

The double dog impeachment dare

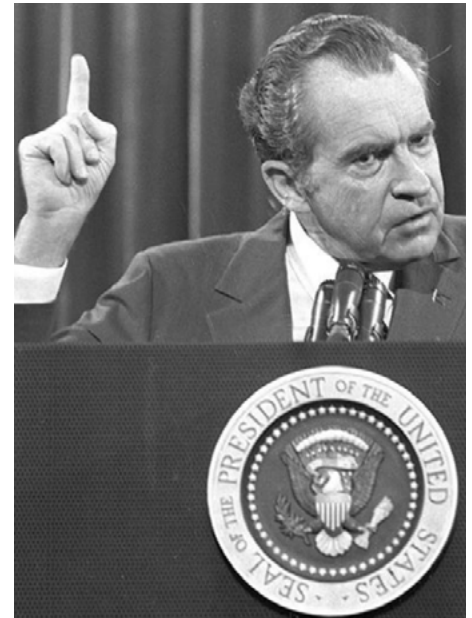
Impeachment is the casu marzu of legislating morality

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – If the act of legislating is considered “sausage making,” a reference to the often disgusting casing of meat into intestinal links, then the process of impeaching an American president is more like casu marzu (maggot cheese), Filipino century eggs or Kopi luwak.

Impeachment is an American tragedy with messy, unsatisfactory outcomes and an array of unintended consequences.

Presidential defenders like Indiana U.S. Rep. David Dennis in 1974 can find themselves betrayed by President Nixon. Fierce loyalists like U.S. Rep. Earl Landgrebe and four of his colleagues would go down to defeat that year.



In some cases, civic emotions can run to the extreme, with Indianapolis rioting and a Hoosier killed in an 1868 street gunfight when President Andrew Johnson attempted to defend himself and assail his congressional rivals on his disastrous “swing around the circle” tour. In

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Our historic CD maps

By **TREVOR FOUGHTY**

INDIANAPOLIS – A large part of the appeal of Guinness World Records is the obscurity of the records they track. Indeed, obscurity has always been the point: Ireland’s most famous brewery began publishing the book in 1955 as a way to help settle arcane pub bets.

I may not be very useful if you’re interested in knowing where the largest collection of Batman memorabilia is located, but I do feel a bit like the Guinness folks when I’m asked about some obscure piece of Indiana political history. Of course, I also relish the opportunity to dig in a little more and provide additional context.



“We are blessed that there were no Americans killed in this attack, but anytime you have an act of war of this nature, there’s a risk that could happen. This is an attack of a scale we’ve not seen before.”

- Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, blaming Iran.



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Jack E. Howey
 editor emeritus
 1926-2019



Such was the case last week, when Brian Howey pointed out to me that not a single congressional district in Indiana has switched parties since our current maps were implemented for the 2012 election. That begs the question: If there is no change in 2020, will that be the first time Indiana has ever witnessed a congressional map that produced no partisan turnover?

There isn't quite a straightforward "yes" or "no" answer, which fortunately means I get to dig in and provide some context.

Let's start here: Over the first decade and a half of our state's existence, new counties were constantly being formed, and the population was growing and shifting quite a bit. As a result, we were constantly tweaking our congressional district lines. Additionally, we never had more than three seats in this period, and each basically was a skinny sliver that ran from the Michigan line down to the Ohio River.

What makes these formative years even tougher to judge from a historical perspective is the absence of modern political parties. The Democrat Party as we know it today was essentially organized in 1828 around Andrew Jackson's presidential campaign. In 1832, a second national party popped up to support Henry Clay in his bid against Jackson and the Democrats. Up to this point, the parties existed solely for the presidential campaigns.

By the mid 1830's, however, the parties also began to slate candidates for down-ballot races, including congressional races. Around this same time, our county-formation boom was nearing its end, and our population had quickly grown enough to bump us from three to seven congressional seats (and we've always had at least seven ever since).

All of this means that the

congressional maps put in place in 1833 are a great starting point for this exercise. Since that time, we've had 21 different maps across 93 different elections. But if you do the math, you'll quickly notice that just barely averages four elections for each map. So what gives?

For most of our history, we haven't automatically (and only) drawn new maps after the federal decennial census; that has only been done since the 1972 maps. Prior to that, the timeline for drawing maps wasn't consistent, and map lifespans ranged anywhere from one to 11 elections.

But even given this irregularity, there are some interesting trends that emerge regarding partisan turnover. We'll start by throwing out the two maps that were only used for one election, since turnover isn't possible without at least two elections. Seven maps were in place for only two or three elections (and none for just four). Even then, six of those seven maps saw partisan turnover. The map in place for the elections of 1896, 1898, and 1900 is the only one of this group that saw no turnover.

Eight more maps (not including our current map) were in place for five elections, but we'll come back to them momentarily. The long-lasting maps are worth looking at first, because they were as volatile as the short terms maps. One map was in place for eight elections, and another one for 10 elections. Neither of them ever went more than two elections (just four years) without some partisan turnover. An additional map was in place for 11 elections, and it never went more than three elections (six years) without turnover. So whether short or long, it would be unusual for Indiana to see more than two or three elections in a row with the same partisan results.

And what about those five-election maps we're used to now? The same trend largely holds. Of the eight in place before 2012, four of them saw partisan turnover in every single election (maps from 1833, 1843,



1901, and 1972). Three more never went more than two elections (four years) without at least one seat changing parties (1931, 1981, and 2001). That only leaves one, the maps drawn in 1991, which saw a Republican wave in 1994 that never receded and produced the same partisan results in each district from 1994-2000.

That four-election span was the only time prior to 2012-2018 that Indiana had seen such a streak. That means that not only are the current maps currently in a tie for that record, but they have a chance to break the record in 2020. But to answer our original question, it would mark only the second time that Indiana witnessed a congressional map with no partisan turnover, but the first time that a map in place for more than three elections achieved the feat.

Of course, the stories of these sorts maps aren't

all about the numbers. There are some fascinating stories about quickly abandoned experiments with at-large congressional districts; the General Assembly's refusal to draw maps for 40 years to preserve power for rural legislators; and the constant legal battles that saw Indiana draw dozens of maps in the 1960's and early 1970's, among others.

I look forward to telling some of those stories over the next year and a half as we prepare to see new maps once again. In the meantime, you can see every version of Indiana's historical congressional maps on my website at www.CapitolAndWashington.com.

And if you're really curious, according to Guinness, the world's largest collection of Batman memorabilia is located in Indianapolis. ❖

Foughty publishes at CapitolAndWashington.com.

Impeachment, from page 1

the case of the Clinton prosecution, Republicans reacted with hyper-sensation while the general public didn't give a rat's ass.

Eight presidents, beginning with John Tyler in 1842, have faced the prospect of impeachment without results, including Presidents Grover Cleveland, Herbert Hoover, Harry Truman, Ronald Reagan, and George H. W. Bush. Three presidents – Johnson in 1868, Richard Nixon in 1974 and Bill Clinton in 1998 – have had articles drawn and voted. In two out of three cases that extended into U.S. House committee votes, it occurred without the majority support of the American people. Both Johnson and Clinton were indicted in the House and faced a Senate trial, and both were acquitted, Johnson by a single vote just months before he was due to leave office over a law that has since been deemed unconstitutional. Clinton prevailed by a 55-45 vote on a perjury article and 50-50 on an obstruction article.

Impeachment today is not attainable or achievable, though there are echoes decades-old that ring familiar bells.

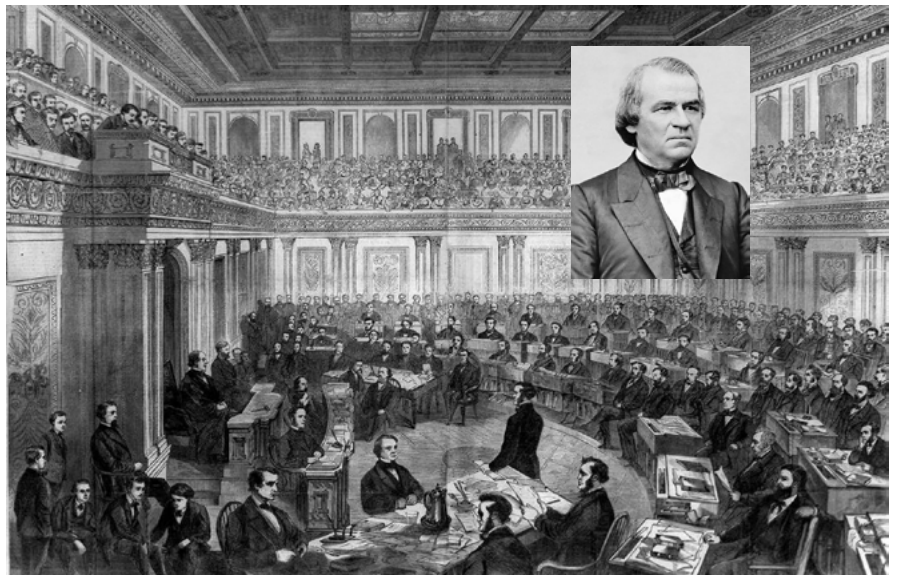
Former Republican U.S. Rep. Steve Buyer, one of the House case managers in the Clinton impeachment, described his stomach as roiled after the Senate acquittals, but describes the dilemma that some Democrats feel today. "The possibility that a future president may commit more egregious acts than perjury or obstruction of justice and then demand party loyalty to defend himself against impeachment is the precedent," Buyer said. "We had a duty to search for the truth."

And U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar, who offered up a censure of President Clinton as a compromise, observed,

"I believe the crimes committed here demonstrate that he is capable of lying routinely whenever it is convenient. He is not trustworthy."

Like the Johnson impeachment that found Indiana's senators split – Democrat U.S. Sen. Thomas Hendricks voted to convict on three articles; Republican U.S. Sen. Oliver P. Morton voted to acquit – that occurred once again in 1999.

"Clearly the president's behavior was wrong," said Democrat U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh on one of his first votes



in the Senate, splitting with Sen. Lugar. "Clearly it was immoral. Clearly his actions fall far below the conduct Americans should expect from their chief executive. It is not enough that I question his morals, his character or his veracity. In the end, I am compelled to vote against conviction because the exacting standard for presidential removal has not been met, the heavy burden of proving any defendant's guilt beyond a reasonable doubt has not

been carried, and the national interest in maintaining the separation of powers, a stable presidency and the sanctity of elections require it.”

This fall, Americans may once again be watching the spectacle of impeachment. More than half of the U.S. House Democratic caucus supports the impeachment inquiry.

Earlier this month, House Democrats began the process against President Trump. “The unprecedented corruption, coverup, and crimes by the president are under investigation by the committee as we determine whether to recommend articles of impeachment or other Article 1 remedies,” House Judiciary Chairman Jerry Nadler (D-N.Y.) said. “The adoption of these additional procedures is the next step in that process and will help ensure our impeachment hearings are informative to Congress and the public, while providing the president with the ability to respond to evidence presented against him.”

This comes after Special Counsel Robert Mueller said during congressional testimony in July, “The president was not exculpated for the acts that he allegedly committed. We, at the outset, determined that, when it came to the president’s culpability, we needed to go forward only after taking into account the Office of Legal Counsel opinion that indicated that a sitting president cannot be indicted.”

When Mueller was pressed by Colorado U.S. Rep. Ken Buck, a Republican, asking “Could you charge the president with a crime after he left office?” Mueller responded, “yes.” Buck asked again, “You could charge the president of the United States with obstruction of justice after he left office,” to which Mueller responded again, “yes.”

So while most Hoosier Republicans quickly claimed President Trump was thoroughly vindicated, the reality is something else. But the other component of such a reality is that Trump is safe from impeachment. In fact, he would probably greatly benefit politically from the process.

At this point, according to Politico, 146 Democrats and one independent (Rep. Justin Amash of Michigan, a former Republican), favor impeachment or an inquiry, including U.S. Rep. André Carson of Indianapolis. There are 89 Democrats who are currently opposed, including U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky of Merrillville. There are zero Republicans who support the process, either in the House or the Senate.

Carson explained in July, “Congress must continue to use every tool at our disposal to hold (Trump) account-



able, including opening an inquiry into his impeachment, and ultimately ensuring this type of dangerous, foreign interference never happens again. The future of our democracy depends on it.”

Even if enough Democrats support and pass Trump’s indictment in the House, there is zero chance he would be convicted in the Senate.

Thus, this is an overtly political exercise with little chance of legal ramification.

An August Monmouth Poll revealed 59% of Americans are opposed to impeachment, while 35% support. Only 39% of independents and 8% of Republicans back the impeachment process. Not all Democrats are on board, with just 72% backing impeachment. That 28% opposed includes House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, who fears a Trump impeachment could be his ticket for reelection in 2020. “Impeachment is so divisive to the country that unless there’s something so compelling and overwhelming and bipartisan, I don’t think we should go down that path, because it divides the country. And he’s just not worth it,” Pelosi said, though

she adds that Trump is unfit for the presidency “ethically, intellectually, and politically.”

Lessons from 1998-99

Pelosi should look no further that the 1998 election in Indiana to understand the potential boomerang. With House Republicans building up a truncated process, Democrats actually prevailed in the mid-term elections that year, with the party retaking the Indiana House, while Evan Bayh picked up the Senate seat vacated by the retiring Dan Coats. The Republican U.S. Senate majority remained unchanged at 55-45. Democrats actually picked up five seats in the U.S. House when, typically, a party in a president’s sixth year is gashed.

“We’re going to take the country back, we’re going to take the Constitution back,” promised Democratic strategist James Carville on NBC’s “Meet the Press” in December 1998. “The retribution is going to be at the polling place.” The reality there is that George W. Bush would win the presidency in 2000 with congressional majorities.

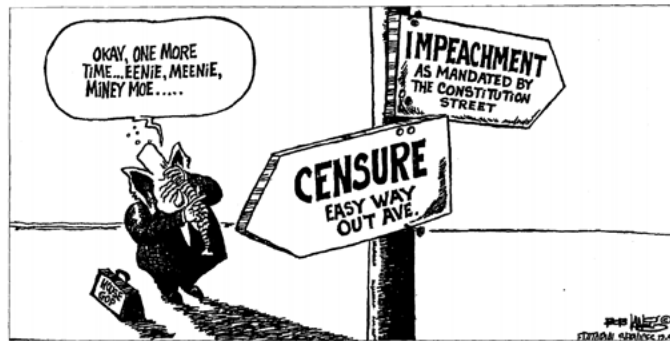
Buyer was offended that Clinton was hell-bent on retaking the House for the Democrats in 2000 in a fit of retribution, saying with some irony given the present day context, “He has always attacked someone else. He likes to play the victim.”

Several Hoosier Republicans took the Clinton impeachment judiciously and not just by party line support. U.S. Rep. Mark Souder (now an HPI contributor) "agonized" over votes on the four articles of impeachment. He would vote for two of them. "You start to add these things together, then there's a pattern that's impeachable, rather than a single event," he explained back in 1999. But he felt like the process was unreasonably expedited. "We were in such a cotton-pickin' rush to send this case over that we didn't build a case." Nor was there a national constituency for it. "If our attitude is 'our way or the highway,' we reinforce the image that Republicans are dividing the country.

We need to figure out how to bring the country together." Souder would end up with a primary challenger in 2000, though he was easily renominated and reelected.

After Clinton survived the Senate vote, his peak job approval, 73% in Gallup, occurred that same week and he remained popular during the final two years in office. TIME columnist Michael Kinsley observed, "The most significant political story of the year is that most citizens don't seem to think it's significant that the president had oral sex with a 22-year-old intern. Yes, yes, and he lied about it. Under oath. Blah blah blah. They still don't care. Rarely has such an unexpected popular consensus been so clear. And rarely has such a clear consensus been so unexpected."

In the Feb. 18, 1999, edition of the Howey Political Report, our final analysis was this following the Senate acquittal: There was so little emotion throughout the 13 months of the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal. Hoosiers – with the exception of Buyer and (Rep. Ed) Pease – seemed detached. There were no demonstrations of support. The only fits of public expression came after Clinton bombed Iraq on the evening of the House impeachment vote, but they were hardly sustained. Hoosiers seemed more interested in the federal government's showdown with Microsoft than it did with the Clinton impeachment. In the end, Lugar and Bayh perfectly embodied the state. Both were quiet during the proceedings and didn't seek out the TV cameras and talking head shows. When it came down to



the final hour, it was Lugar who finally emerged to eloquently express the outrage so many Hoosiers felt in their hearts but were too busy with day-to-day lives to express beyond their own dinner tables. Bayh was a Democrat embarrassed and disgusted – with his own president – but ultimately didn't want to upset the applecart."

1974 fallout

Like 1998, there was fallout at the ballot box in 1974, coming in dramatic fashion. Like this year, Democrats were roiled and angry about President Nixon's CREEP campaign and the 1972 break-in of the Democratic National Committee offices in the Watergate complex. Nixon attempted to stave off and stone-wall the Democratic Congress.

But there were two huge differences. First, Nixon had a key aide, John Dean, who testified in sensational manner

before Congress about how a "cancer" was afflicting his presidency. In a contrast for Trump, there was that letter by a cowardly "anonymous" staffer in the New York Times a little over a year ago. Second, there was the Saturday Night Massacre in October 1973 when Nixon fired Special Counsel Archibald Cox. That resulted in the firing and resignations of Attorney General Elliott Richardson and deputy William French Smith of Indiana while producing a firestorm of national controversy. Nixon's approval plummeted to points even worse than President Trump's current range in the 40% range.

Nixon had an array of Hoosier defenders. The key one was Rep. David Dennis of Richmond, who sat on the House Judiciary Committee and voted against articles of impeachment. Before the House could vote on the impeachment resolutions, Nixon released on Aug. 5, 1974, the so-called "smoking gun tape" that revealed his complicity in a coverup after the U.S. Supreme Court ordered him to release the audio files. Dennis was one of a number of Republicans who shifted into the impeachment camp, saying that Nixon had "destroyed his credibility."

Other Hoosier Republicans stuck to their guns. U.S. Rep. Earl Landgrebe of Valparaiso was a staunch Nixon defender, saying after the Watergate congressional hearings, "Don't confuse me with the facts." After Nixon released the smoking gun tape, Landgrebe said on Aug. 7, 1974, "I'm going to stick with my president even if he and I have to be taken out of this building and shot." They didn't have to shoot Landgrebe, as Nixon resigned

the next day.

In November 1974, Republicans paid a severe price. Indianapolis Mayor Richard Lugar would lose his challenge to U.S. Sen. Birch Bayh, and Republican U.S. Reps. Landgrebe (to Floyd Fithian), William Bray (to David Evans), Roger Zion (to Philip Hayes), Dennis (to Phil Sharp), and Bill Hudnut (to Andrew Jacobs Jr.), would all lose. It was one of the biggest mid-term party losses in Indiana history.

Epilogue

In October 1998, this writer appeared on a Bulen Symposium panel at IUPUI with Michael Tackett, an Indiana Daily Student colleague then with the Chicago Tribune and now with the New York Times. I had mentioned the Monica Lewinsky scandal and the potential for President Clinton to be impeached as potential impacts on the mid-term elections. Tackett gently chided: "Brian Howey is the only one up here talking about impeachment."

Which demonstrates the unpredictable nature of impeaching a president. Sometimes the sway of events takes politics into unknown territory. With impeachment gaining steam in the following weeks, not only would Democrats here in Indiana and nationally actually pick up seats, but by December the entire political establishment was roiled in impeachment fever. The collateral damage was immense: Republican Speaker Newt Gingrich had been deposed; his successor, Robert Livingston, held the post briefly before resigning in disgrace over an exposed extramarital affair. And Livingston's successor, Dennis Hastert, would eventually be exposed for sexual misconduct as a young high school coach years earlier.

Oval Office oral sex with an intern had set off a chain reaction that culminated in the trial and acquittal in February 1999. In this context, there was a young former congressional candidate turned talk show host, Mike Pence, who continually told his readers, listeners and viewers that the president of the United States had to set the moral compass for the nation. And Republican lawmakers criticized President Clinton as a serial liar.

These are the ancient precursors to today's drama, with a preview of what may come playing out on Capitol Hill Tuesday when Corey Lewandowski testified before the House Judiciary Committee. CNN reported it this way: "On one hand, Lewandowski – despite openly antagonizing House Democrats and preening for his Republican cronies – testified fairly casually about misconduct by President Donald Trump that, in normal times, would be presidency-defining (and potentially presidency-ending). On the other hand, Lewandowski's testimony changed little about the longer-term prospects of impeachment."

Politico Playbook observed, "It's impossible to truly make an informed judgment or assessment about

how House Democrat Judiciary hearing with Corey Lewandowski went Tuesday, because no one has any idea what the party's end goal is. The party is so deeply divided on what they should do next that, to many Dems, it all seemed like a circus without a clear purpose. So, at the moment, many Democrats feel listless, hapless and lost on this subject. Trump, meanwhile, has found a strategy with little immediate downside: His aides and former aides are either not showing up for congressional hearings or, in Lewandowski's case, stonewalling and appealing directly to Trump, because, why not? "

The Trump antagonists on the New York Times editorial board observed Wednesday: "The muddled messages are creating their own problems and threatening to undermine the push for presidential accountability. The contradictory statements make Democrats look divided and conflicted, complicating efforts to build public confidence in their oversight powers. Rep. Tom McClintock, a Republican, has mocked the Democrats' strategy as, "You can have your impeachment and deny it, too."

And last week, it was Rep. McClintock who issued the most daunting and taunting thing when it comes to school yard melees and impeachment: The double dog dare. "Resolve that the House authorizes the Judiciary Committee to conduct an inquiry into the impeachment of the president," McClintock said. "It's that simple. I dare you to do it. In fact, I double dog dare you to do it. Have the House vote on those 18 words and then go at it.



Why won't you do that?"

Beyond Speaker Pelosi, House Democrats are flirting with disaster if they impeach President Trump. There is no chance for a Senate conviction unless new allegations are borne out and verified and they would have to be utterly sensational in nature to find any cross-party traction (and we're watching closely the DNI whistleblower complaint that the Washington Post reported today involves Trump and a foreign leader). An impeachment would have the potential to overshadow the coming party nominee for president and saddle him or her with exterior baggage and a process beyond the nominee's control. A majority of Americans already view Washington as inert, tribal and continually swampy, believe the country is on the "wrong track" by a wide margin, and a one-party circus would do little to instill any faith in the process.

Presidents Nixon and Clinton faced impeachment during their second terms. President Johnson had already decided not to seek a full term in 1868. Americans in this day believe they have a remedy for a president not up to the task, unable to tell the truth or compromised by a foreign leader, and that is the ballot box in November 2020. ❖

Buttigieg picks up his 1st Indiana endorsements

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Nine months after Mayor Pete Buttigieg kicked off his long-shot Democratic presidential campaign, he has landed his first spate of Indiana endorsements.

Ten Hoosier mayors – Tom McDermott of Hammond, Dave Kitchell of Logansport, Brent Bascom of Rising Sun, Gay Ann Harney of Rockport, Ron Meer of Michigan City, John Hamilton of Bloomington, Gabriel Greer of Peru, Greg Goodnight of Kokomo, Ted Ellis of Bluffton and Hugh Wirth of Oakland City – were part of a group of more than 50 mayors to endorse his campaign.



Buttigieg had thus far failed to pick up support from the Indiana political establishment. U.S. Reps. Pete Visclosky and Andre Carson aren't on board, nor is former senator Joe Donnelly, who attended Buttigieg's campaign kickoff last April, as did Indianapolis Mayor Joe Hogsett, who was not included in the mayoral endorsement list released this week. Nor has the mayor picked up support from the Indiana Black Caucus or members of the General Assembly.

In a USA Today op-ed, the mayors said, "We have watched Mayor Pete over the last eight years as his steady and inspired leadership has revitalized his city. It was no surprise to us when his constituents reelected him with 80% of the vote. Pete has transformed South Bend, and now he is showing what American leadership can and should be in the years ahead. Mayors are walking symbols of their cities. When we cut a ribbon at a new factory, or comfort a grieving parent whose child was lost to gun violence, we are showing the people we represent that their community stands with them. That kind of empathetic leadership is desperately needed in the Oval Office."

Buttigieg picked up his first endorsement from a Hispanic official, Mayor Michelle De La Isla of Topeka, Kan., the city's first Latina mayor. Former Mayor Sly James of Kansas City, Mo., and Mayor Mark Barbee of Bridgeport, Pa., who are both black, also signed on to the endorsement. Several mayors also hail from early nominating states, including Ryan Arndorfer of Britt, Iowa, and Suzanne Prentiss of Lebanon, N.H.

It comes as a Wall Street Journal/NBC Poll released Tuesday revealed Joe Biden leading nationally with 31%, followed by 25% for Sen. Elizabeth Warren and 14% for Sen. Bernie Sanders. Buttigieg is fourth with 7%, though he is polling only 3% with the crucial African-American block.

Pundits are suggesting this is becoming a two-person race between Biden and Warren, who has been routinely drawing crowds between 10,000 and 20,000 in recent weeks. She was also deemed to have had a strong performance in the third presidential debate in Houston.

"The race isn't getting broader. There aren't more people in the mix. There are fewer people," said pollster Bill McInturff, who conducted the survey with Democrat Jeff Horwitt. Peter Hart, a Democratic pollster who also worked on the survey, cautioned that past presidential campaigns have often fluctuated ahead of the first nominating contests. "What we see in September isn't what we see in December," Hart said.

Therein lies Buttigieg's hope, that he can gain traction between now and December, poising himself to shoot the gap when the caucus and primaries commence in February.

"You can put groups of candidates into corners. What corner do you put Pete Buttigieg in?" said J. Ann Selzer, longtime director of the Iowa Poll, produced by The Des Moines Register and its partners. "I think that the combination of characteristics that most define Buttigieg fit him rather uniquely. He appears to be a cluster of one."

HPI told the Washington Examiner that Buttigieg is still getting lost in the crowded debate stage, which



has featured 10 candidates in the first three rounds. Buttigieg's best line came on the topic of President Trump's trade war with China. "The president clearly has no strategy. You know, when I first got into this race, I remember President Trump scoffed and said he'd like to see me making a deal with Xi Jinping," Buttigieg said. "I'd like to see him making a deal with Xi Jinping."

Another memorable line came on the topic of health care, when he took aim at frontrunners Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warren. "The problem, Senator Sanders, with that damn bill that you wrote, and that Senator Warren backs is that it doesn't trust the American people," Buttigieg said. "I trust you to choose what makes the most sense for you, not my way or the highway. Now

look, I think we do have to do more than tinkering with the ACA. I propose 'Medicare For All Who Want It.' We take a version of Medicare, we make it available for the American people, and if we're right, as progressives, that that public alternative is better, then the American people will figure it out for themselves. I trust the American people to make the right choice for them. Why don't you?"

And on immigration, Buttigieg put it in the context of rural America. "In some of the most conservative, rural areas of Iowa, I have seen communities that have embraced immigration grow, and it's why part of my plan for revitalizing the economies of rural America includes community renewal visas that would allow cities and towns and counties that are hurting not only for jobs but for population to embrace immigration as we have in my city," Buttigieg said. "You know, the only reason that South Bend is growing right now, after years of shrinking, is immigration. It's one of the reasons we acted, not waiting for Washington, to create city-issued municipal IDs so that people regardless of immigration status in our city had the opportunity to have the benefits of identification."

The Washington Examiner reported: "Flush with the biggest war chest among Democratic candidates –

more than \$21 million through the fundraising period running through June – Buttigieg has yet to translate his campaign's financial juggernaut into strong poll numbers. 'It was a stage so crowded, it's a clutter right now. Pete would be so much better served if he was on the stage and just the top tier candidates,' said Brian Howey, a leading Indiana political columnist and publisher of Howey Politics Indiana. 'I think he got lost in the forest with everybody else in there,' Howey told the Washington Examiner. 'He's got another two months in order to have that money find that traction for him,' Howey noted.

"[Barack Obama] had momentum in November and December of '07 and to me that that's why Pete still has some time to find some traction, but I think the next round of debates is really crucial for him to be on a stage of five and not 10."

After the debate, Buttigieg clashed with Beto O'Rourke, who said during the showdown, "Hell, yes, we're going to take your AR-15, your AK-47."

Buttigieg said Sunday on CNN's "State of the Union" that O'Rourke is playing into Republican hands. He called this the "golden moment," adding, "When even this president and even (Senate Majority Leader) Mitch Mc-

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Connell are at least pretending to be open to reforms, we know that we have a moment on our hands. Let's make the most of it and get these things done."

O'Rourke fired back at Buttigieg on Twitter and wrote, "Leaving millions of weapons of war on the streets because Trump and McConnell are 'at least pretending to be open to reforms?'" "That calculation and fear is what got us here in the first place," he continued. "Let's have the courage to say what we believe and fight for it."

Buttigieg ignores Klopfer

Real Clear Politics reported: "The details were too horrific to ignore. At least, for some. Authorities were called to the Illinois home of the late Indiana abortionist Ulrich 'George' Klopfer on Friday evening. There, according to the local sheriff's department, law enforcement discovered more than 2,000 fetal remains. Each was medically preserved. In the aftermath, however, the leader of one of the cities where Klopfer performed thousands of abortions – who also happens to be running for president – has not said a word. Emails and calls to South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg's campaign have gone unanswered since Saturday. When RealClearPolitics contacted the municipal office of the mayor on Monday, an aide directed RCP back

to the campaign where even more requests for comment received no response.

Buttigieg disaster plan

Buttigieg announced "Resilient Communities: A New Disaster Preparedness Approach" that empowers communities to better prepare for and recover from more frequent and severe natural disasters. Pete is the first presidential candidate to propose a full disaster preparedness plan.

"I've seen the frustration that sets in for local communities when federal disaster response falls short," said Buttigieg. "Nearly one-third of Hurricane Maria victims were denied FEMA assistance in Puerto Rico and communities in Texas devastated by Hurricane Harvey are only just receiving disaster aid two years later. It's the government's job to actually help people in their time of greatest need; we need a better way. We can't stop all natural disasters, but we can control how we ready we are for them."

Climate change has exacerbated the need to improve our disaster preparedness. The science is clear: Catastrophic weather events are increasing in frequency and intensity. Pete's plan breaks from the denial and obstruction in Washington. As we're faced with the immi-

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strategic content creation and deployment

nent catastrophic effects of climate change, his plan takes bold and immediate action to prepare our communities for when floods, hurricanes, fires, and other natural disasters strike in order to save money and lives.

Buttigieg introduced the plan in Conway, S.C., a community that was hit hard by last September's Hurri-

cane Florence, which destroyed over 1,500 homes, caused \$24 billion in damage, and led to 53 deaths in the state. Florence resulted in the worst flooding in the history of the region still recovering in the aftermath of Hurricane Matthew in 2016. It was the second 1000-year flood event to happen within three years. ❖

'Pub' candidates run for governor

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS — Former Oklahoma QB and congressman J.C. Watts was once asked about why he wore his snazzy shades as the big man on campus, and he responded, "Pub, man, pub." Ahhh yes, publicity. In 2019 the new way to get "pub" is to run for governor of Indiana. So now we have What's His Name from Carmel (nominally known as Brian Roth), running as a Republican businessman against Gov. Eric Holcomb. And on Monday, out came What's His Face (otherwise known as Josh Owens), a gay Shelbyville native who runs an Indianapolis tech firm who will take on Dr. Woody Myers for the Democratic nomination.



Now, what's wrong with What's His Name and What's His Face running for governor? Well, nothing, really. This is America. This is democracy. The problem for WHN and WHF is they've chosen the highest political rung on a maiden try. Most politicians try a run for precinct committeeman, or the city or town council, or county commissioner, or the General Assembly before they set their sights statewide. Do they have any relationships with legislators? Party activists from across the state? Journalists and editorial boards? Nope. Both WHN and WHF have virtually no fame, which is absolutely essential if you're running for governor. It's easy to consign these guys to stunt candidates, seeking pub, man, pub for their businesses. Neither has an ice cube in hell chance of winning a nomination. But they've already gotten some great publicity for their companies in other media environs.

Indiana Democratic Party Chairman John Zody said of the Owens candidacy, "Josh Owens is a new voice as the process to select the Party's nominee for governor continues to play out. Hoosier Democrats look forward to learning more about Owens' campaign and plans for our state. We know Eric Holcomb is a do-nothing governor who has failed to raise teacher pay, lower the cost of health care or clean up state government."

Owens seeks greater teacher pay

In an interview with WISH-TV, Owens said the world is changing quickly and he can give Indiana a more inclusive future for every Hoosier. Much of what could make that future better is treating teachers better, he said (WIBC). "We've got some teachers who are making the same amount of money they've made for the last 10 years. We can look at a few different things. The state announced that they are putting \$50 million toward a State Fair swine barn. That's money that could be allocated to our teachers and our classrooms," Owens said. He was also critical of ILearn. "The ILearn test that we paid \$20 million for that just replaced the old test that everyone is now saying we should say in the trash bin. That is a waste of money. It's not about not having the money to pay the teachers more. It's about having the right priorities and bringing the right stakeholders to the table to get the job done," Owens said. Owens is also in favor of decriminalizing marijuana. "Not just because of the impact it has in our communities, but



because we can take those tax dollars and put them into better healthcare outcomes for young mothers and for individuals still suffering from opioid addictions," Owens said. He said vaping needs to be regulated the same way smoking is regulated. Owens is also in favor of raising the smoking age.

Myers cites Holcomb 'scandals'

Democratic gubernatorial candidate Woody Myers cited recent "scandals" in an op-ed article released last week. "It's time for accountability. It's time for scandal-free leadership," Dr. Myers said, citing the July resignation of Department of Social Services Associate Director Todd Meyer and Indiana National Guard Adj. Gen. Courtney Carr.

"In the short two months since my announcement that I'm running for governor, Hoosiers have seen numerous scandals and missteps by our state government that have me very worried about the direction Indiana is headed. Worried for our children, our teachers, and our state workers. When I announced my candidacy I said, 'For far too long we've been satisfied with 'good enough'. Our political leaders have accepted the status quo when we should have been aspiring for much more. Our strategy must change. I believe that the 'good enough' approach is simply no longer good enough for Indiana."

Myers called emails Meyer sent to a DCS intern "cringe-inducing" and criticized Gov. Holcomb for simply accepting Gen. Carr's resignation. "He will reportedly retire with full benefits," Myers said. "He should have been fired." Myers also cited the ILearn test scores noting that two-third of Hoosier students failed the test. "At least \$45 million wasted as school districts contend they cannot be sure the test is an accurate measure of anything – student, teacher or school performance," Myers said. "Where is the oversight? Where is the leadership? Where is the outrage from our legislature?"

The Klopfer fallout

Indiana Attorney General Curtis Hill and Illinois Attorney General Kwame Raoul will investigate how 2,246 fetal remains ended up on the property of the late Dr. Ulrich Klopfer. AP: The Will County Sheriff's Office in northeastern Illinois announced late Friday that Klopfer's relatives had discovered 2,246 preserved fetal remains while sorting through his property. The county coroner's office has taken possession of those remains, and it, the sheriff's department and local prosecutors were already investigating. Gov. Holcomb has called for a federal probe saying he was 'deeply disturbed' by the revelation."

Mayors

Fort Wayne: Smith begins radio ads

Republican nominee Tim Smith began running radio ads on WOWO this week. He told HPI that direct mail will be dropping soon and his TV ad campaign in the next week or so. Fort Wayne Mayor Tom Henry began his TV ad campaign on Aug. 1.

Smith won the primary against Councilman John Crawford by appealing to pro-life voters. The Dr. Ulrich Klopfer case, Smith believes, will incentivize some 4,600 new voters to turn out on Nov. 5. "How does he do that?" Smith asked about the doctor who apparently transported medically-preserved fetal remains to his home in Illinois.

In a statement, Smith said, "I was saddened to learn of the finding of over 2,000 medically preserved fetal remains at the home of Ulrich George Klopfer this week. I sympathize with all those who have been impacted by the revelation of this news. I support those who are calling for a full investigation into this matter. Authorities must work

to find out why and how this happened and what can be done to prevent such an atrocity in the future. At a time when people like Mayor Pete Buttigieg, Sens. Warren, and Schumer are advocating for abortion up to birth and against measures designed to protect babies who are born alive we must remain committed to fighting for the most vulnerable at every level. If elected mayor of Fort Wayne I will work to expand access to quality health care for women while making sure people like George Klopfer are never allowed to prey on residents of our city again."

Smith was endorsed by the Allen County Right to Life, but said he didn't plan to campaign on the issue, saying that the revelations "speak for themselves."

Mayoral debate set

Young Leaders of Northeast Indiana will hold a Fort Wayne mayoral debate later this month (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). The debate between Mayor Tom Henry and Republican challenger Tim Smith will take place from 7 to 8:30 p.m. Sept. 25 at the Grand Wayne Center in downtown Fort Wayne. The town hall-style debate will allow each candidate an opportunity to share their unique vision for Fort Wayne, while focusing on questions and topics that are especially of interest to our community's young leaders. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Henry.

Indianapolis: Hogsett radio ads

Hogsett for Indianapolis announced that it has begun airing radio ads this week, as the campaign also prepares to open its fifth office, all part of an unprecedented grassroots organizing effort. The campaign office opening celebration will be held on Saturday from 11 a.m. - 1 p.m. at 7235 North Keystone Ave.

"Pastor G" and "Better City" both focus on Mayor Hogsett's record of accomplishments in Indianapolis. "Pastor G," narrated by Pastor John E. Girton, Jr., highlights Mayor Hogsett's Project Indy program and public safety investments. "I want to tell you about my friend, Mayor Hogsett – although I just call him Joe," begins Pastor G in the ad. "Four years ago, finding a summer job for our teens was almost impossible. Now, because of Joe, his Project Indy is connecting our kids with thousands of summer jobs. Real work experience that's keeping young people off the streets and out of trouble."

"Better City" parallels the Hogsett campaign's latest television commercial, "Quotes," which began airing last week. "Better City" and "Quotes" both feature the mayor's successes in bringing Indianapolis back to fiscal stability, passing back-to-back balanced city budgets, and investing in infrastructure and public safety. "Republicans on the City Council called it 'a momentous step,'" the ad states, referencing Mayor Hogsett's four-year, \$400 million infrastructure plan. "And on neighborhood safety, from hiring 150 more police, to keeping his promise to install thousands of more streetlights, Joe Hogsett is making our city a safer place to live."

MIBOR endorses Hogsett

MIBOR, the 8,000-member real estate professional association for central Indiana, announced today that they are endorsing Mayor Joe Hogsett for re-election. "Mayor Hogsett has shown a continued focus on important quality of life issues and factors that play a major role in the vibrancy and strength of our urban core," said Sue Applegate, 2019 chair for the MIBOR RPAC Trustees. "We look forward to a continued partnership with Mayor Hogsett and his team as we remain committed to advocating for attainable housing options and real estate investment, placemaking and community development opportunities that keep our neighborhoods strong, smart growth development, and the protection of private property rights."

Merritt calls for diversity

Speaking in front of the Madam C.J. Walker Legacy Center in downtown Indianapolis, Republican mayoral candidate Jim Merritt commented on the importance of diversity. "The strength of Indianapolis is rooted in the diversity of its people and the opportunities created by our hardworking citizens" he said. "No one better exemplifies this spirit than Madam C.J. Walker, one of the first great African-American entrepreneurs in Indianapolis and the entire United States." Referring to Madam Walker's legacy of creating a business that, at its peak, had more than 3,000 employees, Merritt lamented the opportunities currently available to minority and women-owned businesses. "Now, more than a hundred years after (Madam Walker) moved to Indianapolis, there are discouraging signs that our city is giving up on providing the opportunities that everyone should be able to aspire to. Our Minority Business Enterprise plans should encourage and support the growth of businesses from all walks of life. Yet, today, these initiatives, once so forward-thinking, are treated more as afterthoughts. That's not Madam Walker's legacy. That's Joe Hogsett's legacy," Merritt said.

"The pattern is familiar," Merritt continued. "As Mayor, Joe Hogsett has ignored minority business enterprises, except for when he chooses to hand out contracts to a close-knit group of political insiders. Simply put, the current administration's support of minority and women-owned business is abysmal."

Heather K. Sager, spokesperson for the Hogsett for Indianapolis campaign, reacted to Merritt, saying, "This morning's press conference by Sen. Merritt is yet another example of a lifelong state legislator who must be dizzy from desperately flip-flopping on his long-held positions. Despite a 30-year history of voting against the interests of communities of color in Indianapolis, this morning's attempt to appropriate the legacy of Madam C.J. Walker for Sen. Merritt's political benefit is equal parts crass and ironic." Sager said that Hogsett "has focused on helping lift up all businesses, particularly those businesses certified by the city's Office of Minority and Women Business Development. This year's proposed city-county budget includes the addition of a new contract compliance staffer within

the OMWBD, and last month the OMWBD hosted its third annual Reverse Trade Show, which helps local minority- and women-owned suppliers, contractors, and consultants connect with public and private procurement professionals. Perhaps most notably, these efforts also include last year's launch of a business disparity study by OMWBD." **Horse Race Status:** Likely Hogsett.

Valparaiso: Young endorses Murphy

Councilman Matt Murphy, the GOP candidate vying to be the city's next mayor, has received an endorsement from a sitting U.S. Senator (NWI Times). U.S. Sen. Todd Young, R-Ind., paid a visit to the Region on Friday for a Murphy campaign fundraising luncheon at Task Force Tips, 3701 Innovation Way in Valparaiso. He was joined by Murphy and outgoing Mayor Jon Costas, elected Valparaiso's mayor in 2003. Outside the event, Young told The Times he decided to throw his support behind Murphy because it's critical the next



mayor is as strong a local leader as Costas, also a Republican. "Sometimes it's not international affairs or even national politics that's of greatest interest to people, it's making sure that their potholes are filled, that their neighbors are neighborly, that the local business environment is one that fosters job creation and leads to a high quality of life for local residents," Young said. He faces off with businessman Bill Durnell, the winner of the Democratic primary, in the November election. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Murphy

Terre Haute: Nasser outlines positions

For the better part of an hour Tuesday evening, Democrat candidate for Terre Haute mayor Karrum Nasser outlined his position on everything from city finances to neighborhood blight (Modesitt, Terre Haute Tribune-Star). In the first of three mayoral candidate forums sponsored by the Tribune-Star and moderated by the newspaper's editorial board at the Meadows Conference and Banquet Center, Nasser used the hour to explore in more detail his plans if elected mayor. When addressing Terre Haute's steadily improving finances, Nasser said he's proud of the work him and fellow City Council members have done in the past four years to bring the city back from the brink of a financial crisis. With the city facing a more than \$8 million general fund deficit, Nasser said it's been he and the council that have held the mayor accountable for every dollar spent and reduced borrowing from the Terre Haute Redevelopment Commission. "We still have to increase our cash balances to help with cash flow," Nasser said. "Part of the frustration with some of the members that have voted against it, and I have voted against it a few times, but voted for it this past time because we were at \$1 million

and I felt we could still do projects downtown, on U.S. 46 and up at the north industrial park ... As long as we keep those numbers close to the \$1 million until we get our cash balances up is something I think I could live with as mayor, just as long as we're still able to do projects redevelopment thinks is necessary to enhance downtown, 46 and the other TIF districts." **Horse Race Status:** Leans Bennett.

Congress

Mitchell assails federal debt

Indiana Treasurer Kelly Mitchell's 5th CD campaign cites massive federal debt as a coming campaign issue. "Here is a quick recap: Medicare for All. The Green New Deal. Tax this. Spend that," Mitchell said. "Where will it stop? Every Democrat on that stage and all those running in the 5th want to spend, spend, spend, but they have no real plan on how to pay for it. Just this week, it was reported that the CBO projects our deficit to be over \$1 trillion on top of a sky-rocketing national debt of \$22 trillion. At an early age, my mother taught us that we cannot spend more than we have. We didn't have much, but we never went into debt. That is a valuable lesson I learned and something D.C. is missing. Enough is enough. Because of great conservative leadership in our state, Indiana has a \$2 billion budget surplus and AAA credit rating. And I am proud to be a part of that team."

Presidential 2020

Big Biden lead in Fox Poll

It's increasingly more important to Democratic primary voters to beat President Donald Trump than support their favorite candidate, and former Vice President Joe Biden is widely considered the candidate most likely to give them the White House (Fox News). That's a major source of strength for Biden, who continues to lead the Democratic field, albeit at a new low. Biden captures the support of 29% of Democratic primary voters, according to a new Fox News Poll. That's down 2 points since last month and down 6 points since May, when he was at a high of 35 percent support. His current 11-point lead is down from a high of 19 points in June. Sanders climbs back into second with 18% (up 8 points since August), followed by Elizabeth Warren at 16%(down 4), forming the clearest top three candidate tier seen in this race to date. The next tier includes Kamala Harris at 7%, Pete Buttigieg at 5%, Beto O'Rourke at 4%, Cory Booker at 3%, and both Andrew Yang and Amy Klobuchar at 2%. By a 25-point margin, Democratic primary voters prioritize supporting the candidate who has the best shot at beating Trump over the candidate they like the most (56-31%). That's up from 15 points in March (51-36%).

Buttigieg announces health plan

Pete Buttigieg announced his 'Medicare for All Who Want It' plan this morning to combat the rising cost of health care and give Americans the freedom to choose the best health care plan for themselves and their families. Buttigieg's plan ensures universal access to coverage, makes health care more affordable for every American, and allows them real choice. "We're at this moment of crisis because of a failure of leadership," said Buttigieg. "For years, Washington politicians have allowed the pharmaceutical industry, giant insurance companies, and powerful hospital sys-



tems to profit off of people when they are at their sickest and most vulnerable. My 'Medicare for All Who Want It' plan will create a health care

system that puts power in the hands of each American." Pete's Medicare for All Who Want It plan addresses the fundamental problem in the health care system today - cost. While it also achieves universal coverage, it is notably different from other Medicare for All plans in that it doesn't force Americans off private plans they may want to keep, but offers them a meaningful public alternative. individuals and families. [Read the plan by clicking here.](#) ❖

Democratic Presidential Nomination								
RCP Poll Averages								
National			Iowa			New Hampshire		
Biden	28.8		Biden	28.5		Biden	23.7	
Warren	18.3		Warren	18.0		Sanders	22.3	
Sanders	16.5		Sanders	17.5		Warren	21.7	
Buttigieg	5.8		Harris	8.5		Buttigieg	8.0	
Harris	5.7		Buttigieg	7.5		Harris	7.0	
O'Rourke	3.0		Klobuchar	2.5		Gabbard	3.3	
Yang	3.0		Steyer	2.5		Yang	3.0	
Biden +10.5			Biden +10.5			Biden +1.4		
Nevada			South Carolina			Betting Odds		
Biden	27.0		Biden	39.3		Warren	38.3	
Sanders	20.7		Sanders	14.7		Biden	26.5	
Warren	15.0		Warren	13.3		Sanders	14.1	
Harris	8.7		Harris	10.3		Harris	8.0	
Biden +6.3			Biden +24.6			Warren +11.8		

Retiring Smith sees gains on life issues

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS — Indiana Family Institute President Curt Smith is stepping down from the day-to-day overseeing of the organization that was begun by Bill Smith in the late 1980s. Smith will remain chairman of the board, while Ryan McCann will run the agency that has challenged Roe v. Wade in Indiana while advocating abortion restrictions.



Former senator and Director of National Intelligence Dan Coats will be on hand next Monday at a reception honoring

Smith, who left his job as a reporter for the Fort Wayne Journal Gazette to join Coats' staff in 1983, a decade after the landmark Supreme Court abortion ruling.

HPI sat down with Smith at the Aristocrat Pub in Broad Ripple on Wednesday. We were colleagues together on the Indiana Daily Student at IU back in the late 1970s.

Here is the HPI interview:

HPI: We've come a long way since those days at IU on the Daily Student. How did you come out of a journalism career and to the Indiana Family Institute?

Smith: I was working at the Journal Gazette covering Dan Coats and was very impressed with him. I had an interesting experience on Election Night 1980. Dan Quayle had defeated Birch Bayh. I walked to the bar across the street from the newsroom (Henry's) where we often put the finishing touches on the newspaper. Everybody from the Journal Gazette and News-Sentinel who was there was really upset that Ronald Reagan had won. I was encouraged. I wasn't championing Ronald Reagan, but I had voted for him in the 1976 Indiana primary and I was upset with President Ford's pardon of President Nixon.

HPI: I remember we could get you very animated by just mentioning the name "Nixon."

Smith: So I was excited to vote against Ford to express my opinions about Ford and what Nixon did. I had supported Reagan in '76, not as an ideologue, but because I thought he was the best alternative. I voted for him in 1980 and was encouraged he could turn things around. Inflation was high. So it was a hopeful time. Everyone in

the newsroom was discouraged, so I realized I was not fitting in. That might have been part of the thinking. Dan Coats three years later asked me to join his staff, so I moved to D.C. in 1983. When Dan asked me to work for him, I thought here was a chance to be on the other side and make a difference in some small way. It turned out he was a great mentor and a great leader

HPI: So this occurred 10 years after the Roe v. Wade ruling. When did you decide to make this a career cause and be a part of the resistance?

Smith: I was aware of the decision. I was in high school, but I was not someone who was very concerned about abortion. Then in 1980 I went through a personal conversion experience and my values became more aligned with pro-family. As I began to read the Bible, go to church and understand the issue, life became paramount to me. It continues today. If I had one wish, I would wish that abortion be outlawed in America. What I saw with the Reagan and Quayle victories in 1980 was it was the first time that Catholic and evangelicals and other traditional conservatives came together in this coalition. It was interesting to see, as a new believer and someone who had not attended church, wasn't steeped in church

history, that hey, these were strange bedfellows. There's a lot of interesting people here and they don't always work together. The life issue broke down some of those barriers. There was the Moral Majority in 1980, but there was this coalition of voters who cared about the life issue more than any other. I think that put Reagan in the White House, Quayle in the Senate and Coats in the U.S. House.

HPI: When I had my two sons, it changed my perspective on life issues. When you had your children, did that change things for you?

Smith: You hear you're going to be pregnant, you find out you're having a boy. It just cemented for me that this is a life and it deserves all of the protection from the American legal system and they didn't have them. Unfortunately, it's become politicized, to state the obvious. It's the most divisive issue in American public life. It just confirmed for me that these lives deserved protection. My work with Sen. Coats and later others only intensified my faith and my work experiences. I still consider the life issue paramount.

HPI: I thought, a generation ago, that medical and technological advances would put the life issue on a different trajectory, such as RU-486, that would preclude the need for physical abortion procedures.

Smith: The ultrasound changed the debate. With the ultrasound, you can see this life. People see those pictures and they know that's life. There are surgeries of



these babies to correct birth defects. I should be careful quoting Dave Chappelle on his comedy routines, but Dave Chappelle ... made some incredibly astute observations. He said, "If you believe you can end this life, then why do you make me support it?" I just thought he captured the inconsistency of this is a life, and you have a choice. I think it's part of the reason our culture is so coarse. Think of the mind Dr. Klopfer must have had to have those remains, over 2,200 aborted fetuses in his home, each one a human life. Why would he keep that? We just know that he was a broken man in some way. Fortunately Indiana took his medical license away and shut down the clinic, though it's back open and South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg is very quiet about keeping it open. I think it is a defining issue of our era. It's on par with slavery.

HPI: There are statistics out today that reveal that abortions are at a historic low since Roe v. Wade. The Guttmacher Institute says there were 862,000 abortions in the U.S. in 2017. That's down from 926,000 tallied in the group's previous report for 2014, and from just over 1 million counted for 2011. So there are culture strides.

Smith: When the ultrasound came, you could see the trendline change. When people understood it's a life inside the mother, it's not a blob of tissue, it's a person and just like all of us it needs food, water, protection and time. I also think that the coarseness of the scandal surrounding Planned Parenthood selling baby parts, the trial of the doctor in Philadelphia who had another house of horrors ... I think the coarseness and darkness of the abortion industry has helped. People see what it really is all about. I am so glad that Planned Parenthood's funding is being dried up, a little bit at a time, not as dramatically as I had hoped, and I believe that Justice Kavanaugh being added to the Supreme Court I believe in my lifetime Roe being returned to the states. Not being illegal, but Roe overturned and each state determining what its abortion policy will be.

HPI: Last year we talked about the Indiana case involving fetal remains that Gov. Pence signed in 2016 that you had hoped the Supreme Court would take up.

Smith: The court is going slower than I would like. I don't think we've made real significant progress in this session of the court. They seemed to have ducked some of the issues and questions. There was no case that would have allowed an up or down. They left those to be addressed in the future or not to take them up at all. We were hoping the Indiana case would be the one the court would take. They kept it on there for an extremely long stretch of time. Week after week after week the Indiana law was on there. I'm guessing (Chief Justice John) Roberts needs a little time. But when you're talking about life, 3,000 babies are aborted every day. Roberts probably needs some time to get his new majority around. I do not know how the court works internally. They probably just

weren't ready to take it on. I would think that in a major issue like this, huge public interest, huge impact, they would want six votes.

HPI: Legislatively in Indiana, what are the life movement's next steps?

Smith: I'm not sure we have the strongest protections for children born alive during an abortion. I've been asking about that. There's one with a possibility. I think most in the pro life majority would get behind that. Some would like to see a heartbeat bill like the one Ohio has, and other states have done. Some would like us to move the date of viability to an even shorter time. Right now it's in 20 weeks. Some would like to push that to 15 weeks. There's kind of a debate in the life community. Do we want to push the envelop on that? We've already done some promising things. We've closed clinics, we've taken Dr. Klopfer's license away. We're forcing the abortion industry to follow the rules and laws on the books for good reason. They are not just harassment.

HPI: We had a conversation about five years ago in which you vowed that you and IFI would continue to push the envelop. That has been you MO.

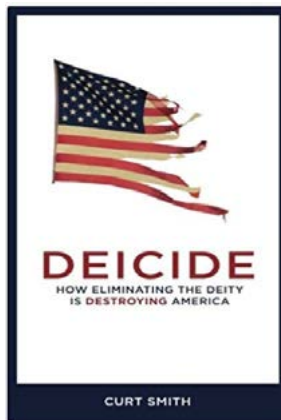
Smith: I believe in that. This issue is so important. If we were talking about tax breaks or appreciation schedules, maybe you'd be a little more politic about your legislation strategies or your political goals. When it comes to life issues, it's just hard to accept compromise.

HPI: Let's say the Supreme Court would rescind Roe and Indiana would outlaw abortion. The pro choice argument is that it would force the industry into the black market, like it was in the 1960s and 1950s, with many women suffering grievous harm and death. How do you address that?

Smith: In some sense, Illinois is probably going to remain pro-choice. New York probably will, and California. So I don't think it would be pre-Roe. I think people would go to a state where it would be permissible. I don't think we'd go back to having back alley abortions and send people to physicians with less than appropriate credentials. But at the same time, any time you change a law on a huge, important issue, there is going to be a period of transition, change and education. It would be important for the life community to be a part of that and show compassion to help everyone involved to get the counseling they need and help them be confident that can have and raise their children, or put them up for adoption.

HPI: Former congressman Tim Roemer, a pro-life, Notre Dame Democrat, sought another way with his 90/10 plan to cut the number of abortions by 90% in a decade. Is that something IFI could get behind?

Smith: It's pretty much a legislative and legal focus. All of those moderate Republicans on the life issue are gone. They've been run out of Congress and there are very few here in Indiana. ❖



The Pete and Bernie Democratic bookends

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Pete Buttigieg and Bernie Sanders were separated by only a few feet, but by more than 40 years in age. Mayor Pete, 37, and Sen. Sanders, 78, were situated next to each other at the Democratic presidential debate Thursday night in accord with their standings in the polls.

Is one too old? Passé? Is the other too young? Not ready? Is there some other candidate who's just right, not necessarily with age but with electability? Viewers could draw their conclusions as they watched the performances of the 10 leading candidates for the Democratic nomination. It's a diverse group. And the different approaches of Buttigieg and Sanders were shown clearly as they stood side by side in the long and tense debate.



Sanders, intent on furthering his 2016 "revolution," called for sweeping changes, including Medicare for all. He and Sen. Elizabeth Warren are farthest left in the Democratic spectrum. Warren did better than Sanders and could become the top progressive contender for the nomination.

Buttigieg, appealing for something more popular in Middle America, also called for universal health coverage, but with recipients having a choice of retaining private plans. He and former Vice President Joe Biden are for a more moderate, less costly approach, building on Obamacare rather than sweeping it away.

Beyond differences over policy, Sanders and Buttigieg were opposites in style. Sanders looked angry. And sounded angry as he thundered on with rhetoric so familiar from his 2016 campaign. He yells in a way that enthralls a crowd of his supporters at a rally. That doesn't work as well with folks at home, many uncommitted, watching his spiel on their TV screens.

Buttigieg looked pleasant, likeable, and sounded thoughtful, reasonable, a style so familiar now in his myriad TV appearances. He wouldn't do well at a rally of adoring fans of Bernie. His style, however, works well for those folks watching a debate at home.

While Sanders seems to be slipping some nationally, he remains one of the top three contenders, still with a loyal base, and he is positioned to do well

in the first actual tests with voters, Iowa caucuses and New Hampshire primary. He can't be written off yet for the nomination.

While Mayor Pete seems to be gaining stature nationally again after momentum stalled amid focus on South Bend crime, he remains out of the top tier, fifth in most polls. He tries now to get positioned well in Iowa and New Hampshire. He can't be written in yet for the nomination.

One of the candidates seems to have written himself off. That's Julian Castro, who never made much headway anyway. His personal attack on Biden, in which it was Castro who didn't remember the facts, drew boos in the audience at the debate site and virtually unanimous criticism from TV commentators, one of whom described his performance as about as popular as appearance of a skunk at a garden party.

Nobody else clearly self-destructed. Some others, notably Beto O'Rourke, breathed new life into campaigns that seemed stalled. Biggest winners?


Pending new polling, it appears that both Biden and Warren could be regarded as achieving the most for their purposes, Biden for withstanding the attacks that come for a frontrunner and for drawing a clear distinction between his approach to medical care and that of Sanders, who proclaimed again that he "wrote the damn bill." Warren for presenting her progressive agenda without yelling or attacking anyone and calming fears that she would come across in a debate with President Trump as a wild-eyed socialist.

Mayor Pete offered the best advice as he intervened amid the Castro tirade to warn that negative brawling reminds viewers of "what they cannot stand about Washington" and makes them tune out debates as "unwatchable." ❖

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

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

Why people prefer democracy

By **LEE HAMILTON**

BLOOMINGTON – A wave of protests is roiling Moscow. Millions of people, young and old, have been crowding the streets in Hong Kong. In Britain, members of the Conservative Party took to open revolt over Prime Minister Boris Johnson's move to sideline Parliament on Brexit.



If democracy is dysfunctional and on the ropes worldwide, as many voices currently insist, you'd have a hard time making the case from these headlines.

In fact, at a time of concern and, in many quarters, cynicism about democracy and its prospects, they remind us of a basic truth: People want a say in how they're governed. As Winston Churchill put it back in 1944, "At the bottom of all the tributes paid

to democracy is the little man, walking into the little booth, with a little pencil, making a little cross on a little bit of paper – no amount of rhetoric or voluminous discussion can possibly diminish the overwhelming importance of that point."

To be sure, "democracy" is hard to define. The UN says that democracies are where "the will of the people is the source of legitimacy of sovereign states," but that's a broad definition. Our representative democracy, the various parliamentary democracies, the town meeting democracy of New England – these are all forms of democracy. What they have in common are mechanisms for the people to express their will; characteristics such as free speech, the ability to associate freely, fair and free elections, and universal suffrage; and such values as equality before the law, political responsiveness, transparency, and accountability.

I'd argue there's one other characteristic you also find in the world's democracies: People prefer living in them. And when they don't feel the popular will can find expression, at some point conditions ripen to the point where, as in Russia and Hong Kong, they take to the streets.

Why is this? What do people value about living in a democratic system? Most of us who support democracy would argue that its key characteristics – openness, accountability, transparency, media freedom, responsiveness – actually improve the nation's overall well-being. On the whole, democratic nations have stronger economies. They tend to be less corrupt, because free and fair elections and their systems' checks and balances impose accountability on their leaders. They make it possible for citizens to know where they stand, because the rules of the road are set

up to apply to everyone. At their core, they recognize the value and dignity of each individual.

There are clearly signs of stress in the world's democracies. A Pew Poll last year found sometimes marked increases in dissatisfaction with how democracy is working in such countries as Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, Canada, and the U.S. It was a warning sign that all is not well.

Even in the best of times, democracies are imperfect. They too often wallow in political stagnation or gridlock. Issues that need resolution get batted back and forth for years, and even when they're addressed, the remedies fall short. It's far easier for opponents of a given approach to block it than for its proponents to enact it. Elections may give the people a voice, but they also serve as a de facto horizon, inclining political leaders to short-term fixes rather than investing in people, infrastructure, or other long-term goals. And far too often, the voices of those with resources are louder in the halls of power than those of people who lack money or access.

Yet even people who complain about their governments or their representatives rarely argue that they need a different system. That Pew survey I cited above measured unhappiness with how democracies are functioning, not with democracy itself. Most citizens of democracies believe that their countries are wealthier, less corrupt, more resilient, and more responsive than the alternatives, and that their deficiencies are correctable. They count themselves happier, healthier, and freer than they would be in any alternative.

This is why in the end, the discussion in the world's traditional democracies is about how to make them stronger. It's about fear of slipping into autocracy, not about the desire for autocracy. Among those who understand what it is like to live in a free society, democracy remains the system of choice. ❖

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Is RV industry a bellwether?

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS — Newspapers and television news have pointed to declines in the shipments of recreational vehicles as a warning signal of a forthcoming national recession.

It's true that nationally RV shipments are down. They have been declining, compared to the same month a year earlier, each month from August 2018 through July of this year.



For the year as a whole, shipments in 2018 were 4.1% below 2017. However, 2017 was a bonanza year for the industry, shipping 504,600 units, up 17.2% from 2016. Yet that does not tell the story well; in March 2018 alone, shipments reached 50,600 units, a vertigo height for RVs.

That strength started to weaken in May 2018 and went into a full slide as the year progressed. By December 2018, the month-over-same-month figures were down by 21.7%. The New Year saw no improvement. Whereas March 2018 shipments topped 50,000, that same month in 2019 found monthly shipments down below 40,000. Through July, seven months into 2019, shipments were off 63,500 units or 20.6%.

The **Wall Street Journal** and the business TV shows were calling around to hear "experts" discuss the likelihood of a recession. They believed, "As goes Elkhart County, so goes the nation."

National Public Radio got on the story and local Indiana journalists wished they had saved the Rolodex cards

left by their predecessors. "All this has happened before," they told readers and listeners. "There were three years in a row, 2007, '08 and '09, when RV shipments fell by a total



of 225,000 units or 42%, followed by the Great Recession of 2008-09."

Yes, they had their facts, or did they? The

three consecutive years (1989-91) of falling RV shipments did not foreshadow a recession, although the economy did sniffle. Over the 37 years for which the Recreational Vehicle Industry Association (RVIA) carries shipment data on its website, the industry recorded declines in 11 years. During the same period, Gross Domestic Product (GDP), adjusted for inflation, fell only four times.

Are we headed for a recession now? Not on the basis of RV shipments alone. It would be nice to have a reliable forecasting canary. But no canary and no RV shipments have ever caused a disaster. At best they tell us to take note of all those other factors, economic, political, and environmental which are better indicators of where we are going.

As for forecasting the RV industry, we might learn something from the retail value of shipments data on the RVIA web site. Adjusted for price changes, the average RV in 2018 sold for \$38,449, an 18% drop from the peak of \$47,054 in 2004. Should Hoosiers be concerned about this decline in the value of our "bellwether" industry? ❖

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Ross Douthat, New York Times: Pete Buttigieg, the mayor of South Bend, Ind., has made his Christian piety a minor theme of his presidential campaign — quoting Proverbs on the debate stage to critique Republican opposition to a minimum-wage increase, attacking conservative evangelicals over their “porn star presidency” and un-biblical approach to refugees, urging his party to court religious voters and take religion more seriously. Buttigiegian integralism does not include, so far as I can tell, support for any policy that deviates from the progressive catechism; like certain fervent Republicans of the religious right, he appears to believe that God’s will has finally been perfectly instantiated in the platform of a single political party 2,000 years after the birth of Christ. But because Buttigieg is a smart guy — a Rhodes scholar, even — I assumed that his religious politics at least included some kind of intelligent-sounding explanation for his position on abortion, his support for his party’s absolutely-no-restrictions line. Meanwhile, as a kind of grimly ironic accompaniment to his scriptural musings, Buttigieg’s hometown, South Bend, has just discovered that its longtime abortion provider, the late Dr. Ulrich Klopfer, kept a substantial collection of fetal remains on his property: 2,246 “products of conception,” to be exact, carefully preserved. The version of pro-choice politics that has been generally successful in this country allows Americans to support abortion rights within limits, while still regarding figures like Dr. Klopfer as murderous or monstrous. But the more maximalist and mystical your claims about when personhood begins (or doesn’t), the more strained that distinction gets. The unapologetic grisliness of a Klopfer, or a Kermit Gosnell before him, haunts a Buttigiegian abortion politics more than it does a “safe, legal, rare” triangulation, because it establishes the most visceral of contrasts — between the mysticism required to believe that the right to life begins at birth and the cold and obvious reality that what our laws call a nonperson can still become a corpse. ❖



Michael Hicks, Howey Politics Indiana: The Federal Reserve held their regularly scheduled meeting this week. As is always the case, they consider whether to increase or decrease the supply of money in circulation. This decision potentially affects inflation and nominal economic growth. Whatever the choice they will face criticism, so it is helpful to understand what, why and how they might take action. The Federal Reserve was created in 1913 for a variety of reasons; none of which explicitly involve what we now call monetary policy. It wasn’t until the end of the Great Recession when economists began to consider how Fed actions might influence economic activity. But, it wasn’t until the 1960s that our current appreciation for the power of changing the money supply became well understood. Since then, our standard of living has more than tripled and the volatility of recessions dramatically lessened. This suggests more than passing benefits to monetary pol-

icy as it is now practiced. In 1947, Congress directed the Federal Reserve to keep both unemployment and inflation low. This is their dual mandate. Anyone with a semester of high school economics under their belt should immediately understand that these goals are in tension. Typically, low unemployment accompanies high inflation, while low inflation accompanies high unemployment. This requires monetary policy to make some informed judgements about appropriate action. As in any organization that employs a few hundred economists, this informed judgement involves an equation. In recent years, the Fed appears to have used a version of the Taylor Rule to set short-term interest rates. These short-term interest rates are the most visible mechanism for influencing the money supply, so applying a clear formula to setting them reduces uncertainty about future rate changes. The Taylor rule is relatively simple. Translated into prose, it would suggest that interest rates should have two components. The first component would be set at some normal level, such as the inflation rate plus the inflation-adjusted historical interest rate. The second component accounts for the GDP and inflation gaps, or how much or little GDP growth and inflation are relative to where we should expect them to be. This is an easy equation, but it requires considerable effort to determine what the gaps in GDP and inflation might be, and there is rarely precise agreement on these estimates. Complicating the work of the Fed is the unavoidable fact that the newest data is never the most accurate. The most fundamental data points, such as the number of working adults, is subject to revision at least 18 months after the first estimates are delivered. The Fed does not enjoy the leisure to wait 18 months to slow inflation or boost a lagging economy. Of course, there are more tools available to alter the money supply than simply adjusting short-term borrowing rates. The Fed can buy or sell US bonds on the open market, which increases or decreases the supply of money in circulation. ❖

Kelly Hawes, CNHI: Memo to President Donald J. Trump: No political party has a monopoly on faith. Our president seemed to suggest during a rally in North Carolina that Democrats aren’t much interested in religion. “The other side, I don’t think they’re big believers,” he said. “They’re not big believers in religion, that I can tell you.” Was he talking about Democrats in general? Or just those currently running for president? Like many of his divisive comments, the president’s meaning was somewhat ambiguous. “You listen to some of them,” he went on to say. “They’re trying. They’re trying to put out little statements. They’re not working too well.” The fact is religion plays a key role in the lives of Americans across the political spectrum. According to the Pew Research Center’s Religious Landscape Study, more than 70% of Democrats say religion is important or somewhat important. Half say they pray at least once a day. ❖

Trump triggered DNI whistleblower

WASHINGTON – The whistleblower complaint that has triggered a tense showdown between the U.S. intelligence community and Congress involves President Trump’s communications with a foreign leader, according to two former U.S. officials familiar with the matter ([Washington Post](#)). Trump’s interaction with the foreign leader included a “promise” that was regarded as so troubling that it prompted an official in the U.S. intelligence community to file a formal whistleblower complaint with the inspector general for the intelligence community, said the former officials, speaking on the condition of anonymity because they were not authorized to discuss the matter publicly. It was not immediately clear which foreign leader Trump was speaking with or what he pledged to deliver, but his direct involvement in the matter has not been previously disclosed.

It raises new questions about the president’s handling of sensitive information and may further strain his relationship with U.S. spy agencies. One former official said the communication was a phone call. Intelligence Community Inspector General Michael Atkinson determined that the complaint was credible and troubling enough to be considered a matter of “urgent concern,” a legal threshold that ordinarily requires notification of congressional oversight committees. But acting director of national intelligence Joseph Maguire has refused to share details about Trump’s alleged transgression with lawmakers, touching off a legal and political dispute that has spilled into public and prompted speculation that the spy chief is improperly protecting the president. Maguire has agreed to testify before the committee next week, according to a statement by Schiff. He declined to comment for this story. The inspector general “determined that this complaint is



both credible and urgent,” Schiff said in the statement released Wednesday evening. “The committee places the highest importance on the protection of whistleblowers and their complaints to Congress.” White House records indicate that Trump had had conversations or interactions with at least five foreign leaders in the preceding five weeks. Among them was a call with Russian President Vladimir Putin that the White House initiated on July 31. Trump also received at least two letters from North Korean leader Kim Jong Un during the summer, describing them as “beautiful” messages.

Hill backs Purdue Pharma deal

INDIANAPOLIS — Indiana’s attorney general says he is supporting the tentative multibillion-dollar settlement with OxyContin maker Purdue Pharma because it would get money flowing to help deal with the deadly national opioid crisis ([AP](#)). The statement from Attorney General Curtis Hill released Wednesday is his first about the deal since it was announced a week ago. Connecticut-based Purdue Pharma has since filed for bankruptcy in its plan to settle thousands of lawsuits against it and the Sackler family, which owns the company. Hill says the Sacklers are held directly accountable for their role by being required to pay \$3 billion under the deal. Hill says the alternative to the deal “is protracted litigation with an uncertain future.” Two dozen state attorneys general oppose the deal, decrying it as woefully inadequate.

Feds cut rates for second time

WASHINGTON — The Federal Reserve further cut interest rates Wednesday as it tries to extend the U.S. economic expansion in the face of President Donald Trump’s trade war with China and geopolitical risks such as the attacks on Saudi Arabia’s oil facilities. The Fed trimmed

rates modestly to a range between 1.75% and 2% ([CBS News](#)). It was its second rate cut this year, after the central bank cut rates July 30 for the first time in a decade. In announcing the cut, the Fed cited lower business investments and exports, as well as persistently low inflation that suggests more economic sluggishness than the central bank wants. Fed Chairman Jerome Powell also said Wednesday that the Fed could cut rates even further if the trade war were to escalate and drag down growth.

McDermott asks about HS threat

HAMMOND — A week after Hammond High School went on lockdown following reports of a teen threatening to “shoot up” the school, the city’s mayor sent a letter to the Lake County prosecutor’s office requesting the juvenile responsible should be tried in adult court ([Ortiz, NWI Times](#)). On Monday, a 17-year-old female Hammond High School student was charged with intimidation, a level 6 felony, said Bradley Carter, spokesman for the Lake County prosecutor’s office. Due to her age, she remains unnamed. Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr. said he was told the teen was released after 24 hours at Lake County Juvenile Detention. “How can you let someone go who makes a domestic terrorism threat in 24 hours?” McDermott said.

Bolton slams Trump at luncheon

WASHINGTON — John Bolton, President Donald Trump’s fired national security adviser, harshly criticized Trump’s foreign policy on Wednesday at a private lunch, saying that inviting the Taliban to Camp David sent a “terrible signal” and that it was “disrespectful” to the victims of 9/11 because the Taliban had harbored al Qaeda ([Politico](#)). Bolton also said that any negotiations with North Korea and Iran were “doomed to failure,” according to two attendees.