

## 5th CD Republican Trump test

Club For Growth takes aim at Henderson, Brizzi on behalf of Spartz; 1st CD McDermott's to lose

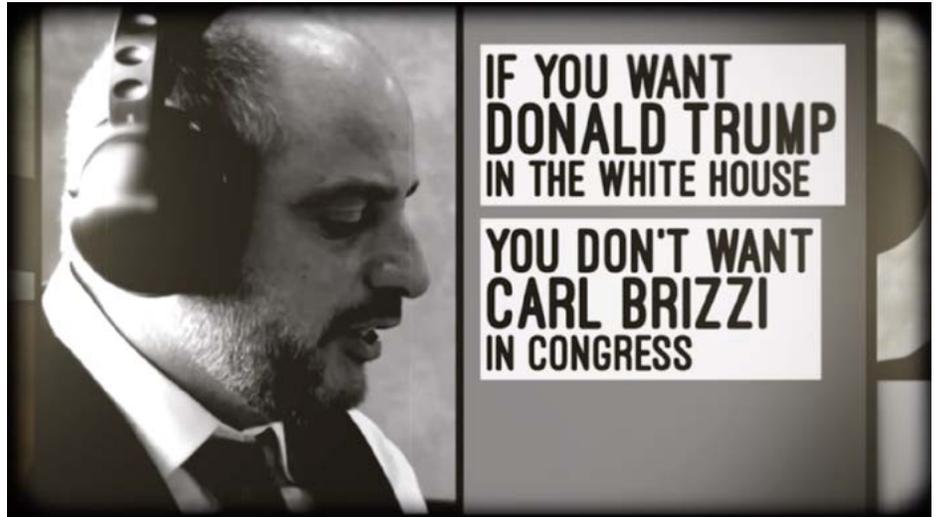
By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The open 5th CD seat has now become a Republican primary referendum on President Trump.

This past week, Club For Growth Action PAC, which has endorsed State Sen. Victoria

Spartz, began airing two attack TV ads at Spartz's two rivals who pose the biggest threat to her nomination, former Marion County prosecutor Carl Brizzi and Atlanta businesswoman Beth Henderson.

The ad against Brizzi features him on a WIBC radio show, saying, "I'm not a Trump guy. I know the orange man does crazy things. I did not vote for Trump." The ending voiceover says, "If you want President Trump in the



White house, you don't want Carl Brizzi in the House."

An ad against Henderson features a CNN video clip with Henderson saying about Trump, "I don't like his outbursts and his inappropriateness with the public and his scruples." The ending ad voiceover says, "Yep, Henderson sounds like Nancy Pelosi." It adds that she joined a group pushing for Trump's impeachment, with the voiceover say-

**Continued on page 3**

## How do we recover?

By **LARRY DeBOER**

WEST LAFAYETTE — Enough already.

The economy is bad. This is the sharpest, deepest recession in 80 years. We get that. Let's talk about something else. Like, how does the economy recover? Unfortunately, to answer that question we need to know what kind of recession we've got. So let's look at some measurements that tell us what's been happening.

Gross domestic product measures the value of goods and services produced in our economy. The growth of GDP is our most complete measure of how well the economy is doing. Most of the time we show the quarterly numbers at annual rates,



**"We've got to make sure we protect and strengthen our small businesses. That first and foremost starts with how we can get people comfortable and safe going outside their homes, return to work and spend money."**

- Speaker Todd Huston, to the NFIB webinar on Wednesday



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**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

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HPI, HPI Daily Wire \$599  
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**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

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



basically multiplying by four, and we look at "real" GDP, which removes the effect of inflation. Real GDP in the first quarter fell 4.8%. Bad, but not catastrophic.

But the recession started in March. January and February were fine, probably a lot like 2019. In 2019, real GDP grew 2.1%. If that growth continued in January and February, but the whole quarter showed a 4.8% decline, then real GDP must have fallen 19% in March. That is catastrophic.

**Twelve years ago** the Great Recession was kicked off by declining investment spending. That's spending on business buildings, equipment, software and inventories, and home construction, too. Investment spending began to fall in 2007, a year before the economy as a whole, and dropped 21% in 2009. Spending by households on consumer goods and services fell just 1.3% that year.

That is not what's happening this time. In the first quarter, investment spending fell 5.8%, a little less than its 6.2% drop in the fourth quarter. Consumer spending, though, fell 7.9% in the first quarter, after rising 1.8% in the fourth quarter. Spending in March must have dropped more than 20%. Consumers are leading this recession.

A new report showed that total retail sales were down 22% this April compared to April a year ago. Sales at restaurants were off 49%, but most restaurants were closed except for takeout and delivery. Consumer spending was down partly because there were fewer places to shop. But auto dealers, auto parts

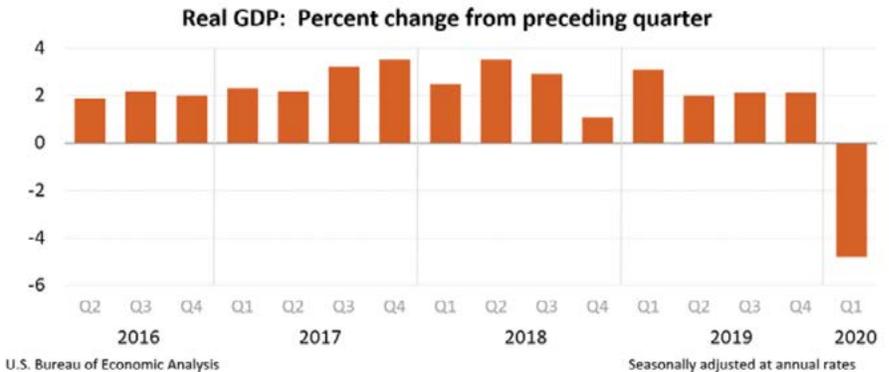
stores and gas stations were essential businesses. Most remained open. Their sales dropped by a third or more. Consumers weren't spending, even when they could.

That's also shown in the inflation data. If most goods and services were in short supply, prices would go up. Consumers would compete to buy scarce goods, and retailers would not need to cut prices. We'd get higher inflation. But according to the consumer price index, prices are falling. That's not inflation, that's deflation. Even after removing the influence of falling gasoline prices, the CPI fell 5.2% in April. Businesses were cutting prices, trying to get consumers to buy.

The drop in consumer spending is leading the recession. To recover, consumers must spend again. What will it take?

Consumers need income to spend. Tens of millions of people have lost their jobs. As the economy opens up, people can go back to work. But some employers have not survived. Those that open at 50% capacity may not need as many employees. Then there's the vicious cycle: Businesses won't employ all their workers if sales are down; sales can't increase until people are employed and earning income.

**Employed people** earning income can go back to spending. But what if they've depleted their savings or gone into debt during the lockdown? Their initial earnings may go to paying debt or rebuilding nest eggs. The individual payments and added unemployment benefits from the CARES act were meant to sup-



port people's finances. Let's hope it worked.

**People can't shop** if stores are closed. As stay-at-home orders are lifted and stores reopen, shopping and spending can resume. Unless it doesn't. A Reuters survey at the end of April found that a majority of people won't go back to movies, concerts or sporting events until there's a vaccine. The ultimate reason that consumers quit spending was because they were afraid of getting sick.

Our economic recovery comes back to the virus. Get it under control, and consumers will feel confident enough to spend. Without that, full recovery probably won't happen. ❖

**DeBoer is a professor of agricultural economics at Purdue University.**

## Horse Race, from page 1

ing, "Beth Henderson: Wrong about Trump, wrong about Congress."

Club For Growth President David McIntosh, who lost a 2012 race in the 5th CD against U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks, is banking on the notion that in a 15-candidate GOP race, it will be ardent Trump supporters who will give Spartz enough momentum to win the nomination.

As it did for Richard Mourdock's U.S. Senate campaign in 2012, Club For Growth has provided polling for Spartz (showing her with a double-digit lead and 76% name ID), endorsed her candidacy, and according to the FEC website, contributed a very modest \$5,206 of the \$91,882 she reported on her pre-primary filing. That comes on top of the \$750,000 she loaned her campaign. She had spent \$679,469 and had \$160,713 cash on hand.

The FEC reports show that Henderson has raised \$445,459, had \$291,331 in expenditures and had \$154,128 cash on hand. She loaned her campaign \$254,600.

Brizzi is actually sixth on the GOP fund list (trailing Treasurer Kelly Mitchell at \$331,977, Dr. Chuck Dietzen at \$303,639 and Rev. Micah Beckwith at \$147,490), raising \$144,761, spending \$111,620 with \$33,141

on hand. But Brizzi served eight years as Marion County prosecutor and entered the race with the highest name ID in the field. He has also waged a TV ad campaign.

Spartz, Henderson and Brizzi have had more TV ad exposure than the rest of the field. So McIntosh has taken aim at Henderson and Brizzi, using Trump as a wedge. It may deliver the nomination to the Noblesville Republican who was elected via caucus to finish out Senate Appropriations Chairman Luke Kenley's General Assembly term, then bolted her reelection campaign and opted for this congressional race.

Should Spartz prevail with the nomination, it would mark one of the strangest routes ever taken by a congressional candidate.

McIntosh is betting that the Trump factor will land

Spartz the nomination, though it could prove problematic in a fall showdown with the expected Democrat nominee Christina Hale, who has raised \$1,052,047, had \$550,494 in expenditures and had \$501,552 cash on hand per her May 13 FEC report.

Hale's chief nomination rival, 2018 nominee Dee Thornton, has raised just \$64,761 in her May 13 filing.

The reason Hale entered the race was the notion that the 5th CD was turning purple. U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly carried the district in his 2018 loss to Republican Mike Braun, and Democrats picked up SD29 with J.D. Ford's defeat of State Sen. Mike Delph. SD29 straddles Indianapolis



and Hamilton County, and was the lone GOP-held district that Hillary Clinton carried over Trump in 2016.

Senate Majority Campaign Committee polling on behalf of Delph and State Sen. Jim Merritt in 2018 showed that Trump was under water in their districts. Several sources told HPI that Trump's approval was well south of Trump's 47% Indiana approval.

Trump probably remains popular in the northern part of the 5th CD, an area where Henderson was expected to do well. Thus, the Club For Growth threw in the wedge issue, using the president as the fulcrum.

Brizzi's base is in Indianapolis, where Trump is very unpopular. His dilemma is that moderate anti-Trump voters will be inclined to vote for Hale in the Democratic primary.

Delph told HPI after his loss to Ford, "Every Republican got trounced" in Marion County. Braun received only 30%, Indiana Auditor Tera Klutz 33%, Delph 34%, Secretary of State Connie Lawson 35%, while Mitchell and Susan Brooks got 36%. Delph noted that 66% of Ford's votes came via Democratic straight party ballots.

In the middle of blue Indy and the red north are suburban Carmel, Fishers and Noblesville where Spartz's State Senate district is located. But she has never appeared on a primary or general election ballot. Thus, McIntosh's gamble carries some risk. The pro-Trump TV ads aimed at Brizzi and Henderson could galvanize moderate "Lugar Republicans" to coalesce around the former prosecutor or Henderson, who has been endorsed by Sen. Mike Braun, Kenley and former congressman Dan Burton.  
**Republican Primary Status:** Tossup. **Democratic Primary Status:** Safe Hale.

### 1st CD: Big McDermott money lead

There is a new money order in the open 1st CD Democratic primary. Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr. maintained a healthy money lead, but loaned his campaign \$50,000. McDermott has raised \$587,348 and spent \$515,792 as of his May 13 FEC filing. He had \$71,556 cash on hand.

Gary attorney Sabrina Haake moved into second place, posting \$283,977, of which \$209,000 came from a candidate loan. State Rep. Mara Candelaria Reardon reported \$256,446 and had \$52,461 cash on hand.

North Township Trustee Frank Mrvan posted \$232,122 and had \$55,732 cash on hand. He has received the United Steelworkers endorsement, as well as from U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky, who had an ending balance of \$218,951 following his final campaign in 2018. Visclosky has helped engineer the Steelworkers and Gary Democratic Precinct Organization support on behalf of the trustee.

McDermott received \$1,000 from Oscar Martinez for Sheriff, \$350 from State Rep. Carolyn Jackson, \$1,000 from Hobart Mayor Brian Snedecor, \$100 from Citizens for Mike Andrade, who is seeking Reardon's HD12 seat, and \$1,000 from Lake County Commissioner Mike Repay. The advocacy group Democratic Progress is spending \$38,480 on McDermott's behalf, according to FEC filings, which is just a portion of the \$165,000 in PAC money supporting the mayor.

On Monday, he was endorsed by Donnelly. "I have known and served with Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr. for many years, and I always admired his hard work and dedication to making life better for our working class families," Donnelly said. "Tom McDermott would be a great Member of the U.S. Congress."

"I couldn't be more pleased to have Indiana's former U.S. senator Joe Donnelly weigh in today on my campaign to become NWI's next congressman," McDer-

mott said. "I've always respected Joe for what he stood for in the Senate — level headedness, moderate views, and faithful to his Indiana constituents. When I first decided to run for Congress, Joe went out of his way to host a fundraiser for me and I want to thank him for his kind words today encouraging my run to be NWI's next congressman."

Reardon was endorsed by U.S. Rep. Rep. Jesus "Chuy" Garcia, D-Chicago, which is designed to boost her Latino turnout. "Mara has been a bold leader in many of the same fights that I have fought throughout my career, from standing up for our workers to ensuring families have access to affordable health care and a quality education," Garcia said. She also got a boost when Seattle-based Voter Protection Project announced earlier this month it's spending "six figures," or at least \$100,000, to create and send three different mailers to some 83,000 likely primary voters in Lake, Porter and LaPorte counties ahead of the June 2 election.

HPI still believes this is McDermott's race to lose. He has a broader list of endorsements, has raised the most money by a long shot, is a former Lake County Democratic chairman and his Hammond power base is The Region's largest city. Asked Wednesday if he was going



to win, McDermott told HPI, "I have raised more than my closest opponent times two. I have super PACs supporting me to the tune of an extra \$165,000, running TV ads and direct mailers like The Region has never seen before. I have a great team of dedicated volunteers and high name ID. By most accounts, I have made a good name for myself and represented Hammond well in the 16 years I've been mayor."

McDermott was cautionary about his prospects next Tuesday. "I am running against the candidate chosen by Rep. Visclosky to succeed him. The congressman has brought along the Gary Precinct Organization as well as the USW endorsement, and thousands of yard sign locations around NWI for the trustee, which are huge for any candidate running for the first time across CD1. Without these advantages, brought to the trustee from Congressman Pete, he wouldn't be hard to beat at all. However, he

has these advantages heading into Election Day, and it's something I am leery about. I feel good about my chances on Election Day, but I have too much respect for my opponents to guarantee any type of results.

"It's all up to the voters now," McDermott said.

**Democratic Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans McDermott.

## 2nd CD: Hackett favored

South Bend attorney Pat Hackett is facing attorney Ellen Marks. This is Hackett's second attempt at the 2nd CD nomination, losing to Mel Hall in the 2018 Democratic primary. She is an adjunct assistant professor at the Notre Dame Law School and runs her own firm, Hackett & Associates. Her May 13 FEC filing showed \$314,259 raised, \$257,291 spend and \$58,066 cash on hand.

Marks posted \$296,139 raised, including a \$106,250 loan from herself, and has spent \$275,587. She had an ending balance of \$20,551.

In a South Bend Tribune interview, Hackett said, "COVID-19 shows us that the healthcare of one of us impacts all of us. The federal government must play a leading role in expanding access to healthcare. Healthcare is a right and public good. I support the ACA, its removal of lifetime caps, and removal of exclusions for pre-existing conditions. I support universal healthcare coverage and movement toward a Medicare for All system ensuring coverage regardless of age, pre-existing conditions, employment or economic status."

Marks said, "The federal government should enact a public option that expands on the current Medicare system and ensures every American is covered. I also believe we should preserve choice and service competition by allowing private plans to compete for customers. Healthcare makes up 18% of our national economy, so it is crucial that we create a resilient, cost-effective system that can withstand Constitutional challenges and under which access to care will be protected notwithstanding shifts in political power." **HPI Democratic Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Hackett.

## 3rd CD: Banks expected to win

U.S. Rep. Jim Banks is seeking to fend off a Republican primary challenge from Chris Magiera. Banks has raised \$719,279, spent \$505,185 and had \$225,602 cash on hand as of May 13. He has tacked toward President Trump over the past year, ardently defending the president. Magiera posted \$260,895 raised, had \$254,147 in expenditures and had \$6,748 cash on hand. The 3rd CD is one of the most conservative, pro-Trump districts in the nation and it is inconceivable that Banks would not be renominated. He will likely face Democrat Tommy Schrader, who posted \$294,949 on his May 13 FEC report, spent \$274,397 and had \$20,552 cash on hand. He faces Chip Coldiron in the Democratic primary. Coldiron has raised just over \$5,000. **HPI Republican Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Banks. **HPI Democratic Primary Status:** Safe Schrader. ❖

# SD20 turns into GOP dogfight; Lehman, McGrath targeted

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

FISHERS — It's a bird. It's a plane. No, it's J.R. Gaylor!

Over the weekend the SD20 Republican candidate deployed a new pandemic-era campaign technique, with an airplane towing a banner over Fishers and Noblesville imploring votes in his race against Scott Baldwin.



This was supposed to be Baldwin's race to lose. When he entered in January, it appeared as though he forced incumbent Sen. Victoria Spartz out of that race

and into the open 5th CD, where she is perceived as one of a handful of frontrunners. Baldwin had in his pocket endorsements from Fishers Mayor Scott Fadness and rookie Noblesville Mayor Chris Jensen.

Gaylor, who heads ABC Builders & Contractors,



entered the race in February and according to large contribution filings with the Indiana secretary of state and the pre-primary reports, opened up more than a \$150,000 funding lead while his donor list includes former Senate president David Long and former Indiana GOP chair Jim Kittle, Jr. What had been a "safe" nomination for Baldwin has been moved in HPI's Horse Race into a "Leans

Baldwin" category, and could enter the "tossup" zone before next Tuesday's primary election

It is just one race where late money has been flowing in. That includes HD88, the seat being vacated by former House speaker Brian Bosma. Fishers Deputy Mayor Leah McGrath is the heir apparent, with an endorsement of Gov. Eric Holcomb. But Fishers attorney Chris Jeter has been touting his Right to Life of Indiana endorsement while

posting \$100,000 in campaign contributions, prompting late donations for McGrath from the campaign committees of U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks and Secretary of State Connie Lawson.

Another showdown is taking shape in HD79, where Taylor Isch is challenging House Majority Leader Matt Lehman, who began running ads on WOWO and Fort Wayne broadcast TV today.

Another race drawing late money is HD50, where State Rep. Dan Leonard is seeking to fend off a Republican primary challenge from Huntington teacher John Stoffel, who has received funds from Democrat State Rep. Melanie Wright and the Indiana State Teachers Association PAC.

On the Senate side, the only contested primary appears to be SD 20. Incumbent Sens. Susan Glick and caucus-appointed Brian Buchanan and Justin Busch appear to be in good shape for renomination.

In open House seats, all eyes are on the South Bend seat being vacated after half a century of former speaker B. Patrick Bauer, where his daughter, Maureen, is hoping to extend that family's hold on that seat to a third generation. Winona Lake Councilman Craig Snow is favored in a seat being vacated by State Rep. David Wolkins, while in HD58, Greenwood Councilman David Hopper is hoping to ride an endorsement from Mayor Mark Myers, while out-going State Rep. Woody Burton is backing Michelle Davis.

In another open seat, Warrick County Republican Chairman Michael Griffin and Warrick County Councilwoman Cindy Ledbetter are battling to succeed retiring State Rep. Ron Bacon, who has not made an endorsement.

Here is our exclusive General Assembly primary race rundown:

## Senate Republican primaries

**SD7:** State Sen. Brian W. Buchanan is facing a primary challenge from businessman Ethan H. Brown and Vernon Budde. Buchanan was appointed to the seat by Republican precinct committee members when former state Sen. Brandt Hershman resigned in early 2018. Buchanan had a beginning balance of \$52,787, raised \$33,531 and spent \$50,588 for an ending balance of \$35,731. The low dollar amounts suggest Senate Republicans are not worried about this primary. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Buchanan.

**SD13:** State Sen. Susan Glick is facing a challenge from another former LaGrange County prosecutor, Jeffrey W. Wible. Sen. Glick is seeking a third full term after she was appointed by caucus to succeed State Sen. Bud Meeks. Wible has raised just \$8,295 this cycle and spent \$21,142 (he had a \$14,558 beginning balance). Wible was endorsed by former congressman Marlin Stutzman, who wrote in KPC Media, "Jeff is a man of integrity and honor and I have no doubt that he will be the voice for the voiceless and those in need. The right to

life is absolutely essential and an issue closest to my heart. For me, it's important to have someone that doesn't just silently cast the right votes but will be outspoken in their support of pro-life bills in the General Assembly." **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Glick.

**SD20:** This has become a big money showdown between Scott Baldwin and J.R. Gaylor. The Friends4 JR Gaylor Committee reports raising \$420,204 on its May 15 filing and had an ending balance of \$133,937. Baldwin



(pictured) has raised \$262,978 and had a cash-on-hand balance of \$89,843. The Senate Majority Campaign Committee has not endorsed a candidate. When Baldwin entered the race, he had the endorsements of Fishers Mayor Scott Fadness and Noblesville Mayor Chris Jensen and received \$1,000 from former Indiana Republican Chairman Jim Kittle Jr. He appeared to force State Sen.

Victoria Spartz out of the race. She opted to seek the 5th CD Republican nomination. Gaylor heads the influential Associated Builders and Contractors of Indiana/Kentucky and received \$3,000 from former Senate President Pro Tem David Long, \$30,000 from Charles D. Goodrich and \$5,000 from Hoosiers for Quality Education PAC. He reportedly had an airplane pulling one of his banners over Noblesville and Fishers last weekend. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Baldwin.

**SD16:** State Sen. Justin Busch won Republican precinct caucus 51-35 to finish the term of Senate President Pro Tem David Long. He faces Tom Rhoades, Parkview Health public safety director, who is a member of the Southwest Allen County School Board. Busch began the cycle with \$108,431, raised \$108,421, has spent \$153,177 and had \$63,675 cash on hand at his May 15 filing. Long contributed \$3,000 on May 20 and the Indiana Republican State Committee made a \$3,794 in-kind contribution, while the Senate Majority Campaign Committee put in \$3,250 and State Sen. Mark Messmer gave \$1,000. Rhoades had a beginning balance of \$16,762, had \$7,555 for the period and ends with a \$9,144 cash on hand. The incumbent appears to be on his way to renomination. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Busch.

**SD30:** State Sen. John Ruckelshaus is facing a primary challenge from Terry Michael. Ruckelshaus pondered a run for the 5h CD before opting to seek reelection. He began the cycle with \$94,002, raised \$8,600 and had an ending balance of \$95,873 on his May 15 pre-primary filing. Michael filed a report but listed zero contributions.

**Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Ruckelshaus.

**Senate Democrat primaries**

**SD10:** Sen. David L. Niezgodski v. Alex Bowman: Niezgodski has served in the Senate since 2016 after a 10-year stint in the House where he left as assistant minority whip. President and owner of Niezgodski Plumbing Inc., he is a former St. Joseph County commissioner and chaired the NICTD Board (South Shore) for seven years. Bowman is a South Bend attorney, who says he is fulfilling a “years-old promise.” “Elections should be about choice,” Bowman said about his decision to become the second of only two Democratic candidates vying for the position. Niezgodski began the cycle with \$62,866, raised \$88,830 for the reporting period, spent \$40,443 and ended the May 15 reporting period with \$111,253 cash on hand. Bowman raised \$12,170 and had an ending balance on May 15 of \$3,903. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Niezgodski.

**SD16:** Tim Barr and Juli Dominguez are both teachers seeking the seat held by State Sen. Justin Busch. Democrats have little chance of winning the seat that was held by former Senate President Pro Tem David Long in

Fort Wayne and Allen County. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

**SD36:** Ashley Eason faces Jason Fletcher in the SD36 primary in Marion and Johnson counties held by State Sen. Jack Sandlin. Eason is a nonprofit executive. Eason began the cycle with \$10,103 and raised \$3,300. Jason E. Fletcher is a south side Indianapolis community activist, urging local control for Manual HS. He has raised \$5,177 and had an ending balance of \$6,035. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

**SD40:** When State Sen. Mark Stoops declined to seek another term, that set off a showdown between Indiana Democratic Chairman John Zody (pictured), and 2016 unsuccessful 9th CD nominee Shelli Yoder. Trent Feuerbach, who unsuccessfully sought the Republican 9th CD nomination, is the third candidate. Yoder ran for the 9th CD in 2012 and 2016, losing to then U.S. Rep. Todd Young in her first race 55% to 44%, and Trey Hollingsworth in 2016. The





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former Miss Indiana is a lecturer at Indiana University's Kelley School of Business. Zody is a former aide to Govs. Frank O'Bannon and Joe Kernan, as well as U.S. Rep. Baron Hill. He was elected to his second term as state chairman in 2017. Zody's May 15 report shows a \$20,700 beginning balance, \$18,237 raised, \$21,309 spent, with a cash on hand balance of \$17,629. He received \$1,000 from the Hoosiers First PAC. Yoder has raised \$91,244, spent \$55,347 and had an ending balance of \$35,897. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Zody.

## Republican House primaries

**HD4:** State Rep. Ed Soliday will face the a "Blohm challenge." He faces Sara Blohm in the primary, and, possibly, Ben Blohm if he defeats Valparaiso Councilwoman Deb Porter in the Democratic primary. The Blohms are not related. Ed Soliday has been in office 14 years. Sara Blohm described herself as a wife, mother, veteran and small business owner (Ross, NWI Times). Her first priority, she said, is to protect the 2nd Amendment by repealing the red flag law that allows police to seize weapons from individuals deemed to be a threat because of mental illness or other reason. She vows to pass a constitutional carry law instead. "I am also extremely passionate about non-custodial parents and father's rights. Our current family law system is a joke," Blohm said.



Soliday said there are critical energy and infrastructure policy issues that need to be addressed. Renewable energy alone isn't enough to meet Hoosier energy needs at this point, he said. Soliday wants to ensure a smooth transition to make sure there is adequate capacity to meet all the demands on the energy grid. "That world is changing so rapidly," he said. Infrastructure issues remain, he added. He has authored major legislation to address infrastructure issues in the past, including a revamp of the Little Calumet River flood control plan and increased funding for roads and bridges. That includes creating the Community Crossings grant program for local road and bridge projects. Soliday predicted the pandemic will cast a large shadow over the General Assembly's next session. "We should always strive for bipartisan cooperation and collaboration in creating legislation," he said. "This year working together will be key in dealing with the direct and indirect consequences of the pandemic, particularly unemployment, K-12 education and the state budget. All have been deeply impacted by the pandemic." **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Soliday.

**HD18:** Open seat (Rep. David Wolkins is retiring). Russ Reahard and Winona Lake Councilman Craig

Snow are seeking the GOP nomination. Snow enters this race with the endorsements of Warsaw Mayor Joe Thallemer and Wabash Mayor Scott Long. Thallemer and Long said they need somebody in the Statehouse who will listen to and consider supporting a range of issues important to cities and towns. "I truly feel like he's got the skills and intelligence to really make a difference," Thallemer said. Long said municipalities continue to worry about any attempts by the legislature "to circumvent local control and hurt their ability to function and get things done." Reahard of Wabash describes himself as a "constitutional conservative and seeks to uphold the sanctity of life from conception until natural death." He will also defend the 2nd Amendment. Snow reported \$28,868 raised for the cycle, \$26,815 spent and \$2,052 cash on hand on May 15. Reahard has not filed a report. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Snow.

**HD22:** State Rep. Curt Nisly is facing Bill Dixon, who complains about Nisly's "behavior." Dixon told Ink-FreeNews, "Somebody's going to lose their seat. If my opponent is allowed to continue behaving as he has in Indianapolis, it is going to be us." Dixon describes Nisly as a "radical, right-wing conservative," adding, "While Nisly's positions are questionable, the real issue here is that we are going to go from two state representatives in our area to one." Nisly reported an \$11,915 beginning balance, \$6,733 raised for the period, spending \$2,296 and had an ending balance of \$16,352. Dixon had not filed a report. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Nisly.

**HD32:** State Rep. Tony Cook is facing Daniel A. Bragg. The challenger doesn't have a website and has not filled out the Ballotpedia questionnaire. Bragg unsuccessfully ran for Sheridan's town council in 2018 and 2019, losing by a combined 21 votes. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Cook.

**HD33:** Freshman State Rep. John "J.D." Prescott of Union City is facing a primary challenge from teacher Brittany Kloer. Prescott, a Union County farmer, has authored bills on rural broadband development, historic bridges and 529 college saving distributions. His May 15 pre-primary report listed a beginning balance of \$9,719, with \$4,750 raised, \$2,201 spent and an ending balance of \$12,267. Kloer has raised just \$3,101 and spent \$3,744. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Prescott.

**HD35:** Two Republicans are seeking to challenge Democratic Rep. Melanie Wright. Elizabeth Rowray is a Yorktown School Board trustee. James Peters describes himself as "100% pro-life, pro-2nd Amendment, and a constitutional conservative. I want us to be even more fiscally responsible. As your nominee I will promise to do what I say I am going to do which is rare in this day and age. I am asking for your vote as a Republican because

I will fight for the rights of the unborn as well as our individual freedoms." Rowray reported raising \$3,350 while spending \$2,813. Peters reported \$1,789 raised and an ending balance of \$446. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Rowray.

**HD45:** State Rep. Bruce Borders is facing a challenge by Vigo County farmer Jeff Gormon. The challenger told the Terre Haute Tribune-Star that his challenge "is not an indictment on the job he thinks Borders has done, but is borne of a passion to serve the people of west central Indiana." Borders began the cycle with \$17,838, raised \$3,000 and had an ending balance of \$16,020. Gormon had a beginning balance of \$25,470, had \$4,750 in contributions, spent \$10,202 and had \$20,018



cash on hand. Gormon, who is manager of Gormon Family Farms, has served on the Indiana Farm Bureau state board of directors since 2008, and was a Linton Township advisory board member for 16 years. "Sometimes elected officials get elected, get into office and think they have all the answers." **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Borders.

**HD50:** State Rep. Dan Leonard is being targeted by Huntington teacher John Stoffel and the Indiana State Teachers Association. The challenger explained, "More than 150 years ago, Abraham Lincoln, the first Republican president, said that 'a government of the people, for the people, and by the people shall not perish from the earth.' During our country's darkest moment, Lincoln saw the brightest hope for its future. I am running for the Indiana House of Representatives District 50 seat because I have that same hope." Stoffel appears to be mounting a challenge, raising \$75,180, spending \$56,829 with an ending balance of \$18,350. He received a \$200 donation from Democratic State Rep. Melanie Wright and I-PACE has pumped in \$58,000. Leonard appears to be taking the challenge seriously. In his May 15 report had listed a \$99,710 beginning balance, \$33,862 in contributions, \$63,631 in expenditures and an ending balance of \$69,940. He has received



\$5,000 from the Realtors PAC, \$2,500 from the Indiana Merit Construction PAC of ABC, \$1,589 from the Indiana Business for Responsive Government, \$1,000 from the NiSource PAC, General Motors PAC, ACEC Indiana PAC, Clean Fuels Liquid Waste Management, and Indiana Association of Beverage Retailers. With PAC money flowing in from ISTA and business PACs, this is a race to keep an eye on. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Leonard.

**HD54:** State Rep. Tom Saunders vs. Jeff Embry. This is a rematch from a 2016 primary race. Embry is a truck driver who did not mount much of a campaign. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Saunders.

**HD57:** State Rep. Sean Eberhart is facing Edward Comstock II. Comstock, who posted \$1,875 on his pre-primary report, said, "As a lifelong Hoosier, I want to see the best the best for everybody in Indiana. That means using tax dollars wisely, funding programs that are important to everyone's well-being, and keeping Indiana at the forefront of the nation's success. No increase in taxes. The hardworking taxpayers of Indiana are paying enough to fund services and education. In a difficult economy brought on by the COVID-19 pandemic, it is important that we live within our means and use the tax dollars collected by the state wisely." Eberhart began the cycle with \$71,000, has raised no money and had an ending balance of \$64,710. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Eberhart.

**HD58:** Open (State Rep. Woody Burton is retiring). Greenwood Councilman David Hopper, Bruce Armstrong, Heather Bline, Michelle Davis, and Jay Hart. Greenwood Mayor Mark Myers is pushing Hopper, while Rep. Burton is backing Davis, director of adult education at the Central Nine Career Center. Hopper filed an amended pre-primary report showing \$27,270 in contributions, \$13,670 in expenditures and \$13,599 cash on hand. He received \$12,000 from Myers for Greenwood committee. The Friends of Michelle Davis committee reported \$31,506 in contributions, \$3,527 in expenditures and \$27,978 cash on hand. She received two contributions from Ray Skillman for \$5,000. Rep. Burton's campaign committee had a \$13,694 balance in January. Hart has raised \$18,000 and is running a wide yard sign campaign. Whoever wins in the primary will face Democrat Cindy Reinert, a retired Greenwood attorney who ran against Burton in 2018, losing 63.3% to 36.7%. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

**HD60:** State Rep. Peggy Mayfield is facing Martinsville School Board Trustee Dave Rinehart. Rinehart said that he loves to serve his community and would like to help tackle topics such as education, health care, roads,

youth and veterans, if elected to the Indiana legislature. Mayfield had a beginning balance of \$51,334, raised \$18,950 for the period, had \$11,910 in expenditures and had an ending balance of \$58,373. She received \$1,500 from IPAC on May 18. Rinehart reported raising just \$1,237. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Mayfield.

**HD62:** State Rep. Jeff Ellington is being challenged by Greg Knott, who has raised less than \$100. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Ellington.

**HD66:** Zach Payne and Brian Tibbs have filed to challenge Democrat Rep. Terry Goodin. Neither Payne nor Tibbs has a campaign website and neither has responded to Ballotpedia's candidate questionnaire. This seat will not be in play in November. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

**HD73:** State Rep. Steve Davisson faces Mark Cox of Henryville. Cox has no campaign website and listed zero contributions in his May 15 pre-primary report. Davisson raised \$2,350 while spending \$1,094. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Davisson.

**HD75:** (Open seat, State Rep. Ron Bacon is retiring). Warrick County Republican Chairman Michael Griffin and Warrick County Councilwoman Cindy Ledbetter. Warrick County attorney Rick Martin was supposed to run for this seat, but on the day he announced his candidacy, he was arrested on a DUI. Ledbetter posted \$8,099 and expenditures of \$7,420. Griffin raised \$11,784 and spent \$9,599. The primary winner will face Democrat John Hurley, who lost to Rep. Bacon in 2018. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

**HD79:** House Majority Leader Matthew Lehman is facing a well-funded challenge from Taylor Isch of Bluffton. Lehman has raised \$44,750 and had an ending balance of \$84,564, while Isch raised \$29,000. Outside groups like the National Association of Gun Rights and the Indiana Conservative Election Committee headed by Fort Wayne Councilman Jason Arp, which has put in \$7,500 are targeting Lehman. The gun rights group is using a 2016 bill that would allow people to carry guns into courthouses as a wedge issue. Three pieces of direct mail attacking Lehman hit mail



boxes on Tuesday. Lehman has been endorsed by Right to Life of Indiana, RTL of Northeast Indiana and the NRA. Lehman is responding with ads running on WOWO radio as well as Fort Wayne broadcast TV. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

**HD88:** (Open seat, House Speaker Brian Bosma is retiring). Fishers Deputy Mayor Leah McGrath and Chris Jeter. McGrath passed on a 5th CD run to seek the seat held for the past generation by Speaker Bosma. This is another seat where social conservatives are making a



play. Gov. Eric Holcomb has endorsed McGrath. Jeter is a Fishers lawyer and Iraq war veteran who has been endorsed by Right to Life of Indiana and has been campaign-

ing on a "pro-life, pro-2nd Amendment and Pro-Trump" agenda. He has been running TV ads on cable and via Direct TV. McGrath reported a beginning balance of \$47,719, received \$67,723 for the period, spent \$110,340 and had an ending balance of \$5,103. Friends of Susan Brooks contributed \$1,000, Elect Republican Women contributed \$5,000, and Friends of Connie Lawson \$1,000 have made large contributions in May. Jeter reported \$100,179, expenditures of \$74,248 and \$25,931 cash on hand. Jeter received large contributions from William Schneider (\$4,000) and Thomas Blessing (\$1,000) on May 18. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans McGrath.

**HD93:** State Rep. Dollyne Sherman, who was appointed by a Republican caucus to replace State Rep. Dave Frizzell, is facing a challenge from John Jacob, who is campaigning on a platform to abolish abortion and no tax increases. Sherman had a beginning balance of \$43,135 and posted \$27,449, with \$22,883 spent and \$47,701 cash on hand. She received \$1,000 from Friends of Susan Brooks, \$1,000 from the NiSource PAC, \$1,000 from the Indiana Multi-Family House PAC, \$2,000 from Indiana Realtors PAC. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Sherman.

**HD100:** (Open seat, State Rep. Dan Forestal is not seeking reelection). Wayne Harmon and Niles Yensel are seeking the GOP nomination. Harmon has been a frequent candidate for the 7th CD. This is an overwhelmingly Democratic seat that will not be in play this fall. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

## House Democrat primaries

**HD1:** In District 1, Democratic State Rep. Carolyn Jackson is facing a Democratic challenger, former Hammond councilman Anthony Higgs. Jackson, D-Hammond, was elected to the position in 2018. If reelected, Jackson hopes to expand upon legislation she has worked on (Freda, NWI Times). Jackson posted \$7,905 in contributions and \$7,906 in expenditures. Higgs posted \$5,350, spent \$11,461, with an ending balance of \$6,111 in debt. Running for the District 1 seat has always been a goal for

Higgs, who lost his reelection to represent Hammond's 3rd District in the May 2019 primary. He served in the role for 16 years. Higgs said his history as a councilman addressing needs of the city of Hammond makes him fit for the job. "I am prepared and ready to do a wonderful job for my constituents in Hammond and Whiting, and I will address their needs and I'll be hands on as I always have been in the past as councilman," he said. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Jackson.

**HD3:** Freshman State Rep. Ragen Hatcher will square off against community activist Jessica Renslow, an instructional designer and business strategist. Hatcher had pondered entry into the 1st CD race after U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky decided to retire, but she opted for reelection. Both women ran for the state representative office in the 2018 Democratic primary, with Renslow losing to Hatcher (Carden, NWI Times). Hatcher, a Gary native, has raised only \$637. Renslow has raised \$7,700, spent \$2,562. Hatcher is the ranking minority member of the Courts and Criminal Code Committee and also serves on the Commerce, Small Business and Economic Development Committee as well as the Statutory Committee on Interstate and International Cooperation. Hatcher served as an at-large member of the Gary City Council from 2007 to 2011, when she ran unsuccessfully for Gary mayor. Her father, the late Richard G. Hatcher, made history 50 years ago when he was elected the first black mayor of a major American city. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Hatcher.

**HD4:** Democrats face a choice between Ben Blohm and Valparaiso Councilwoman Deb Porter. Blohm is a member of the Valparaiso Fire Protection Board and chairman of the young professionals board of the Boys & Girls Clubs of Greater NWI. He volunteers at the Westchester Township History Museum and Hilltop Food Pantry (Ross, NWI Times). Porter has been a teacher for 30 years and has lobbied legislators as a member and officer of the teachers' union. She had just \$3,100 in her pre-primary report. Blohm reported \$7,339 and had \$5,436 in expenditures. As a member of the Valparaiso City Council, she has been frustrated by state constraints on city budgets, she said. Blohm said his first priority is supporting public education. "It's been proven time and again every Hoosier benefits from a strong education. With healthy support, we keep our critical teachers, who are the foundation of a student's success, and provide a full multifaceted staff to serve our children," he said. **HPI Primary Status:** Likely Porter.

**HD6:** (Open seat, Rep. B. Patrick Bauer is retiring). Maureen Bauer, Garrett Blad and Drew Duncan are seeking the Democratic nomination which is tantamount to winning the seat. Rep. Bauer had only four GOP general election opponents in 20 elections. For the reporting

period Jan. 1 through May 8, Blad raised and spent the most money, according to reports filed with the Indiana Election Division. He received about \$52,000 in donations and spent about \$32,000. Bauer raised about \$23,000 and spent about \$11,000. Duncan collected about \$6,300 and spent about \$5,200 (South Bend Tribune). Duncan, who has run unsuccessfully in party caucuses four times, most recently for party chair, and was campaign manager for Rep. Joe Taylor's 2018 narrow win over Republican Troy



Dillon, said he never expected to raise as much money as Bauer or Blad because of their connections. "To be honest, I didn't think coming into the race that fundraising would be the thing that we would be most focused on," Duncan said. "When we announced, it was Pat Bauer in the seat and honestly I didn't think anybody was going to open up their wallets. But if you look at the

three campaigns side by side, I think that everyone would agree, especially after watching the debate, that this is a campaign that was counted out, but we're punching well above our weight class." The candidates rarely clashed on issues during the recent ABC57 debate, agreeing on the need to increase teacher pay, support South Bend Community School Corp.'s property tax increase referendum, and reopen the economy from the coronavirus more slowly than what Republican Gov. Eric Holcomb has called for. Nearly \$18,000 of the roughly \$23,000 Bauer raised, or about 78%, came from her father's campaign fund, which contained about \$103,000 in unspent money when he decided not to seek reelection. Bauer, an accounts manager at HelmsBriscoe, which organizes events and meetings for companies, said she understands fundraising is difficult during the pandemic because so many people are out of work. She said her father's unspent money must be spent on campaigns, and he's happy to support her as the race's only female candidate. "His money that he raised was from many people who have endorsed and supported me," she said. Bauer criticized Blad for receiving most of his campaign donations from people outside of Indiana. Of the 156 donors who gave Blad at least \$100, 94, or about 60%, don't live in the state. "It's just not a local campaign," she said. "You obviously aren't spending time talking to people within the district if you're contacting people from other states to contribute. The people who contributed to my dad's campaign are people who he's worked with in those 50 years, people who he advocated for, working families and teachers." Blad, the national press coordinator for Sunrise Movement, a Washington-based nonprofit environmental group, defended his fundraising effort's geographical reach. "I've worked with people in every part of the country and I've worked with people here in Indiana," Blad said. "We have over 20 times more donors from South Bend and 225 donors from Indiana alone." **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Bauer.

**HD12:** (Open, State Rep. Mara Candalaria Rardon is running in the 1st CD). Democrats running include Mike Andrade, Brandon Dothager and Mike McInerney. Andrade has been endorsed by Lake County Democratic Jim Wieser, lieutenant governor nominee-designate Linda Lawson, the NW Indiana Building Construction Trades Council and Teamsters Local 142. Citizens for Mike Andrade posted \$26,677, expenditures of \$20,024 and an ending balance of \$6,652. He received \$1,000 from the Northern Indiana Operators Joint-Labor Management PAC and the Riviera Maya Taco and Tequila Bar. Dothager reported \$5,902 raised and \$5,055 in expenditures. McInerney filed a candidate organization statement but did not file a pre-primary report. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Andrade.

**HD25:** Maurice Fuller and Alex Sabol are Democrats seeking to challenge long-time Republican State Rep. Don Lehe, who defeated Fuller in 2018 by a 70.8%-to-29.2% margin. This is a reliably Republican seat. Fuller and Sabol do not appear to be mounting credible campaigns. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

**HD39:** Mark Hinton and Ashley Klein are the Democrats seeking to challenge State Rep. Jerry Torr. Hinton is seeking a rematch after he was defeated by Torr 57% to 43% in 2018. Klein has been endorsed by Planned Parenthood and State Rep. Ed DeLaney, who she describes as her mentor. "Ashley cares deeply for the district as a lifelong resident and has gained experience as a commercial real estate appraiser, Realtor and United Way foster youth coordinator," DeLaney said. Hinton began the cycle with \$3,297, reported \$10,302 in contributions and \$12,371. Klein had a beginning balance of \$20,039, had \$9,576 in contributions and \$6,442 in expenditures, with \$23,174 cash on hand. Hinton has focused his campaign on quality of life issues. "We must ensure we have quality health care for all Hoosiers," adding Indiana shouldn't be "in a race to the bottom." **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.



**HD42:** Amy Burke Adams, Jasen Lave, and Brandi Cooper Vandiver are Democrats seeking to challenge State Rep. Alan Morrison. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

**HD49:** Joseph Lehman and Amanda Qualls are the Democrats who have filed to challenge freshman Republican State Rep. Christy Stutzman. Lehman is running on a theme of "restoring accountability." Qualls serves on the Goshen School Board. Neither candidate had filed a pre-primary report. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

**HD59:** Two Columbus-area educators, Dale

Nowlin and Cinde Wirth, are vying to challenge State Rep. Ryan Lauer, who defeated Nowlin in 2018, 56.8% to 40.6%. Nowlin is chairman of math departments at Columbus North High and Northside Middle School, and formerly worked as adjunct faculty member at Indiana University, Bloomington, in the School of Education. While Wirth has never held a political office, the 50-year-old says she has written legislation at the federal level. Nowlin posted \$6,441 raised, \$2,311 in expenditures and \$4,310 cash on hand. Wirth's May 15 report was not available on the Indiana secretary of state's website. Wirth was one of 14 American teachers to be selected as an Albert Einstein Distinguished Educator (Columbus Republic). In regard to last November's statehouse rally calling for teacher pay increases, Wirth said the timing of the demonstration was not right. State lawmakers only consider large budgetary matters, such as teacher raises, when they create a biennial budget. "2020 has been a non-budget year," Wirth said. "I think lawmakers should come back next year and address the pay issue with strong representation by the teachers." Nowlin said any person claiming that we have to choose between preserving lives or the economy is "creating a false dichotomy." "If we go back to work before we're ready to take the necessary precautions, not only is it going to take lives, but it will also crush our economy," Nowlin said. "Is somebody's business worth more than somebody's life?" she asked. "Is your business worth your life?" **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Nowlin.

**HD93:** Angela Elliott, Andy Miller and Abdul-Aziz Yamobi have filed for this seat held by appointed State Rep. Dollyne Sherman. None of these Democrats appears to be mounting a campaign for this reliably Republican seat. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

**HD95:** State Rep. John Bartlett v. Eugene Dooley. Bartlett is expected to easily win this primary challenge. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Bartlett.

**HD98:** State Rep. Robin Shackelford, Edwin Johns and Bob Kern. Rep. Shackelford should easily be renominated in this Democratic Indianapolis district. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Shackelford.

**HD100:** (Open seat, indicted State Rep. Dan Forestal is not seeking reelection). Indianapolis Councilman Blake Johnson will take on Clif Marsiglio in the primary. Johnson, 33, is the CEO of IndyHub, a not-for-profit that connects young adults with community opportunities. He has been endorsed by the Indy Chamber's Business Advocacy Committee. He posted \$22,686 in contributions while spending \$5,887. He has \$16,798 cash on hand. Marsiglio filed a candidate organization statement, but did not file a pre-primary report. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Johnson. ❖

# This pandemic's damage will be long term

By MICHAEL HICKS

MUNCIE — The past several months ushered in unprecedented changes in economic activity. By the end of May, roughly one in four workers was unemployed and many sectors of American commerce ground to a virtual stop. The previous high of unemployment was registered at 25.5% in the summer of 1933, the depths of the Great Depression. While our data may soon eclipse that level, our economic conditions are far better.



After adjusting for inflation, we are six times more affluent than we were during the Great Depression. This fact manifests itself in our economic worries. Today, we concern ourselves with internet access for students, economic security for gig workers and other matters an epochal distance from the worries of the Dustbowl. Our affluence permits us the ability to replace lost income and subsidize healthcare. In terms of human suffering, our economy today is not comparable to the Great Depression.

Still, current economic conditions may well grow bad enough to destabilize the Republic. No democracy with an unemployment rate of 25% has failed to face significant challenges to its liberty. In 1932, the communist and socialist parties received nearly a million votes in the U.S. presidential elections. A 29% unemployment rate helped usher a little known National Socialist party into Germany's parliamentary majority. This is not a prediction. Rather it is a warning that the way in which we deal with the economy and the pandemic will have lasting consequences, for good or ill.

One important aspect of dealing with the crisis is honestly acknowledging the potential depth and duration of the downturn. Every economic forecast has the U.S. economy declining substantially in 2nd Quarter. While there is great variation in the projected decline and rebound, most projections have 2020 as the worst year for economic growth since the Great Depression. Most projections for 2021 are similarly stark.

**Economic models perform** poorly in many domains. We cannot well predict turning points, particularly those caused by pandemics. We cannot well predict changes to tastes and preferences, nor can we anticipate every policy response. However, models of the macroeconomy are very good at incorporating past experiences, weighing those that are most relevant today and applying them to the near future. These models can tell us something about the likely duration of this downturn.

Assessing the economy today, we have a few salient facts to consider. First, mounting evidence suggests that state orders to shelter in place or stay at home had less economic impact than first thought. Deep declines in consumer and business spending on restaurants, travel and recreation occurred before these orders. Moreover, in places that have substantially lifted these restrictions, spending in these categories is less than half the pre-pandemic levels. This is relevant because it means the disease, rather than the state order, is driving the economic declines.

**Over the past two months**, some 36 million Americans became unemployed, smashing previous records for the speed and level of job losses. One optimistic note in these data is that three quarters of newly displaced workers report they are temporarily unemployed, and expect to be back at work soon. For many, this is likely true. American factories have mostly idled because of supply chain disruptions from China, and are now resuming operations. Many other businesses are figuring out how to adjust to the disease and are resuming some or all of their operations.

The challenge is that 9 million newly displaced workers are permanently laid off. This number will rise as the recession lingers. We entered this downturn after the longest expansion in history. Recessions leave only strong companies in their wake, but recoveries allow weak companies to accumulate. This downturn will expose many firms as not viable, leaving their workers permanently unemployed.

This downturn initially struck businesses in retail, tourism and hospitality, where the typical worker has less formal human capital. It is too early to know the full effect of this pandemic on these sectors, but it seems clear that retail, tourism and hospitality face long-term changes that will require many workers to change occupations. That process will not be seamless or quick. These job losses were broadly distributed across the nation, which may have unforeseen consequences on the speed of recovery and the movement of workers.

**Economic models and** historical data can tell us something about the speed of recovery. In particular, we'd wish to better understand the time it takes to re-absorb those workers facing permanent job losses. These numbers are not encouraging.

The fastest full post-war recovery was after the 1982 recession. It took a full 38 months after the end of the downturn for the economy to absorb 9 million workers. However, a substantial share of those workers were temporary layoffs, and Americans were more geographically mobile in the 1980s than today. If we take the average job creation following the last three recessions, it would take 54 months to create 9 million jobs and it took 67 months to do the same in the wake of the Great Recession. None of these analyses considers growth in the labor force, which has grown by an average of 1.2 million persons per year in this century.

Putting all this together simply reveals that under even optimistic assumptions the labor market disruption of this pandemic will linger for four years. Estimates derived from more recent downturns suggest a much longer path to full recovery. This is a very different prognosis from even two months ago. ❖

**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.**

## Galileo & Fauci

By **KELLY HAWES**  
CNHI News Bureau

ANDERSON — Is Anthony Fauci today's Galileo? Mario Livio makes that comparison in a recent essay for STAT, an online publication covering the areas of health, science and medicine.

"Defending science and scientific integrity can be a frustrating and lonely battle," Livio wrote. "As I watch Dr. Anthony Fauci do this on the news, I think of another 'battler' who ultimately had the last word." Livio, an astrophysicist who worked on the Hubble Space Telescope for more than two decades, is the author of a new book, "Galileo and the Science Deniers."



Nearly 400 years ago, Galileo Galilei found himself on trial for heresy. He had made the audacious claim that Earth was not, in fact, the center of the universe, a suggestion

that ran counter to the teachings of the Catholic Church. Galileo, now known as the father of modern science, was ultimately convicted, and he spent the last eight and a half years of his life on house arrest. His book was banned.

That fate shocked the French scientist and philosopher Rene Descartes. "I was so astonished at this that I almost decided to burn all my papers," Descartes wrote to a friend, "or at least to let no one see them."

**Then, the science deniers** were driven by religion and an insistence on a literal interpretation of Scripture. Now they're driven by politics and concern about the outcome of an approaching election.

During an appearance on National Public Radio, Livio bemoaned the current political environment "where we almost see the death of facts." In his essay, Livio mentioned comments by the president of the United States downplaying the danger of COVID-19. He also referred to Fauci's exchange with U.S. Sen. Rand Paul during a recent appearance before a Senate committee.

Paul, himself a physician, has been critical of public health experts like Fauci for moving too slowly in pulling back restrictions. "We ought to have a little bit of humility in our belief that we know what's best for the economy," Paul said.

Fauci, who has been director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases since 1984, shot back. "I have never made myself out to be the 'end-all' and only voice in this," he said. "I'm a scientist, a physician and a public health official. I give advice according to the best scientific evidence. I don't give advice about economic things. I don't give advice about anything other than public health."

Such modesty is a hallmark of science, Livio said. In his own book, Galileo downplayed his discoveries, suggesting his real legacy was science itself, "ways and means by which other minds more acute than mine will explore its remote corners."

**Livio suggested that** the stakes today might be even higher than they were in Galileo's time. "Silencing Fauci or relegating him to the hinterlands could have far more disastrous consequences than silencing Galileo since at the time it didn't really matter how planetary bodies revolved around each other," Livio wrote. "From my perspectives as a scientist and a historian, it is always a bad idea not to follow science."

Scientists aren't perfect, he said. They make mistakes, and predictions might turn out to be inaccurate. But the scientific method ensures that researchers will make corrections as new data becomes available.

"To dismiss fact-based scientific advice when human life is at stake is unconscionable," Livio wrote. He noted that it took the Catholic Church more than 350 years to admit its mistake in the trial of Galileo. "We can't afford to wait that long to find out that Fauci is right," he wrote.

Indeed we can't. ❖

**Kelly Hawes is a columnist for CNHI News Indiana. He can be reached at [kelly.hawes@indianamedia-group.com](mailto:kelly.hawes@indianamedia-group.com). Find him on Twitter @Kelly\_Hawes.**

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

# Moving beyond normal

By **MORTON J. MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS — Everyone seems to be wishing we'd get back to normal from our attempts to evade the enemy virus. I earnestly hope we move ahead from normal. Let's aim for something better than the normal we have known since the end of WWII.



Last week the Bureau of the Census released the 2019 population estimates for cities and towns across America. I eagerly downloaded the Indiana data anticipating an article about increases and decreases among nearly 600 Hoosier hometowns.

Yes, there is a story there. The 567 cities and towns (the incorporated places) of Indiana gained 265,700 residents between 2010 and 2019. That's 17,300 more than the entire state. Much of that is rearranging the chairs on our landlocked cruise ship.

Some see this population redistribution as the seduction of our youth into the dens of urban vice. Others view such data as saving 17,300 souls from the boring isolation of rural dissipation. Our judgement must be reserved unless the reader has specific local knowledge.

Consider Granger in St. Joseph County, with its 30,000-plus residents. Granger is neither a city nor a town, but an unincorporated housing development without the burdens of poverty, racial diversity, and the broken families of other housing developments. It's just another wealthy

suburb, seen by its denizens as a refuge from South Bend, Mishawaka, and Elkhart.

It's remarkably like the "town" I live in – Meridian Hills, one of 16 cities and towns in Marion County, home of Unigov. My residential area has a golf course, no retail trade, no business enterprises, unless they are run by folks working from home. My town offers no perceptible services other than street signs, semi-ornamental streetlights, and an invisible constable, while taking only 3.3% of my property taxes.

Of our 567 Hoosier cities and towns, 326 (57%) have declining populations. Of those, 167 have fewer than 1,000 residents. Of course, we have a contingent of citizens who would do everything they can think of to "save" those places, if they could think of something. Others are concerned that formerly stalwart cities are on a path to impoverishment. We had 32 communities of 10,000 or more people lose population in the past nine years.

At the same time, 17 cities and towns grew by more than 10%; the smallest of these being Cedar Lake (11,600 in 2010), where soon one will not be able to enjoy either cedar trees or a lake.

Now would be a good time to be thinking, developing new concepts of local government, land use, conservation of nature and the built environment. Let's not applaud "growth" built by leaving carcasses where once we thrived. Let's have the "new normal" end the waste and destruction of yesterday's normal. We can find ways to keep the best of what we have and not regret what we've done. ❖

**Mr. Marcus is an economist. Reach him at [mortonjmarcus@yahoo.com](mailto:mortonjmarcus@yahoo.com). Follow his views and those of John Guy on "Who gets what?" podcasts.**

# Paid family leave left off the study list

By **ERIN MACEY**

INDIANAPOLIS — Early on in "The Man with Two Brains," Steve Martin's character needs guidance. He stares up at a gilded portrait of his recently deceased wife,



begging her for a sign. Amazingly, the portrait detaches from the wall and begins spinning, slowly at first, then faster, as a woman's voice wails a definitive "NO!" over and over. The ground rumbles, light bulbs explode, and the plaster behind the painting cracks. Smoke appears. The spinning grows faster, and the voice louder and louder. "Just any kind of sign," Steve Martin says, seeming totally unfazed

by the bizarre and horrifying display. "I'll be on the lookout

for it. In the meantime, I'm going to put you in the closet."

We appear to be witnessing a similar scene here in Indiana, as some in our state legislature appear unresponsive to the signs right in front of them. Earlier this month, the Legislative Council met to assign interim study topics. These study committees present an opportunity to reach clarity and consensus on where public policy is falling short and what can be done to improve it, or to revisit priority topics that could not be fully addressed in the context of the short session. This year's selection of study topics has such glaring omissions, it almost seems as though there exists a willful refusal to acknowledge the data.

Indiana's abysmal preterm birth, infant mortality, and maternal mortality rates deserve attention. In fact, they have been a priority item on Gov. Holcomb's agenda for years. They have sparked at least some legislative attention to how and where pregnant women receive health care and, more recently, to the workplace experiences of pregnant women. When Sen. Alting's bill to provide these women with more protection in the workplace faced opposition during the short session, the Senate transformed the

bill into a study proposal instead. With such a stark crisis on our hands and strong, broad-based support for the proposal, surely Indiana lawmakers would be motivated to use an interim study to figure out how to join the 29 other states with protections for pregnant workers? Pregnancy accommodation: Not on the list.

**How about paid leave?** For four years in a row, legislators have proposed studying other states' approaches to paid leave. This year, Sen. Randolph's call to study paid leave happened to come in the midst of a pandemic, when the advice to everyone is to stay home when sick. Meanwhile, Indiana lags other states in workers' access to paid leave, with an estimated one in three lacking the ability to earn even a paid sick day. Might it not be beneficial, after four years, to finally heed the call to figure out a systemic approach that supports workers and small businesses alike? Paid leave: Not on the list.

Perhaps Indiana lawmakers would rather encourage workers to build their own reserves as buffers against the storms of misfortune? Data clearly suggest that Hoosiers should be saving more – both for basic emergencies and for retirement, particularly now that defined benefit (pension) plans are largely a thing of the past. Both types of savings can insulate workers from deprivation during job loss or volatility. Sen. Tomes proposed studying how to create greater access to retirement savings accounts, a topic that the Indiana Senate has explored many times in the past without success in reaching consensus on an approach. Anyone looking for a strategy to rebuild a more resilient state might look to savings as an area to bolster. Retirement savings: Not on the list.

One might argue that these were likely areas that Legislative Council passed over in an attempt to more narrowly focus on the immediate effects of COVID-19. However, the fact that items like "whether package size discrimination is being used against certain retailers" and consumer credit regulations did make the list suggests the omissions were unrelated to a desire to pare down study topics to focus on the crisis at hand. In fact, when, during the meeting, Indiana's legislative majority leadership refused to entertain a motion to take a deeper look at data on racial disparities in health outcomes, it seemed clear whose priorities won the day.

**Leaders within the** Indiana General Assembly need to stop ignoring the state's indicators of distress and their constituents' growing cries of concern. Yet, this most recent event suggests that they are willing to continue doing so. Unfortunately, unlike a Steve Martin movie, there is nothing funny about this. Lives are at stake, and the leadership's infatuation with favoring business concerns will prove detrimental to many Hoosiers. ❖

**Macey, PhD, is a senior policy analyst for the Indiana Institute for Working Families and the Indiana Community Action Association.**

## The GOP's wide scope

By **CRAIG DUNN**

KOKOMO – I've been a life-long Republican and I've been politically active for the majority of my life.

My first overt Republican act was to send a fan letter to Presidential candidate Senator Barry Goldwater way back in 1964. Funny, even Hillary Clinton was a Republican back then.



The first Republican State Convention I attended was in 1972. As an 18-year-old brash young teenager, I bucked the demands of my county chairman to vote for William Sharp for governor and instead I voted for Otis Bowen. This early experience in observing the impotence of a county chairman should have deterred me from ever being a county chairman, but one day I would

eventually be dragged into the maelstrom.

Over my 58 years in Republican Party politics I have met and interacted with a wide variety of those who identify as Republicans. While the national media is quick to try and persuade you that all Republicans are Bible-toting, gun-slinging, fat-cat bigots, the truth is far different. I tend to break down the membership of the GOP in the following categories (please note that multiple group membership is a possibility for any Republican):

- **Economic Opportunity Republicans:** I count myself in this group. Raised on the lower end of the economic ladder, I found the Republican promise that if you work hard, get an education and keep out of trouble, then you can go as far as your talents will take you. We used to just call this the American Dream, but now it seems like only Republicans believe in this concept.

- **Chamber of Commerce Republicans:** These folks are the captains and kings of industry and commerce. They have largely come to believe that the GOP offers their businesses the best hope of long term success.

- **I Hate Taxes Republicans:** These are the types of people who dumped tea in Boston Harbor. There has never been a tax that they like, except for perhaps the Fair Tax. They are very touchy about any type of tax increase.

- **Libertarian Republicans:** Generally, these Republicans love their liberty and rebel at any attempt by government to control their lives. You can usually find a copy of the Bill of Rights in their back pockets.

- **Religious Republicans:** These Republicans joined the party en masse after 1964's disastrous presidential election. The GOP strategy of cobbling a new electoral majority together by carving out chunks of the Democrat vote by appealing to Southern Democrats and voters who were strongly pro-life was very successful and brought

many large blocs of voters to their cause who traditionally voted Democratic. This was particularly true of Catholic voters. There is no coincidence that you see "I support life and I vote" and "Vote Republican" on bumper stickers on the same vehicle. Many of these religious voters have added defense of marriage and a resistance to anything supportive of gay rights to their pro-life political stances.

■ **Gun, Guts and Glory Republicans:** They love America and all it stands for. Love their versions of American history. Love the U.S. military and will go down in flames protecting their right to keep and bear arms.

■ **Trumpicans:** These relatively new Republicans are an amalgamation of the irritated and those fed up with governmental status quo. Many had never voted before 2016. President Trump finally gave a voice and a candidate to those who felt unrepresented in Washington. They are the other side of the coin to the Bernie Sanders voters.

These are the main groups within the Republican Party. As I stated earlier, the media would have you think that we are a homogenous group, but the reality is that we are a diverse party with occasionally conflicting interests.

In 2008, popular Indiana Gov. Mitch Daniels made it known that he would like to see Valparaiso Mayor Jon Costas succeed Stephen Carter as Indiana attorney general. The governor put together a who's who group of people to rattle chains and deliver the desired results. However, somewhere along the line something went bump in the night and underdog Greg Zoeller won an overwhelming victory and went on to become an outstanding attorney general.

I point this out because we may soon get another abject lesson in the rebelliousness and fierce independence of the Republican voter. The opportunity this time will be the 2020 Indiana Republican Convention and the nomination of a candidate for attorney general. There are many forces at work in this contest and several of the aforementioned groups will play a major role in the nominating process.

There will be factions voting in the online conven-

tion that take a black-and-white view of Attorney General Curtis Hill's conduct at the infamous Sine Die party and will vote accordingly. There are those who believe that Hill was persecuted and should be defended with their votes. There are those who bristle at anyone trying to tell them how to vote and they will vote the opposite direction.

There are some Republicans who don't like Gov. Holcomb for hiking the gas tax, demanding Hill's resignation or for not being supportive of religious issues enough. They will survey the landscape and vote accordingly. There are some Libertarian types who don't appreciate the job being done by Gov. Holcomb on battling the coronavirus pandemic and are looking for a way to stick their fingers into his eye.

On the flip side will be a sizable number of Republican delegates who will ask the question of, not only, who is the best person to be attorney general, but, also, who has the best chance of beating a well-funded Democrat candidate? They will make their minds up and many will defer to party leadership for the answer.

**There will also be a group** of Republicans who ask whether or not there is a compromise candidate who can represent their interests and still win the election in November. Although I am not a delegate, I would count myself in this group.

You might think that based on my analysis of the membership of the Republican Party that we are a disorganized and fractured organization. I've always likened the GOP to the Cartwright Family of the "Bonanza" television show. Old Hoss, Adam and Little Joe could fight each other like cats and dogs until someone tried to mess with the family and then the brothers came together and gave the bad guys a whopping. That's the way it will be in 2020. We will huff and puff, scream and holler, vote for the Republican nominee and then come together to defeat the Democratic candidate in November. It is the one thing that all Republicans agree on! ❖

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



**Andrew Sullivan, New York Magazine:** It's perfectly clear by now that the United States does not have a functioning president or administration. It also seems clear that this does not matter to a sizable chunk of the population. They just don't care — even when it could lead them to lose their lives and their livelihoods. A year ago precisely, Trump's approval rating was, in FiveThirtyEight's poll of polls, 53.8% disapprove, 41.1% approve. This week, the spread was 53.1% disapprove and 43% approve. Almost identical. None of the events of the last year — impeachment, plague, economic collapse — have had anything but a trivial impact on public opinion. Neither, it seems, does the plain evidence of Trump's derangement. Yesterday, at a Ford plant in Michigan, the president reiterated that he was once named "Man of the Year" in Michigan, something that never happened and an honor that doesn't exist. He insisted that Obama had left no pandemic preparation behind — "we took over empty cupboards. The cupboards were bare" — which is untrue. He said he owned a lot of Lincolns but then he said he didn't. When referring to the anti-Semite and Nazi-supporter Henry Ford, he ad-libbed, "Good bloodlines, if you believe in that stuff. Good blood." In a factory where mask-wearing is legally mandatory and where every other executive was wearing a mask — and one who spoke with a Perspex visor on as well — Trump refused to wear one in public, though he apparently put one on behind the curtain.

When asked why he wasn't wearing one, he said: "I don't want to give the press the pleasure of seeing it." Just one completely bonkers day from a president who has effectively refused to do the job. Count the objective COVID-19 failures in 2020 alone. The president was briefed on the looming viral threat, both internally and externally, multiple times in January. But he does not read his briefings — he doesn't actually read anything — and is uniquely un-briefable in person, according to a story in the New York Times: "How do you know?" is Mr. Trump's common refrain during his 30- to 50-minute briefings two or three times a week. He counters with his own statistics on issues where he has strong views, like trade or NATO. Directly challenging him, even when his numbers are wrong, appears to erode Mr. Trump's trust, according to former officials, and ultimately he stops listening." In other words, the officials who tell him things he doesn't want to believe are soon sidelined or fired. This is the behavior of a 2-year-old. In a man in his 70s, it's a form of pathology.

The key thing, however, is that none of this seems to matter to the supporters of the president. For them, the pathology seems to be the point. It is precisely Trump's refusal to acknowledge reality that they thrill to — because it offends and upsets the people they hate (i.e., city dwellers, the educated, and the media). The more Trump brazenly lies, the more Republicans support him. The more incoherent he is, the more insistent they are. Bit by bit, they have been co-opted by Trump into a series of cascading and contradicting lies, and they are not going to give



up now — even when they are being treated for COVID-19 in hospital. Tribalism is now not just one force in American politics, it's the overwhelming one, and tribalism abhors reality if it impugns the tribe. But you can't have both tribalism and public health. When you turn wearing a simple face mask into a political and cultural symbol of leftism, when you view social distancing as a concession to your enemies, you deeply undermine the power of millions of small impediments to viral outbreak. What we are seeing is whether this tribalism can be sustained even when it costs tens of thousands of lives, even when it means exposing yourself to a deadly virus, even when it is literally more important than your own life. We are entering the Jonestown phase of the Trump cult this summer. It is not going to be pretty.

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**Mark Bennett, Terre Haute Tribune-Star:** Hoosiers' resourcefulness hasn't disappeared in the pandemic. Indiana residents' participation in the option to vote by mail in the upcoming June 2 primary reinforces that ingenuity. Last Friday, Indiana Secretary of State Connie Lawson described the participation in absentee voting by mail, up to that point, during Gov. Eric Holcomb's update on the COVID-19 coronavirus situation. The numbers were impressive. They showed thousands of Hoosiers are accepting of an alternative to casting ballots in the traditional manner. Indiana suspended its requirement for voters to provide a valid excuse for requesting an absentee ballot for next month's primary. The change to open up the absentee vote-by-mail option to all registered voters was made to protect people from having to gather in close proximity at polling sites for in-person voting. With state, national and local public health officials urging folks to maintain social distancing, with six feet between individuals, the newly expanded vote-by-mail opportunity appealed to many. Lawson said 330,657 residents had filled out and returned absentee vote ballots to county clerks offices in Indiana. That compares to 53,818 people who cast votes by mail in the 2016 Indiana primary. "One of the most effective ways to protect yourself and keep your poll workers safe is to vote absentee by mail," Lawson said. "I encourage all voters to vote absentee in the June 2 primary." The governor also said voting by mail is the smartest option this spring. He told the Times, "Thankfully, we have lots of options to vote safely." Lawson took no stance on whether vote-by-mail will be open again to all Indiana registered voters, no excuse necessary, this fall. Instead, Lawson said the state would assess the absentee voting by mail after the primary, consult the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and state public health officials, and then decide on allowing that option for the Nov. 3 general election. That's a sound plan, and one that rises above a purely political based stance, such as the inaccurate rhetoric coming from President Donald Trump on the vote-by-mail process. ❖

## U.S. passes jarring 100,000 virus deaths

HARTFORD, Conn. — The U.S. surpassed a jarring milestone Wednesday in the coronavirus pandemic: 100,000 deaths (AP). That number is the best estimate and most assuredly an undercount. But it represents the stark reality that more Americans have died from the virus than from the Vietnam and Korean wars combined. "It's a striking reminder of how dangerous this virus can be," said Josh Michaud, associate director of global health policy with the Kaiser Family Foundation in Washington. The once-unthinkable toll appears to be just the beginning of untold misery in the months ahead as Las Vegas casinos and Walt Disney World make plans to reopen, crowds of unmasked Americans swarm beaches and public health officials predict a resurgence by fall. Dr. Anthony Fauci, the nation's top infectious disease expert, issued a stern warning after watching video of Memorial Day crowds gathered at a pool party in Missouri. "We have a situation in which you see that type of crowding with no mask and people interacting. That's not prudent, and that's inviting a situation that could get out of control," he said during an interview Wednesday on CNN. "Don't start leapfrogging some of the recommendations in the guidelines because that's really tempting fate and asking for trouble."



## Hogsett announces Indy's Stage 3

INDIANAPOLIS — Indianapolis Mayor Joe Hogsett on Wednesday said he will begin easing more of Marion County's pandemic-related restrictions starting Friday, but most of the changes won't take place until Monday (IBJ). Among the changes: Houses of worship will be able to hold services beginning Friday (May 29) at 50% capacity, as long as participants wear

face coverings and practice social distancing. Outdoor services won't be subject to caps. Starting Monday, June 1: Restaurants will be able to allow indoor in-person dining at 50% capacity. Outdoor dining will still be capped at 50% capacity. Personal services such as salons, barbers, tattoo parlors, etc., will be able to open by appointment only as long as employees and customers wear personal protective equipment. Gyms and fitness centers will be allowed to open at 50% capacity. Public gatherings may increase to 50 or fewer people. Retailers and shopping malls will be allowed to operate at 75% capacity, up from 50%. Swimming pools can open at 50% capacity. Tennis and basketball courts, and other non-contact sports fields, may reopen. Movie theaters, bars, bowling alleys, live-performance venues and other cultural attractions must remain closed until further notice.

## Holcomb convinced schools will reopen

INDIANAPOLIS — Gov. Eric Holcomb expects to announce in coming weeks when and how Indiana schools will reopen for the fall semester amid the coronavirus pandemic (Carden, [NWI Times](#)). The Republican chief executive declined Wednesday to provide reporters any specific details about the school calendar, instructional time, food service, student safety, extracurricular activities and the myriad other components of education in the Hoosier State. He said his administration currently is working with local schools and the Department of Education to figure all that out, and the final plan still is "probably a couple weeks off." "I'm convinced that we will be able to reopen safely," Holcomb said.

## Governor says state won't seek RNC

INDIANAPOLIS — Indiana will not be joining Florida and Georgia in

vying to nab this year's Republican National Convention from North Carolina (Carden, [NWI Times](#)). Gov. Eric Holcomb said Wednesday that while "I love a party as much as anybody else," he expects Indiana's capital city to be busy with another major event at the same time. Specifically, the rescheduled Indianapolis 500 is due to pack the city's hotel rooms and restaurants.

## IU, BSU to reopen for fall semester

BLOOMINGTON — Indiana University announced Wednesday plans for students to return to its campuses this fall. The announcement also included dates for a revised academic calendar ([Bloomington Herald-Times](#)). That suspension is expected to end Aug. 24. The fall semester will run from then until Dec. 20. Thanksgiving break will begin Nov. 20. When classes resume Nov. 30, they will be taught online. Ball State students will return to campus in the fall, resuming classes on schedule ([CBS4](#)).

## Half million mail ballots applied for

FORT WAYNE - Some 547,028 Hoosiers apply to mail in primary vote, with Democratic ballots outpacing Republicans in a reliably red state (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette).

## Braun opposes shift to vote by mail

WASHINGTON — Over half a million Hoosiers requested mail-in ballots to vote in the state primary election, which is June 2. But, some lawmakers are against making mail-in voting a standard way to cast votes. Sen. Mike Braun says he would oppose action in Congress to do that. "You want the vote to be secure and you do not want any voter suppression," he told Fox Business Channel, Wednesday. "Is our system broken? I don't think so."