



## Pence's precarious 2024 prospects



Heckled by a distinct minority at faith conference, it created an indelible moment of vulnerability

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – A glimpse in politics, even for just a couple of seconds, can be utterly revealing. On the strength side of history are Presidents Kennedy and

Reagan fulfilling their destinies some three decades apart, standing at the Berlin Wall. Or FDR describing Dec. 7, 1941, before Congress as a “day that will live in infamy.”

Then there were the losers: Michael Dukakis riding atop an Army tank, President Bush41 looking confused at a grocery checkout counter, Bush43 under that “Mission Accomplished” banner on the USS Lincoln, Howard Dean’s Iowa caucus shriek ... And now there is Mike Pence,

Continued on page 3

## Biden's cyber warning

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – After the City of Gary was hit with a cyber ransomware attack, it had to rebuild its servers. LaPorte County ended up paying cyber criminals \$132,000 after it was hit with ransomware.

Lake County government, Eastern Hancock schools and a hospital in Greenfield have been victims, as have the City of Carmel and Lawrence County.

Lawrence County officials, including the sheriff and county commissioners put out this statement: “On February 7, 2020, we discovered that certain systems and services within Lawrence County government were rendered inoperable due to a ransomware event. As soon as



**“I realized that if every person like me, who wasn’t violent, was removed from that crowd, the ones who were violent may have lost the nerve for what they did. For that I am sorry and take responsibility.”** - Anna Morgan-Lloyd of Bloomfield, pleading guilty her role in the U.S. Capitol insurrection.



**Howey Politics Indiana**  
**WWWHowey Media, LLC**  
**c/o Business Office**  
**PO Box 6553**  
**Kokomo, IN, 46904**  
**www.howeypolitics.com**

**Brian A. Howey**, Publisher  
**Mark Schoeff Jr.**, Washington  
**Mary Lou Howey**, Editor  
**Susan E. Howey**, Editor

**Subscriptions**

HPI, HPI Daily Wire \$599  
 HPI Weekly, \$350  
**Lisa Houchell**, Account Manager  
 (765) 452-3936 telephone  
 (765) 452-3973 fax  
 HPI.Business.Office@howeypolitics.com

**Contact HPI**

bhowey2@gmail.com  
 Howey's cell: 317.506.0883  
 Washington: 202.256.5822  
 Business Office: 765.452.3936

© 2021, **Howey Politics Indiana**. All rights reserved.  
 Photocopying, Internet forwarding, faxing or reproducing in any form, whole or part, is a violation of federal law without permission from the publisher.

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



we became aware of this, we immediately took steps to secure our network and commenced an investigation to determine what happened. We are working with the appropriate state authorities to try to resolve this incident. In addition, leading third party experts have been engaged to assist with our response to this incident."

**In Lake County**, according to the NWI Times, its IT staff ended up installing cybersecurity software on 3,000 individual employee laptops. They are also working through installing cybersecurity to clear the ransomware on 40 county servers.

Earlier this month, CNN's Jake Tapper asked U.S. Energy Secretary Jennifer Granholm if cyber criminals had the capability to shut down the U.S. power grid. "Yeah, they do," Granholm responded. "There are very malign actors who are trying, even as we speak. There are thousands of attacks on all aspects of the energy sector and the private sector generally. It's happening all the time. This is why the private sector and the public sector have to work together.

"The bottom line," Granholm said, "is we have all got to up our games, with respect to our cyber defenses."

This threat isn't new. In 2018, Director of National Intelligence Dan Coats told National Public Radio, "Each morning when I get up, I'm given a roundtable of news on what happened while I was asleep, or what happened yesterday around the world. And almost without fail, the longest section of this news roundup is the section on cyber issues, which details multiple reports of cyberattacks and alerts."

Coats continued, "It was in the months prior to September 2001 when, according to then CIA Director George Tenet, the system was blinking

red. And here we are nearly two decades later, and I'm here to say the warning lights are blinking red again. Today, the digital infrastructure that serves this country is literally under attack. Every day, foreign actors – the worst offenders being Russia, China, Iran and North Korea – are penetrating our digital infrastructure and conducting a range of cyber intrusions and attacks against targets in the United States."

"In regards to the state actions," Coats explained, "Russia has been the most aggressive foreign actor – no question."

For instance, Trickbot malware is associated with Russian criminal groups that have often



worked in collaboration with Russian intelligence services, including those responsible for the interference in the 2016 U.S. presidential election, according to Lawfare Blog. "U.S. Cyber Command targeted this malware in autumn 2020 in an unprecedented use of military offensive cyber operations to disrupt a purely criminal operation," Lawfare's Jason Healy reported.

**Speaking to the Indianapolis Economic Club** in 2019, Coats explained, "The technological changes in the private sector and around the world are evolving so quickly." While Presidents Xi in China and Putin can make unilateral weapon system decisions, American presidents need to go through Congress, through legislating, budgets, authorizations and appropriations. "The change in

technology is so fast, a government process cannot keep up," he said. "Decisions have to be made. Dictatorships and monarchies don't have that system. A dictator can say, 'I want this, do it in six months. Get it done.'"

**Heading into President** Biden's recent summit with Russian President Vladimir Putin, the fresh headlines included cyber attacks on American pipelines (which created gas shortages and long lines at the pumps in the southeastern U.S.), its biggest meat packing company, and an array of public transit systems, hospitals, and universities.

Russia has been a haven to cyber criminals who have been creating cyber mayhem, with the imprimatur of Putin. "He knows there are consequences. He knows I will take action," Biden said, adding that he told Putin that the U.S. has "significant cyber capability."

"He knows it," Biden said. "He doesn't know exactly what it is, but he knows it's significant. If in fact they

violate these basic norms, we will respond."

Back at the height of the Cold War with the since-collapsed Soviet Union, U.S. intelligence operatives seeded faulty pipeline technology to spies, with U.S. reconnaissance finding ruptured installations as a result.

Biden said he provided Putin a list of 16 sectors of "critical infrastructure" that should be "off-limits for cyber-attacks."

"The principle is one thing, it has to be backed up by practice," Biden said. "Responsible countries need to take action against criminals who conduct ransomware activities on their territory."

Will Biden's warning to Putin bear results? Perhaps we will know if the cyber attacks stop, or if the lights in Moscow flicker off one night. ❖

**Howey is publisher of Howey Politics Indiana. Follow him on Twitter @hwypol.**

## Pence, from page 1

standing at Ralph Reed's Family & Faith Conference in Kissimmee late last week ... hearing a few hecklers accusing him of being a "Traitor!"

This lasted just a moment, the protestors in a distinct room minority before event security escorted them away. But it dominated the media from MSNBC to Fox News, from the IndyStar to NewsMax. In the wake of these cries, Pence gave a wooden but familiar recantation of who he actually is: "I'm a Christian, a conservative, and a Republican in that order," setting tens of thousands of eyes rolling.

In the pre-Trump days of the Grand Old Party, conservatives would produce pocket U.S. Constitutions to help make their political points. These days, Vice President Pence's slowly developed decision to protect and defend that Constitution while President Trump actively sought to "OVERTURN!" the election has put this ambitious Hoosier on the outs with a majority of Republicans, even here in Indiana. I have little doubt that Trump would hold a huge lead over Pence in Indiana.

Trump's criticism of Mike Pence persists. On Tuesday during an interview on Real America's Voice, host David Brody pointed out that Trump's followers are "never going to forgive" Pence. "What's your take on Mike Pence and what's the relationship like?" Brody asked the former president. "Well, I've always liked Mike and I'm very disappointed that he didn't send it back to the legislatures when you have more votes than you have voters in some cases,



and when you have the kind of things that were known then," Trump said. "I think you may have found that you would have had a different president right now had he sent them back."

In those fleeting moments leading up to Jan. 6 with the whole world watching, Vice President Pence was confronted with the historic conundrum his wife, Karen, first recognized in the wee hours of election night 2016 when somehow the stars and planets aligned, Donald Trump was elected president and the Indiana governor's political fate was secured to that of the profane Manhattan billionaire.

Conventional wisdom was this: Pence would play

the loyal veep. The Trumpian luck would run out, he would lose his reelection, setting Pence on the course of a former No. 2 in the pole position for the 2024 nomination after writing a book and collecting IOUs from Republicans across the amber waves of grain.

The Pence calculus ignored Donald Trump's authoritarian strain, one where the president would attempt an unprecedented coup d'etat that culminated in the mayhem of insurrection outside the U.S. Capitol as Pence and Congress counted up Joe Biden's Electoral College victory, with MAGA supporters engaging in hours of hand-to-hand combat with Capitol and Metropolitan police while chanting "Hang Mike Pence." The death toll would be five (seven if you include two Capitol PD suicides), while 140 cops suffered everything from heart attacks, broken bones and fractured skulls. More than 500 insurrectionists would be charged, with a Hoosier grandmother of five from Bloomfield the first to be sentenced this week.

Tim Dickinson observed in Rolling Stone: "After losing in November to Joe Biden and Kamala Harris, Pence attempted to fade into the woodwork, staying manifestly silent as Trump spun up baseless conspiracy theories about having been robbed of rightful victory – by a 'fraud' inconceivably perpetrated across half a dozen swing states, governed variously by Democrats and Republicans, in geographies ranging from the Desert Southwest to the Rust Belt, to the New South. He stayed quiet, too, as Trump attempted to twist arms of local Michigan officials to block the lawful certification of election results, and said nothing as recordings surfaced of Trump telling Republican Secretary of State Brad Raffensberger in Georgia to 'find 11,780 votes' and overturn Biden's victory there.

### A bridge too far

"When faced with a choice between backing Trump and attempting to install the 45th president as America's first dictator, or upholding his oath to the constitution and performing his perfunctory duties," Dickinson continued, "Pence finally found a bridge he could not cross."

In one of his final White House lunches with Trump prior to Jan. 6, Pence told Trump, "It is my considered judgment that my oath to support and defend the Constitution constrains me from claiming unilateral authority to determine which electoral votes should be counted and which should not."

A source told The Wall Street Journal that the president was furious, telling Pence, "I don't want to be your friend – I want you to be the vice president."



In a statement early Jan. 6, Pence said he lacked the "unilateral authority to determine which electoral votes should be counted and which should not," adding, "I took an oath to support and defend the Constitution which ended with the words 'so help me God.' Today I want to assure the American people that I will keep the oath I made to them and I will keep the oath I made to Almighty God."

For all his loyalty to President Trump, after years of prerequisite bootlicking and subservience, Trump told the Stop the Steal rally (which "will be wild") what he expected from his vice president: "Mike Pence is going to have to come through for us, and if he doesn't, that will be a sad day for our country."

Ten minutes after Secret Service rushed Pence and his family from the Senate chamber to a "secure location," Trump tweeted, "If Mike Pence does the right thing, we win the election. He has the absolute right to do it."

Pence did the right thing, presiding over the certification of Biden as the 46th president, and in doing so, perhaps destroyed his own political career. In one of his final official acts as vice president, Pence ended the Electoral College count at 3 a.m. Jan. 7, declaring the election was won by Biden, and then called on Senate Chaplain Barry Black for prayer.

"These tragedies have reminded us that words matter, and that the power of life and death is in the tongue," Black said, praising God for having strengthened "our resolve to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies – domestic as well as foreign."

At the Faith Freedom Conference last Friday,

Pence talked of his record with Trump: "President Trump taught us what Republicans can accomplish when we stand firm on conservative principles and don't back down. In 48 months, the Trump-Pence administration achieved the lowest unemployment, the most secure border and the strongest military in the history of the world."

But in a Western Conference straw poll in Denver last weekend, CNN analyst Harry Enten noted that Trump had a 50%-10% lead over Pence, but without Trump in the mix, Florida Gov. Ron DeSantis led Pence 24%-15%. "For a former VP, that's awfully weak," Enten said. "Sixty-one percent of Republicans think that the election was stolen from Donald Trump. Just 40% felt that Jan. 6 was not just normally peaceful." On candidate approval, DeSantis narrowly led Trump, 74%-71%, while Pence finished a distant 10th place with 22%.

HPI columnist Craig Dunn writes this week about traveling to Gettysburg. "Western Pennsylvania and Maryland were full of Donald Trump signs. Full!" said Dunn, a former 4th CD and Howard County Republican chairman. "Unfortunately for Mike Pence, I also saw several signs where Pence's name had either been cut out or painted over. It is obvious to me that the former vice president will have a tough row to hoe to either get back on the ticket or win over Trump's supporters should the Donald decide not to run again."

Should Pence continue to do what former vice president Dan Quayle realized in 2000 was the impossible (defeat the Bush family dynasty from a new home in Carmel), his former Hoosier friends can only hope his campaign includes an ardently professional security detail.

### Quayle's 1999 campaign

Quayle kicked off his 2000 presidential campaign after rejecting suggestions that he run for governor of Indiana in 1996, which he later acknowledged was a mistake. On April 15, 1999, in hometown Huntington, Quayle launched what the Wall Street Journal's John Harwood described as an "underdog 2000 presidential bid." Quayle vowed to "fight for our values," slash income taxes and restrict American military deployments to areas of vital national interest. "We do not need another president who needs on-the-job training," declared Quayle. "You can only get so much from briefing books and crash courses."

By September 1999, a month after finishing eighth in an Iowa straw poll (trailing talk show host Alan Keyes), Quayle was toast in the face of the dynastic juggernaut of Texas Gov. George W. Bush. At a Phoenix news conference, Quayle said, "There's a time to stay and there's a time to fold. There's a time to know when to leave the stage. Thus today I am announcing that I will no longer be

a candidate for president of the United States. I was facing a campaign where the front-runner would have up to \$100 million to spend, and an unprecedented front loading of the primary system made the task for me of winning the nomination of my party virtually impossible."

His former aide and Senate successor, Dan Coats, explained, "Even if he won in New Hampshire, where do you go from there? You don't have the funds ... and you're up against a candidate who can outspend you 100-to-1 if he wants to."

Quayle was philosophical about leaving the political arena, never to return. "The question in life is not whether you get knocked down," Quayle said. "You will. The question is, are you ready to get back up and fight for what you believe in?"

This presents major problems for Mike Pence. After four years of subservience to Donald Trump, no one knows what he actually, resolutely believes. His rote "I'm a Christian, a conservative and a Republican" is now breached by his Trumpian tenure. He no longer insists the president of the United States is a moral beacon, as he did in the mid-1990s when he helmed the Indiana Policy Review. He can no longer claim to be a champion of free trade, or even fiscal discipline as the Trump administration left behind a trillion dollar budget deficit and \$22 trillion in national debt.

Normally the Faith and Freedom conference would have been an absolute Pence love fest. These days, much of the GOP has moved into an extra-Constitutional never neverland of a Trump cult of personality. Poll after poll reveals that about 32% of the GOP base believes the election was stolen from Trump and that President Biden is illegitimate. Many believe Trump will be "reinstated" on Aug. 15, though there is no constitutional path to do so. Virtually no ardent Trump supporter accepts the notion that Pence will return, whether it's the Aug. 15 pipedream, or Jan. 20, 2025.

It may take another two election cycles of defeat to extricate Trump's stranglehold on the GOP, relegating the Republican Party nationally to what Pence once called the "dustbin of history."

Right now, Pence's 2024 prospects look bleak. By 2028, the Trump fever either will break, or the United States of America will be on a post-democracy path should he return to power, with operatives in a number of swing states removing secretaries of state from election authority in moves designed to keep an American dictator in place.

If the fever breaks, in 2028 Mike Pence will be a spry 69 years old (a decade younger than President Biden was when he took office), and, perhaps in place to revive a stalled political career, one that saw him save the world's most notable democracy, while taking unprecedented incoming arrows. ❖



# Sen. Young a distinct reelection favorite

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – When U.S. Sen. Todd Young visited Fishers last week, a constituent asked him if the Hamilton County city was “in his district.”

Of course, readers of Howey Politics Indiana know that U.S. senators run statewide. While Indiana’s nine congressional districts haven’t been competitive since the 2011 maps were drawn (not a single incumbent was defeated; only the 2nd CD changed parties over the past decade), the place where Democrats appear to have a fleeting chance is the U.S. Senate.



In two of the three U.S. Senate races over the past decade, two incumbents were defeated, U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar in the 2012 Republican primary and Sen. Joe Donnelly in 2018

by Mike Braun. Donnelly was the last Democrat to win statewide, defeating the deeply flawed Republican nominee Richard Mourdock 50-44%.

But Sen. Young is a campaign beast. In 2016, former senator and governor Evan Bayh became the fourth former member of Congress to lose a political race to Young, and it wasn’t even close. Young won 52-42%, or by 265,044 votes. When Young won his U.S. House seat, he defeated former congressman Mike Sodrel in the GOP primary, then easily dispatched Democrat U.S. Rep. Baron Hill by the same 52-42% margin. In the 2016 Republican Senate primary, Young defeated U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman, 67-43%.

Young is up for his first Senate reelection, with Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr., testing the challenge waters. Currently, Gary Human Relations Commission Executive Director Haneefah Khaaliq is the only declared Democrat seeking the nomination.

In March, Donnelly told HPI he wouldn’t run in 2022. “It was a great honor to serve our state in the U.S. House and Senate,” Donnelly said. “I worked to create better health care for Hoosiers, provide more services for our veterans, assist in job creation, and keep our nation safe. During the last two years, I have had the chance to teach U.S. national security at Notre Dame, to practice law, to work on Hoosier renewable energy issues, and to work with Indiana businesses to create more jobs. I remain open to being involved in public service again, but I will not be a candidate for public office in 2022.”

Young kicked off his first Senate reelection campaign in February, saying on Twitter and in a YouTube video, “When you entrusted me the honor of serving you five years ago, I swore an oath to defend the constitution. I also pledged to you that I would work to on behalf of all Hoosiers to deliver conservative results. I believe I’ve lived up to that and kept my word but more work remains, so today I’m announcing my reelection campaign and I’m asking for your support.”

It came just months after Young headed the National Republican Senatorial Committee, raising a record \$70 million. “I’m prepared for an incredibly expensive race,” Young told HPI just an hour before Donnelly announced he wouldn’t challenge. “I’ve always entered these races and am entering this one assuming the worst but hoping for the best and I prepare accordingly. Whether this is a \$150 million race or \$200 million, I’ll be ready. I’ve laid the groundwork for reelection campaign from my two years of service as chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee. That position put me in touch with some of the most Republican contributors in the country. I feel strongly positioned to raise whatever we need to raise.”

In the good old days before the Citizens United ruling, \$9 million was spent in the 2010 Indiana Senate race. U.S. Sen. Dan Coats raised \$4,499,120 and received \$1,227,000 in PAC contributions; Democrat Brad Ellsworth raised \$2,291,863 and had \$1,052,000 in PAC contribu-



tions that year. Going back further, Bayh spent in the range of \$4-5 million in his 1998 Senate race against Fort Wayne Mayor Paul Helmke, and \$3 million to \$4 million in his 2004 reelection. Going back even further, races between Sen. Coats against Democrats Baron Hill and Joe Hogsett in 1990 and 1992 were in the \$2 million range.

Beginning in 2012, the flood of money grew exponentially bigger. The 2012 cycle when Mourdock upset Sen. Lugar and then Donnelly’s defeat of Mourdock settled in at \$51 million. Outside groups spent \$32,844,052 in 2012, according to the website Open Secrets. The three campaign committees – Lugar at \$4,703,690, Mourdock

at \$8,596,756, and Donnelly at \$5,572,767 – raised and spent a combined \$18,873,213.

By 2016, the total reached \$75 million as Young first defeated Rep. Stutzman and Eric Holcomb in the GOP primary, then toppled Bayh's Senate comeback after he took over the nomination from Hill in July 2016. The 2016 Senate race featured two of the top all-time fundraisers in Young and Bayh, who resurfaced late and began his effort with a nearly \$10 million balance in his federal account. Bayh made a total of \$13.588 million in disbursements, compared to \$11.39 million for Young.

In 2018, Donnelly raised \$17,243,997, spent \$17,041,271 and ended the campaign loss to Republican Mike Braun with \$297,160 cash on hand. Braun out-raised Donnelly, with total receipts of \$19,454,007, disbursed \$19,436,255 and ended with \$17,749. Braun lent his own campaign \$11.6 million, or nearly 60% of his total raised.

But the brute force money came from PACs, Super PACs, Careys, 501c and 527 accounts totaling more than \$69.7 million. Donnelly drew \$8,591,309 from groups supporting him and \$24,688,733 who opposed him, for a total of \$36,517,307, while Braun had \$3,452,000 which supported his candidacy and \$29,751,718 which opposed him, according to tabulations by Open Secrets. Add in the \$243,620 supporting and opposing U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita in the primary and \$18,361 for and against U.S. Rep. Luke Messer, and the number reaches almost \$70 million.

Donnelly told HPI that a GOP donor had contributed \$20 million to help Braun win, though he refused to say who this billionaire was.

McDermott surfaced in his "Left of Center" podcast earlier this month, saying he is pondering a challenge to Sen. Young, assailing the incumbent for opposing a Jan. 6 commission as well as opposing the American Rescue Plan.

"To me, when we are attacked, our nation's capital is attacked – it was – and the Republican Party is refusing to even open an investigation into it, it's a disgrace," McDermott said. "It's about loyalty to our country, and I think that's missing right now in America. I'm troubled by where we are in America. I think that people like Todd Young should have been pulling people together and trying to work across the aisle, and I don't really see that and Sen. Young knows better. He knows what the right thing to do about the Jan. 6 insurrection is.

He knows what the right thing to do is, he knows what the political thing to do is, and he chose political. And it's not a patriotic vote."

McDermott also leveled criticism at Young's vote against the American Rescue Plan. "The fact that only two of our 11 representatives voted for it is disgraceful – in the middle of a pandemic," McDermott said. "You know, Hammond lost millions of dollars during the pandemic, and this is trying to make us whole again."

McDermott lost the 1st CD primary to North Township Trustee Frank J. Mrvan, 33.7% to 29.2% in a field of 14 in June 2020. No other candidate received more than 10%. McDermott raised and spent \$611,673 and raised \$50,700 via PACs, compared to \$578,643 for Mrvan. The big difference was that retiring U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky endorsed Mrvan, who also had the support of the powerful United Steelworkers. OpenSecrets reports that McDermott's FEC account has \$216 cash on hand.

According to OpenSecrets, Sen. Young has \$2.3 million cash on hand as of Dec. 31, 2020. His campaign committee raised \$14.34 million between 2015 and 2020 and spent \$12.7 million. Total spending, including by outside groups, topped \$100 million in his 2016 defeat of Evan Bayh.

"Todd Young, honestly, in my opinion, is the toughest candidate in the Republican Party for a Democrat to consider taking on," McDermott said. "My politics are different. I could appeal to Republicans and Democrats, and if you're going to be successful as a Democrat in Indiana you've got to be in the middle and you've got to be appealing to both sides – and I think I'm the kind of candidate who could be successful in Indiana. I really think Todd Young has completely lost touch with reality. He's talking about a job that pays \$180,000 a year, and he wants to spend \$200 million on it. You want to know what's wrong with

Washington, D.C.? That's what's wrong with Washington, D.C."

Earlier this week on another installment of his podcast, McDermott stepped up his rhetoric, suggesting that Young and he duke it out in a celebrity boxing match. "I am challenging you, Todd Young, to a celebrity boxing match in the Hammond Civic Center," McDermott said. "I'm not saying he'd be easy. Todd could be sneaky tough. But I would love to fight Todd Young in a celebrity boxing match."

The Young campaign declined to respond to a request for comment by the NWI Times on McDermott's celebrity boxing proposal.



**Mayor McDermott during his "Left of Center" podcast.**

While McDermott was accusing Young of lacking bipartisanship, he ignored the Senate passage last week of the Endless Frontier Act that Young co-authored with Senate Majority Leader Chuck Schumer, which passed the Senate with 68 votes.

And on Tuesday's edition of MSNBC's "Morning Joe," Young was indicating support for a bipartisan compromise on President Biden's infrastructure proposal. Young encouraged Biden to "lean into" the bipartisan \$1 trillion infrastructure plan. "He needs to bless it and needs to encourage fellow Democrats to support it," Young said. "If he does that, I believe it's going to pass the Senate and the American people will have their infrastructure without an increase in taxes."

Young is part of what he called the Senate's "G-20" or a group of 10 Republicans and 10 Democrats seeking a bipartisan compromise on infrastructure. "I do think we have to invest when it's necessary," Young said. "We're four-fifths of the way there. There is a willingness to compromise. None of us thinks this is the perfect framework, but we like where we've ended up. I think what it takes is presidential leadership and during the Endless Frontier Act, the president stayed silent, which was helpful. He needs to lean into this package, this bipartisan framework."

**HPI Horse Race Analysis:** Sen. Young enters this cycle in an extremely powerful position. His \$70 million raised for the Republican Senatorial Committee is indicative that if need be, he could raise \$100 million to \$150 million needed for a second term. That his reelection comes during President Biden's first mid-term election will make it that much tougher for any Democrat challenger.

We've long viewed Mayor McDermott as a potential statewide candidate. After winning his fifth term, it was easy to notice that McDermott is looking for a new challenge. His loss to Mrvan last year came during the pandemic after retiring U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky endorsed the future congressman and helped him line up support from the United Steelworkers.

McDermott doesn't have much of a profile south of U.S. 30, so he is relatively unknown to most Hoosiers, who don't know about the lack of corruption in Hammond during the McDermott tenure, or his steering casino revenues into college scholarships for Hammond prep graduates. McDermott has a great story to tell, along with the fact that he served in the U.S. Navy, graduated from Notre Dame, and his father was a former Republican mayor of Hammond.

The ambitious McDermott upsetting Sen. Young would rank as one of the biggest in modern times. If he decides to run, it could come under the guise of a two-cycle project. Running credibly against Sen. Young could position McDermott for the 2024 open gubernatorial race, or a challenge at freshman U.S. Sen. Mike Braun.

Another potential long-shot candidate is McDermott's friend, former lieutenant governor nominee Christina Hale. Like McDermott, she lost a congressional bid in

2020, falling to U.S. Rep. Victoria Spartz in the 5th CD. Hale was not a good match for the conservative 5th CD, even though there is much speculation that it is turning a competitive purple. New maps this year are expected to make the 5th CD even more Republican than it was in 2020.

Hale, who is a deputy Indiana Democratic chair charged with candidate recruitment, has certainly coordinated with McDermott on this Senate race. If McDermott declines to run, she would be a better match to run statewide where she could take advantage of the shift in suburban areas around Indianapolis, as well as Chicago and Louisville's Indiana suburbs.

Both McDermott and Hale should recognize that enduring one or two losses does not mean the end to a lengthy political career. It took John Brademas, Phil Sharp and Mike Pence three tries to win a congressional seat.

## Governor

### Rokita proposes 'Parents bill of rights'

Indiana Attorney General Todd Rokita released a "Parents Bill of Rights," providing a "roadmap for Hoosier parents and caregivers to exercise their legal right to have a voice in their children's education." He encouraged parents to confront their local school boards.



"Education policy and curriculum should reflect the values of Indiana families while meeting the mandatory requirements set forth in law," said Rokita. "The single most effective way to ensure school accountability is for parents to engage in their children's education. The Parents Bill of Rights empowers them to do just that."

According to Rokita, "National discourse around political and social issues has created negative and polarizing effects on teachers, school administrators, students, and families." He said since January, parents and state legislators have turned to him for "legal interpretations of educational rules and statutory requirements."

The Parents Bill of Rights outlines the following rights that Hoosier parents and caregivers are entitled to exercise:

- To question and address your child's school officials and school board members at publicly designated meetings with proper notice of the meetings provided;
- To question and review the curriculum taught in your child's school by questioning local school boards and school administrators;
- To expect that the academic curriculum taught in your child's school aligns with Indiana and federal law;
- To participate in the selection and approval of academic standards for the State of Indiana;



- To obtain educational materials and curriculum taught to your child in the classroom;
- To run as a candidate for your local school board.

"As I've traveled throughout the state of Indiana, I've heard firsthand the concerns of parents who are deeply troubled by ideologies being imposed in their children's school curriculum," said Rokita. "The first line of defense to hold school districts accountable lies with active and engaged parents. The Indiana Attorney General's Office will stand in their corner every step of the way as they exercise their individual liberties in the interest of our children."

Indiana Democrat Party spokesman Drew Anderson reacted, saying, "It appears Todd Rokita's 2024 gubernatorial campaign continued today with what is honestly an out-of-touch wish list that does not reflect the Hoosier or religious values so many of us have been taught in classrooms and church pews for generations. Rokita's "Parents Bill of Rights" is just an attempt to garner attention, fails to deliver any tangible results for today's most-pressing issues, and holds Indiana and its families back from success in the future. While Democrats wonder how much of this work cost taxpayers, this is the Indiana Republican Party – and it looks like the organization's extreme partisanship will once again come before Hoosier common sense."

**Melton reacts to Rokita, CRT**

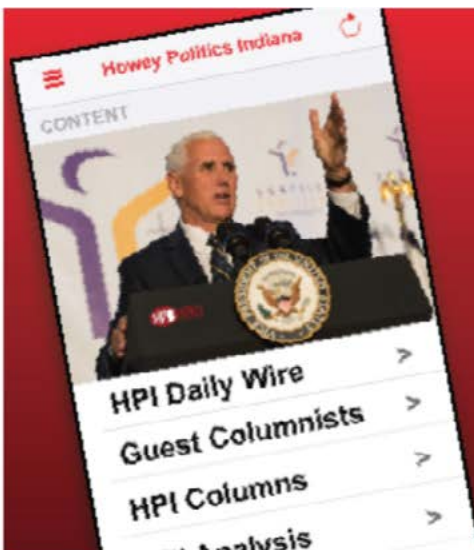
Assistant Democratic Leader and member of the Senate Education and Career Development Committee, Eddie Melton (D-Gary), issued the following statement criticizing Attorney General Rokita's "unnecessary and discriminatory overreach" into education policy: "I was extremely disturbed after reading Attorney General Rokita's remarks on Critical Race Theory (CRT) in his 'Parents Bill of Rights,'" Melton said. "History classes in the United States have long excluded certain parts of United States history that are hard to face. We can only move forward

as a unified nation, with actual justice for all, if citizens are taught all of our history. CRT is a concept that has been around for over 40 years and is only now making the news because politicians have started using it to push a national agenda to block progress on inclusion and diversity. Parts of this theory have been in history curriculum for decades, and it simply teaches students that prejudice didn't end with slavery but at times has also been built into legal systems and policies. For example, government officials have historically drawn lines around predominantly minority neighborhoods, known as redlining, and deemed them 'poor financial risk.' This resulted in banks refusing mortgages to Black families, denying them the opportunity to be homeowners and resulting in Black families building financial equity at a devastatingly disproportionate rate compared to white families." Melton explained. "We can only fix these sorts of policies if our future policymakers and attorneys learn about them in school. This nation cannot hide from its history of racism, and we cannot move past the racism that continues to permeate our country until we acknowledge and address its systemic roots."

**General Assembly**

**SD46: Boehnlein raises \$100k**

Kevin Boehnlein's Republican Senate campaign's first in-district fundraiser took in around \$100,000. He has been endorsed by retiring State Sen. Ron Grooms. "Kevin Boehnlein is demonstrating broad support through high quality endorsements, and by raising unprecedented numbers," said Floyd County Republican Chairman Jeff Firkins. "These commitments are unparalleled south of Indy for a state senate campaign so early. Boehnlein already is so far ahead that potential challengers best look elsewhere to serve." One of those commitments came from Sen. Young, who said, "In the decade I've known Kevin, I've grown accustomed to his trusted counsel and friendship. I have no reservations endorsing Kevin's efforts to serve his neighbors in Clark and Floyd counties." ❖



**Indiana**  
at your finger tips  
**Download it today!**  
**howeypolitics.com**

**HPI Mobile Offers...**

- The Daily Wire - 6 Days a Week*
- Photo & Video Galleries*
- Access to HPI Columnists*
- News Alerts*
- and more for*

**\$0.96**  
per day

Now available for IOS and Android devices

# Why Republicans likely to retake U.S. House

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Three reasons why Republicans are very likely to take control of the House next year involve things over which Democrats have little or no control. There is, however, one reason why Democrats might be able somehow to hang on to their slim majority. And they do have better prospects of at least holding on to the 50-50 Senate tie.

Reasons for Republicans winning control of the House:



First, history is on their side. The party out of the White House almost always makes big gains in the first midterm election in a new presidency. In those midterm elections since the end of World War II, the average loss for the president's party has been 29 seats. Democrats lost 63 seats in the 2010 midterm after election of President Barack Obama. Republicans lost 40 seats in the 2018

midterm after election of Donald Trump.

Because Democrats already lost seats in 2020, even as Joe Biden won the presidency, Republicans need only a net of five seats to win the majority. Democrats can't go back to 2020 to win more seats. Factors in midterm losses for the president's party include voters wanting a check on the president and disillusionment over any president's inability to bring about everything voters hoped for.

Second, redistricting after the census will result in many more safe Republican seats. That's because Republicans control state legislatures in far more states than do Democrats. Both parties gerrymander, but the GOP controls district drawing in many more states.

**This happened** because Democrats, as well as losing key congressional races, failed to shift control anywhere of a state legislature. The Democratic brand just didn't sell down ballot after voters dumped Trump in the presidential race. Can't go back and change state legislatures now.

Third, "Defund the police." That call from some protesting against the police murder of George Floyd and other cases of fatal injustice furnished an unintended political weapon to tarnish the Democratic brand. Biden and

Black leaders stressed that they were NOT for defunding police. Reform, yes, and revised distribution of resources, but not decimating police forces and taking cops off the streets.

Still, a Republican TV ad rated as one of the most effective portrayed a caller in trouble getting only a recorded message: "You have reached the 9-1-1 police emergency line." The response continued: "Due to the defunding of the police department, we're sorry, but no one is here to take your call. If you're calling to report rape, please press one." A warning flashed on the screen: "You won't be safe in Joe Biden's America."

Unfair?

**Sure. So are many** campaign ads. This one was effective in tarnishing the Democratic brand. It didn't matter that even those calling for "defunding" weren't suggesting that all cops be fired. Didn't matter that Biden and Black leaders such as Congressman Jim Clyburn and Rev. Al Sharpton pleaded for a halt to "defunding" talk. Sharpton slapped at "latte liberals" seeking to speak for what Blacks want and need.

Whether sipping latte or not, Democrats still using the term "defund" and trying to explain it provide a gift that keeps on giving for the GOP, especially with violent crime rising.

However, one possible reason why Democrats might be able to hang on to a House majority is Donald Trump, if he keeps spouting nutty vote conspiracy theories. If Trump jumps into Republican primary contests, trying to defeat anyone who didn't give him total support and seeking instead election of more Marjorie Taylor Greenes,



the GOP could be splintered. Trump's act could wear thin. It did when he made the Georgia runoff campaign all about him. Republicans lost both Senate races and thus lost control of the Senate. ❖

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

# Whatever you think, we're now global

By **LEE HAMILTON**

BLOOMINGTON – No matter how hard we try, we really can't avoid one another. We live in a world where what takes place somewhere else on the globe has a very good chance of affecting us, along with many others.



The pandemic, of course, is a useful – if sobering – example. A virus that infected humans in one city in China spread with breathtaking speed around the world, beyond the power of governments, or anyone else, to stop it.

Not surprisingly, the forces of globalization generate benefits, challenges, and difficult problems, all of which must be confronted, often simultaneously. Take, for instance, nuclear

proliferation. It's dropped out of the headlines but stopping the spread of weapons of mass destruction is an ongoing priority for any U.S. administration and the world. Even with major international agreements in place for the last half-century, nine countries have nuclear weapons (three since the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty went into effect). It was once feared there would be many more, so U.S. and international efforts have been successful; still, a number of countries are on the cusp of developing nuclear weapons.

Similarly, global migration brings both opportunity and difficulty. It's estimated there were some 280 million migrants in 2020, 50 million of them in the U.S. alone. This can bring enormous benefits in the innovation, talent, and drive that many immigrant workers possess. But there's no denying that it also causes disruption, both social and economic, and it will remain a domestic political flashpoint for as long as the U.S. remains an attractive destination.

**You can also see** an example of our interconnectedness and the issues it raises whenever you go to a shopping mall. All countries need something from other places, whether it's food or cars or watches or clothing. Economic theory likes this; countries specialize in making certain things more cheaply and efficiently, and they import the goods that others produce more efficiently. Open trade allows every country to do what it does best. But to factory workers thrown out of their jobs or farmers

facing stiff competition from overseas, the details matter a lot. This is why trade talks go on constantly among nations and trade is always high on the list of domestic political issues.

Let's take one more example. Overall, global health is probably better now than it has been in the history of the human race. We've seen much improvement in health and medical care, in prevention and diagnosis, in technology, medications, education, and nutrition. But there's a basic fact facing the globe: The world's population is exploding. The 8 billion people who live on the planet are twice the number of just 50 years ago. The U.N. expects growth to level out, but still projects a world of 11 billion people by century's end. As the COVID pandemic has taught us, health issues faced in any part of the globe can affect us at home at any moment.

**None of this is to say** that globalization won't see hiccups. There's intense political pressure to erect barriers, both in the U.S. and in other countries, from segments of the population that haven't seen globalization's benefits, only job losses and cultural change. And the pandemic has induced a lot of countries not just to look inward at their health systems, but to recognize that a globalized supply chain leaves them vulnerable to shortages at critical moments and globalized travel demands greater scrutiny. Still, whether we like it or not, we're all inter-connected; the challenge is to make it work as well as possible for all of us. ❖

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

## ANTELOPE CLUB

615 N. DELAWARE ST. - DOWNTOWN INDY

antelopeclub@hotmail.com



>> Lunch & dinner 6 days a week

>> Cigar lounge

>> Beautiful view of Downtown  
from our 2nd floor patio

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

# Looking back on a century of Father's Day

By MICHAEL HICKS

MUNCIE – It's Father's Day weekend, which caused me to think a bit about a century of change in the life of a typical American dad. This is a good story to tell through the lives of my and my wife's grandfathers. These four men were born before Father's Day was commonly celebrated in the U.S., and their experience is surprisingly representative of early 20th century fatherhood in the rural Midwest. The condition of their lives also offers shocking contrast with American life today.



These four men were born in the late 19th and early 20th century, all within a 50-mile radius of one another. All were born on southern Indiana farms settled a century earlier by Revolutionary War veterans, part of a broad Scotch-Irish migration with the names Thomas, Hicks, Dye and Monroe. They came from families of farmers, soldiers and wanderers who arrived in Indiana with nothing more than a mule could transport.

All told, they fathered 11 children between 1921 and 1939. One all raised four other young children as his own after marrying a young widow. All remained married to the same women until their deaths. Only one of these men finished high school. The other three advanced only through eighth grade, the only school available at the time within travel distance. This story is remarkably similar to the national average of the time.

Interestingly, three of the wives completed high school, and one spent some time at a secretary's school. A fourth was permitted to attend eighth grade twice. This difference in male-female educational attainment was unusual for the time. I think it can be explained by a modest age difference between spouses at a time when high school attendance was growing almost exponentially.

**All these men farmed** with horses and mules, and with few major technical innovations from circa 1700. Sadly, power threshers, tractors and turbulent world events took two of them from the farm permanently. They became carpenters, loggers, soldiers and factory workers. One sold insurance after World War II until his retirement in the mid 1970s. The luck of their birthdate meant that only one of these four men went to war. However, all nine of their sons saw military service, eight during wartime. One was killed in action and two others died of service-related causes.

By the standards of the time, these men ranged from a solidly middle-class dairy farmer to a hardscrabble

farmer. By the standards of today's America, they all spent the interwar years in desperate poverty. Two of these men never went on vacation and a third took only one pleasure trip lasting longer than a day. Only one flew in a plane or travelled outside the U.S. in peacetime. Only one ever lived in a house with air conditioning. Of the four, one never lived in a home with indoor plumbing, natural gas, electricity, or central heating. All their children were born at home, with at least two entering this world in log cabins.

**As best as memory serves** us, only two of these fathers received any hospital care prior to their final illness, and one of these was treating war wounds. Of these four, only two died of natural causes. One succumbed to war injuries and one died in a farming accident. Again, this is not unusual. Two of them had siblings either killed or grievously injured on farms, or while hunting.

I relate this history because the lives of these men are so representative of the early and mid-20th century. For these men, educational opportunities were exhausted by age 14. Work life meant occupational flexibility, tough manual labor and seasonal work. They were sustained by family, and a hardiness and resilience few of us need ever muster. They risked injury or death at work or war in ways that differ profoundly from modern experience. And they sent sons to war repeatedly in the last century.

These four men were blessed in other ways. They had 24 granddaughters and 12 grandsons, nine of whom celebrate Father's Day this year. Our life experience differs in ways that are so extreme as to hardly bear comparison. All of us finished high school, and half of us completed college. These are a bit better than the national average, but not an unusual story. There's no noticeable difference in educational attainment between the men and women of our generation.

None of us farmed, and indeed none of our fathers farmed full time. There has never been such a dramatic change in occupations over two generations anywhere at any time. When my oldest grandfather was born, more than one in three of Americans and maybe half of Hoosiers worked on farms. Today it is maybe one in 200 Americans and roughly one in 75 Hoosiers work on farms. The farm he worked was so bad it now lies within the Hoosier National Forest.

All of us were born in hospitals and enjoyed extensive prenatal care. We all had access to antibiotics, vaccines, medical and dental care. We all live in homes with electricity, heat and air conditioning. We've all been on vacations, and are able to retire.

**A half dozen of us have** been to war, and more have served. Our time was full of conflict, but none of us died in battle. The youngest of us are now in our early 50s, so already past the average lifespan of the men in our grandfathers' generation. Like other Baby Boomers and Gen-Xers, we can now expect to live well into our 80s.

Comparisons with the recent past often dwell

on the technological marvels of the age. Television, cell phones, internet, and air travel. These things enrich our lives in ways that our grandfathers could not imagine, although, like all change, they are not without problems. Still, I think this misses the point of the last century's great enrichment.

**These four men of my** grandfathers' generation were born into a world that would have been easily recognizable by their great-great grandfathers. There was no electricity, no roar of engines, no magic medicines to distract them. Perhaps the only differences between any hardscrabble farm of 1900 and 1700 was that there was a school within walking distance for kids aged six to 14, and

that these farms were in the United States.

On this Father's Day I will be thankful for the fathers and grandfathers who toiled so tirelessly to give us the abundant world we enjoy today. I will do so with the hope that my grandchildren look back towards us, and are pleased with the progress made on their behalf. ❖

**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.**



## Revisiting regions as Holcomb tabs 'READI'

By **MORTON J. MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – On May 3, Gov. Holcomb launched READI, the Regional Economic Acceleration and Development Initiative. It's a \$500 million program for Indiana regions to attract and retain talent (people) who value "quality of place and quality of life, innovation, and entrepreneurship."



That's all very with-it, stylish, and in keeping with the thoughts of today's thought leaders. But there can be no claim Indiana is thinking outside the box. The program was placed in the hands of the IEDC (the Indiana Economic Development Corporation). By the time of the launch,

the expectations had been set, the course charted.

First order of business: Multi-jurisdictional regions were to draw their boundaries by July 1. The regions needed to form teams of private and public entities which would develop lists of long-term (five to 10 years) initiatives to meet the objectives of attracting and retaining talent. Those projects would be funded by a match of four public or private dollars for every dollar of state money.

**And all of this is to** be "data driven." As far as I know, intercounty relationship data are available for commuting only, and arguably for income tax purposes.

Today, we have two major regional alignments. The Indiana Department of Workforce Development (DWD) has 11 multi-county workforce development regions focused on the supply of labor. Simultaneously, IEDC has its own nine business development regions dedicated to the growth of business activities, the demand side of the labor market.

In the new world of READI, any two consenting counties may join together in holy regionalism. It's a

return to the laissez faire regionalism of Gov. Otis Bowen (1973-81) when regions were allowed to be as small as two counties. In the 1970s, Indiana had hospital, library, economic, and state planning regions among other configurations. That's when we learned regions are ephemeral bureaucracies which change purpose, boundaries, and personnel as funding changes.

With the more recent Regional Cities Initiative, LaPorte and Madison counties held membership in two regions each. READI has declared no county may be wedded to two separate regions. Puritanism returns to regional delineation.

**Regions are very** difficult to define and IEDC gives no real guidance on this first of many eligibility requirements for state aid. What about "regions" with common interests or conditions? How about a region of Ohio or Wabash River communities? A region of poor townships? A region of counties with significant college populations? Liked working with like. These bonds of similarities might be more meaningful and more successful than our previous regions based on economically dissimilar, but contiguous counties.

IEDC and the Department of Commerce each have new executive leadership. Perhaps these two gentlemen could put the brakes on this rollercoaster before it climbs too far along its tracks. Perhaps they could rethink the course ahead less hurriedly and more thoroughly. ❖

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

# Fox News launches academic movement

By **KELLY HAWES**  
CNHI News

ANDERSON – Fox News star Tucker Carlson calls it a cult. Will Cain, co-host of Fox and Friends Weekend, calls it “modern-day Jim Crow.” Newt Gingrich says the people pushing it are out to brainwash our kids. The watchdog organization Media Matters for America actually kept track, and it says Fox News hosts raised the topic 1,300 times in a stretch of four months. It came up 244 times in a single week. So what exactly is it?



Stephen Sawchuk addressed that question in a May 18 analysis for Education Week. “Critical race theory is an academic concept that is more than 40 years old,” he wrote.

“The core idea is that racism is a social construct, and that it is not merely the product of individual bias or prejudice, but also something embedded in legal systems and policies.”

He mentioned “red-lining,” a practice that began in the 1930s when government officials literally drew lines around areas deemed poor financial risks, often explicitly because of their racial makeup. Banks then refused to offer mortgages to the people trying to buy homes in those areas.

“Some critics claim that the theory advocates discriminating against white people in order to achieve equity,” Sawchuk wrote. “They mainly aim those accusations at theorists who advocate for policies that explicitly take race into account.”

Among the critics is a man named Shawn McBreaity, one of the leaders of an organization called No Left Turn for Education. “This is a war with the left,” he told NBC News, “and in war, tactics and strategy can become blurry.” He was talking about the billboard-sized picture of a school board member in his front yard. The sign, he says, is surrounded by rat traps to guard against theft.

**No Left Turn for Education** was formed last year by a woman who was mad about a suburban Philadelphia elementary school’s response to the social upheaval that followed the death of George Floyd. The woman, Elana Yaron Fishbein, wrote a letter complaining the lessons the school had introduced represented a plan to indoctrinate children into the “woke” culture. The letter went unanswered, she said, so she pulled her kids out of school and launched a movement.

Well, she and Tucker Carlson. Her organization’s

Facebook page had fewer than 200 followers when she appeared on Carlson’s show in September. The next day, it had more than 30,000. The group now has 39 chapters in 23 states, including the one led by McBreaity in the state of Maine. “The schools have been hijacked,” Fishbein told NBC News. “Our kids are captive audiences. And they think they can do whatever they want with our kids.”

The movement has drawn the attention of prominent conservative figures such as Steve Bannon, former adviser to President Donald J. Trump. “The path to save the nation is very simple,” Bannon said on his podcast last month. “It’s going to go through the school boards.”

**Groups across the** country have been inundating school administrators with public records requests and packing the seats at school board meetings. Timothy Ryan, executive director of the Rhode Island Superintendents Association, told NBC News part of the goal seemed to be to discredit public education. “There was the ‘war on Christmas,’ and now everybody is teaching critical race theory,” he said. “I think you’d be hard pressed to find five people in the state who could even define that.”

For Christopher Rufo, senior fellow at the conservative think tank the Manhattan Institute, that’s the whole idea. “The goal is to have the public read something crazy in the newspaper and immediately think ‘critical race theory,’” he tweeted in March. “We have decodified the term and will recodify it to annex the entire range of cultural constructions that are unpopular with Americans.”

It’s all about the messaging. ❖

# Observations out of the pandemic cocoon

By **CRAIG DUNN**

CARMEL – I have a few anecdotal ramblings to share as we bust out of our pandemic induced cocoons and reestablish human contact.

First, I sincerely hope that this pandemic is over and done with for good. From what I have witnessed, I do not think you could put the genie back in the bottle



if you tried to return to social distancing and shutdowns. The restaurants are packed, and you better have a reservation well in advance.

Stores are overflowing with eager shoppers. The public appears to just be enjoying sitting out on a park bench and chatting with their neighbors. I went to a concert at Feinstein’s the other night and the entertainer went around the room

singing and shaking every hand. Picture that a year ago! With government leaders who took a reasoned approach to social interaction like Gov. Eric Holcomb and Mayor Jim Brainerd taking some heat from the public for pandemic measures, I cannot help but think that Mayor Joe Hogsett is going to pay dearly for his pandemic heavy-handedness.

**My son and I made a** trip last week to Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, to visit the battlefield. I was amazed by the number of visitors who flocked to the location. People of all ages jammed the town streets, the museums and the roads leading through the battlefield. It was nice to see such a strong interest in our heritage. The Gettysburg Battlefield visitors center has a wonderful new movie with Morgan Freeman as the narrator. He might be term-limited by all the movies where he has played president, but that is how a president of the United States should speak and act.

I saw some interesting things on the way to and from Gettysburg. Western Pennsylvania and Maryland were full of Donald Trump signs. Full! Many a home was flying a Trump 2024 sign. Most of the signs were the eight-foot-long variety. Trump may have some legal problems and a sizable number of detractors, but make no mistake about it, Trump is loved by a large group of people. Unfortunately for Mike Pence, I also saw several signs where Pence's name had either been cut out or painted over. It is obvious to me that the former vice president will have a tough row to hoe to either get back on the ticket or win over Trump's supporters should the Donald decide not to run again. My advice to Mike Pence would be to spend your time working on your new yard and forget the political life.

Speaking of shabby treatment of Mike Pence, could you believe the jeering and harassment of him during the recent conservative Christian convention in Florida? The level of disrespect was sickening and grossly undeserved. Pence may have his detractors, but he has remained steadfast to his core principles. Only at a convention like this could a good Christian man get booed for not violating his constitutional duties to support the guy who like to grab them by the ....

**I had somewhat of an** epiphany while bogged down in traffic for an hour due to road construction on eastbound I-70. What in the world do electric cars do in that situation? Traffic barely crawled and the temperature was over 90 degrees. How do you keep the batteries from draining? How do you even take a long car trip? I figure that it might take me three days to make the trip from Indianapolis to Gettysburg in an electric vehicle. I saw a few charging sites but who has the time to wait around for the batteries to recharge. I can just see stopping at the truck stop and ordering breakfast, lunch and dinner while waiting to get going again. I had four children and I can just imagine the chorus of "Are we there yet?" No, it does not look to me like the government's and car manufacturers' plans to phase out the internal combustion engine by 2033 will be possible without either greatly improving electric vehicle driving distance, shortening recharging time or

by changing Americans' love of long car trips. The spring break car trip to Florida may one day be a quaint memory.

Addiction is a terrible thing, and I must confess that I have become addicted to Starbucks Very Berry Refreshers. All in all, it is not that bad an addiction to have, except when we are in the grip of product shortages and distribution backlogs. My Berry Refresher tastes fruity and has lots of berries mixed in, at least it did until three weeks ago when the great berry shortage hit. I was told that I could get the drink but without the berries that gave it its fruity color; basically, water with some mysterious additives. No thanks for me. I was told that the company that delivers their supplies could not get enough drivers. Well, the berry shortage has now morphed into the Starbucks food shortage. Last week every food item on the menu board had a piece of tape through it. It made me wonder how Starbucks was getting its coffee. Were they secretly scooping coffee out of an instant Folgers can that they bought at Sam's Club? This worker shortage is starting to get serious.

**Have you noticed that** no one is talking about raising the minimum wage anymore? My inspection of help wanted highway billboards in Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Indiana informed me that starting pay for production workers ranged from a low of \$18.90 to \$23.50. I am certain that government needs to take a good hard look at whether it is incentivizing people to stay home and collect benefits. I am afraid President Biden is clueless to the existence of the law of unintended consequences.

Last week I attended a meeting at the Howard County Sheriff Department where their retirement plan was to be discussed. Before the meeting began, I had the opportunity to talk with a young deputy who I knew from church. He has a new daughter and he just gushed about how she was the light of his life and the center of his universe. I was so happy for this young man. About five minutes into the meeting, this deputy and three others jumped up and ran from the meeting, out the door. Their previous smiling faces were replaced by a grim look of determination and uncertainty. I did not learn until later that evening that a young person had been shot by another at the public swimming pool and these deputies had been tasked with hunting down the shooter.

These officers were not blood thirsty madmen looking for an innocent young person to abuse or harm. These deputies were just fathers, brothers and sons who were called to do their duty. Would they be spit at, cussed or assaulted? Would my friend's young daughter ever see her daddy again? These are the brave men and women who protect us. Fortunately, they found the shooter and arrested him. We cannot pay or thank these people enough.

Finally, the United States government is set to release its report on Unidentified Aerial Phenomenon or UFOs. Early leaked reports state that the government will say that it cannot conclusively say that the crafts are alien, but that they also say that they cannot say that the crafts

are not alien. They can say that these wildly technologically superior aircraft are not ours and probably not our adversaries’.

The report will also state that the aircraft represent a serious national threat. Just think how the existence of alien beings visiting our world would shake up every power structure whether political, military, business or reli-

gious. I am guessing that my angst with the berry shortage in my refresher is soon going to fade to into irrelevance. Count me in as a charter member of Human Lives Matter!  
❖

**Dunn is a former Howard County Republican chair.**

# More one-party rule in Statehouses

By **KYLE KONDIK**

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. – Three of June’s most significant candidate announcements involved Democrats who serve in elected, down-ballot statewide offices. Arizona Secretary of State Katie Hobbs (D) and Florida Commissioner of Agriculture Nikki Fried (D) launched bids for governor. Meanwhile, Missouri state Auditor Nicole Galloway (D) announced that she would not seek a second, elected full term in her position.

Depending on how things go in their respective states next year, their decisions could have an impact on the dwindling number of states that have members of both parties serving in statewide elected offices.

While it’s natural to just focus on state governorships and legislatures when assessing politics in the states, nearly all of the states – 44 of 50 – have partisan, statewide elected executive offices beyond the governorship. These range from higher-profile positions like attorney general and secretary of state to more obscure offices like land or agriculture commissioner. These positions often set up their occupants to run for governor or senator; indeed, the roster of announced or potential candidates for those top-tier jobs this cycle is dotted with these kinds of officeholders.

Of the 50 states, Republicans have a monopoly on the statewide elected executive offices in 20 of them, while Democrats hold all of these offices in 16. This includes the six states that only have a single statewide elected executive officeholder (the governor). Five states have all Democrats except for a single Republican, four have all Republicans save a single

Democrat, and just five have at least two members of each party in these offices (and there is a significant asterisk with one of these states, as we’ll explain below).

The roster of statewide elected officeholders in the states – including governorships and other posts – is shown in Map 1. This article updates an accounting of these offices done by Crystal Ball Senior Columnist Louis Jacobson last year.

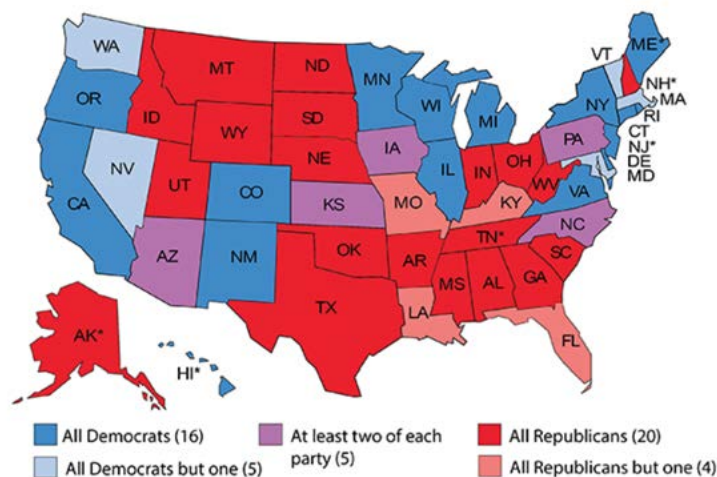
A note on how we counted: We excluded some minor offices as well as non-elected offices and state Supreme Courts. We also excluded lieutenant governors unless they were elected separately in their own right (most are elected as part of a gubernatorial ticket). U.S. senators, even though they are elected statewide, are not considered here. No positions serving on multi-member commissions were included, even if some members are elected statewide. So, for instance, Colorado only has Democrats elected to its statewide executive offices, and that is noted on Map 1, but Heidi Ganahl (R) holds a statewide elected slot on the University of Colorado Board of Regents. She may run for governor or another statewide executive office next year as part of the Republicans’ bid to break up the Democratic monopoly on those offices.

The one-party states align almost completely with the 2020 presidential results. Joe Biden carried all 16 of the states where only Democrats hold these statewide offices,

although Wisconsin was decided by just six-tenths of a percentage point and Michigan was decided by a little less than three. Meanwhile, Donald Trump won 18 of the 20 all-Republican states. The exceptions were Georgia, which Trump lost by about a quarter of a point, and New Hampshire, which Trump lost by more than seven points but where incumbent Gov. Chris Sununu (R) easily won a third, two-year term. New Hampshire is one of the six states that has only one statewide elected of-



**Map 1: Party control of statewide elected executive offices**



\*Governorship is only partisan statewide elected office



fice considered for the purposes of this article: The others are Alaska, Hawaii, Maine, New Jersey, and Tennessee.[1]

Texas, still all-Republican, already is holding one of the marquee statewide down-ballot races next year: state Attorney General Ken Paxton (R), who faces charges of securities fraud, is being challenged in the GOP primary by both former state Supreme Court Justice Eva Guzman and state Land Commissioner George P. Bush. Bush is the son of former Florida Gov. Jeb Bush, and he has been handing out can koozies featuring him shaking hands with former President Trump along with a Trump quote: "This is the Bush that got it right. I like him."

The number of one-party states went up in aggregate in 2020. Republicans flipped the open Montana governorship and defeated the last remaining Democratic statewide executive officeholder in West Virginia, then-Treasurer John Perdue, to put those states in the all-Republican column.

Meanwhile, Democrats flipped the open Oregon secretary of state's office last year, shutting the Republicans out of statewide office there. However, Republicans did break up Democratic statewide office dominance in Pennsylvania, as they flipped the state auditor and state treasurer offices even as Democratic Attorney General Josh Shapiro, a likely gubernatorial candidate next year, won a second term and as Joe Biden carried the state by a little more than a point (the Pennsylvania governorship is elected in midterm years, the other offices in presidential years). In 2016, Democrats swept these three offices even as Trump was carrying the state.

The Keystone State is one of five states that have at least two statewide elected officeholders from each party. It is joined in that category by two of the other very closely-contested presidential states from last year, North Carolina and Arizona. The Tar Heel State elects 10 statewide officeholders in presidential election years. Republicans hold six of these 10 offices: None changed hands last year, but many (particularly some of the Democratic-held ones) were extremely close. Kansas is the state noted above as an asterisk, because it really only has one Democrat elected statewide in her own right: Gov. Laura Kelly, who won in 2018. However, the state's elected treasurer position opened up when its former occupant, now-Rep. Jake LaTurner (R, KS-2), won election to the U.S. House. So Kelly was able to appoint her running mate, Democratic Lt. Gov. Lynn Rogers, to the post. Rogers is included here because he holds an elected office, even though he wasn't actually elected to it.

## The outlook for 2021-2022

Let's get back to the aforementioned candidate announcements. Galloway's decision not to run again for Missouri state auditor seems very likely to lead to the Republicans adding another statewide sweep: Missouri has become very Republican over the course of the last couple of decades, as evidenced by the GOP winning the state in every presidential election this century and, more recently,

by Galloway losing by 16 points to Gov. Mike Parson (R-MO) in last year's election. Fried's decision to run for governor also imperils Democratic control of her post, Florida commissioner of agriculture. Fried narrowly won in 2018 even as Democrats lost close statewide races for governor and Senate. She has to contend with at least one other major Democratic candidate, Rep. Charlie Crist (D, FL-13), for the right to challenge Gov. Ron DeSantis (R-FL) next year. We would expect Republicans to be favored in all the statewide races in Florida next year, given that Democrats could only capture one in 2018 despite being on the right side of a national midterm wave.

In Arizona, Hobbs' decision to seek the governorship leaves her secretary of state post open, although there is another Democratic incumbent, state Superintendent of Public Instruction Kathy Hoffman, who will be seeking a second term and could allow the Democrats to hang onto a statewide post even if the election otherwise goes poorly for them. There will be a lot of flux in the Arizona statewide races, because Gov. Doug Ducey (R) is term-limited, and state Attorney General Mark Brnovich (R) and Treasurer Kimberly Yee (R) are running for senator and governor, respectively.

Beyond these states, we could see others fall into the one-party column. With Gov. Larry Hogan (R-MD) term-limited in Maryland, Democrats have a golden opportunity to take all the statewide offices in that overwhelmingly Democratic state next year. Democrats might be able to do the same in Massachusetts, where Gov. Charlie Baker (R-MA) is mulling running for a third term. The lone Republican statewide official in Nevada, Secretary of State Barbara Cegavske, is term-limited, although Nevada is a highly competitive state even though Democrats have more often come out ahead in recent years, and Republicans could make inroads there in other offices depending on the circumstances. Of the 20 states with currently all-Republican statewide elected executive officeholders, Georgia stands out as one where Democrats could hypothetically break the Republican lock on these offices, as 2018 gubernatorial nominee Stacey Abrams (D) seems likely to challenge Gov. Brian Kemp (R) in a rematch and Democrats should otherwise be able to credibly contend for other offices. New Hampshire's governorship would also be a Toss-up if Gov. Sununu runs for U.S. Senate.

One would expect Republicans to make major plays for all the statewide offices in Michigan and Wisconsin, the competitive Upper Midwest states where Democrats currently hold all the offices. Democrats are defending Virginia's three statewide offices this November. Kansas will be a major Republican target as well: The state treasurer office will be back on the ballot and, more importantly, Gov. Kelly will be trying to win a second term in what is still a very Republican-leaning state. Elsewhere in the heartland, Iowa's six statewide offices (including the governorship) will all be up next year. ❖

## Ken de la Bastide, *Anderson Herald Bulletin*:

There is an interesting philosophical battle taking place within the Indiana Republican Party. With supermajorities in both chambers of the Indiana General Assembly and all of the state's elected offices in their control, the party is experiencing a power struggle. Less than a year into his second term, Gov. Eric Holcomb is already being considered a "lame duck" in office. Normally the term refers to an elected official in the final year of his or her term in office. It has meant the official becomes less effective by the term's end. Republican lawmakers passed legislation that allows for them to call a special session of the Indiana General Assembly without approval from the governor. Holcomb has filed a lawsuit challenging the constitutionality of the measure. Much of the fight was over Holcomb's decision to institute a mask mandate and to close businesses during the pandemic. GOP members felt Holcomb went too far, while Democrats didn't think he went far enough. The case is being heard in a Marion County court, where Attorney General Todd Rokita contends the governor can't hire outside legal counsel without his permission. It's a fight for the hearts and minds of the party. A large faction of newly elected lawmakers have merged with incumbent members of the Legislature to continue to try and woo voters who cast ballots for Donald Trump in the past two presidential elections. The main-line party members are attempting to keep control of the party and the traditional conservative positions of the GOP. In many ways, it is similar to what took place in 2012 when Tea Party favorite Richard Mourdock defeated incumbent GOP Sen. Richard Lugar in the primary election. Mourdock lost to Democrat Joe Donnelly, who was defeated in 2018 by GOP candidate Mike Braun, with an assist from Trump. "I don't think he is a lame duck," Sen. Tim Lanane, D-Anderson, said of Holcomb. "He still has a high standing with the public." With three more years in the governor's mansion, it appears that Holcomb is going to meet resistance from a core group of Republicans in the Legislature when it comes to spending and policy decisions. With millions of dollars in federal aid to be used in the state, how those funds are spent will become a point of contention. ❖

**John Krull, *Statehouse File*:** Once again, the conservatives on the U.S. Supreme Court saved Republicans from themselves. The nation's high bench voted, 7-2, to preserve the Affordable Care Act, otherwise known as Obamacare. Among those voting with the majority were Chief Justice John Roberts and two of former President Donald Trump's three appointees to the courts. The court's rationale for rejecting the challenge by 20 state attorneys general — including Indiana's Todd Rokita — was withering. The justices said the suit shouldn't even have been filed because none of the legal geniuses who came up with it could demonstrate they or anyone else had been hurt by the ACA. "To have standing, a plaintiff must 'allege personal injury fairly traceable to the defendant's allegedly unlaw-

ful conduct and likely to be redressed by the requested relief,' " the court said. The problem? "No plaintiff has shown such an injury." Ouch. The court's decision should end the fighting over Obamacare, but it probably won't. After the decision came down, Rokita — who seems to be obsessed with creating, rather than solving, problems — fulminated that the ACA was an "insidious government takeover."

"Once again, the Supreme Court has declined to weigh in on the merits of this insidious government takeover of our healthcare, otherwise known as Obamacare, which has drastically driven up cost by squelching competition and choice. We'll continue to push back against this unconstitutional law," Rokita added in a written statement he sent to *The Indianapolis Star*. If Rokita really believes that, he must be a) not very bright, b) completely disconnected from reality or c) both. Chances are, though, that he doesn't really believe it. Rokita is so consumed with ambition to be Indiana's next governor that he would do anything to endear himself to the GOP's rabid right wing and thus make it through a contested primary. ❖

**John Kass, *JohnKassNews.com*:** Chicago Mayor Lori Lightfoot is an experienced lawyer, skilled in the great game of words. She made a good living craftily parsing words at one of the city's top law firms. Law firm politics, played on carpets in board rooms is one thing. But Chicago politics played on the concrete and asphalt of the blood-spattered Chicago Way is another. And as a rookie mayor clearly overwhelmed by the job, she's publicly proven herself to be woefully inept at leadership, crisis management and the dark arts of politics. She has lost the city. She lost it when she failed to stop that second wave of downtown mass looting last summer. She continues to lose what's left of it. Tourists are harassed, robbed, and even killed downtown. The difference between Chicago and the other towns is that here, the people have been conditioned to think a mayor could be seen as ruthless or corrupt, but always strong enough to maintain order. That is not the case now. ❖

**David Brooks, *New York Times*:** In 1982, the economist Mancur Olson set out to explain a paradox. West Germany and Japan endured widespread devastation during World War II, yet in the years after the war both countries experienced miraculous economic growth. Britain, on the other hand, emerged victorious from the war, with its institutions more intact, and yet it immediately entered a period of slow economic growth that left it lagging other European democracies. What happened? In his book "The Rise and Decline of Nations," Olson concluded that Germany and Japan enjoyed explosive growth precisely because their old arrangements had been disrupted. The old patterns that stifled experimentation were swept away. The disruption opened space for something new. Something similar may be happening today. Covid-19 has disrupted daily American life. ❖



## Hoosier grandma pleads guilty for 1/6

WASHINGTON — The day after taking part in a mob that stormed the U.S. Capitol to stop the peaceful transition of power, prosecutors say, a 49-year-old Indiana woman exulted.

"That was the most exciting day of my life," Anna Morgan-Lloyd told the friend and hairdresser who had joined her that day, according to court filings ([Washington Post](#)). "I'm so glad we were there. For the experience and memory but most of all we can spread the truth about what happened and open the eyes of some of our friends." Now Morgan-Lloyd says her eyes have been opened to a different truth. The registered Democrat-turned-Trump supporter is set to plead guilty Wednesday and become the first person sentenced in the Jan. 6 Capitol attack. In a letter to the judge who will decide her punishment, Morgan-Lloyd said she was "ashamed that something meant to show support for the President had turned violent." "At first it didn't dawn on me, but later I realized that if every person like me, who wasn't violent, was removed from that crowd, the ones who were violent may have lost the nerve to do what they did," she wrote. "For that I am sorry and take responsibility. It was never my intent to help empower people to act violently." In their first sentencing recommendation for any of the hundreds of people charged with taking part in the Capitol riot, prosecutors requested that Morgan-Lloyd receive no jail time, perform 40 hours of community service, complete three years of probation and pay \$500 in restitution. Raised a Democrat, she supported Trump for president beginning in 2016. "My husband and I both found it hard to believe because we didn't like him at all before. But he was standing up for what we believe in. We couldn't argue with it," Mor-



gan-Lloyd wrote. "We felt that when [Democrats] worked against him they worked against me, my family and my community."

## Michigan GOP finds no 2020 vote fraud

LANSING — An investigation led by Michigan Republican lawmakers found no basis for claims by former President Donald Trump and his allies that there was widespread fraud in the 2020 election, a Michigan Senate report released Wednesday concludes ([Detroit Free Press](#)). The results of the inquiry by the Michigan Senate Oversight Committee, chaired by a Republican and comprised of a GOP majority, are the latest repudiation of conspiracies and lies revolving around Michigan's election results. "The Committee found no evidence of widespread or systemic fraud in Michigan's prosecution of the 2020 election," the report states. "Citizens should be confident the results represent the true results of the ballots cast by the people of Michigan."

## Gen. Milley defends critical race theory

WASHINGTON — America's top military officer on Wednesday defended teaching "critical race theory" to U.S. Army cadets at West Point — and said it's important for those in uniform to understand "white rage" ([New York Post](#)). During a budget hearing held by the House Armed Services Committee, Army Gen. Mark Milley, chairman of the Pentagon's Joint Chiefs of Staff, said that "on the issue of critical race theory, etc., a lot of us have to get much smarter on whatever the theory is." "I do think it's important, actually, for those of us in uniform, to be open-minded and be widely read, and the United States Military Academy is a university, and it is important that we train and we understand," Milley said. "And I want to understand white rage, and I'm white, and I want to understand it." Milley also appeared to link "white rage" to

the Jan. 6 storming of the US Capitol by supporters of then-President Donald Trump in a bid to prevent Congress from certifying his electoral loss to President Biden. "So, what is it that caused thousands of people to assault this building, and try to overturn the Constitution of the United States of America. What caused that," Milley said.

## Brooks joins IUPUI McKinney Law

INDIANAPOLIS — Former U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks will join the Indiana University Robert H. McKinney School of Law at IUPUI, Chancellor Nasser H. Paydar announced. Brooks, an alumna of the school, will be appointed as distinguished scholar and ambassador at large.

## Biden fires border chief

WASHINGTON — The Biden administration has forced out the head of the U.S. Border Patrol, Rodney Scott, clearing a path for a leadership overhaul at an agency strained by a 20-year high in illegal border crossings, and whose top officials were broadly sympathetic to President Donald Trump ([Washington Post](#)). Scott, a 29-year veteran, published a statement on social media Wednesday saying he had received a letter offering him the option to resign, retire or relocate.

## RSC, Trump to head to southern border

WASHINGTON — About a dozen members of the Republican Study Committee plan to join the former president Donald Trump on the U.S./Mexico border next Wednesday. Earlier this month, leaders of the House Republican caucus met with Trump at his Bedminster resort in New Jersey, and RSC members have invited Trump to meet with them in Washington.