

# Gauging Trump's reelectability

As the President launches his reelection campaign today, warning signs abound ... but ...

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

IOWA CITY – A year from now, President Trump will be in a critical sequence for his reelection campaign. He will be preparing for the Republican National Convention in Charlotte, N.C., a once reliably red state that now looks to be in play. He will make a final decision whether to keep Vice President Mike Pence on the ticket, something he's said he will do

going back to the day after the mid-term elections last November and appeared to reaffirm just last week.

And he will continue to dominate the news in an extraordinarily unprecedented way.

The Mueller investigation is mostly behind him, though the special counsel will likely be called to testify before House committees for a verbal rendition of the 448-page report he filed last April. There are calls for Trump's impeachment from about 40 Democrats, though House



Speaker Nancy Pelosi appears to want to squelch them, preferring that Trump's future be decided by voters at the ballot box in November 2020.

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## It's the economy, stupid

By **CRAIG DUNN**

KOKOMO – We've finally found something that Republicans and Democrats agree on when it comes to the 2020 U.S. Presidential election: "It's our version of the economy, stupid!"



In 2010 during a "60 Minutes" interview, President Obama famously speculated on employment and the economy, "What is a danger is that we stay stuck in a new normal where unemployment rates stay high. People who have jobs see their incomes go up. Businesses make big profits, but they've learned to do more with less. And so they don't hire. And, as a consequence, we keep on seeing growth that is just too slow



**"We've probably had excellent presidents who were gay. We just didn't know which ones. I mean, statistically, it's almost certain."**

*- Mayor Pete Buttigieg to Axios. Gallup reported that 4.5% identified as LGBT.*



**Howey Politics Indiana**  
**WWHowey Media, LLC**  
**405 Massachusetts Ave.,**  
**Suite 300 Indianapolis, IN**  
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**www.howeypolitics.com**

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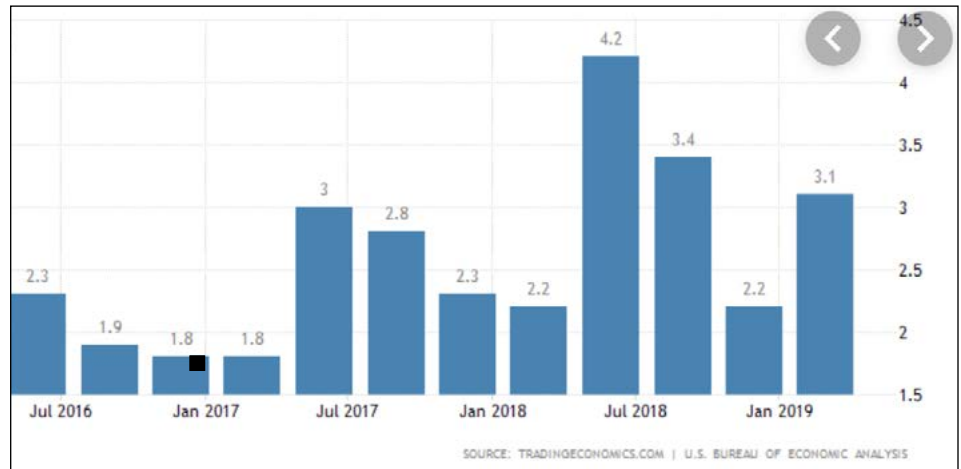
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**Contact HPI**

bhowey2@gmail.com  
 Howey's cell: 317.506.0883  
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to bring back the eight million jobs that were lost. That is a danger. So, that's something that I've spent a lot of time thinking about."

The view of the Obama Administration did not change when in 2014, Treasury Secretary Jack Lew told the Economic Club of New York City that the U.S. GDP growth rate, adjusted for inflation, is now projected to run a little above 2% a year. Apparently, seventy years of GDP growth averaging more than 3% was going to be relegated to history by the "new normal" of 2% growth.

**Consider this:** From 2009 to 2014, real median income fell overall. Why? President Barack Obama's regulations and taxes sat like a wet blanket over our economy.

Most of his policies were aimed at addressing perceived social injustices rather than stimulating economic growth. He believed that it was an injustice that every American did not have health insurance and that corporate CEOs made hundreds of times more income than the average worker. It was also an injustice that banks and big business took advantage of consumers.

Obama convinced Congress to pass Obamacare in 2010, which resulted in health insurance being extended to an additional six percent of the population. But Obamacare came with new taxes - 21 of them - and these helped suppress middle-class income, slowing economic growth.

The "Affordable Care Act" aka Obamacare, also forced employers to provide health insurance to

all full-time workers or pay a fine, which could be as high as \$3,000 per employee. This added to the cost of labor, which again had the effect of slowing growth. Since Obama defined a full-time employee as anyone working at least 30 hours per week, employers hired more part-time workers. This drove down household income and slowed economic growth.

Obama made the 2001 Bush tax cuts permanent for all Americans, except for the top income earners. For them, taxes increased by 10%. This reduced the amount of investment capital flowing into our economy, which slowed economic growth and tended to reduce household income.

In order to address the problems perceived as predatory lending, Obama convinced Congress to pass the Dodd-Frank Act. The problem was that Dodd-Frank reduced all lending, which slowed economic growth and resulted in countless small community banks having to close their doors. This further reduced income and growth.

Do you still have any questions as to why Obama was the only president in history to never see economic growth above 3%? The economy averaged just over 2% for his entire two terms.

**Then along came** Trump and a Republican controlled Congress. For those who like to decry the failed leadership of President Trump and his "do-nothing" Congress, let's see what has happened in just the short 28 months since the President took his oath of office.

In short, President Trump

has ignited the United States economy on fire. Confounding his critics in the media, the Democrat Party and in the fuzzy minds of the Never-Trumpers, the economy has grown over 3% per year, achieved the lowest unemployment in nearly 50 years and posted a 27% stock market gain in the process. The newly created jobs have crossed all employment sectors and the biggest winners, American workers, have seen real growth in personal incomes.

**Prosperity has touched** everyone. Black unemployment is at its lowest level in history. Hispanic unemployment is at its lowest level in history. The unemployment rate among women is at the lowest level since 1953. Black, Hispanic and women's income is up and rising.

These economic statistics are historical and politically powerful. They are also terribly distressing to Trump-haters everywhere. You know who you are!

What's a political party devoid of ideas supposed to do when a Presidential election rolls around in the midst of such economic success? Make up stuff and give away free stuff. The 22-candidate Democratic clown car is engaged in a race to the bottom with a trunk-load of lies and misinformation. The luggage rack on top is stacked high with costly freebies to appeal to the clueless masses:

Free tuition, paid-off student loans, racial reparations, free healthcare for all, basic living-wage cash giveaways, \$15 minimum wage, astronomical new taxes, benefits for people who don't like to work, lower-cost housing and millions of new high-paying jobs in the Green New Deal.

Democrats have settled on a strategy of making up their own version of our economy and telling the gullible that "It's our version of the economy, stupid!"

On the other hand, Republican Donald Trump will be forced to run for re-election using traditional economic statistics. Let's see what the Ronald Reagan "misery index" would give him. Unemployment is at record low? Check. Interest rates at historical lows? Check. Inflation at or below 2%? Check.

**Mark my words**, before this Presidential election is over, Democrats will blame Donald Trump for poor drive-thru service at Wendy's. In a sad and twisted way, they will be right.

And that's a good thing. ❖

**Dunn is the former Howard County Republican chairman.**

**Trump Reelect, from page 1**

So where do Trump's reelection chances stand at this point as he officially kicks off his campaign at 8 p.m. tonight in Orlando with Pence and First Lady Melania Trump with him on stage where he will reinforce his "promises made, promises kept" slogan?

Politico Playbook frames the Trump prospects like this:

**THE PRO-TRUMP WORLD:** "As the president and his allies see it, a second term should be his for the taking. After all, the economy is solid -- inflation is low and growth is chugging along, despite some warning signs. The United States has not entered any new wars on Trump's watch, and America is even speaking to old adversaries. His base is with him, and tonight's rally in Florida will draw tens of thousands of people in a critical part of a crucial 2020 state. Despite withering pressure from investigations on the Hill, at DOJ and in New York, Republicans are not abandoning the president.

**THE ANTI-TRUMP WORLD:** Trump's foes are just as certain he's got a losing record. Trade wars with Mexico and China are hurting farmers in the Midwest and

pushing up prices for everyone else. A surge of migrants from Central America has swamped the border. The United States could be dragged into a war with Iran at any moment, and talks with North Korea have stalled. Internal Trump polling shows the president trailing in key battleground states, with numbers so bad Trump fired some of his campaign's pollsters. He's losing to almost every single Democratic candidate. Impeachment looms on the horizon, and should that happen, some Republicans could begin

abandoning him to save themselves.

**AND YET**, here's the thing about Donald Trump, Politico Playbook writes, "After he shocked the world in 2016, nobody dares predict which of the above narratives will prevail in 2020. Democrats could easily nominate a weak challenger. And unlike last time, he now has his party behind him and the trappings of incumbency on his side."

The New York Times' Peter Baker adds: "Was Mr. Trump's victory the last time around a historical fluke or a

Polling Data					
Poll	Date	Sample	Approve	Disapprove	Spread
<b>RCP Average</b>	<b>5/28 - 6/12</b>	--	<b>44.0</b>	<b>52.7</b>	<b>-8.7</b>
Rasmussen Reports	6/10 - 6/12	1500 LV	50	47	+3
Reuters/Ipsos	6/10 - 6/11	983 RV	41	58	-17
Economist/YouGov	6/9 - 6/11	1107 RV	45	52	-7
Quinnipiac	6/6 - 6/10	1214 RV	42	53	-11
Politico/Morning Consult	6/7 - 6/9	1991 RV	41	56	-15
The Hill/HarrisX	6/7 - 6/8	1001 RV	45	55	-10
NPR/PBS/Marist	5/31 - 6/4	783 RV	43	49	-6
IBD/TIPP	5/30 - 6/7	906 A	42	52	-10
Harvard-Harris	5/29 - 5/30	1295 RV	48	52	-4
CNN	5/28 - 5/31	902 RV	43	53	-10

genuine reflection of America in the modern age? Will the populist surge that lifted him to the White House run its course or will it further transform a nation and its capital in ways that will outlast his presidency? What kind of country do Americans really want at this point?"

As with any reelection sequence, anything and everything can change more than a year out. But Trump faces an unprecedented array of hurdles unlike any other president before him. You might have to go back to 1952 in order to find a politically vulnerable chief – President Harry Truman – who actually pulled out a victory from the proverbial jaws of defeat.

While the economy is humming, GDP is meeting his prediction of close to 3% growth, and jobless levels are at 50-year lows, Trump is not reaping the political windfall that most presidents do with such a positive economy.

A [Fox News Poll](#) released Sunday showed Joe Biden leading Trump by 49%-39%, while Sen. Bernie Sanders held nearly the same advantage over the president, at 49-40%. Holding edges of one or two points over Trump – albeit within the poll's three-point margin of error – were Sens. Elizabeth Warren and Kamala Harris, as well as Mayor Pete Buttigieg, who leads Trump 41-40%.

Polls show the right/wrong tracks are working against Trump: 39/52% in the latest Economist/YouGov Poll, 39/61% in Politico/Morning Consult and 32/61% in Reuters/Ipsos (all released on June 12. In the Quinnipiac national poll released on June 11, he stood at 42/53%.)

Trump's approve/disapprove stood at 44/52.7% by the Real Clear Politics polling composite as of June 13, ranging from 50/47% in the more affirmative Rasmussen Reports polling to 41/58% in the Reuters/Ipsos survey.

With the good economy, most presidents' approval would be at or north of 50%, perhaps approaching the 60th percentile. Trump's problems are that he often steps on his own messaging. The controversial Mexican and Chinese tariffs have injected widespread anxiety across a significant portion of his base that includes farmers and ranchers, manufacturers, union workers who migrated from President Obama in 2008 to Trump in 2016, as well as moderates and independents. Some speculate he resorted to his sudden Mexican tariff proposal in order to staunch coverage of the Mueller report. He may have succeeded in sending Mueller into yesterday's news, but not without a cost.

The Fox News poll shows 45% believe tariffs hurt the U.S., while 33% believe they help. Some 52% opposed Trump's threat to impose tariffs on Mexico. And 55% oppose building the border wall, Trump's signature issue.

In other early national head-to-head matchups,

Trump trails Joe Biden 53-40% in the Quinnipiac Poll; 51-42% against Bernie Sanders, 49-42% against Elizabeth Warren, 49-41% against Kamala Harris, and 47-42% against Pete Buttigieg and Cory Booker.

This has the markings of a potential landslide loss for the incumbent (psst ... make sure you read the third paragraph from the end of this post).

Polling at the state level is also troubling for Trump, and is perhaps more meaningful. A Detroit News/WDIV Poll in Michigan shows Biden leading 53-41% in one of the blue-wall states Trump won to upset Hillary Clinton. Sanders leads him 53-41%, Warren 47-43%, and Buttigieg 47-41%. Some 36% of Michigan voters say they will

Sunday, June 16			
Race/Topic (Click to Sort)	Poll	Results	Spread
General Election: Trump vs. Biden	FOX News	Biden 49, Trump 39	Biden +10
General Election: Trump vs. Sanders	FOX News	Sanders 49, Trump 40	Sanders +9
General Election: Trump vs. Warren	FOX News	Warren 43, Trump 41	Warren +2
General Election: Trump vs. Harris	FOX News	Harris 42, Trump 41	Harris +1
General Election: Trump vs. Buttigieg	FOX News	Buttigieg 41, Trump 40	Buttigieg +1
Friday, June 14			
Race/Topic (Click to Sort)	Poll	Results	Spread
Michigan: Trump vs. Biden	EPIC-MRA	Biden 52, Trump 41	Biden +11
Tuesday, June 11			
Race/Topic (Click to Sort)	Poll	Results	Spread
General Election: Trump vs. Biden	Quinnipiac	Biden 53, Trump 40	Biden +13
General Election: Trump vs. Sanders	Quinnipiac	Sanders 51, Trump 42	Sanders +9
General Election: Trump vs. Warren	Quinnipiac	Warren 49, Trump 42	Warren +7
General Election: Trump vs. Harris	Quinnipiac	Harris 49, Trump 41	Harris +8
General Election: Trump vs. Buttigieg	Quinnipiac	Buttigieg 47, Trump 42	Buttigieg +5
General Election: Trump vs. Booker	Quinnipiac	Booker 47, Trump 42	Booker +5

definitely vote to reelect Trump, while 51% say they plan to vote for someone else.

In another blue-wall state, Biden leads Trump in Pennsylvania 53-42%, Sanders is up 7% and a number of other Democrat contenders are either leading the president or trailing within the margin of error.

The final blue wall-state Trump picked off in 2016, Wisconsin, a Marquette Law Poll in April found that just 28% say they will definitely vote to re-elect Trump, while 14% say they will probably vote for him. Those are dismal numbers.

In another potential swing state - normally reliably red North Carolina where the RNC will take place - Biden leads Trump 56-44% and Buttigieg leads 52-48%.

In Texas - TEXAS! - Biden leads Trump by 4% in a recent Quinnipiac Poll. In a Texas Tribune Poll, 39% said they would "definitely" vote to reelect Trump; 43% said they would "definitely not" vote for him. The remaining 18% said they would 'probably' (11%) or 'probably not' (7%) vote to give Trump a second term. So Trump's reelect numbers in Texas are a 50/50 proposition.

Morning Consult Polling revealed Trump's disapproval rating is higher than his approval in New Hampshire, Wisconsin, Michigan, Iowa, Arizona, Pennsylvania, Ohio, North Carolina, and Indiana (it stood at 46/48%). Especially bleak is the fact that Trump's approval rating is more than a dozen points underwater in Wisconsin, Michi-

gan, and Iowa — all states he won in 2016.

The New York Times reported on June 12: "After being briefed on a devastating 17-state poll conducted by his campaign pollster, Tony Fabrizio, Mr. Trump told aides to deny that his internal polling showed him trailing Mr. Biden in many of the states he needs to win, even though he is also trailing in public polls from key states like Texas, Michigan and Pennsylvania. And when top-line details of the polling leaked, including numbers showing the president lagging in a cluster of critical Rust Belt states, Mr. Trump instructed aides to say publicly that other data showed him doing well."

"We have great internal polling, there were fake polls released by somebody that is – it is ridiculous," Trump ABC last week. "We are winning in every single state that we polled. We're winning in Texas very big, in Ohio very big, in Florida very big."

"All news about the President's polling is completely false. The President's new polling is extraordinary and his numbers have never been better," said Trump campaign manager Brad Parscale.

By Sunday, after NBC reported on leaked internal polling from March showing Trump trailing Biden in Iowa by 7 points, in North Carolina by 8 points, in Virginia by

17 points, in Ohio by 1 point, in Georgia by 6 points, in Minnesota by 14 points, and in Maine by 15 points, Trump fired several of his pollsters, including Michael Baseline, Adam Geller and Brett Lloyd, president and CEO of The Polling Company, the former firm of White House Senior Counselor Kellyanne Conway.

There was speculation that Trump's pollsters had leaked the data in order to get the president's attention. There are multiple reports that top White House and political aides find it difficult to give Trump bad news.

Trump's "fake polls" utterance underscores another vulnerability, particularly outside his GOP base, which is the president's 10,000+ documented lies and inaccurate statements as compiled by the Washington Post. Republicans may be OK with Trump's loose relationship with the truth (his approval among Republicans in Sunday's Fox News Poll was a historic 89%), but not so much among moderates, independents and educated female voters which pushed many suburban congressional districts into the purple category in 2018, gaining Democrats more than 40 U.S. House and hundreds of state legislative seats.

In Indiana, Morning Consult notes that since Trump took office, his net approval has decreased by



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19%. (Trump won Indiana in 2016 with 56.5% to Clinton's 37.5%.)

Indiana Republican Chairman Kyle Hupfer observes that just last fall, Trump was filling Hoosier arenas and was strong enough to help U.S. Sen. Mike Braun forge a 7% victory over incumbent Democrat Joe Donnelly in a race that had been rated a "tossup" by many prognosticators. Braun benefited from the controversies surrounding the confirmation of Supreme Court Justice Brett Kavanaugh and the Mexican immigrant caravan, both of which were at least partially orchestrated by Trump.

But Indiana is in a state of flux. Hoosier farmers are enduring a tormented planting season, are watching foreign soybean markets vanish, and have expressed deep anxiety to Vice President Pence about the Mexican and Chinese tariffs. That Trump backed off the Mexican tariffs, at least for now, gives them and equally alarmed manufacturers some solace. But the Chinese tariffs present a more long-term dilemma that, if left unresolved by this time next year, could bring about a hemorrhaging of political support.

Many Hoosier farmers voted for Trump, but part of that was a distinct revulsion over Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton. A more palatable Democrat nominee could cut into Trump's Indiana pluralities.

Hupfer told HPI Monday morning that while there is no new internal polling in Indiana, "The Trump campaign apparatus is very strong. They are working and have the advantage of being an incumbent and not having a primary. I think you'll see that campaign start to click in." Hupfer said that there are already 100,000 RSVPs for the 20,000 seat Orlando arena tonight. Trump does have a primary challenge from former Massachusetts Gov. William Weld. "I think you'll see him travel and fill arena after arena like no one else can," said Hupfer. "He under-polls. I believe he'll bring out a huge swath of voters like he did in 2016."

As for the 2020 ticket, Hupfer said that he expects a Trump/Pence reelect. "Anything to the contrary is laughable," he said.

## Can Trump pull it out?

Can Trump reverse his electoral scenarios?

Of course. If he were to cut a significant trade deal with China that truly solves many of the long-term issues (and not the USMCA/NAFTA Lite deal), Trump would certainly benefit. If the economy keeps humming, most presidents benefit from the notion of citizens voting their pocketbooks. If Trump were to reverse course and stop undercutting the good news about his economy, his approval and right track numbers would likely improve.

Many voters gave Trump the benefit of the doubt on the two-year Robert Mueller probe. The NBC News/Wall Street Journal poll released Sunday found that just 27% of Americans believe there is enough evidence to begin



impeachment hearings for President Trump now, up 10 points from last month. The poll found that the increase largely comes from Democrats, 48% of whom now want impeachment hearings, compared to 30% last month.

But last week, there was this head-spinning sequence when ABC News Chief Anchor George Stephanopoulos asked

Trump if he would accept opposition research from foreign sources such as Russia and China or report such contacts to the FBI. "I think maybe you do both. It's not an interference, they have information, I think I'd take it," Trump said. The Trump campaign later said it would take such information on a "case-by-case basis," according to Kayleigh McEnany, the campaign press secretary.

Trump added he might not alert the FBI. "The FBI doesn't have enough agents to take care of it," Trump said. "When you go and talk, honestly, to congressmen, they all do it, they always have, and that's the way it is. It's called oppo research."

His son-in-law, Jared Kushner, said much the same thing a couple weeks earlier. Within the Trump/Pence campaign, there will be a "win at any cost" mentality. Some voters might wonder if Trump learned anything from his actions that prompted the Mueller probe in the first place.

FEC Chairman Ellen Weintraub reacted, saying, "I would not have thought that I needed to say this. Let me make something 100% clear to the American public and anyone running for public office: It is illegal for any person to solicit, accept, or receive anything of value from a foreign national in connection with a U.S. election."

Even among his supporters there is Trump fatigue. The president dominates the news cycles (look at any HPI Daily Wire and you'll see 10-12 stories featuring him), but his M.O. is chaos and he constantly does shoot-from-the-hip things that keep his staff and supporters scrambling for justification.

If Trump were to lose, it might be more of a death-by-a-thousand-cuts scenario than any one big thing or any one opponent. Of course, mentioning the word "landslide" as we did earlier in this post is the double-edged sword, particularly in view of 2016 when the expected blue tsunami turned into a blue sucker punch that sent Hillary Clinton back to Chappaqua.

There is no doubt that in 2016, Donald Trump came up with an incredible plan and pulled off a historic upset that virtually no one saw coming. In view of today's events and circumstances, a 2020 Trump reelection victory might also belong in that "historic upset" category with Trump joining President Harry Truman as a victorious underdog.

The huge question today is, despite all of Trump's unprecedented proclivities, could he find history repeating itself? Or will he be consumed by his own chaos? Time and the American people will tell. ❖

# For Mayor Pete, an epic June is at hand

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

IOWA CITY — To put this in Churchillian terms, we have reached the end of the beginning in the Democratic presidential nomination process. In less than 10 days, Pete Buttigieg’s surprising campaign gets what could be that key moment, that rendezvous with destiny (to quote FDR), which is sharing a debate stage with “frontrunners” Joe Biden and Bernie Sanders.



It will be the 37-year-old mayor against the grizzled, fuzzy, long-toothed and big-eared septuagenarians along with Sen. Kamala Harris, Sen. Michael Bennet, Rep. Eric Swalwell, Andrew

Yang, Sen. Kirsten Gillibrand, Gov. John Hickenlooper and Marianne Williamson on Tuesday, June 27 in Miami. For Buttigieg, this will be his JFK moment, to burnish this as the time to pass the torch to a new generation.

Biden is still the frontrunner leading in Sunday’s Fox News Poll with 32%, followed by Sanders at 13%, Elizabeth Warren at 9%, and Buttigieg and Kamala Harris both at 8%.

For the doubters cynical enough to think that Buttigieg has no chance, it’s worth noting that history is littered with presidential primary frontrunners who didn’t get the nomination. The list would include Ed Muskie in 1972, Birch Bayh in 1976, Howard Dean in 2004, and Rudy Giuliani in 2008. There were other nominees who seemed dead in the water, who snapped back, including John McCain in 2008, Mitt Romney in 2012 and John Kerry in 2004.

**Buttigieg also shows** tangible progress at the state level. A Charleston Post & Courier Poll released over the weekend shows Biden’s South Carolina lead falling from 46% to 37%, while Sen. Elizabeth Warren was second at 17%, Buttigieg at 11% and Sens. Harris and Sanders tied at 9%.

The breaking news here is that Buttigieg is gaining traction with African-Americans. The Post & Courier’s Andy Shain reports: “The field’s youngest candidate, who was not even in the first S.C. survey taken in February, has moved up spots in each of the past two polls. This month,

he received upticks in support from voters ages 65 and older, as well as independents. Most notable is Buttigieg’s growing support from black voters. He collected 6% African American support, good enough for fourth this month, after he received none in May. Buttigieg sits between the race’s two main African American candidates — Harris, who has 11% of the black vote, and Booker, who has 3%.”

**Buttigieg had a frenetic** week that began with his foreign policy address at Indiana University on a stage decked out in presidential style. It continued with a flurry of Sunday talk-show segments where he suggested President Trump might want the border and Iran crises to continue, and that he might not be the first gay president. He ended the week by dashing back to South Bend to deal with a police-action shooting involving a black man and a white police officer who did not have his body cam turned on because he hadn’t activated his squad car lights. He has cancelled several days of political events to deal with the situation.

On NBC’s Meet The Press, host Chuck Todd pressed him on whether African-Americans would back a gay nominee. “I have every confidence that American voters, especially Democratic voters, will not discriminate when the opportunity comes up to choose the right leader for the future,” Buttigieg responded. That segment included talk of some introspection on black evangelicals who

might have initially opposed the mayor due to his sexual orientation.

In a sit-down with Axios’ Mike Allen, Buttigieg said he “wouldn’t put it past” President Trump to allow the border “to become worse in order to have it be a more divisive issue, so that he could benefit politically,” explaining, “The president needs this crisis to get worse, even though it makes a liar out of

him. I don’t think he’s worried about that. I don’t think he cares if it gets better. But he certainly doesn’t benefit from comprehensively fixing the problem.”

Politico reported that Buttigieg is finding money traction, raising \$7 million in April alone. Bloomberg reported that the mayor could post \$15 million on his second quarter FEC report. Buttigieg has scheduled 21 fundraising events around the country before the end-of-June deadline, according to an event list obtained by Politico, with multiple stops in donor-rich locations like Los Angeles, New York and Washington, D.C. To date, the mayor has also harvested over \$1 million from 16 “grassroots fundraisers,”

Democratic Presidential Nomination RCP Poll Averages					
National		Iowa		New Hampshire	
Biden	31.5	Biden	25.0 ▲	Biden	29.7 ▲
Sanders	15.8	Sanders	19.4 ▲	Sanders	16.7 ▲
Warren	12.8	Buttigieg	11.8 ▼	Warren	11.0 ▲
Buttigieg	7.8	Warren	9.8 ▲	Buttigieg	10.3 ▼
Harris	7.3	Harris	7.0 ▼	Harris	6.3 ▲
O'Rourke	3.5	O'Rourke	4.4 ▼	O'Rourke	3.0 ▲
Booker	2.3	Booker	3.4 ▼	Booker	2.7 ▲
<b>Biden +15.7</b>		<b>Biden +5.6</b>		<b>Biden +13.0</b>	

rallies that charge \$25 and up for small-dollar donors.

EN News reported that top Wall Street donors are already beginning to pick favorites, and three candidates are generating most of the buzz: Biden, Harris and Buttigieg. This comes on top of Buttigieg's recent money forays into Hollywood and Silicon Valley.

**Buttigieg had a couple** of eye-lifting moments in the Axios interview. While he put Israel on notice during his IU speech that it needs to seriously work on a two-state solution and that more West Bank settlements would be a problem for his administration, he said he wouldn't move the U.S. embassy out of Jerusalem. "I think what's

done is done," Buttigieg said. "Look, we need a big-picture strategy on the Middle East. I don't know that we'd gain much by moving it to Tel Aviv."

He also suggested he might not be the first gay president, if elected. "We've probably had excellent presidents who were gay — we just didn't know which ones. I mean, statistically it's almost certain." Allen pressed him on who might have been gay. "My gaydar doesn't even work that well in the present, let alone retroactively," he said.

While the mayor of South Bend's "gaydar" may be faulty, he's on everyone's presidential radar in a very big way. ❖

## Buttigieg joins the internationalists

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

RAPID CITY, S.D. — Just months after he was vanquished by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1940 election, Wendell Willkie became FDR's emissary, traveling the world on his behalf in a show of American unity during World War II. At Tehran, he gave the Shah of Iran his first airplane ride. At a fete on his behalf, Willkie complimented the Shah on a beautiful Persian rug. The Shah had his men roll up the rug, putting it on Willkie's plane as a gift, where it ended up at Indiana University's Lilly Library and, eventually, Bryan House.

I tell this story because Willkie built on the world travels of U.S. Sen. Albert Beveridge a century ago to form what I call the "internationalist" wing of Indiana politics. These are the public servants who understood global complexities and worked them to the Hoosier advantage. Willkie would author the book "One World" which became a template of the emerging post-World War II new order. He would be followed by U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar, U.S. Reps. Lee Hamilton, Tim Roemer and Frank McCloskey, and Gov. Robert Orr.

**Orr would open** up Indiana to Asian investment and later become ambassador to Singapore. Lugar forged monumental nuclear safeguards and pushed for global food security. McCloskey intervened in the Balkan genocide. Hamilton and Roemer served on the 9/11 Commission, with the latter becoming ambassador to India.

There is now a new member of the internationalist wing: South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg, who gave a

compelling and analytical viewpoint into American foreign policy at Indiana University this past week. It was prefaced during an MSNBC Town Hall when he was pressed to name a "living" Republican he admired. Coming just after the death of Sen. Lugar, Buttigieg responded, "I had such a great answer if it wasn't living," Buttigieg said, then naming Willkie. "He was from Indiana. He put country before party."

**From the book** "The Improbable Wendell Willkie" by David Levering Lewis, we find several historic parallels to Buttigieg. Willkie won the 1940 Republican presidential nomination on the sixth ballot, while Buttigieg is still considered a long-shot for the 2020 Democratic nomination, though he trails only the septuagenarian wing (Joe Biden, Bernie Sanders, Elizabeth Warren) in recent national polls.

Beyond politics, the Rushville Republican acknowledged the polarization of America in his time. "Our way of living together in America is a strong but delicate fabric," Willkie observed. "For God's sake, let us not tear it asunder. For no man knows, once it is destroyed, where or when man will find its protective warmth again."

Buttigieg did not present his foreign policy foray as a "doctrine," but it would be easy to describe it in such terms. It was a tight weave, packed with an array of poignant observations. Buttigieg presented a five-point strategy, contrasting with President Trump, who he said, governs in a "pattern" made "impulsively, erratically, emotionally, and politically — often delivered by means of early-morning tweet — with little regard for strategy and no preparation for their long-term consequences."

"The tasks before the next president are clear," Buttigieg said. "First, we must put an end to endless war





and refocus on future threats. Second, we must promote American values by working to reverse the rise of authoritarianism abroad. Third, we must treat climate change as the existential security challenge it is. Fourth, we must update the institutions through which we engage the world to address 21st-century challenges and opportunities. And fifth, we must do all this while involving citizens across America in a meaningful conversation about how foreign policy and national security concern their communities, and do more to include their voices and values in formulating our policies.

"Not only must America do this in order to prosper, but the world also needs America to do these things," Buttigieg said. "To cope with enormous change, American foreign policy for the future must be securely grounded in American values, American interests, and American relationships."

The obstacles facing America are the "models that fly in the face of our values — from Chinese techno-authoritarianism to Russian oligarchic capitalism to anti-modern theocratic regimes in the Middle East — all present a major challenge to us," Buttigieg explained. "And it is no accident that their hostility to shared values comes as they also present a greater threat to our interests. Ironically, at

the very moment when American prestige and respect is collapsing, it has never been more needed that America live up to the values we profess."

The origins of Buttigieg's assessments and goals came at Oxford, where he studied as a Rhodes Scholar. He describes in his book "Shortest Way Home" the rigorous PPE (philosophy, politics and economics) program where "any sloppy argument or imprecise claim would get picked apart politely by a skeptical professor or fellow student. I learned more rigorous ways to explain the moral intuitions I already had about politics and society."

These were on conspicuous display at the IU Auditorium last Tuesday. With this address, Mayor Pete passed presidential muster.

Buttigieg was introduced by Hamilton, and he paid brief homage to Sen. Lugar whose "leadership from a principled stand against apartheid to a far-sighted approach to nuclear security was the stuff of true statecraft."

Buttigieg added, "What's not to like from a one-time mayor from Indiana who cut his teeth as a Rhodes Scholar and a Navy intelligence officer?" ❖

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

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# How Buttigieg can pull off the nomination

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Here are the top five reasons why Mayor Pete can win the Democratic nomination for president of the United States.

Immediately following, to present both sides, are the top five reasons why South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg cannot win the Democratic nomination.



Why Pete can:

■ 1. A compilation of major polls by Real Clear Politics showed him solidly in the second tier of contenders last week, in fifth place, with 6% support for the nomination.

That means he already has moved from unknown to serious contender, ahead of some of the senators and other highly publicized Democratic candidates. It shows momentum to go all the way.

■ 2. In the upcoming Democratic debates, Mayor Pete will do very well, with intelligence, ability to give direct answers to questions, understanding of issues and a realistic approach to the nation's problems.

That means he could win debate points for moving ahead as the field narrows.

■ 3. He has successfully sold the story of a new South Bend, a city brushing off Rust Belt rust and developing a "can do" attitude for progress after decades of gloom following the Studebaker automotive demise.

That means he has established a claim for administrative and political leadership to counter questions of whether a 37-year-old mayor of a city of 100,000 has a place in national politics.

■ 4. Mayor Pete is positioned to win substantial delegate support in the first major tests next February – the Iowa caucuses and New Hampshire primary.

That means momentum to become a top contender also in big delegate-heavy states in primaries that follow.

■ 5. His fundraising has been spectacular after that start as an unknown.

That means he can look ahead to the whole primary battlefield, including across-the-nation primaries on Super Tuesday in March - from California to Massachusetts

- and not deplete all of his resources on Iowa and New Hampshire.

Now the other way of looking at it.

Why Pete can't:

■ 1. A compilation of major polls by Real Clear Politics showed him in the second tier of contenders last week, in fifth place, with just 6% support for the nomination.

That means his quick rise from unknown has slowed. He had moved to double digits in some polls and now could be stuck in the second tier, with no momentum to climb higher.

■ 2. In the upcoming debates, Mayor Pete will do very well, with intelligence, ability to give direct answers to questions, understanding of issues and a realistic approach to the nation's problems.

That means a big "So What?" Winning debates doesn't mean winning elections. Hillary Clinton was regarded as winning the 2016 presidential debates. Many voters look for flair and bombast, not superior intelligence or command of issues. Unrealistic promises often appeal more than realistic approaches. Angry Democrats could write off Mayor Pete as too nice to be the mud wrestler to pin Trump in the slime.

■ 3. He has successfully sold the story of South Bend.

That means his claims for administrative and political leadership will be challenged by opposition researchers seeking out every disgruntled South Bend resident finding fault with the mayor.

■ 4. Mayor Pete is positioned to win substantial delegate support in the first major tests - Iowa and New Hampshire.

That means if delegate wins in those early tests fall short of high expectations, he will be portrayed as fading out of contention. Even strong showings at the start don't guarantee winning the nomination.

■ 5. His fundraising has been spectacular.

That means again that expectations rise. Failure to meet them, especially in the third test in South Carolina, with a large African-American vote, could sidetrack him before Super Tuesday.

Which scenario? Take your pick. But remember that a lot can happen before the first delegate commitments come on Feb. 3 in Iowa. ❖



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

# Brooks sets off 5th CD exploratory scramble

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS — The speculation that U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks might be ending her political career concluded on Friday when she announced she would not seek a fifth term. It has set off a two-party exploration spree that includes some of the who's who in Central Indiana politics.

For Republicans, Chairman Kyle Hupfer told HPI on Monday that while he considered a bid, "I do not believe I will be running." He expects to make a more definitive statement later this week.



Former state senator Mike Delph tweeted thanks for encouragement from former congressman Todd Rokita. "Very kind and thoughtful of Congressman Rokita!" Delph tweeted. "Thank you for your encouragement and

confidence! To be honest my phone has been blowing up with calls of encouragement from throughout the 5th Congressional."

Other Republicans pondering bids include State Sen. John Ruckelshaus ("We are interested. We are going to think it through"); Fishers Deputy Mayor Leah McGrath; state Treasurer Kelly Mitchell; State Rep. Todd Huston; former state rep Steve Braun; U.S. Surgeon General Jerome Adams; and former Indianapolis mayor Greg Ballard. IndyPolitics' sprawling list includes Carmel Mayor Jim Brainard and Fishers Mayor Scott Fadness (both are in slam-dunk reelection campaigns).

Fadness will not run, telling HPI, "Congresswoman Susan Brooks is a smart, hardworking public servant who represents our district well. I expect there is a long line of people who want to enter this race but I am not among them. I'm focused on strengthening our Central Indiana region and continuing to make Fishers a smart, vibrant entrepreneurial city - while also being able to enjoy it with my family. It is important to me to have a Representative who is in tune with our community so I will keep an eye on the field as it forms."

GOP strategist Jennifer Hallowell also told HPI she will not be running.

On the Democratic side, 2016 Democrat lieutenant governor nominee Christina Hale told HPI, "Opportunities

to step up and serve don't come around that often. People here need someone to put their needs before special interests. I've been looking at this race long and hard and I'll share my decision soon."

Dee Thornton, a Democrat who lost to Brooks last year 56.8% to 43.2%, is also pondering another run. "We made significant progress in 2018," Thornton told the IndyStar. "I believe I can provide the needed leadership and stand ready to finish the job."

Hupfer said he knew that Brooks and her husband, David, were pondering their future. Brooks said Friday, "At this point in my life, I'm ready to focus on the people who've done so much to support and care for me throughout my career: My husband David and our family and our dear friends. I want the kind of schedule where we can visit our children, Jessica and Conner, who've made their homes in far-flung corners of our great country. We need greater flexibility to see our parents when their care grows in time and significance. We're ready for the next chapter, and so, I will retire at the end of my current term in 2020."

It ends a political career that took her from deputy mayor of Indianapolis, to U.S. attorney, to Congress and within a single vote on the Indiana Republican State Committee that would have made her the first female Republican gubernatorial nominee in state history. (She lost on a second ballot to then-Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb.)

"It's great that she's done it early enough to give candidates time to think it through," Hupfer said, adding that some potential candidates might not make a decision for four to six months.

Indiana Democrats and the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC) are spinning the 5th CD as an emerging purple district. DCCC Chairwoman Cheri Bustos said Brooks' retirement is "the clearest evidence yet that Washington Republicans' efforts to retake the majority are in a tailspin."

Sen. Joe Donnelly carried the 5th CD 48.41% to 47.88% in his 2018 losing

race to Sen. Mike Braun. In 2018 in General Assembly seats within the 5th, Delph lost his seat to State Sen. J.D. Ford, Rep. Todd Huston saw his plurality decrease from 28% to 8%, and both State Sen. Jim Merritt and House Speaker Brian Bosma saw closer pluralities.

"This is a seat that Republicans are going to have to spend some money to defend," said Kyle Kondik of Sabato's Crystal Ball. "It's the kind of district on paper that the Republicans were losing in 2020." The 5th gave Presi-



dent Trump 53% in 2016 — his lowest total in any Indiana district he won — and down from the nearly 58% that Mitt Romney got here in 2012.”

The reality is that other than the periods 1959-1969 (U.S. Rep. John Roush) and 1987-1993 (U.S. Rep. Jim Jontz), the 5th CD has been mostly in Republican hands with U.S. Reps. Richard Roudebush, Elwood “Bud” Hillis, Steve Buyer (who defeated Jontz in 1992), and Dan Burton, who held the seat from 2003-2013 after redistricting eliminated his old 6th CD and Buyer shifted to the 4th CD.

There had been speculation that Brooks felt vulnerable. She won the seat by defeating former congressman David McIntosh by 1% in the 2012 primary, but none of her four general election campaigns were close. She raised \$1.4 million for the 2018 cycle and presently has \$864,926 cash on hand, according to Open Secrets. Had she opted for reelection, the HPI Horse Race would have listed Brooks in the “likely” category.

There is no question that the 5th CD is growing more competitive, but the current Indiana maps distinctly favor Republicans. Democrats recruited several female congressional candidates in 2018, but none of them did any better than nominees of past cycles.

The Cook Partisan Index put the 5th CD as +9 Republican in 2017. It might be less than that now, but it will take a veritable “perfect storm” for Democrats to win this seat, including a nominee who can raise money (Thorton raised just \$207,000 in 2018; Hale has yet to play at the congressional level) and a collapse of President Trump’s standing in rural and suburban areas. There is some evidence of Trump’s support eroding in suburban areas as evidenced by 2018 polling we saw, and the president’s rural base is under considerable duress due to his tariff policies. At this point, his agricultural base is still onboard, but that could change without a favorable resolution of the trade dispute with China.

Another problem for Democrats in the 5th CD is Gov. Holcomb’s historic reelection footing and having no declared Democratic gubernatorial candidate, though former state health commissioner Woody Myers seems prepared to launch a campaign as early as next month.

Indiana’s top of the ticket will likely give any 5th CD Democratic nominee a significant headwind and that is the daunting challenge facing Indiana Democrats in 2020.

### **Purdue prof warns of deepfakes**

A video on social media shows a high-ranking U.S. legislator declaring his support for an overwhelming tax

increase. You react accordingly because the video looks like him and sounds like him, so certainly it has to be him.

Not necessarily. The term “fake news” is taking a much more literal turn as new technology is making it easier to manipulate the faces and audio in videos. The videos, called deepfakes, can then be posted to any social media site with no indication they are not the real thing.

Edward Delp, director of the Video and Imaging Processing Laboratory at Purdue University, says deepfakes are a growing danger with the next presidential election fast approaching. “It’s possible that people are going to use fake videos to make fake news and insert these into a political election,” said Delp, the Charles William Harrison Distinguished Professor of Electrical and Computer Engineering. “There’s been some evidence of that in other elections throughout the world already. We’ve got our election coming up in 2020 and I suspect people will use these. People believe them and that will be the problem.”

The videos pose a danger to swaying the court of public opinion through social media, as almost 70% of adults indicate they use Facebook, usually daily. YouTube boasts even higher numbers, with more than 90% of 18- to 24-year-olds using it. Delp and doctoral student David Güera have worked for two years on [video tampering](#) as part of a larger research into media forensics. They’ve worked with sophisticated machine learning techniques based on artificial intelligence and machine learning to create an algorithm that detects deepfakes. Late last year, Delp and his team’s algorithm won a Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) contest. DARPA is an agency of the U.S. Department of Defense.

“By analyzing the video, the algorithm can see whether or not the face is consistent with the rest of the information in the video,” Delp said. “If it’s inconsistent, we detect these subtle inconsistencies. It can be as small as a few pixels, it can be coloring inconsistencies, it can be different types of distortion.”

“Our system is data driven, so it can look for everything – it can look into anomalies like blinking, it can look for anomalies in illumination,” Güera said, adding the



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system will continue to get better at detecting deepfakes as they give it more examples to learn from.

The research was presented in November at the 2018 IEEE International Conference on Advanced Video and Signal Based Surveillance.

Deepfakes also can be used to fake pornography video and images, using the faces of celebrities or even children. Delp said early deepfakes were easier to spot. The techniques couldn't recreate eye movement well, resulting

in videos of a person that didn't blink. But advances have made the technology better and more available to people.

News organizations and social media sites have concerns about the future of deepfakes. Delp foresees both having tools like his algorithm in the future to determine what video footage is real and what is a deepfake.

"It's an arms race," he said. "Their technology is getting better and better, but I like to think that we'll be able to keep up." ❖

## Dr. Daisy Lloyd was a Hoosier trailblazer

By **TREVOR FOUGHTY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Last month, the May 19 Sunday edition of the Indianapolis Star ran an obituary for Dr. Daisy R. Lloyd. Outside of those 13 paragraphs – buried on page A29, the fourth and final page of paid obituaries placed by local funeral homes – there was apparently no media coverage of her passing locally or anywhere else in the state.



Fifty-five years ago, it would have been hard to imagine that her death would warrant such little fanfare: As a freshman legislator in 1965, she was diagnosed with breast cancer just a few days into her first, and only, legislative session. She held a televised press conference from her hospital room

to reassure constituents she would return to work at the Statehouse. After surgery and a short recovery period, she did exactly that, returning to legislative work by mid-February.

**But it wasn't the** breast cancer diagnosis that made Lloyd's short tenure as a state representative particularly notable. Instead, Lloyd's election in 1964 made her the first black woman to serve in the Indiana General Assembly, a fact that is widely acknowledged in the historical record and in her obituary. What has been missed, however, is that (as far as I can tell) Lloyd was also the first black woman to hold any state or federal elected office in Indiana.

Lloyd's election wasn't an isolated event, either, but the start of a trend. In the elections of 1966 and

1968, Harriette Bailey Conn was elected to two terms in the House. While no black women were elected in 1970, Julia Carson was elected in 1972 and there has been at least one black female legislator in every session since (and since 1978, there has been at least one black woman in each chamber).

**In 1974, Carson was joined** in the House by Katie Hall, and then both were elected to the State Senate in 1976, sharing the distinction of becoming the first black women to serve in that chamber. In 1982, Hall would become the first black member of Congress, male or female, in Indiana's history (Carson would become the second after her own election to Congress in 1996).

It wasn't until 1992 that a black woman would win statewide office in Indiana, when Pam Carter was elected attorney general. In the process, she also became the first black female to serve as attorney general of any U.S. state. The only other black female to hold statewide office in Indiana is Karen Freeman-Wilson, the current mayor of Gary who was appointed to serve as attorney general for 11 months in 2000.

**In total, 18 black women** have held state or federal office over the past 55 years in Indiana. Six (33%) of them are still serving in office today, all in the General Assembly. Of those six, one serves as the second-highest ranking Democrat in the Senate (Assistant Minority Floor Leader Jean Breaux), and one serves as the second-highest ranking Democrat in the House (Minority Floor Leader Cherrish Pryor).

While all of them owe a debt of gratitude to Daisy Lloyd for blazing the trail, so too does every Hoosier who hopes for a government that is truly reflective of its people. We may have failed to notice her passing, but we can still recognize the contributions Dr. Lloyd made toward a more inclusive Indiana. ❖



**Foughty publishes at  
CapitolandWashington.com**

# Warren's economic patriotism a good idea

By SHAW R. FRIEDMAN

LaPORTE — While I'm "all in" with Mayor Pete and am solidly committed to his campaign, that doesn't mean I can't respect a good plan rolled out by one of his competitors. Sen. Elizabeth Warren's plan released on June 4th calling for a new "economic patriotism" hits the nail on the head and could give a good lesson to Hoosier politicians of all stripes as to a winning political message.



There's a reason that Trump's messaging turned counties like mine that had solidly supported Barack

Obama in 2008 and 2012 to red in 2016. I'm absolutely convinced that it was not the race-based appeals or the hard right messaging about immigrants. Voters in LaPorte County who - like voters in around 200 other counties in this country that had voted for Barack Obama - didn't instantly fall for racist appeals. Not LaPorte County. This was a county that had also elected an African-American countywide as county commissioner in 2010.

Nope. This had everything to do with Trump's very effective messaging urging an "economic populism" against coastal elites that had negotiated treaties like NAFTA that had hollowed out communities in the industrial heartland. Hoosiers are tired of being "taken advantage of" by large, faceless, nameless corporations shifting jobs and opportunity overseas who seemingly have no "patriotic loyalty" to either Indiana or the USA. That message worked.

**Enter Elizabeth Warren** with her plan for "economic patriotism" that rightly rails against companies that wave the flag but have no loyalty or allegiance to America. Like Levi's - an iconic American brand but which operates only 2% of its factories here. Or GE, which recently shut down a factory in Wisconsin and shipped the jobs to Canada. The list goes on and on and includes Carrier Corporation, which did the same to Hoosiers.

It's time to shift policy so there's more aggressive intervention on behalf of Hoosier workers rather than acting as if state government is simply a supplicant to big business. What about taxpayers capturing the upside of their investments if they result in profitable enterprises and realizing we better invest in quality of life and infra-



structure if we're ever going to create decent sustainable jobs?

A great example of Hoosiers being taken to the cleaners was profiled in a recent article in Deadspin that showcased the sucker-punch that Indiana Pacers' billionaire owner landed on Indiana taxpayers. It is outrageous in a day and age when we supposedly can't afford to pay for expanded pre-K in this state or fix crumbling streets and highways or do something about our rank as the #2 highest in the nation for child abuse that Pacers' owner Herb Simon - as Deadspin put it "aka the billionaire developer who turned failing department stores into a failing downtown mall -will receive \$295 million in immediate taxpayer cash to upgrade Bankers Life Fieldhouse plus a \$12 million check every year for "technology upgrades" plus "25 years of \$14.5 million annual operating subsidies - a total windfall in 2019 dollars of \$600 million."

**Your read that right.** As Deadspin put it, "getting elected officials to ladle public cash over to you in order to build a new stadium or arena is a well-established grift by now."

Only thing is some governmental entities around the country are saying no to this extortion routine. Why shouldn't we expect the Simons - billionaires who have built a shopping mall empire around the world - to carry the load on this rather than threaten to leave the state with the Indiana Pacers? Same with other Hoosier companies that are more than willing to demand outrageous incentives rather than demonstrate a "Hoosier patriotism" that is much needed these days.

Why shouldn't we be able to expect an RCI to build its call center here rather than in Mumbai? How about Eli Lilly repatriate some of those billions they are keeping offshore?

I humbly submit that demanding more from our largest and wealthiest Indiana-based corporations and individuals is good sound policy that will work for politicians on either side of the aisle.

While Trump hasn't carried through on bringing some of these corporate scofflaws to heel as he pledged, his rhetoric about the "game being rigged" worked wonders. Can you imagine if we actually elected politicians who were committed to carrying through on demanding more from those who have benefited the most?

**Elizabeth Warren is right.** It's time for a new "economic patriotism" that demands as much from our largest corporations and wealthiest individuals to do their "fair share" as from the little guy. We need these largest and most profitable Hoosier entities to help boost our economy and help retain and grow living-wage jobs right here in Indiana. ❖

**Shaw Friedman is a longtime HPI contributor who practices law in LaPorte, Indiana.**

# Explaining the benefits of carbon dividend act

By ANNE LAKER

INDIANAPOLIS — In Indiana, having one's head in the clouds is deadly; our state is the second most toxic in all the nation when it comes to pollution, according to a new U.S. News & World Report poll.



But thanks to the Citizens Climate Lobby (CCL), fewer politicians will have their heads in the clouds when it comes to an embraceable climate change policy. One week ago, 1,500 members of CCL swept into Washington, D.C. to hold meetings with 90% of House and Senate members.

Their agenda? To explain and lobby for the Energy Innovation and Carbon Dividend Act (EICDA), a.k.a. H.R. 763. This act creates the most painless path possible to shift to renewables -- which experts have said we have 12 years to do before we reach a planetary point of no return.

Let's be honest: Any policy that isn't bipartisan, market-driven, scientifically legit, and revenue-neutral is not going to get passed, nor make a dent in the enormity of the climate menace. The EICDA does all of these things in one elegant package. Here's how:

The government charges a fee to industrial users at the fossil fuel source: \$15 per ton of CO2 emissions. This keeps admin costs below 2% and ensures all carbon is accounted for. Then we return 100% of net revenue to every household as a dividend: a green rebate. Fifty-three percent of families, mostly lower income, will get back more than they spend to pay for the incentivized greener ways of doing business and living life. And as companies work to shift their business models in an effort to avoid these fees, jobs will boom every year: 2 million in the next 12 years.

**And here's the** pièce de résistance: Corporations are pushing Congress to act. Last month, CEOs of 75 major companies including eBay, Nike & Levi's showed up on Capitol Hill to ask for a national price on carbon. Said Michelle Patron, Director of Sustainability Policy at Microsoft: "No matter how much any one company does, federal policy is needed to drive large-scale change. It's time for a serious national discussion on carbon pricing that can translate into policy action."

Even automakers recently begged President Trump not to roll back emissions standards for cars. Why? It's not efficient for automakers to build dirty cars for the U.S. and clean cars for other markets.

Enter the Energy Innovation and Carbon Dividend Act. It's projected to reduce emissions by 80% in the next 50 years. And this is the shift that can save our hides. Said former Florida congressman Carlos Curbelo, who co-sponsored carbon-fee-and-dividend legislation in 2016: "This is not about philosophies on government. It's about making sure that future generations can continue living on this earth...in the same manner we have." He added: "Republicans need to become protagonists in this issue."

Right now, only one of the 38 co-sponsors of H.R. 763 is a House Republican. Since when is survival a partisan issue?


**What a striking contrast** to Republicans at the local level across the nation, 84 of whom endorse H.R. 763 and EICDA. Indiana's own Mayor Jim Brainard of Carmel has built a political brand around climate-resilient municipal innovations, such as shoring up Carmel's water and sewer infrastructure against outages by powering the system with renewables. At his talk to the Carmel Green Initiative group last month, Brainard said he likes to remind his fellow Republicans that Teddy Roosevelt established the National Parks, Nixon formed the EPA, and Reagan patched the ozone layer.

So as Indiana's congressional delegation, from Baird to Brooks, may finally feel compelled to respond to the 64% of Hoosiers who want action on climate, and as farmers, insurers and mayors beg them for a federal climate solution, let's push our thinking from nebulous to clear with the Energy Innovation and Carbon Dividend Act -- an achievable, palatable, economy-boosting jump to the post-carbon era. ❖

**Laker is a freelance copywriter, former director of communications at the Indiana Forest Alliance, and a member of the Citizens Climate Lobby. She also hosts a movie review show, Flick Fix, on WQRT 99.1.**

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# My talk with Indiana school superintendents

By **MICHAEL HICKS**

MUNCIE – I gave a talk to the Indiana Superintendent's Summit this week, and thought the issues I discussed might be of interest to Hoosiers as we think about our state's economy. I began by sharing what the state's



Constitution says about education: "Knowledge and learning, general diffused throughout a community, being essential to the preservation of a free government; it should be the duty of the General Assembly to encourage, by all suitable means, moral, intellectual scientific, and agricultural improvement . . . a general and uniform system of Common Schools."

This is exactly what an economist would say schooling does for an economy. Note that there is nary a word about filling 'in demand jobs' or satisfying the whims of important employers. That is because the authors of the Indiana Constitution knew state government did not have the competence to do such things, as current workforce policies are keen to demonstrate.

I told the audience that labor markets are in the midst of a half century of marked change. Jobs have been significantly polarized into high-wage, highly educated jobs and low-wage, poorly educated jobs. There is also a growing geographic concentration of such jobs, with better-educated workers concentrating in urban places.

Indiana is at elevated risk of this trend affecting us. We lead the nation in occupations that are at risk of automation. While we cannot know with certainty where this trend is headed, there are clear lessons from the past fifty years. Maybe the most important of these was that future job skills are likely to demand more fundamental learning, or what the Indiana Constitution calls "general diffused." This learning takes place almost exclusively in classrooms focusing on basic and advanced literacy and mathematics. These skills allow us to learn the more complex tasks of work. It seems likely that the most critical skills of the future will be those that allow students to adapt, learn new tasks and become productive in a highly automated environment. I then shifted to Indiana's experience, which is more worrisome than it should be.

**Following the Great Recession**, employment growth in Indiana has been very different from the nation as a whole. More than eight in 10 new jobs nationally have gone to college graduates, but here in Indiana it is only about one in six new jobs. This, I noted is a complex problem, but one root cause is simply a failure to have

an adequate supply of college graduates. Jobs move to people far more than people move to jobs.

I told the audience that the best evidence suggests the school reforms of 2008-2010 have been successful. We can tell this from the National Assessment of Educational Progress exams that are administered nationwide. These aren't perfect, but they do indicate Indiana has pulled above the national average in both reading and math. This is a monumental victory for Indiana and for public education in Indiana.

**It also appears that higher education** is doing well. For every 100 students Indiana sends to an out-of-state school, we bring 260 students from out-of-state into our colleges and universities. Indiana has three schools in the national top 100 public research universities, which are student magnets. We have strong higher education, but not enough Hoosier kids are going to college.

The drop-off in college attendance in Indiana seems to accompany broad efforts to downplay the importance of both K-12 and college education. It is difficult to understand the motives for this, especially after the Daniels Administration was so aspirational in its efforts to promote educational attainment.

It is a simple fact that inflation-adjusted spending on both higher education and K-12 has dropped since 2010. As I've written before, the educational attainment profile of Indiana's labor force has now slipped beneath Kentucky's. This is worse for the state's economy than if our tax climate had slipped beneath that of Illinois. In terms of improving human capital, this economic recovery has been wasted.

There are other worrisome trends as well. Our statewide community college system holds Indiana in last place in two-year college graduation rates and much of our workforce training dollars are spent on occupations with declining wages. Thus, we are paying to train men and women in the occupations of the past, not the future. This type of error would not surprise those who penned Indiana's Constitution. I also warned that loosening graduation requirements and increasing vocational focus down to elementary schools would reduce the share of Hoosier kids who go to college in the coming years.

**Finally, I told the assembled school superintendents** that a successful Indiana would have to send many more children to college, perhaps 10,000 per year. I asked them to have frank conversations with their school boards, teachers and families about this challenge. I also told them that this was a non-partisan issue, and the focus on more education was not about teachers or professors, but the very future of Indiana's economy.

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



# Townships unwanted, unnecessary, persistent

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – Every Hoosier lives in one, but few know its name. Every taxpayer supports one, but few know for what and why. The ugly stepchild of local government, once of consequence, is now considered expendable. But the township remains despite having powerful forces seeking its legal execution.



Depending on how you count them, Indiana has 1,008 townships. Of those, 26 are pro-socially named Center. Patriotic names like Union (35) and Liberty (18) are prominent.

However, important national figures dominate with Jefferson cited 27 times, 24 recorded for Harrison. Clay and Franklin were each honored in 17 counties. But none of those compare with 47 named for Jackson. Even Washington falls short of Old Hickory at 46.

Townships were neat in their day. Surveyors, such as George Washington, could mark them out easily as squares or rectangles with perhaps a river or creek for an irregular boundary. Then, if perfect squares, they could be divided into six-by-six sections suitable for unambiguous subdivision into fairly homogeneous farmland.

**Back in 1890**, the time of blessed memory, Indiana had 999 townships, as nine had yet to form. Only Center Township (Marion Co.) with 112,000 had a population over 100,000. By 2018, eight township each had over 100,000 persons, led by North Township (Lake Co.). Meanwhile, the previous leader, Marion's Center Twp., had been reduced to a population below what it enjoyed in 1900 at 168,000.

The arguments against townships rest

mainly on their small size. In 1890, there were 854 townships with fewer than 2,500 persons. In 2018, there were still 594 Indiana townships under 2,500.

Furthermore, between 1980 and 2019, 287 townships had lost 178,000 persons. To be fair, half of that loss was in just three townships (Center Twp. of Marion Co., Calumet of Lake, and Wayne of Allen). Nevertheless, consolidation or elimination of many townships could be considered.

**How is this to be done?** As with most issues, it is too much for the administration or the legislature to consider. What we'll get is a Blue Ribbon Commission, carefully chosen to give no offence to any minority opinion. But carefully selected and chaired by a person who has already made up his/her mind and has previously demonstrated dominance over non-conformist participants. This is not an urgent situation. There is some money at stake and some unemployment or early retirement to consider. In several cases, there might be convenience or confidentiality considerations. But most Hoosiers don't care and passionate advocates of "smaller is more efficient and more beautiful" can be dismissed as deluded reactionaries.

What does matter is to quiet the critics of government who latch onto antiquated public sector practices as examples of fatal, inherent flaws in all governmental activities. These are often the same people who believe that markets will scrub clean the inefficiencies and inequities of the private sector. ❖

**Mr. Marcus is an economist. Reach him at [mortonj-marcus@yahoo.com](mailto:mortonj-marcus@yahoo.com).**



**TOGETHER, WE CAN  
KEEP OUR ROADS SAFE.  
WILL YOU JOIN US?**

**John Krull, Statehouse File:** Maybe House Speaker Nancy Pelosi is right. Maybe Donald Trump does feel some deep compulsion to be impeached. Pelosi's theory would explain some of President Trump's recent statements and actions. Those statements and acts are so needlessly confrontational as to be wantonly self-destructive – and damaging to both the political party and country the president is supposed to lead. In an interview with ABC's George Stephanopoulos, Trump said that he would be willing to accept "political dirt" on his opponents from foreign governments. In the same interview, the president also said he wouldn't feel compelled to report such contacts to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. That the president would say, in effect, that he would take help from a foreign government again indicates one of the two things. The first possibility is that he's so dumb he has not learned a thing from the past three years. The second is that, for whatever reason, he really, really wants to have his presidency indicted in the U.S. House of Representatives and put on trial in the U.S. Senate – which is what the impeachment process involves. Given that the president clearly is not stupid, the latter is the most likely explanation of his conduct. ❖



**Kelly Hawes, CNHI:** ABC's George Stephanopoulos started it all by asking President Donald J. Trump a simple question. Given the fact that a special counsel had just wrapped up a two-year investigation into possible Russian interference in the 2016 election, how would the president react if a foreign power were to offer him dirt on a political opponent? Would he talk to that foreign government, or would he call the FBI? "I think maybe you do both," the president said. "I think you might want to listen. There's nothing wrong with listening. If someone called from a country, Norway, 'we have information on your opponent.' Oh, I think I'd want to hear it." Stephanopoulos gave the president a chance to clarify his response, asking if he was sure he'd want that kind of interference in an American election. "It's not an interference," the president said. "They have information." Stephanopoulos pointed out FBI Director Christopher Wray's assertion that a candidate presented with such an offer should contact the FBI. "The FBI director is wrong," the president said. Critics were quick to pounce. Susan B. Glasser wrote a column for The New Yorker headlined, "Forget 'no collusion' - Trump is now pro-collusion." One of the president's staunchest defenders, U.S. Sen. Lindsey Graham of South Carolina, was succinct in his reaction. "The law is pretty clear," he said. "You can't take anything of value from a foreign government." So was Ellen L. Weintraub, chair of the Federal Election Commission. "Let me make something 100% clear to the American public and anyone running for public office," she said. "It is illegal for any person to solicit, accept, or receive anything of value from a foreign national in connection with a U.S. election." And lest there be any confusion,

she added this, "Any political campaign that receives an offer of a prohibited donation from a foreign source should report that offer to the Federal Bureau of Investigation." Of course, such assertions didn't sway everyone. Take Fox News host Sean Hannity. "Hillary Clinton literally empowered a foreign agent who produced a dossier full of Russian lies that was used to infiltrate our electoral process," he said. He was referring to the Steele dossier, a report assembled by Christopher Steele, a former British spy working for the American research firm Fusion GPS. Not surprisingly, the president had his own take on the controversy. "I meet and talk to 'foreign governments' every day, ..." he said.

"Should I immediately call the FBI about these calls and meetings? How ridiculous! I would never be trusted again." He also reminded us that he was actually the victim here. "The fact is that the phony Witch Hunt is a giant scam where Democrats and other bad people, SPIED ON MY CAMPAIGN!" he tweeted. "They even had an 'insurance policy' just in case Crooked Hillary Clinton lost the race for the Presidency! This is the biggest & worst political scandal in the history of the United States of America. Sad!" Ah, now we get it. It's all Hillary's fault. ❖

**Jenifer Rubin, Washington Post:** In his foreign policy address Tuesday at Indiana University, South Bend, Ind., Mayor Pete Buttigieg took pains near the end of his speech to focus on the functioning of foreign policy and national security, not just goals and values. This kind of talk is practically unheard of in the Trump presidency: When the "deep state" is the boogeyman, political slots go unfilled and patently unqualified appointees are put in charge of departments whose missions they seek to undermine. Trump predictably has government rife with corruption, incompetence and poor morale. Buttigieg showed how invested he is in actually managing the executive branch. He spoke about "subnational" diplomacy (such as gathering cities to make their own commitments toward reducing our carbon output) and about updating foreign policy institutions — "intelligence, communications, diplomatic and development" operations. He seemed to take delight in getting into the weeds of military budgeting, arguing that how we spend is as important as how much we spend, especially at a time when we need to direct funds to new threats such as cyberterrorism. On veterans, he argued for mental-health services to be upgraded in Veterans Affairs and for cooperation with state and local leaders to reintegrate veterans into society. Speaking about the intelligence community, he thanked it for safeguarding our elections — something the current president would never do. And lastly, he made clear that military, diplomatic and development workers abroad must know Congress and the president "have their back" and won't scapegoat them when things go wrong. This address was truly the polar opposite of Trump's "I alone can fix it" attitude and his gleeful ignorance about what government does. ❖

## Russians hacked 39 state vote data

WASHINGTON — Russia's cyberattack on the U.S. electoral system before Donald Trump's election was far more widespread than has been publicly revealed, including incursions into voter databases and software systems in almost twice as many states as previously reported (Bloomberg). In Illinois, investigators found evidence that cyber intruders tried to delete or alter voter data. The hackers accessed software designed to be used by poll workers on Election Day, and in at least one state accessed a campaign finance database. Details of the wave of attacks, in the summer and fall of 2016, were provided by three people with direct knowledge of the U.S. investigation into the matter. In all, the Russian hackers hit systems in a total of 39 states. The scope and sophistication so concerned Obama administration officials that they took an unprecedented step -- complaining directly to Moscow over a modern-day "red phone." In October, two of the people said, the White House contacted the Kremlin on the back channel to offer detailed documents of what it said was Russia's role in election meddling and to warn that the attacks risked setting off a broader conflict.



## Low ratings for Trump interview

WASHINGTON — If Donald Trump calls for election meddling on national television, and no one watches it, does he make a sound? This is the metaphysical question looming over Trump's 2020 campaign as the president, whose media-jacked candidacy fueled his White House bid, confronts declining interest in his tweets, interviews, and public appearances (Vanity Fair). His latest sit-down, with ABC News's George Stephanopoulos, was filled with the

type of material that once would have driven news cycles for days, or even weeks. And yet, according to Politico, the interview came in third place in its time slot, with 3.91 million viewers, beaten by fellow newsmagazine program 60 Minutes, and the U.S. Open Golf Tournament. How bad was it? The week before, more people watched *Celebrity Family Feud*.

## Pence comm director leaving

WASHINGTON — Vice President Mike Pence's communications director Jarrod Agen is leaving the administration after two and a half years, CNN has learned. Agen was one of the vice president's most trusted advisers who held multiple roles in Pence's office. In a statement Monday, Pence thanked Agen for his work. "From traveling abroad for major international trips, to weekly travel across the country, Jarrod was a leader and deeply valued member of my team," Pence said.

## Gambill to take ISTA helm

INDIANAPOLIS — Leadership at the state's largest teachers union is changing this summer, and the incoming president says he plans to focus more on local schools' needs (Indiana Public Media). Keith Gambill has been the Indiana State Teachers Association vice president for six years, and later this summer he'll become president after members elected him to the position this spring. Gambill says changes made to the organization under outgoing president Teresa Meredith -- who has reached her two-term limit -- will make it possible for him to focus more on local needs, especially as the union crafts and executes its strategic plan. He says he plans to prioritize time in education communities around the state to keep the union aligned with what's really happening in public schools. "And any modifications that may need to be made from that is

done in response to the needs of our members," he says.

## South Bend cop's body cam was off

SOUTH BEND — The South Bend police officer who fatally shot a suspect early Sunday did not have his body camera on but says the man approached him with a knife and ignored multiple orders to drop it, according to the county prosecutor (South Bend Tribune). South Bend Police Sgt. Ryan O'Neill confronted Eric J. Logan in the north parking lot of the Central High Apartment complex downtown after a 9-1-1 call about car break-ins in the neighborhood, Prosecutor Ken Cotter said at a news conference Monday to outline the investigation by the County Metro Homicide Unit. O'Neill's body camera was not on because he had not activated his emergency lights, according to Cotter and Michael Grzegorek, commander of Metro Homicide. They explained that the lights, dashboard camera and body camera are all connected; because O'Neill had not activated his lights, neither his dash-cam video nor his body camera went on. Mayor Pete Buttigieg is canceling several days of campaign events to address the shooting.

## Trump says mass arrests coming

WASHINGTON — President Trump said in a tweet Monday night that U.S. immigration agents are planning to make mass arrests starting "next week," an apparent reference to a plan in preparation for months that aims to round up thousands of migrant parents and children in a blitz operation across major U.S. cities ([Washington Post](#)). "Next week ICE will begin the process of removing the millions of illegal aliens who have illicitly found their way into the United States," Trump wrote, referring to U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement. "They will be removed as fast as they come in."