



# With SEA1 now law, political ramifications

Sen. Graham's bill to nationalize abortion adds to Indiana's cross-currents

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – On the eve of Indiana's new abortion restrictions going into law, Americans were treated to yet another split screen moment. On Tuesday, there was President Biden lauding the Inflation Reduction Act, while the CNBC ticker revealed yet



another CPI increase driven by food prices and there was a subsequent massive selloff on Wall Street. That should have been the defining element of the day's news cycle (other than the Queen's body arriving at Buckingham Palace and the Russian rout in Ukraine).

Then came U.S. Sen. Lindsey Graham's proverbial turd in the punch bowl, proposing to enact a nationwide ban at 15 weeks of pregnancy. This, after the last three U.S. Supreme Court nominees had vowed to respect



precedent rulings. This, after the Supreme Court ruled on Roe, with Republicans far and wide vowing that the issue should be decided by state legislatures. "There's a narrative forming in America that the Republican Party and the pro-life movement is on a run. No, no, no, no, no, no,"

Continued on page 3

## Aiming higher in 2024

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

WEST LAFAYETTE – During the closing minutes of a podcast with The Bulwark's Mona Charen last week, Mitch Daniels once again speculated on his tombstone epitaph: "He raised four wonderful daughters and reformed the BMV." By Sunday, the Frugal Hoosiers for Mitch Twitter feed appeared to revise its intent: "#runmitchrun ... for Governor ... or President would be great too."



That's in "President" as the one living at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., in the District of Columbia, and not at Purdue University's Westwood.

With the federal debt and the earth's oceans swelling to unprecedented levels, with the nation reeling from the Jan. 6 in-



**"I'm very proud of the progress we all made in Carmel. We have our City Center, we have Carter Green, we have the Palladium anchoring our arts. All the things we set out to do have been accomplished."**

- Carmel Mayor Jim Brainard, announcing he won't run in '23



STATE AFFAIRS

**Howey Politics Indiana**  
**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

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



surrection and FBI searches at Mar-a-Lago, and with the Grand Old Party on a troubling and doomed authoritarian – no, “fascist” – trajectory, it is time to dust off those green “Run, Mitch, Run” signs 11 years after they were unceremoniously stuffed into the nether reaches of the closet. This came after Gov. Daniels suffered his only electoral defeat (in the Daniels Family Female Caucus).

**If there is a “draft Mitch”** movement percolating here in Indiana, it should be for the 49th governor of Indiana to become the 47th president of the United States. His daughters are older now. Former First Lady Cheri wouldn’t face the kind of scrutiny she did in the pre-Trump era.

Or as Washington Post columnist George Will put it on MSNBC’s Morning Joe when host Joe Scarborough asked him who might be the best post-Trump Republican to run in 2024, he responded, “Mitch Daniels was the president we should have had.”

Watching “President Daniels” do a “Fireside Chat” with U.S. Secretary of State Antony Blinken, U.S. Commerce Secretary Gina Raimondo, Sen. Todd Young and Gov. Eric Holcomb Tuesday morning after touring Purdue’s emerging semi-conductor ecosystem was seeing this executive in his proper element, talking big picture horizons with the world’s biggest players. After the tour, Sec. Raimondo pronounced herself “blown away” by what she saw while Sec. Blinken unabashedly predicted that “America is back.”

“If you need a jolt of optimism, it’s all right here,” Blinken said.

At one point, Sec. Raimondo turned to Daniels, asking, “Where do

we go from here?”

Daniels responded, “Listening to the question and answers had me reflecting back. I’m near the end of 10 years here, but one of the first major speeches I was asked to give was at the National Academy of Engineers in 2013. At that time was the Augustine Report ... which said the single most important thing for the nation was to turn out at least 10,000 more engineers a year. I remember telling that audience, ‘Purdue will speak for that first 7 or 8%. You folks figure out the rest.’ We’ve done that.”

On this past Friday, the day after President Biden warned that the nation was in danger of being subverted by election denying “MAGA Republicans” (and Purdue was playing Penn State on the gridiron) Charen asked Daniels to comment on the former, noting that Donald Trump was also pledging second term pardons for the insurrectionists.

“I’ve spent 10 years ducking questions like this,” Daniels responded. He then said, “I’ll just make no objections to the statements the president made. These are things that needed to be said. I think there are anti-democratic tendencies on both ends of the spectrum.”

**But Charen** countered, saying that only the MAGA Republicans are currently “subverting democracy.”

“Completely agree,” Daniels responded.

Charen asked the same questions that Dave Bangert, Adam Wren and I have been tossing Daniels’s way ever since he announced he was leaving Purdue this December. “What’s your next move?”

Daniels is still in Response

Mode 1.0: "I don't have a clue. I've never been much of a planner. I haven't one right now. I've never been obsessed with political office. I've only run for one."

He went on to call a 2024 candidacy "unlikely," once again stating, "I don't have any plan right now."

Which is where Ben Ledo's "Frugal Hoosiers" comes in.

When he returned to Indiana to seek the governorship in 2003, he coined the phrase and successful campaign slogan, "Aiming higher."

**Mitch Daniels needs to** heed that admonition, look beyond a third Indiana gubernatorial term and focus his prescient mind toward his political party and his nation.

He finds the vast majority of the GOP either publicly silent, or sullied when it comes to the disastrous impacts of Donald Trump. The silence of those Republicans who haven't denounced Trumpism is deafening; a stunning abdication of political leadership.

In 2011, he warned CPAC of the growing "red menace" of uncontrolled national spending. He urged the GOP to take a "truce on social issues." CPAC is now the debased territory of Trump and Viktor Orbán.

What has happened since? According to the Congressional Budget Office, in fiscal year 2021, the federal deficit totaled nearly \$2.8 trillion – about \$360 billion less than in 2020, but nearly triple the shortfall in 2019 when President Trump was in office. Fiscal restraint went out the window on the Republican watch, accelerating with the response to the COVID pandemic. Trump was no fiscal "conservative."



And social issues? The Republican Party is poised to botch the historic mid-term trends this November in a way they haven't since 1998. And it's worth restating, that since Donald Trump hit the scene in 2015, he lost the popular vote in both the 2016 and 2020 elections, the Senate in 2018 and again in 2020 when he helped kick away two Georgia seats, and lost the House in 2020. It's an unparalleled legacy by a Republican since ... President Herbert Hoover. Because of "candidate quality" in Trump-endorsed Senate candidates, the former president risks losing a Senate majority in three consecutive elections this Nov. 8.

Mitch Daniels' first political job was with Bill Ruckelshaus, whose career pinnacle occurred in 1973 when he valiantly stood up to a flagging President Nixon during the infamous Watergate era "Saturday Night Massacre." American needs such courage today.

Daniels has played key roles with mayor and U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar, led the NSRC, and was President Reagan's White House political director and Bush43's White House budget director. He is a self-described acolyte of the legendary L. Keith Bulen.

**If Mitch Daniels could summon** the spirit of Keith Bulen tonight, and relate to him the atrophy staring down today's GOP and the nation, I can just imagine the advice he would receive from the legendary chairman ...

"Run, Mitch, run. If not now, then when? If not you, then who?"

"Aim higher, Mitch. Aim higher." ❖

## SEA1, from page 1

Graham said. "We welcome the debate. We welcome the vote in the United States Senate as to what America should look like in 2022."

By the end of the day, it was the Graham bill that was dominating the U.S. political news.

"Bad idea," GOP strategist Chris Motola told NBC. "It rips open a political sore. The political environment was moving back to economic issues. It further nationalizes an issue that works against Republicans generically."

The Wall Street Journal editorial board was not impressed. "This is constitutionally dubious, and although Mr. Graham is right that Democratic abortion absolutists too often get



a pass, he is taking a big political gamble. As a policy, 15 weeks of abortion on demand is about on par with the laws in Western Europe. That would continue to permit most of the abortions done in the U.S. In 2019, 92.7% were performed at 13 weeks or before, according to a study by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention."

But former Vice President Mike Pence says he believes implementing a national abortion ban and continuing the conservative fight to restrict bodily autonomy for women "is profoundly more important than any short-term politics. We must not rest and must not relent until the sanctity of life is restored to the center of American law in every state in the land."

Indiana Democratic U.S. Senate nominee Thomas McDermott Jr., who long predicted that the repeal of Roe would ignite a political reaction that could improve his long-shot challenge to U.S. Sen. Todd Young, tweeted, "A 15-week NATIONWIDE ABORTION BAN, one that trumps all 50 state laws on this just (is) a great example of why Indiana needs to fire Todd Young & protect women's medical decisions."



McDermott told HPI Wednesday morning that the Graham bill "is a wildly extreme proposal that doesn't give a shred of respect to women or to state rights. However, Sen. Graham was nice enough to give America a preview of what kind of agenda the Senate GOP will implement if they regain control of that chamber in the November midterms. That is why Hoosiers must fight so hard to make sure that GOP control of the Senate doesn't happen."

HPI sought a comment from Sen. Young, but there was no response.

As for SEA1 becoming applicable today, Indiana Republican Party spokesman Luke Thomas told HPI, "When SEA1 and its companion bill SEA2 go into effect, Indiana will send a clear message that we respect life and value supporting and protecting the health of women and children. This November, Hoosiers and the rest of the country will be voting their pocketbooks, focusing on the issues of rising costs, a faltering national economy, and public safety issues caused by soft-on-crime Democrat prosecutors."

The ACLU's Ken Falk said today, "Every day that this ban on abortion is in effect, Hoosiers are unable to access critical health care. This ban immediately impacts the 1.3 million women and people of reproductive age across the state by stripping them of their right to access basic care – forcing Hoosiers to either flee their community to access an abortion, if they have the resources to do so, or to carry a pregnancy against their will and for some Hoosiers, against their religious beliefs. With multiple lawsuits pending in Indiana courts, we remain confident that the courts will see this law for what it is, a flagrant attack on the rights of Hoosiers. This fight is far from over. We'll continue doing everything in our power to restore abortion access in Indiana as soon as possible."

Democrat Heidi Beidinger, who is challenging Rep. Dale DeVon in a suburban district hugging the Michigan line, said, "We women know that we have the power to change the world if we work together. Indiana has taken away some of our freedoms. Let's shift that anger into action and take back Indiana (starting with voting for me and other Dems for Statehouse!)"

Sen. Graham's proposal for a federal abortion law reeks of cynicism, particularly coming from a 67-year-old childless bachelor. He certainly seems to understand that the GOP has a problem but he is ignoring the fact that his proposal has been rejected by Republican-led state legis-

latures, including Indiana. Also, he knows that even his own caucus won't support it.

- The Indiana legislature had its chance to adopt a law allowing for first trimester abortions but the Republican supermajorities in both chambers rejected the idea.

- In the Senate, Sen. Tim Lanning's amendment to allow an abortion in the first 15 weeks failed by a vote of 13-33 with only three Republicans in favor.

- In the House, Rep. Cindy Ziemke's amendment to allow an abortion in the first 13 weeks failed by a vote of 34-65 with only six Republicans voting in favor.

- Although the amendments failed, a surprising number of Republicans do not support exceptions for rape and incest. There were 18 Senate Republicans who voted to remove the exceptions and 39 House Republicans who voted the same way.

- And Gov. Holcomb is clearly comfortable with the ban. He signed the bill into law within an hour of its passage.

While Indiana's SEA1 took effect today, Owen County Judge Kelsey Hanlon will hear the ACLU's lawsuit seeking to block the new abortion restrictions on Sept. 19. According to the AP, Indiana abortion clinic operators filed the lawsuit Aug. 31, saying the ban, which includes limited exceptions, "strips away the fundamental rights of people seeking abortion care" in violation of the Indiana Constitution.

After the Supreme Court overturned Roe v. Wade in June, most Republicans stuck to a simple message: The decision merely sent the issue back to the states; it was not a prelude to any national ban on abortion. But as Politico Playbook observed, Graham "tossed all that out the window Tuesday, dropping a bill that would implement a nationwide ban on abortion after 15 weeks of pregnancy while allowing states to pass more restrictive laws. The immediate effect was to put fellow Republicans, who had already been on their heels over Roe's reversal, straight onto their butts."

"At a Capitol Hill news conference Tuesday, Graham promoted his bill as good policy and good politics, noting that it would align U.S. abortion law with the rest of the industrialized world while giving GOP officeholders and candidates a proposal to rally around. Instead, the opposite happened. The GOP scattered in response, while Democrats all over the country began salivating. One told Playbook: 'Graham's stunt is a godsend and helps us remind voters Republicans want to ban abortion everywhere.'"

By the end of the day, controversial and weak Republican Senate nominees were embracing the Graham bill. Georgia's Herschel Walker said, "I will always stand up for our unborn children. I believe the issue should be decided at the state level, but I WOULD support this policy." Arizona nominee Blake Masters tweeted support, but Play-

	2018		2020		2021		2022			
	June	July	June	July	June	July	April	May	June	July
Registrations New	14742	15829	19254	24755	10460	10801	3619	16197	13057	10837
Registrations Updated	38066	38714	51978	50326	30406	143813	6953	41483	28354	23609

book observed: "His campaign spokesperson retweeted a bewildered reaction to the legislation before later deleting the RT."

Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell said, "Most of the members of my conference prefer that this be dealt with at the state level." Sen. Shelley Moore Capito, R. W.Va., added, "I'm not sure what he's thinking here. But I don't think there will be a rallying around that concept."

Democratic strategist and CEO of Target Smart Tom Bonier said the Supreme Court's overturning Roe v. Wade is galvanizing Americans to register to vote, and vote for Democrats. "The Kansas results were really a surprise, I think, even to people like me, who have studied these numbers for decades. And so we set out to figure out why. What we saw was a huge surge in women registering to vote after Dobbs when you compare to before," Bonier said. Republicans "want to make this election about inflation. But these women are fired up. That'll be the big question: Do they come out in November?"

Bonier said that Indiana has seen a 6% female gender gap in new voter registrations since the U.S. Supreme Court's Dobbs ruling on June 24. That type of surge was most pronounced in Kansas, which saw a 40% surge in the post-Dobbs gender gap, paving the way to a stunning 59-41% referendum that keeps abortion legal in a state Donald Trump won by 15% in 2020.

This emerging registration gender gap is taking place in other red states such as Idaho (18%), Wisconsin (17%), Louisiana (13%), Arkansas (12%), Ohio (10%) and Missouri (10%).

Hoosiers, facing an Oct. 11 deadline, don't seem to be galvanized. According to Indiana Election Division data, there were 3,319 new registrations in April, 16,197 in May, 13,057 in June (the SCOTUS Dobbs decision was handed down on June 24), and just 10,837 in July.

In the lone competitive Indiana congressional seat (CD1), this issue split screen is now playing out on cable via TV ads. Republican nominee Jennifer-Ruth Green: "Lately, the American Dream has been only for the wealthy, and that's why I'm running for Congress. Costs and crime are soaring, jobs are leaving, politicians are doing nothing and I've had enough."

And U.S. Rep. Frank Mrvan's ad: "Republican Jennifer-Ruth Green would take away every woman's choice, no matter the consequences. We 100% can't send Jennifer-Ruth Green to Congress."

But here's a wild card for General Assembly races

in Michiana and the Louisville media market: Both Michigan and Kentucky will be voting on abortion rights referendums on Nov. 8, with TV ads likely to bleed over into the South Bend/Elkhart, Cincinnati and Louisville media markets.

Bonier analyzed the stunning Kansas referendum where polling did not predict the 59-41% blowout keeping abortion available in a state as conservative as Indiana. Women accounted for 56% of all ballots cast in the primary election in Kansas. This 12% gender gap in vote share is bigger than any election I can find in Kansas. For reference, in the '20 general women comprised 53% of total turnout. In the last midterm primary in Kansas (2018), the gender gap in vote share was 5.5 points, meaning the gender gap more than doubled in this year's election; 51% of ballots cast in KS on the constitutional amendment on abortion last month were cast by Republicans. Meaning that, even if every Dem and Independent voted against the measure, over 20% of Republicans voted for the pro-choice position.



Republicans are now getting an array of varying advice. "There's no doubt that there are a lot of GOP consultants encouraging candidates to not talk about the issue," Marc Short, who served as chief of staff to former Vice President Mike Pence, told the New York Times. "It is the wrong approach."

The NYT reported that the Susan B. Anthony Pro-Life America Candidate Fund has privately circulated new talking points to Senate candidates who oppose abortion, advising them to use a 15-week restriction to contrast themselves with Democrats. The memo argued that the position would allow "pro-life states to enact more aggressive limits," while also setting a "baseline" in Democratic-controlled states like California, New York and Illinois.

Republican pollster Whit Ayres told the Wall Street Journal's Jason L. Riley, "Republicans need to take a mainstream pro-life position. What that mainstream position is depends on the particular state. But what it is not is a ban on abortion in all circumstances without exception for rape, incest and the life of the mother. More than half of Americans know someone who has had an abortion or has had one themselves. So any politician talking about this issue needs to project a tone of tolerance to those with different views. They need to express compassion for women who are struggling with an unwanted pregnancy. Calling abortion 'murder' will never persuade anyone to join their side." ❖

# Howey Politics Indiana joins State Affairs

## Dear Reader:

Twenty-eight years ago, I set out to change how state politics was covered in Indiana. After leaving daily journalism at legacy publications, I took the opportunity to self-publish with Howey Politics Indiana, working at it for nearly three decades, carving out a niche. As my career winds down, I wondered about my legacy – whether Howey Politics Indiana would continue, who would run it, and where would Indiana be if it just went away.

I am delighted to announce that HPI has been acquired by and will be a co-owner of State Affairs, a digital media company. State Affairs is dedicated to investigative reporting and analysis that holds state governments accountable and informs and empowers communities and the people who live in them through truthful, well-reported, non-partisan news coverage.



After much consideration, I am convinced that State Affairs offers the best legacy platform for me and HPI contributors. The model is a 21st Century media platform built on gray beards like me, allowing me to accomplish my late-career goals and add investigative reporting resources to our state. Joining forces with a company as passionate about quality journalism as I am will allow me to help designate a successor who will carry on my mission, which is to leave a better Indiana than when I began my journalism career.

What does this mean for you?

On a day-to-day basis, it's business as usual, and you will continue to receive the same content as before – only now we have new resources and capabilities to continue driving value for our readers, including an enhanced website that we're currently building and more opportunities for me to provide more in-depth coverage of issues important to Hoosiers.

What does this mean for us?

Howey Politics Indiana is now a part of the State Affairs family – a growing national team of investigative reporters and editors covering state governments around the country. We will continue providing stories, columns and opinion pieces on Indiana state government. Joining me in leading Indiana coverage through State Affairs is Alison Bethel, a veteran journalist and State Affairs' editor-in-chief.

I want to take this opportunity to thank each and every one of you for putting your trust in me over the last 28 years and bringing HPI to where we are today. We will continue to show up each week to make quality journalism about our state government easily accessible for our subscribers. This commitment is stronger than ever during this exciting time.

I am thrilled about the next chapter in our storybook. And I'm excited to see where our growth and innovation takes us from here.

With gratitude,

**Brian A. Howey**  
 Publisher



**HOWEY**  
 POLITICS INDIANA

**STATE AFFAIRS**

# Morales changes stance on early voting window

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS – Much like Richard Mordock’s U.S. Senate campaign fared in 2012 (there was the pre-primary success, followed by a General Election disaster following his final debate), it’s fair to wonder if Diego Morales is on the same course.

The Republican secretary of state nominee was everywhere and anywhere leading up to his Republican Convention upset of incumbent Holli Sullivan. But since winning the nomination, Morales has shifted his position on a key issue, his calling for early voting to conclude after 14 days as opposed to the current 28 days.

This comes after Indiana GOP kingmaker Bob Grand began advising the Morales campaign following the convention. He’s been joined on the road by operatives like Vigo County Republican Chairman Randy Gentry, who told HPI that Morales has kept up a frenetic “22-hour-a-day” schedule visiting mostly GOP groups.

Leading into the convention, Morales accused Gov. Eric Holcomb of “abusing his power” over the COVID-19 pandemic restrictions.

Morales told Fox35 over the weekend, “I don’t think we ever changed anything then – before the convention. As a private-sector businessman, I talk about ideas and solutions. Let me be clear, what is working right now – early voting 28 days is working, and that’s the way it’s going to stay.”

“My sole focus is on earning Hoosier votes in this year’s election,” he said in a statement late Friday to the Capital Chronicle. “I have been and will continue to travel to all 92 counties in Indiana to listen to and learn from voters so I can best serve them. In addition to talking with voters, I am meeting with county clerks. Based on those conversations, I believe the current 28-day early voting timeline is working,” he said.

And despite his earlier comments about the 2020 election – he also deemed it “flawed” and “questionable” to Hoosier State Today – Morales said in a statement Monday to Capital Chronicle that he considers Joe Biden the “legitimate president.” But he told the Capital Chronicle in

late June that he still had doubts about the election.

The Indiana Democratic Party accused Morales of “lying about his own campaign record” and called him “an unfit extremist who wants to destroy Hoosier democracy.” “Diego Morales is unfit to serve in public office and he’s a threat to Indiana’s future,” the party said in a news release Monday. “His values are more about fulfilling a national extremist agenda than actually creating a better future for the Hoosier State.”

On Wednesday, Indiana Democrats launched DiegoNoMorales.com, a website “to expose how Diego Morales is simply unfit to be Indiana’s next secretary of state.”

“Diego Morales has more baggage than a baggage claim,” said Indiana Democratic Chairman Mike Schmuhl. “He was fired twice from the very office he seeks to lead and is unfit to be Indiana’s next secretary of state. Diego also made a campaign promise to restrict access to the ballot box, but is now trying to change his tune. He can’t be trusted. Diego Morales is a dangerous politician who will put special interests ahead of Indiana’s future, and Hoosiers will learn this and more through DiegoNoMorales.com.” **Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

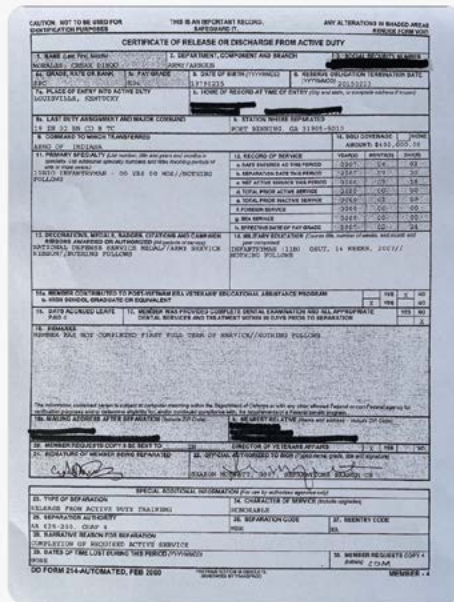
## Briggs questions Morales’ military record

Indiana Secretary of State candidate

Diego Morales released his DD214 on Wednesday after IndyStar columnist James Briggs questioned his military service (click on document to left). Briggs tweeted Wednesday: “Update: The Diego Morales campaign sent me his DD-214. I’m working to make sure I understand it. I’ve also requested an additional document, NGB-22.”

Briggs writes: Diego Morales wears a hat that says “Army Veteran.” His profile photo on social media projects the image of a National Guardsman in uniform. In a recent Facebook post, Morales says he was “willing to put his life on the line to protect his country.” But Morales won’t provide proof of his veteran status – and his characterization of what he did differs depending on the platform (Briggs, IndyStar). The nature of Morales’ military involvement matters for two reasons: He is the Republican candidate for secretary of state and he’s branding his campaign around

his stated record of public service, most notably in the military. He also happens to be facing another military veteran, Democrat Destiny Wells, in November’s statewide general election. Morales broadly refers to himself as a “U.S. Army veteran.” His LinkedIn page says he was an infantryman in the Army from 2007 to 2013. But his campaign website puts it a bit differently, describing his service as “completing numerous military drills with Bravo Company 2nd Battalion, 151st Infantry in Cass County, and the 152nd in Floyd County.” That’s a curious phras-



ing. Here's why. Morales said he served in the National Guard for about five years. But a typical National Guard enlistment period is eight years. The photo of Morales in a National Guard uniform? It does not include rank or unit identification, which suggests he had not spent time on active duty as of the time it was taken. I asked the Morales campaign whether it could provide documentation to verify Morales' military affiliation and veteran status. Kegan Prentice, Morales' campaign manager, said he could, but then sent a statement that did not address military records. He did not respond to follow-up questions or a request to speak to Morales."

## U.S. Senate

### Young campaign memo

U.S. Sen. Todd Young's campaign released the following memo from campaign manager Eric Cullen and political director John Holtkamp on Monday: "With less than 60 days until Election Day, today Friends of Todd Young begins our initial round of statewide broadcast and television advertising. This seven-figure buy is in conjunction with digital and OTT advertising which began September 1. This cycle to date, Todd has participated in over 250 political events. Just this summer, Todd crisscrossed the state, participating in over 50 campaign events. He received the first ever endorsement of the National Border Patrol Council by an Indiana elected official.



"He received endorsements from the Indiana State Police Alliance and National Federation of Independent Business and led multi-stop tours with each to meet Hoosiers. He visited the State Fair and held roundtables with hundreds of farmers. Finally, he visited gas stations across Indiana meeting with Hoosiers to discuss the pain at the pump due to President Biden's energy policies. He did all of this while maintaining a busy Senate schedule, including leading the passage of the boldest anti-Chinese Communist Party legislation in American history, the CHIPS and Science Act, which will help the U.S. outcompete the Chinese Communist Party. Nationally, Todd is one of the GOP's strongest fundraisers. He built a national finance network during his time as NRSC chairman. His in-state fundraising is anchored by a 70-plus member Indiana Finance Committee comprising civic and business leaders from all parts of the state. Due to this hard work, Todd has raised over \$14 million; the last FEC report showing over \$6.8 million cash on hand."

The Young memo continues: "This cycle, he also raised over \$1.3 million to support the Indiana Republican Party's Get Out the Vote (GOTV) efforts and voter targeting technology. Since early 2021, his partnership with the Indiana Republican Party funds staff, interns, and hundreds of volunteers who have engaged hundreds of thou-

sands of voters on behalf of the Republican ticket. To date, over 320 prominent Hoosier conservatives endorsed Todd, the largest endorsement list in Indiana history. These supporters include former Vice President Mike Pence, every Indiana Republican statewide officeholder, every Indiana Republican Member of Congress, over 96% of Republicans in the Indiana General Assembly, and over 92% of Republican county chairs. The experts who handicap political campaigns know that Todd is running a top-notch race. Both the nonpartisan Cook Political Report and Stu Rothenberg's Inside Elections call Indiana's Senate Race "solid Republican." Nate Silver's FiveThirtyEight puts Todd's chances of winning at 99%. Additionally, Larry Sabato's University of Virginia Center for Politics rates Indiana 'safe Republican.'

"On Oct. 16, Todd will debate all of his opponents in a debate hosted by the Indiana Debate Commission. This debate will be another opportunity for Hoosiers to hear from Todd about his bipartisan accomplishments and how he puts Hoosiers first. Todd Young is undefeated against five sitting or former members of Congress, more victories than any candidate in Hoosier political history over those elected on the federal level. This includes Todd's win over Evan Bayh in 2016 by 10%, despite starting the race down 28% in the polls with only \$1 million compared to Bayh's \$10 million. Todd has a proven record of electoral success, but he's not taking this race for granted. Through Todd's hard work and that of his supporters, this campaign is positioned for decisive victory on Nov. 8." **Horse Race Status:** Safe Young.

## Congress

### 3rd CD: Gotsch unveils billboard ads

Independent candidate for Congress Nathan Gotsch has launched the first phase of a comprehensive media buy as he builds on the grassroots enthusiasm and excitement his campaign has generated throughout the district since its launch in July. The first phase includes a five-figure purchase for three digital billboards that went up Monday in high-visibility, high-traffic areas in Fort Wayne. "This is a serious campaign, and serious campaigns make these kinds of investments," said Gotsch. "Our billboard buy is the first step in a multiphase effort to make sure every voter in this district who is embarrassed by our current representative and exhausted by the two major parties knows they can vote for a true independent this fall. We've worked hard to connect with Hoosiers in every community and county of the district over the past few months," he said. "The groundswell of support we've received, including financially, is what made these billboards possible." **Horse Race Status:** Safe Banks.

### 7th CD: Grabovsky assails Carson

Angela Grabovsky's campaign for Congress criticized the Biden administration and U.S. Rep. Andre Carson for being out of touch with reality when it comes to the impact of inflation on Indiana families. Tuesday, President Joe



Biden held a an event at the White House celebrating the passage of the Inflation Reduction Act. This came on the same day that it was announced that inflation increased by 8.3% in August and food prices increased by 13.5%. "Andre Carson continues to prove that he's out of touch with reality," Grabovsky said. "Carson and his allies are celebrating while our economy continues to plunge toward recession. Inflation and the cost of groceries are crushing Indiana families. This isn't a game, as much as Carson and his political allies think it is. He needs to stand on a stage with me and explain to his constituents why he supported such a reckless piece of legislation and what his plan is to stop inflation from getting worse." **Horse Race Status:** Safe Carson.



**General Assembly**

**House, Senate rating changes**

HPI's Horse Race is making several race rating changes due to new information.

**HD82:** This race between Democrat Kyle Miller and Republican Davyd Jones is for the open and new HD82 in Fort Wayne. Last week we rated it "Likely" Republican. But House Minority Leader Phil GiaQuinta told HPI that President Biden carried precincts making up the new HD82 with 56% of the vote. Miller told HPI that tracking by Democrats revealed him to be up "by quite a bit."

**Horse Race Status:** Leans Miller.

**HD71:** Jeffersonville area incumbent Rep. Rita Fleming should retain this seat for Democrats, but she has a viable challenger in Jeffersonville City Councilman Scott Hawkins, a Republican. Hawkins, a Jeffersonville school teacher, is receiving assistance from Americans for Prosperity and the local FOP. Although Hawkins is a teacher, the ISTA is supporting Fleming. Controversy surrounding Republican 9th District Chair Jamey Noel may impact this race. Noel, who is also Clark County sheriff, is embroiled in a jail incident where an employee was paid to give inmates a key to the women's section of the jail. There is a lawsuit related to the matter. In addition, Noel had to refute Anti-Defamation League reports that he had joined Oath Keepers, something he denied. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Fleming.

**SD47:** State Sen. Gary Byrne [R] v. Kathleen Forte [D]. We rated this one as "Likely" Byrne, but local sources tell HPI that Sen. Byrne is "rock solid safe." **Horse Race Status:** Safe Byrne

**SD45:** State Sen. Chris Garten [R] v. Nick Marshall (D). We originally had this race as "Leans" Garten, who was named the new Senate Majority floor leader last month. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Garten.

**Local**

**Carmel: Brainard won't seek 8th term**

After seven terms in office, the dean of Indiana

mayors, Carmel Republican Mayor Jim Brainard, will not run for reelection in the 2023 election cycle. "I've been doing this for 26-and-a-half, 27 years," Brainard told IndyStar ahead of his announcement. "I'm very proud of the progress we all made in Carmel

during that period of time. I'm ready for new opportunities. We have our City Center, we have Carter Green, we have the Palladium anchoring our arts. All the things we set out to do have been accomplished." City Council President Kevin Rider in February acknowledged he has had conversations considering a run for mayor. As of Sept. 12, no other current city council members have filed paperwork signaling a run.

**Eldridge elected Indy Dem chair**

Outgoing Marion County clerk Myla Eldridge has been elected in a landslide victory as the new Marion County Democratic Party chair, making her the first Black leader to hold the position, according to party spokesperson Jeff Harris (IndyStar). A party caucus was called Tuesday night to fill former party chair Kate Sweeney Bell's seat after she resigned earlier this summer. Eldridge won about 95.8% of the votes cast by 287 precinct committee chairs and vice chairs present at the caucus; a little over half of eligible voters cast ballots at the meeting. "This is a win for all of us," Eldridge, who campaigned for two weeks leading up to this election, said in her victory speech at the caucus. With a 'Defend Choice' badge pinned to her suit jacket, she said that she refers to the upcoming election as 'Roe-ember' and believes the near total abortion ban passed in Indiana will mobilize Democratic voters, especially women, to the ballot boxes. "We have a very important election in 55 days county-wide and statewide," she told IndyStar. "It's important for the county party chair, number one, to welcome more Democrats to be a part of the party." Mayor Joe Hogsett reacted, saying, "Myla is a dedicated public servant who has exemplified the kind of principled leadership that Marion County residents have come to expect from Democratic Party candidates and elected officials. As chair, I am confident that her personal brand of tireless advocacy will lead to even more success in this critical election cycle, and beyond."

**Oath Keeper denials**

The Anti-Defamation League issued a list of more than 650 Hoosiers who are "members" of Oath Keepers, which it describes as an extremist domestic organization. Included are:

**Clark County Sheriff and 9th CD Republican Chairman Jamey Noel:** "I'm not now and have never been associated with this group. I didn't even know there was a group called the Oath Keepers until I read about it

in the news.”

**Elkhart Commissioner Brad Rogers:** “The original stated mission of Oath Keepers centered around non-violent non-compliance with orders that violated the rights of all individuals. However, Oath Keepers leaders began to go on record that there will be ‘blood in the streets’ and began promoting or encouraging civil war. When this violation of their bylaws began, I and many others left the organization. When board members brought up concerns about the shift in direction Oath Keepers was taking, they were ignored – circumventing the organizational structure. They became disorganized, hence, why my outdated contact information is still on some of these lists. I am an advocate for the protection of individual rights and the Constitution as our rule of law – something that Oath Keepers now stand opposed to. This is why I left the organization those years ago.”-



**LaPorte County Commissioner Joe Haney (left) wearing an Oath Keeper patch, and Wells Commissioner Michael Vanover with Sen. Todd Young.**

**State Rep. Chris Judy,** R-Fort Wayne, told the Capital Chronicle, “I stand by the oath of office I took when I entered the State Legislature, and the oath I took before I deployed to defend my country in Iraq. I will always stand by the rule of law. I have not been affiliated with the group for 7 years.”



**LaPorte County Commissioner Joe Haney:** He was listed but denies he has any involvement in the anti-government extremist group. “I spoke with their director of communications,” Haney said of the Oath Keepers to the NWI Times. “Since then, I haven’t had any contact with them whatsoever. I’m not a member, I have no affiliation. The most recent events they’ve been involved in is not something that’s acceptable.” But WVPE published an Instagram photo of Haney wearing an Oath Keeper logo. Haney told NWI Times today, “I honor and keep my Oath to the Constitution of both the United States of America and the great State of Indiana everyday, as anyone who has solemnly sworn should do,” Haney said in the statement. “What I will not do is apologize for taking my Oath seriously. This patch is not, nor has it ever been, an Oath Keepers group item,” Haney said.



**Sheriff Noel (top) and Commissioner Rogers.**

**Wells County Commissioner Michael Vanover,** did not respond to Fox59’s request for com-

ment.

**Michael Sweney,** a member of the Root Township Board in Adams County.

**Presidential 2024**

**The Hill on Sec. Pete’s changes**

The ordinarily polished Mayor Pete suddenly was casual. “Who knows,” Transportation Secretary Pete Buttigieg told Vox Media’s Code Conference when asked last week about the idea of running for president again. “You don’t run for an office – well, maybe some people do – because you always wanted to,” he said. “But I think you run for an office because you notice something about the office, and something about yourself, and something about the moment that adds up. So who knows what the future is going to call me,” he said ([The Hill](#)). “What he was able to accomplish in the Democratic primary for president is unbelievable,” said Joe Caiazzo, a Democratic strategist who worked on Sen. Bernie Sanders’s (I-Vt.) presidential campaigns in 2016 and in 2020, including a senior role in New Hampshire.

**Biden approval rises to 45% in AP Poll**

President Joe Biden’s popularity improved substantially from his lowest point this summer, but concerns about his handling of the economy persist, according to a poll from The Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research. Support for Biden recovered from a low of 36% in July to 45%, driven in large part by a rebound in support from Democrats just two months before the November midterm elections. The president’s approval rating remains underwater, with 53% of U.S. adults disapproving of him, and the economy continues to be a weakness for Biden. Just 38% approve of his economic leadership. ❖

# Taxing student loan forgiveness is so Indiana

By **DAVE KITCHELL**

LOGANSPORT – It stands to reason. Remember the state that held out against a money mountain in a state lottery, and it didn't get approved until 1988 when voters demanded it and kicked out a House speaker from Muncie?



It stands to reason. Remember a "religious freedom act" former Gov. Mike Pence signed that soon became an expensive, apologetic campaign to defend the honor of the state's citizens who were compromised by political grandstanding that fuels the fires of the Ron DeSantis of 2022?

It stands to reason. A state that has one of the lowest college attainment rates in the country plays politics with the forgiveness of student loans by taxing the forgiven amount as income. The single parent, the working family, the people who aspired to be the first in their family to earn a college degree – let their good deeds not go unpunished. Let's punish them again by getting Indiana's hands in their billfolds and purses.

**Yes, Indiana, the state** with a declining number of men in four-year colleges, the state that ranks 40th in education ahead of only the Deep South states, the state where personal incomes lag behind the nation along with population growth because so many of its "jobs" it is gaining don't require college degrees, says once again, "We don't care about college attainment."

This despite a Lilly Endowment that has, for more than 20 years, provided full four-year scholarships through community foundations in all 92 counties. This despite the wonderful work of the Lumina Foundation in Indianapolis and Eli Lilly saying it will focus more recruitment in other states for its high-paying openings.

But will the legislature punish Mitch Daniels for

taking campaign contributions from a felon like Tim Durham? Probably not. Instead, Mitch, who is under scrutiny for his delayed financing plan for college as illegal, says student loans shouldn't be forgiven. He should be the first person to forgive state taxes on student loan forgiveness. Mitch is in the business of college attainment and promoted it through the establishment of Purdue Global. Mitch is in the business of holding the line on the cost of college education by freezing tuition for years.

And yet as Mitch is in the business of profiting from a state university to the tune of more than a million dollars in the past decade – thanks to trustees he appointed – he will walk away from Purdue with its gold, though tarnished by the black of political spoils.

The Indiana Department of Revenue's taxation on student loan forgiveness is a horribly flawed concept. Thousands of Hoosiers who won't get a dime of that money in their checking account will be handed a bill for thousands of dollars, payable to the state of Indiana.

**Ironically, public officials** such as Daniels have lobbied for universal tax abatement for economic development projects, but not for the money lost to cities, counties and schools to ever be paid back. Call it corporate welfare if you will, but it's a tax break that will never be paid back.

Robbing the Peters of taxpayers to pay the Pauls of state government? Can anyone spell hypocrisy?

And while we're on the subject, property taxpayers are granted relief thanks to tax caps known as "the circuit-breaker," but they're never going to be required to pay back that money, particularly on what the most luxurious mansions are actually worth.

This from a state that couldn't even waive its state gas tax when prices skyrocketed over \$4 a gallon. It could have been done in a special session called this summer, but lawmakers were more concerned with a narrow limit on the number of abortions than benefiting the good people of the state of Indiana.

To paraphrase an old Hoosierism, the rich are getting the gold mine. The rest of us are getting the shaft. ❖

**Kitchell is the former Democratic mayor of Logansport.**



# Compromise can work

By **LEE HAMILTON**

BLOOMINGTON – There are two especially striking aspects to the "Inflation Reduction Act," the sprawling climate-change/tax-reform/health-care legislation that just passed Congress and

was signed into law by President Biden. The first is that it passed on strict party-line votes. And the second is that in an unexpectedly productive Congress, this makes it unusual.

The measure was the product of a year's worth of patient negotiation and compromise in the Senate. And while there are portions of the law that might have had appeal across the aisle – the idea of allowing the federal government to negotiate drug prices for Medicare was also proposed by former President Trump – most of that work took place within an ideologically diverse Democratic Party.

In particular, the Democratic leadership of the

Senate and President Biden had to be willing to give up on some of the more far-reaching aspects of Biden's "Build Back Better" initiative, including long-sought goals like investing trillions in care for children and seniors, and establishing universal preschool.

**Instead, in painstaking** negotiations, perhaps the most conservative member of the Democratic caucus, Joe Manchin of West Virginia, and Senate Majority Leader Chuck Schumer hammered out a bill that for the first time commits the U.S. to billions in spending on climate and energy investments; allows Medicare to negotiate prescription drug prices for the first time; extends Obamacare subsidies; strengthens IRS enforcement (which in the last few decades has withered); and requires a 15% minimum tax for big corporations. Democrats were also forced to rein in their hopes of boosting taxes on private equity investors in order to win Sen. Kyrsten Sinema's vote.

It has been a long time since either house of Congress followed traditional procedure – a robust committee process followed by thorough debate and amendments on the floor – for major legislation, and this was no exception. Though it incorporates measures originally sought by a variety of senators and House members, it was essentially the result of work by a relative handful of powerful senators and their staffs, making it difficult for rank-and-file legislators to weigh in.

But if the process lacked the time-honored hallmarks of democratic participation, it also produced landmark legislation in a Congress that this year has managed, quietly and in often bipartisan fashion, to be strikingly productive. Among other things, legislators on Capitol Hill have taken steps for the first time in decades to return the postal service to solvency; pass a bipartisan gun bill – a

step that would have been unthinkable a few years ago; boost health care and benefits to veterans exposed to toxins during military service; and pass the CHIPS Act, aimed at investing in cutting-edge technologies and innovations to strengthen U.S. industrial, technological, and military capabilities. All of these were hammered out and passed by coalitions of Democrats and Republicans. Similarly, ongoing work to modernize the Electoral Count Act is a bipartisan initiative. The Inflation Reduction Act's strict party-line passage is an exception this year, not the rule.

Intriguingly, you may not have heard much about this record of accomplishment. As New York Times editorial board member Farah Stockman pointed out recently, Capitol Hill hasn't been known recently for trumpeting its bipartisanship. "Many politicians feel they've been elected to fight rather than compromise," Stockman wrote. "It's uncool to crow about working with the other side."

Which is a bit ridiculous, don't you think? The essence of representative democracy lies in negotiation and compromise – in working with people of all stripes and ideologies who represent a diverse country to forge common ground and find enough areas of agreement that the country can move forward on the challenges that face us.

**Over the course** of this year, members of Congress have done just that, despite – or, it's possible, because of – a 50-50 split in the Senate and a closely divided House. And by making progress on at least a few issues that Americans care about, they've demonstrated that the institutions of American democracy can work if the people we elect to lead them care enough to make it happen. ❖

**Lee Hamilton was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives for 34 years.**

## MAGA Republicans and general elections

By JACK COLWELL  
South Bend Tribune

SOUTH BEND – Once upon a time and not so long ago, Republicans were described as conservatives or moderates. And Democrats were viewed as conservatives, especially if Southern Democrats, or liberals.

Now, some would describe moderate Republicans and Southern Democrats as having gone the way of the dodo bird. There is the perception today of two tribes, Red vs. Blue, each unified in hatred of the other, rather than diverse political parties.

Lines really can't be drawn that distinctly, although votes in Congress would seem to show virtually no room for diversity. Lines weren't as distinct



in the past either between wings of the parties, although congressional votes often reflected those differences within the parties.

Republicans today around the nation do have differences. There are MAGA (Make America Great Again) Republicans, those proclaiming loyalty to Donald Trump, and the more traditional conservatives who wish Trump would go away and let the party concentrate on future conservative causes rather than past grievances.

MAGA Republicans won't even accept traditional conservatives such as House Republicans Fred Upton, Liz Cheney and Adam Kinzinger as members of their party, calling them RINOs, Republicans in Name Only. It's not because they didn't support conservative legislation and fiscal policy but because they wouldn't support Trump's insistence that he actually won the presidential election he lost.

**MAGA Republicans** wield immense influence in Republican primaries. That's why eight of the 10 House Republicans who voted to impeach Trump over the storming of the Capitol to block certification of election results won't be back in the next Congress. Upton and Kinzinger

saw the looming revenge of MAGA primary voters and declined to seek reelection. Chaney also saw it but ran anyway, losing big.

**The moderate Republicans** of the past haven't all just disappeared. Some have become independents or have even decided to vote Democratic. Many still will vote Republican for candidates who don't preach unwavering Trumpism. They won't vote for some nominees Trump supported in the primaries, giving hope to Democrats of retaining control of the Senate.

The Grand Old Party, which once stood for limited government and restraint on presidential powers, hasn't been replaced entirely by a MAGA cause of unlimited, unrestrained authority for a President Trump to lead where the party wouldn't or couldn't go. Republicans are split over that.

An August poll by NBC News found 41% of Republicans supporting Trump more than they support the GOP, while 50% said they support the party more than they do Trump.

As Trump's troubles grow, more congressional Republicans are refraining from campaigning on a claim that Trump won in 2020. Most never really did believe he won

but they knew it could cost them needed MAGA support if they said so.

Southern Democrats openly proclaiming support of segregation do seem extinct. Many switched parties after disagreement over the civil rights legislation.

There still are Democratic voters in the South. Democrats winning two Senate seats in Georgia showed that. But most of them are more moderate than Democratic congressional liberals from California and New York. Democratic voters in the Midwest and elsewhere also aren't in tune with all the rhetoric of congressional liberals. That's one reason why Democrats lost House seats as President Biden won so big in the popular vote.

**Moderate Democrats** always existed, once a significant presence in Congress. Now, just as Republican primary voters have become more Red, defeating moderate Republicans, Democratic primary voters have become more leftist, defeating moderate Democrats.

General election voters now can affect the course of politics. It won't be back to the way things were once upon a time. But they could with their choices force more future diversity and less reliance on hate within the Red and Blue tribes. ❖

## Biden will need different message avenue

By KELLY HAWES  
CNHI News Indiana

ANDERSON – Six out of 10 Republicans in a recent survey say they don't think former President Donald J. Trump's "Make America Great Again" movement represents a majority of the party.



That same Reuters/Ipsos survey found 58% of respondents saying the former president's movement is threatening our nation's democratic foundations. That number included one in four Republicans. Those are the people President Joseph R. Biden should be trying to reach.

In his recent speech at Philadelphia's Independence Hall, Biden insisted he was speaking not as a Republican or a Democrat, but as an American. "And I believe it is my duty – my duty to level with you, to tell the truth no matter how difficult, no matter how painful," he said.

**The truth, he said,** is that Donald Trump's most loyal followers do not respect the Constitution. "They do not believe in the rule of law," Biden said. "They do not recognize the will of the people."

He wasn't talking about an entire political party, he said. "I want to be very clear, very clear up front," Biden said. "Not every Republican, not even the majority of

Republicans, are MAGA Republicans. Not every Republican embraces their extreme ideology."

MAGA forces, he said, are determined to take our country backward. "They promote authoritarian leaders, and they fan the flames of political violence that are a threat to our personal rights, to the pursuit of justice, to the rule of law, to the very soul of this country," Biden said. "They look at the mob that stormed the United States Capitol on January 6th – brutally attacking law enforcement – not as insurrectionists who placed a dagger to the throat of our democracy, but they look at them as patriots."

The president offered a stark warning: We might think American democracy is guaranteed, but it's not.

**"We have to defend it,** protect it, stand up for it," he said. "Each and every one of us. That's why tonight I'm asking our nation to come together, unite behind the single purpose of defending our democracy regardless of your ideology."

Washington Post columnist E.J. Dionne Jr. liked the president's message. He acknowledged Biden might have gotten carried away with his Democratic talking points, but he insisted the core message of the speech was on the money. "The only way to force the Republican Party to break decisively with Trumpism is to defeat it in an election the party was supposed to win," Dionne wrote. "Is this 'partisan'? Absolutely. But it's not Biden's fault that Republicans continue to play footsie with the document hoarder of Mar-a-Lago."

The speech had its critics. Dan McLaughlin of the National Review called it a disaster. "It was a speech that couldn't decide what it wanted to be, delivered by a man

who didn't believe it," McLaughlin wrote.

The president, he said, had a number of options. "Did he want to use the moral authority of the presidency to speak in nonpartisan terms about a threat to the country?" McLaughlin asked. "Did he want to give an arch-partisan speech denouncing the other party's leadership?"

**The president had so** many choices to make, McLaughlin said. Perhaps he should lay out a contrast between the two parties on social issues, or maybe he

should offer a laundry list of his own accomplishments.

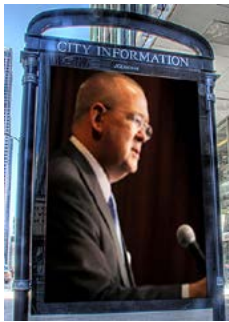
"Yes, he wanted to do all those things," McLaughlin said, "so he tried to cram them all into a 3,000-word speech that stepped on its own messages."

McLaughlin is clearly no fan of Biden, but he has a point. If the president truly wants to reach across the partisan divide, he needs to scale back the campaign rhetoric and focus on the core message: Our democracy is under threat. ❖

## Benefits and costs of college education

By **MICHAEL HICKS**

MUNCIE – Colleges and universities started classes a couple of weeks ago. I am hopeful the nation will see a slight bump in enrollment following the deep COVID



declines. Many students stayed home during COVID, while others took advantage of rising wages for high school graduates. These facts make it a good time to outline the benefits and costs of a college education. These benefits are both private and public.

The public benefits to education are straightforward. States and cities with a higher share of adults who've graduated college are more prosperous, grow faster and have less volatile recessions. These benefits extend to residents who've not been to college. Indeed, the best economic opportunities for people without a college degree are in cities with lots of college graduates. This is one reason the most or prosperous states spend the most on education, and vice versa.

There's a private benefit to education as well, which is why everyone should pay some part of their college degree. There is also a cost to attending college. These costs can be divided into two broad categories that will be surprising to many readers.

**The first and most obvious** cost of college is the tuition, books, fees and technology expense of college. This varies by student and school. For a student without any scholarship support, a good state university will cost perhaps \$8,000 to \$10,000 per year. Private schools will be more costly. Generally, low-income students and those with good academic performance receive scholarships of some type, which reduces this cost substantially. The more the state spends on tuition support, the higher the levels of scholarships, and the more students receive them.

Room and board shouldn't really be viewed as a college expense, unless you were going to be homeless and skip all your meals if you didn't go to college.

The second and largest cost of college is the

income you defer while in school. This is the opportunity cost of college. A young person going to college instead of working full time at \$15 an hour gives up \$30,000 per year in earnings. So, a year of education would cost a typical student maybe \$10,000 in tuition, books, fees and technology such as a computer. Lost earnings from attending college are more like \$30,000 per year.

Of course, many students work full-time or part-time jobs while enrolled. I employ several of these students. Families subsidize room, board and transportation. These expenses aren't really a cost of college, but may be paid for through borrowing if a student cannot work. Here in Indiana, the state contributes another \$6,000 per student, which mostly covers some of the direct costs for poorer students.

**For students, the hourly** direct cost of sitting in a classroom is under \$13 per hour. This is less expensive than watching "Top Gun" at a theater. While I cannot speak for everyone, my class is a lot more entertaining. Putting these expenses all together and adjusting for the time value of money yields a cost of a four-year degree of perhaps \$150,000. Individual experiences may vary.

For the average college graduate, the benefits of college are in the \$1.4 million range over a lifetime of earnings. Adjusting these for the time value of money makes this benefit today worth roughly \$350,000. So, for the vast majority of students, college is among the best financial investments they will ever make. That has been the case for a couple of centuries, and likely will be for a few more.

However, the choice of major also matters. Those in higher demand, such as engineering, computer science, economics and finance, pay at the top of the earnings scale. There are other majors for which an undergraduate degree offers little wage premium over a high school degree. However, for a substantial number of students, these majors are merely intermediate steps to graduate school. Calculating the benefits of a philosophy or English degree without considering graduate education is nonsense.

**A better way of** thinking about the returns to college comes from evaluating not only the average incomes of majors, but the variance of earnings. For example, in acting, there may be a few extraordinarily well-compensated graduates. There will be many poorly paid graduates. In accounting or civil engineering, every graduate has a decent job, but there are few superstar

earners. Thinking about college as an investment would mean thinking about the average salary of a major and the variance of earnings.

The newest data on college graduates through the pandemic shows a sharp increase in computer science and other STEM degrees. The same data also shows an even a sharper decline in humanities. English, history and religious studies are down 50% from their peak around 2010. The biggest declines came in the past two years.

**Some of these data** miss the “blending” more students and colleges are now crafting with degrees. The best example I recall is a student of mine who double-majored in acting and economics, wishing to ensure a career in theater on and off the stage. It is easy to see how double majors such as computer science and philosophy could open a wide range of careers for a student.

My hunch is that “pure” graduates in one major will be replaced by students studying intensively in one or more areas of concentration. Some Ivy League schools are experimenting with this approach, suggesting it will soon be more mainstream. It is worth noting that this isn’t really

new. Unique college majors were a creation of the late 19th century.

Choosing a major is dependent upon some interest and aptitude, but most people can perform more academic work than they feel is possible. However, students who lack preparation in high school will often fail at the majors they prefer. The rigor of high schools is well understood by college admissions officers, which is why you want high schools to be challenging. Too few actually are.

These are difficult things to consider when attending college, and I think it is folly to suppose most teenagers know what line of work they wish to do for the next half century. That is another strong argument for a broad or what used to be called a “liberal” education. It makes sense today for most young people to pursue a marketable career out of college. But, it is even more important to have flexible, lifelong skills rather than just preparation for that first job. ❖

**Michael J. Hicks, PhD, is the director of the Center for Business and Economic Research and the**



## Jobs for whom?

By **MORTON J. MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – An economist at IU-B was often heard to say, “He who has a number is ahead of he who does not.” George Wilson then would apply pencil to any available piece of paper and rapidly produce a number. Most often they were remarkably consistent with the best estimates available.



But, when George performed this magic, he did not always share that number. He knew the power of numbers. He understood how a weak number could be used to shape a weak policy.

Today, let’s take two numbers and see what mischief can evolve. The first number is the change in the number of jobs in Indiana between 2007 and 2019 (both years before major downturns). The second number is the change in the number of residents of the state employed between the same years.

The first number is 251,568 jobs compared to 226,215 employed residents. The difference is 25,353. What can we make of that?

**We could say it suggests** an increase in the number of part-time jobs. With fewer people to fill jobs, companies make it worthwhile for people to take part-time employment.

Or we could say, many Hoosiers don’t make enough at one job and have to take a second one to keep food on the table and a roof overhead.

If we think more broadly, we might conclude that

Indiana has to import commuting workers from neighboring states to fill the jobs created by a bustling economy.

However, it could be argued Hoosiers with the necessary skills to fill all the job growth are leaving our Hoosier Holyland. Hence, we have to pay a premium to get out-of-state workers to keep our economy advancing.

Ah, what wonderous policies might be advanced with any of the four scenarios invented here to respond to this disparity. The existence of a disparity is always reason enough for policy to remove disparity.

**If we come down to** the county level, what marvelous times we could have attempting to erase disparities. Thirty-seven of Indiana’s 92 counties had a “surplus” of added jobs. Hendricks County was number one in the state with an increase of 15,740 in the number of jobs over the number of residents employed.

Of the 55 counties with a “deficit” of added jobs, Lake, Elkhart, and St. Joseph counties each had increases in employed residents greater than the changes in the number of jobs.

Naturally, Indiana’s government is not going to pay any attention to these numbers. To do so would violate three fundamental Hoosier legislative principles:

1. Counties are not of consequence; the state is supreme.
2. Whatever disparities exist are the result of market forces, already adjusted to a satisfactory equilibrium.
3. If people seem to need help, you should seem to give them help. ❖

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

# New England races close out 2022 primary season

By J. MILES COLEMAN

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. – In recapping the final primary night of 2022, we’ll start with the state that also may host the final primary of 2023 (which could – gasp – be a presidential primary): New Hampshire.

Granite State Republicans appear to have made life a little easier for first-term Democratic Sen. Maggie Hassan. Don Bolduc, a conservative retired general who cast himself as a pro-Donald Trump outsider and who lost a 2020 Senate primary, beat state Senate President Chuck Morse, who had a more established record in the state. As of this writing, Bolduc has a 37%-36% lead, which is a considerably slimmer margin than what public polling suggested. Given that, it seems possible that popular Gov. Chris Sununu’s (R-NH) late Morse endorsement carried weight. More concretely, some Republicans complained that the Democratic-aligned Senate Majority PAC intervened against Morse – given the margin, this may have been the decisive factor, although Morse also got some help from Republican outside groups.

Looking to the general election, the pro-Republican Senate Leadership Fund announced that it has \$23 million reserved in New Hampshire, however, as we noted last week, we wonder if SLF will actually follow through with that buy (as opposed to shifting those funds to other states). As of late August, Hassan had just over \$7 million on hand – in her ads, she has tried to project a postpartisan tone. The Crystal Ball continues to rate the race as Leans Democratic.

Sununu was easily renominated for a fourth 2-year term as governor and is a strong bet for reelection in the fall. But, on the congressional front, as with the Senate primary, Granite State Republicans preferred candidates who were more in Trump’s mold than Sununu’s.

Going for Joe Biden by a 52%-46% margin in 2020, the Democratic-held NH-1 is the more competitive of the state’s districts. House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy (R, CA-23) endorsed Matt Mowers, a 33-year-old veteran of the Trump administration who lost by 5 points to Rep. Chris Pappas (D) in 2020. But Karoline Leavitt, who is 25 and likewise worked for Trump, ran a more anti-establishment campaign – she won with a 35% plurality. Leavitt received several prominent endorsements, as well – in the general election, Pappas may bring up her support from polarizing figures like Sen. Ted Cruz (R-TX) and Rep. Jim Jordan (R, OH-4) when trying to portray her as too far-right for the district. Leavitt also worked for Rep. Elise Stefanik (R,

NY-21), the No. 3 House Republican who supported her former aide’s campaign.

Some national Republicans were concerned that Leavitt being nominated would jeopardize their chances at flipping this seat, and the major GOP outside group Congressional Leadership Fund, which is connected to McCarthy, spent money to help Mowers.

Over the past decade or so, NH-1 was considered a classic, if not the quintessential, swing district: it changed hands every cycle from 2010 to 2016. But it does seem that Leavitt, who maintains that the 2020 election was stolen, will have a harder time making her case to the general electorate than Mowers would have. NH-1 is also one of the more college-educated marginal districts, so it may be less receptive to a populist type of Republicanism. Pappas, who now starts the general election campaign with \$3 million in the bank, is still in for what could be a challenging race, but we feel comfortable calling him a modest favorite. So NH-1 moves to Leans Democratic.

In the 2nd District, Sununu endorsed George Hansel, who is the mayor of the Democratic-leaning city of Keene, in the state’s rural-flavored southwestern quadrant. Hansel ran as a mainstream conservative in a multi-candidate field, but he appears to have lost to Robert Burns, a stridently pro-Trump Republican. Burns held local office a decade ago but has since been something of a perennial candidate for higher office. As with the Senate primary, Burns was aided

by Democratic outside spending. Rep. Annie Kuster (D, NH-2) was first elected in 2012, and has held on in some unfavorable cycles for her party. NH-2 gave Biden a 54%-45% margin in 2020, and we are holding our rating for it as Leans Democratic.

Despite having only 2 seats in the House and despite Republicans’ unified control of the redistricting process, New Hampshire was one of the last states to pass a new House map this cycle. Sununu and the Republicans in his legislature were never on the same page: while legislative Republicans wanted to essentially concede NH-2 in order to make NH-1 a better target, Sununu insisted that both districts remain competitive. In the end, the state Supreme Court sided with Sununu and passed a map that shuffled only a few residents around.

While the map retains 2 competitive districts, we now have both in the Leans Democratic category. Aside from the results of last night’s primaries, where Republicans didn’t seem to put their collective best foot forward, this is also because of the improving national environment for Democrats. On the latter point, it may be worth noting that, with abortion becoming an increasingly salient issue



Table 1: Crystal Ball House rating change

Member/District	Old Rating	New Rating
Chris Pappas (D, NH-1)	Toss-up	Leans Democratic



this cycle, New Hampshire is, by some measures, among the states most supportive of abortion rights.

Staying in New England, Rhode Island also held its primaries last night. In the state's biggest-ticket contest, Gov. Dan McKee (D-RI), who ascended to the office last year, came a step closer to winning it in his own right: he won his primary with about one-third of the vote. For much of the campaign, Rhode Island Secretary of State Nellie Gorbea seemed to be the most formidable not-McKee option. But businesswoman Helena Foulkes, with support from House Speaker Nancy Pelosi and bolstered by a strong performance during the final debate of the campaign, caught some late momentum. Foulkes was leading McKee much of the night, but eventually dropped to second place to finish a few points behind him. Foulkes' spending advantage, including some self-funding, likely also helped her keep it close. Gorbea carried Providence proper and Foulkes' coalition included some wealthier coastal towns, but McKee took almost everything else.

With McKee's primary victory, 2022 becomes the first midterm cycle since 2002 where every sitting governor who ran for reelection secured their party's nomination. From 2006 to 2018, exactly 1 governor was ousted by their fellow partisans each midterm year -- going chronologically, that list consists of: Frank Murkowski (R-AK), Jim Gibbons (R-NV), Neil Abercrombie (D-HI), and Jeff Colyer (R-KS). This year's stasis was even more notable considering former President Trump endorsed against some incumbents within his own party, specifically Govs. Brian Kemp (R-GA) and Brad Little (R-ID). Still, we wrote more than a year ago that though there may be an upset or two, GOP primary challengers were facing mostly uphill climbs.

In any case, Republicans will also be in for an uphill climb against McKee in November, as we rate that race as Likely Democratic.

State Treasurer Seth Magaziner (D) is termed out of his current job, but he still has a decent chance of holding public office next year. In a multi-way Democratic pri-

mary for the open RI-2, Magaziner earned a 54% majority. This district is essentially the western half of the state, and is less blue than the state as a whole -- Biden carried the seat 56%-42% in 2020, but it gave Hillary Clinton a smaller 50%-43% vote in 2016. Former Cranston Mayor Allan Fung had no opposition for the GOP nomination, and national Republicans are excited about his candidacy. As with the New Hampshire seats, RI-2, to us, is one of those districts that would look better for Republicans absent the Supreme Court's Dobbs ruling -- so it will stay at Leans Democratic for now.

**Conclusion: On to November!**

As we'll expand on in later articles, with the 2022 primary cycle drawing to a close, there are increasingly mixed political signals. On one hand, Democrats are trying to go against history: as the party controlling the White House, they shouldn't be in a position to do well this year, especially considering Biden's approval rating stands at a negative 43%/53% spread. On the other hand, the 5 special elections since the Supreme Court's Dobbs ruling each saw Democrats overperform Biden -- so those results don't imply some sort of significant Republican edge. As there are no more special elections scheduled before the November general elections, we won't get another chance to see if this trend is still holding.

In considering the national partisan composition of the 2022 primaries, Republican pollster John Couvillon suggests that November may ultimately have a light red hue. According to his numbers, Democrats have made up 48% of the national primary electorate this cycle. Democrats had a primary turnout edge in their midterm wave years of 2006 and 2018, while Republicans enjoyed a bigger advantage in their wave years of 2010 and 2014 than they did this year. So perhaps this is another indicator that 2022's political environment is shaping up to be more mixed than what we saw in the last several midterms. ❖

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**Dana Milbank, Washington Post:** The 2022 primary season has come to an end — and with it so should any claims that our politics is afflicted by “polarization.” In both parties, ideological forces did indeed try to pull the center of gravity toward the extremes. But the results were sharply different. In the GOP, the hard right prevailed, very much confirming the impression of a MAGA takeover of the party. In the Democratic primaries, the hard left was a nonentity, and the mainstream triumphed overwhelmingly; for all the chatter about the Squad, socialists, “Defund the Police,” “Abolish ICE,” “Medicare-for-all” and the “Green New Deal,” candidates who self-identified with such views barely registered. An exhaustive study of all primary contestants for the House and Senate, done by a team led by Elaine Kamarck of the Brookings Institution, categorized the 2,362 candidates (of whom 1,397 were Republican) by endorsements, self-proclaimed ideology and use of hot-button phrases. On the Democratic side, only 28 percent of candidates approvingly used left-wing phrases on their websites (Defund, Medicare-for-all, Green New Deal, etc.) or received an endorsement from either Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.), a member of the Squad, or the left-wing groups Justice for All, Our Revolution or Indivisible. Of the nearly three-quarters of Democratic candidates who had none of the above, about half won their primaries. By contrast, 41 percent of Republican candidates approvingly mentioned former president Donald Trump, MAGA or “America First,” or had a Trump endorsement or a Trump photo on their websites. Fifty-nine percent of Republicans had none of those — but such candidates prevailed only 30 percent of the time. The upshot, Kamarck tells me, is that the majority of Republican nominees on the November ballot are MAGA adherents, while the vast majority of Democratic nominees do not identify with left-wing figures or causes. ❖



**James Briggs, IndyStar:** I have to give credit to Todd Rokita. The state attorney general’s office took on some deadbeat apartment owners as part of a novel, bipartisan legal strategy — and won. Rokita joined with Mayor Joe Hogsett and Citizens Energy Group in a swarm of lawsuits against JPC Affordable Housing Foundation, a ludicrously named nonprofit that has held thousands of tenants hostage in deplorable conditions with the threat of a water shutoff hanging over their heads. All sides reached a settlement in which JPC agreed to dissolve its web of LLCs and sell the four dilapidated Indianapolis apartment complexes under its control. The outcome means Citizens will get 80% of \$1.9 million in overdue water bills, the city will get up to \$850,000 to cover a check it floated earlier this year to keep the water running and the rent-paying occupants of more than 1,400 apartments can finally rest in knowing they won’t lose their water or get evicted for reasons outside their control. Republican Attorney General Todd Rokita partnered with Indianapolis and Citizens Energy Group in a legal strategy

that won a settlement in a case against the owner of four Indianapolis apartment complexes at risk of losing water. It’s a huge win. It might not have happened without Rokita, a Republican, throwing the weight of state resources against derelict property owners. “Today is a day to celebrate what can happen when you have people that, of whatever party, whatever background, can work together to get something done for people,” Rokita said during a press conference Thursday. He’s right and ... wait, who was that, again? The City-County Building must have a MAGA decontamination station at the entrance because this was a different Todd Rokita talking than the one we’re used to. This was Problem Solver Rokita, the altruistic attorney general who’s working for you. ❖

**Niki Kelly, Capital Chronicle:** Could U.S. Sen. Todd Young be in trouble in his re-election bid? If so, it would be one of the biggest political upsets Indiana has ever seen. Two major political prognosticators — Cook Political Report and Sabato’s Crystal Ball — have called the seat uncompetitive and labeled it either a solid or safe Republican win. Young is seeking a second six-year Senate term and is sitting on almost \$7 million in cash. His opponent, Democrat Tom McDermott, had \$165k in the most recent reporting period. But a new poll is at least making the race interesting. The Change Research survey conducted online in late August has Young leading with 45% of the voters surveyed and McDermott within the margin-of-error at 42%. The poll was commissioned by McDermott and was first reported by the Indianapolis Star. “Change Research is a Democrat outfit out of California, this ‘poll’ was strictly online to skew the results, and they did not call, contact, or screen any voters through cell phones or landlines like Gallup or other trusted polling companies,” Brian Gamache, spokesman for Young’s campaign, told the Star. “This is an old campaign dirty trick.” The Indiana Democratic Party almost immediately used the poll in a fundraising pitch, saying “Hoosiers are fed up with two-faced politicians who say one thing in Indiana but vote another way in Washington. And since arriving to Congress 12 years ago, Todd Young has become a career politician who turned his back on veterans, supported banning all forms of abortion, and refused to do \*a thing\* on issues he’s campaigned on since 2010 — like immigration. Even members of his own party can’t stand him.” Young’s camp criticizes the methodology, and on this week’s Indiana Week in Review episode, Republican consultant Jennifer Hallowell pointed out Change Research doesn’t have a good track record in Indiana. She noted in 2020 its gubernatorial poll was off by 18 percentage points. The poll also ranked favorability for former president Donald Trump — 44% favorable and 49% unfavorable. That seems a little soft for reliably Republican Indiana. In comparison, Young’s favorability is underwater — 26% favorable and 36% unfavorable. Interestingly, McDermott might have even led the poll if Libertarian candidate James Sceniak had been included. ❖

## Biden announces rail strike deal

WASHINGTON—The White House said Thursday it had reached a tentative agreement to avoid a potential railway strike that threatened to shut down a crucial vein of the U.S. economy ([Wall Street Journal](#)). President Biden said the tentative deal “is an important win for our economy and the American people.” He credited the unions and rail companies “for negotiating in good faith and reaching a tentative agreement that will keep our critical rail system working and avoid disruption of our economy.”



## Fishers stadium to lure Indy Fuel

FISHERS, Ind. ([AP](#)) — The Indianapolis suburb of Fishers is luring the Indy Fuel minor league hockey team to the city with a planned 8,500-seat arena, officials announced Wednesday. The new arena would be a key part of a \$550 million project planned by Indianapolis-based Thompson Thrift Development for hotel, apartments, retail and office space along Interstate 69. The Indy Fuel, an affiliate of the NHL’s Chicago Blackhawks, has been playing its home games at the Indiana State Fairgrounds in Indianapolis since it began play in 2014. Plans call for the team to move to the new arena for the 2024-25 season. “The new facility will allow us to host more fans, create unique experiences for families and groups, and offer additional dining and entertainment options for an enhanced gameday experience,” Indy Fuel owner Jim Hallett said.

## Muncie seeks more power on renters

MUNCIE — The Muncie City Council is asking the General As-

sembly to give them more power to address bad landlords and property management companies. And it’s also asking other cities to speak up for tenant rights ([Indiana Public Media](#)). Tenants say rents and mandatory fees are high, while emergency maintenance requests go unanswered for weeks or longer. City councilman Brandon Garrett worked as a building inspector for a decade. He says he’s seen deplorable conditions in Muncie rentals. But, he says, “That’s all the teeth we have as the city is to tag and to fine.” Rep. Sue Errington (D-Muncie) agrees the state should give more local control. “Remedies need to be looked at where the government that is closest to the problem. And yet, that’s not what state government has done.”

## Holcomb appoints Foley appeals judge

INDIANAPOLIS ([AP](#)) — Gov. Eric J. Holcomb announced he has selected Morgan County Judge Peter Foley as the next member of the Indiana Court of Appeals. Judge Foley will replace retiring Judge Edward W. Najam, Jr. “Judge Foley brings to the bench a calm and confident demeanor no matter the case before him or its complexity,” said Gov. Holcomb. “The Indiana appellate courts will benefit from his extensive experience, his compassion to do what’s right and his sense of justice.” Judge Foley has played a pivotal role in helping those suffering from mental health and addiction. In 2016 he collaborated with local stakeholders to establish the Residential Substance Abuse Program in Morgan County.

## Veleta selected for IURC seat

INDIANAPOLIS — Gov. Eric J. Holcomb announced that he has appointed David E. Veleta to fill a vacancy on the Indiana Utility Regulatory Commission (IURC) caused by the resignation of David Ober on June 21, 2022. The current term will end January 31, 2024. “David is well-respected

in the utility industry, by the IURC Commissioners and staff members,” said Gov. Holcomb. “He has a solid understanding of the complex industry as it relates to assessing affordability and exploring current and future generation. He will be an asset to Indiana’s utility regulation.” Veleta is a senior administrative law judge (ALJ) with the IURC and has been with the commission for 13 years.

## Fleming to file contraception bill

INDIANAPOLIS – With the state’s near-total ban on abortion set to take effect Thursday, a bipartisan group of Indiana lawmakers want to expand access to contraception ([CBS4](#)). The proposal would allow pharmacists to prescribe birth control pills or patches to women age 18 and older after administering a health screening. Those patients would not need to see a doctor to obtain the prescription. State Rep. Rita Fleming (D-Jeffersonville), a retired obstetrician-gynecologist, has pushed for the change for several years. “States are starting to see a decrease in abortion when birth control is more accessible,” said Fleming, pointing out 24 other states have passed a law similar to her proposal. New federal safety standard protects children from small magnets. Fleming said she plans to introduce the bill next session.

## Putin, Xi meeting today

BEIJING (AP) — Chinese President Xi Jinping, Russia’s Vladimir Putin and leaders from India and Central Asia gathered Thursday in Uzbekistan for a summit of a security group formed by Beijing and Moscow as a counterweight to U.S. influence ([AP](#)). The meeting Friday of the eight-nation Shanghai Cooperation Organization is overshadowed by Putin’s attack on Ukraine and strains in China’s relations with Washington, Europe, Japan and India due to disputes over technology, security and territory.