

Pete signals he's in for long haul

Faces post Super Tuesday cull; awaits race to shift to Midwest

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS — Pete Buttigieg's Democratic presidential campaign signalled he's in for the long haul, claiming more opportunities for success when the nomination fight

shifts to the Midwest in mid-March. The Buttigieg campaign is approaching Super Tues-

day by targeting specific congressional districts and said in a Tuesday memo that as the field culls, it has a strategy to cap Bernie Sanders' momentum.

The memo came after a raucous debate Tuesday in South Carolina, where the former South



Bend mayor made his case against a Sanders nomination. "If you think the last four years has been chaotic, divisive, toxic, exhausting, imagine spending the better part of 2020 with Bernie Sanders vs. Donald Trump," Buttigieg said.

"The only way you can do this is to actually win the presidency. And I am not looking forward to a scenario where it comes down to Donald Trump with his nostalgia for the social order of the 1950s and Bernie Sanders with a nostalgia for the revolutionary politics of the 1960s. This is not about what coups were happening in the 1970s or 80s. This is about the future.

Continued on page 4

Trump's global impact

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS — To varying degrees, U.S. Sen. Todd Young, Ambassador Marie L. Yovanovitch and former Assistant Secretary of State William J. Burns have been critics of President Trump's foreign policy.



President Trump's impeachment saga, stemming from his July 25, 2019, phone call with Ukraine President Zelensky, and his impact on America and the world aren't specifically on the agenda next week, but these three figures will be on the bill at Indiana University's Hamilton Lugar School of Global and International Studies' fifth annual conference on America's Role in the World.



"We're very, very ready for this, for anything, whether it is going to be a breakout of larger proportions or whether or not we're at that very low level. The risk to the American people remains very low."

- President Trump, in naming VP Pence to head the virus response



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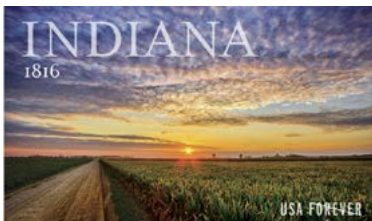
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Jack E. Howey
 editor emeritus
 1926-2019



They won't appear together. Ambassador Burns, who served as U.S. envoy to Russia, will do a moderated conversation with New Yorker reporter Susan Glasser at 4 p.m. Thursday, March 5. Sen. Young will give the inaugural Richard G. Lugar Lecture at 9 a.m. Friday, March 6. Yovanovitch will close the conference by receiving the Richard G. Lugar Award later that morning.

What will be fascinating is the scope this trio will bring to the fore. Young, who recently voted for a resolution calling for congressional approval of making war, was one of 53 Republican senators to deny Senate impeachment trial witnesses last month before voting for President Trump's acquittal by a 52-48 vote.

Young said that the Democratic House impeachment process was rushed and didn't let the courts resolve witness issues. "It would establish a dangerous precedent if the Senate were to fix defective articles of impeachment," Young said Jan. 31. "If the House felt that additional witnesses and evidence were necessary to prove their case, they should have pursued these legal disputes in the courts to protect the rights of the accused. This is exactly what our Founding Fathers' carefully designed system of constitutional checks and balances calls for. In their rush to impeach this president, the House did not follow the appropriate process. It is for this reason that I am duty bound to oppose the motion to call additional witnesses."

Howey Politics Indiana reached out to Sen. Young following President Trump's acquittal, and was told by spokesman Jay Kenworthy, "Sen. Young isn't available for an interview. The senator has put out statements on these votes, and we don't have anything to add to those at this time."

Yovanovitch, the U.S. ambas-

sador to Ukraine from 2016 through last July, could have been the star witness. Her dismissal by President Trump last summer ignited the impeachment sequence that brought about some of the most sensational testimony against the commander-in-chief. In the July 25 phone call to Ukraine President Zelensky, according to a rough transcript released by the White House, President Trump called



Ambassador William J. Burns with Sen. Lugar and Sam Nunn at Spaso House in Moscow in 2007. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

Ambassador Yovanovitch "bad news" and said that, "Everywhere Marie Yovanovitch went turned bad."

Yovanovitch said she was, "Shocked. Appalled. Devastated that the president of the United States would talk about any ambassador like that to a foreign head of state – and it was me. I mean, I couldn't believe it." She added, "It sounded like a threat," and later said, "If our chief representative is kneecapped, it limits our effectiveness to safeguard the vital national security interests of the United States. The crisis has moved from the impact on individuals to an impact on the institution. The State Department is being hollowed out from within at a competitive and complex time on the world stage."

Ambassador Burns, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, wrote in an Oct. 14, 2019, article for Foreign Affairs, "In my three and a half decades as a U.S. Foreign Service officer, proudly serving five presidents and 10 secre-

taries of state from both parties, I've never seen an attack on diplomacy as damaging, to both the State Department as an institution and our international influence, as the one now underway."

Burns described "the contemptible mistreatment of Marie Yovanovitch ... is just the latest example of President Donald Trump's dangerous brand of diplomatic malpractice. His is a diplomacy of narcissism, bent on advancing private interests at the expense of our national interests."

Burns added, "The damage from this assault – coming from within the executive branch itself, after nearly three years of unceasing diplomatic self-sabotage, and at a particularly fragile geopolitical moment – will likely prove to be even more severe to both diplomatic tradecraft and U.S. foreign policy."

Burns' assessment of President Trump isn't an outlier.

Last weekend, retired Adm. William McRaven wrote in a Washington Post op-ed, "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing.' Over the course of the past three years, I have watched good men and women, friends of mine, come and go in the Trump administration – all trying to do something, all trying to do their best. Jim Mattis, John Kelly, H.R. McMaster, Sue Gordon, Dan Coats and, now, Joe Maguire, who until this week was the acting director of national intelligence. But, of course, in this administration, good men and women don't last long."

McRaven, who led the Navy Seals and coordinated the capture of Osama bin Laden, continued, "Joe was dismissed for doing his job: Overseeing the dissemination of intelligence to elected officials who needed that information to do their jobs. As Americans, we should be frightened, deeply afraid for the future of the nation. When good men and women can't speak the truth, when facts are inconvenient, when integrity and character no longer matter, when presidential ego and self-preservation are more important than national security – then there is nothing left to stop the triumph of evil."

Last October, McRaven wrote in a New York Times op-ed, of attending two recent military events following President Trump's abrupt withdrawal from our Kurdish allies in Syria, describing an "underlying current of frustration, humiliation, anger and fear that echoed across the sidelines. The America that they believed in was under attack, not from without, but from within. President Trump seems to believe that these qualities are unimportant or show weakness. He is wrong. These are the virtues that have sustained this nation for the past 243 years."

Ret. General Joseph Votel, who led U.S. Central Command from March, 2016, to March, 2019, said last October, "The abrupt policy decision to seemingly abandon our Kurdish partners could not come at a worse time. The decision was made without consulting U.S. allies or senior U.S. military leadership and threatens to affect future partnerships at precisely the time we need them most."

Mark Bowden, writing in The Atlantic, made this description of President Trump after dozens of interviews with American military leaders: "Trump has little interest in the details of policy. He makes up his mind about a thing, and those who disagree with him – even those with manifestly more knowledge and experience – are stupid, or slow, or crazy. As a personal quality, this can be trying; in a president, it is dangerous. What Trump's supporters call 'the deep state' is, in the world of national security – hardly a bastion of progressive politics – a vast reservoir of knowledge and global experience that presidents ignore at their peril."

A week before the Lugar Hamilton forum, Americans got a first-hand look at crisis decision making in a global context with President Trump's handling of the coronavirus pandemic. After several days of mixed messaging, Trump insisted Wednesday evening, "We're very,



Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch.

very ready for this." He named Vice President Mike Pence to head up the administration's coordination.

But Axios reported this morning: Trump surprised some in the administration when he announced that Pence would coordinate the administration's response, especially given Pence is heavily involved in Trump's reelection campaign. Sources familiar with the decision tell Axios that the call to put Pence in charge was made just yesterday. It had loosely been a subject of discussion among staff, but it was unclear how many — if any — officials knew beforehand that Trump was going to announce it at the press conference."

In Axios Vitals this morning, Caitlin Owens reported: "This is such a s--tshow. Thank goodness the markets are closed," a former HHS official who's close to the White House, said during the briefing.

For an administration that has been fortunate to have avoided a national crisis up to this point, the internal decision making will likely be a topic next week at the Lugar Hamilton forum. ❖

Buttigieg, from page 1

This is about 2020. We are not going to survive or succeed and we're certainly not going to win by reliving the Cold War, and we're not going to win these critical House and Senate races if people in those races have to explain why the nominee of the Democratic Party is telling people to look at the bright side of the Castro regime.

"We've got to be a lot smarter about this and look to the future," said the former South Bend mayor, who had first- and second-place finishes in Iowa and New Hampshire, but appears to have stalled with minority voters in Nevada and now South Carolina. A Winthrop Poll from the Palmetto State revealed Buttigieg polling just 4% with African-American voters, exposing what could be the fatal flaw in his surprising presidential bid.

Buttigieg is languishing in polls not only in South Carolina, where Joe Biden had an 18% lead over Sanders in a Clemson/Palmetto Poll released Wednesday, but in the 14 Super Tuesday states that vote in six days. But on March 10 and 17, the race shifts to Midwestern states Michigan, Illinois and Ohio, where the campaign believes Buttigieg will be competitive.

Blunting Sanders' momentum in South Carolina, influential U.S. Rep. James Clyburn endorsed Biden on Wednesday, tweeting, "I know Joe Biden. I know his character, his heart, and his record. Joe Biden has stood for the hard-working people of South Carolina. We know Joe. But more importantly, he knows us. In South Carolina, we choose presidents. I'm calling on you to stand with @JoeBiden."

If Biden can hold off Sanders in South Carolina on Saturday, then pick up some states on Super Tuesday next week, that could stall Sanders' inevitability. If Sanders pulls a South Carolina upset on Saturday and picks up momentum three days later on Super Tuesday when 35% of the delegates will be awarded, the Vermont socialist could become the runaway freight train to the nomination.

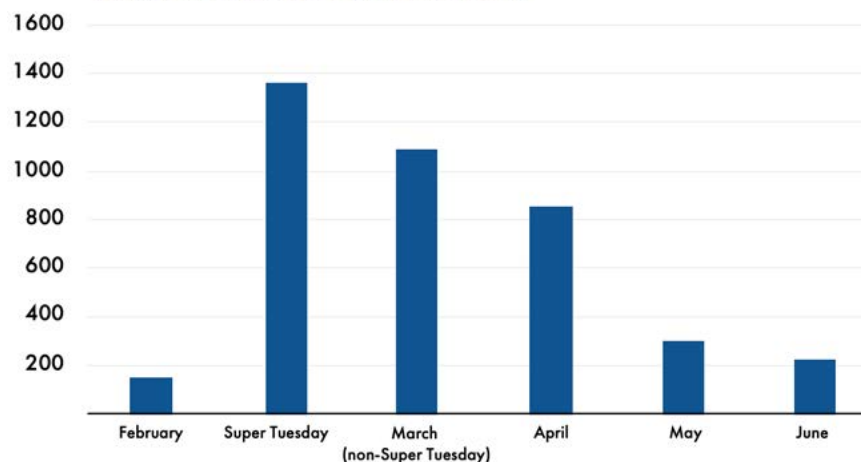
A memo from Buttigieg campaign leadership on Tuesday night said, "Our plan is to limit Sanders' delegate lead to no more than 350 pledged delegates. If we do this, Pete will need to beat Sanders by approximately 10% in the remaining contests. We see this as the upper limit of a realistic path to victory; there is a ceiling to Sanders' support. If we are able to limit Sanders to no more than 250 pledged delegates, Pete will only have to beat Sanders by approximately 5% in the remaining contests. As we've seen in our research and in early contests, Pete has broad appeal and is often voters' first or second choice even in a historically crowded field. So as the number of candidates narrows, we see the 5-10% wins as highly attainable. To cut Sanders' delegate lead, and to maximize Pete's delegate haul on Super Tuesday, our plan is to clear the qualification threshold in

as many congressional districts as possible. The rules for winning delegates in any district require a candidate to capture 15% support from the voters in that district. So the importance of clearing the threshold isn't just important in a multi-candidate race -- it's existential."

The memo added, "We believe the field will significantly winnow after Super Tuesday, and our research and internal polls show that the remaining contests in March are favorable to Pete. We're running an organizing program that will maximize our delegate count on Super Tuesday and beyond. With both the accelerated timeline and the size of Super Tuesday, the only way to effectively scale up to win delegates is through a massive grassroots network. Our volunteer leads have already hosted over 3,000 events across Super Tuesday states, including more than 250 events this past weekend alone. Because of how delegates are awarded at the individual district level, we can precisely target each district on platforms like YouTube and Facebook without any geographic spillage. We will also concentrate our efforts on premium, non-skippable inventory on connected-TV devices through ads on platforms like Hulu and Roku. Our goal is to maximize Pete's delegate haul across Super Tuesday districts. Our team has identified 22 critical media markets that include more than one of our targeted districts. This maximizes efficiency of our buys."

Buttigieg is getting some help from the Vote-

Delegates Awarded by Contest Date



Vets Super PAC with a seven-figure TV ad buy. His campaign unveiled TV ads in 12 of the 14 Super Tuesday states in 22 media markets. On Wednesday, the Pete For America campaign began airing and distributing a new series of television and digital ads featuring South Bend community leader Gladys Muhammad and highlighting the Douglass Plan, the campaign's comprehensive white paper to invest in the empowerment of Black America.

Muhammad says she saw firsthand the mayor's commitment to turning the city around – including reducing Black unemployment by nearly 70%, expanding access to affordable housing, and increasing household income by a third. The ad features the candidate saying, "What's

that? Well, I can't, I can't interrupt Ms. Gladys. So she has something to say." Muhammad then says, "I'm from South bend and I've been working in the community for 40 years. We need you to support Pete. He understands commitment. He has compassion. He has the Douglass Plan, that if we get behind, we can change this country. This is America, land of the free and the brave."

The second ad, titled "Douglass Plan," highlights Buttigieg's commitment to tackling systemic racism. The new ads come days after Buttigieg was endorsed by South Carolina's second-largest newspaper, The State, where the paper praised his ability to unify the country to defeat Donald Trump, stating, "The Democrats need a nominee who seeks to bring Americans together based on broad common ground, and not divide them along narrow interests."

During Tuesday's South Carolina debate, Buttigieg called Mayor Michael Bloomberg's "stop & frisk" policies in New York "racist" and added, "I'm not here to score points. I come at this with a great deal of humility because we have had a lot of issues, especially when it comes to racial justice and policing in my own community. And I come to this with some humility because I'm conscious of the fact that there's seven white people on this stage talking about racial justice. None of us have the experience ... of, for example, walking down the street or in a mall and feeling eyes on us regarding us as dangerous without knowing the first thing about us just because of the color of our skin."

But at the beginning of February, Buttigieg had just \$6.6 million left of \$76.4 million raised, a rapid burn rate that netted him a mere 25 delegates (Sanders had 39, Biden 13). That compares to Sanders' \$117.3 million raised (including a whopping \$25 million in January) with \$16.8 million to begin this month.

Buttigieg set a \$13 million fundraising goal by March 3, with the campaign eyeing a post-Super Tuesday world. The rest of March will bring more favorable Mid-western states into play. On March 10, the Buttigieg camp believes the former mayor can win in neighboring Michigan, where the southwestern edge of the state is in the South Bend media market (Idaho, Mississippi, Missouri, North Dakota and Washington are the other states and he was endorsed by Washington's lieutenant governor). On March 17, neighboring Ohio and Illinois will vote along with Arizona and Florida.

Buttigieg attempted to take on Sanders and an estimated \$60 trillion in new spending proposals during

Democratic Presidential Nomination					
RCP Poll Averages					
National		South Carolina		California	
Sanders	28.8	Biden	30.3	Sanders	27.3 ↗
Biden	17.4	Sanders	22.3	Biden	13.8 ↘
Bloomberg	14.8	Steyer	13.3	Warren	13.3 ↗
Warren	13.0	Warren	9.3	Bloomberg	12.8 ↘
Buttigieg	10.2	Buttigieg	8.7	Buttigieg	10.5 ↘
Klobuchar	5.6	Klobuchar	4.0	Klobuchar	5.3 ↘
Sanders +11.4		Biden +8.0		Sanders +13.5	
Texas		North Carolina		Betting Odds	
Sanders	22.3	Sanders	21.3	Sanders	53.2
Biden	20.7	Biden	19.8	Bloomberg	25.0
Warren	15.3	Bloomberg	19.5	Biden	12.3
Bloomberg	13.3	Warren	10.3	Buttigieg	9.0
Buttigieg	8.3	Buttigieg	8.3	Clinton	3.3
Sanders +1.6		Sanders +1.5		Sanders +28.3	
Delegates: Sanders 45, Buttigieg 25, Biden 15					

Tuesday night's debate. "So let's do some math," Buttigieg said. "Sen. Sanders at one point said [Medicare for All] was going to be \$40 trillion, then it was \$30 trillion, then it was \$17 trillion. It's an incredible shrinking price tag, at some point has said it is unknowable to even see what the price tag would be. Now, there are new numbers going. I'll tell you exactly what it adds up to. It adds up to four more years of Donald Trump, Kevin McCarthy as speaker of the House, and the inability to get the Senate into Democratic hands.

"The time has come for us to stop acting like the presidency is the only office that matters," Buttigieg said of the scenario where the socialist Sanders wreaks

carnage for down ballot Democrats. "Not only is this a way to get Donald Trump reelected, we got a House to worry about. We got a Senate to worry about. And this is really important. Look, if you want to keep the House in Democratic hands, you might want to check with the people who actually turned the House blue: 40 Democrats who are not running on your platform. They are running away from your platform as fast as they possibly can. I want to send those Democrats back to the United States House. Let's listen to them when they say they don't want to be out there defending Senator Sanders' math."

The latest Reuters/Ipsos polling shows Sanders' rising momentum in the race has given him more credibility with Democratic voters. Some 26% of Democrats and independents polled Feb. 17-25 said they believed Sanders was the strongest Democrat in a head-to-head matchup with Trump, compared with 20% who picked billionaire businessman Michael Bloomberg and 17% who named former Vice President Joe Biden. That was a big change from a month earlier, when 27% of respondents gave Biden the edge, and just 17% thought Sanders could beat Trump.

What Sanders brings to the table is "Bernie's Army," a core of ardent supporters dedicated to ... him. An Indiana Democratic operative with access to party voting rolls told Howey Politics Indiana that Sanders drew in thousands of new voters in 2016 Indiana primary when he defeated Hillary Clinton 53-47% without any party establishment support. The danger in an "anybody but Bernie" scenario is that since the 2016 primary, most of those Bernie voters didn't go to the polls again to support Sen. Joe Donnelly in his 2018 loss or vote in last year's municipal elections. The danger for any Democratic nominee not named Bernie Sanders is that his army stays home in November. NBC reported that in 2016, some 12% of Sanders primary supporters voted for Trump in November. ❖

Winning with, or without The Bern

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Many of the Democrats whose No. 1 political goal is defeating President Trump now ponder a dilemma with Bernie Sanders. They fear they cannot win with Bernie. They fear they cannot win without him.



If they aren't part of the Sanders revolution, they fear that the democratic socialist with strident ideological views on sweeping changes, including Medicare for all, would lose in key Middle America battleground states, enabling Trump again to prevail in the Electoral College. They fear Sanders could even drag down Democratic congressional candidates in swing districts, resulting in a Republican-controlled House.

What if one of the more moderate candidates wins the nomination to offer voters a bigger tent? Joe Biden, Michael Bloomberg, Pete Buttigieg or Amy Klobuchar? Or even the less ideologically stringent Elizabeth Warren? Would that mean a wider appeal, winning over voters who don't really approve of Trump but aren't likely to approve of Sanders' revolution either?

Maybe.

But then there is the other horn of the dilemma. Would there then be once again enough angry members of the Bernie base refusing to vote for the Democratic nominee – staying home or voting third party – to enable Trump to prevail just like in 2016 in the Electoral College?

Trump, delighted with this situation, tries to sharpen both horns of the Democrats' dilemma. He encourages his supporters, with no Republican nomination contest, to cross

over to Democratic primaries to vote for Sanders. Trump relishes a race against Sanders. He seeks to affix a "Crazy Bernie" label and likens "socialist" to "communist." At the same time, Trump promotes a perception that Sanders is a victim of a "rigged" Democratic nomination process in which the party organization plots to keep Sanders from winning. That's aimed at keeping the Bernie base from the



polls in November if their hero isn't nominated.

The Bernie Bros are just as unwavering in supporting Sanders as is the Trump base in supporting the president.

As Trump famously said, he could shoot somebody in the middle of New York's Fifth Avenue and not lose his supporters. Well, Bernie also could shoot someone there or anywhere and not lose his supporters. Fervent backers in each camp would brush off a shooting as fake news or obviously justified.

For Sanders, that loyal, unwavering base, even if it's only the 25.7% he got in New Hampshire, may well be enough to win the nomination, while the other Democratic contenders split the other three-fourths of the vote.

Nate Silver, the guru of analyzing presidential races, puts it this way: "Sanders is in the strongest position for now, and he has a high floor of support that should win him delegates almost everywhere, while the rest of the field is a mess behind him." Contenders in that mess behind him chop up the remaining three-fourths of the vote and chop up each other, as they did in the Las Vegas debate.

In New Hampshire, where Sanders actually underperformed a bit, he still had enough base support to stave off his nearest opponent, South Bend's Pete Buttigieg. "The voters who pushed Sanders past Pete Buttigieg in New Hampshire could fit within half a college hockey rink," Silver noted.

If Amy Klobuchar had not come on strong in third place in New Hampshire, taking "moderate" votes that might otherwise have gone to Buttigieg, Sanders could have suffered a humiliating defeat in a state where he was an overwhelming favorite.

But with the New Hampshire win, Sanders became regarded as the frontrunner. He has a path on Super Tuesday, March 3, to run farther in front, perhaps to run away with the nomination.

So, many a Democrat who isn't

a fervent backer of the Sanders revolution ponders a dilemma: Fear that Democrats cannot win with Bernie and fear that they cannot win without him. ❖

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

5th CD race becomes a national ‘barometer’

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS — The emerging 5th CD race will be a “good barometer” on two fronts, the Democratic shift in the suburbs and “the challenge for House Republicans to even maintain their small number of women on Capitol Hill.”

That was the assessment of Inside Elections Publisher Nathan Gonzales in the Feb. 7 edition. Come

November, Gonzales said the race between Democrat Christina Hale and the Republican nominee “should be a bellwether to see if the bottom has fallen out for the Republicans on Election Night.”

It is a CD that President Trump won 53-41% in 2016, Mitt Romney won 58-41% in 2012 and John McCain won 53-47% in 2008. U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks never dropped below 56% in her four races in the district rated +9 Republican in the 2017 Cook Partisan Index.

Gonzales said that with Steve Braun’s decision to suspend his campaign in 2019, “Republicans are left with a muddled field in which no candidate has broken out from the rest of the pack. The top contenders look like Dr. Chuck Dietzen, health case management company owner Beth Henderson, and state Treasurer Kelly Mitchell.”

While Dietzen has the endorsements of former GOP chairman Jeff Cardwell and Terre Haute attorney Jim Bopp Jr., he starts the race with little name ID, though he “could attract support from the social conservative and establishment wings of the Republican Party.”

As for Henderson, Gonzales writes, “As a female entrepreneur with experience in the health care and agriculture industries, Henderson appears to have the right profile for the district. But as a first-time candidate, it’s unclear whether she will put together the campaign and financing necessary to win.” Howey Politics Indiana notes that in addition to being the

first candidate to run TV and radio ads, she also has the conspicuous backing of U.S. Sen. Mike Braun.

And Mitchell? “As a statewide elected official seeking to replace a woman, Mitchell received most of the initial attention about the race. According to GOP sources, she would be an effective member of Congress but is not a dynamic candidate,” Gonzales wrote.

Like Brooks, Mitchell has contracted with BrabenderCox for media and uses the same fundraising team. Gonzales: “Mitchell appears to be running as the heir apparent to Brooks, and has the advantage of running as a current elected official who has been active for 10 years. But she doesn’t have experience running in competitive primaries.” Nor does she have the endorsement from Brooks, who had been tasked by the NRCC to recruit female candidates.

A fourth candidate is Noblesville Rev. Micah Beckwith, who has the backing of former congressmen Marlin Stutzman and John Hiler, as well as former Indiana Family Institute president Curt Smith. Gonzales writes, “Beckwith generated some early buzz about his campaign” and “impressed some local Republicans with his army of volunteers at parades throughout last summer. Beckwith’s campaign in recent months, however, has not inspired confidence, even to some people previously interested

in his campaign, He raised short of \$10,000 the last three months of 2019 and had \$38,000 in the bank on Dec. 31. It’s unclear whether he will have the resources to make an impact. Overall, GOP sources are skeptical that Beckwith’s play to social conservatives matches the DNA of the suburban district, even in the primary.”

Polling in Indiana Senate districts embedded within the southern portions of 5th CD revealed President Trump’s

unpopularity there.

Also running are State Sen. Victoria Spartz (described as the “wild card in the race” due to her wealth and franking ability in her Senate district), former Marion County prosecutor Carl Brizzi and former BMV Commissioner Kent Abernathy.

Dietzen, Henderson and Spartz have the ability



Indiana Treasurer Kelly Mitchell (left), Beth Henderson with Sen. Mike Braun and former state senator Luke Kenley, and State Sen. Victoria Spartz.

to self-fund. Gonzales observes, "According to one GOP strategist, there's an opportunity for a candidate to immediately drop hundreds of thousands of dollars into the race to raise their name ID and essentially put the race away weeks before the May 5 primary, but no one has done that yet."

As for the general election, the consensus is that Hale will emerge for the Democrats. "Despite losing 40 House seats and getting crushed in the suburbs around the country in 2018, Republicans aren't particularly concerned yet about losing the 5th CD in 2020," Gonzales explained. "And Democrats aren't overly optimistic, even if they are encouraged by local election results in Marion, Hamilton and Boone counties. Democrats are committed to this district because they believe the long-term trends are still in their favor. In the short term, Hale could stand to benefit if the GOP nominates someone outside the mainstream such as Spartz or Beckwith."

That Democrats "are committed to the district" is a dubious element. When the maps are reapportioned in 2021, the General Assembly GOP super majorities are almost certain to enhance the party's standing by shaving away bright red territory from the 4th and 6th CDs and adding them to the 5th.

The astute Inside Elections analysis was published prior to the emergence of Democratic socialist Sen. Bernie Sanders as the Democratic presidential frontrunner. Should Sanders win that nomination, the 5th CD would almost certainly disappear from the ranks of competitive districts.

A case in point is Henderson's TV ad which has her vowing to "rein in socialism in Washington."

Gonzales noted that "the blueprint for Hale was drawn by U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly, who carried the 5th CD in 2018 while losing his seat to Sen. Braun. "Socialists want to turn health care over to the government," a narrator in a 2018 Donnelly reelection ad said, to which Donnelly responded, "Over my dead body." **HPI Republican primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

Congress

1st CD: Reardon faces FEC fine

State Rep. Mara Candelaria Reardon, D-Munster, likely will be required to pay a \$200 penalty to the U.S. Treasury for failing to file a mandatory financial disclosure form in connection with her campaign to succeed retiring U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky, D-Gary (Carden, NWI Times). House ethics rules require congressional candidates who



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raise or spend more than \$5,000 in a calendar year, as Candelaria Reardon did in 2019, to report their personal financial holdings within 30 days of becoming a candidate. Federal Election Commission records show Candelaria Reardon launched her campaign Nov. 19, 2019. Between contributions and personal loans, she raised \$98,692 in campaign funds by the end of the year, records show. She acknowledged to The Times on Friday that the campaign staffer she expected to submit the form failed to do so, and "that person is no longer with the campaign," Candelaria Reardon said. "If there's a fine, we'll pay it," she added.

Reardon 'victim shamed' on WJOB

A local radio host suggested Tuesday morning that state Rep. Mara Candelaria Reardon, D-Munster, exaggerated groping allegations against Indiana Attorney General Curtis Hill, and the trauma she experienced as a result (Cross, NWI Times). WJOB-AM personality Verlie Suggs also suggested that Reardon, who is in a crowded race for U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky's soon-to-be-vacated seat, is unfit to represent Northwest Indiana in Congress. "When you talk about, 'You're so traumatized by it,' that's where I have a problem because now I'm thinking, now especially, 'You're running for Congress?' and you (are) traumatized by this event?" Suggs said during the conversation with radio host Jim Dedelow. "How are you going to handle (Senate Majority Leader) Mitch McConnell or any of these other Republicans over there in Washington, D.C.? How you going to handle Washington, D.C., lobbyists? How are you going to handle that madness if you're traumatized by what you've accused Curtis Hill of?" Reardon issued a statement Tuesday morning in response to Suggs' radio appearance: "I've never been afraid to speak the truth, even to powerful people and the people who protect them," Reardon wrote. "Too many women are groped, too many women are assaulted, and too many women are then doubted or humiliated in an effort to silence them, myself included. But I won't be intimidated by anyone in my fight for the people of Northwest Indiana, not today and not when I'm in Congress. Today's smear on my credibility and character is politically motivated and shameful, and coming from a strong supporter of my opponent Frank Mrvan, I hope the trustee will do the right thing and fully condemn it." **HPI Democratic primary Horse Race Status:** Leans McDermott.

4th CD: Baird opponent disqualified

The Indiana Election Commission disqualified a challenger to U.S. Rep. Jim Baird in the Republican primary (WIBC). Jeffrey Alberts of Newton County has never voted in a Republican primary, casting Democratic ballots from the time he turned 18 until he stopped voting in primaries in 2012. His removal from the ballot makes Baird one of three Indiana con-

gressmen unopposed until November, joining Republicans Larry Bucshon and Trey Hollingsworth. Four Democrats are competing for the nomination against Baird.

5th CD: Sen. Braun 'all in' for Henderson

U.S. Sen. Mike Braun formally endorsed 5th CD Republican candidate Beth Henderson. At a Beth Henderson for Congress event last week, Sen. Braun served as a special guest. "Beth, you're going to win this seat," Braun said, following up with, "I'm all in for Beth."

Mitchell rolls out endorsements

The Kelly Mitchell for Congress campaign released the following endorsements from prominent community leaders: Clinton Bohm, president of the Whitestown Town Council; Paul Ayers, former president of the Hamilton County Council; Cindy Noe, former Indiana state representative; David Abernathy, president of VIA Credit Union; Ken Alexander, Hamilton County councilor; Kelli Heuer, Madison County GOP secretary; Tom Santelli, Boone County commissioner; and Bruce Kimball, Carmel City councilor.

Governor

Roth booted from GOP ballot

Gov. Holcomb is now officially unopposed in the Republican primary. Carmel business owner Brian Roth fell about 1,700 signatures short of the 4,500 he needed to get on the ballot, but filed his candidacy anyway. He argues that by allowing now-Sen. Todd Young on the ballot four years ago, the Indiana Election Commission had effectively changed the signature requirement (Berman, WIBC). The bipartisan four-member commission unanimously disagreed. The argument in Young's case wasn't about how many he submitted, but whether some signatures in northwest Indiana were wrongly allowed or disallowed, and whether a page was missing from the petitions Lake County election officials forwarded to the

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state. In Roth's case, everyone, including Roth, acknowledges he was nowhere close to the number of signatures he needed. Holcomb will face former state health commissioner Woody Myers in November.

NIFB endorses Holcomb

Gov. Holcomb joined Barbara Quandt, National Federation of Independent Business (NFIB) state director, and members from across the state as the organization announced it is endorsing the governor's 2020 reelection bid. This is the second consecutive election where Gov. Holcomb has earned the NFIB's endorsement. "The governor has supported Indiana small business owners in a way few have done," said Quandt. "He has been involved in countless initiatives that have been good for small business and good for Indiana. He works hard to see that the small businesses which make up the foundation of this great state have the economic environment they need to grow and prosper. NFIB is proud to endorse Indiana's great governor, Eric Holcomb." The NFIB is a statewide network of more than 12,000 small and independent businesses.

Statewides

Weinzapfel endorsed by 8th CD Dems

Citing his record of leadership and long-standing commitment to Hoosier working families, on Saturday the 8th CD Democrat Committee voted to endorse Jonathan Weinzapfel for Indiana attorney general. "Jonathan Weinzapfel was an excellent mayor and state lawmaker, who took on the tough challenges and made a positive impact, and we know he'll do the same as our next attorney general," said Joan Kanizer, chair of the 8th District Democrats. "His experience, knowledge of the law and statewide fundraising network make him a strong candidate who can and will defeat Curtis Hill." "We are excited

to have Jonathan running for attorney general being from the 8th District," Kanizer added. Weinzapfel is facing State Sen. Karen Tallian. **HPI convention Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

General Assembly

HD35: Peters removed from ballot

Republican James Peters was removed from the HD35 Republican primary ballot (WIBC). State law allows candidates with no party voting history to ask county party chairmen to approve their candidacies. Peters contended party officials abused their authority by refusing to let him run, despite a staunchly pro-Trump Facebook page he says proves his party affiliation. Peters says he'll ask a judge to overrule the commission. Unless a court intervenes, Democrat State Rep. Melanie Wright will face Yorktown School Board member Elizabeth Rowray in the fall election.

HD25: Sabol to challenge Rep. Lehe

A Tippecanoe County man is throwing his hat into the ring for the Indiana House of Representatives District 25 seat. Alex Sabol announced his candidacy Sunday afternoon at the Tippecanoe County Democratic headquarters among friends, family and potential future colleagues like Rep. Chris Campbell and Rep. Sheila Klinker (Darling, WLFI-TV). Sabol is advocating for affordable health care, support for education and making Indiana a better place to live and work. "I've been thinking about this for years," he said. "I've thought about coming back, really making a difference in my home community and so it's really exciting." He's going up against incumbent Republican Don Lehe, who was first elected in 2002. Sabol said his goals for District 25 include bringing fresh perspective. ❖

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Syringe exchanges get reprieve in Senate

Howey Politics Indiana

INDIANAPOLIS — Lawmakers pushed back the death sentence for Indiana’s syringe exchange programs by one year under legislation approved by a Senate committee (Smith, Indiana Public Media). Wednesday’s vote comes after the programs were put in jeopardy earlier this



session. Indiana’s nine syringe exchange programs are set to expire in state law July 1, 2021. A bill earlier this year would’ve extended them indefinitely – but the Senate killed that measure.

Now, lawmakers are trying again with a one-year extension, until July 2022. State Health Commissioner Kris Box says keeping the programs alive is a must. “From 30 years of research, we know that syringe service programs reduce the number of new infections by providing testing, connecting patients to care and providing sterile syringes to people until they’re ready to enter treatment,” Box says. The state’s first syringe exchange programs were created in 2015 under Gov. Mike Pence in response to an HIV epidemic in southern Indiana.

Bosma kills straight ticket voting ban

Indiana will remain among just seven states where general election voters can designate a political party and automatically mark their ballot for every candidate running under that label (Carden, [NWI Times](#)). Earlier this month, the House Elections and Apportionment Committee amended Senate Bill 178 to eliminate “straight-party” or “straight-ticket” voting, after its chairman, state Rep. Tim Wesco, R-Osceola, said he was tired of the occasional glitches in the system. “Frankly, I’ve just gotten frustrated with the constant fixes we’re trying to make to it,” Wesco said. “Personally, I believe we should vote for the person and not the party.” Wesco, however, apparently forgot to check with House Speaker Brian Bosma who seemingly isn’t keen on seeing straight-party voting go away. At Bosma’s direction, the House Rules Committee reconsidered Wesco’s omnibus election legislation Wednesday, and promptly rewrote it to eliminate the elimination of straight-party voting.

Vaping fines poised for passage

Indiana lawmakers are poised to double the fines stores could face for selling smoking or vaping products to anyone younger than 21 years old (AP). Legislators advanced an agreement Wednesday reached by Senate and House negotiators on a bill supported by health advocates and business leaders. The proposal aims to help reduce Indiana’s high smoking rates by making it more difficult for

youths to obtain tobacco-related items such as cigarettes or e-cigarette liquids. The additional penalties are part of a bill increasing Indiana’s minimum age for smoking and vaping from 18 to 21 to conform with a new federal law. But the Republican-sponsored proposal doesn’t include any additional taxes on cigarettes or regulations on vaping liquids as sought by health advocates. The agreement would boost the maximum fine against a retailer for a first violation from \$200 to \$400. The penalties would increase until a third violation within a year, which would carry a maximum \$2,000 fine. Ed Charbonneau, a Valparaiso Republican who is chairman of the Senate’s health committee, said doubling the fines was a sensible step. “That seems to me to be very reasonable because we haven’t looked back and done anything with the fines for somewhere in the neighborhood of 10 or 11 years,” Charbonneau said.

Medical billing bill advances

A revised bill that would address surprise medical billing passed the Senate health committee Wednesday, but many senators say there’s still a lot of work to be done (Benson, Indiana Public Media). The bill would ensure patients will not face unexpected charges if, for example, they find out after a procedure that a doctor was out-of-network. Legislators narrowly added a more than 30-page amendment to the bill. Among other things, it bans non-compete agreements and requires hospital systems to bill a patient based on the location the services took place. Sen. Vaneta Becker (R-Evansville) says these are complex issues and the language needs to be reconsidered. “This bill if it goes as the way it goes right now, will have lots of unintended consequences,” Becker says. “And I don’t think that at a committee meeting, that we should be voting something out of committee that we don’t know the full ramification and consequences of that vote.” The bill passed out of committee with a vote of 8 to 4. It now goes to the full Senate for a vote.

Tallian advocates for more public defense

Criminal defendants across Indiana soon will have an equal shot at qualifying for low- or no-cost legal assistance by a public defender (Carden, [NWI Times](#)). Legislation headed to the governor’s desk will require judges in all 92 counties to consider the same criteria when determining whether a person lacks sufficient financial resources to hire a private attorney to represent them. Currently, each county sets its own criteria to decide whether a defendant is indigent, and therefore entitled to be represented by a court-appointed attorney. State Sen. Karen Tallian, D-Ogden Dunes, the sponsor of Senate Enrolled Act 302, said that has resulted in unequal treatment, sometimes with even the same defendant qualifying for the public defender in one county while being held personally responsible for their legal expenses in an adjacent county. “We want equal justice for all,” said Tallian, a Democratic candidate for Indiana attorney general. ❖

Socialism from a poor capitalist upbringing

By CRAIG DUNN

KOKOMO — I was 11 years old when President Lyndon Johnson launched his Great Society program in 1965. The Great Society was created to address a litany of societal ills and resulted in the creation of Medicaid, Medicare, Head Start, Urban Renewal, War Against Poverty and Support of Arts and Humanities programs.



Before the creation of these programs, individuals, families and local governments had to make do. Some did and some didn't.

The Dunn Family was lower class working poor. My father worked as a self-employed auto body repairman. My mother worked at home raising seven children. Food was spread mighty thin at dinner time and many times by the time the mashed potato bowl made its way to the little table where my sister Becky and I sat, it was nearly empty. There were many times when my mother gave up her food for those of us on the tail end of the dinner table.

As an 11-year-old I owned two pairs of pants and two pairs of shoes, one set for school and one set for church. My jeans were never thrown away until they had been patched with iron-on patches at least four times. They were always hand-me-downs from my older brothers. If the living on the edge of poverty was not enough, I attended a school that was wretched. It had originally been a school for black children prior to desegregation. The first three grades went to school in one building and then the next three grades attended class in the building two blocks to the north. Facilities were terrible and I suspect that the faculty was not the pick of the litter.

Despite the tightness of our precarious financial status, I never once thought of our family as poor. I never heard my parents complain about money or the lack thereof. They were incredibly optimistic people.

Had I been just a little bit more situationally aware, I might have noticed some telltale signs that we lived close to the economic line. When I was eight, my father had a car fall off of a jack onto his leg. He fractured his femur in two places. I never questioned why every morning he wrapped a plastic sheet around his full

length cast and went to work instead of staying home on disability. Looking back, dad just didn't have the luxury of staying home. No work, no pay!

My first brush with the critical need for money occurred when I was six. I discovered that I loved penny candy. There was a neighborhood corner grocery that had a nice selection of jars chock full of bubble gum, jaw breakers, Milk Duds, swizzle sticks and gummy drops that became the object of my youthful obsession. The only problem was that I had no pennies and no pennies meant no candy. Thankfully, my older brother Hugh, a 14-year-old packed with street wisdom, showed me the marvel of pop bottle deposits. These bottles weren't our bottles. We simply didn't have the money to have pop to drink. We were a Kool Aid family due to the ability to stretch your supply by adding more water. My brother taught me that I could take pop bottles that I would find and return them for two cents apiece. Wow! Genius!

Hugh showed me all of the places where he had been able to find the bottles that had financed his youthful candy needs for the previous few years. With this newfound knowledge, I began a daily route of suspected bottle dumps in order to acquire my riches. The basket on my bike filled up as I rode all over the eastern part of Kokomo on my quest. In time, my bottle revenues exceeded my candy demands and I actually put pennies into a small Liberty Bell bank. My mother had encouraged this because "someday you may need the money for college."

I used to look with envy at our neighbor across the street. They would drink their soda pop and put the



President Lyndon B. Johnson signs the landmark Medicare bill as former President Harry S Truman looks on.

empties in a case outside their back door. It never occurred to me to sneak over after dark and lift a few of their bottles because I had none. Work equaled bottles which equaled candy.

My mother was one of nine children, raised on

a 100-acre farm. She was not a sophisticated or worldly woman but she was a voracious reader. She never once set foot on foreign soil but she had traveled the world through her books. We acquired an entire set of Funk and Wagnall's encyclopedias through our grocery store at a cost of one dollar per volume, one book a week. She would always find something of great interest to her in the encyclopedia and make sure that she read it to me.

Given our economic status, it would have been understandable if my parents would have practiced economic envy and succumbed to the siren call of the Democrat Party. After all, we could have been the poster children for the Great Society program. However, my mother and father had a deep and abiding belief in the United States of America and its economic promise.

They had a simple axiom for success in life: Get a good education, work hard, behave yourself and you'll succeed. My parents completely believed in the Republican philosophy of a country built on a guarantee of equal opportunity but not one that guaranteed equal outcomes.

I cannot imagine what my parents would think about Socialist Bernie Sanders leading the Democratic presidential field followed by the clown car of Socialist lights. Dad once told me that government has nothing to give anyone but someone else's money. Think about the immorality of taking from one citizen to give to another citizen or non-citizen, for that matter! What accrues to the benefit of one person is to the detriment of another. How fair is that for a government to pick winners and losers?

Since 1965, we've come to live with the reality that a certain amount of our hardearned income will be taxed from us and then will be used to give people income, healthcare, food, education and a litany of other freebies.

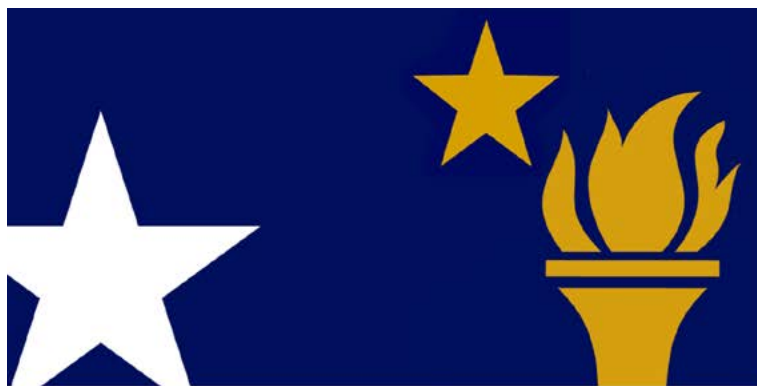
Now, we are confronted with avowed Socialists who promise to ramp up the tax and giveaway income redistribution scheme to unknown heights. I have heard it said that the death of our country will come when a little over half of the population discovers that it can tax away the income of the remainder of the population.

Unless the elders in the Democrat Party can interfere in the outcome of their presidential selection process and engineer a victory for someone with a modicum of economic intelligence, then we are perilously close to putting someone who has zero regard for our free enterprise system into the Oval Office.

Russian Vladimir Lenin made it very clear for us when he said, "The ultimate goal of Socialism is Communism."

Today's Socialists in the Democrat Party might attempt to nuance and massage the scary aspects of Socialism, but leave it to Lenin to tell it like it is. I believe that this presidential election will be a clear choice between clear cut alternatives. Let's hope and pray that common sense will prevail. ❖

Dunn is the former Howard County Republican chairman..



Linking You to the New Center of Indiana Media

The Crossroads Report

POLITICS - ELECTIONS
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How Indiana compares to our Illinois neighbor

By MORTON MARCUS

INDIANAPOLIS — A reader wrote recently, "Illinois is in a downward economic spiral." Many, in both Indiana and Illinois, believe this is true. They also believe Indiana enjoys a superior economic condition. What's a good measure of a "downward economic spiral" or a superior condition?



A central question about any economy is, "What kind of income growth is generated for working people and is that income growth stable?" Compensation, as defined by BEA (the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis), does the job. It includes wages and salaries, plus employer contributions for employ-

ee pension and insurance funds, as well as for government social insurance.

We'll examine the private non-farm sector which generates 82% of all compensation. Quarterly figures for 1998 through the third quarter of 2019, the latest available data, will be used.

The average annual growth of compensation in the U.S. during this period was 4%; Illinois grew by 3.2% (43rd among the 50 states) and Indiana by 3.1% (45th). Both states, with similar rates of growth, seriously lagged the nation.

How stable were those growth rates? Let's consider the range of those rates for the nation and each state. The U.S. had its peak quarterly growth at 4% in the first quarter of 2000, with its low at -5.0% in 2009:Q1. That's a range of 9%. Illinois' stability, as measured by the range of growth rates, was 22nd in the nation at 8.4 points. Indiana ranked 37th with a 10.5-point range. By this measure, our western neighbor looked more stable than we did.

The range, however, tells us only about the extremes of growth. Variability (the spread of each quarter's rate of change around the average change rate) is a stronger way of gauging the back and forth of a bouncing economy. In terms of variability, Michigan ranked first and Montana last. Indiana (9th) was more variable than Illinois (20th).

Where does this leave us? Most people favor high levels of growth with little variability. In terms of growth rates, Illinois and Indiana were low and nearly tied. Illinois showed less variability than Indiana, and this gave the Illini a somewhat better record.

Finally, to find Illinois' "downward economic spiral," we cut the data into two 10-year decades and looked at each state's share of total national compensation. Both

states had declining shares of compensation in both periods. Illinois lost most of its declining share in the recent decade; Indiana's loss, relative to the nation, was mainly in the earlier decade. Thus, we have two states not keeping pace with the nation and exhibiting more variability in growth than 30 other states.

Critics say Illinois' poor performance resulted from excessive regulation and taxation, plus favoritism of unions. Why then was Indiana, with light regulation, business-friendly taxes, and hostility toward unions, so similar to Illinois? Aren't we the "state that works"? ❖

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

Pandemics and market effects

By MICHAEL HICKS

MUNCIE — This week's volatility in capital markets captures some of the growing concern over Covid-19, or coronavirus. Stock markets are very poor guides to the



overall economy, but that does not mean they are wrong this time. In fact, I think they are late to the game. Much of the global economy has been slowing in recent months, and Covid-19 strikes directly at supply chains for the already struggling U.S. manufacturing industry. At the very least, the next few months will see much of the globe enter recession. With those prospects, it is useful to

think about the effects of viral pandemic on our economy.

Large-scale disease has long been with us, but few Americans under 70 have meaningful memory of them. Before the polio vaccine of 1955, summer polio outbreaks closed pools and fairs and delayed school openings. Americans younger than roughly age 53 don't have smallpox vaccine scars, and mostly dodged the mumps and chicken pox, which nearly all of us older than 55 endured.

We have seasonal flu, sometimes very bad strains, but the last large-scale viral disease pandemic was the 1918-1919 flu, which killed 685,000 Americans out of a population less than a third of the current size. The unfortunately named Spanish Flu killed four times as many Americans as did World War I, which ended in 1918. To place that experience in context, the 1918 flu killed more

Americans in one year than all the cumulative U.S. deaths from HIV/AIDS.

I understand the mathematics of epidemiology, but not the biology of the disease. There is much we don't know about Covid-19. We don't know how many people are infected but show no symptoms, or whether some populations will enjoy some immunity. This also means we don't know what share of infections lead to disease or death. However, there are some aspects of this disease that may magnify its economic effect.

First, this disease appears to be spread by aerosol, which is another way of saying that it is long-lived. Instead of dying out quickly after leaving a human host, it survives moving through the air and on surfaces. There's even evidence it can move through water or sewage systems and re-emerge as an airborne virus.

This method of transmission means that the low-cost and easily implemented methods of breaking the chain of infection don't work well. With the common flu, schools manage to interrupt the spread of flu by closing over a long weekend. The presence of Covid-19 might mean schools, business and government offices may need to be closed for weeks. That is why Chinese officials have locked down whole provinces and are spraying disinfectant in the streets and homes.

The second big concern is the high number of severe cases. Out of those who show symptoms, one in five is severe enough that they may require hospitalization. The U.S. has fewer than 800,000 hospital beds, which means we could accommodate an infected population of perhaps 4 million persons at one time, assuming no one else got sick and the disease was evenly spread around the nation. The CDC reports that a mild flu season has some 10 million infected persons. In a bad year it is closer to 50 million.

Of course, the disease won't hit randomly, but will be intense in one place, and then move on. In reality, even a modest outbreak would swamp local hospitals and physicians. There is no Public Health Service, National

Guard or Reserve forces that could field and staff even an additional 100,000 hospital beds, a fraction of what we might need. Much like what is now happening in China, much of the care will be done at home.

The short-run economic effects will be caused by the shutdown of businesses and schools in an effort to slow transmission, and by the lost productivity of workers who are sickened or die of the disease, and the time lost to care for sick family and friends.

All of this is sufficient to usher in a recession. There is no good news in a disease that will end far too many lives, but there may be less bad news for the U.S. than other places. Few Americans lived in the extremely high-density quarters common in China and Korea. Likewise, our sanitary infrastructure is more robust. These should help slow transmission.

We are far more affluent and so have more resources to deploy against the disease. While many in public health organizations will criticize our governmental response, our ace in the hole will be our large private sector. While the Trump Administration dithers in its response, businesses are jumping to fill the demand for goods and services this disease will bring.

The great lesson from natural disasters is not that prepared governments do well, but that a robust private sector is most responsive. For example, Wal-Mart had dozens of trucks with water and other supplies entering New Orleans before there was any meaningful federal response. We are just weeks, if not days, away from special sections in drug stores catering to Covid-19 risks. Our private markets will make slowing the spread and mitigating its effects far more effective here than in authoritarian China. ❖

Michael J. Hicks, PhD, is the director of the Center for Business and Economic Research and the George and Frances Ball distinguished professor of economics in the Miller College of Business at Ball State University.

It's getting late early

By **KYLE KONDIK**
and **J. MILES COLEMAN**

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. – Last April, we noted that despite the ever-growing Democratic presidential field and delegate allocation rules that can string out a nomination fight, there was the possibility of a single candidate getting an early grip on the nomination because of the frontloaded calendar. By the end of St. Patrick's Day, states awarding more than three-fifths of all the pledged delegates will have voted. We here at

the Crystal Ball are big fans of the wisdom of the late Yogi Berra, and we used one of his gems at the time to sum it all up: "It gets late early out there."

And with Bernie Sanders' success so far, it may be getting late faster and earlier that we might have thought.

This is not necessarily because Sanders is somehow now guaranteed to amass a pledged delegate majority by the end of the nominating season, but rather because he may be able to start building a lead that, because of proportional allocation

rules, no other single candidate can reasonably surpass during the nominating season. So even if he doesn't get



precisely to 50% +1, the magic number of 1,991 pledged delegates to win the nomination, he could be both close enough and far enough ahead of whoever ends up in second that he'd have the only real claim to the nomination.

Since New Hampshire, there have been many polls released both nationally and of the Super Tuesday states. While Sanders is not necessarily dominating, he seems to be competitive all over the diverse Super Tuesday map. In fact, Sanders now even appears to be within range of Joe Biden in South Carolina, where more than half of the electorate will be black. Biden probably is still favored to win the Palmetto State on Saturday, but the fact that Biden now appears to be in something of a dogfight with Sanders there is evidence enough of the former vice president's precarious position.

A Sanders win in South Carolina – which now seems possible – would represent the culmination of an incredible February for Sanders in which the Democratic Party's insurgent, Sanders, would replicate the path of the GOP's insurgent, Donald Trump, four years ago: Second-place in Iowa and then a sweep of Nevada, New Hampshire, and South Carolina. Trump finished February clearly favored for the nomination; Sanders may be in such a position even now.

Three days after South Carolina is Super Tuesday, which awards more than a third of all the pledged delegates. If Sanders is within striking distance of Biden in South Carolina, it probably suggests that Sanders is competitive enough with African Americans in the six other Southern states that vote on Super Tuesday, all of which have substantial African-American populations, but only one of which (Alabama) will have a majority-black electorate.

Recent polling in some of these states, like North Carolina and Virginia, has shown Sanders very competitive with or even leading Joe Biden and Michael Bloomberg. After getting demolished in the South in 2016, if Sanders can simply prevent anyone else from doing very well in the region, he can build a delegate lead elsewhere. Sanders also probably will run competitively in Amy Klobuchar's home state (Minnesota) and Elizabeth Warren's (Massachusetts). We'll take a closer look at the Super Tuesday states before they weigh in eight days from now, but the overall point is that Sanders should be competitive in all or almost all of those states and very well could end up winning several.

Sanders' excellent showing among Hispanics in Nevada demonstrated the Vermont senator's strength among that group of voters after polls suggested such strength. Though our data is based on partial returns (only 60% of the vote was reported by early Sunday evening),

the county and congressional district breakdown of the state illustrated this.

Nevada may provide a preview of sorts of California and Texas, in that the two megastates voting on Super Tuesday each have larger Hispanic electorates than Nevada does. At this point it'd be a shock if Sanders lost California, and at least a little surprising if he lost Texas.

Remember, though, an important caveat about California, where Sanders has consistently been leading polls and where a slice of the vote has already been cast: The size of whatever victory Sanders might achieve there may not be clear on Election Night. The later-submitted and later-counted votes in California are often liberal; as we noted a few weeks ago, Sanders significantly gained in later-counted votes four years ago against Hillary Clinton – on election night, Clinton was clearing 60% in the Golden State, but Sanders ultimately held her to 53%-46% win after all the voters were counted. Everyone reporting on the California results in the early going next week should emphasize the incompleteness of the initial vote count.



Oh wait, actually, Bloomberg didn't get any delegates in Nevada because he wasn't even on the ballot there. One can see how the attention paid to Bloomberg – and perhaps his very candidacy – has helped draw eyes away

from Sanders' rise the past couple of months and further splintered the non-Sanders vote. Bloomberg will get his first ballot tests on Super Tuesday, although it is possible that his position has deflated since his debate debacle last Wednesday.

Overall, we can't necessarily assume that the shape of the race would be much different if the alignment of candidates changed. If Bloomberg or Pete Buttigieg or Elizabeth Warren or Amy Klobuchar or other candidates dropped out today, it's not a sure thing that their supporters would completely flock to non-Sanders candidates.

Sanders is well-liked by Democrats, and recently he has been leading other contenders in hypothetical one-on-one matchups. An Associated Press-NORC poll conducted in the aftermath of the New Hampshire primary showed Sanders with the best favorability among Democrats of any of the other candidates. While Democratic elites are starting to sound the alarms about Sanders and his potential weaknesses against Donald Trump, the Democratic rank and file seems fairly comfortable with him as the nominee.

The other candidates, and party leaders who are worried about Sanders' ability to lead the Democratic ticket, have precious little time to make Democratic voters as uncomfortable with Sanders as some of them seem to be. Otherwise, he's going to be the nominee, and Republicans will work to turn Democratic fears about Sanders' far-left politics into realities. ❖

Mark Bennett, Terre Haute Tribune-Star: Our day will come. Yes, Hoosiers' chance to help nominate the 2020 presidential candidates is just 72 days away. Residents here vote in the Indiana primary very soon, on May 5, immediately following Republican and Democratic primaries and caucuses in close to 40 states and territories. Fear not. We aren't last. Nominating contests in 11 other states, U.S. territories and the District of Columbia follow Indiana. We're merely almost last. It's doubtful the eight remaining Democratic candidates will all still be competing for the party's nomination when Hoosiers vote. Rarely does Indiana matter in the presidential primary races. There have been a few quirks. In 2008, Sens. Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton were in a tight duel for the Democratic nomination when the Indiana primary arrived. Clinton won Indiana, but future President Obama secured a win in the North Carolina primary hours later to lock up the nomination. Our rare significance that year was fleeting. The 2016 Indiana primary often gets cited as important, on the Republican side, because its outcome formally knocked Trump's closest rivals — Texas Sen. Ted Cruz and Ohio Gov. John Kasich — out of the GOP race. But other states had already done the heavy lifting for Trump, and his victory in Indiana was a foregone conclusion. It doesn't have to be this way. The existing order of presidential nominating contests can be changed. It's happened before.

In fact, Indiana once had the nation's first primary, in 1916. We were the Iowa and New Hampshire of the early primary system. Primaries were an idea born after the turn of the 20th century, with Oregon staging the first in 1912, according to the 2008 book, "From Primaries to the Polls: How to Repair America's Broken Presidential Nomination Process," by Thomas Gangale. Twenty-five states held primaries four years later, with Indiana going first on Tuesday, March 7, 1916. The presidential primary fad faded after 1916, though, when many state legislatures scrapped their primaries, viewing them as an unnecessary expense, given the low voter turnouts. Indiana kept its primary, but moved it to the first Tuesday after the first Monday in May. Hoosiers conducted their primary through the 1920s, then suspended it until 1956. The state has voted in early May ever since. New Hampshire immediately took Indiana's pole position among primaries in 1920 and remains there today. Iowa has conducted the nation's first presidential caucus since the 1970s. That's the tradition, but it's not ideal. Voters in Iowa and New Hampshire — states that rank 32nd and 41st, respectively, by population — play an outsize role in narrowing the field of presidential candidates. Neither has a populace mirroring the nation. Yet, it happens every four years. Then, other states follow in a fairly random order. A scramble in the early 21st century by other states to oust or nudge closer to Iowa and New Hampshire led to some more logical alternatives, pitched by various groups. The fairest, though not perfect, option among several seems to be the "Rotating Regional Primary System." The National Association of Secretaries of



State created the plan in 2008. ❖

Ed Kilgore, New York Magazine: Without any obvious path left to the top of the heap, Mayor Pete is waving his arms at Sanders-fearing Democrats and essentially saying, "Don't forget about me!" His main hope now is that his rivals for the mantle of Last Democrat Standing before a Sanders nomination will falter and fall, leaving him as a putative party savior in the eyes of those who fear the democratic socialist cannot beat Trump. Perhaps he will crank up a serious attack on Bernie in the South Carolina or subsequent debates, but he needs a lot of luck — if not divine intervention — to remain in the race past Easter with a significant horde of delegates and enough money to keep going. Let's say, for the sake of argument, that Sanders is the Democratic nominee and wins the general election. If Buttigieg can stop at some sort of hypothetical fail-safe point in going after him, there might be a place for him in a Sanders administration, though he might want to watch his back given the number of Bernie-loving millennials who loathe him so much. Maybe he could get an ambassadorship to one of those countries whose language he speaks. More interesting are the opportunities that might open up if Buttigieg and other centrist prophets of doom are right and Sanders wins the nomination but promptly loses to the Evil One. If he's not hauled off to a reeducation camp with the rest of us, Buttigieg could become, at best, the symbol of a redeemed post-Trump Democratic future or, at worst, an alternative to Sanders heir apparent AOC. Indeed, at the ripe old age of 42, Pete could represent a Hoosier (and Christian) challenge to putative 2024 Republican nominee Mike Pence. Given the high likelihood of the mother of all second-term midterm backlashes to a reelected and unleashed Donald Trump, Buttigieg might even have a chance to topple Todd Young in 2022 and join his friend Amy Klobuchar in the Senate. ❖

Jason Riley, Wall Street Journal: If the Democratic establishment is panicking at the prospect of the party nominating a socialist for president, Republicans are snickering. But there's a certain amount of playacting on both sides. Mr. Trump has signaled that he wants to run against Mr. Sanders, and many Trump supporters believe that the Vermont senator would lose in a rout. But that's wishful thinking. For starters, the socialist label is less toxic than it once was, which means that beating Bernie will involve a lot more than name-calling. Should he get the nomination, a Sanders victory in November is no more implausible than Mr. Trump's was in 2016. The president has already demonstrated that a nominal member of a major party who has grass-roots support and is running as an outsider can win the White House. Mr. Trump had the luxury of running against the most unpopular presidential candidate in memory, and lightning won't strike twice. Mr. Sanders is far less polarizing than Mrs. Clinton was. ❖

Trump puts Pence in charge of virus

WASHINGTON — President Donald Trump declared Wednesday that a widespread U.S. outbreak of the new respiratory virus sweeping the globe isn't inevitable even as top health authorities at his side warned Americans that more infections are coming (AP). Shortly after Trump spoke, the government announced a worrisome development: Another person in the U.S. is infected — someone in California who doesn't appear to have the usual risk factors of having traveled abroad or being exposed to another patient. At a White House news conference, Trump sought to minimize fears as he insisted the U.S. is "very, very ready" for whatever the COVID-19 outbreak brings. Under fire about the government's response, he put Vice President Mike Pence in charge of coordinating the efforts. "This will end," Trump said of the outbreak. "You don't want to see panic because there's no reason to be panicked." But standing next to him, the very health officials Trump praised for fighting the new coronavirus stressed that schools, businesses and individuals need to get ready. "We do expect more cases," said Dr. Anne Schuchat of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. "It's possible this could be an instance of community spread of COVID-19," the CDC said in a statement. "Instead of listening to public health and medical experts, the president has been downplaying the potential impact of the virus for over a month," said Democratic Rep. Bennie Thompson of Mississippi, chairman of the House Homeland Security Committee. Thompson added that putting Pence, "someone with no public health expertise, in charge of the response will not instill confidence with the American people and raises questions about the administration's ability to coordinate an effective response to a complex public health



threat." During his time as Indiana's governor, Pence faced criticism for his response to a public health crisis in the southern part of the state. Pence had long opposed needle exchanges but was eventually persuaded to issue an executive order allowing one in Scott County. Despite his own misgivings — Pence said he didn't support the exchanges as an "anti-drug policy" — he signed a law allowing the state government to approve them on a case-by-case basis.

Ex-Portage clerk faces felony charge

PORTAGE — Former Democratic Portage Clerk-Treasurer Chris Stidham, who kicked off last year's failed bid for mayor by calling to take the city back from "scandal and chaos," was charged Wednesday with a felony count of official misconduct (NWI Times). The charge accuses 37-year-old Stidham of "creating obligations in excess of appropriations by issuing a bond, certificate or warrant for the payment of money in excess of an appropriation" while performing his official duties. The offense occurred between Jan. 1, 2015, and Dec. 31, 2016, according to the charge. The charge was filed by Special Prosecutor Stanley Levco, a former county prosecutor and judge from Evansville, who was brought in to investigate the case.

Casino decision unlikely in March

TERRE HAUTE — The Indiana Gaming Commission will not likely act on the application for a Vigo County casino license at its March 26 meeting, said commission Deputy Director Jenny Reske (Modesitt, Terre Haute Tribune-Star). Reske said an investigation into alleged wrongdoing believed to involve an executive with lone license applicant Spectacle Entertainment is ongoing. As such, it would be premature for the commission to act on the license. "The Indiana Gam-

ing Commission is performing a review of the matter — and while I cannot disclose much of what is being investigated — I can say the Commission has retained an outside consultant to help us understand exactly what the documents we've received from Virginia mean and what the implications of some of that information could be," Reske said. The information that gave rise to the Gaming Commission's probe became public Jan. 23 in federal court in the Eastern District of Virginia.

Subaru set for \$158M expansion

LAFAYETTE — A Subaru plant in northwest Indiana is set for a \$158 million expansion that will create 350 new jobs by adding a new service parts facility and a transmission assembly shop, the automaker said Wednesday (AP). Subaru of Indiana Automotive said both projects will be located on the plant's 820-acre Lafayette campus, with the transmission assembly shop to be added to the existing plant.

2 stunning shots in Grace/Taylor game

WINONA LAKE — It was one of the most thrilling finishes to a basketball game you'll ever see (WTHR-TV). Mason Degenkolb made two free throws with six seconds left to give Taylor University a three-point lead over Grace College in the opening game of the Crossroads League Tournament Wednesday night. Grace senior Charlie Warner took the inbounds pass over midcourt and let a 40-plus-foot shot fly. As the game-tying basket rattled home with 1.6 seconds remaining, the Grace fans and broadcast crew erupted, figuring the game was headed for overtime. But Degenkolb had other plans. The senior guard caught the inbounds pass and heaved a three-quarter-court shot that found the bottom of the net to give the Trojans a thrilling 88-85 victory.