



# Final mayoral race prognostications

Possible upsets in Fort Wayne & Terre Haute; city halls could flip in Muncie, Elkhart, New Albany, and Kokomo

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

FORT WAYNE – Intense mayoral races could switch out city halls in Fort Wayne, Kokomo, Elkhart and Terre Haute, where an independent candidate appears to have a shot at an upset.



Both state political parties are spending big in the Fort Wayne race between three-term incumbent Democrat Tom Henry and Republican challenger Tim Smith. Indiana Democrats have spent \$63,000, while Indiana Republicans have pumped in \$65,000 for Smith this month,

bringing the GOP's total to \$102,000 for the cycle.

According to local sources and campaign finance reports, Republicans appear to be in a position to pick up Kokomo, where Howard County Commissioner Tyler Moore is facing Democrat Abbie Smith after three-term Democrat Mayor Greg Goodnight decided not to run. Republicans

Continued on page 3



## Braun & climate change

By **ANNE LAKER**

JASPER – First, we zoom in on Jasper, Indiana, Sen. Mike Braun's hometown. According to the county-level map on the Yale Program on Climate Change Communication website, 60% of Dubois County residents surveyed believe that global warming is happening and will harm future generations. And 83% think we should fund research into renewable energy.

Zoom out to the U.S., as a whole, where 67% believe warming is happening and poses a threat. And that's not a partisan belief; according to polling group Luntz Global, 75% of Republicans under 40



**“I want to get this right. Which comes first, the check or the signature? We’re demonstrating to the country we’re ready to do this.”**

- *South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg becoming the first Democrat to file for the New Hampshire presidential primary.*



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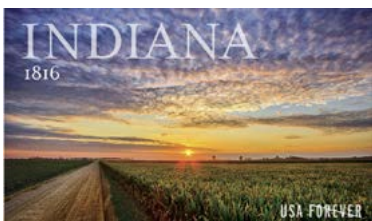
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**Jack E. Howey**  
 editor emeritus  
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believe that climate change must be addressed by the government and can be done in conservative ways.

Americans do get it, even if Washington hasn't. Until now. Last week, our own Sen. Braun stepped into a national leadership position on the climate crisis. As announced in an Oct. 23 op-ed in "The Hill," Braun has paired with Sen. Chris Coons (D-Delaware) to found the Senate Climate Solutions Caucus.

**Braun and Coons** describe the caucus as a "bipartisan group of senators who, like the Americans we serve, believe Congress should play a central role in guiding America's 21st Century energy economy and addressing the challenge of a changing climate."

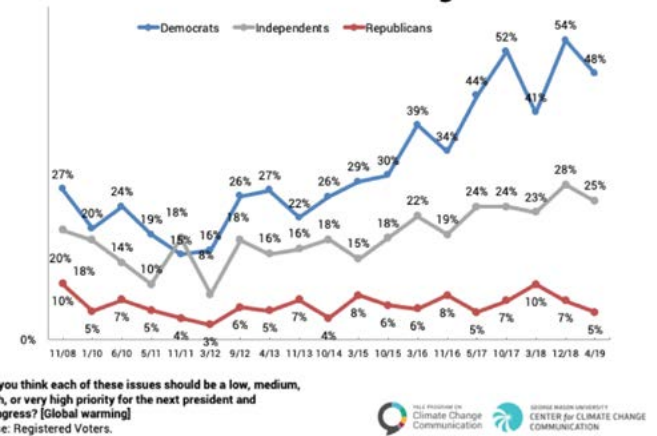
It's so refreshing to read that it bears repeating: "Congress should play a central role in guiding America's 21st Century energy economy and addressing the challenge of a changing climate." And this, from the op-ed: "Every day, another American company announces a pledge to achieve carbon neutrality. Congress can build on these efforts, giving American businesses the tools they need to get there."

**These are the words** so many have been waiting to hear, and not just environmentalists. The auto industry – farmers, insurers, municipalities, tech sector innovators and others – are just waiting for the government to catch up to reality and facilitate a smart, strategic transition to a post-carbon economy. We now have Sen. Braun and his colleague to thank for this clear-minded, unabashedly practical path forward.

Green groups such as the Citizens Climate Lobby Indiana Chapter, which advocates for a bipartisan carbon fee and dividend policy as the

quickest, fairest pathway to a post-carbon nation, hailed the caucus as a major milestone. "With this bold step, Sen. Braun is leading not only Indiana, but the nation and the Republican Party. He is following in the footsteps of a party that founded the National Parks System, the EPA, and led the world in signing the Montreal Protocol. He is reminding us that conservatives have a proud heritage of conserving this planet, and one that can be reclaimed in time to make a major impact for Hoosiers and all Americans," said Toph Anderson of Citizens' Climate Lobby

**Global Warming Should be a "Very High" Priority for the President and Congress**



Indiana.

**The more you** consider it, the more sense Braun makes as a GOP leader on climate. He hails from an agricultural community and serves on the Senate Ag Committee. This season, a drenched spring and drought-like fall gave Indiana farmers abysmal yields. Extremes are now the norm. Farmers are going to need new kinds of help from government to stay solvent.

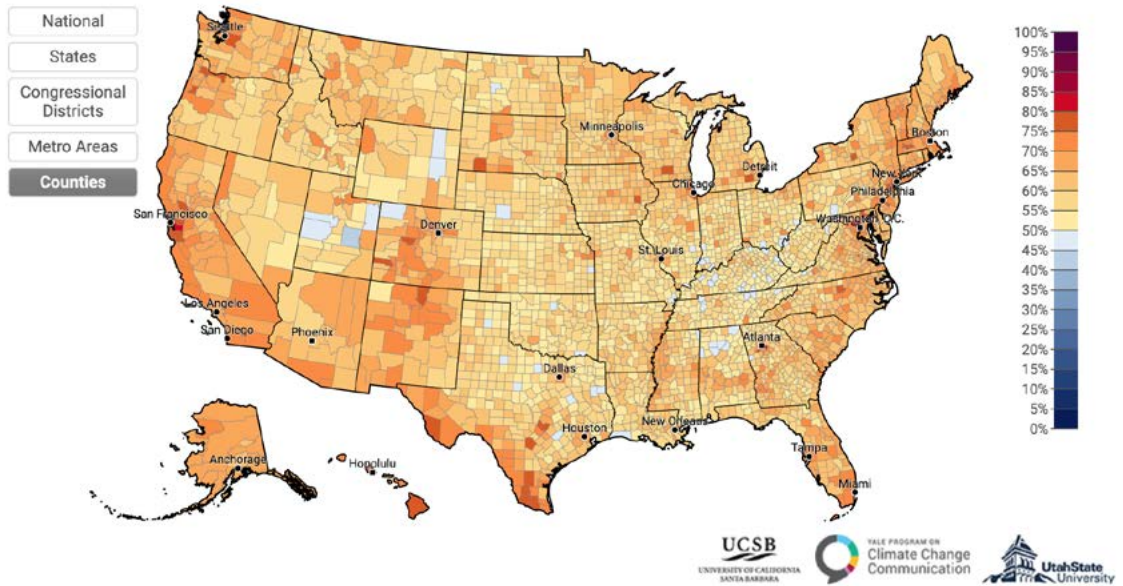
Braun personally owns thousands of acres of forest in southern Indiana, and has been supportive of limits to logging on state forests, a policy promoted by the Indiana Forest Alliance. Maybe Braun's noticed that certain tree species are not growing like they used to. Or that forests need to be managed in new ways to maximize their ability to absorb carbon.



And it appears that the Senate Climate Solutions Caucus is getting a fairly warm welcome from Braun's fellow Republicans. Energy and Natural Resources chairwoman Sen. Lisa Murkowski (R-Alaska) is poised to join. "I think we've got a lot to contribute to the conversation just in terms of what's going on with technologies that are going to help make a difference," Murkowski told the Washington Examiner.

The Braun-Coons dual-party Climate Solutions Caucus is patterned on a similar one in the House, which now has 64 members. Clearly, for any climate solution to be enacted quickly and upheld indefinitely, it has to have buy-in from both sides of the aisle.

I praise this action of Sen. Braun as a major milestone and look forward to seeing what this legislative body can do. Thanks to Braun, Senate Republicans now have a



Click on this Yale University map to hyperlink to see where your county lines up on climate change.

politically "safe place" to talk climate and continue a legacy of conservation.

**Laker is a freelance copywriter, former communications director 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. ❖**

## Mayors, from page 1

also believe they have a chance at picking up New Albany, where long-time businessman Mark Seabrook is challenging Mayor Jeff Gahan, as well as the open seat in Muncie, where Councilman Dan Ridenour is facing Democrat Terry Whitt Bailey after Democrat Mayor Dennis Tyler opted to retire.

Democrats appear to have a shot at Elkhart where Councilman Rod Roberson is facing former Mayor Dave Miller, who fainted during two recent debates.

In Terre Haute, independent Pat Goodwin is giving two-term Republican Mayor Duke Bennett a real challenge in a three-way race.

A number of other incumbents appear to be in good shape for reelection, including first-term Mayor Joe Hogsett in Indianapolis, Evansville's Lloyd Winnecke, Bloomington's John Hamilton, Lafayette's Tony Roswarski, Richmond's Dave Snow, and East Chicago's Anthony Copeland. We also see new Mayor John Cannon in Portage as a probable winner after he took over that office with the conviction of the former GOP mayor.

Gov. Holcomb will campaign for Republican candidates this weekend in a three-day barnstorming tour that will include Elkhart, Fort Wayne, Kokomo, Terre Haute and

New Albany.

Due to primary upsets, Democrat Jerome Prince is poised to take over Gary after he upset Mayor Karen Freeman-Wilson, while James Mueller will almost certainly prevail in South Bend after he was endorsed by presidential candidate and current Mayor Pete Buttigieg.

This has been one of the toughest mayoral cycles to cover in the 25 years that Howey Politics Indiana has been publishing. Local press coverage in many of these races has been slim to non-existent. For instance, in the Fort Wayne showdown in the state's second largest city, none of the local media bothered to cover the pre-general election finance reports. The candidates tell HPI that none of the media outlets has a dedicated reporter covering what appears to be a tossup race. It is a further indication of a local press in atrophy, while civics in the Hoosier state continue to recede, which produces anemic voter participation.

Here is our final prognostications in some of the bigger mayoral races:

### Fort Wayne: A tossup race

Three-term Democrat incumbent Tom Henry was actually out-raised by Republican Tim Smith, \$1,399,873 to \$1,219,789, according to pre-general election finance

reports filed with the Allen County Clerk's Office. The Indiana Republican Party pumped in \$102,090 as of the report filing, while Democrats gave Henry \$63,150. Henry has a late cash on hand lead, \$533,261 to \$20,727.

Smith has spent more than \$75,000 on his race, while receiving \$208,000 from the Northeast Indiana PAC for Better Government. Other big Smith donors include Deborah Lehman \$7,500, Kevin Fitzharris \$15,000, Kenneth Sipe \$6,000, Rob Troxel \$15,000, R. Bruce Dye \$100,000, Troy Woodruff \$5,000, David Haist \$10,000, Commonwealth Engineers \$13,000, Fort Wayne Firefighters \$17,500, Ambassador Enterprises \$110,000, Friends of Liz Brown \$10,000, and the law firm of Barrett McNagny at \$35,228.

Notable donors for the Henry campaign include Herbert Simon \$5,000, Charles Surack 15,000, John Menard Jr. \$10,000, Sanjay Patel \$10,000, Timothy Ash \$5,000, Matt Whetstone \$6,000, Matthew Henry \$25,000, Ironworkers \$21,000, DPBG PAC \$11,500, Plumbers & Pipefitters \$8,000, Victory Committee \$5,000, Kelley Automotive Group \$15,000, WMR Propertys \$7,300, Carson LLP \$21,000, Fagre Baker & Daniels \$25,000, DLZ Indiana \$5,500, Bose McKinney & Evans \$15,000, Beers Mallers Backs & Salin \$7,000, Donnelly for Indiana \$3,000 and Catalyst Public Affairs \$9,000.

Smith has told HPI that he has identified more than 5,000 Republican voters who have not voted in past mayoral campaigns. He has had to overcome an early TV ad campaign by Henry which began in August. Henry has knocked on 80,000 doors.

We believe this has become a tossup race, with Mayor Henry attempting to parlay the progress in his three terms to a vision for the future that includes developing the city's sprawling river network while adding to the significant gains he's made downtown. Smith has painted a portrait of a city that hasn't retained jobs, has not invested in health coverage, while citing what he says is a high crime rate. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

### Kokomo: Moore poised for pickup

Campaign finance documents show Democratic mayoral candidate Abbie Smith has out-raised Republican Tyler Moore by more than \$70,000 so far this year, a discrepancy made up largely from an enormous contribution given by Kokomo Mayor Greg Goodnight's campaign committee (Myers, Kokomo Tribune). The documents, turned in Friday to the Howard County Clerk's Office, show that Smith raised \$203,645 through Oct. 11,



compared to Moore's \$132,966. Smith outraised Moore during that five-month period \$167,882 to \$113,377, a difference of roughly \$54,500, according to campaign finance records. Creating that difference was a \$55,000 contribution given to Smith on May 31 by Goodnight's own political committee, Citizens to Elect Greg Goodnight.

Moore has a lead in contributions from Howard County, \$63,153 to \$12,895. "My team and I are very pleased with the way our campaign has been managed and executed, and I couldn't be more humbled by the amount of support physically, financially and spiritually that so many in the Kokomo and surrounding areas have given me," said Moore in a statement to the Tribune. Smith told the Tribune, "I am incredibly grateful and proud to report that 363 donors have contributed \$203,645.99 to my campaign for mayor."

Moore has been endorsed by the UAW Cap Council, as well as by the police and firefighters, which is a rare trifecta. Smith has lived in Kokomo for only six years where she headed the United Way. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Moore.

### Terre Haute: Opening for independent

Two-term Mayor Duke Bennett has picked up



endorsements from police and firefighters. The city's troubled finances appear to be in much better shape, and he won a major General Assembly victory last winter with passage of a Gary casino shift to the city. But local sources tell HPI they believe that independent candidate Pat Goodwin has a shot an upset. The energy appears to be with Goodwin, who

also faces Democrat Councilman Karrem Nasser. Goodwin is trying to exploit the three-way race.

Terre Haute Firefighters Local 758 and Terre Haute Police Officers Local 133 formally endorsed Bennett. Mike Odum, president of Terre Haute Firefighters Local 758, says it's important to have a mayor who can work through

disagreements and differences. He believes Bennett has been a strong partner in protecting the city. That's why he says he and others are throwing their support behind Bennett to continue building the departments. "We've got a lot of respect throughout the state. People come in to Terre Haute, look at our resources, our fire department, our education process, the things we are able to do for our community, and they are envious of us," said Odum.

Bennett began this cycle with a huge money



lead, with \$141,056 cash last May, compared to \$4,350 for Nasser. We have not seen pre-general finance reports. **HPI Horse Race:** Leans Bennett.

### Elkhart: Miller's health issues

Former Republican mayor Dave Miller raised \$124,595 between the primary and the pre-general election, and has posted \$135,705. That compares to \$88,136 for Democrat Rod Roberson (pictured), who posted \$129,020 for the year. But health issues are dogging Miller, who fainted during two debates in September and October. Miller told the South Bend Tribune's Marshal King, "I realized in both cases, 'oh shoot, this is embarrassing.'" A statement from his campaign after the second incident said the first diagnosis came in 2011. Miller visited his cardiologist the day of the second incident and the situation is being monitored. Though a debate that night was canceled, Miller said he returned to the campaign trail quickly and is paying more attention to eating well and staying hydrated. Roberson said, "I really hope and pray he finds out the extent of this condition." Miller's health issues come after police controversies that dogged one-term Republican Mayor Tim Neese. So this could be a potential Democratic pickup. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup.



### Anderson: Big Broderick money lead

Incumbent Democrat Thomas Broderick Jr. has raised 10 times more money for the Anderson mayoral campaign than his Republican Party challenger (de la Bastide, Anderson Herald-Bulletin). Campaign finance reports covering the period from before the May primary election through September were filed Friday at the Madison County Clerk's Office. Broderick's campaign started the reporting period with a cash balance of \$222,234 and reported raising an additional \$115,530. The campaign has spent \$150,827, leaving a balance of \$186,937. Republican Rick Gardner started the reporting period with a cash balance of \$380 and has raised an additional \$29,522. The campaign has spent \$15,019, leaving cash on hand of \$14,883. According to the finance report, Gardner has loaned his campaign a total of \$19,167. Broderick's campaign showed itemized donations of \$180,160. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Broderick.

### Indianapolis: Hogsett heavily favored

With just under two weeks to go before Election Day, a new poll by Indy Politics and Mason Strategies shows incumbent Mayor Democrat Joe Hogsett enjoying a comfortable lead over Republican challenger Jim Merritt, 57% to 23%, with 11% undecided. The survey of 350

likely voters shows also shows Libertarian Doug McNaughton earning around 4%. These numbers are virtually unchanged from our August poll where Hogsett led 55% to 25%. "With just over 10 days left, the fundamentals of the race haven't changed from this summer," said Stephen Spiker, owner of Mason Strategies. "Joe Hogsett is cruising on strong job approval ratings and confidence in the direction of the city, while Jim Merritt just hasn't had the resources necessary to convince voters that a change in leadership is needed."

Hogsett has maintained a big money lead, raising \$1.6 million between the pre-primary and pre-general reports. On Oct. 11, Hogsett had about \$972,000 cash on hand and has had a steady presence on broadcast, cable TV and radio. Merritt has had only a limited TV ad campaign to date. "While we are encouraged by these fundraising numbers, we're just as proud of what they mean for our grassroots campaign: Five campaign offices, hundreds of volunteers, and tens of thousands of conversations with voters," said campaign spokesperson Heather K. Sager, campaign spokesperson. Merritt raised about \$515,000 over the same reporting period. It spent about \$588,000 over the period, leaving it with a cash on hand total of about \$151,000. "We have raised \$782,000 to date and we have over \$150,000 cash on hand. Initial goal is \$1 million and we're still working toward that goal," the Merritt campaign said in a statement. "Our fundraising has picked up significantly in the past three weeks. We've spent over \$350,000 on digital, TV, and radio and we are still receiving contributions." **Horse Race Status:** Safe Hogsett.

### Madison: Courtney favored

Republican Mayor Bob Courtney has taken in about \$7,620 more than Democrat Julie Berry in the most recent reporting period and \$15,176 more for the year to date (Campbell, Madison Courier). Courtney was chosen to fill out the term of the late Mayor Damon Welch, who died in September. While Courtney's numbers are higher for the period and year, Berry entered 2019 with \$21,676, to just \$6,474 by Courtney. Courtney has \$7,161 in debts owed, including \$6,563 in loans he has made to his own campaign. With just two weeks left until Election Day, Courtney's campaign has spent \$49,001 this year – \$35,642 in the most recent period – while Berry has spent \$36,006 this year – \$30,203 of that in the most recent period. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Courtney.

### Muncie: Ridenour could be GOP pickup



Republican mayoral candidate Dan Ridenour has out-fundraised Democrat opponent Terry Whitt Bailey nearly two to one so far this campaign season, according to campaign finance records (Ohlenkamp, Muncie Star Press). The reporting period was from April 13, 2019, until October

11, 2019, showing a majority of the funds raised from shortly before the primary election to now. Funding totals for candidates are the year-to-date totals, which include this period's filings as well as those raised prior to April 13. Ridenour came off as the largest fundraiser by far, raising \$177,418. The biggest funding sources for Ridenour came from individual fundraising events. Four of those, like golf outings, netted Ridenour more than \$10,000 apiece. As for political action committees, Ridenour had three large donors, including the Muncie Police PAC (\$5,000), Muncie Firefighters PAC (\$6,000) and the Indiana State Republican Committee (in-kind advertising donation of \$9,906). With Ridenour getting support from police and firefighters and campaign against what he calls a culture of corruption, this looks to be a potential GOP pickup. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Ridenour.

**New Haven: McMichael leads money race**

New Haven Republican mayoral candidate Steve McMichael has outraised Democrat Darren Peterson by a 10-to-1 margin, campaign finance reports show (Rodriguez, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). McMichael, a Realtor who also is president of New Haven City Council, raised \$62,454 since the beginning of the year. Peterson, who did not run in the May primary, has raised \$6,010. Both can-

didates had spent about two-thirds of what they raised by the time they filed reports in mid-October; McMichael had \$18,334 left and Peterson \$2,181. McMichael also listed a \$5,000 loan from himself to his campaign as a debt still outstanding and paid Imagine Real Estate, his real estate office, \$4,500 year-to-date in rent for his campaign headquarters. **Horse Race Status:** Likely McMichael.

**New Albany: three-way race**

This is a three-way race with Republican Mark Seabrook and Independent Dan Coffey challenging two-term Democrat Mayor Jeff Gahan. "We've really worked hard on the finances of the city," Gahan told WAVE-TV. "Over the last seven and a half years, we haven't had to raise taxes and we've made a lot of public investment. And these investments in turn have paid off because now we've got private investment that's following the public investment." Seabrook believes voters want transparency. "First of all, I'd like to be in a city that lives within its means, I'd like to be in a city that is prioritizing neighborhoods, I'd like to be in a city that listens and is inclusive to all people in the city," Seabrook said. Gov. Holcomb's appearance this weekend could help Seabrook pull off an upset. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup. ❖

# Hill had a week of bad headlines as career hangs in the balance

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS — Superintendent of Public Instruction Harold Negley had a bad week in 1985, when he was indicted for conspiracy to commit ghost employment. A decade later, Clerk of Courts Dwayne Brown was another who endured a spate of embarrassing headlines that included ghost employment and inappropriate behavior with female employees.



In 2012, it was Secretary of State Charlie White who faced allegations of election fraud. Negley, Brown and White would face indictment,

convictions and were forced to resign.

Attorney General Curtis Hill had that kind of disastrous week. He faced a Supreme Court disciplinary hearing over allegations of sexual harassment and groping at a 2018 sine die party. The ensuing headlines were a politician's nightmare.

There was a parade of 26 witnesses, including Democrat State Rep. Mara Candaleria Reardon, four Re-

publican legislative staffers, and an Elkhart County employee of Hill's, who testified under oath that her boss sought sex, saying, "We need to f\*\*\* because it would be hot."

Hill was described as a "creeper" who was "grabbing butt" and sliding his hands down Reardon's backless dress.

The "Me too" era passed the Indiana Statehouse over the past couple of years with no official taking a fall. That Hill's alleged conduct came after movie moguls, media anchors and U.S. senators had been swept from power was an indicator of being tone deaf.



Hill took the stand twice, first to explain office procedures, and last Thursday, to defend his conduct at the sine die party. He denied the allegations. The Fort Wayne Journal Gazette's Nikki Kelly described Hill as "relaxed and conversational." He said he "was shocked" and "troubled" by the allegations. "Apparently, there were ... women out there who believed or perceived that I had done something inappropriate," he said. He later described what he believed was a "political attack."

Prior to the sine die revelations, Hill was seen as a rising star, a rare African-American Republican who rose to statewide office in a building where all the other minority members are Democrats. Hill gave a racial component to Republican politics that had seen females win the constitutional offices, save governor, when Holcomb edged out

U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks for the nomination following Gov. Mike Pence leaving his nomination to join Donald Trump's presidential ticket.

Hill may have overplayed his political hand at the 2018 Republican convention in Evansville, where he joined social conservatives to oppose a marriage plank backed by Holcomb and GOP Chairman Kyle Hupfer. There were rumblings of a possible Hill primary challenge to Holcomb in the convention hallways and alcoves. Within a couple of weeks, Hill's political career careened into controversy.

**There was the July 2, 2018,** meeting with Speaker Brian Bosma and then-Senate President Pro Tem David Long, when he was told "the situation has gone from bad to worse." A confidential Taft law firm memo had been leaked to the press. "My attitude in the meeting started to change," Hill testified. "I was unable to see the report and I was getting agitated."

Within days, Gov. Holcomb, Lt. Gov. Suzanne Crouch and bipartisan legislative leaders, as well as future Sen. Mike Braun, called on him to resign, citing a Me Too era "zero tolerance" of sexual harassment, though these same people readily appear with President Trump, who has faced more than two dozen allegations of sexual harassment and assault.

Hill's fate could take months to determine. Hearing officer Myra Selby, the first African-American Supreme Court justice, will make a recommendation. It could range from a reprimand and probation to suspension of his law license or to disbarment, in which he would have to resign. Either way, the five Supreme Court justices will likely make Hill's final determination in 2020. It could come within



months or weeks of the June Indiana Republican Convention, where Hill is expected to seek a second nomination.

If disbarred and resigned, Gov. Holcomb would make the replacement, a growing trend in Indiana's constitutional offices. Holcomb, Crouch, Secretary of State Connie Lawson and Auditor Tera Klutz all rose to constitutional office with a gubernatorial appointment.

If Hill is forced out, who might Holcomb tab to replace? If he were to go with an interim figure, there are former AGs Steve Carter (who ran against Hill at the 2016 convention) and Greg Zoeller. Deputy Pulaski County Prosecutor Randy Head also sought the nomination while in the Senate.

Other names we're hearing include current AG candidate John Westercamp, Harrison County Prosecutor J. Otto Schalk, five-term Madison County Prosecutor Rodney Cummings, Washington County Prosecutor Dustin Houchin (husband of Sen. Erin Houchin), DNR Commissioner Cam Clark (he was the DNR's chief legal counsel), and Cynthia Carrasco, deputy general counsel to Holcomb. The gov not only knows her work, but she checks off gender and diversity boxes when it comes to a potential 2020 ticket.

**Another is former secretary of state** and congressman Todd Rokita, who is pondering a 2020 convention run for the office. He finished third to Holcomb in the July 2016 nomination contest with the Republican State Central Committee. But Rokita has plenty of detractors in the General Assembly.

Short of disbarment and resignation, Hill could mount a bid for a second term, which would make for an extremely interesting GOP convention next June. ❖

## Wrapping your brain around the concept of 'President Pence'

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

NASHVILLE, Ind. — There have been three presidents with vivid Indiana ties. William Henry Harrison won the battle of Tippecanoe and served as a territorial governor. Abraham Lincoln moved to Spencer County as a boy within days of statehood in 1816 and became a man on the prairie, with poet Carl Sandburg writing that he gained his gait, demeanor and sense of spiritual place, particularly after he journeyed from the Ohio River to New Orleans and witnessed his first impressions of slavery.

Benjamin Harrison, grandson of the aforementioned ninth president, was born in Ohio, moved to

Indianapolis in 1854, and after serving as a general in the Civil War, used a law career to enter the U.S. Senate before reaching the White House in 1888.

There have been six Hoosiers who have served as vice president – Schuyler Colfax, Thomas Hendricks, Charles Fairbanks, Thomas R. Marshall, Dan Quayle and Mike Pence – the literal heartbeat away. Of this group, Marshall came closest to ascending to the presidency after President Woodrow Wilson suffered two strokes a century ago, though the First Lady hid the president's condition from the former Indiana governor.

**I recount this history** so you might begin to wrap your mind around the prospect of "President Michael R. Pence." Conventional wisdom would have been that this might not occur until 2025. But on Tuesday of this past week, Ambassador William B. Taylor Jr., a West Point graduate, war veteran and career diplomat selected by President Trump last June as chargé d'affaires for Ukraine, gave bombshell testimony before three House committees.

In essence, Taylor confirmed what President Trump



had been denying, though his acting Chief of Staff Mick Mulvaney blatantly confirmed a week ago, the so-called "quid pro quo" between \$400 million in stalled U.S. military aid to Ukraine in exchange for political dirt on Hunter Biden, son of former Vice President Joe Biden. (Hunter Biden has been a Long Beach, Ind., homeowner.)

**In an explosive 15-page** opening statement, Taylor described communications with European Union Ambassador Gordon Sondland: "During that phone call, Ambassador Sondland told me that President Trump had told him that he wants President Zelenskyy to state publicly that Ukraine will investigate Burisma and alleged Ukrainian interference in the 2016 U.S. election," Taylor explained. "Ambassador Sondland also told me that he now recognized that he had made a mistake by earlier telling the Ukrainian officials to whom he spoke that a White House meeting with President Zelenskyy was dependent on a public announcement of investigations – in fact, Ambassador Sondland said, 'everything' was dependent on such an announcement, including security assistance. He said that President Trump wanted President Zelenskyy 'in a public box' by making a public statement about ordering such investigations."

Trump would respond to Taylor's testimony on Twitter, calling him a "never-Trumper Republican" and "human scum."

On Tuesday, Lt. Col. Alexander Vindman, a National Security Council member who listened into the July 25 Trump/Zelensky phone call, said before a House inquiry committee that, according to the Wall Street Journal, Trump pressed Zelensky to open investigations into matters related to the 2016 election and Democratic presidential candidate Joe Biden. Vindman testified that he was concerned because he didn't think it was appropriate to ask another country to investigate a U.S. citizen.

**"I did not think it was proper** to demand that a foreign government investigate a U.S. citizen, and I was worried about the implications for the U.S. government's support of Ukraine," according to his opening remarks. He added, "This would all undermine U.S. national security."

At this point, the "whistleblower" who kicked off President Trump's self-inflicted debacle, is almost moot. The words of Taylor, Sondland, Vindman and Chief of Staff Mulvaney essentially confirm a crime. It's there in black and white, for all to see. It puts congressional Republicans on the clock as to their fidelity to "rule of law."

Why did this apparent extortion matter? Because the Ukraine is a vulnerable U.S. ally, attempting to fend off an invasion and occupation by Russian President Putin. It's waged a war that has cost 13,000 lives.

Last June Trump told ABC's George Stephanopoulos that he was open to foreign assistance in his reelection campaign, to which Federal Election Commission Chairman Ellen Weintraub responded: "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."

So why should we ponder the sooner-than-later prospect of "President Pence?" Because impeachment has been established in the U.S. Constitution, but it is a political mechanism to remove a public servant who has committed "high crimes and misdemeanors." That is deliberately vague, to be determined by the House for impeachment, and then the Senate for a trial, with Chief Justice John Roberts presiding.

Public opinion has everything to do with this. When the U.S. Supreme Court ordered the release of the so-called "smoking gun" tape during President Nixon's Watergate scandal in 1974, his public support in the polls collapsed, and so did his Republican backing in the U.S. Senate. Nixon resigned within hours.

Polling in support of the Trump impeachment inquiry and removal is far ahead of where it was for Presidents Nixon in 1974 and Bill Clinton in 1999. Trump's approval has been mired in the low 40% range for most of his presidency, and a Quinnipiac Poll revealed 55% approve the impeachment inquiry. That's before public testimony.

**When the Daily Caller gauged** the 55 Republican senators, only seven said they wouldn't vote to convict Trump. Republican Sens. Mitt Romney and Lindsey Graham told Axios they would weigh impeachment if a crime was committed. U.S. Sens. Todd Young and Mike Braun were not among that group of seven. Both have been ardent supporters of Trump, and both are lying low. They are different than their 53 GOP colleagues, in that if Trump were to resign or be convicted, they would have a Hoosier president in Mike Pence.

Young co-authored a resolution with Graham and Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell opposing the inquiry and Braun signed on. The House is poised for an impeachment resolution vote late this morning.

U.S. Rep. Greg Pence tweeted on Tuesday, "Until all Members of Congress are able to see and report to their constituents what is going on with the 'impeachment proceedings,' I refuse to participate in this sham process." Rep. Pence sits on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, so it is not clear whether he is attending and participating in the hearings. Trump is carefully watching Pence World (son Eric Trump "liked" Rep. Pence's tweet).

Vice President Pence is also under scrutiny, saying he had "no objection" to the release of his call transcripts with Zelensky, which could pose a problem for Trump.

Wall Street Journal columnist Peggy Noonan wrote this past week, the situation is "fluid." President Trump still has his core supporters, but many others inclined to support him are exhausted by the constant drama. At some point, "President Mike Pence" might seem like a safe harbor for Republicans, provided that Trump doesn't tie him to the mast of a listing ship. ❖





# Buttigieg rises, but sexuality & race could be obstacles

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS — Mayor Pete Buttigieg has a narrow lane to the Democratic presidential nomination. One can make the case that an obscure mayor from a mid-sized Indiana city even being in the conversation is a testament to the shrewd running of this campaign. That he raised north of \$51 million, almost double of the so-called frontrunner and former vice president Joe Biden, would have been impossible to predict.



Reporter Pat Rynard of the Iowa Starting Line website lays out the scenario for Buttigieg's narrow lane, starting in

the Hawkeye state: Two polls this past week had good news for Buttigieg in the lead-off caucus state. A Suffolk University and USA Today poll had the mayor in third place at 13%. More importantly, he was just five points off Joe Biden's first-place lead of 18% (there were a lot of undecideds in this survey, 29%) and four behind Elizabeth Warren's 17%. Bernie Sanders had fallen back to fourth at 9%. Even better for Buttigieg, an Iowa State University/Civics poll put him in second, with 20% saying he was their first choice for the caucus. In this survey, Buttigieg trailed Warren, who was at 28%. Sanders had 18% and Biden was at 12%. The latter poll isn't one that usually breaks big news in Iowa politics, but it's always noteworthy when multiple polls, regardless of their stature, point to the same thing in the same week.

Rynard adds, "And that's what anyone on the ground can see clearly here: Buttigieg has a ton of energy and enthusiasm on his side in Iowa. And now is just about the time you want to get hot as we enter the final 100-day stretch."

The money factor is also important. "Buttigieg, Warren and Sanders were the top three in cash on hand, all over \$20 million (Buttigieg \$23.3 million, Warren \$25.7 million, Sanders \$33.7 million)," Rynard explains. "Biden, meanwhile, was at a surprising \$8.9 million cash on hand."



**South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg became the first Democrat to file for the New Hampshire primary on Wednesday.**

So here's Rynard's description of Buttigieg's lane: A first- or second-place finish for Buttigieg in Iowa that catapults him into top-three showings in the next three early states. A disappointing finish for Biden in both Iowa and New Hampshire (behind Buttigieg in both cases), and not a convincing enough win in South Carolina. No embarrassing results for either Warren or Sanders. No one else outside the top four emerges from the early states. Buttigieg is the sole, surging candidate.

Earlier this year, Rynard thought that the Iowa Caucus would basically decide which candidate emerges as the main opponent to Biden for the duration of the long primary schedule. "Now, it seems more likely that it will decide who is Warren's biggest competitor. It's possible that becomes Buttigieg," he said. "Let's assume Warren and Buttigieg end up in the strongest position after the first four states, but neither is in a place to close the deal. Sanders continues to eat into Warren's progressive base, while Buttigieg presents himself (as he is currently) as the more moderate alternative to Biden."

Of course, the best laid scenarios are fraught with tension and problems, and Mayor Pete's biggest challenge is his sexuality and African-American voters.

According to a POLITICO/Morning Consult poll of registered voters, 50% of respondents said they were either definitely or probably ready to have a commander in chief who is openly gay, compared with 37% who said they were either definitely or probably not ready. Politico reports that voters were more pessimistic when asked whether they thought the country was ready for an openly gay president; 40% said they thought the country was ready, with 44% saying the country was not ready. That gap grew even wider when voters were asked whether they thought their neighbors were ready for a gay president. About a quarter of respondents answered affirmatively, while 46% said their neighbors were either definitely or probably not ready for a gay president.

HPI witnessed this first hand with several Republican voters exhausted by President Trump's antics said they were impressed with Buttigieg's grip on policy and foreign affairs. But when they witnessed him kissing husband Chasten at his South Bend campaign kickoff last April, they weren't ready for that. In the April and May sequence, Buttigieg went from a mayor who happened to be gay running for president, to the gay presidential contender whose husband had become a social media star.

McClatchy media obtained a Buttigieg internal campaign focus group report on why he is struggling

with black voters. Some of that is due to the police action shooting in South Bend last June, as well as diversity concerns of the South Bend Police Department.

McClatchy reported: "The 21-page report, conducted by the Benenson Strategy Group with black Democratic South Carolina voters in mid-July and obtained exclusively by McClatchy, found that 'being gay was a barrier for these voters, particularly for the men who seemed deeply uncomfortable even discussing it. ... [T]heir preference is for his sexuality to not be front and center.' While the report stated that Buttigieg's sexuality was not a 'disqualifier' for these voters, some of the focus group participants questioned why Buttigieg even brought it up."

A Monmouth University poll of Democratic likely primary voters in South Carolina released last week found Buttigieg at 3% overall, with just 1% support from African Americans. Other recent polls had Buttigieg with zero black support. In a Gallup poll published in May, 83% of Democrats, and 82% of independents, said that they'd be willing to vote for a gay presidential candidate. That leaves a significant percentage who wouldn't. According to Gallup 36% oppose the legal recognition of same-sex marriage.

"The biggest issue for him is he's married to a man," Phyllis Harris-Drakeford, the Democratic chairwoman of Kershaw County, S.C., told the NYT. "I have no problem with that; you love who you want to love and you have the freedom in this country to do that. But in the South in particular, that's not well-favored."

David Axelrod, the longtime Democratic strategist for President Barack Obama who attended Buttigieg's wedding, told the New York Times that Buttigieg's sexual identity is "a real issue for him," but one born of success. "Having risen to third in Iowa polling, a strong finish there could vault him into a position to challenge Mr. Biden for the moderate Democratic vote. But once the race turns from Iowa and New Hampshire, which are more than 90% white, to South Carolina on Feb. 29, Buttigieg will confront a wall," Axelrod said. "You can't be the nominee of the Democratic Party and not engender support among African Americans."

Speaking to a black congregation in Rock Hill, S.C., this past week, the NYT reported, Buttigieg told pews of worshipers, "All of us in different ways have been led to question whether we belong. And I know what it is to look on the news and see your rights up for debate. All of us must extend a hand to one another. Because I also know what it is to find acceptance where you least expect it."

He told the New York Times' Trip Gabriel, "In South Bend, people got over it," referring to his landslide 2015 reelection as mayor after he publicly acknowledged he was gay, with more than 80% of the vote. "I think people will get over it elsewhere too. No gain is permanent

in society, but moving away from prejudice has been a pretty strong one-way street."

The mayor has spent considerable time reaching out to black voters. He unveiled his "Douglass Plan" last summer in an effort to deal with centuries of American racism inequality.

He keynoted the Indianapolis NAACP last month and was warmly received, while unveiling his "21st Century Voters Rights Act." He was greeted by two standing ovations.

Buttigieg told black Hoosiers, "I have seen the possibilities – and the limitations – of what can be done in a diverse community while our nation continues to accept the unacceptable. I also come at this from a perspective shaped by my own story and my own search for belonging. I have not had the experience of being more likely to be pulled over while driving, or less likely to be called back for a job interview, or less likely to be believed when



describing symptoms at a hospital, simply because of the color of my skin. But part of what motivates me to stand up for those who are different from me, is the fact that people different from me helped bring me some of the most important rights in my life.

When President Trump described the impeachment inquiry aimed at him as a "lynching" this past week, Buttigieg responded, "The history of lynching in America is one of murderous torture and violent death, motivated by white supremacy, tolerated or even celebrated by ordinary people. To equate this with a constitutional process, underway to hold a lawless president accountable, is disgusting."

That Buttigieg is even in the nomination conversation less than 100 days before the Iowa caucuses is a testament to him and his campaign hitting on all cylinders. In late June, a probable scenario that the police action shooting would doom his campaign was not far-fetched, particularly after the national media watched him deal with emotional town halls, a protest march, and subsequent public hearings. The mayor America saw was controlled, empathetic, focused, and willing to listen to his angry constituents and national civil rights leaders like Rep. Jesse Jackson. He remained focused on evolving his police department throughout the summer and fall.

That shooting has become a footnote for the time being, though if he makes it in the top three heading into South Carolina, that story could make a comeback. But if Buttigieg is one of three viable contenders when South Carolina comes up, who would be ready to bet against him?

### Buttigieg releases 'Woman's Agenda'

Buttigieg released "Building Power: A Women's Agenda for the 21st Century," to invest in women's economic, political, and social empowerment, tackle gender and race-based health disparities, and break down the systemic barriers that have held women back for far too long. The campaign says Buttigieg's plan "is grounded in bold proposals that will close pay, wealth, and leadership gaps, build safe and inclusive communities, aggressively combat the maternal mortality crisis, and protect a woman's right to choose." Buttigieg explained, "Progress for women has come despite systemic sexism and racism, and persistent gender bias. And now, with women's rights under assault, we can't wait any longer to ensure women have the power they deserve. Women's freedom can't depend on Washington, it can only come from systematically building women's power in our economy, our political system, and in every part of our society."

### Sanders overtakes Biden in NH Poll

Former Vice President Joe Biden suffered a precipitous drop in the latest New Hampshire poll, falling to the lowest point his campaign has seen this election, while

Sen. Bernie Sanders recaptured his first-place spot narrowly over Sen. Elizabeth Warren (Politico). Sanders was the first choice of 21% of likely Democratic primary voters, followed by Sen. Elizabeth Warren at 18%, Biden at 15% and Buttigieg at 10%, according to the Granite State Poll conducted by the University of New Hampshire and co-sponsored by CNN.

### Biden's lead over Trump narrows

Joe Biden's pitch for the Democratic presidential nomination has rested in no small part on the idea that he's the most electable candidate — that he'll beat President Donald Trump "like a drum" if given the chance. But polling shows that argument is weakening. The former vice president leads Trump by 5 percentage points, 41 percent to 36 percent, among 1,997 registered voters in a new Morning Consult/Politico poll testing the hypothetical Election Day matchup — roughly half the 11-point advantage he enjoyed in a June survey conducted ahead of the Democratic Party's first debates. Both surveys have a 2-point margin of error. ❖

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# Here's a quiz on the U.S. Constitution

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – That ancient document called the Constitution doesn't seem to mean much anymore to many Americans, including some elected officials who swear to preserve, protect and defend it.

Here is a quiz about the Constitution.



**1. The three branches of the federal government are:**

- a. Senate, House and FBI.
- b. State, Treasury and Defense.
- c. Executive, legislative and judicial.

**2. Executive powers allow the president to:**

- a. Grant pardons, even to Rudy Giuliani.
- b. Shoot somebody in the

middle of New York's Fifth Avenue.  
c. Declare war.

**3. Signers of the proposed Constitution on Sept. 17, 1787, included:**

- a. Bernie Sanders.
- b. Alexander Hamilton.
- c. Betsy Ross.

**4. The first 10 amendments are known as:**

- a. The 10 Commandments.
- b. The Big 10.
- c. The Bill of Rights.

**5. The 1st Amendment says the press is:**

- a. The enemy of the people.
- b. Protected from laws abridging its freedom.
- c. Required to give equal space to both parties.

**6. The 2nd Amendment cites a right to:**

- a. Bear arms.
- b. Arm bears.
- c. Own any type of weapon.

**7. The Electoral College was designed:**

- a. To assure reelection of President Trump.
- b. As a better college than Bowling Green on Notre Dame football schedule.
- c. As part of a compromise by the Founding Fathers.

**8. The House has the power to impeach the presi-**

**dent with:**

- a. A majority vote.
- b. A two-thirds vote.
- c. Approval of Nancy Pelosi.

**9. The president, if impeached, faces trial in the Senate presided over by:**

- a. Mitch McConnell.
- b. John Roberts
- c. Mike Pence.

**10. An impeached president is removed from office by:**

- a. A two-thirds vote in the Senate.
- b. A drop to under 25% in approval polls.
- c. A vote of no confidence from Vladimir Putin.

**11. The Constitution established:**

- a. The two-party system.
- b. A census every 10 years.
- c. The Iowa caucuses.

**12. The Constitution initially said slaves should:**

- a. Be freed.
- b. Count as three-fifths of a person for enumeration.
- c. Be patient while waiting for Abraham Lincoln.

**13. The Emoluments Clause was written to:**

- a. Restrict wealth an official can receive while in office.
- b. Keep Martha Washington from profiting from her apparel line.
- c. Protect the president's tax returns from snoopers.

**14. Congress is denied the power to enact:**

- a. A quid pro quo.
- b. An ex post facto law.
- c. Anything. It must stalemate.

**15. The Constitution says Supreme Court justices shall:**

- a. Total nine.
- b. Serve after disclosing how much beer they drink.
- c. Stay on "during good behavior."

**16. Duties specified for a vice president include:**

- a. Announcing horrible news for the Kurds.
- b. Breaking ties in the Senate.
- c. Having a son serve on a Ukrainian corporation board.

**17. Outdated constitutional provisions called for designating:**

- a. The president's carriage as Horse Power One.
- b. Climate change as a hoax.
- c. The person with second highest total of electors as vice president.

**18. Mayor Pete cannot be president:**

- a. Because he's too young to meet the age requirement for president.
- b. Due to stepping-stone requirement of serving in Congress or state office.
- c. Unless he's elected.

**ANSWERS:** 1-c; 2-a; 3-b; 4-c; 5-b; 6-a; 7-c; 8-a; 9-b; 10-a; 11-b; 12-b; 13-a; 14-b; 15-c; 16-b; 17-c; 18-c. ❖

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

## We have a presidential accountability problem

By **LEE HAMILTON**

BLOOMINGTON — "I ask how and why this decision was reached," Utah Sen. Mitt Romney said in the Senate recently. He was calling for an investigation into President Trump's decision to pull U.S. forces out of Syria. "Was there no chance for diplomacy? Are we so weak and so inept diplomatically that Turkey forced the hand of the

United States of America?"

Good questions, but here's a wager: If the Senate does launch an investigation, would you bet that Romney or any other senator will even get close to posing them directly to the president? I didn't think so.

We have a presidential accountability problem that has significantly worsened over the years. We're losing, or maybe we've already lost, the ability

to call presidents to account on a regular basis for their actions, their conduct, and the way they fulfill the responsibilities of office. Sure, we have the big guns: An election after the first term, in which voters could choose to end a president's time in office, and impeachment, in which members of Congress can choose to do the same. But these are drastic one-time steps, hard to employ and infrequently available.

What I'm talking about is a way for knowledgeable people to step beyond the White House's control of presidential appearances, ask tough questions, and get real answers so that the American people can judge the president's actions and reasoning. Instead, these days presidents appear only in highly structured circumstances, avoid specificity and candor, and sidestep detailed discussion of the issues and policies they're pursuing.

**It didn't used to be this way.** When Franklin Roosevelt was president, he would call the Washington press corps into the Oval Office and hold extended conversations. Reporters could ask anything they wanted; Roosevelt of course used them for his own purposes, but the press corps had plenty of opportunities to hold his feet to the fire.

When more formal press conferences took hold, they were frequent and generally free-wheeling affairs. Americans learned a great deal both about the men who inhabited the Oval Office and their thinking. Over time, however, press conferences became infrequent, stage-managed performances. All of us remember Ronald Reagan walking by a group of reporters, holding his hand up to his ear and answering only the questions he wanted while claiming he couldn't hear the rest. President Obama held only a handful of formal gatherings with the press each year. President Trump holds almost no solo press conferences.

**So how do we get the** president to outline the thinking behind a policy? Or go into details on what led to a given decision? How do we even ask a president questions these days, or more importantly, ask the follow-ups? Even when presidents do hold press conferences, they rarely answer the follow-up questions that actually pin them down on what they're doing; instead, they move on to the next questioner. They like to appear they're being fair.

Really what they're doing is avoiding more pointed second questions. I contrast this with the British "question time," which takes place for an hour four days a week, in which government ministers, including the prime minister, must face questions from members of Parliament. It would be refreshing to see a president put in a position where he or she had to answer questions about policy and politics in public, with no restraints on what could be asked. When I was in Congress, I actually submitted a bill to this effect; it was pretty much laughed out of the room.

**But the principle holds.** True, when Congress is working properly it can hold presidents and their administrations accountable through hearings, probes, and formal investigations. These are vital, but they don't offer a regular window into what's going on, and they don't have the president answering questions before the American public.

Simply put, that's what we should be doing; on a regular basis, presidents should have to answer questions about their thinking and their policies, put to them by people who know enough to dig deep. In a representative democracy, that's how we citizens can judge whether our chief elected leader is representing us and living up to his or her responsibilities. ❖

**Lee Hamilton is a Senior Advisor for the Indiana University Center on Representative Government Public and Environmental Affairs.**



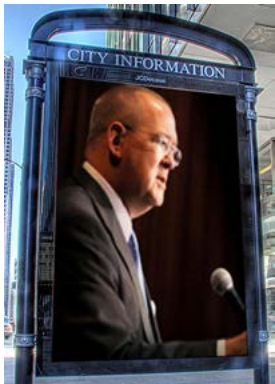
# Indiana's brain drain and weak economy

By MICHAEL HICKS

MUNCIE — The economic recovery beginning in the summer of 2009 is now over for Indiana. Factory employment is down for the year, and overall employment is on trend to be down in 2019. Overall employment has only declined in Indiana a dozen times since the end of

World War II, marking precisely the dozen post-war recessions. The nation may not slip into recession, but by any meaningful measurement Indiana now has.

Sadly, the recovery has been very poor, partly because our education policies have dampened the type of workforce vibrancy that is the hallmark of a healthy economy. Worse still, this sets us up for tough decades ahead.



Since Third Quarter 2007, when the economy was booming, Indiana's workforce down-skilled profoundly. We've seen 31% growth in workers with less than a high school diploma, nearly no change among those with high school diploma and under 5.0% growth among those who have been to college or have an associate's degree. The simple fact is from Third Quarter 2007 to Third Quarter 2018, a whopping 55% of new workers had less than a high school diploma.

I believe much of this is attributable to education policies that focus on supplying our economy with workers instead of citizens. While this might have pleased a few important political donors, it remains deeply misguided. I call it the Mississippi strategy, because it pushes Indiana into the bottom tier of educational attainment. And from the looks of it, it is doing just that.

**I have three broad critiques** of this effort. It begins by simply noting that young men and women are not widgets who can or should be pushed into careers that benefit the local economy. This approach, adopted by the state's educational policymakers, is deeply misguided, empirically unsupportable and acutely authoritarian.

The goal of education isn't to provide a workforce, but citizens. Of course citizens work, but they should not be pushed into fields deemed worthy by a committee convening in Indianapolis. The results are embarrassing. Take just one example. In an effort to cut college costs and have more students finish early, the General Assembly cut spending on higher education. As a share of GDP, spending dropped from 0.74 to 0.62%. That is more than \$2,300 less per Hoosier college student each year.

In response, the state's three largest universi-

ties have slashed the number of in-state students they enroll as undergraduates. Purdue's in-state enrollment since 2010 dropped from 62.9% to 52.2% (using 2018 data). IU's share of in-state students dropped from 55.2 to 51.2% and Ball State from 88.4 to 85.6% (using 2019 data). All three universities cut in-state students by a combined total of 5,663 students. They then boosted out-of-state enrollment by 6,487 at a time when Indiana high schools graduated more and better-educated high school students.

**For those of you puzzled** over the brain-drain problem in Indiana, look no further. Our top public universities turned away about 15% more qualified Hoosier students last year, enrolling out-of-state undergraduates in their place. Of course, out-of-state students pay higher tuition, but they are far less likely to remain in Indiana. It should surprise no one that states that experience net immigration of college-aged people are the ones who more heavily subsidize education.

Our current policies are empirically unsupportable for the simple reason that the state's Department of Workforce Development cannot effectively predict what jobs will be needed in our state next year, much less over the expected work life of a teenager today. For example, the current policy is based on a prediction that more than a million jobs would be needed between 2014 and 2024, of which most required a high school diploma. That forecast would've required more than half of all Indiana workers with a high school diploma in 2014 to retire by 2024 and be replaced by almost half our high school graduates. Nonsense.

Those who've designed our workforce policies might benefit from being reminded of Freidrich Hayek's great 1988 book, "The Fatal Conceit," where he noted "the curious task of economics is to demonstrate to men how little they really know about what they imagine they can design."

And finally it is acutely authoritarian. As I've written before, there are sixth graders in Indiana now enrolled in career paths to be truck drivers. While truck driving is a good and noble profession, the notion that sixth graders should be focusing so narrowly enjoys precisely zero research support. It exists solely through the lobby efforts of one industry who is afraid of paying higher wages. This is immoral in so many ways that I could provide a dissertation-length critique of its absurdity. Instead I will simply ask if anyone supposes there is a single CEO of any of Indiana's many great logistics firms whose 12-year-old child is pursuing the truck driver career path.

**Many readers will mistakenly** suppose I am against career and technical education. Nothing could be farther from the truth. I personally embrace a culture that holds that all labor is imbued with inherent worth. But, our education policies are now doing almost precisely the opposite of what is now happening.

We should be educating for citizenship, not employment. We should be educating to end the brain drain,



rather than magnify it. We should be educating every child to pursue the fullest opportunity they can possible have today, and into the distant future. Right now, we are doing precisely the opposite of all of these.

**Our human capital policies** have weakened Indiana and are failing us today with respect to brain drain and wage growth. The Mississippi strategy is a profound mistake, which will bear bitter fruit for years if not decades

to come. ❖

**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.**

## Is Indiana better off than it was 4 years ago?

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS — Just a few more weeks and we'll be in 2020. Incumbent office holders will discover numbers showing we are better off than four years earlier. The out-of-office wannabes will have their data showing we are worse off. How can both be telling the truth? As economists love to say, "It all depends..."



What data are you using, Indiana in a national or regional context? Real per capita personal income, a favorite measure of some political leaders, shows Indiana with an average annual increase of 1.82%, between the second quarters of 2015 and 2019, after adjustment for inflation.

The United States grew by 2.12%. That "little" 0.30% average annual difference is worth \$575 for each Indiana resident in 2019 dollars. That's if we were

just "average" instead of 29th in the nation.

But let's put this in a regional context and we'll see if Indiana shines as bright as that moon over the Wabash. The Great Lakes region includes Ohio, Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin, along with Indiana. The region as a whole saw real per capita personal income rise of 1.89%.

**Sad to say, only Ohio at 1.80%** came in lower than our 1.87% growth rate. But, take heart! Kentucky managed only a 1.36% average rate. As you know, any time we beat out Kentucky, Hoosiers are winners.

Then, we'll consider the growth in the average wage per job. We know the state and local economic development folks have been working hard to raise the wages of Hoosier workers. Here we'll have to put up with annual data from 2014 to 2018, but that's the way it is with statistics, you have to work with what you have.

The average wage per job in Indiana in 2018 was \$55,600 (27th highest in the U.S.), but higher than Kentucky's \$50,682 (ranking 42nd). Unfortunately, the four other Great Lakes states all enjoyed higher average wages. There's no point in mentioning the U.S. figure was \$62,321.

What about the growth rate for average wages from '15 to '18? Indiana was at 1.63%, short of the U.S. at 1.76%, but higher than Kentucky and Illinois, yet below Michigan, Ohio and Wisconsin.

**Our strength, then, must be** adding to the number of jobs. Just about every business day, new and existing Indiana firms feed the media with announcements of job growth. But the data from September 2015 to the same month in 2019 shows Indiana with an average annual growth rate of 1.00% in jobs while the nation had a 1.62% rate.

We failed. After looking at three key indicators of economic advancement, we didn't find evidence that Indiana is a hot bed of growth. No doubt others will find the rainbow we missed, particularly if they are paid for their efforts. ❖

**Mr. Marcus is an economist. Reach him at [mortonj-marcus@yahoo.com](mailto:mortonj-marcus@yahoo.com). Follow his views and those of John Guy on "Who gets what?" wherever podcasts are available or at [mortonjohn.libsyn.com](http://mortonjohn.libsyn.com)**

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

# Whose job is it to call out a lie?

By **KELLY HAWES**

ANDERSON — Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez had a question for Facebook’s Mark Zuckerberg.

“You announced recently that the official policy of Facebook now allows politicians to pay to spread disinformation in 2020 elections and in the future,” she said during a recent congressional hearing. “So I just want to know how far I can push this in the next year.”



She asked whether she could target predominantly black zip codes and advertise the wrong election date. Zuckerberg hemmed and hawed a bit, but he finally said no.

“So there is some threshold where you will fact-check political advertisements,” Ocasio-Cortez said. “Is that what you’re telling me?”

She offered another hypothetical. “Would I be able to run advertisements on Facebook targeting Republicans in primaries saying that they voted for the Green New Deal?” she asked.

Zuckerberg said he wasn’t sure. “I think probably,” he said.

Ocasio-Cortez kept pushing. “I mean, if you’re not fact-checking political advertisements, I’m just trying to understand the bounds here,” she said. “What’s fair game?”

She didn’t hide her frustration. “Do you see a potential problem here with a complete lack of fact-checking on political advertisements?” she asked.

Zuckerberg tried to elaborate. “Well, Congresswoman, I think lying is bad, and I think if you were to run an ad that had a lie in it, that would be bad,” he said. “That’s different from it being ... in our position, the right thing to do to prevent your constituents or people in an election from seeing that you had lied.”

Ocasio-Cortez pressed harder. Would Facebook take down a political ad that contained a flat-out lie?

“In most cases, in a democracy, I believe that people should be able to see for themselves what politicians that they may or may not vote for are saying and judge their character for themselves,” Zuckerberg said.

The question was not hypothetical. After President

Donald J. Trump’s reelection campaign ran an ad making false claims about former Vice President Joe Biden, presidential candidate Elizabeth Warren sought to highlight the issue with a fake ad of her own.

“If Trump tries to lie in a TV ad, most networks will refuse to air it,” she said. “But Facebook just cashes Trump’s checks.”

PolitiFact disagreed, rating her claim “mostly false.”

“This is a misreading of both federal and actual practice,” it said. “Federal law requires broadcast networks to run political candidate ads without vetting them for lies or falsehoods. The same law does not apply to cable networks, but those networks also generally aim to run such ads, experts told us.”

Zuckerberg might stumble a bit to explain himself, but he has a point. “While I certainly worry about an erosion of truth, I don’t think most people want to live in a world where you can only post things that tech companies judged to be 100% true,” he told a recent audience at Georgetown University. “Banning political ads favors incumbents and whoever the media chooses to cover.”

There’s a difference between fact-checking ads and blocking them. “I just think that in a democracy people should be able to see for themselves what politicians are saying, and I think that people should make up their own minds about which candidates are credible and which candidates have the kind of character that they want to see in their elected officials,” Zuckerberg said on a call with reporters. “And I don’t think those determinations should come from tech companies.”

Zuckerberg is advocating a free marketplace of ideas where everyone can have their say. It’s fine for journalists and opposing candidates to call out lies when they see them, but it’s ultimately up to voters to decide who’s right and who’s wrong. That’s the way democracy works. ❖

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# Gov. Bevin may pull out tossup Kentucky race

By **KYLE KONDICK**  
and **J. MILES COLEMAN**

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. – Gov. Matt Bevin (R-KY) may be, as some polls suggest, the least popular governor in the country. Despite his lagging approval numbers, Bevin finds himself locked in a competitive reelection campaign with state Attorney General Andy Beshear (D), the son of the two-term Democratic governor that preceded Bevin, Steve Beshear.

During his tenure, Bevin, an anti-establishment conservative known for his gruff demeanor, teamed up with a Republican legislature to pass a litany of GOP priorities, from abortion restrictions to enacting a right-to-work law. Still, Bevin has run into opposition in his red state, most notably from teachers' unions, which has given Democrats an opening. In response, Bevin and Republicans are trying to nationalize the race, using the Democrats' pursuit of impeachment as a way to remind wavering Trump voters to stick with a GOP governor they may not like, as the New York Times' Jonathan Martin explained earlier this week.

Bevin entered the general election campaign after an underwhelming primary performance. Though the GOP field included four candidates, state Rep. Robert Goforth (R) was Bevin's main challenger. Goforth, who cited the governor's combative style as his motivation for running, largely self-funded his campaign, and took 39%, holding Bevin to just 52%. Though Goforth's strength was generally localized to his home region, in the southeastern 5th Congressional District, it exposed underlying intraparty discontent with the governor. That happens to be a part of the state where the Democratic brand is most on life support, so it'll be interesting to see if this protest vote against Bevin manifests itself in the general election.

**On Tuesday night**, two of the most telling counties in the state will be Elliott and Campbell. Geographically, both are in the northern region of the state but are trending in sharply different directions.

Though a small rural county, Elliott's trajectory has been emblematic of broader trends in Appalachia. Established in 1869, it began voting in presidential elections in 1872. For the next 140 years, it voted exclusively for Democrats, often by overwhelming margins. In 2008, it was President Obama's best county in the commonwealth, giving him 61%; by 2012, though, Obama held Elliott with just a 49% plurality. In 2016, Elliott County's long Democratic streak abruptly ended, as it gave Donald Trump 70%.

State Rep. Rocky Adkins (D), who was edged out in the primary, hails from Elliott County and has barnstormed

the area with Beshear. In 2015, Bevin lost the county by 17% -- if Beshear can significantly expand on this margin, it would be an indication that Adkins was an effective surrogate in eastern Kentucky.

While Elliott County is known for its historic loyalty to Democrats, given trends in the region, Beshear could still compete without it -- and he may have to. This scenario played out next door, in West Virginia, last year: in his close reelection, Sen. Joe Manchin (D) leaned on the more populous counties in his state, while losing a few rural counties where he routinely overperformed earlier in his career.

**Aside from in its two** largest cities, Louisville and Lexington, and their surrounding areas, Kentucky's largest contingent of "Hillary Clinton Republicans" may be in its three northernmost counties: Campbell, Kenton, and Boone. The trio is located just south of Hamilton County, OH and are becoming increasingly influenced by the blue movement of Cincinnati. Of the three, the easternmost county, Campbell, seems likeliest to vote Democratic next week.

At a more general level, Republicans are hoping another historical trend holds

next week: Democrats' penchant for underperforming their polls as election day approaches.

Bevin's 53%-44% victory in 2015 was considered an upset because he trailed his opponent, then-state Attorney General Jack Conway (D), in most public polls. Conway often polled at 45% or less, and his leads obscured the high volume of undecideds. On Election Day, Conway took roughly 45% while undecideds broke, almost uniformly, Republican.

On one level, this dynamic previewed the 2016 presidential election the next year. Hillary Clinton generally posted small, but consistent, leads in key Rust Belt swing states -- namely Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Michigan -- but the 50% mark often proved elusive for her. This paved the way for Donald Trump to carry those states with narrow pluralities.

The latest Mason-Dixon poll shows Bevin and Beshear tied at 46%, though both parties claim their internals show their candidate ahead, albeit narrowly. A welcome sign for Bevin in this poll is the uptick in his approval rating; though he's slightly underwater, at 45/48, it's a dramatic improvement from his -15% spread from Mason-Dixon's previous poll.

Bevin will also be aided by a campaign appearance from President Trump on the eve of the election in Lexington, which is in the heart of the state's 6th Congressional District, another crucial battleground area to watch.

This race is very close to being a Toss-up, and Beshear winning would not be a shock. But because of Kentucky's Republicanism, we just think Bevin has the clearer path to a plurality. ❖





**Matt Taibbi, Rolling Stone:** Two sets of headlines over the weekend described the suicide of ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. From the Washington Post Sunday morning: "Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, austere religious scholar at helm of Islamic State, dies at 48." The Post has since rewritten that, though the description of an "austere religious scholar with wire-rimmed glasses" remains in the lead paragraph. Meanwhile, the headline on Foxnews.com: "Al-Baghdadi kill: how the daring military operation went down." The Post headline would fit a quiet academic who died in his sleep, not a genocidal jihadist leader. The Fox headline is less nuts, but still not quite right: al-Baghdadi wasn't killed but reportedly committed suicide, while pursued by American "military dogs." Donald Trump was correct when he tweeted Saturday night that something "big" had happened, but from there, America received two almost completely different versions of the story of al-Baghdadi's pursuit and suicide. It was a vivid demonstration of how dysfunctional the modern news landscape has become. When important events take place now, commercial news outlets instantly slice up the facts and commoditize them for consumption by their respective political demographics. We always had this process, to some degree, but it no longer takes days to sift into the op-ed pages. Now news is packaged for Republicans or Democrats on the first reporting pass. Moreover, it's no longer true that Fox is more blatant about its slant than the Democrat-friendly press, which in the Trump years has become a bullhorn of caricatured bellyaching in the same way Fox was in the Clinton years. ❖



**Frank Bruni, New York Times:** Pete Buttigieg vaulted into the top four of a crowded Democratic presidential field because he has an agile intellect, is fiercely articulate and both espouses and embodies a fresh perspective that many voters of all stripes crave. He also got there because he's gay. He'd be the first to acknowledge that. In fact he did acknowledge it when we spoke last June about the state of L.G.B.T.Q. rights in America. Referring to his sexual orientation and his marriage to another man, he told me, "It's safe to say that it led to there being more interest and attention early on." He stood out among the dozens of Democratic aspirants, each desperate to do precisely that. But there's a big difference between winning over enough Americans to land in his current position — he placed second, behind Elizabeth Warren, in one survey of Iowa voters last week — and having an appeal broad enough to nab the party's nomination, let alone the White House. Is being gay an insurmountable obstacle on the path to those prizes? Anyone who answers with an unequivocal yes or no is just guessing. The question is now being asked more urgently than before, as the primary contests draw closer and many Democrats simultaneously assess the risks of the two front-runners, Warren and Joe Biden, and survey the field anew, wondering if anyone in

the tier of candidates just below them might be a better opponent for Donald Trump. Their gazes invariably fall on Buttigieg, but their apprehensions include whether America could really elect a gay president. "Nobody believes that America can do what America will do until America does it," said David Axelrod, who was Barack Obama's chief strategist. ❖

**Judge Andrew Napolitano, Fox News:** Last week found Republicans in Congress complaining loud and long that the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, along with the House Oversight and Foreign Affairs committees, all bipartisan and under the leadership of Rep. Adam Schiff, were violating the rules of the House of Representatives by interviewing witnesses about impeachment behind closed doors. They derided Schiff's hearings as a "secret impeachment." President Trump called the hearings a hoax. When some pointed out that the initial round of government interviews of witnesses is always conducted behind closed doors to facilitate candor, Senate Republicans supported the president and condemned the House process. Nevertheless, the House rules, which were adopted in 2015, when Republicans had the majority, clearly authorize the process that Schiff is utilizing. Last Friday, in response to a rejected subpoena the House Judiciary Committee sent to the Department of Justice, a federal court ruled that the House committees' preliminary impeachment inquiries are lawful and constitutional, and ordered the DOJ to comply with the congressional subpoena it received and turn over secret grand jury transcripts to House investigators. This is a delicious irony since the DOJ serves more subpoenas on Americans than any government entity, and here it got a dose of its own medicine. Early this week, Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi giving Republicans what they asked for, announced that the full House will vote on initiating an impeachment investigation of the president by the end of this week. What's going on here? Congressional Republicans should be careful what they ask for. Their defense of the president has addressed process, not proof. The proof is largely undisputed, except by the president himself. It consists of admissions, testimony and documents, which show that Trump sought to induce the government of Ukraine to become involved in the 2020 presidential election. Specifically, Trump held up \$391 million in American military hardware and financial aid to Ukraine until Ukrainian prosecutors commenced a criminal investigation of former Vice President Joe Biden and his son, Hunter. That is a mouthful of facts to swallow in one bite, but the legal implications are straightforward and profound. Whether one agrees with federal law or not, it is a crime to solicit assistance for a federal campaign from a foreign government. As well, the crime of bribery consists of a government official refraining from performing a legal duty until a thing of value is delivered to him. ❖

## FiatChrysler to merge with Peugeot

WASHINGTON — MILAN—Fiat Chrysler Automobiles NV and Peugeot maker PSA Group of France agreed to a nearly \$50 billion merger that, if concluded, will mark one of the biggest auto industry consolidation deals in two decades ([Wall Street Journal](#)). Fiat Chrysler and PSA shareholders will each initially own 50% of the new entity, both companies said Thursday in a joint statement, confirming reporting from The Wall Street Journal. John Elkann, Fiat Chrysler's chairman, will become chairman of the newly merged company, while Peugeot Chief Executive Carlos Tavares will be CEO with an initial five-year term. By negotiating the deal, Mr. Elkann is acting on a lesson passed on from the Italian-American car maker's longtime Chief Executive Sergio Marchionne, who died last year: Merge and grow, or fade into irrelevance.



## Twitter to bar political ads

WASHINGTON — Twitter will no longer run political ads, CEO Jack Dorsey announced on Wednesday, a move that comes as fellow social media giant Facebook faces rising heat over its policy of allowing candidates to lie in their campaign messaging ([Politico](#)). "We believe political message reach should be earned, not bought," Dorsey said in a series of tweets. "While internet advertising is incredibly powerful and very effective for commercial advertisers, that power brings significant risks to politics, where it can be used to influence votes to affect the lives of millions."

## Lawmakers eye cig buy age to 21

INDIANAPOLIS — A legislative study committee Wednesday recommended that lawmakers raise the age to buy cigarettes – traditional

and electronic – to 21 (Kelly, [Fort Wayne Journal Gazette](#)). "What does the state want? Does it want healthier people or is it worried about losing money?" Heidi Beidinger-Burnett asked. "This committee needs to make a statement. We have to be bolder than baby steps." She is a member of the Interim Study Committee on Public Health, Behavioral Health, and Human Services, which heard testimony this summer on the topic but approved its final report with recommendations Wednesday. Sen. Ed Charbonneau.

## Probe of flier in Peru mayor's race

PERU — The Miami County Election Board is set to discuss an anonymous political flyer mailed to thousands of Peru residents listing all three mayoral candidates along with court cases in which they have been involved (Gerber, [Kokomo Tribune](#)). Miami County Democratic Party Chair Charles Wagner last week filed a complaint with the election board requesting an investigation into the postcards, which he said were sent earlier this month to "1,100 or 11,000 depending upon which rumor one hears." The postcard lists the names of Democratic Peru Mayor Gabe Greer, Republican Miles Hewitt and Independent Chris Wolfe, who are all running for mayor in next week's election. Beside their name is a court case with a list of charges beneath each name. The top of the postcard says "Character Matters ... You have three choices review their past ... then choose wisely!!"

## Lawsuit in Muncie PD political check

MUNCIE — A federal lawsuit filed in U.S. District Court last Monday names the city of Muncie, Muncie Police Department, Fraternal Order of Police Lodge #87 and City Councilwoman At-Large Nora Powell ([CBS4](#)). The initial suit alleges five officers illegally used the Indiana Data and

Communications System to perform background checks on Powell's opponents. It also accuses Muncie Mayor Dennis Tyler's administration of undermining "collective bargaining negotiations" with the Muncie Fraternal Order of Police. Wednesday, the Muncie Fire Chief Eddie Bell added his name to the suit after his background was run on July 30 and September 1. The two officers who are believed to have conducted this background check were also added to the suit, bringing the total number of Muncie police officers allegedly involved to seven.

## Bolton expected to testify for inquiry

WASHINGTON — House investigators on Wednesday invited former national security adviser John Bolton for a deposition next week as part of Democrats' impeachment inquiry, in what could be key testimony on President Trump's contacts with Ukraine ([The Hill](#)). The closed-door deposition has been slated for Nov. 7, according to a source familiar with the impeachment proceedings. A lawyer for Bolton did not immediately respond to a request for comment on whether his client intends to testify, and it is unclear whether Democrats have subpoenaed Bolton.

## Reagan Library survives firestorm

SIMI VALLEY, Calif. — Hurricane-force gusts and single-digit humidity levels combined Wednesday to spark a number of fires across Southern California, including one that threatened the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library for several hours ([Washington Post](#)). Ventura County firefighters had several strike teams in place at the Reagan Library that kept the flames off the hilltop, where the building sits. The library's safety was far from certain, though, during a morning when conditions conspired against hundreds of firefighters on the ground.