

V24, N40

into the current 5th, revealing a tough road ahead for Hale, Democrats

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

CARMEL - Ever since the current Indiana congressional district maps came into play in 2012, we have witnessed a decade where no district has changed parties. Thus, we have an historic anomaly



given that the maps drawn in 1981, 1991 and 2001 all produced at least a handful of competitive seats that changed hands.

In the final election cycle for the current maps, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC) and Indiana

Democrats now say that the 5th CD is on the verge of "purple" status and will be competitive in 2020, despite

5th CD going The old 6th CD morphed **'D' would be historic**



the Cook Partisan Index of 2017 listing the 5th CD as a +9 Republican district.

Continued on page 3

The Mueller bookend

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

BALTIMORE – There were no bombshells. There were no declarations of a "cancer on the presidency." If, some how, some way an impeachment of President Trump clears the U.S. House some time between now and the



November 2020, there is zero chance for a conviction in the Republicancontrolled Senate.

The yield from Wednesday's long awaited testimony from former special counsel Robert Mueller was another venue for the political circus in Washington, and a startlingly shaky performance from the star witness.

If you're a Democrat or someone who distrusts or loathes President Trump, the headline produced by



"I've seen a number of challenges to our democracy. The Russian government's effort to interfere in our election is among the most serious. This deserves the attention of every American."

> - Former Special Counsel Robert Mueller, to the House Judiciary Committee



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House Judiciary Chairman Jerry Nadler was whether Mueller's Russian collusion probe cleared the president of obstruction of justice.

"The president was not exculpated for the acts that he allegedly committed," Mueller answered.

In another exchange, Nadler asked directly whether the report totally exonerated the president.

"No," Mueller said. "It is not what the report said. Based on Justice Department policy and principles of fairness, we decided we would not make a determination as to whether the president committed a crime. That was our decision then and it remains our decision today."

But ranking Republican Rep. Doug Collins was prescient when he

observed in his opening statement, "The president did not obstruct justice and nothing will change those facts." Republican

members attempted to expand the field, peppering the fumbling Mueller with auestions about the

Steele dossier and the conduct of FBI agents like Peter Strozk.

And Republican Rep. John Ratcliffe took direct aim at Mueller, saying that DOJ mandates were not designed to exonerate Trump, citing "extraprosecutorial analysis" by "Democrats and socialists." He said, "Volume II was not authorized" and added that while "no one should be above the law, Donald Trump sure shouldn't be below the law, which is where this report puts him."

As for collusion, which Trump has repeatedly denied, Mueller explained, "We did not address collusion, which is not a legal term."

Perhaps the most important part of Mueller's testimony broached the Russian assault on the 2016 election. "Certain points bear emphasis," Mueller said. "The Russian government interfered in sweeping and systemic fashion. Over the course of my career, I've seen a number of challenges to our democracy. The Russian government's effort to interfere in our election is among the most serious. This deserves the attention of every American."

But, he added, members of the Trump campaign "did not con-spire."

Mueller warned that he fears a "new normal" of foreign election interference. "I hope this is not the new normal. But I fear it is," he said. Earlier this year Trump said he was open to foreign intelligence for his campaign, but eventually backtracked after the FEC chief warned it would be illegal.

Mueller acknowledged during questions from Democrats that the Kremlin wanted Trump to defeat



Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton.

"Did your investigation find that the Russian government perceived it would benefit from one of the candidates winning?" he was asked.

Mueller responded, "Yes." "And which candidate would that be?"

Mueller: "Well, it would be Trump. The president."

Mueller agreed, in answer to Rep. Ted Lieu, that the reason he did not indict President Trump was the DOJ opinion that a sitting president cannot be indicted. "The reason again that you did not indict Donald Trump is because of the OLC opinion stating that you cannot indict a sitting President, correct?" Lieu asked.

Mueller: "That is correct."

An hour into the hearing, President Trump weighed in, tweeting, "This has been a disaster for the Democrats and a disaster for the reputation of Robert Mueller." He added, "It has been reported that Robert Mueller is saying that he did not apply and interview for the job of FBI Director (and get turned down) the day before he was wrongfully appointed Special Counsel. Hope he doesn't say that under oath in that we have numerous witnesses to the ... interview, including the Vice President of the United States!"

The political strategists were not impressed. Republican Dick Morris observed, "Mueller appears rambling, somewhat senile, not alert. Not the impressive figure I thought he would be. Superman loses his cape."

And Democrat David Axelrod added, "This is delicate to say, but Mueller, whom I deeply respect, has not publicly testified before Congress in at least six years. And he does not appear as sharp as he was then. What Mueller appears to be promising is a deeply unsatisfying five hours for those who expect him to blaze new trails. Mueller basically signals he will not color outside the lines of the report on questions of the president's conduct."

Ari Fleischer, the former spokesman for President George W. Bush, added, "I hope the Ds realize it's time to give it up. How many swings and misses do they want? Collusion! Didn't happen. Campaign finance violations! Case was closed. Emoluments! Shot down in court. Mueller! He's not helping. Pelosi is right. The impeachment Ds are hurting their party."

Now what?

President Trump's political fate will almost certainly be decided by voters in November 2020. Impeachment is a Tom Steyer fantasy. Speaker Pelosi is reportedly feeling "vindicated" by her original assessment. That's not saying there won't be more legal or ethical bombhsells between now and the election. Mueller sent a trove of information to the Southern District of New York beyond the scope of the Russian collusion probe. The New York General Assembly has passed a law and Gov. Cuomo has signed that could reveal Trump's state tax returns. There's the payoff to porn star Stormy Daniels that could collide with campaign finance laws. And there's the sordid Jeffrey Epstein scandal that could produce shrapnel anywhere from the Clinton to Trump worlds and a variety of blue bloods in between.

Trump is also sliding across the political straight razor. He is charging up his base with the "send her home" rhetoric many deem racist (including 58% in a Morning Consult/Politico Poll). His problem on a 2016 repeat is that he won't be running against Hillary Clinton (though Elizabeth Warren might be an applicable stand-in).

As we've written many times before, Trump's approval should be in the 60th percentile with the robust economy. There are problems on that front, with a U.S./ Chinese trade deal nowhere close to be done, which continues to unnerve Hoosier farmers and industrialists who fear a permanent loss of markets. The racial red meat will turn off moderates and independents, though we've seen some focus groups showing that the Obama voters who went Trump in 2016 believe immigration is a key issue.

But from a political view point, this appears to be the final bookend to the Mueller saga. \clubsuit

(P) HOWEY

5th CD, from page 1

In our view, the assertion that the 5th CD is indeed "purple" should be met with a healthy dose of skepticism.

It has drawn a top-tier competitor - 2016 lieu-

tenant governor nominee Christina Hale (pictured on page 1) – into the race for the Democratic nomination, which looks to be a showdown with 2018 nominee Dee Thornton. Hale raised \$100,000 in the first four days of her campaign, more than Thornton raised in the entire 2018 cycle (\$73,000). This lends credence to the notion that the 5th will be in play and Hale will be a heavy favorite to win the nomination.

The Republican field is still unsettled, though there could be at least two potential self-funders: Businessman



Former U.S. Rep. Dan Burton represented most of what is now the 5th CD and never had a tough race from a Democrat. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

Terry Henderson of Atlanta, Ind., and former legislator Steve Braun, who ran unsuccessfully in 2018 for the 4th CD nomination (he actually lives in the 5th). Others seriously weighing credible bids include State Sens. John Ruckelshaus and Victoria Spartz, former state senator Mike Delph, Fishers Deputy Mayor Leah McGrath, State Treasurer Kelly Mitchell and possibly former Indianapolis mayor

Greg Ballard. Rev. Micah Beckwith has already filed a committee with the FEC.

Delph has a history of raising money during the three Senate races he won and the 2018 race he lost. Delph's loss to gay Democratic State Sen. J.D. Ford is a DCCC talking point that the 5th CD will be competitive.

No matter who emerges, the GOP nominee almost certainly will be well-funded. Holding on to the 5th will be a top priority for both the Indiana Republican Central Committee, the National Republican Campaign Com-

mittee, Gov. Eric Holcomb and Vice President Mike Pence.

Historically, the 5th CD has had only one Democrat in the last 30 years when Jim Jontz won an open seat after Republican U.S. Rep. Elwood "Bud" Hillis retired in 1988. Jontz was able to exploit a chasm in the Republican Party to defeat State Sen. James Butcher.

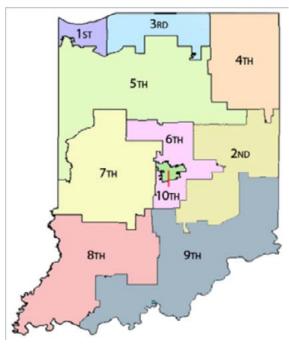
Trevor Foughty, who managed U.S. Sen. Todd Young's 2016 campaign and publishes at CapitolandWashington.com, sees an apple and oranges comparison when talking about the 5th CD. "Jim Jontz is the wrong thing to look at," Foughty explained. "Back in the 80's, we had 10 districts. When we went to nine districts in 2002, the numbering changed a bit. Howard and Grant counties were as far south and east as the old Jontz 5th went. It also had half of Lake and Porter counties. The Jontz district actually is the southern part of the current 1st District, and the northern part of the current 4th."

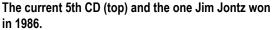
Foughty continued, "The current 4th actually has most of Howard County, including Kokomo. From the Jontz-era district, the current 5th just has the eastern part of (Howard) county, and Grant County. If anything, you need to look at the 6th District that Dan Burton won in 1982. That has the most overlap with the current 5th District and helps to understand how historically Republican it has been."

So, Indiana lost a congressional seat after the 2000 Census and the 5th CD morphed into what was known as the 6th CD. While Republican Steve Buyer defeated Jontz in 1992, the maps in 2000 shifted U.S.

Rep. Dan Burton into the 5th. The old 6th CD was a reliably Republican district with the exception of eight years when David W. Evans took advantage of the fallout from the Watergate scandal to win the seat in 1974. Before him, the only other post-World War II Democrat was Fred Wampler for a single term, riding a Democratic wave in 1958. When the 1981 maps were drawn, the new 6th was so Republican that Evans opted to challenge fellow Democrat Rep. Andy Jacobs in another district in 1982 (he lost). Burton would win a five-way primary with 35% in 1982. Burton went on to defeat Democrat George Grabianowski in the general election 65%–35%, beginning a string of 14







subsequent terms. He never won with less than 62%.

Since 2002, Burton won the 5th with 71.9% in 2002, 71.8% in 2004, 64.9% in 2006 (a Democratic wave year due to fallout from the Iraq War), 65.5% in 2008, and with 62.1% in 2010. He never had a well-funded, toptier opponent; none of his races was considered competitive.

With the current maps, Burton bowed out in 2012 and Susan Brooks held off former congressman and 2000 gubernatorial nominee David McIntosh by just 1% in the GOP primary. She went on to defeat Scott Reske with 58% that year, then won with 65% in 2014, with 61.4% in 2016, and over Dee Thornton with 56.7% in 2018. That last race has sparked the "purple" notion among Democrats.

Remember, 2018 saw a Democrat wave in response to the plethora of President Trump controversies, with the party picking up more than 40 seats nationally to retake the House. The wave just didn't lap into any Indiana districts. Brooks actually out-performed her Cook Partisan Index +9 by 3%. Despite that wave dynamic, Thornton wasn't taken seriously and didn't mount a credible campaign.

Not only that, but Democrat U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly was soundly dispatched by Republican Mike Braun by 6% (51% to 45% with Libertarian Lucy Brenton coming in at 3%), and Democrats were only able to pick up four General Assembly

seats despite the vivid national tailwind. President Trump and Vice President Mike Pence were able to repeatedly fill Indiana arenas throughout 2018.

And Trump and Pence will be on the ballot in 2020. So will Gov. Eric Holcomb, who had a 61% favorable rating in internal GOP polling, and a 50/24% spread in the latest Morning Consult Poll. While Morning Consult put Trump at +1 in his Indiana favorables - far below his 19% plurality in 2016 - Republican Chairman Kyle Hupfer notes that Trump swamped a well-funded Donnelly campaign while MAGA rallies drew overflow crowds.

Indiana Democrats are trying to make the case

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that the 5th will be in play. They note that Donnelly won the 5th outright 48.41% to 47.88%. Donnelly improved on 2016 Senate numbers in Marion and Hamilton counties by more than 8%; he improved on 2016 Senate numbers in CD5 by nearly 7% overall.

Then there are the nested General Assembly seats. In SD31 which overlaps with a large portion of CD5, every precinct shifted more Democratic from 2014 to 2018 (2014 GOP congressional results used here as there

was no SD31 Dem candidate in 2014). In 2016, State Rep. Todd Huston, who represents a suburban legislative district within CD5, won by 28%. He won by just 8% in 2018.

Foughty explains, "Even though Donnelly won the 5th, he didn't win any counties in the 5th except for Marion. Hamilton County may have been closer than normal, but Braun still won it handily (52-44%)." Braun also won Tipton County 66-28%, Howard 57-38%, Grant 61-38%, and Madison 51.8-42%.

Foughty adds, "Merritt and Delph's races are also pointed to as being key indicators, but they also won The late Rep. Jim Jontz outside of Marion County. So (top) and former senator while Democrats may win Marion County, and may do

Joe Donnelly.

better than usual in Hamilton County, they still have a lot of district further north that is decidedly more Republican."

Worth remembering is that Donnelly ran his reelect "as a moderate Democrat who sometimes supported Trump's agenda in a midterm year," Foughty notes. "If he had been up in a presidential year when he also had to answer questions about the platform of a Democratic presidential candidate, then I'm not sure he would have won the 5th District."

If the 5th were to be left intact after the 2020 Census and 2021 reapportionment, a case could be made that it is gradually turning purple. Democrats are finding more traction in suburban districts, and the 5th's southern flank certainly fits that profile.

Hale acknowledges that she faces a tough race. "I'm sure that's true," she said Wednesday morning. But it's an open seat with Rep. Susan Brooks retirement, and, she added, "It feels very much to me like 2012."

That's in reference to her upset victory of State Rep. Cindy Noe in HD87. "It's similar. It's a long-held seat

Party	Candidate	Votes	%
Republican	Dan Burton*	133,118	64.96
Democratic	Katherine Fox Carr	64,362	31.41
Libertarian	Sheri Conover Sharlow	7,431	3.63
	Total votes	204,821	100.00
	Turnout		

2008 [edit]

Party	Candidate	Votes	%
Republican	Dan Burton*	234,507	65.59
Democratic	Mary Etta Ruley	123,021	34.41
	Total votes	357,528	100.00
	Indiana's 5th Congressional District election (20	10)	
Party	Candidate	Votes	%
Republican	Dan Burton*	146,899	62.1
Democratic	Tim Crawford	60,024	25.3
Libertarian	Richard Reid	18,266	7.7
Independent	Jesse C. Trueblood	11,218	4.7
	Total votes	236,407	100.0
	Turnout		
Republican hold			

Ir	ndiana's 5th Congressional District election (201	2)	
Party	Candidate	Votes	%
Republican	Susan Brooks	194,570	58.37
Democratic	Scott Reske	125,347	37.60
Libertarian	Chard Reid	13,442	4.03
	Total votes	333,359	100.00

by a Republican who grew out of sync with constituents who live there. People expressed a lot of similar thinking. I just kept my head down, knocked on doors, showed up at every community meeting, listened to the people who live there. I didn't win by much, but I did flip that district and beat a six-term Republican incumbent."

She points to Sen. J.D. Ford's 2018 upset of Delph and State Rep. Melanie Wright's 2014 win as other examples of Democratic traction in the 5th CD. "We've seen a lot of political surprises here. I'm going to keep my head down and work real hard," Hale told HPI.

While Hale will be a frontrunner for the 2020 Democratic nomination and likely raise more money than perhaps any other Democrat, the headwinds she faces will be strong and potentially persistent. It might take a collapse of the Trump/Pence campaign to pull her in.

If Hale wins the 5th CD in November 2020, it would be a significant, generational and historic achievement. 🔹

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Buttigieg makes change of an era appeal in Indiana

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS – Mayor Pete Buttigieg has returned to Indiana twice in the past three months in an attempt to meld policy with politics. These two appear-



ances don't include the mid- to late-June public offerings when he dealt with a police-action shooting in South Bend involving a white officer and a black man in what became a crisis management test. His speech in May at

Indiana University in Bloomington put forth what was essentially a doctrine to replace President Trump's foreign policy free-lancing with a Lugar-like integrated approach to a dangerous world filled with interlocking complexities. A significant component of that was creating support from middle America, where even rural communities find their fates changing with decisions made in Beijing to Moscow to Tehran.

A week ago, Buttigieg addressed the national Young Democrat Convention at Union Station in downtown

Indianapolis. Here, he called for this young generation to usher out the Reagan era, just as Ronald Reagan had established the bookend to President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal a half-century after its creation.

"The young generation today is the largest and most diverse ever, and the size of our generation gives us the power to shape politics for the half-century to come," Buttigieg told the Young Democrats. "So it's good news that we are the most Democratic generation alive. It's natural that our generation be the most skeptical ever of Republican policies."

Buttigieg said that President Trump is betraying Reagan conservatism. "This is how the conservative era comes to an end," Buttigieg said. "Their movement is collapsing. That's where I come in," adding, "Young gets it done."

The 37-year-old gay mayor said that he sees an America "that lives in chapter," explaining, "The New Deal era lasted for almost 50 years, until it came to an end with Reagan. And then the Reagan era lasted the last 40 years, with even Democrats acting like the only thing you can do to a tax is cut it, like the only thing you can do with government is shrink it. But it didn't work. We are what comes next. The New Deal era ended with Reagan. The Reagan era ends with us."

"It's why I'm ready to deliver something completely different," Buttigieg said.

Buttigieg said that skepticism drove his activism as a young adult. "As I made my way through high school, I saw them tell us to keep cutting taxes on the wealthiest and it would somehow pay for itself," he said. "As I entered college, I saw them tell us climate change wasn't really anything to worry about, and then keep saying it even as the scientists' predictions started coming true.

"Around the time I got my first job in the mid 2000s, I saw them tell us to deregulate banks... what's the worst that could happen?" he continued with a nod to the 2008 financial collapse and the Great Recession of 2009. "As I started thinking about buying a home, I saw them tell us that American civilization pretty much depended on blocking someone like me from ever being able to get married. Oh, and for some reason it was absolutely imperative that we invade Iraq, which would be quick and easy and reflect well on America in the new century."

In Buttigieg's view, "To come of age in the 21st century is to see virtually every major prediction and policy advanced by the Republican Party in your adult lifetime fail before your eyes when put into practice. Nothing they say actually works in the real world. They say young people are idealistic. But we're not Democrats because of our ide-



South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg addresses the National Young Democrats at Union Station last week, making a generational appeal. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

alism, we're Democrats because of our reality."

Buttigieg's speech came as he has established himself as a toptier candidate. He leads Joe Biden, Bernie Sanders, Elizabeth Warren and Kamala Harris in money, with an impressive \$24.8 million haul at the end of the second quarter, and \$22 million cash-on-hand. While he has slid in the national polls recently after the police-action shooting controversy in South Bend on June 16, Buttigieg has the funds to continue into the primary and caucus season early next year.

Buttigieg said, "For too long, we have organized our whole process around the debate over how much to accommodate or how much to resist Republican policies. Now is our chance to change the conversation. Now is our chance to set the agenda and make them respond to what we have to say. They want to change the subject to the race and origin of four progressive young congresswomen, so that everyone forgets what those members of Congress are actually working on - which, today, is raising the minimum wage." Following his

20-minute speech before an adoring crowd of young people, Buttigieg conducted a six-minute presser with Indiana



media. The reporters and cameramen created a packed, throbbing crescent in one tight corner of the elongated breakout room at Union Station. Buttigieg entered, standing in a corner in front of his campaign logo, with reporters just feet away. It would be the first such presidential campaign media avail here in Indiana since 2008, when Barack Obama held five such press conferences. The dif-



Mayor Buttigieg conducts the first presidential candidate presser in Indiana since Barack Obama in 2008. (HPI Photos by Brian A. Howey)

ference was that Obama would be yards away, with media seated auditorium-style. The future president would field questions in an organized fashion with the exchange taking 15 or 20 minutes.

This one was a frenetic six-minute interaction, with reporters staring directly into the klieg-lit pores of Buttigieg's face. The mayor was good-natured and at ease with the bridled chaos. During the six-minute window, there were no limits by staffers as to topics raised.

Here is the exchange:

Question: African-Americans are obviously an important constituency. What are you doing to win their support?

Buttigieg: First of all, we've laid out what I believe is the most comprehensive plan in the 2020 field on what we're specifically going to do to dismantle systemic racism in this country. I've got a lot of work to do (to) go out and get support. We have to build up a sense of familiarity with voters around the country. That will be a very important part of our strategy for the rest of the year.

Question: Bernie Sanders proposed a pledge not to accept campaign donations from pharma execs. Will you sign that?

Buttigieg: I'm proud of our grassroots fundraising strategy. We've got over 400,000 contributors. We also don't take corporate money. We will be continuing that strategy that is working very well for us.

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Question: Will you sign that pledge? (Buttigieg ignored the question.)

Question: You lead in second quarter fundraising...

Buttigieg: It only matters what we do with it. It's not so much about the bragging rights. It's the ability to put those resources into the ground, use them to hire more people and build out the organization that's going to make it possible for us to reach the voters we need to in the early states. We feel good about where we are now, but obviously the trajectory has been so swift. We've got a lot of work to do to build that team. We've got over 200 people. We'll continue put those resources into that ground game.

Question: How do you react to those Trump voters who chanted last night "send her back?" (at a MAGA rally in Greenville, N.C.) And do you want to win those voters over?

Buttigieg: The reality is there are a lot of com-

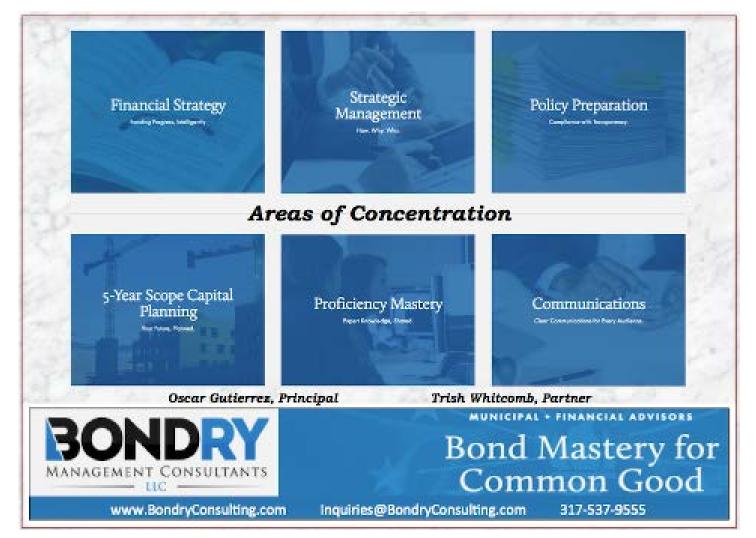


mitted racists whose vote I am never going to get. There are also some people who are thinking twice about votes they cast in 2016. There are a lot of Republicans of conscience who say, "This far, but no further." And there are a lot of people who wanted to burn the house down. Now that the house is on fire, it's time to actually do something about it.

Question: President Trump said he was not happy with the chant yesterday. Do you take him at his word when he said he didn't appreciate it? Buttigieg: Of course

cared, he would have done something on the spot. Of

course, we all know first of all he encouraged the crowd to do that. Secondly, he needs us to bite. He wants us to bite. This is a president for whom racial distrust and division is an asset. The problem is while it's useful for him,



it's incredibly destructive to this country. It's why we need somebody in that office who actually cares about human response.

Question: With the debates in two weeks, do you need a breakout moment to regain some of that upward trajectory? (Democrats debate again on July 30 in Detroit).

Buttigieg: We're pleased to be in the place we're in, but we've got a lot of work to do to get known. I don't think it's about any individual made-for-television moment. I think it's about building relationships with Americans as a whole, but also voters in key early states who will make this possible for us to get the propulsion to win the nomination.

Question: Is there such a thing as being too young to be president?

Buttigieg: You're too young to be president if you're below the constitutional age. Other than that, I think anybody of any age ought to be entitled to make their case and put their plans forward.

Question: Indiana Republicans called this a "rare visit back to Indiana." Your thoughts on that?

Buttigieg: Indiana is my home.

Question: How do you

convince people that a mayor of a mid-sized city in Indiana should be president of the United States?

Buttigieg: In many ways, it's precisely the point. We need Washington to start looking a little more like cities and towns solving problems in the middle of the country before the reverse starts to happen. (I'm) somebody who has the on-the-ground experience dealing with some of the toughest problems that any government can face, not to mention more military experience than anybody who's walked into that office since Bush 41. We believe my preparation stands above any of my competitors, but also my message and ability to win at a moment when Americans are looking for something radically different than what they have is the package that's going to make it possible to take the White House back and open a new era in history.

Question: As this race goes on, are you afraid of



ing?

Question: How do we stop college debt from ris-

Buttigieg: We've got to press states to stop off-loading more of the cost of college on students. We also have to support students with an expanded Pell Grant program. This time we ought to expand it to actual living expenses as well as tuition and fees. You add that to an expanded public service loan forgiveness program on the back end and we can make college dramatically more affordable. That's one of the top priorities of the administration I seek to build.

Question: So, how's everything going?

Buttigieg: It's a long road. This is the stage where you realize you're in a marathon. That's why we're working so hard to grow our community. \diamondsuit

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what (President Trump) might say?

Buttigieg: I grew up in Indiana. I'm gay and not that worried about bullies. I don't think there's anything he can say that would be as bothersome as indirect fire that was coming into my base while I was in Afghanistan. I think I'll be all right.

Question: You talk about changing the subject and changing the channel. How do you do that when (President Trump) controls the channel?

Buttigieg: That's what elections are for. Now he's got to respond to the issues that we bring to the fore. What's amazing is we have such support from the American people that even when they control the levers of government they can't do things we won't let them do. A great example of that is the Affordable Care Act. It was preserved even when Republicans controlled all the chambers. Now we have to make sure that nobody misses the fact that the Democratic House has proposed to raise wages for millions of Americans and the Senate is gonna try to kill that off. These are the kinds of things we have to have Americans thinking of and we've got to be able to denounce outrageous behavior, lies and racism in the White House.

Trump's strategy succeeding with his Pandora Box monster

By CRAIG DUNN

KOKOMO – The Trump reelection strategy is playing out quite nicely at this point. The little fish in the Democrat Party and the big fish in the national media have



big fish in the national media have all taken the bait, hook, line and sinker.

While I personally find much of the president's antics and histrionics objectionable, if you are a student of politics, you must admire the audacity in carrying out the slash-and-burn strategy of divide and conquer that Mr. Trump is using to be reelected.

With an economy humming along on all eight cylinders, the only way any Democratic opponent is going to make any

headway against the president is by having a serious discussion on a wide range of substantive issues ranging from our national debt to income inequality to healthcare. President Trump has effectively been able to reduce 18

Democratic candidates, the rudderless Democrats in the House of Representatives and the Democrats in the Senate to a state of sniveling blather that oscillates between wild promises of a bag of free goodies to impeachment for the offense of non-collusion collusion.

At this point in the 2020 campaign – and admittedly we are in the early innings of this ballgame – President Trump has his opponents right where he wants them.

We saw a similar strategy play out in 2016 as candidate Donald Trump reduced a pretty talented bunch of Republican presidential candidates to a pile of rubble by mocking them and their views. From taunting "Little Marco" Rubio's "big ears" to pondering aloud

whether Ted Cruz's father was involved in the JFK assassination, Trump delighted his faithful followers and rode the wagon of ridicule to the Republican nomination.

It wasn't pretty. It wasn't nice. It wasn't fair. But, it was highly effective.

Now we see President Trump using the gang of four led by the dynamic future of the Democrat Party,

Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, as hapless foils in his 2020 strategy of dismemberment of serious Democratic opposition. He takes the inane, misinformed, anti-American, anti-Semitic ramblings of four Democratic neophytes and by association tars and feathers the entire Democratic presidential field.

Instead of the nightly news being focused on the pablum of healthcare for all or "free" tuition, we are treated to rants about what the president said or didn't say in his latest tweet. No candidate gets traction and the beat goes on.

While President Trump's reelection strategy may be working, I worry about the implications of this strategy on future elections and the direction of our country. Frankly, I'm not sure that our country can take another four years of the divisiveness and acrimony that we have today.

When the monster of hate escapes Pandora's box, you may find it impossible to return it to its rightful home. My personal observation is that the American public is becoming increasingly sick and tired of the daily discord. While some folks like the constant combat, Joe Sixpack is becoming jaundiced and jaded. You simply can't keep people on a knife's edge for four years and not expect a considerable number to hoist the white flag. I love politics, but I absolutely am sickened by our current state of affairs. I assign no blame to anyone. We get the government and environment that we deserve.

One can't help but be a little sorry for our children. For generation after generation of Americans, we've raised



our children to respect both the office and the occupant of the presidency. Year after year, historically, the president has polled as one of the most respected people by our children. That trend has faded.

What parent in their right mind would want their child to grow up to be exactly like Donald Trump? From the sexual escapades, to the tall tales, to the bullying, most parents would pull back in horror at the thought that

HP HOWEY

little Johnny or Joanie had turned out to be just like the president. I raised four children and I think I would have walloped any one of them who behaved like the president.

This current state of domestic discord is not good for our standing in the world. The United States leads the world best when we lead it from a position of respect. How can we expect the world to respect us when we don't even respect each other?

At this point you may think that I've given up completely on President Donald Trump. I haven't. As long as his principal opponents are nothing but a ragtag assembly of socialists and social engineers, there is no alternative but to reelect the president. We are better off today economically, judicially and militarily than we were four years ago. Unemployment is at rock bottom for all demographic groups and incomes are rising. This is generally the stuff that earns you a second term.

The age-old challenge for anyone elected to the presidency has been that you must run for office in a manner that allows you to govern after the election. Unless the

president has a strategy of running his second term with the executive order as his only ally, he should be mindful that the people you destroy today are the people that you must work with tomorrow. That is a downright scary thought.

I once watched a basketball game that was won by a score of 13-8. The winning team won the tip off and immediately went to a four corner offense. They only took one shot in the

entire first quarter. It was boring, irritating, infuriating and detrimental to the game of basketball. It was an effective strategy on that evening, but left the taste of liver in your mouth. Of course, the shot clock was introduced to kill the four corner strategy for all time.

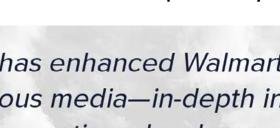
Here's hoping that the coaches and players in the 2020 election will play the game as intended and that the spectators won't storm the floor to get the winner they desire. 🔅

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

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In a sense, Buttigieg has already won

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND — In my column one year ago, I wrote: "South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg should run for president."

Mayor Pete read it that Sunday when it was



published, on July 29, 2018, and immediately decided that I was right and he would run. If you believe that, you probably also believe President Trump's July 4 narration of how George Washington's forces "took over the airports" in winning the Revolutionary War.

A year ago, Mayor Pete was already getting ready to run for president. My reasoning wasn't what convinced him to do so.

I do suspect that his reasoning was similar to mine:

He would have nothing to lose.

He potentially would have a lot to gain.

The reaction of many readers — OK, probably the majority — was that I was crazy to suggest that the mayor of South Bend, then 36 years old, should run for president and that Mayor Pete would be crazy if he did.

My mental soundness is another matter. But we know now that Mayor Pete wasn't crazy to think he could be a serious contender for president.

He already has won.

Not the presidency. Not the Democratic nomination.

His is still a long-shot candidacy. But he al-

ready has advanced farther and faster than he could have imagined a year ago. His hope was to start to get known, especially in Iowa, and then do so well in the first rounds of presidential debates that he would be taken seriously – a serious candidate with a serious message and a chance to become a top-tier contender for the nomination.

The campaign took off faster than expected by anyone, including Buttigieg.

Now, with the second round of debates this week, the mayor of South Bend is solidly in the top-five tier of contenders, ahead of some already written-off candidates who began with much higher name recognition, more impressive titles and lots of media hype.

If Buttigieg had decided instead to seek a third term as mayor this year, which was his for the asking, or to look around for some other office as a stepping stone, he would not be where he is today.

He is No. 1 in fundraising among the Democratic presidential candidates, with nearly \$25 million raised by July 1.

By now, he has about half a million donors. That's five times the number of inhabitants of his city.

His fast start was amazing. Even before he formally announced, Buttigieg captured enthusiastic responses from Democrats nationally with a CNN town hall triumph, a lengthy appearance on "Morning Joe" on MSNBC and seemingly endless interviews in which he answered questions directly, not with avoidance or hyperbole or bombast.

He zoomed to third in a poll in Iowa in March.

Too fast? There's no such thing in this. You move as fast as you can whenever you can. He may not keep up the pace, but he already has enough funding and following to continue through all the early primaries and perhaps bevond.

He has already won in the sense of becoming a leading Democratic spokesman on the national scene. Probably wouldn't have achieved that by delivering more state of the city addresses.

What will it lead to?

Probably not to the White House. Still, if Donald Trump could get there, who couldn't?

Vice president? Not if the presidential nominee wants someone to assure carrying a home state. Indiana has been Trumpiana.

Cabinet? Not if Trump wins. Maybe if a Democrat wins.

Or something out of government? University post? Think tank?

Or a corporate position, enabling Mayor Pete to

pay off that college debt? Unlikely. Making money does not seem his priority.

As was clear a vear ago, in running for president, he would have nothing to lose and, potentially, a lot to gain and to offer. 🛠

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



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OUT HERE ... DO YOU?

Killing a cliché

By MORTON MARCUS

INDIANAPOLIS — "Statistics don't lie but liars use statistics." This is the trite response often heard when someone quotes data to support an argument. As one who tries to represent reality by the use of data, I resent this oft-repeated insult.

Yet, we don't hear the same about painters or



photographers. Think of portraits where the use of light and shadow, angle, background and numerous other aspects can make the villain look heroic, the plain radiate beauty.

Now look at how by asking different questions we can see Indiana's economy differently. Our Indiana and national economies have been advancing for almost a decade. What aspect of the economy should we consider?

Our politicians focus on jobs. Jobs are not people. A person may hold more than one job. Hence, the number of jobs may exceed the number of people holding jobs. Jobs refer to workers at Indiana establishments, including persons who live beyond our borders. The employed are persons who live in Indiana, but they may work in other states.

The jobs numbers come from a survey of employers and the number of residents holding jobs comes from a survey of households. But, due to bureaucratic perversity, both numbers are called employment.

Here, we'll join the politicians and talk about jobs.

Between December 2017 and 2018, Indiana had a 0.9% growth in the number of jobs. This compared with an average annual rate of growth for 2012 through 2017 of 1.3%. Conclusion, Indiana's job growth has slowed from the recovery years of the late recession.

Yet, seen in context of the nation, this is not exceptional. In the 2012-17 period, U.S. jobs grew by an average rate of 1.8%, but slowed in 2017-18 to 1.5%. Indiana slowed down in harmony with the national deceleration.

OK. Not so bad; we don't go our own way and fight national trends. But in that solace, we overlook a very basic fact: The growth of Indiana jobs trails the nation. Back up and look at those numbers again. When the nation was growing at 1.8%, Indiana grew at 1.3%. More recently, with the U.S. growing at 1.5%, Indiana recorded only a 0.9% advance.

Hold on, there's more to think about. When we describe the U.S., our data looks at the country as a whole. California alone has 12% of the nation's jobs while Indiana has just 2%. That gives what happens in California more weight in the national numbers.

Furthermore, California recorded 17% of the change in total U.S. jobs while Indiana accounted for only 1.5% of that change. However, if we give the states equal weight, half of all states grew at 7% rather than the more commonly reported 9.6% for the nation.

There are no lies here, but the "truth" may depend on who pays your salary. ❖

Mr. Marcus is an economist. Reach him at mortonjmarcus@yahoo.com. Follow his views and those of John Guy on "Who gets what?" wherever podcasts are available or at mortonjohn.libsyn.com.

HOWEY POUTCES MEDAMA

Forecasting the 2020 race for Congress

By ALAN I. ABRAMOWITZ Sabato's Crystal Ball

CHARLOTTSVILLE, Va. – With more than 20 Democrats vying for their party's 2020 presidential nomination, it is understandable that the nation's attention has been focused in recent months on which candidate will emerge

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from next year's primaries to challenge President Donald Trump in November

2020. But no matter whom the Democrats nominate and no matter who wins the general election, the ability of the next president to carry out his or her policy agenda will depend on which party controls the House of Representatives and Senate in 2021.

Even if President Trump is reelected, a Democratic House would probably continue to aggressively pursue investigations into allegations of misconduct by the president and his allies during and after the 2016 campaign and to oppose many of the president's policy initiatives. A Democratic Senate would almost certainly mean that most of the president's judicial nominees would be dead on arrival and many of his executive branch appointments would face tough scrutiny. On the other hand, a Democratic president would have little or no chance of enacting an ambitious progressive agenda if Republicans controlled either chamber of Congress, and a Republican Senate could be expected to block a Democratic president's judicial nominees, especially any appointments to vacancies on the Supreme Court.

In the last election, Democrats won 235 seats in the House of Representatives to 199 for the GOP with one vacancy remaining to be filled in a special, do-over election in North Carolina's Ninth Congressional District. Republicans won a 53-47 seat majority in the Senate, with 34 seats up for grabs in 2020. Of those seats being

contested, 22 are currently held by Republicans and 12 are currently held by Democrats. Republicans would need a pickup of 18 or 19 seats in the House, depending on the results of the special election in North Carolina, to take back control of the lower chamber and Democrats would need a pickup of three or four seats in the Senate, depending on which party controls the vice presidency in 2021, to take back control of the upper chamber.

In order to assess the outlook for the 2020 House and Senate elections, I used a forecasting model that provides fairly accurate predictions of seat swing based on four factors: the number of seats currently held by the president's \bot

party, the president's net approval rating in late August or early September of the election year, the results of generic ballot polling in late August or early September of the election year, and a dummy variable distinguishing midterm elections from presidential elections. Based on election outcomes in the post-World War II era, we expect that:

1. The more seats the president's party is defending in the current House or Senate, the more seats the president's party should lose.

2. The more popular/unpopular the president, the more seats the president's party should gain/lose.

3. The larger the lead/deficit that the president's party holds in the congressional generic ballot, the more seats the president's party should gain/lose.

4. The president's party should lose seats in midterm elections even after controlling for the other predic-

Generic Ballot	Pres Approval	House Swing	Senate Swing
	0	2	-5
Dam 12	-5	1	-5
Dem +2	-10	0	-5
	-15	-2	-6
	0	0	-5
Dama 14	-5	-1	-5
Dem +4	-10	-3	-5
	-15	-4	-6
	0	-2	-5
Dame 16	-5	-4	-5
Dem +6	-10	-5	-6
	-15	-6	-6
	0	-4	-5
Dam 18	-5	-6	-6
Dem +8	-10	-7	-6
	-15	-8	-6
	0	-7	-5
Dam 110	5	8	6
Dem +10	-10	-9	-6
	-15	-10	-6

tors

Barring a dramatic shift in the electoral landscape, Democrats appear very likely to hold onto their majority in the House of Representatives in the 2020 elections and make at least modest gains in the Senate. However, there are significant caveats with both projections. Obviously, one of those is that it is very early and that the president's approval rating and the generic ballot could very well be different late next summer.

In the House, we are in an era with limited ticketsplitting and a weak incumbency advantage. Additionally, the overall House map has a Republican lean: Republicans could win the House back by defeating fewer than two-thirds

of the 31 Democrats who hold seats that Trump carried in 2016 (and only three Republicans hold seats that Hillary Clinton carried). The confluence of these factors could allow Republicans to overperform the projection in this model, particularly if Trump is reelected.

While the model predicts a good chance of a Democratic majority in the Senate in 2021, that prediction should be taken with considerable caution considering the margin of error of the model and the fact that only a handful of Republican seats that are up next year are in Democratic-leaning or swing states. Moreover, if Democrats do take back the Senate, it will almost certainly be by a very narrow margin, which would make it difficult to pass the sort of progressive legislation advocated by many of the party's 2020 presidential candidates. *



Greg Gutfield, Fox News: So can you repeat the question, sir? "This is very, very painful." Those aren't my words, but David Axelrod tweeting about the House hearings questioning former Special Counsel Robert Mueller about his Russia probe. As much as they hoped for a 12-alarm fire, all Democrats got was a damp sparkler. They wanted "The Empire Strikes Back" but got a re-run of "Matlock." They wanted a Super Bowl. Instead, they got a test pattern. "It was a disaster for the Democrats," Chris Wallace said on Fox News Channel. Yeesh. But don't just take it from him. I had to watch it too. I had no choice. It was on at the gym, and it was either that or "Real Housewives." If you did a shot every time Mueller said "could you repeat the question," you'd be dead. That's not Mueller's fault. It's Democrats still intent on reliving the past, hoping the ending changes. But it can't. They're like a guy who got dumped and thinks playing "their song" over and over might rekindle the romance. The conclusion? Same as before. Mueller said Trump's not guilty. But Democrats want him to go beyond that and say, OK, Trump may not be guilty, but that doesn't mean he's innocent. That is, Trump wasn't exonerated. But exoneration? Declaring someone innocent isn't possible. And so a 400page lump, crafted by unhappy agenda-driven staffers, collapsed like a bad soufflé. As Trump continues to unleash an economy that lifts all boats, his adversaries sit stranded, arms flailing, going nowhere, stuck in the past as the future starts looking like 2016 all over again. Democrats wanted so badly for Mueller to give his report life. Instead, he took it to the woods and shot it. -

Harry Litman, Washington Post: There will be plenty of comment on Wednesday about Robert S. Mueller III's lack of acuity in his sworn testimony before the House Judiciary Committee. And, yes, there was fatigue evident, even on his face, from the moment the former special counsel took the witness chair. But he was plenty sharp overall and in key moments vigilant about policing the lines he drew in advance about what he would and would not discuss. After a time, the members ceased even trying to get him to veer outside those boundaries. One result of Mueller's low energy level is that there weren't any thunderbolt moments, at least not in the Judiciary Committee hearing. But several developments stand out: First, notwithstanding the concerns that lawmakers would be undisciplined and grandstanding, there was an impressive degree of forethought and coordination on both sides. Democrats went through discrete episodes in the report, including the most serious instances of obstruction. The questioning underlined serious allegations of misconduct on the president's part that, to date, he and the attorney general have managed to obscure. Second, the Democrats had what appeared, at least at first, to be two very solid moments of questioning. The most notable was Rep. Ted Lieu's (Calif.) apparent success at getting Mueller to say

that his team didn't reach an indictment decision for President Trump on obstruction because of the Office of Legal Counsel memo barring such a move. That was microscopically close to saying that, but for the memo, Trump (like anyone else in the country) would have been indicted. But Mueller walked back his answer in the afternoon session in the House Intelligence Committee, emphasizing that

COLUMNISTS Indiána the office had made no determination about Trump's guilt. The other blow came when Rep. Val Demings (D-Fla.) got Mueller to say that the lies of the president and his circle had impeded the investigation. That's significant in itself and also a sufficiently clear back-andforth to appear unedited on the newscasts

that will be how most Americans digest today's hearing. Third, as for the Republicans, they chose more often to make speeches about the probe's inception, and on a few occasions drew at least mild fire from Mueller, particularly at the charge that he assembled a politically biased team: He insisted with pride that he had never asked an employee about political affiliation in his 25 years in law enforcement. But it's a tossup whether the Republican attacks changed any minds. ❖

Chris Cillizza, CNN: Expectations were high among Democrats that former special counsel Robert Mueller's testimony on Capitol Hill Wednesday would be the spark they needed to persuade a skeptical American public that President Donald Trump had obstructed justice -- and, perhaps, that impeachment was the right recourse for the President's actions surrounding the probe into Russian interference in the 2016 election. It didn't turn out that way. That's not to say that Mueller's testimony in front of the House Judiciary and Intelligence committees was filled with great news for Trump. Like Mueller's eponymous 448-page report detailing the findings of his nearly-two-year-long investigation into Russian interference and possible obstruction of justice, the former special counsel's testimony confirmed that he had not not cleared Trump on the obstruction charge nor was his report a total exoneration of the president. He said that Trump's praise for WikiLeaks was, at minimum, "problematic." He confirmed that the Russians wanted Trump to win and that Trump's campaign welcomed and encouraged those efforts. And that Trump could be charged with obstruction of justice once he leaves office. But all of that was already in the report! While hearing it from Mueller may change some minds, it's hard to see any of those facts -- which we've now known for months -- fundamentally altering the narrative. And it wasn't just that Mueller -- as many people close to him had predicted -- stayed very close to what was in the report, and was extremely cautious when even considering going beyond it. It was that he was not terribly effective as a witness. -

Epstein attempts jail suicide

NEW YORK — Jeffrey Epstein was found nearly unconscious in his cell with neck injuries after a possible suicide attempt, the N.Y. Post reports: Guards found Epstein sprawled on the floor of New York's Metropolitan Correctional Center, where he's being held without bail on sex-trafficking charges. Epstein was discovered by guards sprawled out on the floor at the Met-

ropolitan Correctional Center, where he's being held without bail on sex-trafficking charges, according to law enforcement sources. ... Investiga-



tors believe Epstein may have done it to himself either on purpose or as a ploy to get transferred out of the jail, sources said.

Carson questioned Mueller on 'greed'

WASHINGTON - U.S. Rep. André Carson is slamming "greed" in the Trump Administration (WIBC). During yesterday's hearing with former Special Counsel Robert Mueller, Carson focused on Trump's former campaign chairman Paul Manafort to make his point. "He's an individual who, I believe, betrayed our country, lied to a grand jury, tampered with witnesses, and clearly tried to use his position with the Trump campaign to make more money," Carson said to Mueller. "Let's focus on the betraval and greed." Carson grilled Mueller about Manafort sharing private information with a man linked to Russian intelligence, referencing Manafort's meeting with a Russian intelligence officer. "Mr. Mueller, meeting with this man wasn't enough," Carson continued. "Mr. Manafort went so far as to offer this Russian oligarch, tied to Vladimir Putin, a private briefing on the campaign. Is that right, sir?" "Yes sir," Mueller replied. Mueller reiterated that the crimes Manafort was convicted on were accurate, but he wouldn't answer questions about specifics not outlined in his report. Regardless, Carson says it's clear that Manafort sought financial compensation for the information he shared and added, "Greed corrupts."

Carson, Braun react to Mueller hearing

WASHINGTON — U.S. Rep. André Carson isn't taking impeachment off the table after Special Coun-

sel Robert Mueller's testimony. U.S. Sen. Mike Braun didn't see any "new information" (Howey Politics Indiana). Carson said, "His testimony

today conclusively confirmed the aggressive, systemic interference conducted by the Russian government, which was detailed in Director Mueller's report. We know that the Russians made numerous contacts with the Trump campaign, which welcomed their help. And they lied to cover it up. It's clearer than ever that this President and his closest advisors jeopardized our national security, and threatened the very foundations of our Democracy through their shady dealings. As Director Mueller has demonstrated through his decadeslong career, public servants must put our country's laws and core values above their own personal, political or financial gain. This President has failed to meet these basic standards of conduct. Congress must continue to use every tool at our disposal to hold him accountable, including opening an inquiry into his impeachment, and ultimately ensuring this type of dangerous, foreign interference never happens again. The future of our democracy depends on it." Braun said, "Unsurprisingly, today's audiobook of the Mueller report provided no new information from when Attorney General Barr released it with unprecedented transparency: the Trump campaign still did not collude with Russia, President Trump still did not obstruct justice, and Democrats in Congress still need to move on to the real problems

Americans sent us here to fix."

Judge blocks Trump on asylum

LOS ANGELES — A federal judge on Wednesday ordered the Trump administration to continue accepting asylum claims from all eligible migrants arriving in the United States, temporarily thwarting the president's latest attempt to stanch the flow of migrants crossing the southern border (New York Times). Judge Jon S. Tigar of the United States District Court in San Francisco issued a preliminary injunction against a new rule that would have effectively banned asylum claims in the United States for most Central American migrants, who have been arriving in record numbers this year. It would have also affected many migrants from Africa, Asia and other regions.

Terre Haute casino applications coming

TERRE HAUTE — The Indiana Gaming Commission has set a Dec. 1 deadline for applications and proposals for a Vigo County casino (Terre Haute Tribune-Star). In announcing the deadline Wednesday, the commission noted voter approval is needed in a Nov. 5 referendum before any license can be granted. Spectacle Entertainment, owner of the Majestic Star Casino, submitted a request last week to relocate gaming operations in Gary. The commission cited legislation approved this spring requiring it to accept applications for a Vigo County facility once a Gary relocation request was filed. Surrender of the Gary license requires approval by the Gary City Council as well as the Gaming Commission and payment by the licensee, Spectacle Entertainment, of \$4 million to the state. Terre Haute businessman Greg Gibson is vice chairman of Spectacle. John Keeler, Spectacle's general counsel, said the company "is pleased to see the announcement."