



HPI Interview: Bopp's post-Dobbs model

National Right to Life counsel calls for life of mother exception, 'robust enforcement mechanism'

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – With the Indiana General Assembly and Gov. Eric Holcomb on the precipice of historic abortion restrictions in the wake of the U.S. Supreme Court rendering *Roe v. Wade* moot with its *Dobbs* ruling, the architect of what happens beyond July 25 will be Terre Haute attorney James Bopp Jr.



Bopp has been a frequent instigator of socially conservative policy, whether it was his role in the *Citizens United* U.S. Supreme

Court case, his defense of the Susan B. Anthony List, his advocacy of the 2013-14 constitutional amendment against same-sex marriage, and now, abortion restrictions.

Asked if he is currently advising General Assembly Republicans and Gov. Holcomb, Bopp told HPI that he "wasn't at liberty to say."

A week before the U.S. Supreme Court *Dobbs*



ruling, the National Right to Life Committee released what is called "model" legislation. He said the model offers "the best opportunity to protect the unborn, adding, "It is

Continued on page 3

Abortion & Hoosier kids

By **CRAIG DUNN**

CARMEL – The bags of mail delivered to U.S. Rep. Elwood H. "Bud" Hillis' 5th Congressional District office were enormous and plentiful. The day had come for the anticipated arrival of the responses to Hillis' 1974 constituent survey.



Each of us who worked for the congressman looked around the room at each other and wondered who would get stuck with the huge job of hand collating and tabulating the poll results. I was only 21 years old at the time, but I didn't need to look around the room to know that myself and another intern, occupying the lowest rung of the office ladder, would be tasked



"We are utterly shocked and saddened by the assassination of former Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe. He was a great friend of the United States and played an integral role in strengthening the relationship between our two great countries."

- U.S. Rep. Larry Bucshon



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. Howey, Editor
David McChesney, Marketing

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

© 2022, **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



with the laborious job.

There were several interesting proposals on the survey, but the one which grabbed my attention were a couple of questions regarding the issue of abortion.

The first question on the issue addressed the 1973 U. S. Supreme Court decision of Roe v. Wade and the protection of abortion enabled by the Court's decision. As I tallied up the responses to the question of "Do you support the Supreme Court's decision to establish a woman's right to receive an abortion?" (This was the crux of the question, but the exact wording may have been a little different.)

I was not surprised that a narrow margin of constituents in the 5th District did not favor the Court's ruling in Roe v. Wade. After all, Indiana is a conservative state, and the 5th District was one of the most conservative in the state. What else would you expect?

The second question on the issue provided a little more surprising response. The question asked some thing to the effect of, "Would you support legislation banning abortion except in circumstances of rape, incest, defective fetus or life of the mother?"

The results on this question provided a substantial majority who would support the legislation. I believe these results were above 70%. It was notable to me that it was rare back in 1974, just as it is today, to get 70% or better agreement on any political issue. It struck me that here was an issue that might have grounds for compromise.

Oh, foolish me!

I admit that as a soon-to-be college senior, my interests in life revolved more around the pursuit of happiness than it did around the relative merits of a woman's right to control her own body versus the rights of the unborn. The issue had never touched me or anyone in my family that I knew, so I just didn't have much of an opinion.

As the years rolled on and

I more frequently engaged in political combat, I was forced to give the issue of abortion quite a bit of thought. Unfortunately, my deliberation on the subject was more along the lines of how I could use the issue to raise political contributions and garner 50 plus percent of the vote in an election.

I'm not proud of this fact, but I was just a small cog in the political philosophy espoused in Kevin B. Phillips' 1966 book, "The Emerging Republican Majority."

Phillips rightly predicted that a majority of voters could be cobbled around the issue of pro-life. Many ethnic groups, including Hispanics, were strongly pro-life Catholics and by using the issue as a wedge, these pro-lifers could be converted to Re-



publican pro-lifers.

Through my years of political campaigns, I found our pro-life Republicans to be our most reliable voters and supporters. The majority of these Republicans weren't looking to affect any sort of political compromise. Their goal was to change the Supreme Court and smash Roe v. Wade to smithereens.

So now, after nearly 50 years as decided, yet eternally disputed, law, the United States Supreme Court has overruled Roe v Wade and set the wheels in motion for significant political and social upheaval.

The good people of Indiana are soon to get a very up close and personal encounter with the issue and the many good intentioned people and organizations rallying their supporters on both sides of the issue. The salient point of the Supreme Court decision was not

whether or not abortion should be legal or illegal. The court made its 6-3 decision on whether the 1973 decision was constitutional or not. The current court ruled that the court in 1973 abused its judicial authority. Before you get up in arms about the nefarious Republican plot, Democrat appointed justice Byron White, in 1973, wrote a dissenting opinion to Roe v. Wade declaring the same abuse of judicial authority.

Before we go any further, any of you who are running around saying that the Supreme Court outlawed abortions are just uninformed or overdosed on MSNBC. The U. S. Supreme Court just clearly stated by a 6-3 majority that the issue was one to be decided by the public and their duly elected representatives.

July 25 is the date when our duly elected state representatives and state senators will meet in special session to decide what to do with our state's budget surplus and what to do about abortion. The issues may seem unrelated, but they shouldn't be.

I have wrestled with this question of abortion for so many years, that it was always kind of comforting to know I could just say that I was against abortion and know that the 1973 Court could be blamed for its existence. Our current court has removed this security blanket and for me and countless others, we will soon need to make decisions and advocate for a belief that will have real consequences. I have never publicly stated my personal belief on the issue of abortion, but in this column I will do so.

On matters of personal liberty, I have always tried to support the principle that your rights stop where my rights begin. What a person does in the privacy of their own home is their own business. You have the right to ban guns on your premises, but that right does not extend to my property. You have the right to love who you want or marry anyone you want. You don't have the right to advocate a particular lifestyle to my children in a public school. A man has a right to be transexual if they wish, but they have no right to compete against genetic women.

The issue of abortion is a bit tougher to deal with on my part. I believe that a woman or young girl should not have to have a baby if she becomes pregnant through an act of rape or incest. I believe that the life of the mother is paramount to the life of the unborn. I

believe that a mother who has been informed by a physician that her child suffers from severe defects should be allowed to make a decision whether to abort or not. I believe that these should be the rights afforded to women who become pregnant. I further believe that abortion should not become a substitute for birth control and that an unborn fetus is a living being to be protected.

There, I said it. Abortion advocates will hate me for this, and pro-life advocates will dislike me as well. I acknowledge that my position is self-conflicted, but rarely are substantive issues cut and dried.

I have an inkling that the Indiana Legislature will be more restrictive with decisions made during their special session in regard to abortion. I will not try to speculate on the final legislative outcome, but I will say that the Republican dominated will be under immense pressure to take the most restrictive abortion position that is possible. Their key supporters and financiers will accept nothing less than a complete ban on abortion. The legislative squad advocating this position may just be too powerful to publicly stop.

Back to my point that the issue of abortion and what to do with the budget surplus may be interrelated. If the Indiana Legislature votes to eliminate or virtually eliminate abortions, I believe that they have an absolute moral obligation to provide adequate funding for just about every child related program in the state, including healthcare, education and criminal justice.

There should be no distribution of surplus funds to the taxpayers. If we advocate that all conceived babies be born, we must make sure that the funds are there to support the babies after they are born, from the cradle to the grave. Current funding for children with special needs, foster care programs, adoption programs, early education, group homes and infant nutrition programs are currently below their needed levels. The Legislature needs to address children with the same intensity that they do road construction. Now that would be something!

To the Indiana Legislature and Gov. Holcomb, I make a simple plea; if you love babies, both born and unborn, please make sure that state funding shows that you care. ❖

Dunn is the former Howard County Republican chairman.

Bopp HPI Interview, from page 1

important that such states not only prohibit illegal abortions, but also employ a robust enforcement regime, so that these laws are sure to be enforced. Our model law does just that. It builds on the substantial experience the right-to-life movement has had in developing pro-life legislation."

NWI Times reporter Dan Carden observed, "If history is any guide, the GOP abortion measure ultimately filed at the Statehouse sometime before July 25 is likely

to look like Bopp's proposal, since Bopp repeatedly has guided Hoosier lawmakers in developing and defending abortion, immigration, campaign finance and anti-LGBTQ policies. Bopp's abortion plan would ban all abortion, including in cases of rape and incest. The only permissible abortion would be to prevent the immediate death of a pregnant woman.

In a Howey Politics Indiana Interview conducted via phone last Tuesday, Bopp described his call for the only abortion exception would be to save the life of the mother. "I think we are morally obligated to perform abor-

tions to save the life of the mother. So this isn't a reluctant thing in my mind, it's a necessary thing," he said. "All of this fanciful talk that you just described is obviously not true because we had 150 years of history in our country, before 1973, in which abortion was always allowed for the life of the mother."

He also described the "robust enforcement regime" that he said would be aimed at Democrat Marion County Prosecutor Ryan Mears in a city where most of Indiana's 7,000 to 8,000 annual abortions are surgically performed. "That is because of radical Democrat prosecutors like the Marion County prosecutor, who has already said he will not enforce any criminal abortion," Bopp said. "That is a radical seizure of power by a petty tyrant in Indianapolis where he thinks he's above the law. It's the legislature's job to adopt laws, not his."

Bopp has been a constant presence in Hoosier Republican politics. He is a former Indiana deputy attorney general. He was a Republican national committeeman from 2006 until he was defeated for another term by John Hammond III in 2012. He was the RNC's vice chairman in 2008.

In 2009, Bopp was the lead sponsor of an RNC resolution that initially called on the Democratic Party to change its name to "Democratic Socialist Party." In 2010, he called for a "purity test" resolution for GOP candidates.

This past year, he defended U.S. Rep. Madison Cawthorn from being eliminated from the North Carolina ballot due to what critics called his support for the Jan. 6, 2021, U.S. Capitol insurrection. "North Carolina's law clearly violates federal law as applied to Rep. Cawthorn," said Bopp. "We are pleased the court recognized this government overreach." Cawthorn was defeated in that primary race.

Bopp has spent much of his career aligning against "government overreach." In a January 2014 Indiana House Judiciary showdown against Barnes & Thornburg attorney Peter Rusthoven, Bopp argued for HJR-3, which would have created a constitutional amendment preserving "traditional marriage" between a man and a woman. Bopp dismissed other testimony that sending this measure to the voters should be avoided because of the message it sends. "Well what does that tell you," he asked rhetorically, "that there are people so intolerant of other people's views that a simple debate about the question offends them that they want to leave the state. And, even more troubling than that is a direct attack on democracy; you cannot debate and discuss something that some people will be offended by."

While the House and Senate caucuses are debating what post-Dobbs abortion restrictions will look like, there is little question that the chief architect is Bopp.



Here is our HPI Interview with Jim Bopp:

HPI: What kind of contact and advisory role have you had with members of the Indiana General Assembly?

Bopp: I don't think I'm really at liberty to say.

HPI: Walk me through the NRTL Committee model abortion law? What does the general public need to know about this model law?

Bopp: It will provide comprehensive protection for the unborn. It will prevent an abortion except to save the life of the mother. That's the main substantive provision. It also has several different enforcement mechanisms. There's the problem of the Marion County prosecutor (Ryan Mears), who is a radical Democrat who has said he will refuse to enforce any criminal abortion law. We'll have to deal with his unlawful constitutional behavior. There will be several different ways to enforce the law. The final piece is should the woman never be subject to any penalty or enforcement. That has never happened in the history of the United States before Roe, after Roe and no one is proposing that now. And for several good reasons.

HPI: Those reasons would be?

Bopp: No. 1, a woman who is considering abortion is dealing with a crisis pregnancy where she is faced, in her mind as studies would show, terrible choices, to take the life of the unborn, or the changing prospects of her own life by having the baby. That, in a sense, ends her own life she was planning; I think it's safe to say, ending her life as she knows it. There is no criminal intent here on the part of the woman. It's all about a very difficult situation. That's the way I look at it.

HPI: The second point of this model law calls for a "robust enforcement mechanism." Describe that.

Bopp: That is because of radical Democrat prosecutors like the Marion County prosecutor, who has already said he will not enforce any criminal abortion. That is a radical seizure of power by a petty tyrant in Indianapolis where he thinks he's above the law. It's the legislature's job to adopt laws, not his. Now prosecutorial discretion has always been all about do the facts justify bringing a charge for a violation of a particular law. That is a tantamount to saying, "I'm not going to enforce any law, or sense of laws against anyone." What? That's a lawmaking authority, not a prosecutorial authority. So we have to figure out how to make the state law effective when criminal penalties won't be enforced in Marion County where a majority of abortions are performed and would be a sanctuary of abortion on demand throughout an entire pregnancy. That would involve civil remedies like damage actions by the woman or relatives. It would involve licensing, termination of physician licenses for doing unlawful abortion. It would also involve an understanding that illegal abortion clinics prospering in Marion County are very much like organized crime being dealt with through RICO laws.

That's another remedy that's available. We want to save lives by shutting these illegal clinics down. That is one mechanism to use civilly. It can be done criminally but for the intent of this conversation, civilly to protect against unlawful abortion.

HPI: Would you advocate the kind of provisions we've seen in the Texas law that have been described either fairly or unfairly as "vigilantism"?

Bopp: I can describe what they're doing and tell you the difference. What they are doing is they're allowing for injunctions or actions by any citizen of the state. My view is that is way too broad. Yes, damage actions or injunction actions may be broad, but they can only be brought by attorney general, local prosecutors, or people involved, not strangers. Like the father of the child, the grandparents of the child, and ultimately for damage actions, the woman herself who had the unlawful abortion. So only the people involved that have a legitimate personal interest. So there's no "vigilantes" as you describe it. Only those connected directly to the child.

HPI: Have you been in discussions with Gov. Holcomb?

Bopp: That would be covered in how I responded to your first question. We put out a model law, National Right to Life did, about a week or so before the Dobbs decision and we are urging states all across the country to pick up the model. We spent an enormous effort trying to put that together and figure out all the angles and deal with all the issues. I've had a lot of experience doing that. I became special counsel to the National Right to Life in 1977. This is a model that we hope states will pick up.

HPI: There was a great deal of anticipation prior to the U.S. Supreme Court's release of the Dobbs decision. Describe your journey since 1977.

Bopp: I've become very humble in predicting the Supreme Court. I filed my first brief in 1977 with the Supreme Court, so I've become quite humble predicting what they're going to do and where they're going to go with things. Of course, what we have realized is that any change they've picked up, where Roe v. Wade is applied where the Supreme Court is asked to reconsider a ruling, overturning a precedent. Our job has always been presenting as many cases to the court for their review as possible. As each case was handed down between the statutes they might have struck down to try to meet their objections and get them passed, so it's up we go again. With Dobbs, it was a little unexpected in my view when they took it up, but I was very happy by it because of the issue they agreed to consider; the issue was whether prohibitions prior to viability are prohibited. Now every case and every



justice who has considered the question has always said "yes" to that issue; no prohibitions prior to viability. That they would take that up meant to me they were prepared to consider probably anything and everything. So we had a big meeting in D.C. with the board and I explained my view, which was "Let all flowers bloom." Everybody who has an idea about what the court ought to deal with abortion issue going forward, file the legal brief telling them what they should do, how they should approach it, because they seemed to open the door to considering many things and everything. Then, of course, came the leaked opinion. As soon as I read that leaked opinion, I assumed this is (Justice Samuel) Alito. I was skeptical before I read it but after I read it I said, "This is him." A few hours later the Chief (Justice John Roberts) confirmed that. So that was very encouraging as far as I was concerned. While we had one serious shot at overturning Roe v. Wade in 1992 with Casey, I felt that as the result of the leaked opinion it seemed we were closer than ever. While it's not a done deal, I felt we were closer than ever. When I got on the SCOTUS Blog, then I saw the first line, "We have Dobbs." Next we had "Alito" which was positive, and then the next was "Roe v. Wade is overturned."

HPI: I had a conversation with Curt Smith about a year ago in which he said that even if Roe were to be overturned, abortion would still be legal in some states like New York, just as it was before Roe v. Wade in 1973. Now we see Mike Pence and others calling for a national abortion ban. Do you favor a national ban? Put that in perspective.

Bopp: Well, maybe as an ultimate goal once sufficient consensus has been reached, but right now our job is to protect the unborn where we can. A national ban would have to be passed by Congress and signed by the president. Neither the Congress or the president would do any of those things. We're two and a half years away from Congress being able to do either of those, no matter how big a wipe out it's going to be in November, which it will be an enormous one, I predict. But no matter, we'll still have Biden as president. Our job is in the states right now and we have a lot of work to do. What's novel is we didn't face a decade or two ago these lawless, radical prosecutors who have set themselves up as kings and decide what the law is. So that's a big challenge. But I think we'll come up with the tools to deal with it.

HPI: There's been talk about banning Mifeprex (mifepristone) and misoprostol, the so-called "chemical abortions." How will they be outlawed, and won't this just set up another black market? Marijuana has been illegal since the mid-1930s and yet it is readily available. Do you

envision this ban under the “robust enforcement mechanism?”

Bopp: I think it can be handled with the robust enforcement mechanism. Obviously chemical abortions present their own challenges because they’re typically not administered in a medical setting. Of course they do this at the risk of the woman. Chemical abortion can kill women. They don’t seem to care. They’ll just want to pass them around. They can be dealt with.

HPI: How would that work?

Bopp: Drugs that are used principally for abortion you can just outlaw them; their manufacture, their distribution, their possession, whatever. Now for ones which have multiple use you wouldn’t do that. You wouldn’t want to deprive people of their beneficial use. Then it’s how they are administered. It is very unlikely you’re going to have the current landscape. There’s not going to be abortion clinics. They’ll be shut down; there won’t be enough abortions to keep them open. It will be mainstream doctors and a vast majority of them are not



into this. They’re not going to be figuring out how to sneak abortions through. They’re not into it; they won’t agree to that. It will be quite a different landscape. It’s not going to be easy and it’s going to take time.

HPI: Can you describe in your worldview how a woman facing a dire medical situation – the “life of the mother” scenario which is creating speculation that this is going to change or disrupt the doctor/patient relationship – that they may have to weigh doing a procedure with potential legal criminal or civil exposure.

Bopp: What we propose that abortions to save the life of the mother be legal. I think we are morally obligated to perform abortions to save the life of the mother. So this isn’t a reluctant thing in my mind, it’s a necessary thing. All of this fanciful talk that you just described is obviously not true because that we had 150 years of history in our country, before 1973, in which abortion was always allowed for the life of the mother. We’ve done this, we’ve been there. There wasn’t any big problem with lifesaving abortions being performed or physicians being punished doing lifesaving abortion. This is just fantasyland as if we’ve had no history. ❖

Democrat prosecutors on coming restrictions

Howey Politics Indiana

INDIANAPOLIS – Hours after the June court’s ruling, Marion County Prosecutor Ryan Mears said if state lawmakers make abortion illegal in Indiana, he will not file criminal charges against doctors or patients.

Mears said in a statement on June 24: “The U.S. Supreme Court’s decision to overturn Roe v. Wade is not only profoundly disappointing but the consequences of this decision are a threat to public safety. This decision will further erode the trust between the community and law enforcement, hindering investigations and the public’s willingness to come forward or seek treatment. Further, we do not need to criminalize women and our medical professionals who would not otherwise be involved in the criminal justice system. The Prosecutor’s Office will continue to use its limited resources on addressing violent crime and those that threaten the safety of the public at large.”

On Saturday, Mears reiterated his stance: “To mount one of these criminal prosecutions you would have

to go through people’s medical records, mental health records, it’s important to note, criminal prosecutions are open to the public, and then all of that information would be available for public consumption. Hopefully we have a discussion about the implications of these types of laws and how that is going to impact the medical community as well as people who are seeking medical treatment, so we are hoping the special session has a fair hearing of these issues and these concerns.”

Monroe County Prosecutor Erika Oliphant, who described herself as “unequivocally pro-choice,” said in a statement that “she cannot legally or ethically proclaim a blanket refusal to prosecute a particular crime because that is, in essence, passing legislation” (WISH-TV). Oliphant added, “Criminalizing abortion does not end abortion, but it drives the procedure underground. Monroe County will continue to focus resources on those violent and repeat offenses that create the greatest risk of personal safety to members of the community.”

Lake County Prosecutor Bernard Carter told News 8 in a statement, “We will examine each case individually based on the merits of said case. Furthermore, we will evaluate each case based on the law, which is enacted by Indiana General Assembly.” ❖



Where's the beef (2022)?

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

ANGOLA, Ind. – Back in the days of the Evil Empire, the Soviet Union, the Elkhart League of Women Voters would host Russian delegations. The tour always included a stop at Martin's Super Market. Unlike grocery stores in Moscow, our shelves were always fully stocked. The produce section was a teeming cornucopia. The meat section was a bounty of slaughter.



These days, our grocery stores have what I call the "Moscow syndrome." The meat section has been picked over at Kroger and Walmart (though not so much at Fresh Thyme and Trader Joe's). On a recent excursion to Kroger, my favorite brand of yogurt was out. There were no Heath Klondike bars. There were no baby back ribs or split chicken breasts. The soup section was

exhausted. The fresh seafood counter was empty.

There have been media reports of a worldwide food shortage, exacerbated by the tyrant Putin's assault on the Ukraine breadbasket. The Black Sea is closed to transit. Are we on the precipice of protein deficits and even famine?

According to Fortune magazine, there are three main problems with these headlines. "They conflate access and affordability with availability. We have enough food to feed everyone. Sure, there are concerns over impacts from erratic weather and fallout from this tragic war in Ukraine, but we still have sufficient supplies."

What we are being confronted with at the super market is the supply chain, which is still bogged down after two years of the COVID-19 pandemic. Fortune reports: "This year's forecast for cereal production – which includes the staples wheat, maize, and rice – stands at 2,784.5 million tons, a drop from last year's 2,800 million tons but still higher than the 2018-2020 average of 2,711.4 million tons."

We're experiencing a supply chain funk that is likely to persist into the foreseeable future. Pete S. Goodman of the New York Times writes, "Time alone will not solve the Great Supply Chain Disruption. It will require investment, technology and a refashioning of the incentives at play across global business. It will take more ships,

additional warehouses and an influx of truck drivers, none of which can be conjured quickly or cheaply. Many months, and perhaps years, are likely to transpire before the chaos subsides. For those who keep tabs on the global supply chain, the very concept of a return to normalcy has given way to a begrudging acceptance that a new normal may be unfolding."

"It's unlikely to happen in 2022," Phil Levy, chief economist at Flexport, a freight forwarding company based in San Francisco, told the New York Times. "My crystal ball gets murky further out."

Out at what I call "Warehouse National Park" (along I-65 from Indy to Franklin), towering cement walls and loading docks sprawling over acres and acres of former farmland are popping up like dandelions.

In May, the NFIB Research Center released its Indiana survey. In March 2022, "inflation" overtook "labor quality" as the top business problem for small businesses. "Indiana made some progress this legislative session by passing a \$1.1 billion tax cut package, however, small business owners are still struggling," said Natalie Robinson, NFIB state director in Indiana. "According to our latest NFIB survey, on top of problems hiring workers and government mandated COVID restrictions, there are new problems for our small business owners, inflation and supply chain issues."

According to the NFIB survey, Hoosier business owners reported that "inventory, supplies, and materials" and fuel (gasoline, diesel, fuel oil, etc.) are the top contributing factors to higher costs in their business; 77% of small employers reported inventory, supplies, and materials as being a substantial contributor to higher costs, while 18% reported moderate; 77% of small employers reported that rising prices for fuel is a substantial contributor to higher costs; labor, rent, and utilities contribute to cost pressures for many small employers, but to a lesser degree than supplies/inventory and fuel.



Russian President Boris Yeltsin at a Houston super market. (Houston Chronicle photo)

A Katz, Sapper & Miller

survey, in tandem with Indiana University Kelley School of Business and the Indiana Manufacturers Association, put together the Indiana Manufacturing Survey. The main concerns are "high demand and supply chain shortages."

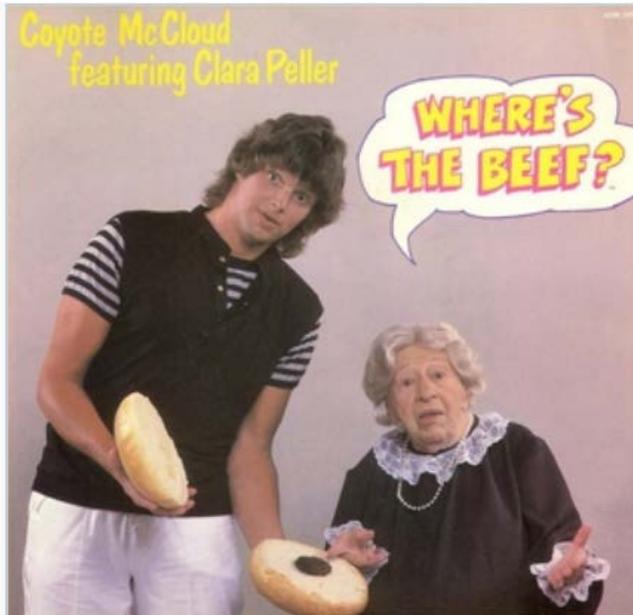
"Essentially half, 47%, thought it was due to material shortages, and the other 47% thought it was due to labor shortages," said Mark Frohlich, associate professor of operations management at Indiana University to Inside Indiana Business. The remaining 6% said their biggest

issue is logistics; making sure materials are getting from one place to another in a timely manner.

A White House report observed in June 2021, "Entire industries that shrank dramatically during the pandemic, such as the hotel and restaurant sectors, are now trying to reopen. Some businesses report that they have been unable to hire quickly enough to keep pace with their rising need for workers, leading to an all-time record 8.3 million job openings. Others do not have enough of their products in inventory to avoid running out of stock. The situation has been especially difficult for businesses with complex supply chains, as their production is vulnerable to disruption due to shortages of inputs from other businesses.

"These shortages and supply-chain disruptions are significant and widespread but are likely to be transitory," the White House report noted, echoing Treasury Secretary Janet Yellen's take on inflation a year ago, that has since persisted into this year and, likely, beyond. No wonder President Biden is mired in a sub-40% approval stata.

Inflation, supply chains, the great retirement, and manpower shortages are impacting another American tradition, the fast-food restaurant. A recent stop at a



Wendy's on 86th Street in Indianapolis found the store manned by the manager and, perhaps, one or two employees. "I hire people, they stay a day or two and quit," this exasperated manager said.

We had ordered two sandwiches, a large bowl of chili and some fries, waiting about 10 minutes for the takeout. When we arrived home, we found one sandwich (naked under bun with none of the ordered condiments), and a small and very soupy bowl of chili with about a quarter of the ground beef.

Back in the Orwellian year of 1984, America heard this pertinent question from Clara Peller in a Wendy's TV ad: "Where's the beef?"

Psssst ... it's in the supply chain and employment ether. Better get used to it. We're not facing starvation, and time is not of the essence. ❖

The columnist is publisher of Howey Politics Indiana at www.howeypolitics.com. Find Howey on Facebook and Twitter @hwypol.

Time for a national solution on abortion

By **KELLY HAWES**
CNHI News Bureau

ANDERSON – The vast majority of Americans supported Roe v. Wade.

That ruling 49 years ago drew a line in the sand. It said women should have the right to an abortion up to the point of fetal viability. That is up to the point where the fetus could survive on its own outside the womb.

Most of us were comfortable with that. It gave a woman faced with an unwanted pregnancy a safe zone.

Now, in some states, that safe zone is gone. As soon as word leaked that the court would soon eliminate the right to abor-



tion, Oklahoma passed a law protecting the unborn from the moment of conception. Other states had their own provisions ready to take effect, and with the new precedent now in place, more states have joined the stampede.

In his majority opinion, Justice Samuel Alito wrote that abortion was an issue best left to the states, but almost no one really believes that. People on both sides are already pushing for national legislation.

A friend shared a social media post suggesting we make the decision even closer to home. Rather than leave it up to states, why not give that authority to counties or even cities?

"You know what," it said. "How about we go even further and let the individual woman decide what to do? Oh, wait. ..."

Human rights shouldn't be left to the whim of individual states. Women can't have one set of rights in Oklahoma and another set of rights in New York.

The questions surrounding this issue are nearly endless.

Should a fertilized egg really have more rights than a fully grown woman? What will these new laws mean for in vitro fertilization? What happens to all those embryos stored in laboratories across the country?

What about abortion pills delivered through the mail? Can a state take action to ban those, too?

Before this latest ruling, the abortion debate had been about timing. At what point did an unborn child become a human being with rights overriding those of the expectant mother?

At the moment of conception? At the moment of birth? Somewhere in between?

It's a lot to think about, and until now, many of us haven't really wanted to do that. We've seen all of it as a fight between two entrenched camps.

On the one side, you have the pro-choice advocates who see ending a pregnancy as a medical decision that should involve only a woman and her physician. For them, the right to abortion is a matter of personal autonomy, a question of whether women actually have control over their own bodies.

On the other side, you have pro-life advocates such as columnist Kathryn Jean Lopez of the National Review.

"Let's talk about abortion," she wrote in a recent

column. "Let's talk about what it actually is: Not health care. Not freedom. Death."

Most Americans don't see it that way.

In the days immediately after the ruling, a survey by CBS and YouGov found 32% of respondents saying abortion should be legal in their state in every case. Only 9% said it should be illegal in all cases.

The vast majority fell somewhere in the middle, believing abortion should be legal at least some of the time. The survey found 32% saying it should be legal in most cases and 27% saying it should be illegal in most cases.

But what do those numbers mean?

If you believe abortion should be legal in most cases, where would you draw the line? If you think it should be illegal in most cases, what would be the exceptions?

For nearly five decades, a lot of us haven't given such questions much thought. We didn't really want to talk about it.

It's probably time to start. ❖

Musgrave declares for mayor; Winnecke reelect decision coming

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

EVANSVILLE – Vanderburgh County Commissioner Cheryl Musgrave has never shied away from a fight. When she announced for the Republican mayoral nomination, it could be a precursor to her biggest challenge yet: A Republican primary run against popular three-term Mayor Lloyd Winnecke.

"I will bring both an independent perspective and a strong conservative sense of duty to the role of mayor, building on the achievements of the past to make the future even better," Musgrave said when she announced last Thursday.

"I love this city. I have called it home for decades, and three generations of my family live here. I want Evansville's future to be as bright as it can be."

Winnecke signaled last month that he would announce his plans later this month. The Friends of Mayor Winnecke filed its annual report in January showing \$250,000 cash on hand. Asked about a fundraiser last month, Winnecke told the Evansville Courier & Press, "It means I had a birthday in early June. Nothing to be read into that."

Winnecke did not have a Democratic opponent in



2019, winning a record third term with 81% of the vote against an independent candidate.

Musgrave's announcement appeared to be carefully timed. If Mayor Winnecke decides not to run, she looks strong to the point that she scared him away. If Winnecke goes for a record fourth term, Musgrave has signaled confidence and strength.

Musgrave's career hallmark has been to take on entrenched and often popular candidates. She has lost only once, a 2010 race against State Rep. Gail Riecken, losing by less than 300 votes.

Musgrave was elected assessor in 1994 and then Vanderburgh commissioner in 2004, earning wide praise for her response to the deadly 2005 tornado. In 2007, Gov. Mitch Daniels appointed her as commissioner of the Indiana Department of Local Government Finance. She led reforms in consolidating assessing at the county level. During her tenure, the legislature and a series of public referenda eliminated all but 13 of the state's 1,016 township assessors.



Now in her third term as county commissioner, a three-member board that functions as the chief executive of county government. In that role, she most recently negotiated and implemented a ground-breaking contract bringing high-speed internet to the entire county outside city limits. She is now working on a major multi-million-dollar upgrade to the county-owned historic Soldiers and Sailors Memorial (Veterans) Coliseum in Downtown Evansville. Throughout her career, Musgrave has also championed major road and infrastructure upgrades.

She has not hesitated to challenge authority, to the point that she and her husband Robert were stripped of their county precinct committee positions in 2017 after criticism of Vanderburgh County Republican Chairman Wayne Park. Robert Musgrave had violated State Republican Party rules by contributing \$500 to Riecken's 2015 mayoral campaign. "I pay no attention to Mr. Parke," Commissioner Musgrave said. "He's a bully."

Mayor Winnecke and his wife Carol McClintock were both honored by the Rotary Club in June. The tribute included a video from Gov. Eric Holcomb. Lt. Gov. Suzanne Crouch said at the event, "I am blessed to call you friends. I hope the chapter hasn't ended, and you run for mayor again" (Evansville Courier & Press).

If Winnecke decides to seek a fourth term, this will become one of the most volatile primary races of the 2023 municipal cycle. The winner would be a prohibitive favorite to win City Hall.

INDems conclude town halls

The Indiana Democratic Party finished its town hall series, holding more than 120 events in more than 65 counties to share how President Joe Biden and leaders like U.S. Reps. André Carson and Frank Mrvan have delivered for the Hoosier State. From creating jobs, fighting for a woman's right to choose, or revitalizing the state's many infrastructure systems. Here's a look at a sampling of coverage for the "2022 Town Hall Series" tour:

[Fort Wayne Journal Gazette](#): Democrats invite rivals on state tour.

[WFYI](#): Indiana Democrats, Libertarians join together for town hall series ahead of November election.

[Greenfield Daily Reporter](#): Looking toward November Democrats, Libertarians discuss issues at town hall.

[WIBC](#): Democrats and Libertarians Team Up for Statewide Tour.

[WTHR](#): Abortion rights top of mind at candidate town hall in Fishers.

[News and Tribune](#): U.S., state candidates speak at Indiana Democratic Party's town hall.

[Anderson Herald Bulletin](#): State and local Democrats to conduct town hall meeting.

[WANE-TV](#): Indiana Democrats host Town Hall series in Fort Wayne.

[New Castle Courier-Times](#): Democratic, Libertarian Parties hosting local town hall meeting next week

[Elkhart Truth](#): Democrats host town hall in Middlebury.

[The Hamilton County Reporter](#): Fishers feels the purple rain. Ink Free News: Statewide Office Candidates In Middlebury Wednesday Night.

[Connersville News-Examiner](#): Candidates trade barbs at town hall.

[Crawfordsville Journal Review](#): Ind. Democrats plan town hall meeting.

[Evansville City-County Observer](#): Democrats And Libertarians To Hold "2022 Town Hall Series" In Evansville Today.

[Columbus Republic](#): Democrats plan town hall at Donner.

Governor

Crouch confident she can win nomination

Gov. Eric Holcomb's lieutenant governor and a fundraising force within the party who is eyeing a possible 2024 gubernatorial bid of her own — says she isn't worried (Wren, Importantville). She would have cause to be, of course, given the wake of intra-party turmoil that led to an anti-establishment backlash at the Indiana GOP's state convention earlier this month. But Crouch is betting that the nearly 1,800 party insiders who chose two brash outsiders to the statewide ticket are further to the right than the average Hoosier Republican primary voter. "I doubt that we'll see the June 2022 issues in 2023 and 2024," Crouch said. "You know, you can agree with everything the administration has done or you can choose not to but we do have a governor who's respected by Hoosiers across the state. So much to do with running for office is preparation and timing. The preparation is there with my legislative and executive experience at the local and state level. Timing becomes everything, and I certainly won't make a decision or announcements before the midterm."

Rokita announces 'historic legal win'

Attorney General Todd Rokita today announced a historic legal win in his work to protect the lives and liberty of the unborn. After the Supreme Court's Dobbs decision, Attorney General Rokita immediately filed a motion to lift the current injunction on dismemberment abortions, which occur well after the unborn baby is fully developed. A federal district court granted that motion yesterday. "The court's ruling this week vacating its earlier injunction that permitted this gruesome procedure to continue is an exciting battle victory in our war to defend the unborn and protect women," Attorney General Rokita said. "My office will continue to take all necessary steps to limit abortion, assist mothers, empower families to choose life, and ultimately protect the lives of the unborn." In a separate case, Attorney General Rokita today filed a motion with the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals to reestablish the parental notice requirement for minors to have an abortion. A district court ruled yesterday that it did not have jurisdiction to consider

that motion. "Indiana has a long history of defending life," Rokita said. "I'll continue to do everything in my power to protect unborn children and the physical, mental, and emotional well-being of their mothers."

Doden, Wesco call for adoption fund

Eric Doden and State Rep. Tim Wesco, R-Osceola and call for the General Assembly to establish a \$100 million adoption fund to cover fees for families while in upcoming special session (Downard, Capital Chronicle). "Indiana should lead the nation in protecting life and providing for mothers and families who choose adoption," Wesco said. "Life is precious in Indiana, and mothers and families who choose adoption should receive maximum support." Lawmakers will meet in late July to debate inflation relief and curtail abortion access following a June U.S. Supreme Court decision eliminating federal protections for the healthcare procedure. The release from Wesco and Doden said Indiana had approximately 13,000 children in foster care today and 18,164 adoptions over the last 10 years, peaking at 2,406 in 2019. In addition to the yearlong wait for some adoption processes, the national average cost of a foster adoption costs \$2,744 while independent adoptions can range from \$15,000 to \$40,000.

General Assembly

Senate GOP clinch majority

Republicans have clinched a state Senate majority, four months before a single ballot is cast (Berman, WIBC). Eight Republican senators will be unopposed for reelection. Democrats filled four ballot vacancies ahead of Tuesday's deadline, but even if they run the table in the November election, that would leave them with 24 seats, extending the Republican majority the party has held for 44 years. Democrats would need to gain six seats to crack Republicans' super majority. In the House, nearly half the 100 seats will be uncontested in November, with 29 Republicans and 13 Democrats assured of victory. Two more Republicans have write-in challengers but no opponents on the ballot, and one legislator in each party will have a one-on-one matchup with a Libertarian nominee. Democrats filled a dozen ballot vacancies for House races, while Republicans recruited two last-minute candidates of their own. Parties have two months to add candidates if no one files for a race in the primary. Those 11th-hour additions usually go down to defeat in November, but Bloomington Democrat Peggy Welch served seven terms in the House after a late addition to the ballot in 1998. This year, the newly recruited candidates include potentially competitive Republican-held seats in Zionsville and Carmel. Republicans have added candidates

in districts which elected Republicans just six years ago, in Munster and West Lafayette, though redistricting has altered the contours of those seats. Libertarians nominated candidates in four Indiana House districts.

GiaQuinta meets with VP Harris

Vice President Kamala Harris met Friday with Democratic state legislators from Indiana, Florida, South Dakota, Nebraska and Montana to discuss ways to protect reproductive rights (Capital Chronicle). "The U.S. Supreme Court took away a constitutional right," Harris said, adding that the overturning of Roe v. Wade was one of the most pressing issues facing the country. Indiana House Minority Leader Phil GiaQuinta, D-Fort Wayne, attended the meeting and cautioned about an upcoming special session



in which state Republicans are likely to ban abortion. "Make no mistake, an abortion ban will kill women. Indiana leads the nation in maternal and infant mortality outcomes and lacks the infrastructure to support families as it is," he

said. "We're ready to join you all in the fight to secure the basic freedoms and protections that have been stripped away by the Supreme Court's regressive agenda."

SD23: Sanders says festival barred him

Democrat nominee David Sanders says a local festival tried to boot him because he was a Democrat (Bangert, Based in Lafayette). Organizers of a weeklong Fourth of July festival in Covington pushed back Tuesday on an Indiana Senate candidate's claim that they stalked, intimidated and tried to kick him out of Covington City Park last week as he introduced himself to festival-goers, all because he was a Democrat. "We never told him he had to leave the park," Jerry Pope, president of the Covington Celebration Group, said about an account of an encounter David Sanders, the Democratic candidate in

Americans disapprove of the court's decision to overturn Roe

Polls conducted since the Supreme Court overturned Roe v. Wade on June 24 that ask Americans whether they approve or disapprove of the court's decision

POLLSTER	DATES	APPROVE	DISAPPROVE	DIFFERENCE
YouGov	June 24	37%	50%	-13
YouGov	June 24-25	31	47	-16
Marist College/NPR/PBS NewsHour	June 24-25	40	56	-16
YouGov/CBS News	June 24-25	41	59	-18
Monmouth University	June 24-25	37	60	-23
YouGov/Yahoo News	June 24-27	33	49	-16
YouGov/The Economist	June 25-28	42	49	-7

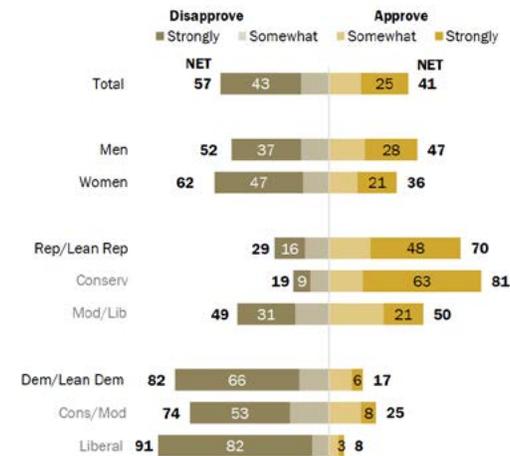
SD23, posted to his campaign page on Facebook on Friday. Pope said organizers of the festival did suggest Sanders move the campaigning to another part of the park, where a Republican women’s club and other nonprofit groups had set up tents, rather than working the crowd gathering around a stage for Thursday night’s entertainment. “I didn’t know him from Adam,” Pope said. “As far as we were concerned, the issue was that we don’t allow any soliciting at all ... It had nothing to do with the politics, other than, I think, that his agenda was to make us look bad, so he looked good to Democrats.”

Pollster gauges Dobbs impact

Last month, Indiana Democrats toured the state, outraged about the U.S. Supreme Court decision that overturned Roe v. Wade, anticipating what the General Assembly would do with new abortion restrictions in a special session later this month and determined to make Republicans pay on Election Day in November (Bangert, Based in Lafayette). Among them: Hammond Mayor Tom McDermott, who is running an uphill campaign challenging U.S. Sen. Todd Young, a pro-life Republican who, at this point, has sizable leads in polling and in available funding. McDermott, during a stop in West Lafayette, was asked whether the Roe ruling and a potential total or near-total ban on abortion in Indiana would create some sort moment similar to the one that helped sink Richard Mourdock in 2012. “It’s scary that legislators can take away the rights of half of our population and not fear the ballot box, whatsoever,” McDermott said last week. “I’m of the opinion that by winning in November, we can send shockwaves in the Republican Party that this is not acceptable.” How much of that anger will translate in November? I asked Christine Matthews, president of Bellwether Research, who did polling for Mitch Daniels during his run for governor, about that. “I think the issue of abortion will have more of an impact in races for governor and state legislature, where the issue will now be decided. I have not seen what Indiana’s legislature plans to do yet, and it will depend on how far they go as to the impact it may have on voters. Will it be a six-week ban? Will there be exceptions for rape/incest? I don’t think the issue will materially impact the outcome of the Young-McDermott race. It’s also important to note that Sen. Young voted for the recent bipartisan gun legislation – so it will be hard to make the case that he is a rigid extremist with suburban women. I think the impact will be selective. It may cost Republicans in more moderate areas – Marion County and the doughnut counties.”

Supreme Court’s decision to overturn Roe v. Wade draws more strong disapproval among Democrats than strong approval among Republicans

% who ___ of the Supreme Court’s decision that the U.S. Constitution does not guarantee a right to abortion and that abortion laws can be set by states



Note: No answer responses not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Pew: 62% disapprove of Dobbs ruling

A majority of Americans disapprove of the U.S. Supreme Court’s landmark ruling overturning the Roe v. Wade decision, which had guaranteed a constitutional right to an abortion for nearly 50 years according to Pew Research. Public support for legal abortion remains largely unchanged since before the decision, with 62% saying it should be legal in all or most cases. Nearly six in 10 adults (57%) disapprove of the court’s sweeping decision, including 43% who strongly disapprove. About four in 10 (41%) approve of the court’s decision (25% strongly approve).

Congress

3rd CD: Independent qualifies for ballot

A Fort Wayne man aiming for a spot on the November ballot has filed a petition of signatures with the Secretary of State and says he has met the requirements to run in the race for 3rd CD (WPTA-TV). Nathan Gotsch on Wednesday said he met state requirements by submitting “well over the required number of signatures for an independent candidate.” In Indiana, someone running for Congress as an independent must secure signatures meeting a threshold that changes periodically. The requirement is linked to the number of votes cast in the most recent secretary of state election. Gotsch says he turned in 7,001 signatures gathered from counties that make up the 3rd District. If that happens, he will be an independent alternative to incumbent US Rep. Jim Banks, a Republican, and Democratic nominee Gary Snyder.

7th CD: Grabovsky cites only 2 Carson bills

Rep. Andre Carson (D) has represented Indianapolis in Congress for 14 years. His Republican opponent in the November election says in that time span he has “not done much” (Darling, WIBC). “Only two bills that he has proposed actually became a law,” said Angela Grabovsky (R) on Indy Politics. “One is to change a name on a federal building and one is to name November National Pancreatic Cancer Month.” Though Grabovsky agrees that those bills were important, she wonders what those pieces of legislation have specifically done for the people he represents in Marion County. She believes who is representing Indianapolis needs to have eyes on the issues at home, of which she says the biggest issue is crime. “A hundred murders in the first six months this year,” Grabovsky said. “We need the laws and rules that are coming from federal

and local levels to keep crime from happening.”

U.S. Senate

McDermott reiterates debate challenge

Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr. tweeted Wednesday: “Weeks ago, I challenged @SenToddYoung to 9 debates across #Indiana, one in each #Hoosier Congressional District. What have we heard from Todd’s campaign in response to our challenge? Nothing. So we decided to make a commercial mocking his avoiding me.”

FiveThirtyEight on House, Senate

Republicans are substantial favorites to take over the U.S. House of Representatives following this November’s midterm elections, but the U.S. Senate is much more competitive, according to FiveThirtyEight’s 2022 midterm election forecast, which launched today. Democrats are also favored to hang on to the governorships in a trio of swing states in the Rust Belt — Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Michigan — although they are significant underdogs to win high-profile gubernatorial races in Georgia and Texas against Republican incumbents.

The House: Republicans have an 87% chance of taking over the House, according to the Deluxe version of our model. That’s far from certain, but Democrats are fighting the odds: Their 13% chances are equivalent to tossing a coin and having it come up tails three times in a row. Ball-swarm (or bee-swarm) chart showing which party wins control of the House in 100 sample outcomes from our Deluxe model’s 40,000 simulations, where Democrats have a 13% chance of winning the chamber and Republicans have a 87% chance. That’s not to say House control will be a matter of luck, exactly. A change in the political environment could have ripple effects. For instance, sometimes one party wins nearly all the toss-up races, as Republicans did in 2020. However, even if Democrats were to win all 13 races that our model currently designates as “toss-ups” (meaning that no party has more than a 60% chance of winning), plus hold on to all the seats in which they’re favored, they would still wind up with only 208 seats, 10 short of the number they need for a majority. Instead, Democrats will also have to win some seats where Republican candidates are currently favored, and that requires the national political environment in November to be more favorable for Democrats than our model is currently expecting.

The Senate: Democratic hopes of keeping the Senate are much more viable, however. Part of this, as I mentioned, is because they appear to have stronger candidates in a handful of key races. Pennsylvania, for instance — which is an open seat after the retirement of Republican Sen. Pat Toomey — is ordinarily the sort of seat that you’d expect Republicans to win since Pennsylvania is a purple state in a Republican year. However, the Democratic candidate, Lt. Gov. John Fetterman, is ahead of Republican Mehmet Oz, the doctor and TV personality, in every

poll conducted so far. The model, though, is trained to be a bit skeptical given the fundamentals of the race, so it hedges against those polls and, at this point, has determined that Pennsylvania is best thought of as a toss-up. Still, that means Democrats have roughly a 50-50 chance of gaining a GOP-held Senate seat, offsetting potential losses elsewhere. Indeed, our forecast sees the overall Senate landscape to be about as competitive as it gets. The Deluxe forecast literally has Senate control as a 50-50 tossup. The Classic and Lite forecasts show Democrats as very slight favorites to keep the Senate, meanwhile, with a 59 and a 62% chance, respectively. Part of this is because Senate terms last for six years, and so most of these seats were last contested in 2016, a mediocre year for Democrats in which they lost the popular vote for the House and also lost Senate races in swing states such as Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Arizona. Of the 35 Senate seats up for grabs in November, 21 are currently held by Republicans. True, most of these are not competitive, but in addition to their chances to gain a GOP-held seat in Pennsylvania, Democrats also have credible chances in Wisconsin and North Carolina (and outside chances in Ohio and Florida, although those are a stretch given how GOP-leaning both states have become).

Nation

Gallup sees lost faith in institutions

Americans are less confident in major U.S. institutions than they were a year ago, with significant declines for 11 of the 16 institutions tested and no improvements for any according to Gallup. The largest declines in confidence are 11 percentage points for the Supreme Court -- as reported in late June before the court issued controversial rulings on gun laws and abortion -- and 15 points for the presidency, matching the 15-point drop in President Joe Biden’s job approval rating since the last confidence survey in June 2021. This year’s survey was conducted June 1-20. Confidence currently ranges from a high of 68% for small business to a low of 7% for Congress. This year’s poll marks new lows in confidence for all three branches of the federal government -- the Supreme Court (25%), the presidency (23%) and Congress.

64% of Dems don’t want Biden to run

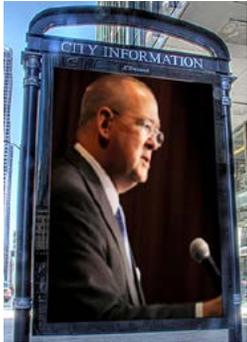
President Biden is facing an alarming level of doubt from inside his own party, with 64 percent of Democratic voters saying they would prefer a new standard-bearer in the 2024 presidential campaign, according to a [New York Times/Siena College](#) poll, as voters nationwide have soured on his leadership, giving him a meager 33 percent job-approval rating. Widespread concerns about the economy and inflation have helped turn the national mood decidedly dark, both on Mr. Biden and the trajectory of the nation. More than three-quarters of registered voters see the United States moving in the wrong direction.

❖

The 246th year of our great experiment

By MICHAEL HICKS

MUNCIE – On the 246th anniversary of our founding, many Americans will find reason for pessimism about the nation’s future. There are many difficult challenges before us, which I will list shortly. Still, we are also possessed with deep wells of strength from which to craft a free and prosperous future.



In 2022 we suffer a large public debt, but as a share of our GDP our external debt ranks 38th highest globally, behind nearly all the rest of the developed world. Our population growth rate has slumped, but nothing like that of China, Japan or most of Europe.

Our murder rate ranks 64th world-wide, putting us well above most of the developed world.

Many of our institutions suffer deep stress. Church attendance is down, and young people in particular have fewer formal institutions or clubs with which to reinforce their sense of community and shared responsibility. Our political institutions have recently come under attack. Just last year, the United States was targeted by an attempted coup by a sitting president. A substantial share of sitting members of Congress enabled that coup attempt either directly or through their lack of moral courage.

Over the past two years, more than 1 million Americans died of COVID, with more than one-third dying needlessly over their objection to vaccines. This pandemic was the prime source of our current debt, the recent bout of inflation and the shrinking labor force. Our Federal Reserve and federal government responded too cautiously to inflation, prompting many states to make matters worse through tax cuts and heightened stimulus.

We have foreign enemies from Russia, China, Iran and North Korea, and in terrorist camps across Africa, the Middle East, and in South East Asia. Our nation appears more divided than at any other time in my life, and that discord makes dealing with our enemies, both foreign and domestic, more challenging. The most extreme views dominate debates about guns, abortion, voting rights, immigration and cultural issues. Too often, people of goodwill and who could craft principled compromise are yelled down from fringe activists.

My greatest concern for the future of our nation is that poor places are growing poorer while rich places grow more affluent. I see little meaningful effort to reverse that trend, which cannot be healthy for the Republic I so urgently love.

Despite this, I see three sources of strength that give me hope and optimism.

First, our institutions appear to be holding. Let me provide two examples.

President Trump’s coup attempt against our Republic failed. As the January 6th committee hearings now make clear, he orchestrated a broad and purposeful conspiracy to stage a coup against our government. These crimes failed due to the actions of hundreds of patriots from Congressional police officers to Vice President Pence. While the wheels of justice move slowly, indictments, arrests, confessions and imprisonment await many. This will affect officials from the highest levels of government.

In weaker nations, treasonous conspiracies are often met by summary executions. That these criminals face deliberate investigation and eventually a public trial is our nation’s strength. This thoroughgoing process is needed to ensure we remain a nation ruled by laws, not despots.

Second, the checks and balances of government remain in active tension as our founders intended. The best example of that is in recent Supreme Court rulings on *Roe v. Wade*. Whatever one thinks of the decision, this is a prime opportunity for voters to have their say.

If the many opinion polls are correct, as surely they are, four out of five voters seek broad compromise on abortion. This alone will favor candidates who reject the extremes on both sides. With providence, our Republic will emerge stronger after a period of compromise and elections that reflect actual policy choices, not culture war slogans.

I am also optimistic because across many margins of potential discord, our nation is actually improving rapidly. The past few decades have been ones of remarkable change. As a nation we grow more affluent. While there may be growing disparities, even the poorest families are better off than they were a generation earlier.

By every objective measure, racial harmony is better than ever. As many as one in seven marriages are interracial, demonstrating a radically better environment than that of my youth. Other minority groups thrive in America in ways that were unimaginable even a generation ago.

The gender wage gap for young women has largely disappeared. With three women now attending college for every two men, the issue of gender equity is largely self-resolving.

I think much of the culture war from both sides reflects the narrowing window of policy arguments. As the real issues about which we fight become more modest, the loudest voices grow more extreme. The result is an unreadable social media environment populated by what is charitably described as wackos. Neither party has a monopoly on craziness. We’d all sleep better ignoring them.

The single factor that makes me most optimistic about the future are today’s young Americans. I’ve been closely associated with the 18-to-25-year-old crowd for four decades. I’ve been leading, commanding or teach-

ing since the summer of 1981. I've watched the tail end of my generation of Boomers, through Gen X, Millennials and now Gen Z. I've supervised them in the workplace, military training, in combat, and in college from community college through doctoral classes. I like what I see now, more than ever.

To be sure, the current generation is imperfect. Their musical tastes are suspect, few if any can drive manual transmission and their phone etiquette is horrible. Too many of them are drawn to the political and cultural extremes. Still, these are common criticisms of youth.

In the matters most salient to longer-term prosperity, young Americans today do just fine. Today's young adults are far more accepting of others and their differences. The palpable decline in prejudice of all types unleashes access to substantially more human capital in businesses, schooling and public service. This alone offers substantial optimism for our future.

The shock of COVID restrictions left a dent in edu-

cation for a whole generation. Still, the many young people I know have emerged more resilient and more thankful for normalcy. Among the higher performing students of this generation, COVID provided the type of challenge that revealed the best of their nature.

As a conservative, I view human nature as constant, but culture as fluid. From my vantage point, many of the cultural innovations of today's youth offer hope for our future. These young adults, combined with the resilience of our political institutions and general economic and social improvements in our nation, fill me with optimism this Independence Day. ❖

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 at Ball State University.

INtro to Indiana (part 3)

By **MORTON J. MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – Recent columns have examined Indiana's GDP in isolation and in mid-level detail (21 sub-sectors). Now let's widen and narrow the view.



How was Indiana doing before COVID, which threw everything out-of-whack for a while? Between 2009 and 2019, Indiana's Real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) grew from \$280 billion to \$338 billion, after adjustment for inflation. That's a \$59 billion jump, a 21% increase (allowing for rounding off the numbers).

Over the same decade, the nation advanced by 25%. The difference seems small. But when we're dealing with billions of dollars in constant buying power, that's \$10.8 billion foregone in the value of our output, and roughly \$5.5 billion in personal income.

Not keeping pace with the nation has its price, as well as its benefits. Why didn't Indiana keep pace with the nation? Let's look at just one cluster of industries where we were "deficient."

Computer technology is what many studies and their authors label as "High-tech." In terms of the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, there are three of 65 industrial groups that qualify:

- Computer and electronic product manufacturing;
 - Data processing, hosting, and other information services;
 - Computer systems design and related services.
- Please note, most studies and economic develop-

ment press releases refer to jobs. We are using GDP actually produced. Jobs may include many occupations that, in themselves, are not High-tech. For example, a firm may employ an economist and a janitor.

Further, there is often nothing else identified as "high-tech," although the news is filled with articles about what is considered "high-tech" in biology, chemistry and physics. I imagine economic developers use this more inclusive definition.

The three groups above had a 128% increase in the value of output (GDP) nationally over 10 years, while Indiana's increase amounted to 79%. That increase accounted for 16% of the total increase in Real GDP for the nation, while contributing only 6% to the growth in Indiana.

Data processing and hosting led all of the 65 industrial groups in the U.S. in its rate of growth; System design ranked third. Indiana mirrored the nation with data processing and hosting ranking second among the 65 Hoosier growth rates, system design ranked fourth.

To satisfy curiosity, growth rates for Motor vehicles, bodies and trailers, and parts manufacturing ranked second in the nation and first in Indiana.

Please remember, 2009 was the bottom of the housing finance bust of 2008 and cars were not selling well because of joblessness and tight credit. Hence the high ranking of the motor vehicle group reflects a cyclical circumstance rather than a trend.

What's ahead? The GDP of individual Indiana counties. If no one is complaining, we'll move into demographics or housing, or both ... or any of many other areas of our state's profile. ❖

Mr. Marcus is an economist. Reach him at morton-jmarcus@yahoo.com. Follow him and John Guy on Who Gets What?

Hot dogs, apple pie and parade massacres

By JACK COLWELL
South Bend Tribune

SOUTH BEND – It's now as American as baseball, hot dogs, apple pie and Chevrolet. The mass shooting at the Fourth of July parade in Highland Park, Ill., was just another reminder of who we are.



After myriad tragedies of gun violence in America – at a school, church, concert, store or location anywhere from sea to shining sea – we hear the same claim: "This is not who we are."

It is who we are in the American shooting gallery.

What happened in Highland Park wasn't some isolated incident. More than 220 people were shot and killed over the Fourth of July weekend. And that weekend wasn't that different from others this year. There have been 315 mass shootings across the nation since Jan. 1. That number will be higher by the time you read this. There have been some 22,500 deaths caused by gunfire.

The frequency of mass shootings is uniquely American. No other country experiences this. It is who we are.

The main reason for these shootings isn't that America has more mental problems than any other country. Does anyone really believe there are no mentally unstable people in Britain, Australia and all the other countries where mass shootings are rare? No, the main reason is the unchecked proliferation here of guns, specifically of assault-style rifles, weapons of war, the weapons of choice of the mass murderers.

Sure, we need better care for the mentally ill. Yes, some tragedies could be prevented by the recent legislation to promote red-flag laws for intervention in cases where someone is a serious danger.

But when someone wanting to commit mass murder can easily get an assault-style rifle and high-capacity magazines for quickly firing over 70 rounds at spectators at a parade, the reason is clear.

Robert Crimo III was "a law-abiding citizen" when he bought the rifle used at the parade. At least he was in the terms used by those who insist on no restrictions for gun purchases by "law-abiding citizens." He had no felony conviction then.

He wasn't yet 21. So what? Congress just declined

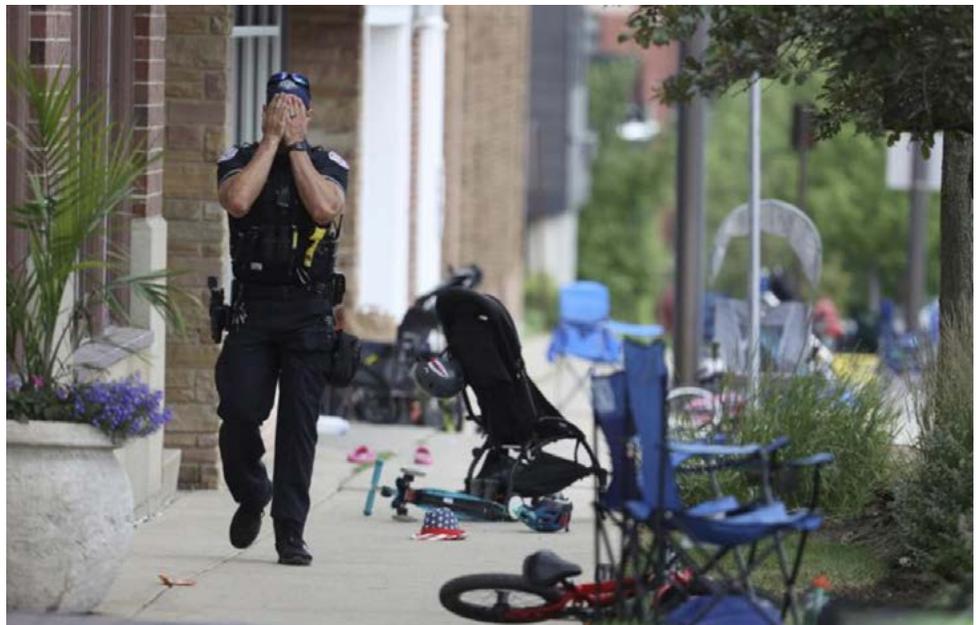
to set that age as a requirement for purchase of one of those weapons of war that so eviscerate the facial features of victims that it's difficult to identify them. If there had been a more extensive background check, could reasons have been found to block his purchase? Maybe. But background checks have been weakened with loopholes. Quick purchase is allowed if nothing is immediately uncovered. That's the work of gun lobbyists. They are interested in protecting sales of expensive assault-style rifles with a huge profit. Saving anything else is not their interest.

Even getting provision for encouraging states to pass red-flag laws was tough, especially in the House, where so many members feared that anything displeasing to the NRA could hurt chances of reelection.

Opposition to halting the sales of military-style rifles designed for killing humans in combat is stirred by the slippery-slope argument: If they ban sales of assault rifles, next they'll come to take away all of your guns. Nonsense. Could you imagine the Supreme Court now going along with anything involving taking away 2nd Amendment rights ingrained in court decisions?

The Supreme Court, however, has said that some restrictions on types of weapons could be approved by Congress. For example, machine guns are banned.

After all, the Founding Fathers didn't in their debates on the Constitution ever insist that semi-automatic muskets with high-capacity magazines would be essential



for a well-regulated militia.

Sales of weapons of war increase. Frequency of their use as though in war increases, too. States like Indiana even do away with permits to carry a gun.

This is America. This is who we are:

Baseball, hot dogs, apple pie and shoot away. ❖

Always leave them with hope

By **LEE HAMILTON**

BLOOMINGTON – Many years ago, I was in the audience when the Rev. Jesse Jackson, the legendary civil rights activist and election mobilizer, gave a speech. He often used the catchphrase, “Keep hope alive!” when he spoke, and he did so that time. The audience picked it up as a chant. “Keep hope alive!” they called. “Keep hope alive!” It was a memorable bit of political showmanship.



A few years later, I gave a speech at a small college in Iowa. I used it to analyze all the challenges our country faced, domestic and foreign, and finished thinking I’d done a pretty good job of laying out our problems. Afterward, a young student came up to me. “That was a marvelous

speech, Congressman,” she said. “I’ve just got one question: Is there any hope?”

I realized then that, far from rising to the occasion, I’d failed. Jesse Jackson was right: You always have to leave your listeners with hope, and I had not done that.

This is very hard to pull off, of course – possibly harder now than it was then. We face a long list of seemingly intractable problems, from climate change to mass shootings to threats to our democratic processes to overseas rivals willing to test us at every turn. It’s easy to get discouraged and to believe that we cannot solve or manage those problems – and then to give in to despair. But Jackson and that student were right. We constantly need reminding that we can change things for the better.

The reason, actually, is straightforward. The backbone of our system of representative democracy is its faith in ordinary Americans to step up to their responsibility as citizens to improve their corner of the world – by their own direct actions as well as by making discriminating judgments about politicians and policies. If you rob people of hope, then you rob them of a reason to be involved.

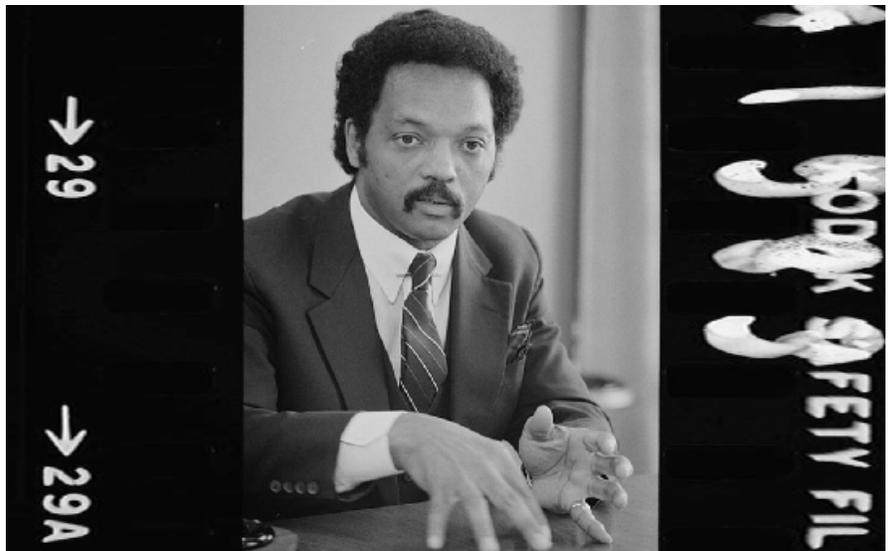
In decades of talking to people all over the country, I’ve been repeatedly impressed by the strength of citizens’ desire to improve their communities. This often reflected itself in specific projects – a bridge or a road or renovations to a local school – but it also applied to supporting quality leaders who could get things done for their communities.

To be sure, people were often wary of politics:

they thought it was filled with messiness and noise. But at the end of the day, they saw the need for deal-making, compromise, and negotiation. I think this is still true for the majority of Americans, though an alarming number these days want to elect political leaders who will brook no compromise – and, indeed, seem to take an almost punitive approach to fellow citizens and politicians who disagree with them. They want to extinguish hope.

Still, I believe that most Americans are solidly pragmatic. They recognize the complexities of the challenges we face, see the limitations on what can be accomplished at any given moment, and believe that even in the face of division there’s much that unites us, especially the urge to improve our own lives and those of our neighbors and fellow community members. They’re very aware of differences of opinion and operate out of a basic sense of decency and fairness – they want the process to reflect fairly where people stand. I think that, without articulating it, they understand instinctively that keeping the process fair is crucial to keeping hope alive.

I’ve worked in this system a long time, and I believe it can do just that – if it’s allowed to work, and if citizens are allowed to fulfill the basic responsibility of being involved. That’s why the hope of changing things for the better is so crucial. We may face serious, difficult problems, but if we allow ourselves to become discour-



aged – or even worse, to be discouraged from tackling them – then progress really will be impossible. ❖

Lee Hamilton is a Senior Advisor for the Indiana University Center on Representative Government; a Distinguished Scholar at the IU Hamilton Lugar School of Global and International Studies; and a Professor of Practice at the IU O’Neill School of Public and Environmental Affairs. He was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives for 34 years.

Jerry Davich, NWI Times: Trump won. It's not how many of you may believe. But he most certainly won. I was reminded of this indisputable victory while bicycling past a star-spangled "TRUMP WON" flag in downtown Valparaiso. I've biked or ran past it dozens of times. It amuses me every time. Most flags – including the American flag – wave in the wind at passersby. Trump flags scream, even on windless days. They are the perfect representation of our blowhard former president. But here's the thing about Donald Trump. Despite his campaign promises and propaganda, he doesn't care about our country as much as his supporters care about it. He never has. Trump cares only about power, in any form. If you think differently, you've been duped, plain and simple. Like I said, Trump won. He is a megalomaniac who tells lies like comedians tell jokes. It's the currency of his billionaire bully's existence. He loves himself much more than he loves the United States. This is not opinion. This is fact. If you don't think so, you're the sucker at the proverbial poker table holding a pair of deuces and thinking it's a royal flush. With that said and my cards on the table, let me also anger Trump critics and haters. The Donald is also brilliant. Desperately brilliant. Diabolically brilliant. But brilliant. It doesn't matter if you like him or not, or if you love or respect him. Trump has convinced tens of millions of Americans that he – and only he – is their political and cultural messiah. Politics is the new truth in America the Ballistic. Opinions are facts. Beliefs are evidence. Rhetoric is science. Fake news is anything we don't want to believe. At this very moment, he is calculating when to launch his new campaign for the 2024 presidential election. This scares the bejeebers out of Democrats. And it should. ❖



Dana Millbank, Washington Post: On Tuesday, the venerable Gallup organization reported that just 27 percent of Americans expressed confidence in their institutions — the lowest level of trust since the questions were first asked half a century ago. On Wednesday, Mitch McConnell showed us why Americans feel this way. Republican senators announced that, under orders from the Senate Republican leader, they were pulling out of House-Senate talks finalizing details on bipartisan legislation to help the United States compete with China on semiconductor chips that was sponsored by Indiana Sen. Todd Young. It wasn't because McConnell objected to the China bill; he was one of 19 Republican senators who voted for the Senate's version. It's because he objects to a second, unrelated bill Democrats are working on to lower prescription drug prices. McConnell wants to stop Democrats, including Sen. Joe Manchin III (W.Va.), from using a process known as "reconciliation" to pass that prescription-drug bill by a simple majority vote, immune from any GOP filibuster. And to stop Americans from getting cheaper prescriptions, he is willing to sabotage American manufacturers (and therefore assist China) by

denying them \$52 billion in support under the U.S. Innovation and Competition Act. In both cases, Americans lose — because McConnell thinks it's to Republicans' advantage in the midterm elections. He is willing to hurt the country, and help the Chinese, in order to harm Democrats' political standing. "Let me be perfectly clear: there will be no bipartisan USICA as long as Democrats are pursuing a partisan reconciliation bill," he tweeted. And let me be perfectly clear: This cynicism has destroyed Americans' faith in their government. ❖

John Krull, Statehouse File: Some years ago, a group opposed to abortion created a series of television commercials and an ad campaign. The theme was: "Life, what a beautiful choice." Each spot featured a story about a woman who had decided to have a child rather than an abortion. They ended with the same tag line – about life being a beautiful choice. At the time, most observers thought of the ads as a clever public relations strategy, a way to soften the sharp edges of an anti-abortion movement that was perceived to be too strident to be persuasive to anyone who didn't already agree with its position on the issue. The campaign was seen as an attempt to preach beyond the choir. It was more than that. Even then, there were thoughtful people who were morally opposed to abortion who were wary of having Roe vs. Wade overturned. The reason? They understood that having the courts determine that government at any level – federal, state or local – had the power to tell a woman she couldn't have an abortion was also to grant government the authority to tell her that she must have an abortion. At the time the "Life, a beautiful choice" campaign ran, anti-abortion activists were justifiably alarmed by China's "one-child" policy, which resulted in forced sterilizations, government-ordered abortions and other assaults on personal autonomy and the human spirit. Those events in China gave all thoughtful people pause regarding the notion of taking family planning and reproductive decisions out of the individual's and the family's hands and putting them under the state's control. That is why, to this day, many libertarians who consider abortion an abhorrent practice resist the notion of making it illegal. They simply don't want to give government that much power. U.S. Supreme Court Justice Samuel Alito tried to offer them reassurance in his majority opinion in Dobbs vs. Mississippi, the ruling that overturned Roe. He attempted to argue that the decision was limited in scope, and neither would nor could it be applied in any other circumstance. Among those not fooled by Alito's attempts at evasion was fellow Justice Clarence Thomas, who is every bit as devout in his opposition to abortion as Alito is. In his concurring opinion, Thomas contended that if the premise behind Roe—that individuals have constitutionally protected rights to privacy and autonomy—was wrong, then a lot of other decisions were wrong. He argued that the cases concerning same-sex marriage, contraception and other concerns. ❖

Rep. Mrvan secures \$22M for Region

WASHINGTON — More than \$22 million in federal funds likely are headed to Northwest Indiana to help meet the needs of local governments, police departments, hospitals, universities, airports, harbors and community organizations across the Region (Carden, [NWI Times](#)). Earlier this month, U.S. Rep. Frank J. Mrvan, D-Highland, won approval by the House Appropriations Committee for his 2023 budget year earmarks prioritizing economic and environmental investments by the federal government in Northwest Indiana. The money is on top of the \$45 million in federal funds Mrvan secured during his first year in Congress for specific infrastructure and economic development projects in Lake, Porter and northwest LaPorte counties. "I am grateful for the ability to advocate for the needs of Indiana's 1st Congressional District and deliver tangible projects that will have a positive impact for communities across our Region," Mrvan said.



U.S. adds 372K jobs in June

WASHINGTON — America's employers shrugged off high inflation and weakening growth to add 372,000 jobs in June, a surprisingly strong gain that will likely spur the Federal Reserve to keep sharply raising interest rates to try to cool the economy and slow price increases ([AP](#)). The unemployment rate remained at 3.6% for a fourth straight month, the government said Friday, matching a near-50-year low that was reached before the pandemic struck in early 2020. The robust pace of hiring shows that businesses still want to add workers to meet high customer demand—a trend that should ease concerns that the U.S. economy might be on the

verge of a downturn. The durability of the job market suggests that the economy remains on firm footing, at least for now. "For all the doom and gloom that's in the markets right now, companies themselves still seem pretty upbeat on their own progress," said James Knightley, chief economist at ING, a bank. "It sort of dampens the near-term fear that we're heading into an impending recession."

One in six suicide calls didn't connect

WASHINGTON — Health officials preparing to broaden the reach of a national mental-health crisis line are working to strengthen an overstretched network of call centers that didn't connect with about one in six callers in recent years, a [Wall Street Journal](#) data review showed. The National Suicide Prevention Lifeline will transition on July 16 to a three-digit number for calls and texts, 988, from a 10-digit number that has operated since 2005 in coordination with local crisis centers. The line's operators, including the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration and the nonprofit Vibrant Emotional Health, said they expect an increase in calls to the shorter and more memorable 988 number during the next year. Stress, suffering and disruption of routines during the pandemic has worsened many people's mental health, clinicians have said. The network of about 200 call centers that answers calls to the line is already under some strain. Some 1.5 million of 9.2 million calls between 2016 and 2021 were abandoned by callers or disconnected before a counselor could respond.

Bannon flips, will now testify on Jan. 6

WASHINGTON — With his criminal trial for contempt of Congress approaching, Stephen K. Bannon, an ally of former President Donald J. Trump's who was involved in his plans to overturn the 2020 election, has informed the House committee investigating the Capitol attack that

he is now willing to testify, according to two letters obtained by the [New York Times](#). His decision is a remarkable about-face for Mr. Bannon, who until Saturday had been among the most obstinate and defiant of the committee's potential witnesses. He had promised to turn the criminal case against him into the "misdemeanor from hell" for the Justice Department.

Buttigieg defends Kavanaugh remark

WASHINGTON — Two days after Supreme Court Justice Brett M. Kavanaugh fled abortion rights protesters at a Morton's steakhouse in D.C., Chasten Buttigieg — husband of Transportation Secretary Pete Buttigieg — tweeted his assessment of the incident. "Sounds like he just wanted some privacy to make his own dining decisions," Chasten Buttigieg wrote, alluding to Kavanaugh's recent vote to overturn *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 court decision that had guaranteed abortion access on the basis of Americans' right to privacy ([Washington Post](#)). The tweet drew criticism from some conservatives, including former Trump adviser Stephen Miller, who decried what he called an endorsement of "the use of mob intimidation tactics" as "wildly irresponsible." But Pete Buttigieg defended his husband's remarks during a Sunday interview with Fox News's Mike Emanuel. "Any public figure should always, always be free from violence, intimidation and harassment but should never be free from criticism or people exercising their First Amendment rights," Buttigieg said in a "Fox News Sunday" appearance.

Construction of purple line begins

INDIANAPOLIS — Purple Line construction is supposed to resume in Indianapolis Monday morning ([WIBC](#)). Purple Line construction will enter a new 130-day closure along 38th Street between Keystone and Emerson avenues. One eastbound lane will remain open.