayor Anthony Copeland, South Bend Mayor Peter Buttigieg, and Kokomo Mayor Greg Goodnight.

HPI will have a full rundown on the competitive mayor races in our Oct. 29 edition.

## Mayors

### Evansville: Winnecke, Riecken to debate

Mayor Lloyd Winnecke and his reelection challenger, Gail Riecken, will meet in a televised debate Oct. 22, sponsored by multiple media organizations, two of which have representatives who contributed to Winnecke's campaign (Langhorne, Evansville Courier & Press). Winnecke's most recent campaign finance report, from April, lists

WFIE-NBC14 news anchor Randy Moore and his wife, Lisa, as being \$125 contributors. Moore was set to be on a panel of questioners for the mayoral debate. On Tuesday night, 14 News announced that Jackie Monroe would take his place. Moore suggested the change, according to the station. DuJuan McCoy, CEO of Bayou Broadcasting, parent company of WEVV-CBS/Fox44, is a \$1,000 contributor to Winnecke. Moore said his name appears on Winnecke's re-



State Sen. Jim Banks posted \$161,594 for the third quarter.

port because his wife, a Winnecke supporter and campaign volunteer, likely wrote the \$125 campaign check from the couple's joint account without realizing it could raise questions about his role as a journalist. Lisa Moore, then known as Lisa Kelsey, also is listed as a \$108 contributor to Winnecke's campaign finance report for 2014. Randy Moore

acknowledged knowing Winnecke for many years, dating back to Winnecke's past career in local television, but said he is neutral in the mayoral race and sees no problem with his being a debate panelist.



Riecken released her education plan on Tuesday: The mayor's responsibility is to bring businesses to Evansville. "In the past few months, voters across the city have voiced their concerns to me that our children are not being prepared for available jobs," said Riecken. "As mayor, I will work with leaders in education, business and parents to ensure that our children are prepared for these jobs and jobs of the future."

In split votes Monday night, the City Council on Monday rejected Mayor Lloyd Winnecke's 2016 budget proposal but approved a 1-percent pay increase for city employees (Martin, Evansville Courier & Press). The council exempted itself from the pay raise. The 1-percent pay bump will cost about \$650,000. But in rejecting Winnecke's

budget, leaders of the City Council called for the mayor to cut expenditures in other areas. Winnecke had agreed to cut the budget he presented to the council in August by about \$3 million, but the council's majority on Monday said those reductions don't go far enough, and cash reserves would still be needed to balance revenues and costs. The vote against his budget was 5-4. "The biggest thing we have to do right now is rein in spending," said Finance Committee Chairman Conor O'Daniel, D-at-large. "I gave the mayor certain parameters not only in the general fund, but in local income tax and in riverboat, and he didn't meet my numbers. I think the cuts he proposed were really already baked into the inflated number they proposed to begin with." Winnecke's staff had asked the City Council for a vote on the budget. Now that the proposal has been rejected, "we'll regroup," City Controller Russ Lloyd Jr. said after the meeting. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Winnecke.

**Elkhart: State Dem mailer hits Neese**

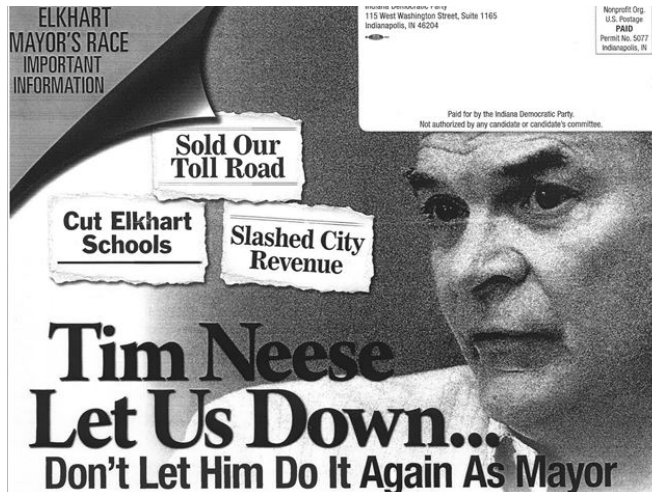
Democrats have sent out a new campaign mailer that lashes out at GOP mayoral hopeful Tim Neese, criticizing some of the votes he made as a member of the Indiana House (Lee, Elkhart Truth). The mailer offers the most direct criticism against the candidate so far in the campaign, perhaps, but Neese said "desperate political campaigns take desperate steps." The mailer, sent by the Indiana Democratic Party, criticizes Neese for votes

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**A Fresh Look At Indiana Politics Through The Lens Of Mark Curry**  
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that have "sold off our vital infrastructure, cut our schools and reduced revenue to our city." It further reads that the Indiana Democratic Party paid for the mailer and that it was "not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee." The move is part of the party's effort to help incumbent mayors and candidates across the state, spokesperson Drew Anderson said.

While Elkhart Mayor Dick Moore echoed that he did not have anything to do with the mailer, he added that it was "pretty accurate." "While we were at home surviving — and we did — (Neese) was down there voting on things that didn't help us very much," Moore said. Neese said some of the money the state got from the lease has benefited the county. Per the toll road deal, Elkhart County received around \$40 million in what was dubbed Major Moves funds, including around \$8.3 million for the city of Elkhart. "Some of that money has already been used towards the completion of the Lerner Theatre, the completion of the Prairie Street overpass and the Johnson Street bridge," Neese said. "During my time in the legislature, I always had the taxpayer in mind," Neese said. "There's not a 'maybe' button in the House of Representatives. There's a 'yea' or 'nay,' and you have to make difficult decisions, but I always did that with regards to the taxpayer coming first."

Elkhart Mayor Dick Moore promised "more of the same" if re-elected, while challenger Tim Neese said he would put the residents of the city first if he wins (Vandenack, Elkhart Truth). The candidates faced off in their fourth forum ahead of Election Day, Nov. 3, sounding familiar messages and themes. Moore, a Democrat seeking his third term, focused on projects completed during his tenure, including downtown lighting and the Lerner Theatre overhaul. "People tell us Elkhart has never looked better," Moore said. In his years in office, he's gotten "very few complaints," Moore said. And he pointed to project proposals in the works, including North Main Street improvements, upgrades to the city plaza on Main Street and development of a piece of riverfront land the city plans to acquire near the Jackson Boulevard-Goshen Avenue crossing. "We want to continue to do more of the same," Moore said. Neese, a Republican and former member of the Indiana House, zeroed in on leadership style. He'd lead a government that would "cooperate, not intimidate" the public. "I don't want to work with yes-people, I want people to challenge me on a daily basis," said Neese, who has criticized Moore as a heavy-handed leader. Residents of the city, he went on, "will always be right." The two candidates jabbed at each other, first when Moore suggested



Neese didn't correctly remember an encounter when the Republican was a state lawmaker. Moore had said he met with several lawmakers to discuss annexation, a red-hot issue here, while Neese reported meeting with the mayor only over sewer compact fees and assessed valuations. "I'm older than you are, but your memory is fading a little bit," Moore told Neese. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Neese.

### Lebanon: Mayoral race at a crossroads

With an incumbent mayor on his way out of office, Lebanon's mayoral candidates are fighting for the chance to reshape the city and focus on its longterm future (IndyStar). "We're at a real crossroads, and we're poised for some really good things to happen with the right direction," said Democratic mayoral candidate Michele Thomas. "Lebanon is at a crossroads, and I want to see Lebanon really embrace its future," said Republican mayoral candidate Matt Gentry. In addition to their shared views the candidates have similar goals. They want to focus on quality of life for residents, jobs, and infrastructure needs to accommodate future residential growth. Areas of emphasis is what seems to set the two candidates apart. Incumbent Mayor Harold "Huck" Lewis, a Republican, was defeated in the primary by Gentry. Thomas is a 54-year-old mother of three who has lived in Lebanon for 12 years while working full time in Fishers at Wiley Publishing Inc. She served on the school board for seven years, two as board president. Thomas said her track record shows a commitment to the city, which she said needs a new direction. "I want to continue my role as a public servant in my home (town)," she said. "I think I can be most effective in seeing some positive change in Lebanon as the mayor, as the leader of the city."

Gentry, 26, was raised in Boone County but did not move to Lebanon until after graduating from Purdue University and buying a house in 2012. Previously a Statehouse staffer for the House of Representatives, he is an advertising consultant for media consulting firm Mark It Red (IndyStar). Gentry said someone needed to step up to make change happen in Lebanon, and waiting until the next term would be too late. "We have a lot of challenges facing our community, and it's time to get things on the right path," he said. "I really felt that I had to step up."

**Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

### Richmond: Ingram, Snow talk jobs

Richmond Republican Kyle Ingram and Democrat Dave Snow talked economic development with the Richmond Palladium-Item. "I've sat at the table with CEOs, purchasing agents and engineers, and with small business

owners, and I know the challenges they face," Ingram said. "My background is in manufacturing, and do I think there are manufacturing jobs out there? Absolutely. Do I think businesses would relocate to Indiana? Of course. Indiana is one of the top states in America in terms of job growth," Ingram said. "I like to say that the state of Indiana is throwing a party and they've been throwing a party for a long time. And guess who's not elected to attend. The city of Richmond. I want to take Richmond to that party," he said. Snow's plan also calls for a commission of local business owners, contractors and city inspectors who would review local building and safety codes and how they are interpreted and enforced locally. "We need to make this process easier for those looking to invest in the community. We need to cut as much red tape as possible," Snow said. "We also need to use tax abatements creatively so that they are more competitive and require a longer commitment to the community. "I will work with city council to offer abatements that grow the longer the company stays in Richmond," he said. Ingram promises to be "a full-time mayor," though he said he hopes to continue officiating "on a much lesser scale." **Horse Race Status:** Leans Ingram.

### Goshen: Candidates talk blight issue

Democratic mayoral candidate Jeremy Stutsman has unveiled a five-point plan to fight blight that calls for getting tough on "problem landlords" who allow their rental properties to deteriorate (Hernandez, Elkhart Truth). Stutsman's plan includes expanding the use of the city's court-appointed receivership program, in which a judge names a property manager to fix the blighted buildings with city funds and the city is reimbursed once the work is completed. His opponent in the Nov. 3 election, Republican Mary Cripe, said while she supports the use of tools provided by the state, including the receivership program, she would only use it when all other methods have been exhausted. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Stutsman.

### Indianapolis: Hogsett, Brewer talk neighborhoods

Republican Chuck Brewer and Democrat Joe Hogsett both credit prior administrations for building Downtown to what it is today, they also say the time has come to shift the city's redevelopment focus to the rest of the city. "I recall (former Mayor Bill Hudnut) saying this many times, 'you can't be a suburb of nothing,'" Hogsett said. "I want to add the Hogsett corollary to the Hudnut doctrine: You can't be a downtown of nothing. A strong downtown will only remain strong if it has thriving neighborhoods around it." **Horse Race Status:** Safe Hogsett.

### 9th CD: Republicans, sans Houchin, debate

The manufacturing consultant who describes himself as the "most conservative candidate" and notes emphatically that he didn't make politics his career (Banta, Bloomington Herald-Times). The public policy consultant

and former chief of staff for a Republican congressman from Kansas who points to his conservative values and principles. The three-term state senator from Greenwood who says he has spent his time in politics, both at the local and state level, fighting the establishment. The attorney general who's tired of overreaching federal policies and says it's time to take the fight from his current position to Washington, D.C. Those are four of the candidates – Bob Hall, Jim Pfaff, Brent Waltz and Greg Zoeller, respectively – who are seeking the Republican Party's nomination next year to represent Indiana's 9th CD. And they took to the stage Tuesday night at the Monroe County Public Library auditorium to debate, sometimes heatedly, about the issues, from economic development to the federal deficit to illegal immigration. A fifth declared candidate, state Sen. Erin Houchin, R-Salem, also received an invitation from the Monroe County Republican Party to participate, but declined. The four have similar reasons for running: They all are, in some way, tired of what's going on in the nation's capital. "I am very unhappy with the direction of our country," Hall said, blaming career politicians (something he repeatedly emphasized he is not) on both sides of the aisle. "I am fed up with the status quo. I will be a voice for the grassroots, a true conservative voice in Congress," said Hall, who is a Bloomington resident. "It is time we put our country on the right track again. I will fight and be a true conservative."

Pfaff also wants to see conservative principles taken back to Capitol Hill. "I'm asking for your vote because, as a fellow Hoosier, we know that we must have principled, conservative leadership," he said. "My values and principles are the right values and principles to do this job, (and) I also have the experience to get the job done." Pfaff said he believes his skills are what's need and his principles are what Hoosiers need in their representative in Congress. "I stand for the right of Americans to follow and live by the freedoms (of the Constitution)," he said.

Waltz said he takes pride in the fact that he stands up for the Constitution and that he has not only fought the establishment, but also won. "People are sick and tired of politicians lying to them," he said. "It is not always easy to stand up to the establishment ... but I have been doing that since the first time I went knocking on doors asking for votes." Zoeller has a different kind of fight that he wants to continue, one against the federal government's actions that take power away from state and local governments. In his time as Indiana's attorney general, Zoeller has fought for state and local officials' rights to keep their responsibilities rather than have them dictated by the federal government, he said. "But it's more than that. It's pushing back against the federal overreach," he said. "After years and years of frustration ... it's really time that I take the battle to Washington." **Horse Race Status:** Leans Zoeller. ❖

# Gun control and the wimpy liberal left

By CRAIG DUNN

KOKOMO – I might as well get it out in the open right up front. I own guns. I have a .22 rifle for shooting varmints, a 12 gauge over/under shotgun for shooting sporting clays and a 9 mm handgun for personal protection. I also have a few Civil War era rifles, carbines and pistols that I keep for their historical value. Up to this point in my life, none of my guns has got up by themselves, gone out and shot anyone. In fact, that is the way it is with all law abiding American citizens; they practice firearms safety and responsibility.



Every time some nut job malcontent tries to make a name for himself by shooting up a school, his employer or someone else, there is a hue and cry from the wimpy liberal left, aided by a breathless mainstream media, to enact gun laws that would strip Americans of their 2nd Amendment constitutional protection to keep and bear arms. To quote the mayor of Murderville, USA, Chicago Mayor Rahm Emanuel, "Let no serious crisis

go to waste." Let's not blame the shooter. Let's blame his gun.

I could go and recite the NRA mantra of, "Guns don't kill people, people kill people," or "You don't outlaw kitchen knives because people use them to kill." I could even toss out, "50,000 people are killed in car wrecks every year but you don't outlaw autos." I could even throw out one that hits close to home, "You don't outlaw Cheetos just because fat people die of heart attacks." I could mention all of these, but they're trite and Mr. Howey tells me that my columns should be highbrow and reflect the highest journalistic standards.

Let's tackle the issue of gun control on a very pragmatic basis. Forget all of the emotion and hype on both sides of the issue and deal with facts.

**Fact One:** The United States government tried and failed to prohibit the manufacture and sale of alcohol with the Volstead Act. It failed miserably.

**Fact Two:** The United States government along with state and local governments have laws on the books that make the possession, manufacture and distribution of narcotics and many substances illegal. The enforcement of these laws has failed miserably.

**Fact Three:** We have laws that make it an illegal act to enter the United States without a passport or visa through an official entry point. There are close to 20 million illegal aliens who would tell you that the United States'

laws on immigration are unenforceable and a joke. Can you imagine the liberals' dilemma if every illegal immigrant carried a gun across the border? Why then, if we couldn't or can't enforce alcohol, drugs and immigration control laws, would we even fool ourselves into thinking that we could control gun ownership?

**Several years ago, while** serving as co-chairman of the Howard County Drug Summit Committee along with the Howard County prosecutor, I learned that successful enforcement of drug laws drives up street prices. Drug trafficking becomes more profitable and some really nasty people come to town. Our county drug enforcement was so successful in Howard County that the street price of crack cocaine was roughly three times what it was in Harvey, Ill. That was the simple answer to the question of why so many thugs from Harvey were being arrested in our fair community. It is all a matter of economics. Money goes where it is treated best and the criminals follow. Incidentally, my service on this committee is why I now own the 9 mm handgun. Mamma and the kids didn't like the death threats.

I could just stop here and let my argument rest, but why not beat a dead horse a little further. Picture this scenario: In 2017, the Congress passes gun control legislation or a power mad president issues an executive order that effectively outlaws private gun ownership.

The first thing that would happen is that there would be an absolute stampede to the stores and gun shops to buy up every last gun, bullet and shotgun shell that was available. You don't think so? Between the run up between the passage of the 18th Amendment mandating prohibition and the enactment of the Volstead Act in January, 1920, the American public virtually made legally manufactured distilled spirits disappear from the shelves in an act of laying away booze for a rainy day. There is no reason to believe that gun prohibition would be any different.

**With the manufacture** of alcohol banned in the United States, illegal contraband booze flowed in from Canada, Mexico and overseas. Fortunes were made from the trade of illegal alcohol, politicians and police were corrupted, and crime lords gained in stature and ferocity and violent crime rates steadily rose. Part of the roar of the Roaring Twenties came from the rat-a-tat-tat of machine gun fire as turf wars were settled with the gun. Two bit pimps like Al Capone and Lucky Luciano were elevated to superstardom solely because of government's attempt to prohibit alcohol, a commodity strongly desired by a thirsty public. Some laws, like the law of supply and demand, supersede the laws passed by Congress.

Americans love their guns, more than they love booze or drugs. Gun ownership and freedom was one of the founding principles of our country. Some will say this is hogwash. I would merely point to the 2nd Amendment in our Bill of Rights as evidence of where our founding fathers thought gun ownership ranked.

I would just hate to look into the future and find

some Al Pacino lookalike gun lord in his mansion in Nashville, sitting behind an enormous desk with guns piled high and snarling, "Say hello to my leetle frenz!" Unfortunately, it not only could happen, it would happen.

**It would serve us well** to remember that guns aren't the only way that people murder to suit their purposes. In 2008, an 18-year-old in Alaska killed four people with a knife and a man in Shanghai killed six police officers with a knife. In 2001, a school janitor killed eight children with a kitchen knife.

Lest we forget Timothy McVay and his bombing in Oklahoma City that murdered 168 people. Think McVay's act was just a twisted recent phenomenon? In 1927, in Bath, Mich., a man murdered 44 people, 38 of them children when he blew up the Bath Consolidated School.

My point is that mentally disturbed people will

find a way to kill, if that is their objective. No law can stop them. At best, gun control laws would become mere speed bumps along their paths of destruction.

I believe that there is a deeper issue involving the liberal quest for gun control. An unarmed public would be a public defenseless against all forms of governmental tyranny. Every repressive regime throughout history has attempted to remove guns from the public. When your game plan is to take from one group of people and give to another group, those nasty people with guns could be a big problem. Just ask old King George III what happens when you come to get the guns. It isn't pretty. ❖

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

## Home affordability rates & what it tells us

By **MICHAEL HICKS**

MUNCIE – Every few months, a new rating on housing affordability makes the news. Most recently, a group ranked Muncie the most affordable college town, while earlier ones rank cities by size or region. Communities inevitably bask in the notion of offering affordable options for homebuyers. That, however, is the wrong lesson to draw from these rankings.



The buying and selling of homes is a well-ordered market with transactions agents, many buyers and sellers and formal and informal rules about disclosure of information about the home. So, the price of a house is a very clear

measure of how much buyers and seller value that house.

A good affordability ranking accounts for the differences in the construction, age, size and other features of the home itself. So, differences in the prices of homes among regions aren't due to extra bedrooms or brick construction. Instead they are due to neighborhood effects of a wide variety. A simple mental exercise can help explain the matter.

**Suppose we have two** completely identical homes, but we put them in two different locations. One has top-ranked schools and great walkable neighborhoods; the second is located in an unsafe portion of town with poorly performing schools and is surrounded by abandoned housing. Clearly, one of these houses will be a lot more 'affordable' than the others, but in the same way a

1982 Gremlin is more affordable than a 2015 Lexus.

This insight is hardly news, but the lessons that can be derived from this are very valuable. Economists have analyzed hundreds of millions of home transactions with detailed records of home and neighborhood attributes. This allows a researcher to separate the various impacts of different characteristics on price. So, there are fine studies that very clearly measure the impacts on home prices of such factors as school quality, crime, toxic waste dumps, the proximity of a registered sex offender, walking trails, parks, tax rates, playgrounds, airport noise and everything else we can measure. These measures can help communities target their most troubled areas and emphasize what is most beneficial to them.

**One consequence of this** is that home affordability rankings ought to serve as warning signs to communities that all is not well. But, there is a silver lining to this story. Like most markets, housing markets are imperfect. The Great Recession left in its wake a great deal of poorly priced housing along with a whole generation of young people who are skittish about high-priced housing.

Cities with 'affordable housing' may actually have a window of opportunity in which they can attract younger households. The hope is that these new homeowners may place a greater value on affordability than other amenities. In a study I wrote about last week, cities that had lower-priced housing actually did better than expected in worker productivity in 2010. That is potentially good news for Muncie and other places in the Midwest, but only for the communities that are well into remedying their most vexing problems. ❖

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# Kelly Jones a serious South Bend Republican

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – The Republican nominee for mayor of South Bend is not a nut.

This is news in a city where a question about that often was asked by voters during decades of pathetic GOP mayoral campaigns since a Republican last was elected mayor in 1967. Kelly Jones is the little-known Republican nominee this time, challenging Democratic Mayor Pete Buttigieg, who's as sure of reelection as is Mishawaka's Republican Mayor Dave Wood. Wood is unopposed.



In the only mayoral debate of the campaign, Jones came across last week as pleasant and concerned about issues, not a nutty bomb-thrower or wingnut. Buttigieg, running on his record of economic development, downtown revitalization and neighborhood improvements, summed up his view of a new South Bend image and attitude this way: "In just four years, the debate over

whether the city is dying is over." He was careful also to say that "our work isn't done" and to ask for a chance to continue in "maybe the best job I'll ever have."

Jones praised many of the achievements the mayor cited and his choice for a new police chief, but she also offered suggestions and was critical of such efforts as the expanded bike lanes and "Smart Streets" changes in traffic patterns. A challenger should offer suggestions and alternatives. At least there is a challenger for mayor in South Bend. Democrats didn't even field one in Mishawaka.

**But Jones, 47-year-old** jewelry maker with no governmental or political experience other than a failed quest for a school board seat, offers no compelling reason for voters to believe she would be a better mayor than Buttigieg. She also lacks an effective campaign organization, campaign funding and support even from Republicans in the business community. Name recognition lags this close to the election.

Asked prior to the debate if she had received Republican organization support, she said "no," but hastened to say a Republican women's group had been very helpful. Republican Party leaders didn't recruit her. She first thought of running as a Democrat. But the Democratic county chairman told her he would not sign off on the election law stipulation against filing as a Democrat if having voted Republican in the last election. She had voted Republican. So she filed as a Republican, the only one to

do so.

Jones said she had been a Democrat, now leans more Republican and regards herself as bipartisan, "conservative but not too conservative." not extreme. She said she says what she thinks, not worrying about political niceties or strategies.

In the debate, Jones did indeed say what she thinks, sometimes turning aside chances to hit at the mayor. When a question from the audience suggested that Mishawaka does a better job than South Bend with snow plowing, Jones joined with Buttigieg in praise of South Bend snow-removal crews and added that South Bend is bigger than Mishawaka, with more streets to plow. She joined in praise in general of development around Notre Dame, though questioning if adequate provision was made for people displaced.

**She didn't belittle the mayor's** successful repair or demolition of 1,000 vacant and abandoned houses in 1,000 days. But she went on to propose a "tiny house program" of numerous structures for the homeless and veterans on now-vacant lots.

Would the candidates pledge to serve all four years of the term at stake in November? Jones of course said "yes."

Buttigieg, when prodded by the moderator, said he was "completely focused on this job," but that he couldn't "speak to everything that will happen in the future." The political answer for Buttigieg would have been to say "yes." The truthful answer was the one he gave. He has no intention of running for Congress in 2016. Maybe never. It's uncertain, however, what other opportunities in government, elective or appointive, or outside government might be presented in the next four years.

Buttigieg will be reelected. Still, Jones is filling a needed role as challenger. She is not a nut. ❖

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

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

# Hillary a clear winner

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

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. – Last year at this time, Democrats were in the final month of their losing battle to hold the U.S. Senate. But while licking their wounds after the election, they consoled themselves with a 2016 comeback vision. Democrats already had a candidate so credentialed she was likely to sweep to the nomination and be in a solid position to bury the eventual GOP nominee. Demographics and destiny were on Hillary Clinton's side, and she'd help the party recapture the Senate too. What a difference a year makes. It's hard to recall much of anything that has gone Clinton's way in 2015. She has four opponents but has run mainly against herself, yet steadily lost ground.

The email scandal, which she mismanaged so badly it was political malpractice, is a big part of it but not the whole story. Then there is the lackadaisical campaign she ran for months, scripted, sanitized, and sterile. Clinton was bubble-wrapped, and she avoided pesky reporters and chose prescreened voters for her personal interactions. Never a natural campaigner like her husband, Clinton became as uninspiring and packaged as Robert Redford ended up being in the classic 1972 film, "The Candidate." (He won, though.)

Even worse, Clinton has been dogged by the non-maybe-*proto* candidacy of Vice President Joe Biden. The tragic death of his son Beau produced not just a wave of sympathy but a complete reevaluation of a gaffe-prone politician often not taken seriously. As Hillary appeared less electable, Biden loomed ever larger, the perfect substitute just out of reach. If Biden finally jumps in, his image will surely blemish again because politics takes a terrible toll on every participant. For now, though, Clinton is competing with a ghost, and the ghost is winning in some ways.

**Lately, Clinton has accepted** reality and changed directions. Press interviews are plentiful, more open town halls are on the schedule, and appearances on late-night comedy programs show some sparks of Hillary humor.

Clinton's numbers have declined over the last several months in part because she has been trapped in a recurring cycle of bad news. The falling poll numbers are a story. So are the private emails. And the Bernie Sanders surge and Biden's shadow candidacy. Reasonable minds can disagree about whether she deserves a break, but she's probably about to get one:

Clinton was a clear winner in Tuesday night's debate and likely will be covered as one.

Debates can generate a roller-coaster effect; ask

this year's Republicans. Debates can also solidify the existing hierarchy. That's what we saw last night. Clinton's deep experience in debates shone brightly. She was better than at any joint forum in her previous campaign. Clinton went into the debate the frontrunner and she came out exactly the same, probably strengthened in that role.

**The former secretary** of state's debate night was thematically about President Obama and her gender. Time and time again, Clinton connected herself with Obama, cozying up to a politician who remains very popular among base Democrats. She even avoided criticizing Obama when asked if she would be "Obama's third term," saying she would want to build on Obama's successes. It was an interesting twist for Clinton, who recently broke with the administration on the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade deal. But she more than any person on stage was resoundingly positive about the incumbent.

She also regularly brought up the history-making potential of her candidacy to perhaps become the first woman president. For example, when pressed on a question about Social Security, Clinton said she wanted to "enhance" the program to help poorer individuals, particularly single women who may have been widowed and had never had large salaries. Clinton's gender was not as much of a central point of her 2008 campaign, perhaps in part because Obama's candidacy had an even more dramatic historical dimension. But this time around, she's proudly emphasizing it.

Sanders went in as the chief challenger and he came out the same, maybe even strengthened. His courage of conviction was steely; the most liberal Democrats were thrilled.

**He showed that it's too** late to reverse the changes wrought in the Democratic contest during Clinton's decline. Sanders, the most unlikely of challengers, has zoomed ahead of Clinton in New Hampshire and is in striking distance in Iowa. Sanders is moving up in plenty of other states, including California, though early polls in late-voting states (the Golden State primary is June 7) are especially useless. Still, his blunt talk about income inequality has struck a nerve with Democrats of many stripes.

Sanders clearly understood the need to make inroads with nonwhite voters, specifically citing black and Latino incarceration figures to stress the need for changes in the criminal justice system, as well as later arguing that institutional racism remains a serious problem in the United States. He was unabashed about his strongly progressive views, including a defense of the label "democratic socialist," a move that must have made Clinton smile given what the polling says about that term. Overall, Sanders came across as genuine, which is both a good and bad thing for the sometimes irascible Vermont senator. His appeal to the party's left was there - whether he can build on that is the challenge he faces. ❖



**David Brooks, New York Times:** The House Republican caucus is close to ungovernable these days. How did this situation come about? This was not just the work of the Freedom Caucus or Ted Cruz or one month's activity. The Republican Party's capacity for effective self-governance degraded slowly, over the course of a long chain of rhetorical excesses, mental corruptions and philosophical betrayals. Basically, the party abandoned traditional conservatism for right-wing radicalism. Republicans came to see themselves as insurgents and revolutionaries, and every revolution tends toward anarchy and ends up devouring its own. By traditional definitions, conservatism stands for intellectual humility, a belief in steady, incremental change, a preference for reform rather than revolution, a respect for hierarchy, precedence, balance and order, and a tone of voice that is prudent, measured and responsible. Conservatives of this disposition can be dull, but they know how to nurture and run institutions. They also see the nation as one organic whole. All of this has been overturned in dangerous parts of the Republican Party. Over the past 30 years, or at least since Rush Limbaugh came on the scene, the Republican rhetorical tone has grown ever more bombastic, hyperbolic and imbalanced. Public figures are prisoners of their own prose styles, and Republicans from Newt Gingrich through Ben Carson have become addicted to a crisis mentality. Civilization was always on the brink of collapse. Every setback, like the passage of Obamacare, became the ruination of the republic. Comparisons to Nazi Germany became a staple.

This produced a radical mind-set. Conservatives started talking about the Reagan "revolution," the Gingrich "revolution." Among people too ill educated to understand the different spheres, political practitioners adopted the mental habits of the entrepreneur. Everything had to be transformational and disruptive. Hierarchy and authority were equated with injustice. Self-expression became more valued than self-restraint and coalition building. A contempt for politics infested the Republican mind. Politics is the process of making decisions amid diverse opinions. It involves conversation, calm deliberation, self-discipline, the capacity to listen to other points of view and balance valid but competing ideas and interests. But this new Republican faction regards the messy business of politics as soiled and impure. Compromise is corruption. Inconvenient facts are ignored. Countrymen with different views are regarded as aliens. Political identity became a sort of ethnic identity, and any compromise was regarded as a blood betrayal. This anti-political political ethos produced elected leaders of jaw-dropping incompetence. Running a government is a craft, like carpentry. But the new Republican officials did not believe in government and so did not respect its traditions, its disciplines and its craftsmanship. They do not accept the hierarchical structures of authority inherent in political activity. Welcome to Ted Cruz, Donald Trump and the Freedom Caucus. ❖



**Doug Ross, NWI Times:** Some of the earliest roads in Indiana were toll roads made out of wood. Yes, believe it or not, trees were felled and their logs used to make a less muddy route through the wilderness. Now Indiana's travelers need protection through the political wilderness. Republicans and Democrats are rolling up their sleeves and preparing to slug it out over transportation funding. An early skirmish broke out on Thursday, when the Indiana Department of Transportation responded to Democrats' criticism of the Pence administration by releasing a series of Twitter posts "setting the record straight on infrastructure," to quote INDOT. The agency plans to invest nearly \$3.2 billion in bridge and pavement preservation over the next five years, a 58 percent increase from the prior five years, its tweets said. That's not much comfort to the people in Northwest Indiana who daily drive on the region's roads. Region drivers watched the statewide outcry over a bridge on Interstate 65 near Lafayette being shut down this summer and wondered where those downstate folks were when the Cline Avenue bridge was closed for the same reason, that it was no longer structurally sound. The I-65 bridge was quickly fixed. It has been years since then-Gov. Mitch Daniels promised the Cline Avenue bridge would be replaced. ❖

**John Krull, Statehouse File:** We Americans recorded a couple of milestones a few days ago.

We notched our 150th school shooting since the massacre at Sandy Hook Elementary in Newtown, Connecticut. And we racked up our 300th mass shooting of 2015. Given that we're less than three years past the grieving and burials in Newtown and not far into October, those are impressive achievements – even in the trigger-happy free-fire zone that is the National Rifle Association's idea of what a civilized country should be. Here in Indiana, gun devotees reacted to the mass murder in Oregon and these other more recent shootings in predictable fashion. Indiana Rep. Jim Lucas, R-Seymour, is the NRA's chief cheerleader and errand runner in the Hoosier state. He told a reporter from WIBC that America's lax gun policies are doing such a bang-up job that we should loosen them even more. In this upcoming session of the Indiana General Assembly, Lucas told WIBC that he's contemplating measures that would dispense with requiring gun owners to secure permits and that would subject businesses to severe penalties for banning guns on their premises. Lucas's argument is the same tired argument that all NRA true believers advance – and, these days, that only they believe. Gun laws just don't work. To refute that inarguable factual point, gun devotees point to the mayhem in, say, Chicago. They argue, with selective accuracy, that the Windy City has an appalling record of gun violence despite some relatively strict gun laws. What they neglect to mention is that, as The Chicago Tribune has reported, many of the guns used in the ongoing carnage in Chicago come from states with much laxer gun laws. One of those states is Indiana. ❖

## Murder charge for councilman

EAST CHICAGO - An East Chicago City Council member was charged with murder Wednesday in Lake Criminal Court and indicted in federal court on a charge of possession with intent to distribute marijuana (NWI Times). Robert Battle, 42, is accused of shooting Reimundo Camarillo Jr., 31, of East Chicago, once in the back Monday, court records state. Battle, who represents East Chicago's 3rd District, is running unopposed in the Nov. 3 election. Police found Camarillo face down with blood coming from his nose about 8 a.m. in an alley behind the 4200 block of Euclid Avenue, a probable cause affidavit says. He was pronounced dead at the scene. Authorities met Monday afternoon with Battle's attorney, Walter Alvarez, who told police Battle shot Camarillo after Camarillo allegedly pulled a knife on Battle as the two talked in the alley, the affidavit says. On further questioning, Battle told Alvarez there was no struggle and that he threw the gun somewhere in the house at 4228 Euclid Ave.



## Big Trump poll leads in Nevada, SC

INDIANAPOLIS - Donald Trump holds double-digit leads over Ben Carson in both South Carolina and Nevada, the third and fourth states scheduled to hold nominating contests in next year's race for the presidency, with Trump widely seen in each state as the best candidate to handle a range of top issues, according to new CNN/ORC polls. Trump holds 38% support in Nevada, with Carson in second with 22%, and in South Carolina, Trump doubles Carson's support, 36% to 18%. No other candidate comes close to those top two in either state; the third-place candidate in each case has less than 10% support. Trump's

backing in both states outpaces his support in most recent national polling, where he tends to draw around a quarter of Republican voters. In Nevada, where more than half of likely caucus participants say they have made up their mind or are leaning toward someone, Carly Fiorina takes third place with 8%, followed by Florida Sen. Marco Rubio with 7% and former Florida Gov. Jeb Bush with 6%.

## Donnelly poised to buck Obama

INDIANAPOLIS - U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly, D-Ind., is poised to again pick the practical over the partisan, putting him at odds with President Barack Obama and his fellow Senate Democrats (Carden, NWI Times). This time Donnelly plans to vote with the Republicans, including U.S. Sen. Dan Coats, R-Ind., to override Obama's expected veto of the National Defense Authorization Act, the annual spending plan for the nation's military that also contains Donnelly's latest proposals to reduce servicemember and veteran suicides. The measure passed the Senate on Wednesday, 70-27, and cleared the House earlier this month, 270-156. However, the White House last week threatened a veto because the legislation spends \$38 billion more than permitted under the 2011 budget sequestration caps by classifying ordinary military spending as emergency overseas contingency funding.

## SBOE to loan \$40M to charter schools

INDIANAPOLIS - The Indiana State Board of Education on Wednesday endorsed a plan to divvy out as much as \$40 million in loans in the 2015-16 school year through a controversial new state program to fund charter schools (IndyStar). At least 12 charter schools have requested \$25 million in loans through a program enacted in the state budget that began in July. In all, the state legislature approved \$50 million in loans, but the state board voted to save \$10 mil-

lion of that money for the next school year. At Wednesday's meeting, the state board moved quickly to approve the distribution formula with limited discussion. However, John O'Neal, of the Indiana State Teachers Association, said the program is a significant amount of money and leads him to question whether it's the best use of tax dollars. "Should we be giving that much money to schools that have D and F grades? Or brand new charters that don't have grades at all?" O'Neal asked.

## GOP rep: Benghazi panel is political

LAS VEGAS - Another Republican lawmaker says the House Select Committee on Benghazi is meant to go after the reputation of former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. Rep. Richard Hanna, R-New York, said Wednesday on New York's WIBX 950 said "Sometimes the biggest sin you can commit in D.C. is to tell the truth." "This may not be politically correct, but I think that there was a big part of this investigation that was designed to go after people and an individual, Hillary Clinton," said Hanna, who is not a member of the committee. "After what Kevin McCarthy said, it's difficult to accept at least a part of it was not. I think that's the way Washington works. But you'd like to expect more from a committee that's spent millions of dollars and tons of time." Brian Fallon, the Clinton campaign's press secretary, said Wednesday that Hanna's comment show that "House Republicans aren't even shy anymore about admitting that the Benghazi Committee is a partisan farce."

## Afghanistan war to continue for U.S.

WASHINGTON - President Obama is expected to announce a plan Thursday to keep 5,500 U.S. troops in Afghanistan into 2017, ending his ambitions to bring home most American forces from that war-torn country before he leaves office (Washington Post).