

Sec. Lawson: 'No evidence' of fraud

Secretary of state says her colleagues across America will uphold integrity of election

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – An edgy America has been warned by its president that the coming election will be “rigged” and “fraudulent.” U.S. intelligence and congressional sources say that nefarious foreign sources are seeking a redux of the 2016 interference. And there has been widespread media speculation that a winner in the presidential race may not be known for days, or even weeks after the Nov. 3 election.

Indiana Secretary of State Connie Lawson tells Howey Politics Indiana that she has confidence in the process, both in Indiana and nationally. She said in response to written questions from HPI that foreign actors have “scanned” the state’s election systems but likened it to a “burglar rattling doorknobs.”



Continued on page 4

Trump & the Big Ten

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Big Ten football made a stunning comeback on Wednesday. It announced it would revive its postponed season on Oct. 23-24.

But the crowds won't go crazy. The pandemic will keep stadiums mostly empty.

This coincides with the University of Washington's Health Metrics projected spike in COVID infections in Indiana beginning in late October. If Gov. Eric Holcomb's mask mandates are discontinued or widely ignored (and there is ample evidence of this around the state), the projections are for increased deaths and hospital resource use that will surpass those of late April and early May during what was thought to be the



“It’s almost a book in itself. This was a man who was a senator from Indiana. He was offered this job from Mike Pence and felt he could not say no. He went in with these Republican values and was stunned, shocked and in a way just ground down.”

- Bob Woodward, on Dan Coats.



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Jack E. Howey
 editor emeritus
 1926-2019



first wave of the pandemic.

If there is a clear winner in this beyond the highly ranked Ohio State Buckeyes, it is President Trump, who called Big Ten Commissioner Kevin Warren two weeks ago, urging him to reconsider the decision to postpone the season until the winter or spring of 2021. Through the prism of Trump's shaky reelection bid, anything resembling a return to normal is to his advantage.

Trump tweeted Wednesday morning: "Great News: BIG TEN FOOTBALL IS BACK. All teams to participate. Thank you to the players, coaches, parents, and all school representatives. Have a FANTASTIC SEASON! It is my great honor to have helped!!!"

And his campaign manager, Bill Stephien, said, "This is huge news, not just for college football fans, but for all Americans looking for key indicators that we can reopen our society and our economy, and do so safely. President Trump has been publicly advocating for the Big Ten and other conferences to return to the field, directly engaging with the conference and Commissioner Warren, and it's a triumph to see the unanimous vote of the member schools to begin the football schedule next month. Important in their decision were the vast progress in same-day coronavirus testing capabilities and improvements in general public health, proving that the President's unprecedented response to a public health crisis is working."

ABC News reported the White House offered the Big Ten with enough COVID-19 tests for play to begin. The conference chose a private company.

Polls have shown Trump trailing in key Big Ten states – Wisconsin, Michigan and Pennsylvania, while he holds a narrow lead in Ohio. Former Indiana Republican legislator Mike Murphy tweeted, "All those liberal university presidents may have just guaranteed Trump's reelection. Ohio,

MN, WI, Mich, PA, all battleground states."

USA Today columnist Christine Brennan observed, "Just as the Big Ten was looking smarter by the day as COVID-19 outbreaks popped up at Michigan State, Wisconsin and Maryland while other conferences playing football announced COVID-related postponements and soaring cases, the league's presidents reversed themselves and decided to steer their schools and their football programs right into the teeth of what are predicted to be some of the worst days of the pandemic in October and November."

Nebraska had a 16.3% positivity rate. Pennsylvania Gov. Tom Wolf ordered lockdown at Penn State University. Illinois has had a COVID outbreak of 784 positives; Iowa had more than 1,800 infections. Purdue has quarantined 30 student housing units and IU has quarantined 33



Greek houses, with the university suggesting those students find alternative housing.

Last weekend, the Virginia-Virginia Tech game in the ACC was postponed due to a COVID outbreak. Defending national champion LSU head coach Ed Orgeron said on Tuesday, "Not all of our players but most of our players have caught it. I think that hopefully they won't catch it again, and hopefully they're not out for games."

There have been campus COVID outbreaks at North Carolina, North Carolina State, Texas Tech, and Alabama.

But not many deaths.

Thus, file the Big Ten decision under the topic of "Learning to Live with COVID." As I've stated

before, the virus has impacted less than 1% of the population and has killed just a fraction of those.

As this pandemic stretches beyond its six-month public threshold, the incongruent spectacle was that the Colts in the NFL are playing, as are Hoosier high schools, while Purdue and IU have been idled.

IU coach Tom Allen acknowledged the elephant on the table, which is recruiting against the three power conferences that decided to forge ahead. "That's a big concern," Allen said. "As it stands right now, those three conferences are playing and we're not."

What won't occur this fall is a return to business as normal at Bloomington, West Lafayette, East Lansing, Madison, Ann Arbor, etc. There will not be stadiums filled to the brim. Each lost home game crowd represents a loss of \$5 million to \$10 million in local revenue.

According to the Big Ten press release, the conference voted to adopt medical and testing protocols when making decisions going forward on practice and competition for the football programs, which fund a majority of the non-revenue sports that, apparently, will remain sidelined.

"Everyone associated with the Big Ten should be very proud of the groundbreaking steps that are now being taken to better protect the health and safety of the student-athletes and surrounding communities," said Dr. Jim Borchers, head team physician at Ohio State. "The data we are going to collect from testing and the cardiac registry will provide major contributions for all 14 Big Ten institutions as they study COVID-19 and attempt to mitigate the spread of the disease among wider communities."

All 14 universities will designate a "chief infection officer" who will oversee the collection and reporting of data for the Big Ten Conference. Any student-athlete who tests positive for COVID-19 will have to undergo extensive testing and must wait 21 days before returning to games.

"From the onset of the pandemic, our highest priority has been the health and the safety of our students. The new medical protocols and standards put into place by the Big Ten Return To Competition Task Force were pivotal in the decision to move forward with sports in the conference," said Morton Schapiro, chair of the Big Ten Council of Presidents/Chancellors and Northwestern University president. "We appreciate the conference's dedication to developing the necessary safety procedures for our students and the communities that embrace them."

All of this comes as America grapples with a pandemic over which it has lost control.

During an ABC News town hall with undecided voters Tuesday night, President Trump may have revealed the obvious: He is opting for a herd immunity concept,

which could kill hundreds of thousands more Americans.

"Yeah, well, I didn't downplay it," he said a week after audio of his interview with author Bob Woodward revealed that he understood the gravity of the pandemic, but opted not to "panic" the public.

"I actually, in many ways, I up-played it, in terms of action. My action was very strong," Trump said. "It is going to disappear. It's going to go away. Like a herd mentality, it's going to be herd developed."

Asked by an undecided Pennsylvania female voter why he didn't mandate masks, Trump responded, "There are a lot of people think that masks are not good."

Town hall moderator George Stephanopolous interjected, "Who are those people?" Trump responded, "I'll tell you who those people are – waiters. They come over and they serve you, and they have a mask. And I saw it the other day where they were serving me, and they're playing with the mask ... I'm not blaming them ... I'm just saying

what happens. They're playing with the mask, so the mask is over, and they're touching it, and then they're touching the plate. That can't be good."

On the same morning that the Big Ten reversed its football decision, CDC Director Robert Redfield told a congressional committee that masks are effective. "We

have clear scientific evidence they work," Dr. Redfield said. "I might even go so far as to say that this face mask is more guaranteed to protect me against COVID than when I take a COVID vaccine, because the immunogenicity may be 70% and if I don't get an immune response, the vaccine's not going to protect me, this face mask will."

Last weekend, President Trump held rallies in Nevada and Arizona where masks and social distancing were largely ignored. "These face masks are the most important, powerful public health tool we have, and I will continue to appeal for all Americans to embrace these face coverings, if we did it for 6, 8, 10, 12 weeks we'd bring this pandemic under control," Redfield said.

Trump at a White House press briefing said Dr. Redfield was wrong when he said that masks are "more guaranteed" to protect against the coronavirus than a vaccine: "As far as the masks are concerned, he made a mistake." He also called Redfield "confused" when it came to the timing of a potential vaccine availability.

The irony is that if Trump had followed his own administration's protocols beginning last April and extending into the summer, the Big Ten's decision to play football this fall would have been more of an end zone spike than the arduous and controversial sequence it has just endured, and his own reelection prospects would have been much better today. ❖



Lawson, from page 1

Lawson says there is “no evidence” of any widespread voting fraud and says that the state’s long-time absentee voting system remains “safe and secure.”

As for when Hoosiers and Americans will learn who won on Nov. 3, she said that counties can begin to count absentee ballots at noon on Election Day. “My colleagues and I across the nation know just how important it is for Americans to have faith in the electoral process,” Lawson said. “We know there may be some uncertainty on Election Night as we wait for results. We will work together to reassure America that the delay is the result of a change in process and the outcome will reflect the will of American voters.”

Or as former Director of National Intelligence Dan Coats writes in a [New York Times](#) op-ed this morning, “The most urgent task American leaders face is to ensure that the election’s results are accepted as legitimate. Electoral legitimacy is the essential linchpin of our entire political culture.”

Last week, the Poynter Institute for Media Studies conducted seminars on what it described as potentially “The Weirdest Election Night Ever.”

Julie Pace, Washington bureau chief for the Associated Press, noted that the wire service has been conducting ballot counting and calling races since 1848 with the introduction of telegraph. She said the AP will be deploying 3,000 people to gather results, monitor swing counties, and conduct exit result polling that will include monitoring early and mail-in voters.

“We have a massive team of stringers who will be in touch with county election officials,” Pace said. “If it’s going to be close in these battleground states, it will be slower,” she said of the tabulation process. “With mail-in voters, it will be slower. A slow count doesn’t mean that something has gone wrong. We really need to make our readers aware, explaining now that slow count does not mean fraud.”

Asked about the perception divide between Fox News and CNN, Pace said that “AP is working with Fox as well, using the same data. My expectation is Election Night is going to look the same on Fox as it will on other channels.”

But Cook Political Report national editor Amy Walter said that “conspiracy theories on social media” will convince some to “believe there is something going on. It does not help that the president of the United States is continually questioning the process.”

Drew McCoy, president of Decision Desk HQ, an

election results and data collection and reporting service, said, “When you see lead changes, it’s not like a footrace. The votes are there. The count and lead change ... is just an artifact of the order of counting. I would really like to get away from lead change. The winner is there, we’re just discovering it. It may take longer, but it’s not nefarious.”

FiveThirtyEight election analyst Geoffrey Skelley explained, “One of the great challenges is we’re not going to have data as quickly. We need data to make judgments. With less data on Election Night, we’ll have to be careful. It’s very possible that Trump will lead all or most of battleground states on election night. That doesn’t mean he will win them.”

Joe Lenski is co-founder and executive vice president of Edison Research, which under his supervision currently conducts all exit polls for the major news organizations comprising the National Election Pool (NEP) – ABC,



AP’s Julie Pace, FiveThirtyEight’s Geoffrey Skelley, Decision Desk’s Drew McCoy, and Amy Walter of the Cook Political Report discuss “The Weirdest Election Night Ever” coming up.

CBS, CNN, and NBC. “We’ve had more changes this year than over the last 32 years combined,” Lenski said. “We have implemented safety precautions.”

Lenski pointed to Florida and North Carolina as swing states “that process large numbers of votes. If you see a clear trend in those two states, we may know on Election Night. If it’s close, it may take days if not weeks.”

He pointed to the primary in New York CD27 in last summer’s special election. On Election Night, the Republican was leading by 31%. When the vote-by-mail was counted, the Republican won by 5%. “We are seeing a partisan divide in how people vote more than ever before,” Lenski said. “More Biden voters are voting by mail and more Trump voters on Election Day.”

“We’re not going to see a systemwide meltdown,” Lenski added, “but there are certain states or a certain county in a key state that may struggle. Where it falls down ... that will cast a spotlight in that location.”

When will voters likely know the presidential race winner?

McCoy said, “It’s unlikely on Election Night, but probably sometime Wednesday.” Lenski again pointed to

Florida and North Carolina as early bellwethers, but added that if Biden is leading Florida by 7% to 8%, we'll likely know the winner earlier than if the Democrat is up by 2%.

Walter suggests the results will be known "by the weekend," though she expressed concern about the expected late counting of votes in Pennsylvania. Skelley suggested the results will take "a few days" before we know whether Trump or Biden won.

Secretary Lawson told HPI, "It's hard to give an exact time. It will come down to how long it takes for counties to count absentee ballots." She expects that results from Indianapolis won't be known on Election Day, but expects the other 91 counties will be able to finish on Nov. 3.

Here is our HPI Interview with Sec. Lawson:

HPI: President Trump has repeatedly said (as recently as Sunday night in Nevada) that this will be a "rigged" and "fraudulent" election. What is your assessment?

Lawson: We have seen no evidence to support this.

HPI: The Presidential Commission on Election Integrity existed for almost a year between 2017 and 2018. Did it uncover any evidence of election fraud?

Lawson: The commission met twice. The first meeting was introductory and the second was to learn about MS-ISAC, the multi-state information sharing program. To my knowledge, that is the extent of the work done.

HPI: There have been media reports that Russia, China and Iran are attempting to influence the U.S. election. Have any nefarious entities tried and/or succeeded in accessing any element – state or local – in the Indiana election system?

Lawson: The influence campaigns are focused on changing opinions via social media. We do know that our statewide voter registration system (SVRS) is scanned on a regular basis. This is the equivalent of a burglar rattling door knobs to see if a door is open. We have intrusion detection systems in place to protect SVRS at the state and county level. We are really proud of our work to provide every county in the state with an intrusion protection system that protects not only elections but the entire county. And as you know, voting machines are not connected to the internet.

HPI: Are you confident in the integrity of Indiana's absentee ballot system? If so, why?

Lawson: Yes, Indiana has offered voters absentee voting in person and by mail for many years. Our system is safe and secure. We have checks and balances in place. For in-person absentee voting, often referred to as

early voting, voters must show a photo ID. For absentee by-mail, there are bipartisan teams that review the signatures. If there is a discrepancy in signature, the voter is contacted and given the opportunity correct the issue.

HPI: Are you confident the United States Postal Service has the capacity to handle the increase in use of vote by mail?

Lawson: I am, but I encourage Hoosiers who want to vote by mail to apply for a ballot today and to return their ballot to the county right away. Don't delay.

HPI: You mentioned at Gov. Holcomb's weekly briefing a few weeks ago that up to 1.8 million Hoosiers are expected to vote absentee. What impact will that volume have on the process?

Lawson: Many counties are getting additional absentee teams to process the increased volume. The increased volume may delay when we get election results.

HPI: When do you expect absentee ballots to be counted, after the polls close?

Lawson: Counties can begin counting absentee ballots at noon on Election Day. I expect that many will begin counting right at noon.

HPI: When do you expect final results to be announced in Indiana?

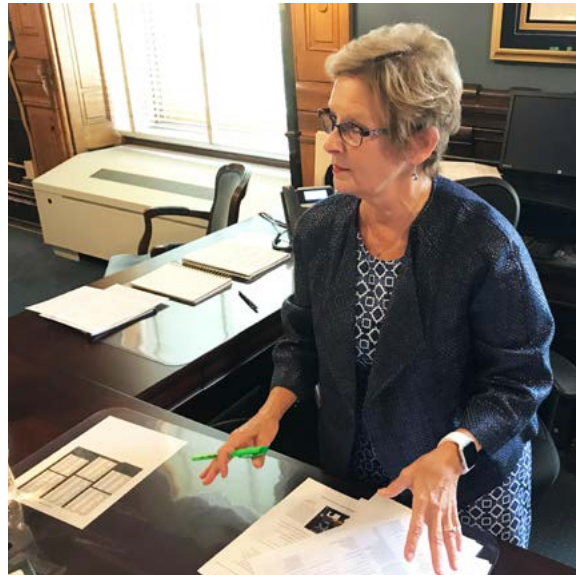
Lawson: It's hard to give an exact time. It will come down to how long it takes for counties to count absentee ballots. I don't expect Marion County to be done on Election Day. However, I am optimistic that a majority of the other counties will be able to get their absentees counted.

HPI: Are there any county election systems that are causing you concern, as Marion County did during the primary?

Lawson: I think county clerks are doing their best to be as prepared as possible for Election Day and really election month. The county clerks are some of the hardest working people in government and I have the utmost faith in their ability to carry out smooth elections statewide.

HPI: Election and media experts are saying it could be days or weeks before Americans know who won the presidential race. What role will you and other state election officials play to uphold the integrity in the election process?

Lawson: My colleagues and I across the nation know just how important it is for Americans to have faith in the electoral process. We know there may be some uncertainty on Election Night as we wait for results. We will work together to reassure America that the delay is the result of a change in process and the outcome will reflect the will of American voters. ❖



AG race eclipses governors in funding

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Unlike every cycle in modern Indiana election history, the attorney general race is generating more late money flow than the race for governor. Since Democrat Jonathan Weinzapfel and Republican Todd Rokita secured their party attorney general nominations, about a half million dollars has been spilling into this race, with Rokita holding about a 4-to-1 advantage.



Democrats and unions appear to be investing in Weinzapfel as opposed to gubernatorial nominee Woody Myers. His campaign has not reported any supplemental donations since mid-July. While the campaign told Howey Politics Indiana it was spending on its digital campaign, the Indianapolis Business Journal reported that the Myers campaign has spent \$750 on Facebook.

Rokita received \$405,000 from the Republican Attorney General Action Fund between July 13 and Aug. 27, when \$250,000 was reported. In addition, Rokita has posted \$59,500 from nine donors, the biggest \$15,000 from the Fund for American Exceptionalism. Giving \$10,000 each were Robert Koch, Pike Plaza Properties, Kelley Automotive Group, Anthony Alderson, and Dr. Anil Diwan.

Weinzapfel received \$30,000 from the Indiana State Teachers Association's IPACE on Sept. 8, after the teachers' PAC declined to endorse or invest in the Myers campaign earlier this summer. The Democrat received \$45,116 in in-kind voter communications from the Democratic Attorney General Association between July 29 and Sept. 1.

The Democrat received \$50,000 from the Indiana Laborers District Council PAC, \$25,000 from the Boilermakers Local 374, \$10,000 from the IBEW PAC Voluntary Fund, \$10,000 from DRIVE Committee and \$10,000 from Alice Schloss.

The Eric Holcomb for Indiana Committee reported \$593,814 since July 27. That includes \$100,000 from the Republican Governors Association Right Direction PAC; \$50,000 from both Faegre Drinker Biddle & Reath and Indiana Pacers owner Herb Simon; \$20,000 from both Bruce Leetz and Kelley Automotive Group of Fort Wayne;

\$25,000 from the NE Indiana PAC for Better Government; and \$10,000 from both the Marathon Petroleum Corp Employees and the General Motors PAC.

In addition, Holcomb received \$178,278 from Team Holcomb JFC (Joint Fundraising Committee), and \$130,536 from Team Holcomb PAC. The former raises funds under state regulations; the latter under federal guidelines.

The Libertarian nominee, Donald Rainwater, posted \$10,819 in contributions in his mid-year report, had \$4,574 in expenditures, and had \$6,245 cash on hand. He has reported no supplemental donations since his mid-year report.

A poll posted by IndyPolitics had Holcomb leading Myers 36-30%, with Rainwater drawing 24%. There is little evidence that this is a credible poll. However, a Republicans for Rainwater Facebook page reveals 8,237 members as of Tuesday afternoon.

The Facebook page explains: "This group is for Hoosier Republicans to engage and coordinate to elect Donald Rainwater as Governor of Indiana. We know that RINO Eric Holcomb needs to go! He has proven over and over again that he is not a Conservative, and he certainly doesn't care about the Constitution! Republicans have resisted voting for a Libertarian due to a fear of "splitting the vote." Not this year! Republicans UNITE to vote in a real conservative – Donald Rainwater! This November, let's make sure that The Donald stays in the White House and another Donald takes up the Indiana Gubernatorial Seat!!! RINO REMOVER REPUBLICANS VOTE RAINWATER!"

Holcomb begins new ad

Gov. Holcomb's reelection campaign began a new TV ad this week, emphasizing more than \$50 million spent on broadband expansion with Next Level funding. "Connecting communities, connecting people," Holcomb says in the ad's voiceover. It is part of

the "seven figure" buy the Holcomb campaign described to HPI last week.

Biden endorses Myers

Myers received the endorsement of Democratic presidential nominee Joe Biden on Wednesday. "Throughout his career, Dr. Woody Myers has fought to expand access to high-quality, affordable health care for all Hoosiers," Biden said. "Dr. Myers has served under both Democratic and Republican administrations to make life better for working families. I am proud to endorse Dr. Myers and look forward to working with him to continue the fight to expand access to health care, improve Indiana's public schools, and create good paying jobs for all Hoosiers." Myers reacted, saying, "President Trump has failed



America and Joe Biden is the only option to restore economic prosperity and put each Hoosier on a path to wellness. Linda Lawson and I look forward to working with him to get out the vote in Indiana to elect Democrats up and down the ballot.”
Horse Race Status: Safe Holcomb.

Statewides

**Attorney General:
McCormick endorses
Weinzapfel**

The Republican state schools chief is crossing party lines to endorse the Democratic candidate for Indiana attorney general (Carden, NWI Times). Supt. Jennifer McCormick, announced Thursday she’s backing former Evansville Mayor Jonathan Weinzapfel over Republican former U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita, a Munster native, in the Nov. 3 election for attorney general. “This isn’t about politics,” McCormick said. “This is about who has the experience, the integrity and the vision to best represent all Hoosiers, especially our children. Jonathan has a well-earned reputation for bipartisan problem solving, for listening and for making a real difference in every job he’s had. That’s why I am supporting him and that’s why I am calling all Republicans to join me in supporting him.”

**State Police Alliance
endorses Rokita**

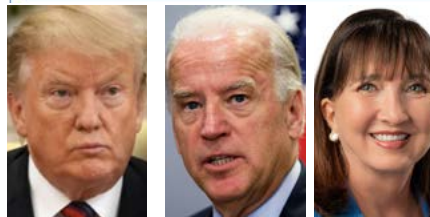
The bipartisan Indiana State Police Alliance, representing Indiana’s state troopers, today officially endorsed Todd Rokita for attorney general. “We are honored to bring forward an endorsement of Todd Rokita for Indiana’s attorney general,” stated Cory Martin, executive director of the Indiana State Police Alliance, “Mr. Rokita stands to protect Hoosiers from crime, fight lawlessness in our streets, and uphold our constitutional rights. It is because of his tremendous support and dedication that our board of



HOWEY
POLITICS INDIANA



President (U.S. & Indiana)



**President Donald Trump (R),
Joseph Biden (D), Jo Jorgensen (L)**

HPI Horse Race:
National: Leans D; Last week: Leans D
Indiana: Safe R; Last week: Safe R

Indiana Governor



**Gov. Eric Holcomb (R), Woody
Myers (D), Donald Rainwater (L)**

HPI Horse Race:
This week: Safe R
Last week: Safe R

Indiana Attorney General



**Todd Rokita (R)
Jonathan Weinzapfel (D)**

HPI Horse Race
This week: Leans R
Last week: Leans R

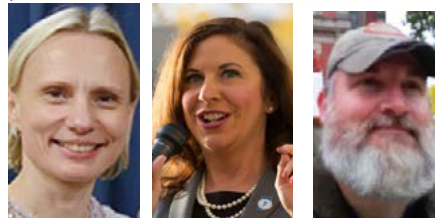
Congressional 2nd



**U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski (R)
Pat Hackett (D)**

HPI Horse Race
This week: Likely R
Last week: Likely R

Congressional 5th



**Victoria Spartz (R), Christina
Hale (D), Kenneth Tucker (L)**

HPI Horse Race
This Week: Tossup
Last week: Tossup

Congressional 9th



**U.S. Rep. Trey Hollingsworth (R)
Andy Ruff (D)**

HPI Horse Race
This week: Likely R
Last week: Likely R

directors unanimously voted to endorse Mr. Rokita.” **Horse Race Status:** Leans Rokita.

Congress

5th CD: New Spartz ad on health care

After a week of the Women Voter PAC running ads portraying Republican Victoria Spartz as in the thrall of health care lobbyists, and the Christina Hale campaign airing TV ads on her work on the topic in the Indiana General Assembly, the Republican campaign began airing its second ad titled “All of Us” to the Indianapolis media market on Wednesday.

“Growing up in a socialist country, I have experienced the failings of government controlled healthcare first hand,” Spartz says in the ad. “My father died at 41. As a small business owner, I understand what it’s like to struggle to find affordable health insurance. That’s why I worked to reduce health care costs and Governor Holcomb and I guaranteed protections for Hoosiers with preexisting conditions.”

Campaign manager Catherine Seat explained, “Victoria Spartz knows that quality health care is a personal for all of us. In the State Senate, that’s why she worked with Governor Holcomb to protect Hoosiers with pre-existing conditions, and worked on reforms to increase transparency, stop surprise billing and lower health care costs. Christina Hale is just another phony politician peddling empty promises. Hale supported policies that caused healthcare prices to skyrocket and created bigger health care monopolies. In Congress, she will mindlessly push the button for Pelosi’s complete government healthcare takeover,” Seat added. This ad is again part of a buy on Indianapolis broadcast and digital platforms.

Campaigns spar over TV ads

The Victoria Spartz for Congress campaign released a “fact check” responding to Hale’s new “deceptive” ads: “FACT 1: Christina Hale has voted against hundreds of millions in increased funding for K-12 education; in April of 2013, Hale voted against a two-year state budget that included \$190 million for K-12 education. In April 2015, Hale voted against a two-year state budget that increased K-12 funding by about \$460 million, including \$7.5 million more per year to the Department of Child Services to add more than 100 child welfare workers. FACT 2: Hale voted to protect child predators in Indiana schools and voted against harsher punishments for sex offenders. In March 2016,



Indiana General Assembly SD8



Sen. Mike Bohacek (R)
Gary Davis (D)

HPI Horse Race
This week: Tossup
Last week: Tossup

Indiana General Assembly SD30



Sen. John Ruckelshaus (R)
Fady Qaddoura (D)

HPI Horse Race
This week: Tossup
Last week: Tossup

Indiana General Assembly HD5



Rep. Dale Devon (D)
John Westerhausen (R)

HPI Horse Race
This week: Tossup
Last week: Tossup

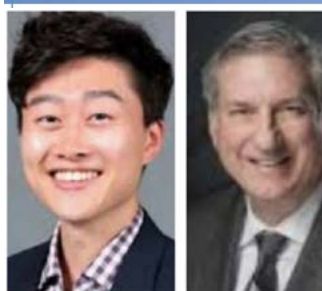
Indiana General Assembly HD7



Rep. Ross Deal (D)
Jake Teshka (R)

HPI Horse Race
This week: Tossup
Last week: Tossup

Indiana General Assembly HD15



Rep. Chris Chyung (D)
Hal Slager (R)

HPI Horse Race
This week: Tossup
Last week: Tossup

Hale voted against a Pence-signed bill that strengthened background checks for teachers. House Bill 1005 requires schools to check child welfare records to determine if a teaching applicant has a verified case of child abuse or neglect against them. In March 2014, Hale was one of only 10 house members who voted against a Pence-signed criminal justice reform bill that strengthened punishments for sex offenders. FACT 3: Hale voted against millions in school safety grants that help keep Indiana schools safe. In 2013, Hale voted against a Pence-signed state budget that created a \$20 million program to provide secured school safety grants."

Hale campaign reacts

Hale's campaign reacted to the Spartz campaign's "fact check." Campaign manager Joann Saridakis told HPI, "Once again, the Spartz campaign is trying to distort Christina's record and mislead voters. Here's the truth: Christina has dedicated her life to fighting for and empowering children, both here in Indiana and across the world. In the General Assembly, she fought hard to provide more funding to public schools and passed bipartisan legislation to protect children from exploitation and sexual assault. Meanwhile, Victoria Spartz authored legislation to deregulate schools and remove teacher training requirements for bullying and child abuse prevention. To make matters worse, she also opposed giving Medicaid reimbursements to Indiana's schools, which would allow them to use federal funding to address mental health and substance abuse issues. And even after the tragic 2018 school shooting in Noblesville, Spartz voted against legislation that would prevent juveniles with felony records from purchasing firearms. When it comes to fighting for Indiana's schools and children, the contrast between these two candidates could not be more clear."

Spartz funded campaign with real estate

Spartz caught the attention of political observers this year when she contributed more than \$1 million to her own congressional campaign. The big question: Where did that money come from? Before this year, Spartz had donated to other candidates and to her own state Senate campaign, but never in such large amounts (Erdody, IBJ). And although she has worked as an accountant in the past, she only claimed earned income of \$71,000 from her work as a legislator last year, according to a financial disclosure form she filed as a candidate for the U.S. House. Instead, it appears clear from that disclosure form and other public records that Spartz and her husband, Jason Spartz, have largely made their money buying, selling, leasing and farming land. In fact, Spartz told IBJ she was able to fund her congressional campaign with money the couple made selling property in the past few years. Initially, they intended to use the money to buy or build a house. But that hasn't happened, so she said she opted instead to invest in her campaign. State and local property



Indiana General Assembly HD19



Rep. Lisa Beck (D)
Julie Olthoff (R)

HPI Horse Race
This week: Tossup
Last week: Tossup

Indiana General Assembly HD35



Rep. Melanie Wright (D)
Elizabeth Rowray (R)

HPI Horse Race
This week: Tossup
Last week: Tossup

Indiana General Assembly HD37



Rep. Todd Huston (R)
Aimee Cole Rivera (D)

HPI Horse Race
This week: Likely R
Last week: Likely R

Indiana General Assembly HD88



Rep. Chris Jeter (R)
Pam Dechert (D)
Open: Brian Bosma

HPI Horse Race
This week: Likely R
Last week: Likely R

Indiana General Assembly HD89



Rep. Cindy Kirchhofer (R)
Mitch Gore (D)

HPI Horse Race
This week: Likely R
Last week: Likely R

records show that Victoria and Jason Spartz have, indeed, seen some successful real estate investments, most recently selling a property for \$5.1 million in Noblesville for a commercial development. They bought the land for less than \$1 million. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

1ST CD: Steelworkers denounce billboards

Billboards have started to spring up around Northwest Indiana from a group called "Steelworkers of NW Indiana" promoting the reelection of President Donald Trump and the election of 1st District Republican Congressional candidate Mark Leyva (Pete, NWI Times). The billboards read "Steelworkers of NW Indiana for Trump 2020 and Mark Leyva for U.S. Congress District 01 Indiana ... Paid for by Proud Union Steelworkers of NWI." But the local United Steelworkers union is decrying the billboards, which were independently paid for by some of its members, as misleading. USW District 7 Director Mike Millsap said the union endorsed t Joe Biden for president and North Township Trustee Frank Mrvan for Congress. "Whoever is behind this absolutely did this to deceive the community, our membership and our retirees," Millsap said. "We don't endorse Trump or Leyva." **Horse Race Status:** Safe Mrvan.

General Assembly

HD35: Wright begins TV ads

Democratic State Rep. Melanie Wright is up on the air with a TV ad this morning. "I work for rural communities," Wright says in the ad. "I fight for our values, our communities and our people." Wright is being challenged by Republican Yorktown School Trustee Elizabeth Rowray. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

HD37: McCormick endorses Cole

Democrat Aimee Rivera Cole, who is challenging House Speaker Todd Huston, was endorsed by Supt. Jen-

nifer McCormick. "We need a champion for students at the Statehouse who will work in a bipartisanship manner and respect the educators' voice," McCormick said on Monday. "Aimee Rivera Cole is that person. She will reach across the aisle to pursue what is best for our kids and educators." Cole said, "Both Dr. McCormick and I ran for office to fight for students and public education. So I am honored to receive this endorsement. Dr. McCormick has remained first and foremost an educator, earning the respect of many teachers." **Horse Race Status:** Likely Huston.

Presidential 2020

Biden doesn't trust Trump on vaccines

Joe Biden said Wednesday that while he trusts what scientists say about a potential coronavirus vaccine, he doesn't trust President Donald Trump. Biden, speaking in Wilmington, Delaware, after being briefed by public health experts about a potential vaccine, cited Trump's "incompetence and dishonesty" surrounding the distribution of personal protective equipment and coronavirus testing. The U.S. "can't afford to repeat those fiascos when it comes to a vaccine," he said. "I trust vaccines, I trust scientists, but I don't trust Donald Trump," Biden said, "and at this moment, the American people can't, either."

Trump fails on manufacturing promise

Four years after he won the Midwest by vowing to revitalize the U.S. manufacturing workforce, President Donald Trump is campaigning for reelection on a job well done. The numbers tell a different story (Politico). The president's path to the Oval Office was paved by his victory in this factory-intense region, where a downturn in manufacturing that began in 2015 opened the door for him to appeal to demoralized blue-collar voters. But the White House's trade wars kicked the sector into another slump in 2019, with Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Pennsylvania facing declines or plateaus in manufacturing employment even back in February, well before Covid-19

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forced layoffs at dozens of plants. As of July, the most recent month for which data is available, each state is down between 20,000 and 40,000 workers from pre-pandemic levels.

Biden leads 5% in Fox News Poll

Joe Biden leads President Trump by 5 percentage points among likely voters in a national Fox News poll released Sunday. Biden has a 51% to 46% percent advantage in the survey, Fox News's first since the party conventions this summer and its first to question likely voters.

Bracing for Election Night

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND — We don't know what will happen on the night of Nov. 3 as TV networks color states red or blue, declaring winners one by one in the Electoral College, where the presidency is decided. Or on Nov. 4? Or Nov. 5? Or in weeks or even months thereafter?



Well, we can be pretty sure of some things. Indiana, as often in the past, is likely to be the first state declared and colored red, Republican. That's because Indiana polls close early, and the first substantial returns could show it is again clearly in the Republican column. Not as decisively as the nearly 20% margin for President Trump in 2016, but still for Trump. Michigan is likely in early returns to look red as well. But the net-

works won't quickly declare a winner there. That's because of the massive number of absentee votes still being tabulated. Mail-ins are likely to be more Democratic than the votes cast in person at polling places. Trumpsters and anti-Trumpsters agree on that. When all the tabulating is done, Michigan is likely to be colored blue. Polls show Joe Biden with a sizeable lead. And the Trump campaign showed signs earlier of conceding Michigan in order to concentrate on other targets, especially Minnesota.

Indiana doesn't matter. Nor does the much bigger California. Both parties and all the experts projecting election results already count Indiana as Republican and California as Democratic. Electors from a majority of other states, all where there just isn't much doubt about the outcome, already are being counted for one side or the other in this sharply divided nation.

Michigan matters. It's one of the battleground states that will decide the presidential election. Trump just narrowly won Michigan last time. It was one of the key

Biden leads in CBS AZ, MN polls

Democratic presidential nominee Joe Biden gained a small lead over President Trump in the battleground state of Arizona and holds a larger 9-point lead in Minnesota, according to a new poll. Biden is backed by 47% of likely voters in Arizona, compared with Trump's 44%, according to a CBS News poll released Sunday. Biden's 3-point lead is within the poll's margin of error. In Minnesota, a state Trump narrowly lost in 2016, Biden is backed by 50% of likely voters. The survey found 41% of likely voters said they would vote for Trump. ❖

states where he exceeded expectations to amass enough electoral votes to win. Even if Trump loses Michigan this time, he has other possible paths to reelection, despite the likely prospect of losing again, probably even bigger, in the national popular vote.

Even if Trump is shown to have lost Michigan when tabulating is final, the delay in results could in itself help him retain the presidency. That's the scenario cited as a possibility by numerous columnists, including traditional conservative David Brooks. His scenario: Election night returns from votes cast at polling places show Trump ahead in Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Michigan. Although mail-in ballots are still being counted, President Trump quickly declares victory on election night.

"As the mail-in ballots are tallied, the Trump leads erode," writes Brooks. "But the situation is genuinely unclear. Trump is on the warpath, raging about fraud. Within weeks there are lawsuits and challenges everywhere."

In this scenario, Trump, though he lost, refuses leave the White House. A result of course would be rioting in the streets, one side outraged at Trump, the other outraged at Democrats "rigging" the election against him.

The Transition Integrity Project, a "bipartisan" group in which all the Republican members are anti-Trump, also has a worst-case scenario in which there would be violence and a constitutional crisis. Unlikely? Let us hope so.

Perhaps the results, one way or the other, will be clear, hard to dispute, though disputes there will be. We don't know what will happen on the night of Nov. 3 as the TV networks color states red or blue. We do know that they very likely will lack enough states declared to call the race that night.

We do know that President Trump has set things up for challenging the eventual outcome, if it goes against him, by saying the only way he can lose is if the election is rigged and that there will be massive fraud with mail-in ballots. We don't know what will happen on election night or in weeks or even months thereafter. ❖

Colwell covers Indiana politics for the South Bend Tribune.

The next legislative session will be a doozy

By **PETE SEAT**

INDIANAPOLIS – Having adjourned with just days to spare before a national emergency was declared in March, Indiana's General Assembly avoided a prolonged pandemic hibernation. But now their luck has run out.

As if the guys and gals who make Indiana's laws don't have enough on their plate with the once-in-a-



decade combination of writing a biennial budget and redrawing legislative and congressional districts, they now have to contend with a once-in-a-century pandemic that is already shifting where session takes place, could shift when it takes place and will certainly have a considerable impact on what takes place.

To address the changes to daily life that came after last session, House Speaker

Todd Huston and Senate President Rodric Bray in May announced the formation of a bipartisan Legislative Continuity Committee tasked with preparing legislators for the inevitability of social distancing while also laying the groundwork for adjusting to potential future emergency situations.

But what they have yet to consider is the most obvious solution to all their problems: Taking a page from the playbook of sports.

Sure the Olympics were postponed until next year and March Madness was scrapped altogether. But the NBA and NHL paused, then restarted, their seasons in sanitized bubbles. And Major League Baseball is wrapping up a truncated 60-game season with reduced travel. If they can do it, so can our elected state representatives.

For starters, why not have legislators live in a bubble themselves for four months? From early January to the end of April, pair up Republicans and Democrats and have them bunk together in a gesture of bipartisan camaraderie. Speaker Huston and Democrat Leader Phil GiaQuinta can be roommates. Surely, they would enjoy binging Tiger King. Republican Bray and Senate Democrat Leader Tim Lanane could become besties. Or how about Jim Lucas and Ed Delaney? What could possibly go wrong?

Although, with lopsided Republican supermajorities in both chambers, the right will have to double up with the left in the House and quadruple up in the Senate. Details, details.

Committee hearings, much like pre-game interviews and post-game press conferences, will be held exclusively via Zoom – but only if everyone uses virtual tropical backgrounds, frequently forgets to unmute their

microphone and regularly walks away to silence dogs and kids. What is a society without established norms and rules anyway?

In an effort to make legislators feel as comfortable as possible, floor debates will be spruced up by piping in the cheers and jeers of constituents to simulate an organized rally outside. Walk-up music is optional, but highly encouraged. Representative Ethan Manning strikes me as a "Born in the USA" kind of guy.

Speaking of floor debates, in the spirit of the universal designated hitter, both sides of the aisle may appoint a single individual of their choosing to step up to the podium during tough questioning. Unfortunately, former State Sen. Brandt Hershman is not an option.

And in an effort to make legislators feel as uncomfortable as possible, cardboard cutouts of lobbyists and members of the statehouse press corps will be placed in the gallery and stationed in the hallways. A special edition Jim Shella cutout honoring the former WISH-TV statehouse reporter will randomly move about the building to strike fear in the hearts of unsuspecting legislators.

To give everyone a little something to help pass the time, a sports betting table will be placed in the corner of each chamber. Prop bets on how many words of a bill's title and language the reader can recite before the lieutenant governor or speaker dispassionately gavels them to stop, the over/under on speaking time during debates (looking at you, Greg Taylor) and 1000-to-1 odds on the lieutenant governor casting a tie-breaking vote would all be available. Cash only.

Procedurally, introducing a bill will require a temperature check and a certification that the member has not left their legislative dormitory in 14 days. This includes nights, weekends and all state and federal holidays.

For those lucky enough to have their bill pass committee, before any legislation proceeds to third reading the sponsoring member will be required to sink a three-pointer from their seat. Sheila Klinker shoots and she scores! This isn't really COVID-19 related, it's more for entertainment value.

And while social distancing necessitates a limited staff presence in the House and Senate, they will be able to bang trash cans to signal how members should vote from adjacent rooms.

Finally, pens used in gubernatorial bill signings will be blown on like a Nintendo cartridge, one-hour martinized and Clorox-wiped before being mailed via the U.S. Postal Service to a Hoosier whose address number matches the bill number. This is like the Cubs sending foul balls to the season ticket seat holder nearest the errant ball's landing spot. I've yet to get one, but they assure me it's something they really do. No matter what happens, this session will be unlike any other. ❖

Pete Seat is a vice president with Bose Public Affairs Group in Indianapolis.

Arguing about politics isn't really helping

By **KELLY HAWES**
CNHI News Indiana

ANDERSON – A lot of people will vote to give Donald J. Trump another term as president. It won't matter what some anonymous sources might claim he said about our nation's veterans or about the men and women who gave their lives for our country.



Heck, it wouldn't matter even if the president's supporters could hear the words come out of his own mouth. It didn't matter when they heard him say what he said about John McCain. It didn't matter when they heard him bragging about sexual assault in that infamous "Access Hollywood" tape or when they saw him with their own eyes poking fun at a handicapped reporter.

It won't even matter now that they can hear him, on tape, confirming that he knew what he was telling us about COVID-19 was a lie, that he knew this virus was five times more dangerous than the common flu even as he assured the American people they had nothing to worry about.

For the vast majority of his supporters, none of it matters, and it's time we stopped fighting about it. There is probably nothing you could say that would make the vast majority of Trump voters change their minds. They've already decided who he is, and their assessment is not open for debate. They might not like everything he says and does, but they'll support the president because they like his tax policy. They like his economic policy. They support his judicial appointments. They like his position on environmental regulations. They like his approach to international affairs.

To be clear, a vast number of Joe Biden supporters aren't likely to change their minds either. You can tell them Joe is a socialist or he's too old or he's promoting chaos in our nation's streets, and it won't change their position one iota. They have already lined up behind his domestic agenda, and they like the way they envision him representing this country on the international stage.

In a poll conducted for Reuters this month, Ipsos found 67% of respondents saying they were completely certain they would vote. Only 9% said they were completely certain they would not. Among registered voters, 48% said they favored Biden, 33% said they favored Trump, 7% said they were leaning toward another candidate and 12% said they were still unsure. Among those who described themselves as likely voters, Biden had an even larger lead, 52% to 34% with 5% leaning toward another candidate and 9% undecided.

What the numbers tell us is that relatively few people who will cast a ballot in the November election are still undecided. Nearly all of the likely voters have made up their minds, and there's very little anyone can say to change their opinions. That barrage of messaging you'll see in the next several weeks will be aimed at a relatively small percentage of the electorate.

So you can stop worrying about the guy with the Trump flag in his front yard. You won't change his mind by shouting out your support for Joe Biden. You won't make even a smidgeon of difference by fighting with Aunt Millie on Facebook. You'll do little more than raise your own blood pressure by wading into a political debate on Twitter.

Forget about the voters who have made up their minds. There's no point in arguing with them. The folks you should be worried about are the ones still wringing their hands. Focus on that kid who can't decide whether to vote Libertarian or just stay home. He's the one to worry about. Our future is in his hands. ❖

Kelly Hawes is a columnist for CNHI News Indiana. He can be reached at kelly.hawes@indianamedia-group.com. Find him on Twitter @Kelly_Hawes.

Dick Cardwell kept the Hoosier lights on

By **JACK RONALD**
Portland Commercial Review

PORTLAND, Ind.— Chances are you never knew Dick Cardwell. But your life as a citizen is better because of him. Without Dick Cardwell, there would be no Indiana Open Meetings Law.



Without Dick Cardwell, there would be no Indiana Access to Public Records Act. Without Dick Cardwell, politicians and cronies and grifters would have happily gone ahead conducting public business without public oversight.

They didn't like Dick Cardwell much. He believed in the public's right to know.

Those in power tended to put cynical quotation marks around that phrase, dismissing it as an obstacle to the machinery of government. Some of them still feel that way. For them, Dick Cardwell was a pain in the neck.

He died this month at the age of 86.

As general counsel and executive director of the

Hoosier State Press Association, he was a constant advocate for the First Amendment. He lobbied the Indiana General Assembly tirelessly, building coalitions when he could and holding members' feet to the fire when he had to.

Today, the Indiana Open Meetings Law is taken for granted.

But it wasn't granted. It was fought for.

Believe it or not, for decades much of the work of Indiana's Legislature itself occurred outside the public eye.

It was a daring notion in the 1970s that openness in government should be extended to the local level, that city councils and the like should have to conduct their business in public view, that agendas should be posted, that notice be given to the public and the press, and that limits on executive sessions should be clearly defined.

The Open Meetings Law took that daring notion and after some serious lobbying and arm-twisting and editorializing by Indiana newspapers — made it the standard to which elected officials would be held.

It was a daring notion, a few years after the passage of the Open Meetings Law, that openness in government should extend to public records, that a citizen should have access to documents buried in courthouses and town halls, and that the legal burden for denying access should

be on the government.

But again, Dick Cardwell prevailed.

He had help, of course. The HSPA was a stronger organization back then. Indiana newspapers and newspapers in general were a stronger industry.

But Dick was the guy who put those forces together.

If my phone rang and Dick Cardwell needed help with an issue, I responded. So did dozens of editors and publishers across the state.

Maybe it was setting up a face-to-face with a recalcitrant legislator. Maybe it was making a trip to the Statehouse to act as a sort of "wingman" for Dick so the legislators knew there were folks back home who bought newsprint by the truckload and ink by the barrel who were on Dick's team.

Whatever he needed, we did the best to provide.

Ultimately, of course, it was Dick's leadership that made the difference.

He was the guy who told us where we ought to be going and how he thought we might be able to get there.

The great irony of his career is that in persuading government to be more accessible and open to its citizens he made it more credible and trustworthy. Sunshine has a way of doing that. ❖

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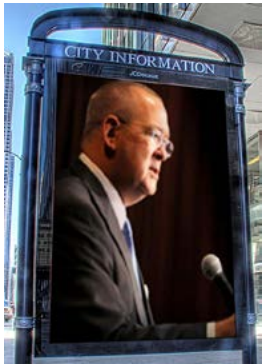
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YOUR FRIENDS ALL HANG OUT HERE... DO YOU?

Confusing economics in this pandemic

By **MICHAEL HICKS**

MUNCIE — The economic statistics that aid us in understanding the current state of the economy are in the midst of an unusual, if not unprecedented, upheaval. Combined with the equally unparalleled oscillations of the economy through the early months of COVID, economy watchers are naturally confused.



Add to this the tendency towards dissembling that accompanies elections, and we are poised for a couple of months of economic confusion. This column is aimed at relieving some of that confusion.

The staff of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bureau of Economic Analysis and Census survey teams are responsible for compiling and reporting data on employment, GDP and other economic data.

They are, by far, the best economic statistical services ever devised. Governments have been at this for more than a millennium, and the work done today is first rate and thus far immune from political shenanigans. Americans should be pleased with the economists, statisticians and data scientists doing this work. They are not perfect.

The survey tools that give us the monthly unemployment rate were designed for personal contacts. COVID naturally interrupted that, so the response rate of phone calls plummeted. This introduced a great deal of uncertainty about the answers given to survey questions. This survey reports that roughly 11.2 million fewer people are working today than in January, of which roughly 4 million left the labor force. This yields in August an unemployment rate of 8.2%.

We also have an alternative, administrative measure of unemployment. This is the applications for unemployment insurance. On the very same week the survey told us we had 11.2 million out of work, the administrative data told a startlingly different story. There were 13.79 million unemployed in the regular state system, another 13.5 million on pandemic unemployment assistance, and just under 2 million more in other programs. This is a total of 29 million unemployed and receiving benefits.

These data have our national unemployment rate at roughly 18.1% in August. Even accounting for a 15% error rate due to fraud or misreporting, the real U.S. unemployment rate is nearly 16%. The error rate is not that high; I simply want to be conservative and acknowledge the potential for errors in overcounting the unemployed.

If we could measure it effectively, the actual U.S. unemployment rate hasn't been this high since before

World War II. Given the ongoing effects of COVID, we won't sort this out until next year, if then. But, by my reckoning, the actual unemployment rate is between 16% and 18%.

So, as we march toward the election, Americans can be certain that the official statistics offer very little truth about the level of employment. Again, that is not due to perfidy among federal statisticians. On the contrary, they are doing high-quality work with the utmost integrity. But, until we are released from COVID's grip and can look retrospectively at the data, we must simply adjust to living in uncertain times. But, uncertainty isn't our only problem.

Misunderstanding the way we report changes to the economy can easily lead to confusion. Last quarter (Second Quarter 2020), our economy shrank by 9.1%, or at a compounded annualized rate of -37.1%. That is far and away the worst quarter on record. This quarter (Third Quarter 2020) will be the best quarter of economic growth on record. We report GDP growth compared to the last quarter. Let's say the economy grows at exactly the same rate it fell in the second quarter (9.1%). That wouldn't erase the losses from second quarter.

If the economy shrinks by 9.1% in the second quarter, then recovers by 9.1% in the third quarter, the actual loss over two quarters will be roughly 5%. So, on the morning of Oct. 29, we will get some eye-popping news about economic growth, and economists will be quickly explaining that a 25% or 30% growth rate in Third Quarter 2020, really means the U.S. economy shrank by more in six months than in any other time in history.

The third big challenge to understanding the state of the economy is the difference between permanent and part-time employment. Workers who've been temporarily laid off typically are recalled in a matter of months. Those who face permanent job losses take much longer to find work. The growing number of permanently unemployed is the long-term problem for the economy. Moreover, these numbers are surely undercounted because they also come from the survey data. As of August, the number of permanently unemployed is growing at record pace.

The size of the problem is already enormous. At current levels, it will take perhaps six years to shrink these numbers back down to the January 2020 level. So, even if temporary layoffs return, we face a long, long slog to normalcy. So, as the election nears, be wary of claims about economic performance. There will be good news and bad news, but much of what you read or hear won't be close to the truth. ❖

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.

What happens if there's a 269-269 tie?

By **KYLE KONDIK**

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. — As part of last week's Crystal Ball Electoral College update, we changed the rating of the single electoral vote in Nebraska's 2nd Congressional District from Toss-up to Leans Democratic. This pushed the number of electoral votes we rate as at least leaning to Joe Biden to 269, one shy of the 270 electoral votes required for an Electoral College majority. Hypothetically, Donald Trump could sweep the Toss-ups and force a 269-269 tie in the Electoral College.

This raises one of the favorite parlor game questions of our quadrennial presidential proceedings: What happens in the event of an Electoral College tie?

The newly elected U.S House of Representatives would choose the president from among the top three electoral vote-getters. If Biden and Trump were the only two to receive votes, the choice would be between just those two candidates. In the 1824 election, the last time the House voted for president, the House chose among Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, and William Crawford (the sitting treasury secretary). Presidential candidate Henry Clay, the speaker of the House, finished fourth and thus didn't make the top-three cut. He helped Adams win the House vote, and Adams made Clay secretary of state. The resentment over what Jackson and his supporters called a "corrupt bargain" fueled Jackson's victory over Adams in 1828.

At first blush, a House tiebreaker would seem to favor Biden and the Democrats, who currently hold a House majority and are likely to keep it even in the event of a presidential vote close enough to produce this hypothetical tied scenario. However, even if they are still in the House minority, Republicans likely would be able to win the tiebreaker vote. That's because each state House delegation gets a single vote, with majority support – 26 out of 50 – required for the House to elect a president. The Senate elects the vice president, with each member getting a single vote. (The District of Columbia has three electoral votes but no voting representation in the House and the Senate, so it has no vote in this process.)

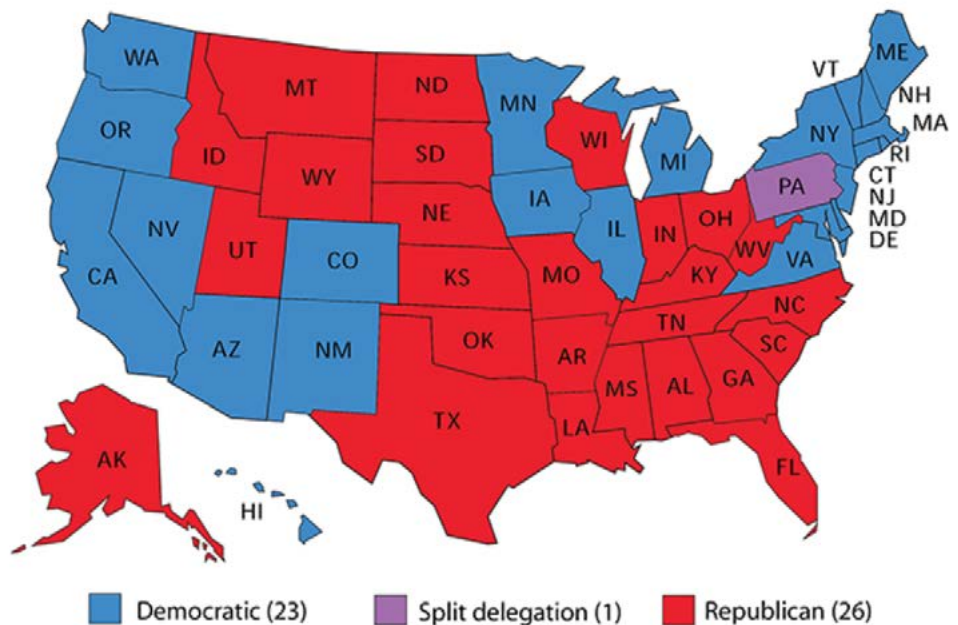


Presumably, whichever party holds a majority in a state U.S. House delegation would determine how to cast that state's vote. In some states with single members, such as Vermont and Wyoming, it would be up to that single member which way to vote. Some states might split; for instance, swing state Pennsylvania currently has nine Democratic U.S. House representatives and nine Republicans. It is possible that a tied state would deadlock and not cast a vote.

Still, Republicans currently hold a bare majority of U.S. House delegations, and we continue to favor them to keep that edge.

This is mostly unchanged from the start of the year, although there are a few tweaks. We recently moved the single, at-large district in Alaska held by the dean of the U.S. House, Rep. Don Young (R), from Likely Republican to Leans Republican, which necessitated a rating change here. However, we also moved Florida's 14-13 Republican delegation from Leans Republican to Likely Republican because, despite the narrow GOP edge, we think the most competitive district in the state is one the Democrats are defending, the Toss-up district held by Rep. Debbie Mucarsel-Powell (D, FL-26). Wisconsin moves to Safe Republican because we rate all five Republican districts in the state as Safe Republican (there was a vacancy in WI-7 back in January), and Maine moves from Toss-up to Leans Democratic in the wake of our decision to move Rep. Jared Golden's (D, ME-2) district from Toss-up to Leans Democratic a couple of weeks ago. Colorado's Democratic edge also seems se-

Map 1: House delegation control by state



cure, so we moved that 4-3 Democratic delegation to Safe Democratic.

All told, 26 House delegations at least lean to the Republicans, 20 at least lean to the Democrats, and four are Toss-ups: The tied Pennsylvania delegation in which both sides are defending vulnerable seats, as well as Democratic-controlled delegations in Iowa, Minnesota, and Michigan. In the Wolverine State, Democrats continue to hold a nominal 7-6-1 edge following Rep. Justin Amash's (I, MI-3) decision to leave the GOP in the summer of 2019. Republicans are narrowly favored to hold his seat (Amash is not running for reelection).

One other state to watch is Montana, where Democrats insist that 2018 nominee Kathleen Williams can win the open at-large seat against state Auditor Matt

Rosendale (R), who lost a competitive Senate race against Sen. Jon Tester (D-MT) in 2018. We've kept the race at Likely Republican, but, like Alaska, this is a race where Republicans could lose control of a state delegation with a single defeat.

That said, in a world in which Republicans are losing a statewide House race in Alaska or Montana or Democrats are otherwise cutting into these GOP-controlled House delegations, is the Electoral College going to be knotted at 269-269? Probably not; in that world, Joe Biden is probably also winning the Electoral College outright.

In other words, if the election is close enough to produce a 269-269 Electoral College tie, Republicans likely will retain their advantage in the tiebreaker vote. ❖

Where do you stand?

By **MORTON J. MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – I'll confess. Last week, I walked the line between growth and contentment. All right. I'm for economic development. My vision of economic development involves non-economic improvements.



My ideal Indiana does not have decaying cities and suburbs that pretend they are cities. My ideal Indiana transforms itself from a stagnating mid-19th century state into a 21st century partner in the development of this country. In my Indiana, Hoosiers welcome cooperation with others in forming more effective institutions. They cease their incredible resistance to regional cooperation and dispense with the fake "regionalism" of current institutions.

A few examples: Counties need to go through the process of internal consolidation. We have too many local governments. Most are antiquated ego enrichment programs enabling inertia. They are bolstered by state money for regional agencies which funnel money to local entities for questionable projects.

Check out these "regional" initiatives. You'll find projects the locals want to reinforce memories of days long past. There's money to refurbish downtowns where private building owners would not think of spending their own dollars.

But do state agencies and their regional puppets actually encourage and support functional regional interaction and integration? While governor of Tennessee many years ago, Lamar Alexander proposed linking every county seat by a four-lane highway to the nearest Interstate highway. Get out your Indiana highway map and see how

many Hoosier county seats are without a four-lane highway connecting to an Interstate.

For our health, the easygoing Indiana Department of Environmental Protection needs invigoration. How about regional inspection agencies with integrity to provide meaningful monitoring of pollutants in our air, land and waterways? In addition, our EPA needs powers to enforce compliance.

Effective training and standardized procedures for all law enforcement officers could be handed over to our state police. Movement from one department to another would require full-disclosure of prior personnel files. No longer could bad apples be hidden in a different barrel.

We need to enforce our laws. Overweight trucks destroy local and county roads more than they do our state highways. But how often do the local cops stop an overweight vehicle from a firm that sponsors the local Little League? This step forward requires leadership from the Statehouse with implementation on a regional basis.

And the big one? It's time for standardized, higher quality education in our state. Lax policies at the local level persist despite state control of school funding. We must abandon the local elected school board's influence over anything other than extra-curricular activities and the uniforms that go with them. Schools are an instrumentality of the state. Yet we have held back from a rational education policy because of the low level of competence evidenced year after year in the General Assembly.

Oh, I know there are good people among the 150 who represent us. But good is no longer good enough; better would be a start. ❖

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Shannon Ryan, Chicago Tribune: The Big Ten announced Wednesday that football will resume this fall. Let's look at the state of life on those campuses. Ohio State suspended more than 200 students for partying before classes started. At least 342 cases at Michigan State prompted a health department recommendation for students to self-quarantine. Wisconsin students are in a two-week lockdown, and classes moved online. Northwestern decided conditions were too unsafe to allow freshmen and sophomores to live on campus. Penn State and Iowa are among the schools to report more than 1,000 cases. Knowing this reality on Big Ten campuses, the conference's university presidents and chancellors still decided to reverse course and proceed with a fall football schedule. A month ago, ensuring athlete and campus safety meant games must be postponed. On Wednesday, the opposite somehow became true. The Big Ten will have to execute a tightrope walk in heels with a blindfold to pull this off. ❖

Christine Brennan, USA Today: For decades, the Big Ten has thought of itself as a different kind of sports conference, one that proudly touts the academic achievements and Great Lakes values of its like-minded, highly-regarded, internationally-ranked research institutions. The Big Ten wasn't the SEC; it wasn't the Big 12. It was better than that, and it was happy to tell you all about it. As proof, one only had to look at the conference's prudent August decision to shut down fall sports in the midst of the global pandemic. It was only natural that the Big Ten would follow the Ivy League, and that the Pac-12 would follow the Big Ten. It was a tough decision, heartbreaking and costly, but it was the right one. That's the Big Ten for you, concerned about science, medicine and safety. Let the football factories of the SEC, Big 12 and ACC continue playing; the Big Ten was doing the right thing looking out for its student-athletes, treating them almost no differently than the student body at large, and that was all that mattered. Then came Wednesday, the darkest day in Big Ten history, the day the vaunted conference caved. It choked. It got scared. It became the SEC. Just as the Big Ten was looking smarter by the day as COVID-19 outbreaks popped up at Michigan State, Wisconsin and Maryland while other conferences playing football announced COVID-related postponements and soaring cases, the league's presidents reversed themselves and decided to steer their schools and their football programs right into the teeth of what are predicted to be some of the worst days of the pandemic in October and November. Or, we could call it the Trumpeting of the Big Ten. It was just two weeks ago that Trump, desperate to win votes in Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio and Pennsylvania, told the conference to play football. Originally, the league stood its ground. Rutgers president Jonathan Holloway aptly called it "cheap politics." But wouldn't you know, the university presidents ended up following right along, giving Trump exactly what he wanted. ❖



Dan Coats, New York Times: We hear often that the November election is the most consequential in our lifetime. But the importance of the election is not just which candidate or which party wins. Voters also face the question of whether the American democratic experiment, one of the boldest political innovations in human history, will survive. Our democracy's enemies, foreign and domestic, want us to concede in advance that our voting systems are faulty or fraudulent; that sinister conspiracies have distorted the political will of the people; that our public discourse has been perverted by the news media and social networks riddled with prejudice, lies and ill will; that judicial institutions, law enforcement and even national security have been twisted, misused and misdirected to create anxiety and conflict, not justice and social peace. If those are the results of this tumultuous election year, we are lost, no matter which candidate wins. No American, and certainly no American leader, should want such an outcome. Total destruction and sowing salt in the earth of American democracy is a catastrophe well beyond simple defeat and a poison for generations. An electoral victory on these terms would be no victory at all. The judgment of history, reflecting on the death of enlightened democracy, would be harsh. The most urgent task American leaders face is to ensure that the election's results are accepted as legitimate. Electoral legitimacy is the essential linchpin of our entire political culture. We should see the challenge clearly in advance and take immediate action to respond. ❖

David Lauter, Los Angeles Times: President Trump's recorded interviews with Bob Woodward, in which he admitted to deliberately downplaying the danger of the coronavirus, blasted through the presidential campaign this week. His words dominated discussion and diverted the candidates from any other topics they had planned to focus on. What they probably did not do is change many minds. The same goes for the previous week's eruption — the Atlantic magazine article quoting anonymous officials who said Trump had disparaged military service members as "losers" — and the one before that, and the one before that and so on. Many Democrats find the lack of reaction baffling. Surely, they say after each new revelation, this piece of evidence will be the one to cause Trump supporters to abandon their candidate en masse. At this point, that counts as a form of self-delusion. The coronavirus, itself, a pandemic that has killed more than 190,000 Americans, only shifted voting intentions by a few points. In comparison to that, what's the impact of a quote from a new book? The stability of American attitudes toward Trump provides one of the most remarkable aspects of his presidency. His support has a very low ceiling: Alone among American presidents since the era of mass polling began more than eight decades ago, he has never received approval from a majority. His backing also has a very solid floor — never dropping below the high 30s. ❖

Woodward on why Coats stayed silent

NEW YORK — Bob Woodward, the author of the new book "Rage" discussed the way in which President Trump diminished former Defense Secretary Jim Mattis and former DNI Dan Coats and why he thinks Mattis and Coats have not publicly spoken about the president.

"It's almost a book in itself," Woodward said on MSNBC's [Morning Joe](#) on Wednesday. "This was a man who was a senator from Indiana. He was retiring and he was offered this job from Mike Pence, and felt he could not say no. He went in with these Republican values and was stunned, shocked and, in a way, just ground down from Trump's refusal to accept reality." Woodward said that at one point Mattis and Coats talked after a National Security Council meeting. "Mattis says that Trump has no moral compass. And Coats says, 'Donald Trump,' their leader, 'does not know the difference between a lie and the truth.' They were in the latter phase of their lives. (Trump) pulled all of these stunts in a way that led them to the point where, in Coats's case, his wife Marsha said to him, 'Look, Dan, God put you in this job. You're not just failing the country, yourself and your family, but God and you need to get organized.' Trump expelled him when it did not serve Trump's purposes."

Caputo takes HHS leave of absence

WASHINGTON — Michael Caputo, the top spokesman at the Department of Health and Human Services, is taking a two-month leave of absence from his post, the department announced Wednesday, a day after he apologized for a conspiracy theory-laden rant he made against career government scientists in which he accused them of "sedition" and working to undermine President Donald



Trump (CNN). "Today, the Department of Health and Human Services is announcing that HHS Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs Michael Caputo has decided to take a leave of absence to focus on his health and the well-being of his family. Mr. Caputo will be on leave for the next 60 days," HHS said in a statement. The temporary departure comes as concerns grow at the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention over perceived attempts, and specifically Caputo's role, in politicizing the critical health agency amid the coronavirus pandemic.

In a statement, Caputo said he was going to undergo "necessary screenings for a lymphatic issue discovered last week." Caputo apologized on Tuesday to HHS staff for comments he made Sunday during an extended rant on a Facebook Live video in which he mentioned a series of conspiracy theories, including that there is a "resistance unit" against Trump inside the CDC and that former Vice President Joe Biden will refuse to concede the election should Trump win, leading to political violence.

Holcomb lauds state's COVID rate

INDIANAPOLIS — Indiana is in the top 10 for lowest spread rate of COVID-19, Gov. Eric Holcomb said Wednesday (Kelly, [Fort Wayne Journal Gazette](#)). The effective reproduction rate for Indiana is 0.94, according to Becker's Hospital Review — an entity that tracks the rate nationally. Holcomb said the number generally shows how many other people each infected person passes the virus to, and Indiana's rate is less than 1. The state is tied for ninth with South Dakota. State Health Commissioner Dr. Kristina Box said it is a complicated mathematical formula but indicates Indiana is doing well curbing COVID-19. The worst rate in the nation is 1.28 in Wisconsin. Holcomb repeatedly stressed the importance of masks Wednesday, saying he doesn't enjoy every second of wearing them,

but it means Indiana will get through the pandemic more quickly and with less destruction. "The virus hasn't changed. It is still uber-infectious," the governor said. He noted Indiana is one of the most "open" states in the country right now, and its unemployment rate is dropping. "We want to continue this momentum," Holcomb said.

Hammond schools resume fall sports

HAMMOND — One day after the Lake Ridge school board opted to resume fall contact sports at Calumet, the Hammond school board followed suit by voting to reinstate fall contact sports at Clark, Gavit, Hammond and Morton ([NWI Times](#)). Fall contact sports were originally canceled Aug. 4 due to the coronavirus pandemic, and a reinstatement was not on Tuesday's meeting agenda. However, school board member Lisa Miller brought a motion after multiple student-athletes, pleaded their case as to why they should be allowed to play. According to Hammond athletic director Larry Moore Sr., there were "about five cases somewhere in the (school) system," less than two weeks after the Indiana Department of Education's return-to-play plan began July 6.

IU, BSU are COVID hotspots

INDIANAPOLIS — The counties that include Indiana and Ball State universities are listed as the highest-risk locations for coronavirus infections on the state health department's updated county-by-county map released Wednesday ([AP](#)). Monroe County, which includes the main Indiana University campus in Bloomington, and Delaware County, which includes Ball State in Muncie, are the only two listed with the health department's orange rating for moderate to high coronavirus spread after seven counties had that rating last week. No counties were listed with the highest-risk red rating in either week.