

# It's showtime for Mayor Buttigieg

He appears to be fading in Iowa, but his ground game has him in the mix for Monday's caucuses

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Mitch Daniels notes the modern penchant of American voters who have voted for the polar opposite of the presidential status quo, whether it is JFK following Ike, or Donald Trump on the heels of Barack Obama. Democratic voters in Iowa face a huge fork in the road next Monday night when they caucus. Do they pass the



torch to a new generation, which is the clarion message of former South Bend mayor Pete Buttigieg? Or do they lend credence to President Trump's ideological opposite, the socialist Sen. Bernie Sanders?



Or do they opt for Joe Biden, who has premised his campaign on the idea that he is best positioned to

**Continued on page 3**

## A teachable moment?

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS — With closing arguments completed and Senate jurors in Q&A mode in President Trump's impeachment trial, we find this a cleaved nation, with the We Ask America Poll in Indiana perfectly framing the situation: 47.4% of Hoosiers approve of the president, 47.7% disapprove. A Fox News Poll released Monday has 50% supporting Trump's impeachment and removal, while 44% oppose.



There is little that can be said from the well of the Senate that will change the opinion of these masses, or of the two major political parties, or perhaps even you, dear



**“By paying off these one-time expenditures, we’re ensuring our state remains the fiscal envy of the nation by saving Hoosier taxpayers more than \$135 million in borrowing costs.”**

*- Gov. Eric Holcomb, in signing the surplus spending bill*



**Howey Politics Indiana**  
**WWWHowey Media, LLC**  
**c/o Business Office**  
**PO Box 6553**  
**Kokomo, IN, 46904**  
**www.howeypolitics.com**

**Brian A. Howey**, Publisher  
**Mark Schoeff Jr.**, Washington  
**Mary Lou Howey**, Editor  
**Susan E. Joiner**, Editor

**Subscriptions**

HPI, HPI Daily Wire \$599  
 HPI Weekly, \$350  
**Lisa Houchell**, Account Manager  
 (765) 452-3936 telephone  
 (765) 452-3973 fax  
 HPI.Business.Office@howeypolitics.com

**Contact HPI**

bhowey2@gmail.com  
 Howey's cell: 317.506.0883  
 Washington: 202.256.5822  
 Business Office: 765.452.3936

© 2020, **Howey Politics Indiana**. All rights reserved.  
 Photocopying, Internet forwarding, faxing or reproducing in any form, whole or part, is a violation of federal law without permission from the publisher.

**Jack E. Howey**  
 editor emeritus  
 1926-2019



reader. The Senate is poised to acquit President Trump. The risks facing Republican senators are the recent revelations from Lev Parnas and now former national security advisor John Bolton. Will that give them pause prior to their potentially premature verdict?

As U.S. Sen. Mike Braun said Sunday on NBC's "Meet the Press," the House impeachment managers "put together a broad, comprehensive case" but he characterized it as "circumstantial in nature."

**And then came** this nugget when moderator Chuck Todd took a Rex Early axiom ("I don't have to slam my hand in the car door twice to know that it hurts") and pressed the freshman Hoosier senator: "This president, as you know, he's going to take acquittal and think, 'I can keep doing this.'"

Braun responded: "No, I don't think that. Hopefully it'll be instructive. I think he'll put two and two together. In this case, he was taken to the carpet."

Todd pressed Braun on whether President Trump regrets what he has repeatedly referred to as that "perfect call" with Ukraine President Zelensky on July 25. Braun responded, "I think he'll be instructed by what has occurred here and certainly any individual would want to avoid what-ever might need to be modified to go through this again because the threat has already been out there that we might find something else to impeach on, which I think is a mistake because I think we need to get back to what most Americans are interested in, the agenda."

**Thus, Sen. Braun** displayed an incredible leap of faith that President Trump just went through a teachable moment. Good luck with that, senator.

As House impeachment manager Adam Schiff explained a week ago as he summed up the case, "Does anybody really question

whether the president is capable of what he's charged with? No one is really making the argument Donald Trump would never do such a thing, because of course we know that he would, and of course we know that he did.

"Can you have the least bit of confidence that Donald Trump will stand up to them and protect our national interest over his own personal interest?" Schiff continued. "You know you can't, which makes him dangerous to this country."

This is a president who dodged prosecution from Special Counsel Robert Mueller on July 24, and the very next day attempted a shakedown of a fellow head of state, at war with the Kremlin. On this front, Braun was asked by a Capitol Hill reporter if he was OK with the president asking a foreign leader to investigate a rival and to with-



hold foreign aid to coerce him. Braun responded, "No, I'm not saying it's OK. I'm not saying it's appropriate. I'm saying it didn't happen."

**But there is** more than circumstantial evidence that it did, from Ambassador Gordon Sondland's quid pro quo House testimony under oath, from the dubious and indicted Lev Parnas's Rachel Maddow interview, acting Chief of Staff Mick Mulvaney's "get over it" presser last fall, to former national security advisor John Bolton's leaked book "In the Room Where It Happened" which states that Trump "wanted to continue freezing \$391 million in security assistance to Ukraine until officials there helped with investigations into Democrats including the Bidens."

On Wednesday, Alan Der-showitz said every president conflates his own interests with those of the people, declaring, "It cannot be impeachable."

This impeachment chapter didn't begin with the press or even the Democrats investigating, but with internal administration sources, some

of whom were Trump appointees working for then National Intelligence Director Dan Coats.

President Trump’s business and political careers have been built on defiance, prolonged litigation and a flouting of convention. Much like the Mueller chapter, this was a self-inflicted episode from a president who acts like he should be above the law. “They’re here to perpetrate the most massive interference in an election in American history,” White House counsel Pat Cipollone told senators on Saturday. “They’re asking you to tear up all the ballots across this country on your own initiative, take that decision away from the American people.”

Sen. Braun and 52 of his Republican colleagues appear prepared to deem the Ukraine saga as not rising to impeachment or censure. They’ve attacked the process,

and not the documented actions ... that we know about. The danger for Republicans is what appears to be the inevitable drip-drip-drip of embarrassing revelations that could call into question from a discerning electorate whether they were up to the oath they took earlier this month. Sens. Young and Braun won’t have to face voters until 2022 and 2024; their colleagues from Maine, Arizona, Colorado are on the clock now and simply want this plodding ordeal to end.

What Sens. Young and Braun may have to face comes under the guise of “fool me once, shame on you; fool me twice, shame on me.” And the plausible notion that President Trump will ignore this teachable moment; that he is more than capable of doing it again. ❖

## Buttigieg, from page 1

take out Trump, with the Senate impeachment trial a huge Exhibit A in the president’s fear and loathing of the former vice president?

The Real Clear Politics polling composite with Sanders at 24.8%, Biden at 20.6% and Buttigieg at 17% appears to make this another three-way showdown. Sen. Elizabeth Warren, who landed the Des Moines Register endorsement last weekend, was at 14.6% while Sen. Amy Klobuchar was at a distant 9%. In 2008, Iowa Democrats narrowly opted for Obama over Hillary Clinton and John Edwards.

There is great volatility in this showdown. An Emerson College Poll this past week found 38% unsure of how they’ll vote. A recent Suffolk survey put that number at 45%, while 13% are truly undecided.

The latest poll of the state, out Wednesday from Monmouth University, showed Biden and Sanders running a close one-two, with the former vice president at 23% and the Vermont senator at 21%. Next were Buttigieg and Warren, at 16 and 15%, respectively, and Klobuchar at 10 (Politico).

“Caucus electorates are the most difficult to model in polling. The smartest takeaway from this, or any Iowa poll for that matter, is to be prepared for anything on Monday,” said Patrick Murray, director of the independent Monmouth University Polling Institute. There has not been a large increase in the number of voters who have settled on a candidate in the past few weeks. Currently, 47% of likely Iowa caucusgoers are firmly decided on their candidate choice. That hasn’t changed much from Monmouth’s poll two weeks ago when firm support stood at 43%. Nearly half (45%) say they are open to switching support on caucus night, including 13% who rate this as a high possibility, 23% a moderate possibility, and 9% a low possibility. Firm support for the top polling candidates ranges from 47% for Klobuchar, 48% for Biden, and 49% for Buttigieg to 55% for Warren and 58% for Sanders.

Vox Media’s Sean Collins writes: “The good news for Sanders and Warren is that their supporters seem to be relatively locked in; Suffolk found about 60% of their current supporters said they are sure to caucus for them. About half, 53%, of Biden’s supporters said they are committed to him. Buttigieg had a 48% commitment rate, and Sen. Amy Klobuchar, 42%. The other polls showed similar results, with Warren and Sanders supporters being the most steadfast. Iowa’s system of assessing candidate viability makes Iowans’ second choices of great importance. Essentially, Iowans who caucus for any candidate who does not receive at least 15% support in a given district are asked to caucus for their second choice. Warren was the top second choice in the New York Times poll; Biden in the CBS survey.”

With Sanders, Warren and Klobuchar caged in by President Trump’s Senate impeachment trial, Buttigieg and

| Democratic Presidential Nomination |        |                     |        |                     |      |
|------------------------------------|--------|---------------------|--------|---------------------|------|
| RCP Poll Averages                  |        |                     |        |                     |      |
| National                           |        | Iowa                |        | New Hampshire       |      |
| Biden                              | 28.4 ↓ | Sanders             | 24.8 ↓ | Sanders             | 24.0 |
| Sanders                            | 23.0 ↓ | Biden               | 20.6 ↓ | Biden               | 16.0 |
| Warren                             | 14.9 ↓ | Buttigieg           | 17.0 ↓ | Buttigieg           | 14.8 |
| Bloomberg                          | 8.0 ↑  | Warren              | 14.6 ↑ | Warren              | 13.0 |
| Buttigieg                          | 6.9 ↓  | Klobuchar           | 9.0 ↑  | Klobuchar           | 7.0  |
| Yang                               | 4.6 ↓  | Yang                | 3.4 ↑  | Gabbard             | 4.8  |
| <b>Biden +5.4</b>                  |        | <b>Sanders +4.2</b> |        | <b>Sanders +8.0</b> |      |
| Nevada                             |        | South Carolina      |        | Betting Odds        |      |
| Biden                              | 25.0   | Biden               | 32.0   | Sanders             | 38.1 |
| Sanders                            | 19.3   | Sanders             | 15.0   | Biden               | 35.0 |
| Warren                             | 14.7   | Warren              | 14.0   | Bloomberg           | 14.8 |
| Buttigieg                          | 7.7    | Steyer              | 8.3    | Warren              | 8.9  |
| Steyer                             | 7.3    | Buttigieg           | 6.3    | Buttigieg           | 5.9  |
| <b>Biden +5.7</b>                  |        | <b>Biden +17.0</b>  |        | <b>Sanders +3.2</b> |      |

Biden have had Iowa pretty much to themselves this past week. Buttigieg had more than a dozen town halls, beginning with a Fox News event last Sunday night. He is targeting independent moderates and disaffected Republicans. He's got nine GOTV events scheduled through Sunday.

Dogging Mayor Pete's campaign is his standing with African-American voters. While they represent a tiny sliver of expected caucus participants in Iowa, it goes to his electability arguments against President Trump. He spent \$2 million in South Carolina on radio and TV ads touting his inclusive nature, but a recent Fox News Poll found just 2% of South Carolina black voters are backing him. A national Quinnipiac University poll published on Tuesday found Buttigieg at 0% support among black primary voters.

"If he does well in Iowa, I don't see [Buttigieg] as dead on arrival here, but he's certainly on life support in South Carolina," State Rep. Gilda Cobb-Hunter, an influential state lawmaker who has not endorsed in the 2020 primary, told Politico.

**A New York Times** story on Tuesday featured minority staffers on his campaign complaining about their lack of inclusion. "That may not be something that's typical or has happened a lot before in presidential campaigns, to try to empower staffers at all levels to be able to speak to their concerns and experiences, to raise concerns and to have these tough conversations," Buttigieg told reporters after a campaign stop in Ottumwa, Iowa. "And they are tough."

On Wednesday, Buttigieg announced his campaign co-chairs, including U.S. Reps. Anthony G. Brown, Don Beyer, and Annie Kuster, civil rights leader Lamell McMorris, Dayton Mayor Nan Whaley, and South Bend Councilwoman Sharon McBride. Rep. Brown, McMorris and McBride are African-American.

"I am thrilled to stand shoulder to shoulder with these inspiring leaders who reflect the boldness and strength of our country," said Buttigieg. "I admire all that they have done to bridge the gap between Americans of both parties in order to tackle the urgent issues that have grown worse under this president."

Councilwoman McBride said, "I have seen on the campaign trail that many Americans are still getting to know Pete, and I've been honored to share with others what I know to be true about him from our work together in South Bend."

"As I've been traveling the country with Pete, I've seen firsthand the hunger Americans have for a president



**South Bend Councilwoman Sharon McBride and Rep. Anthony Brown were named co-chairs of Pete Buttigieg's presidential campaign on Wednesday.**

who can bring Americans together so that we heal our divides and restore decency to our nation's highest office," said Rep. Brown.

"When I met Pete in Atlanta, I found him to be not only brilliant but also a genuine, authentic leader who values honesty and transparency and who works to build consensus," said McMorris. "America needs a leader who can rally citizens to unite and tackle our mounting challenges."

Pete has proven himself to be the leader that we need with the plan we need. His comprehensive Douglass Plan for Black America will further extend political freedom, economic parity, and justice to more Americans in our country."

Buttigieg returned to the U.S. Conference of Mayors a week ago. It was where he kicked off his campaign exploratory committee one year ago. "It was exactly a year ago on this day and in this place that we first launched this exploratory committee for president that became my campaign," he said. "And at that time, an awful lot of people thought the idea of putting a mayor in the White House seemed improbable. We had a staff of four and a little office back home smaller than the stage area where I'm standing. I had no big email list, no senatorial PAC. I had a personal fortune amounting to literally thousands of dollars and a name that didn't exactly roll off the tongue. But what we had was this idea that our country would be better off if Washington started to look a little more like our best run cities and towns before the reverse started to happen."

**As for his closing electability** argument, Buttigieg said at the Fox News town hall, "The biggest risk that we could take right now would be to try to go up against this president with the same old playbook that we've been relying on that helps explain how we got here in the first place. I think it's time for something completely different. Look, I'll admit if what you're looking for is the most years spent in Washington, you've got a clear choice and it's not going to be me, but I would also argue that the kind of experience you have governing on the ground in a city of any size is the kind of experience we need a little more of in Washington, because we don't have the luxury of alternative facts."

On CBS "Face The Nation" last Sunday, Buttigieg was asked to describe a successful Iowa outcome. "I'm

not going to set a goalpost, but clearly it's important for us to do well here in Iowa because this is our first opportunity to actually show versus tell about our ability to earn the support of voters," Buttigieg responded. "And we've got a fantastic organization here on the ground, more than 100 organizers filling those slots for precinct captains and the organization that's really going to move people to the caucuses. Now, what I think is all different this year is a lot of folks have really been waiting until these last few days to make their decision. And so that creates the opportunity for us one more time to talk about the kind of president I seek to be, what it would mean to have a president focused on unifying the country, but also why my approach is the best to win and to defeat Donald Trump."



ties that made a young senator named Barack Obama stand out to Iowans more than a decade ago. "This campaign is calling out to Democrats, calling out to independents, and 'future former Republicans,' he said, making a direct pitch to conservative voters that his campaign was hoping would attend.

Osceola, which is in Clarke County, voted for Barack Obama in the 2008 presidential election by 49.8%, then flipped to Donald Trump in the 2016 contest by a much larger margin of 60.2%. Buttigieg's campaign has employed a strategy in the final weeks leading to the caucus to purposefully send

the candidate to these Obama-to-Trump counties in an attempt to woo conservatives to their side.

Politico reports today: The play is to get Buttigieg in front of as many Iowans as possible, taking advantage of an impeachment-free schedule. He's focusing on rural areas, where other candidates won't have time or resources to get to. What's most interesting about his events is the Q-and-A time with voters: He often takes five to seven questions from the crowd or pulled from a fishbowl of pre-written queries. Earlier this week, several challenged his lack of support among black voters — a sign that his weakness in South Carolina is seeping into his ground game in Iowa. ❖

### Focus on Obama to Trump counties

As he walked out to a crowd of over a hundred people at a fairground venue in Osceola, Iowa on Tuesday afternoon, Buttigieg told the crowd that he spent New Years in the small town when he worked as an Obama staffer in 2008 ([Vice News](#)). Several voters that VICE News spoke with at his events in Osceola and Indianola cited Buttigieg's "fresh face" and "energy" as his appeal, quali-



# The Crossroads Report

## Linking You to the New Center of Indiana Media

POLITICS - ELECTIONS  
AG NEWS - ECONOMY  
SPORTS - OPINION

# Henderson begins TV; Hale posts \$269k

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS — Two significant milestones in the 5th CD race were passed this week. Republican Beth Henderson became the first candidate to air TV and radio ads. On the Democratic side, Christina Hale reached a record \$600,000 after she posted \$269,000 on her fourth quarter FEC report. The former legislator has nearly \$420,000 in cash-on-hand.



That prompted the DCCC to add her to its Red-to-Blue program. DCCC Chairwoman Cheri Bustos said, "A lifelong Hoosier, Christina Hale exemplifies the sacrifice, hustle and drive needed to deliver on behalf of Indiana families. Her reputation as a consensus builder in the Indiana Statehouse means every bill she passed earned bipartisan support. She has worked tirelessly to champion the needs and concerns of her constituents, and she'll bring that same can-do attitude to Congress."

Bustos added, "Because of the strength of Democratic candidates running in 2020 we are on path to protect and expand the most diverse House majority in American history. These Red-to-Blue candidates are veterans, farmers, doctors, public servants and advocates who are committed to serving their communities and ensuring they will finally have a voice in Congress."

Dee Thornton, the 2018 Democratic nominee, said this morning, "I am deeply disappointed to learn that the DCCC has decided to play favorites and back a candidate before voters have been given the opportunity to make their voices heard in the primary on May 5, 2020. The DCCC's decision to choose a specific candidate before the voters have had their say appears to be motivated by an age-old Washington tradition: Money. No longer does it matter how keen

an understanding of the issues a candidate possesses, but rather how many greenbacks you can dangle in front of the Washington elite."

Hale also picked up the endorsement of the Latino Victory Fund, with Executive Director Mayra Macías saying, "Latino Victory is beyond thrilled to endorse Christina Hale for Congress. Hale has the drive and vision that we need from our elected officials."

Hale's money haul was part of a huge advantage Democrats have over Republicans. House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy (R-Calif.) in a closed-door meeting with his conference on Tuesday admonished Republicans for insufficient fundraising, telling the members, "We're getting our ass kicked." The DCCC raised \$125 million in 2019 according to Bustos, while the NRCC raised \$85 million last year.

Henderson's emergence as the first on TV should attract national attention. "We're very excited to be the first candidate up on the air, on TV as well as radio," Henderson told Howey Politics Indiana on Wednesday. "What's important for me is name recognition. Running as an outsider it's important for me to get my name out there so people know who I am. We really wanted to get a jump start on that."

Henderson, whose husband Terry ran for U.S. Senate in 2018, has made what her campaign is calling a "five figure buy" spread out on cable and broadcast TV, as well



5th CD Republican candidate Beth Henderson (left) in her first of cycle TV ad; and Democrat Christina Hale, who was named to the DCCC's red to blue program.

as radio. The Atlanta businesswoman, mother and nurse says in the ad, "Indiana's 5th District is an amazing place to raise a family, start a business and has been our home for 30 years." She describes herself as a "lifelong conservative," political outsider and nurse. She adds, "I've always been in the business of caring for people, hard work, and fiscal accountability and limited government." Shown with her Belgian draft horses, she adds, "If I can handle these

giants, I can certainly rein in socialism in D.C.”

It comes as Indiana Treasurer Kelly Mitchell officially launched her campaign in Noblesville Wednesday evening, and former state senator Mike Delph passed on the race. The current filed GOP field includes Kent Abernathy, Andrew Bales, Rev. Micah Beckwith, Allen R. Davidson, Matthew Hook, Danny Niederberger, Mark Small and Russell H. Stwalley. State Sen. Victoria Spartz is considering a run.



Beckwith is the only candidate who has made a year-end FEC filing as of HPI's deadline on Wednesday. The Noblesville pastor has received donations from former congressmen Marlin Stutzman and Jack Hiler and has reported \$95,432 in contributions with an ending \$37,650 cash-on-hand.

Citing family needs, Delph took himself out of contention on Tuesday. "After much prayer and reflection in consultation with my family, it is clear to me that I need to stay close to home here in Indiana," Delph said. "Mom needs me. My daughters need me. My wife needs me. I can't be there for them if I am traveling every week to Washington, DC."

Delph's passing on the race may significantly clear the social conservative lane for Beckwith.

Henderson intends to make her career in nursing and occupational health care the cornerstone of her campaign. She has the ability to self-fund, and her campaign said she will do that along with a mix of traditional funding. "My interest is health care, but also small business," Henderson said. "Being a nurse, nursing is the No. 1 most trusted profession. Congress is the least. We need to get trust, caring and integrity back because it's lacking now."

**Congress**

**2nd CD: Walorski files**

U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski filed last week and giving her a boost of confidence in her ability to secure her third-term in Washington, she believes, will be the impeachment effort by congressional Democrats. "It's a swing district that I run in, but I'm very grateful even though the left is swinging out of control at the moment," Walorski said. "It's a completely partisan battle with all this impeachment stuff. I think we are in a great position to take the House back. When you look at our communities and our country, I think there are many ways to make them stronger," she said. "A lot of it is wrapped up in what we've been able to do the last couple years."

**LGBTQ Fund endorses Hackett**

LGBTQ Victory Fund, the only national organization dedicated to electing LGBTQ people to public office, endorsed Pat Hackett's campaign for Congress. The endorsement signals Victory Fund's confidence that Hackett is well-positioned to be a strong voice for equality once elected (Howey Politics Indiana). Hackett would be the only openly LGBTQ member of Congress from Indiana if she wins her race. "LGBTQ Victory Fund is pleased to endorse Pat Hackett for Congress," said Mayor Annise Parker, president & CEO of LGBTQ Victory Fund. "Pat's commitment to dignity and justice for all and policies that address the real concerns of constituents make her the best candidate to represent Indiana's 2nd District. When she wins in November, Pat will become a vital LGBTQ voice for Hoosiers and all Americans."

**6th CD: Rep. Pence files**

U.S. Rep. Greg Pence has filed for reelection. "Today, I filed paperwork declaring my candidacy to serve another term as congressman for Indiana's 6th Congressional District," said the freshman Republican. With your support in 2018, I ran a campaign based on our shared Hoosier values and an unwavering commitment to stand alongside President Trump to protect American farmers and manufacturers; to grow our economy and create jobs and opportunity for every Hoosier right here in the 6th District. Despite the do-nothing Democrat majority in the United States House of Representatives, I am proud of all President Trump and Republicans have accomplished."

**General Assembly**

**HD6: Bauer won't seek 26th term**

State Rep. B. Patrick Bauer, the longest serving member of the Indiana House of Representatives and one of the country's longest serving state legislators, announced on Monday he will not run for another term. Bauer has spent 50 years in the Indiana General Assembly, serving six years as speaker of the House, four years as minority leader and 12 years as chair of the House Ways and Means Committee. "It has been an honor to serve the people of St. Joseph County in the state legislature," Bauer said. "What I will clearly miss the most is the interaction with all of the local residents who have been so kind and helpful through the years. By working together, I truly believe we have made St. Joseph County, and Indiana, a better place to live." Bauer was House speaker for six years between 2002 and 2010 but was the House minority leader when Democrats refused to take the floor on a key deadline day at mid-session in 2005, killing more than



100 bills. Gov. Mitch Daniels called Bauer a “throwback politician” whose party members had “car bombed” the legislative process. Bauer led Democrats on a 2011 boycott to an Illinois motel, which blocked the “right-to-work” bill that year, but Republicans passed it the following year and Democrats suffered 2012 election losses

that have left them largely powerless in the House since then. Drew Duncan has announced his intention to run for Bauer’s seat in the Democratic primary.

### **HD92: Rep. Macer retiring**

After eight years of service to the west side of Indianapolis, State Rep. Karlee Macer (D-Speedway), will not be seeking reelection this year. “One of the greatest honors and privileges of my life has been to serve as state representative for House District 92,” said Macer. “When I first ran for office, our community was crying out for better infrastructure, economic development and a better quality of life for all Hoosiers. Together, we’ve worked hard to improve our neighborhoods and accomplish our shared goals to fight for families, veterans and workers alike, and though this work never ends, I’m proud of the steps forward we have taken. After much deliberation, reflection, and family input, I’ve decided it’s time to pass the torch to the next generation of leaders in our community to pick up these causes and champion them for our state,” said Macer. “While I will not be seeking reelection in 2020, my passion for service and heart for Hoosiers means that I won’t be far, and will continue to work hard for our communities around the state.”

### **Melton, Hatcher file for reelection**

The game of political musical chairs that began during State Sen. Eddie Melton’s brief campaign for Indiana governor has ended with the players hoping to end up right back where they began. On Tuesday, Melton filed for reelection to Senate District 3, as the Gary Democrat promised to do Jan. 6 when he ended his three-month bid for the state’s top job (Carden, NWI Times). “In my first term, we’ve been able to position Northwest Indiana for future growth and development,” Melton said. “We’ve also begun tackling some of the most pressing issues that impact our communities. The vision for 2020 is clear if we work together, because we are stronger together!” Melton’s decision to try to remain in the Senate, however, appears to have prompted state Rep. Ragen Hatcher, D-Gary, to reconsider her previously announced plans to run

for what would have been an open Senate seat if Melton had stayed in the governor’s race. She also reportedly considered running to represent Northwest Indiana in the U.S. House. Instead, Hatcher filed Tuesday to seek reelection as representative for Indiana House District 3, which includes Gary’s downtown and east side, Lake Station, New Chicago and Hobart. So far, Melton is facing Calumet Township Board President Darren Washington in the Democratic Senate primary. Hatcher will have to outpoll Jessica Renslow, an instructional designer and business strategist, to keep her House seat.

### **HD75: Martin arrested on DUI**

A Warrick County attorney was arrested around 12 a.m. Thursday by state police on DWI charges. According to Indiana State Police Sgt. Todd Ringle, a trooper saw a vehicle going 65mph in a 45mph zone on SR-66. After the driver, Charles Richard Martin, age 50, made an unsafe lane movement, he was pulled over (WFIE-TV). Martin had declared for the Republican nomination of HD75 last week. It is the open seat of retiring State Rep. Ron Bacon (Howey Politics Indiana). Once Martin was stopped at SR-261 and Peachwood Drive, ISP says the trooper determined he was intoxicated and he failed a field sobriety test. ISP says Martin, who is an attorney for the Warrick County-based law firm Martin & Martin, according to their website, refused to give a chemical blood test; the trooper then asked for and was granted a warrant for the blood test (Source: Warrick County Sheriff’s Office). ISP said Martin was then taken to the Warrick County Jail and charged with DWI and DWI - Endangerment. Results of Martin’s chemical blood test are pending and could take weeks to come back.

### **SD16: Rhoads to challenge Sen. Busch**

Republican Tom Rhoades, longtime Allen County resident and public servant, officially announced his candidacy for the SD16 seat held by State Sen. Justin Busch, who was selected via Republican caucus to fill the open seat after Senate President Pro Tem David Long resigned. Rhoades, an Allen County resident for over 30 years, brings experience in law enforcement, education, and healthcare to the race. “Allen County is a wonderful place to live and work,” said Rhoades. “I have been fortunate to have built a career serving this community and I look forward to continuing that service as the District 16 state senator representing local voices, values and concerns in Indianapolis.” Rhoades, who currently serves as the chief of police and corporate director of public safety and emergency management for Parkview Health, has nearly 30 years of law enforcement and public safety experience. Prior to his service at Parkview, Rhoades served as captain with the Fort Wayne Police Department, overseeing the creation of the Office of Professional Standards Unit and the Fort Wayne Police Academy. Rhoades also served as the public information officer for the department. ❖

# Shifting districts of former House speakers

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS — In 1986, HD37 became the epicenter of political change in Indiana when Democrat Marc Carmichael upset House Speaker J. Roberts Dailey with 59% of the vote. Since 1983, Dailey had blocked lottery referendum legislation and opposed a bill that would allow cross-county line banking.



A generation later, HD37 has yielded another speaker, this time State Rep. Todd Huston. He was designated as “speaker-elect” by acclamation during Organization Day last November and faces a rematch with Democrat Aimee

Cole Rivera.

An HPI analysis of modern speakerships has yielded this: That two of the five districts have gone from a reliable bastion of the speaker’s party to the other side of the spectrum.

HD37 has shifted to becoming a suburban district between Dailey and Huston. Former Republican Speaker Paul Mannweiler’s HD49 has shifted out of Indianapolis to northern Indiana, where State Rep. Christy Stutzman was elected in 2018 unopposed.

But two Southern Indiana districts belonging to former Speakers Michael K. Phillips and John Gregg have undergone polar shifts. In Phillips’ HD74, Republican State Rep. Lloyd Arnold carried it with 61% in 2014, with 59% in 2016, while State Rep. Steve Bartels was unopposed last cycle.



Speakers John Gregg with Paul Mannweiler (left) and Republican Speaker J. Roberts Dailey.

Speaker Gregg’s HD45 has become a reliably Republican district since 2014, when State Rep. Bruce Borders reclaimed it from Democrat Kreg Battles, who defeated Borders in 2012 when reapportionment placed the two incumbents in that district. Battles defeated Borders with 89 votes in 2012. Borders won it back two years later and in 2018, the former Jasonville mayor cruised to a landslide victory with 65% of the vote.

Phillips was upset by Sally Rideout Lambert during the 1994 GOP tidal wave, and future House Majority Leader Russ Stilwell reclaimed it two years later and held it until the 2010 political realignment. “The last time a Republican held my seat was decades ago,” Stilwell said of 1994 when Lambert upset Phillips. The same can be said for many of the other seats we lost in Southern Indiana as well,” Stilwell told HPI after the 2010 election. That would include Bob Bischoff, Paul Robertson, the Oxleys, Trent Van Haaften, Sandra Blanton and Dennis Avery.

**Democrats represented** 10 counties exclusively in 2008 that are now represented exclusively by Republicans: Harrison, Washington, Perry, Blackford, Crawford, Ohio, Orange, Posey, Putnam and Switzerland.

Former House Speaker B. Patrick Bauer, who announced on Tuesday he would not seek a 26th term ending a record 50 years in the House, ran unopposed in HD6, which is the only former Democrat speaker district to remain in that column.

The question now is whether current Speaker Brian Bosma’s HD88 and Huston’s HD37 can remain in the GOP column.

Bosma coasted to an 11,000 vote plurality in 2016, but defeated Democrat Poonam Gill 55.5% to 45.5% in 2018. It was the closest election he has faced. Polling from neighboring suburban Indiana Senate districts reveal a purple hue. President Trump is sideways with voters in

districts represented by Democrat State Sen. J.D. Ford and Jim Merritt.

With the 2020 election serving as a referendum on President Trump, it will be fascinating to see if these two speaker districts stay firmly in the GOP column, or whether they will become the new battlegrounds. ❖

# Holcomb signs surplus spending legislation

## Howey Politics Indiana

INDIANAPOLIS — Indiana Gov. Eric Holcomb has signed off on a plan for spending \$291 million in unexpected state tax revenue on college campus construction projects after legislative Republicans rebuffed Democratic attempts to direct at least some of that money toward school funding (AP). The Republican governor's office said he signed the bill Wednesday. Holcomb had first proposed in July the plan for using the extra money toward paying cash for several building projects that were part of the two-year state budget adopted in April, rather than borrowing money. By paying for the projects with cash instead of issuing debt, state officials estimate it could save the state more than \$130 million over 20 years. Holcomb said in a statement that the plan ensures the state remains "remains the fiscal envy of the nation by saving Hoosier taxpayers more than \$135 million in borrowing costs." Republicans have repeatedly defended the 2.5% per-year increase in school funding included in the current state budget. The measure, authored by House Ways & Means Chairman Tim Brown, provides cash funding for the following:

- \$73 million for the Purdue College of Veterinary Medicine teaching hospital;
- \$62 million for Indiana University for bicentennial projects;
- \$59.9 million for the Ball State University STEM and Health Professions facilities;
- \$30 million for the Ivy Tech Columbus main building replacement;
- \$18.4 million for renovation of Dreiser Hall at Indiana State University;
- \$48 million for the University of Southern Indiana Health Professions classroom renovation, and the rest to pay off some existing debt obligations.

## House passes hand held driving ban

The House has passed legislation that would bar all drivers from having their phones in their hands while driving (Erdody, [IBJ](#)). House Bill 1070 passed 86-10 on Wednesday. The two-page bill, authored by Rep. Holli Sullivan, R-Evansville, updates a current law passed in 2011 that requires all phones must be used hands-free while behind the wheel of a vehicle. "Simple enough, but very powerful," Sullivan said of her bill. The bill moves to the Senate for consideration. Under the current law, texting while driving is banned, but the law is almost unenforceable because there is no way to prove a text was being sent. The new legislation is part of Gov. Eric Holcomb's

agenda to prevent distracted driving. "When your hands and your eyes and your brain are all doing something other than steering a car, bad things tend to happen," Holcomb said.

## Fetal remains bill passes Senate panel

A Senate committee easily approved legislation Wednesday that requires medical facilities to develop policies for burying and cremating fetal remains (Smith, [Indiana Public Media](#)). The bill – which follows up on a 2016 anti-abortion law – is the only abortion-related measure advancing this session. Indiana law – upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court – says medical facilities must bury or cremate fetal remains. Bill author Sen. Liz Brown (R-Fort Wayne) stresses it doesn't. Rather, she says, it gives women options, particularly those who induce their abortion at home with medication. "Going back to the clinic and saying, 'I don't know how to do this, but you have a legal responsibility to do this,'" Brown says.

## What bills are still alive?

After proposing more than 100 education bills, lawmakers face a key legislative deadline next week (Lindsay, [Indiana Public Media](#)). House lawmakers proposed fewer education-focused bills than the Senate, but only about a dozen made it through to the session's next half.

**HB 1001:** Legislative leaders prioritized the so-called "hold harmless" bill to not penalize schools for a drop in student scores on the state's new ILEARN test. Both chambers have approved identical pieces of legislation on hold harmless, but either the Senate or House bill has to proceed through the opposite chamber before the governor signs it into law.

**HB 1002:** In what's being hailed as a massive win for the state's educators, House lawmakers unanimously approved a bill that would no longer require schools to include test scores as part of the teacher evaluation process. Schools still could decide to include test scores at the local level, but this bill removes language from Indiana law that requires test scores to "significantly" inform teacher accountability measures.

**HB 1003:** This bill, dubbed the "school freedom bill" by author Rep. Jack Jordan (R-Bremen), would let schools submit waivers to the Indiana State Board of Education, to work around curriculum or other related school laws if the schools prove it will benefit students. The bill received broad support, but some lawmakers and education advocates remain concerned about the possible legal questions that could come into play if schools propose waiving certain statutes.

**HB 1066:** This bill covers a lot of ground in the education arena. It would make foster children automatically qualify for the state's school choice program and require the Indiana State Department of Education to post more information about teacher workforce needs and permits. ❖



# Marijuana prohibition issue playing out across Indiana

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

NASHVILLE, Ind. – With neighboring states Illinois and Michigan legalizing recreational marijuana, and Indiana’s two most populous counties moving toward fines for mere possession as well as foregoing prosecution, Indiana Democrats are seeking to decriminalize while the Republican General Assembly is doubling down on prohibition.

A week ago, Democratic attorney general candidate and State Sen. Karen Tallian’s bill (SB 114) would reduce the penalty for the possession of less than one ounce of marijuana to an infraction for a first offense, which means an officer could simply give them a ticket. “No more jail time. We just don’t understand why the Republican legislature and the governor refuse to understand that that’s what Hoosiers want,” said Tallian.

An October 2016 WTHR/Howey Politics Poll found 73% of Hoosiers backing medicinal marijuana, while 58% of self-identified conservatives backed the concept.

Last October, Marion County Prosecutor Ryan Mears announced his department would no longer prosecute possession of an ounce of marijuana. In December, the Lake County Council endorsed an ordinance calling for possession fines of between \$50 and \$250. “I don’t want anybody to think we’re advocating for the legalization of marijuana. We’re not,” Lake County Council President Ted Bilski told the NWI Times. “We’re trying to be fiscally responsible. How do we not bog down our criminal justice system? How do we not overcrowd our jails?”

**According to the FBI** Uniform Crime Reporting Program, marijuana possession arrests increased in Indiana from 7,431 in 2014, to 7,802 in 2015 and 8,953 in 2016. The total arrests for sales and possession increased from 8,691 in 2014 to 10,143 in 2016.

State Sen. Mike Young, R-Indianapolis, is pushing back. He authored SB436, which would give embattled Attorney General Curtis Hill the option of prosecuting marijuana possession cases. The bill would “grant the attorney general concurrent jurisdiction to prosecute certain crimes if the prosecuting attorney refuses as a matter of policy to prosecute those crimes.” It would establish “a procedure for the attorney general to assume jurisdiction, and requires the county to reimburse the attorney general for expenses incurred in prosecuting crimes in the county.”

It cleared the Senate committee by a 6-3 vote this week. “I know of (prosecutors) that would never file the death penalty because they don’t believe in it,” said David Powell, formerly with the Indiana Prosecutors Council said. “So, should they be removed from office?”

Politico reported that more than 40 U.S. states could allow some form of legal marijuana by the end of 2020, including deep red Mississippi and South Dakota. “We’re cautiously optimistic that we can win more marijuana reform ballot initiatives on one Election Day than on any previous Election Day,” said Matthew Schweich, deputy director of the Marijuana Policy Project.

**Tallian said at a** Statehouse press conference a week ago that 12 states and the District of Columbia are fully legal, and 27 states have no criminal penalties for possession. “Ohio did that in 1975 and the last time I looked Ohio does not have a history of reefer madness.

But, Indiana clearly lags behind and we are now one of only 14 states that allows only CBD oil.”

Gov. Holcomb is clearly in the prohibition camp, telling Howey Politics Indiana last summer he is against decriminalization and would only consider medicinal marijuana if the federal government removed it as a Schedule 1 drug. “I’ve not been persuaded by that argument that by decriminalizing it will make the overarching public problem go away. I think we’re sending a mixed message.”

**When HPI** asked him if marijuana was properly designated as a “Schedule 1” drug under the Uniform Narcotics Act of 1932, placing it along side heroin and morphine, Holcomb deflected. “Not to be a blockhead about it, but I’ve shared this: With federal leadership, that it is illegal,” Holcomb said. “I have a hard time picking and choosing what laws to obey. I’ve taken a couple of oaths in life at upholding the law. Just because others are choosing not to, doesn’t make it right for me not to. Even as attractive financially as it might be, (that) doesn’t make it right. The hurdle we have to get over is there is very little American medical research on this drug.”

That was true in the 1930s when Harry J. Anslinger headed the Federal Bureau of Narcotics. Anslinger claimed, without any scientific research, that marijuana caused people to commit violent crimes and become overtly sexual. When the Marihuana Tax Act of 1937 was passed, the American Medical Association opposed, saying it inhibited prescribing physicians.

Democratic gubernatorial candidate Dr. Woody Myers told HPI in August, “The state does need to explore legalization for medical purposes and decriminalization, making it far less an onerous crime than it is today.” A second Democratic candidate, Josh Owens, is for legalization.

❖



# Walorski will be tough to beat in 2020

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND — While almost all of the attention around here in this election year has focused on the presidential race, due to what's at stake and also because of the presidential bid by South Bend's Pete Buttigieg, another race soon will compete for voter interest.



That's the race for Congress in Indiana's sprawling, 10-county 2nd Congressional District. Congresswoman Jackie Walorski, the Republican incumbent, filed last week for a fifth term. She is likely this time to be opposed by a woman in the general election in November.

Two women, both attorneys from St. Joseph County, largest county in the district and the only county where

Walorski trailed in 2018, have announced bids for the Democratic congressional nomination. Both have been organizing and raising funds. Attention will focus on them in the Democratic primary in May and perhaps on some other contender emerging as a serious challenger.

But it looks now that the Democratic race will be between:

Pat Hackett, South Bend attorney who also is an adjunct professor at the University of Notre Dame Law School. Hackett sought the Democratic nomination in 2018 but finished second to nominee Mel Hall in a race that had three serious contenders.

**Ellen Marks**, a South Bend resident who is a law partner in the corporate and finance departments of a large national firm, Latham & Watkins. To catch up in organizing as a new candidate, Marks loaned her campaign over \$34,000.

Neither of these women nor any other possible Democratic nominee will have much of a chance to defeat Walorski without help at the highest level. From God? Well, some would say it would take a miracle for a Democrat to defeat Walorski in the

Republican-flavored district where she won in nine of the 10 counties in 2018.

But we're talking politics, not theology, and help needed from "the highest level" would have to come from the president. Donald Trump is the only one who could drag Walorski down to a level where a strong Democratic challenger would have a chance to win. And Trump, who won Indiana by nearly 20% in 2016, is shown in polls still to have solid Republican support, an indication that he again will carry a Republican state like Indiana.

And Walorski said in filing for reelection that she is "committed to working with President Trump to build on our nation's economic momentum" and lamented, "Politicians in Washington are trying to divide the country with a radical agenda and a partisan impeachment charade."

**Sounds like a winning** message now in the 2nd as Trump heads toward easy impeachment acquittal in the Senate. With strange happenings seemingly every day in politics, however, it's difficult to predict the political climate next November.

Brian Howey recently wrote in The Tribune of the top three in the Howey Politics Indiana Power 50 List: Vice President Mike Pence, Gov. Eric Holcomb and Buttigieg. No. 31 on the list is Walorski, two places ahead of Purdue President Mitch Daniels.

Howey says of Walorski: "She has put a Republican hammerlock on the 2nd CD, a district that used to be consistently competitive."

After losing her first congressional race in 2010 and winning narrowly in 2012, Walorski has won big in '14, '16 and '18. She has added to governmental credentials with a post on the powerful House Ways and Means Committee. She has turned away from harsh political rhetoric and stresses joining in bipartisan sponsorship of legislation.

A contest for the Democratic nomination could

be good for the winner, although probably neither Hackett nor Marks looks at it that way now. Still, a primary that attracts attention can enable the winner to establish more widespread name recognition and develop a message to appeal to more voters in a district like Indiana's 2nd. ❖



**Jack Colwell is a columnist for The Tribune. Write to him in care of The Tribune or by email at jcolwell@comcast.net.**

# Leadership matters

By **LEE HAMILTON**

BLOOMINGTON — At the time of the American Revolution, the future United States was a small, colonial backwater on the world stage. There were an estimated 2-3 million people living here. Yet it somehow produced an array of talented, creative thinkers and politicians —



Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Madison, Hamilton, Franklin, and others — who forged this republic we still inhabit.

It's not just that they began the effort of crafting a new nation. They also designed it: The multiple sources of power, the delineation into federal, state, and local levels, and the idea that there ought to be a balance among legislative, executive, and judicial equals. We've never really

matched the convergence of political creativity and insight produced by that era.

To be sure, there are plenty of what-ifs and caveats. The leaders of that time failed to confront and find a way past the stain of slavery. Their blind spot when it came to the treatment of Indians was just as troubling. And one of the great what-ifs of American history is what this country would have looked like had women been able to hold and exercise political power: What if Abigail Adams, Phyllis Wheatley, Mercy Otis Warren, and Elizabeth Willing Powel — the Philadelphia salon hostess who brought together and often advised the men whose names we all know — had been more than wise counsel?

**Nonetheless, when** I think of the history of political leadership in this country, I'm struck by how the founders still stand out after almost two-and-a-half centuries. So I've been going back to read up on them, and as I do, another thing strikes me: The qualities of leadership I think I discern in their biographies have never really gone out of style. At least, I see reflections of them in my experience of memorable political leaders in our time.

For one thing, above all else great leaders of democracies seek to build a consensus. They're inclusive. They don't try to shut people out of the process. They're good listeners, and not especially interested in coming into a room and trying to dominate it

or impress everybody. They ask a lot of questions. They're quick to grasp the consequences of problems that have been left unaddressed, and to try to think through the impact of what they're proposing.

For the most part, they're articulate; describing problems understandably and approachably is a key part of leadership, as is persuading others that you're right. They usually think in terms of practical options: What's the problem, what are the facts, what options do we have for dealing with the problem?

Most of them, though by no means all, know how to deal with people. And many of our greatest leaders have had a kind of energy that most of us can only admire, the sort of drive, perseverance, and wide-ranging breadth of effort that people like John Adams displayed. Politics is not a game for low-energy people.

**Especially because leaders** are responsible for the performance of the groups they lead. They set the agenda, they identify the problems and issues to be tackled, the priorities for action, and the style: Will it be an inclusive or exclusive effort? Will it be a pure exercise in wielding power or focused on building broad support by identifying the problems and the resources to deal with them, and by forging common ground?

It's both a paradox and a gift of our system that we have a form of government that encourages ordinary people to solve the problems of their communities, states, and the nation as a whole, and yet effective leadership is vital. It mattered at our founding, and it's mattered at every step of the way. Representative democracy is not a spectator sport; we all have to be involved. Yet to get anything done, to harness the collective energy and wisdom of ordinary Americans, we need leaders who possess at least some of the qualities and conscious public-spirit- edness of our founders.

I don't know if we'll ever produce another generation of leaders like our founding generation. What I do know, however, is that every time we enter a voting booth, we have the opportunity to try.



**Lee Hamilton is a Senior Advisor for the Indiana University Center on Representative Government Public and Environmental Affairs. He was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives for 34 years.**

**ANTELOPE CLUB**

615 N. DELAWARE ST. - DOWNTOWN INDY  
antelopeclub@hotmail.com



>> Lunch & dinner 6 days a week

>> Cigar lounge

>> Beautiful view of Downtown from our 2nd floor patio

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

# Pity thy legislator

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS — Are you distressed by the burdens borne by your state representative and state senator? They slave away meeting, debating, and cajoling armies of intent lobbyists and go-go do-gooders. Yes, persuading all that they stand with all, support all truths, and cast unambiguous votes.



The most difficult task of our legislators is suffering the bills offered by other Hoosier legislators. In this year's short session, each legislator is limited in the number of bills s/he can submit, and the totals are astounding. In the House the limit is five; with 100 members you can calculate the number of bills afflicting that nice person you elected.

Among the more egregious bills now before the Indiana General Assembly is one (House Bill1414) to keep coal-fired generating plants from being shut down by the utilities that own them. It takes bravery to introduce such a backward bill. Imagine our cities if we had similar bills in the past forbidding substitution of natural gas for coal to heat your home.

Then there is Senate Bill199 which would have state agencies pay the legal expenses of firms cited for violations "if the court finds that the civil action was filed without substantial justification." This is an undisguised shot across the bow of regulatory agencies. It puts into the hands of business-biased judges a tool to discourage state agencies from bringing charges against violators unless the agencies have exceptional, rock-solid evidence.

Some bills address obvious actions, with only a failure to go far enough. SB369 allows counties to institute a small income tax to support public transit. It does not encourage such systems to cross county lines in all counties or to tax across those lines.

**Two other such bills are** HB1265 and SB214, which mandate schools in Lake County to test for lead in drinking water. Why just Lake County? Will the state pay for these tests?

We also have dueling bills. SB325 would affirm the State Supreme Court's ruling that Lake Michigan beaches are public property open to all. HB1031 seeks to privatize the beaches, if property owners can produce deeds that extend property rights to low water mark on the beach.

Some good bills fade away: SB63 would establish a state forestry commission to give direction and transparency to the operation and management of Indiana's state forests.

Finally, bad bills cling to life: SB131 required public and charter schools to hang a poster in every classroom affirming "In God We Trust." This continues a violation

of the 1st Amendment's separation of state and church. Although amended to permit such a poster, this bill still encourages inappropriate behavior by school administrators pandering to uninformed popular opinion.

Your comments to your legislators can help pass or defeat these bills. What's stopping you from speaking up?



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

# The college wage premium and our slow recovery

By **MICHAEL HICKS**

MUNCIE — For the past several decades, the only significant wage growth in the United States has accrued to college graduates. Indeed, since I entered high school in the late 1970s, the college wage premium doubled from 40% to 80%. By comparison the wage premium for college attendees who didn't graduate, or held only an associate's degree, also doubled from 5% to 10%.



Over the same four decades, wages for workers who hadn't attended college dropped by an average of 12.3%. But this isn't just a matter of low-wage, low-skilled workers. Among the best-paid 10% of non-college workers, wages declined by 9.7% over the past 40 years. Of course,

I adjust for inflation.

At first blush, this would seem to be a puzzle because the share of college-educated workers has grown steadily for a century. Yet, wages continue to rise for more educated workers, and remain stagnant for less well-educated workers. The only plausible explanation is that firms seek better educated workers, and are paying an ever-increasing premium for their services.

**It is a widely held belief** that many college graduates are under-employed, working at jobs that really don't require a college degree. If that were true, wages would be falling for college graduates. In fact, they continue to rise.

A very recent study by economists Peter Blair and David Deming examined tens of millions of 'help wanted'

advertisements from just before the Great Recession through 2019. They found the share of openings requiring a bachelor's degree or higher ballooned from 23 to 37% over that time period. In the fastest growing urban places, half of all job advertisements are for college grads.

**This means that in the** wake of the Great Recession there are more job openings for college grads than there are available graduates. The opposite is true for those without a college degree. That is why more than three out of every four new jobs created since 2007 went to college graduates. Our nation's businesses have an excess demand for four-year-college graduates, but there is an excess supply of everyone else.

This is not a new phenomenon, and should surprise no serious observer of labor markets over the past several decades. It is part of a trend that is well over a century and a half old, which shows absolutely no signs of decline. If anything is true, it is that the skill demands for new jobs are rising faster than many educational systems can supply them. And by skill demands, I mean specifically those skills taught in four-year colleges and universities.

For all the anecdotal claims by leaders of two-year colleges and specialized workforce training, the actual labor market outcomes are clear. There is overwhelming evidence that we have far too few kids heading to four-year colleges, and far too many heading to workforce development and other job-focused training.

I repeat these themes often in my columns because it is such a critical problem in Indiana. For several years, Indiana has retreated from its focus on college preparation in schools. This was done with the belief that additional vocational focus would help kids who did not go

to college. At the same time, funding for Indiana's public universities declined, while per student funding for K-12 stagnated.

The group most damaged by this policy of diminished aspirations are the very workers the policies were designed to help. In a world with shrinking demand for workers without a college degree, Indiana actually focused on increasing the supply of them. It is fair to say that in the race for improved human capital, Indiana wasted the longest economic expansion in U.S. history. The consequences are now before us. Despite steady growth of traditionally well-paying manufacturing jobs since 2009, wages in Indiana grew 40% slower than the nation as a whole.

**Compared to other Americans**, this has been a tough decade. Our relative wages are lower, the educational attainment of our workforce is worse, more of our workers are clustered in occupations at risk of automation or trade-related disruption, and fewer kids pursue four-year degrees.

Not all our economic problems can be traced directly to education and workforce policy, and Indiana has many strengths that should result in faster economic growth. Maybe the best way to think about our problems is simply that when it comes to economic growth, a strong educational environment matters more than everything else combined.. ❖

**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.**

## Sanders has a real chance at nomination

By RHODES COOK

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. – Bernie Sanders begins his second bid for the Democratic presidential nomination in possession of something he never attained in 2016: A competitive chance of winning.

Sanders' first try four years ago was respectable. Facing a top-heavy favorite in Hillary Rodham Clinton, he won 22 states -- 12 caucuses and 10 primaries, among them the battleground

states of Michigan and Wisconsin. He drew 43% of the nationwide Democratic primary vote, which represented more than 13 million voters. As a result, he posted the highest primary vote total in the nation's history for any candidate not named Obama, Clinton, or Trump.



Yet in 2016, Sanders never had a realistic chance of winning the party's nomination. Two basic stumbling blocks stood in his way: superdelegates and the South. The former, which comprised 15% of the convention delegates, went virtually en masse for Clinton, as she was a part of the Democratic establishment in a way that Sanders never was or could be. And with Clinton's firm grip on the minority vote, the Vermont senator was never able to penetrate the South. He lost 12 of 13 primaries across the region (all save Oklahoma), polling barely one third of its aggregate primary vote in the process.

**Sanders' problem garnering** the votes of African Americans and Hispanics extended to other regions of the country as well, helping Clinton to dominate the vote in many of the nation's leading urban centers and their suburbs. The result: In the 10 states with 15 or more electoral votes, Sanders could carry the primary in only one, and that, Michigan, was by less than 20,000 votes out of 1.2 million cast.

Basically, the heart of Sanders' coalition in 2016 was academic centers and a significant swath of rural

America. The latter was an unlikely source of votes for a self-described “democratic socialist.” Antipathy to Clinton was no doubt a major reason for his strong rural vote. So were his full-voiced attacks on what he saw as an insensitive political and economic elite. And in spite of his Bronx accent, his base in rural Vermont gave him a connection to primary voters in smaller states that Clinton could not match.

**Of the 10** primaries that Sanders won, there were three types: those with a progressive pedigree (such as Oregon, Vermont, and Wisconsin); those that were New England neighbors of Vermont (New Hampshire and Rhode Island); and a mixed band of others (from Michigan and Montana to the unlikely trio of Indiana, Oklahoma, and West Virginia). Sanders also had close losses of two percentage points or less in the Iowa caucuses and primaries in Illinois, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Missouri, and South Dakota. He ran particularly well in states where independents were allowed to vote in the Democratic primary.

Sanders’ strength in rural areas was evident in the number of counties he carried in a variety of primary states outside the South. In Wisconsin, he won 71 of 72, losing only Milwaukee County to Clinton. In Oregon, he swept 35 of 36, losing only one small county to Clinton by a vote of 101 to 100. In Oklahoma, Sanders carried 75 of 77 counties. And in Michigan, he took all but 10 of the state’s 83 counties.

**His victory in the Wolverine State** was a microcosm of his strengths and weaknesses in 2016. Clinton dominated the Detroit metro area, winning Wayne County, which includes the city of Detroit, by 60,000 votes. She also carried the city’s two major suburban counties, Oakland and Macomb, the latter the fabled home of blue-collar “Reagan Democrats.” Outside the Detroit area, Clinton picked off Genesee County, which includes Flint, an industrial outpost that is the birthplace of filmmaker and progressive activist Michael Moore (a Sanders backer). But Sanders swept most everywhere else in Michigan, including the county of Washtenaw, which includes the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor and nearby Eastern Michigan University in Ypsilanti.

To be sure, the 2020 Democratic nominating race has a different complexion to it than that of four years ago. Then, Sanders was engaged in a one-on-one fight with Clinton where he needed a majority of the vote in primary and caucus states to prevail.



This time, that will not be the case, at least in the early voting. Pluralities will do, as the Democrats have a far wider field of candidates, including two billionaires in Michael Bloomberg and Tom Steyer, whose wealth gives them staying power. At this point, it would be no surprise if the wide field of Democratic candidates persisted well into the glut of March primaries. Sanders’ ardent group of supporters, augmented by his ability to raise impressive sums of money, should keep him as a major player in the Democratic race provided he does not unexpectedly tank in Iowa and New Hampshire.

Still, to win the Democratic nomination in 2020, Sanders will ultimately need to be more than the Democratic champion of academe and the rural countryside. Maybe not at the start, but eventually, he will need to show broader vote-getting ability than he did in 2016. That includes breakthroughs in the cities

and the suburbs, both critical to Democratic success in the general election, and blue-collar jurisdictions with an industrial heritage such as Flint.

**This year’s Democratic** race could be profoundly affected by rules changes instituted by the party for 2020. Probably the most significant redefines the controversial role of superdelegates, which are party and elected officials given automatic delegate status by virtue of their position. Superdelegates are free to vote for the candidate of their choice regardless of the result of their state’s primary or caucus.

In 2016, they were crucial to the nomination of Clinton: She would have won without them, but their backing reinforced her edge. This time they will have no vote at all on the first ballot unless there is already a clear-cut winner going into the convention. It is a change that should work to Sanders’ advantage.

But another rules change may not. It encourages states to select their delegates through higher turnout primaries rather than comparatively low turnout caucuses. The latter are a venue that rewards passion, and Sanders’ enthusiastic supporters gave him victories in 12 of the 14 caucus states in 2016, often by lopsided margins. Iowa and Nevada will hold caucuses in 2020, but there will be few other states using the caucus process.

New rules and a new field of candidates can make for a changing coalition for a second-time candidate such as Sanders. In the 2008 Democratic primaries, for instance, Clinton lost the African-American vote to Barack Obama. In 2016, she dominated it against Sanders. This time, it is Sanders’ turn to see if he can expand his coalition from last time. To put himself on the road to the White House in 2020, he will need to. ❖

**Charlie Cook, Cook Political Report:** Gazing into a crystal ball for clues into the 2020 Democratic presidential nomination contest would likely reveal an exceedingly murky picture. To begin with, is it difficult to predict what will happen in the Feb. 3 Iowa caucus and the Feb. 11 New Hampshire primary. We know that every contested nomination since 1972 has gone to a candidate that finished first, second, or third place in Iowa, then either first or second in New Hampshire. We also know that the last four Democratic nominations have gone to the winner of the Iowa caucus. Theoretically at least, that means in the next three weeks, the race should be down to two viable candidates. But considering that four Democrats have claimed first place in an Iowa poll in the last four weeks, and the same four have each been in first place in New Hampshire over the last four months, maybe it's time to throw out those traditional yardsticks. Using the RealClearPolitics poll average of recent Iowa polling, the gap between Joe Biden's first-place showing of 21 percent and Pete Buttigieg's fourth-place tally of 16.3 percent is just 4.7 percentage points. (Sens. Bernie Sanders, with 17.3 percent, and Elizabeth Warren at 16.7 percent, are in between.) Using the gold-standard Des Moines Register/CNN poll conducted by Ann Selzer, Sanders actually sits in first place with 20 percent, followed by Warren at 17 percent, Buttigieg at 16 percent, and Biden fourth with 15 percent—a 5-point spread between the four.

In New Hampshire, the RCP spread between first-place Sanders's 21.6 percent and fourth-place Warren's 14 percent is a somewhat wider 7.6 percentage points, with Biden in second with 17.6 percent and Buttigieg in third with 14.8 percent. There is no gold-standard poll in the Granite State, but Sanders has outpaced the field in three of the five polls conducted this year, with Biden and Buttigieg each coming out on top in another. Compounding all of this uncertainty is that with the states using proportional representation on the Democratic side (Republicans allow winner-take-all contests), we may see very little difference in the delegate haul of top-four candidates coming out of these first two states. In other words, a muddle. The likelihood of a candidate coming out of these two with a lot of momentum is not high.

Now let's factor in two intangibles. Polling very clearly shows that electability is a very big factor in a majority of Democratic voters' decision-making process this year, a byproduct of the level of loathing that party regulars have for President Trump. For now, Biden is the clear beneficiary of the electability argument. In fact, electability represents at least two if not three of the four legs holding up Biden's candidacy. If he were to do or say something to jeopardize that perception of electability, his candidacy could well collapse like a house of cards. Another trouble spot for Biden is fundraising. Political pros say the ante for the 14 Super Tuesday states alone is at least \$100 million, a real challenge for any of these four candidates, but especially for Biden, who's got less cash than any of

his rivals. Here is where I depart from the conventional wisdom the most: We are going to see two, three, or four candidates emerge from the first four states, none with a meaningful delegate lead or momentum heading into Super Tuesday. More importantly, none of the contenders (save perhaps Sanders) will have much money at all. As this column has suggested before, my gut tells me to watch Michael Bloomberg. Only a lunatic would try to predict a Democratic nominee under these circumstances and I certainly won't. But put me down for Biden with a 50% chance and Bloomberg at 25%, with 25% split between Sanders, Warren, Buttigieg, Klobuchar, and who the heck else.



**Mark Bennett, Terre Haute Tribune-Star:** Waiting, just awhile longer, didn't seem like the kind of thing Teddy Roosevelt would've done. Instead, then-Indiana Gov. Mitch Daniels decided to pursue a hefty idea pitched by his Department of Natural Resources staff — the preservation of 43,000 acres of land along the Wabash River watershed in western Indiana, and another 25,600 acres beside the Muscatatuck River in the southern part of the state. It would be the largest wildlife conservation project in state history, requiring the state to acquire and restore miles and miles of property from willing sellers. The program would launch in 2010, halfway through Daniels' second term. The state had available \$21 million in funds set aside years before for conservation projects, according to Tribune-Star archives. The funds could give Indiana leverage to get additional federal and private money. And, Daniels sensed momentum from an earlier successful conservation project, also urged by his DNR team — the establishment of the long-hoped-for Goose Pond Fish and Wildlife Area, a 9,018-acre migratory bird haven at Linton. Not long after the protected wetlands opened in 2005, birds and bird-watchers flocked to Goose Pond in rapidly increasing numbers. The influx exceeded supporters' projections. "That really got my appetite up," Daniels recalled Wednesday. "And we said, 'OK, if [Goose Pond's] 9,000 acres [of preserved lands] is the new state record, what else we got?'" That's when the DNR staff suggested setting aside the acreage along the Wabash and Muscatatuck rivers. "And we said, 'OK now. That's the kind of thing we want to do,'" Daniels remembered. That led to the launch of the Healthy Rivers Initiative in June 2010. Daniels announced the project from The Landing at Fort Harrison, overlooking the Wabash banks in Terre Haute. A decade later, the former governor will be recognized by Wabash Riverscape, also at The Landing, at 11 a.m. Thursday for the Terre Haute river advocacy group's winter luncheon. We talk a lot about the left/right divide in political media. But we don't talk enough about the more fundamental divide that precedes and, in some ways, causes it: the interested/uninterested divide.

.❖

## Trump defense says ‘quid pro quo’ isn’t impeachable offense

WASHINGTON — In a striking shift from President Donald Trump’s claims of “perfect” dealings with Ukraine, his defense asserted Wednesday at his Senate trial that a trade of U.S. military aid for political favors — even if proven — could not be grounds for his impeachment (AP). Trump’s defenders relied on retired professor Alan Dershowitz, a member of their team, who told senators that every politician conflates his own interest with the public interest. “It cannot be impeachable,” he declared. Democrats are pressing hard to force the Senate to call more witnesses to testify, but Republicans appear intently focused on bringing the impeachment trial to a vote of acquittal, possibly in a matter of days. Even new revelations from former national security adviser John Bolton are being countered by the president’s lawyers, who used Wednesday’s unusual question-and-answer session to warn off prolonging the proceeding, insisting senators have heard enough. Democrats argued Bolton’s forthcoming book cannot be ignored. It contends he personally heard Trump say he wanted military aid withheld from Ukraine until it agreed to investigate Joe Biden and his son, Hunter Biden — the abuse of power charge that is the first article of impeachment. As Chief Justice John Roberts fielded queries, Texas Republican Ted Cruz asked if it mattered whether there was a quid pro quo? Simply, no, declared Dershowitz, who said many politicians equate their reelection with the public good. “That’s why it’s so dangerous to try to psychoanalyze a president,” he said. Rep. Adam Schiff, the Democrat leading the House prosecutors, appeared stunned. “All quid pro quos are not the same,” he retorted. Some might be acceptable, some not. “And you don’t need to be a mind reader



to figure out which is which. For one thing, you can ask John Bolton.”

## Wild finish for Senate trial

WASHINGTON — The direction of President Trump’s impeachment trial is far from certain as senators enter their final day of questioning before a pivotal vote on calling witnesses, which is expected Friday ([Wall Street Journal](#)). The prosecution and defense teams have up to eight more hours on Thursday to make their cases for and against allowing the Senate to subpoena witnesses and documents. Four Republicans would need to join Democrats for the motion to pass, and GOP leaders have indicated in recent days they don’t yet have the votes to block the measure. “That’s where you enter the Wild West,” said Sen. John Thune (R., S.D.). “It’s totally unknown territory. And there’s a lot of uncertainty and unpredictability about what might happen next.”

## Buffett bails on newspapers

WASHINGTON — Berkshire Hathaway, the corporate holding company owned mostly by billionaire Warren Buffett, will sell its newspaper operations to publisher Lee Enterprises Inc. for \$140 million. Why it matters, via Axios’ Sara Fischer: Buffett loves the newspaper business. His first job was a newspaper delivery boy for the Washington Post — and he has long been a vocal supporter of local news. The fact that he is finally giving up on the industry, which he has warned in recent years is “toast” due to terminal advertising decline.

## U.S. life expectancy increases in 2018

WASHINGTON — Life expectancy in the United States increased in 2018 for the first time in four years,

driven largely by a drop in cancer-related deaths and a historic decline in fatal overdoses (Politico). New CDC data released Thursday provides hope that the major contributors to three years of stagnant or declining life expectancy may be relenting. Still, other factors such as suicide ticked up in the past year. The data confirms fatal drug overdoses dropped in 2018 for the first time in nearly 30 years — a bright spot for President Donald Trump, who has made the opioid crisis a key issue of his presidency. The decrease could indicate that federal and state efforts to tackle the opioid epidemic are working. Americans born in 2018 are expected to live to 78.7 years, up from 78.6 the year before. The increase is a break from the three-year streak where the life expectancy either decreased or stayed the same — largely due to a dramatic rise in overdose deaths and suicide. More than 67,000 people died of an overdose in 2018, the second-highest number ever recorded, but that represents a 4 percent decline from 2017. The overall death rate — a measure that accounts for changes in population — declined 5 percent year-over-year.

## WHO will decide on health emergency

WASHINGTON — The World Health Organization is meeting again on Thursday to decide whether to declare the coronavirus epidemic an international public health emergency, as China said that another 38 people had died from the virus (New York Times). The global health agency met twice last week but was split about whether to declare an emergency, saying it did not have enough information to decide. Such rulings can rally a global response, but also put countries at the center of any outbreak under even greater scrutiny. China said Thursday that the total number of deaths from the coronavirus had risen to 170, with cases now confirmed in every province and region in the country. More than 7,700 people have been sickened in mainland China.