

## Holcomb should be in '24 conversation

As GOP begins to conjure its post-Trump era, Hoosiers should ponder the governor

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – In the autumn of 2010, Hoosier Republicans faced an uncomfortable dilemma. Two of their leaders were in conversations about who the party's 2012 presidential nominee would be. There was Gov. Mitch Daniels, who was two years hence from a

58% reelection victory on the same night Barack Obama carried Indiana's 11 Electoral College votes, and eight years away from his two-year stint as

President George W. Bush's budget director.

And there was U.S. Rep. Mike Pence, a darling of the social conservative movement, who had once been a disciplined deficit hawk and whose famous calling card had been, "I'm a Christian, a conservative and a Republican in that order."



**Indiana Republican Chairman Eric Holcomb with the GOP delegation at the RNC in Tampa in 2012. (HPI Photo by Randy Gentry).**

The two were on a collision course to be played out on the national stage, until party kingmakers cleared

**Continued on page 3**

## Last Democratic governor

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Joe Kernan's passing on Wednesday at age 74 was as sad as the Notre Dame Magazine story earlier this month revealing that Indiana's last Democratic governor was suffering from Alzheimer's disease, could no longer speak, and was living away from his wife in a long term care facility.

Anyone who knew Gov. Kernan found him to be brutally honest, a pugilistic former Notre Dame catcher, and a decent euchre player. I found that out late one hot August night on the French Lick Springs Resort's veranda.

I once referred to Kernan as a "Sox fan," due to the fact that the now South Bend Cubs (which he bought to keep in River City)



**"It's sort of curious. A man works for us, with us, Dr. Fauci and Dr. Birx also highly thought of, but nobody likes me. It can only be my personality. That's all."**

- President Trump on Wednesday.



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

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

**Subscriptions**

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

**Contact HPI**

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

© 2020, **Howey Politics Indiana**. All rights reserved.  
 Photocopying, Internet forwarding, faxing or reproducing in any form, whole or part, is a violation of federal law without permission from the publisher.

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



were once known as the South Bend White Sox. Kernan called me up and left me a message: "Brian, you can call me a lot of things, but don't you ever call me a Sox fan."

**He was also the** last remnant of the Democratic dynasty that began under Evan Bayh in 1988 and continued under Gov. Frank O'Bannon and, finally, Kernan. His last campaign came under tormented conditions.

HPI noted in the Nov. 4, 2004, edition: "His was the lost opportunity for Indiana Democrats. He was the war hero in the time of war. He governed as a compassionate healer and the instigator of new ideas that included the historic 2002 tax restructuring, the Energize Indiana plan, and reforms that would have reshaped Indiana government. He broke the mold when he made Kathy Davis the first female lieutenant governor candidate. What Kernan had in substance, he lost in time and appearance."

There were actually two Kernan gubernatorial campaigns. On the second one, he explained in 2004, "This has been one of those periods in my life where I really didn't have a chance to catch my breath going back to last September. So on reflection I will look back on this ...," Kernan said before stopping to gather his composure and going on. "As the oldest of nine from a family where we didn't on many days have two nickels to rub together, as someone who is very fortunate to be standing here at all today, to look back on nine years serving as mayor, seven as lieutenant governor; and now a year as governor of Indiana ... I'm a very, very lucky guy."

**That was in** reference to his stunning December 2002 decision to opt out of the 2004 race after Gov. O'Bannon had selected Peter Manous as Indiana Democratic chairman. It was a decision Kernan believed he should have made. He simply decided he had had enough of Indianapolis

and was ready to go back to the city he loved, South Bend, where he served three terms as mayor, winning elections with 80% of the vote. It was a city he returned to after he spent years in a North Vietnamese prison camp after the Navy pilot had been shot down.

Gov. O'Bannon's death in September 2003 brought Kernan back into the race. I was with



eventual Republican nominee Mitch Daniels at Don & Donna's Cafe in downtown Franklin when the news broke. "We came to the conclusion that in the next year, we will be able to get a great start to achieve our goals," Kernan said on TV over Daniels' shoulder. "But there wasn't enough time to get the job done and I don't want to sit on the sidelines."

**The governor** presented a "vision of every child will be healthy and have a world class education and every Hoosier will have the opportunity to earn a good living." He pledged to take care of "senior citizens" and those with disabilities and said that "Hoosiers will be safe from threats both inside and outside of Indiana."

Daniels told the Franklin crowd that he welcomed Kernan's entry. "No one can predict the ultimate political effect, but from a citizen's standpoint, this is absolutely for the best," he said. "It makes the questions before us completely plain. Do



we have the kind of economic opportunity we want for our kids and for the least fortunate among us, or should we aim higher? As taxpayers, are we satisfied with the quality and performance of state government, or should we expect more? After 16 years of one-party rule by career politicians do we want to start fresh, or not?"

**Kernan raised** \$15 million, but never got back on track, failed to define Mitch Daniels, and ran out of TV ad money during the final week, becoming the first incumbent governor to lose.

Daniels' victory over Kernan began what is now a duplicate 16-year Republican gubernatorial run, almost certainly to be extended to 20 years – matching the Edgar Whitcomb, Doc Bowen and Bob Orr streak of the 1970s and 80s – should Gov. Eric Holcomb defeat Woody Myers in November.

Kernan's defeat didn't end his public service. Gov. Daniels called him to head the Kernan-Shepard Commission on Indiana government reform.

Daniels reacted to Kernan's death, saying, "Joe Kernan was at different times my ally, opponent, and advisor, but always a friend to me, and as far as I could tell to everyone he met. In wartime and in peace, he embodied patriotism and the goodwill toward all we associate with the term 'Hoosier.' He was a true leader, and we have lost him far too soon. Those among us so ready to bear malice against those with whom they differ and either so ignorant or so ungrateful that they disdain those whose sacrifices gave them the freedom to express their views should pause and consider the life and character of Joe Kernan."



Holcomb paid tribute, saying, "Indiana mourns the loss of Joe Kernan, a bona fide American hero, decorated Navy officer, and truly selfless statesman who always placed the interests of his fellow Hoosiers first. Distinguished isn't a strong enough word to describe him. Without regard for personal cost, Joe Kernan devoted every ounce of his life, time and again, to upholding the oath he took, and serving the country and state he loved. Undeterred after being shot down and tortured in Vietnam, he returned and led his beloved city of South Bend as mayor for three terms, and our state as our 47th lieutenant governor. When duty called him to step into a role he didn't seek, he served as our 48th governor.

"Through his decades of servant leadership and sacrifice, Joe Kernan modeled all the best of what it means to be a Hoosier and his legacy will continue to live on in each of us whom he inspired," Holcomb concluded.

**In addition to his** wife Maggie, Kernan is survived by seven siblings. Arrangements are being made by Welsheimer's Funeral Home in South Bend. The South Bend Tribune reported that Kernan had expressed a preference for Welsheimer's because the funeral home sponsored his Little League team in 1958 when he was 12 years old. Because of the coronavirus pandemic, there will be no public services.

Memorial contributions may be made to the Veterans Fund at the University of Notre Dame, at giving.nd.edu; by phone (574) 631-5150; or by mail, at University of Notre Dame, Department of Development, 1100 Grace Hall, Notre Dame, Indiana 46556. ❖

## Holcomb, from page 1

the way for Pence to run for Indiana governor in 2012, a post that would give the congressman four to eight years to bone up on the requisite "executive" experience. Daniels was to be the Hoosier to run for president. The man with the front row seat to all of this was Eric Holcomb.

It was Daniels' deputy chief of staff, his former reelection campaign manager, who in May 2011 would inform the press and soon-to-be disheartened Republicans that "President Daniels" would be consigned to a future at Purdue University, and not the United States.

For many Daniels/Lugar Republicans, this was the precursor to a decade

RealClearPolitics Election 2020			
President	Senate		House
<b>Election 2020</b>	<b>Biden</b>	<b>Trump</b>	<b>Spread</b>
RCP National Average	50.1	41.7	Biden +8.4 ↓
Top Battlegrounds	49.0	43.5	Biden +5.4 ↓
Latest Betting Odds	52.4	35.9	
<b>Electoral College</b>	<b>Biden</b>	<b>Trump</b>	<b>Toss Ups</b>
RCP Electoral Map	222	115	201
No Toss Up States	352	186	
<b>Battlegrounds ● ○</b>	<b>Biden</b>	<b>Trump</b>	<b>Spread</b>
Wisconsin	48.0	43.0	Biden +5.0 ↓
North Carolina	48.4	45.0	Biden +3.4 ↓
Georgia	45.5	47.8	Trump +2.3 ↑
Florida	50.1	43.4	Biden +6.7 ↓
Pennsylvania	49.8	43.6	Biden +6.2 ↓
Arizona	48.2	45.0	Biden +3.2 ↓
<b>2020 vs. 2016</b>	<b>2020</b>	<b>2016</b>	<b>Spread</b>
Top Battlegrounds	D +5.4	D +2.4	Biden +3
RCP National Average	D +8.4	R +1.2	Biden +9.6
Favorability Ratings	D +14.5	D +3.1	Biden +11.4

of volatile GOP presidential politics. They, and Daniels, believed he could win the 2012 presidential nomination. Daniels believed that, though he now doesn't believe he could have topped President Obama. In what they had hoped to be a second Daniels presidential term, after he had reined in and reformed the nation's sprawling entitlement dilemma, in 2016 the void was filled by Donald J. Trump, with Gov. Mike Pence as his dutiful running mate. The two would transform Republican and American politics and, indeed, the world. But not in a good way.

Today the Trump/Pence

reelection bid is taking on water faster than the Titanic. Entitlement reform hasn't been broached in the past five years. Instead, a wicked pandemic has spawned 150,000 American deaths, with 25% of the worldwide COVID deaths (with just 4% of the population) coming in a nation that in 2019 was considered the Lamborghini of medical research and systems.

Trump and Pence are trailing by double digits in most national polls, and over the past week are behind in just about every battleground state, save Ohio. They trail or are even with Joe Biden in "red states" like Texas, Arizona, North Carolina and Georgia.

After a week in which President Trump appeared to turn the corner on the simple but most effective way of tamping down the pandemic (wearing a face mask), he reverted to previous form. He retweeted a video of Dr. Stella Immanuel, who states, "You don't need masks, there is a cure." She advocated the debunked notion of the cure (hydroxychloroquine). "I think they're very respected doctors," Trump said, adding they believed in the drug. "There was a woman who was spectacular in her statements about it." Pence met Immanuel's group in Texas on Wednesday.

In an Axios interview that same day, Trump acknowledged that in eight conversations with Russian President Putin, he never once broached the subject of a late February item in the President's Daily Briefing, that the Kremlin had instigated bounties for Taliban killers of U.S. troops in Afghanistan. "I have never discussed it with him," Trump said, adding that the report "never reached my desk." Which was another of his 20,000-plus lies.

In the midst of President Trump's self-produced American carnage, with his and Vice President Pence's blood in the water stirring the sharks, there is already speculation as to what happens to the post-Trump Republican Party. Who should the party turn to in 2024?

Many expect that a Hoosier will be at the center of the speculation. But like the early winter days of 2010, the Grand Old Party might want to shift its focus from the vice president, to another Indiana governor.

Eric J. Holcomb.

## A tale of 2 pandemics

Unlike Maryland Gov. Larry Hogan or Ohio Gov. Mike DeWine, Holcomb has not become a Sunday morning pandemic media star.

In fact, Wednesday's Thomas Friedman column in the New York Times became the first notable national exposure for Holcomb. "Our future archaeologists would also be right to focus on face masks, because the early intense resistance by pro-Trump Republican leaders and faithful to wearing them was the distilled essence of how far off

track today's GOP and its enabling media ecosystem have drifted," Friedman explained. "In that sense it was yet another stark reminder that we can't be at our best as a country – as we need to be most in a pandemic – without a principled conservative party, grounded in science, not just cultural markers and mindless, kneejerk libertarianism. We have a way to go. Forbes reported last week that 'of the 19 states that have yet to issue a mask mandate, 18 are run by Republican governors.' But let's give a small shout-out to Republican governors Larry Hogan of Maryland, Mike DeWine of Ohio, Eric Holcomb of Indiana and Kay Ivey of Alabama, who have been or become pro-mask. It is not only good for their states' physical health but also the country's political health."

The Holcomb governorship has been widely seen as a success. He is on a course for a landslide win in November, probably eclipsing Daniels' 58% victory in 2008. That it comes during a probable Democratic wave is notable. He has become Indiana's most powerful modern governor, consolidating his cabinet to include an appointed superintendent of public instruction for the first time in history. He presided over the pandemic-induced economic hit with a \$2.3 billion budget surplus, of which \$900 million has been absorbed. He has a fully-funded road program for the next decade.

He has weathered the pandemic in good shape, successfully inducing Hoosiers to shut down the economy for nearly three months in March, gradually reopening it in June and July,

though he stopped the state in the final Stage 5 earlier this month after a second spike of the first pandemic wave, and extended it to Aug. 27 on Wednesday. He became the third Republican governor to issue a mask mandate after weeks of messaging Hoosiers that it was the most effective and inexpensive way to mitigate COVID-19.

While Holcomb has taken some heat for reopening the state's economy too quickly, he and his team have successfully kept intensive care unit bed availability in the mid-40th percentile, and ventilator capacity in the mid-80th percentile.

Last Friday at Marian University, Gov. Holcomb and Vice President Pence appeared together and seemed to be in sync. Pence was in the midst of a weeks-long mission to have public schools fully reopen. Holcomb has taken a more nuanced approach, allowing local educators and school boards to forge an array of hybrid plans.

## Contrast with Gov. Pence

Holcomb's gubernatorial legacy offers a sharp contrast to Gov. Pence, who grabbed Donald Trump's political lifeline in July 2016. Pence's reelection bid was in trouble



when he availed himself to the Trump ticket.

Perhaps the most ambitious Hoosier in a generation, his decision to run for governor in 2012 was all about resume-building to prepare for national office. He would run, serve a term or two if it had to be that way, then run nationally in 2016 or 2020, just as he had pondered a 2012 presidential campaign until the Mitch Daniels specter persuaded him otherwise. He was the first modern governor to be elected with less than 50% of the vote.

As governor, you could see Pence systemically checking off the boxes needed for a national resume. He pushed for the income tax cut in 2013, but was constrained by Republican legislative leaders who didn't want to be forced to raise taxes during the next recession. He pulled out of Common Core. He signed social legislation designed to curry favor with the evangelicals and pro-life activists. He went a bridge too far with the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, where his communication skills suffered a temporary lapse. His administration appeared to lack direction. Statehouse lobbyists and lawmakers had little fear of crossing him. There were embarrassing staff lapses from the JustIN propaganda proposal to blind-siding legislative leaders with a third \$42 million Regional Cities option. Regional Cities was sold as an enduring Pence legacy that has since been mothballed.

By 2015 Gov. Pence's approval rating as governor fell from 60% into the 40th percentile.

In the Dec. 15, 2016, edition of *Howey Politics Indiana*, I wrote: "Many Hoosiers I know are amazed at the transformation of a mediocre governor who has been thrust into a worldwide power center. But history is full of these episodes, of Napoleon escaping a disastrous invasion of Egypt, only to arrive in Paris with a few too many heads rolling away from the guillotine and a gaping power vacuum. This is what we now know about Vice President-elect Pence. This is a man who played his political cards adroitly. Pence raced toward a power vacuum when others fled in the opposite direction. While dozens of heavyweight Republicans told the Trump veep searchers to bug off, Pence not only came to the table, he flew out to Teterboro to retrieve the prize as it flickered. It was an absolute roll of the dice. Had Trump flicked Pence away with a 'get him outta here' and gone with Christie or a Newt, the governor's political career would have been in shambles."

South Bend Tribune columnist Jack Colwell observed in that same edition of HPI, "Holcomb, conservative but not so much an ideologue, is more in the mold of former Gov. Mitch Daniels, for whom he served as a key staff member and campaign manager. Holcomb will get along with Republican leaders in the General Assembly much

better than Pence ever did. They work together now on a way to implement a major infrastructure program. Things never envisioned at the start of 2016 came Holcomb's way: Named lieutenant governor to fill a surprise vacancy. Selected as governor nominee after Pence was picked for vice president. Elected governor over a Democratic front-runner with help of the Trump tsunami. What now? Holcomb is qualified for governor. And he isn't seeking as governor to establish qualifications for president."

## Governors and presidents

In this final edition of HPI's 25th year, a conclusion reached is that men who enter the Indiana governorship intent on using it as a stepping stone to the White House tend to rule through that prism, limiting their effectiveness.



Pence and Evan Bayh fit that profile, though Bayh was a more effective governor than Pence. Both fall short of Govs. Doc Bowen and Robert Orr, who had more enduring legacies.

Gov. Daniels didn't use the Indiana governorship to achieve a national goal as nakedly as Bayh and Pence, who were extremely cautious about using their political capital on controversial projects. Daniels ruled with the notion that any unexpended political capital was wasted, and he used it to achieve his Major Moves road program, a shift to Daylight Savings Time, the constitutional referendum on property tax caps and school funding projects; and his 2011 education reforms.

Holcomb served as a chief lieutenant of Daniels and writes extensively about it in his 2012 book, "Leading the Revolution: Lessons from the Mitch Daniels Era."

Holcomb writes: "From a national recession and tight budgets that result from the tough times, to major floods and tornadoes, the public considers how officials handle crises in deciding who will earn their votes. As much as the disasters themselves, the official responses to



Exxon Valdez and Katrina were forever etched into the American memory. As I have said before, we learn from mistakes what works and what does not work. Unfortunate as they were, these crises taught anyone who was paying attention that the nation cannot afford to fumble and make mistakes of this magnitude again."

Under Trump and Pence, who heads the White House coronavirus task force, the prevailing view is that the national response has been bungled and kicked to the 50 states. Trump's own words, heard over a mortality graphic in a Lincoln Project TV ad, lays out in searing detail how this administration has mishandled this crisis.

In another passage, Holcomb observes, "Great leaders are voracious learners who never stop questioning for more information and are not moored to the past. They are led by facts, not rumors of blind faith in someone else's reputation. Therefore, it is paramount to trust your team and to know that their research on any topic is solid, prior to spouting off about what you think. Remember, you will rarely, if ever, have 100% of all the information you need to make the toughest calls. If you are not learning from those surrounding you, it is time to retool the team. Everyone around you should know you are constantly taking the pulse, assessing the news of the day, and have multiple reference points."

Holcomb's book focused on how Daniels operated as governor provides not only a working outline of Holcomb's gubernatorial administration, but a sharp contrast with how Vice President Pence operates.

Among the key observations:

- Create your own conventional wisdom; do not let it define you.
- Ideas, facts and substance matter; do not be afraid to communicate them creatively.
- Do not rely on polling to dictate your direction. It is good to learn from it, but build your own compass.
- Through unwavering dedication to your core beliefs you will be afforded tomorrow's political capital to spend on future projects. The political account balance of your accumulated political capital will provide you strength and thus frame you as a strong or weak leader.
- Do not be politically afraid to take on hot-button issues in pursuit of making government work.
- If at first you do not succeed, do not quit. Be willing to fail (temporarily).
- Sell, sell, sell ... then sell again. Selling public policy is like playing volleyball and requires at minimum



three actions: 1. Set. 2. Spike. 3. Follow through.

- Focus relentlessly on results; measure everything. Protectors of the status quo do not take a day off; neither can champions for reform. Mitch always said, "If you are not keeping score, you're just practicing. What gets measured gets done." This has become a hallmark of the Holcomb administration's pandemic response.

- Do not take the bait; stay disciplined and positive.

- Let yourself go and take calculated risks. Mitch stayed in homes rather than hotels so he would have down time with individuals and, incidentally, where he might get some real nitty gritty experiences far away from special interest groups.

- Plan your path to victory. In Mitch's case, having a road map for Indiana's comeback meant he earned a reputation as an idea generator. Keep your message easy to understand; play through

your team's strengths and weaknesses, your opponents will; envision and articulate what your destiny is.

## Holcomb's future

Gov. Holcomb will only be 56 years old when he is likely to leave office in early 2025, should he defeat Democrat Woody Myers in November. Unless U.S. Sen. Todd Young decides to run for governor in 2024 (he's up for reelection in 2022) or Sen. Mike Braun retires in 2024, there is no elective future for the governor in the state.

That's why we speculate on a 2024 presidential run.

Two-term Indiana governors often face a split screen. Gov. Orr experienced the Oil Shock recession in his first term, survived a narrow reelection, then used his political capital for his A-Plus education reforms. Govs. Frank O'Bannon and Daniels presided over sharp economic downturns in their second terms.

Holcomb's first term was one of historic contrast, going from a 3.2% jobless rate in February to 16.9% in April and 11.2% in May. With the pandemic's persistence likely to continue into the first year or two of a potential second term, it's impossible to know what is in store for him.

But he has ruled while closely adhering to the Daniels playbook he outlined in 2012. It has the potential to set him up for something bigger in 2024. We know from Don Cogman's book that the Daniels presidential flirtation had been set in motion for a couple of years, despite his frequent denials to the press.

Holcomb went from a third place U.S. Senate candidate in 2016, to an unexpected lieutenant governor

selection and nomination, and then his implausible Republican Central Committee win for the nomination and his epic and successful 100-day campaign that brought him to the governorship.

With four years of Republican General Assembly super majorities, and his on-going reelection bid amidst of a pandemic, that he follow up with an improbable presi-

dential run in 2024 makes sense, if he wants it.

Historically strong and reform-minded Indiana governors, from Democrat Paul McNutt to Republican Daniels, have been poised to play in the presidential arena. It might be time for Hoosier Republicans to begin to wrap their minds around such a scenario with this particular governor. ❖

## Dems targeting Indy, LaPorte Senate districts

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – It took the Democratic Water-gate wave election of 1974 for the party to stake a majority in the Indiana Senate for a mere two years.

The miniscule caucus has just 10 members, so even if the most vicious Democratic wave were to take shape, there is virtually no chance for the party to take a majority. Howey Politics Indiana counts just five potentially competitive races for 2020, with four of them in Democratic-trending Marion County. The other is SD8 which had been held by Democrats Jim Arnold and Anita

Bowser for a generation until Sen. Mike Bohacek won it during the Donald Trump wave of 2016.

As with the House, if President Trump craters at the top of the ticket, the problem for Democrats is that gubernatorial nominee Woody Myers has been an anemic fundraiser, give Gov. Eric Holcomb's reelection chances an enhanced status, raising a potential bulwark against down-ballot carnage.

Republican sources tell HPI that while Trump won't carry Indiana by the 19% he did in 2016, he'll likely come in with an 8-to-10% plurality. Gov. Holcomb is running very strongly in some of the Indianapolis suburban districts where Trump is poised to be a liability. "Senate Republicans have developed their own brand," one campaign source told HPI. "That helps inoculate us."

Zach Brown, who heads the Senate Democratic Campaign Committee, says the three Marion County seats in the mix this year give the party an opportunity to make inroads. "We have to take what we can get," Brown told HPI on Tuesday. "With the top of the Republican ticket so weak, looking at Marion County, this is where we would have preferred to play. I think Trump's weakness will move to down ballot races.

Brown said that Trump mishandling the coronavirus pandemic along with education issues ranging from safely reopening schools to teacher pay issues will play into the party's wheelhouse. "People in suburban areas of the state including the donut counties and Indianapolis are

rejecting the top of the ticket. Those issues are dominating."

Drew Anderson of the Indiana Democratic Party noted this past session when Republican senators up for reelection "supported systemic racism."

"During what was a shortened, non-budget session, State Senators Mike Young, Jack Sandlin, Michael Crider, and Aaron Freeman – all white senators – aimed their sights on measures the Indianapolis City-County Council had passed to help bring better opportunities for Black and Brown Hoosier families across Marion County," Anderson said. "These instances of bullying include Aaron Freeman's crusade to defund a planned mass transit system, Mike Young and Jack Sandlin's war on marijuana, and Freeman and Crider's votes restricting renters' rights in major Indiana cities."

He also claims that voters in Indianapolis want to place a check on the GOP dominated Statehouse. "When you look at the overall environment, people want to put a check on the overall system. They want to hold a check on the federal government and state government for not funding education. We think some of our races are very winnable."

Here is HPI's rundown of potentially competitive districts. All other districts are considered safe for their current parties.

### **SD8: Sen. Mike Bohacek (R) v. Gary Davis (D).**

**2016 Results:** Bohacek (R) 31,232, Maxine Spencer (D) 22,369. **2020 Analysis:** Bohacek won SD8 in 2016 following the retirement of Democratic State Sen. Jim Arnold, who along with State Sen. Anita Bowser kept this seat in the Democratic column for decades. Bohacek, a former Democrat, was aided by the Donald Trump/Mike Pence wave election, with 38.2% in his district backing Hillary Clinton. Democrat gubernatorial nominee John Gregg won the district with 49.3% that same year, while Sen. Joe Donnelly carried it with 49.8% in 2018. Democrats believe a national wave has the potential of returning the district to the D column with Davis, a longtime at-





torney and disabilities advocate from LaPorte who was slated in June. Davis told the NWI Times his campaign will focus on advocating for people whose voices often go unheard in politics and government, just as he works at his law practice on behalf of those injured on the job and people with physical or mental disabilities. "We're in a precious moment in our state's history, and we need someone representing District 8 who has a record of fighting for

the voiceless and who understands these tough issues. I'll be that kind of senator for Hoosier families," Davis said. If elected Nov. 3, Davis plans to prioritize "education first" at the Statehouse, including protecting schoolchildren amid the coronavirus pandemic, supporting teacher pay raises and retooling Indiana's school funding formula.

Bohacek, Michiana Shores, served two terms as LaPorte County commissioner. He is a consultant for Echo Global Logistics and owns MSL Services Inc. in Michiana Shores. He authored the hate crime legislation in 2018 with State Sen. Ron Alting, saying, "In light of the recent anti-Semitic vandalism at a Carmel synagogue, it's imperative for Hoosiers to know these hateful crimes will not be tolerated. No one should live in fear of expressing themselves or practicing what they believe. I am pleased that the governor has called on the legislature to pass this kind of bill. There needs to be a law in place to help prevent hate crimes in our state and protect the safety of all Hoosiers, and I will work hard to make that a reality." He authored Senate Enrolled Act 29 in 2019, which requires a school corporation, upon the request of a parent or juvenile detention facility, to provide a child who is detained for more than seven days with the school materials corresponding to their respective grade level or the courses the child is or would be enrolled in if they were not detained." With the potential for a national Democratic wave and the district's Democratic history, this seat could flip this November. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

**SD30: Sen. John Ruckelshaus (R) v. Fady Qaddoura (D). 2016 Results:** Ruckelshaus (R) 36,833, Pamela Hickman (D) 33,188, Zachary Roberts (L) 2,564. **2020 Analysis:** This could be the Democrats' best chance for a Senate pickup, though Sen. Ruckelshaus has conducted an intense door-to-door campaign. National and state Democrats have been strong in this north side Indianapolis district, with Hillary Clinton winning it with 55% and John Gregg 56.5% in 2016, and Sen. Donnelly carrying it with 62% in 2018. Ruckelshaus passed on a 5th CD race to defend SD30. Fady Qaddoura is chief innovation officer for Katz, Sapper & Miller, leading the firm's efforts to expand services and use technology and data to create meaning-

ful client outcomes. He brings an extensive background in data analytics, consulting, and systems enhancement. Fady joined KSM after a decade in public service, first for the Indiana General Assembly, then the Indiana Department of Workforce Development and Indiana Family and Social Services Administration, before being appointed the controller and CFO for the City of Indianapolis by Mayor Joe Hogsett in 2016. During his tenure with the city, he was credited with playing a significant role in executing many of the Hogsett administration's major projects and technology initiatives. He vows to protect "reproductive freedom and choice" for women, seeks "responsible investments in pre-K, K-12 schools, and the state's vocational, college and universities." He said that the "Indiana General Assembly must protect Hoosiers' rights to quality and affordable health care" with more than 600,000 Hoosiers enrolled in HIP2.0 and CHIP programs. He adds that on social investments, "In order for Indiana to attract jobs and businesses, we must integrate Hoosiers into the global economy and give them the incentive to live, work, and raise families in Indiana. Issues like poverty, unemployment, and hunger hold Indiana back from reaching its full potential as an economic engine."

Ruckelshaus was elected to the Senate in 2016 after serving in the Indiana House for a term in 1990. He is assistant majority caucus chair. He authored legislation that expanded the rights of sexual assault victims, saying, "Survivors of these events have to relive the most traumatic experience of their life when they go through these interviews and exams. I think the least we can do is provide them with the support of a mental-health profes-



sional, and I hope to see this bill receive the same support in the House." After the 2020 session, Ruckelshaus said, "Indiana's strong financial position helps us fully fund public education through this budget cycle." He backs Gov. Holcomb's efforts to combat the coronavirus pandemic. In a recent IndyStar op-ed, Ruckelshaus said that Indiana "Republicans must lead on clean energy jobs." Senate Democrats will attempt to tie Ruckelshaus to U.S. Education Sec. Betsy DeVos and her American Federation for Children PAC, saying he received \$52,000 in 2016 from the affiliated Hoosiers For Quality Education. Qaddoura had a \$126,931 to \$95,873 cash on hand lead on mid-May pre-primary finance reports filed with the Indiana secretary of state. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup.



**SD32: Sen. Aaron Freeman (R) v. Belinda Drake (D).**

**2016 Results:** Freeman (R) 31,173, Sara Wiley (D) 20,184, Shane Zoellner (L) 2,170. **2020 Analysis:** Senate Democrats believe this district is trending Democrat, though Hillary Clinton polled 36.5% and John Gregg 43.7% in 2016 and Sen. Joe Donnelly had 44.4% in



2018, making it one of the more conservative districts in Marion County. Drake advocated fully legalizing recreational marijuana; expanding background checks, closing gun show loopholes and strengthening red

flag laws; and backs same day voter registration, more voting centers and extended poll hours. She also wants an expanded hate crimes law, and would back living wage, and more access to pre-K. "We can't have social justice in a future without a planet that's livable," Drake said. "Environmental and climate justice are the foundation of this platform, just as they are the foundation of all life on earth."

Sen. Freeman said he will continue to "support policies that create a business-friendly tax environment to encourage them to create and invest in local jobs." He says he will only vote for "honestly balanced budgets" and "has repeatedly voted against costly tax increases." He notes that as an Indianapolis councilman, he "proudly supported the state's first pre-K program." As a former Marion County prosecutor, he has been committed to "ensuring that our most violent criminals remain behind bars" while working "to increase public safety funding in order to combat violent crime and drug abuse." Senate Democrats have attempted to connect Freeman to a 2016 Republican Convention video clip of "Full Frontal with Samantha Bee" in which Freeman said of the Black Lives Matter movement, "You know, this Black Lives Matter movement, I just don't think it's helpful to the country. I don't know what their purpose is. ... I was a prosecutor who brought cases before a grand jury for police action shootings. Your chances of being shot by police are nonexistent if you respect authority, if you don't pull a gun on 'em, if you don't run from 'em, if you cooperate with law enforcement. Put your hand on the steering wheel and play along with what they ask you to do." This district fits the description of one that could come into play if a big Democratic national wave develops and swamps down ballot Republicans. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Freeman.

**SD35: Sen. Mike Young (R) v. Pete Cowden (D).**

**2016 Results:** Young (R) 26,617, Phil Webster (D) 18,641. **2020 Analysis:** This district is still a reli-

ably GOP district. Hillary Clinton got only 36.2% against Donald Trump in 2016, John Gregg had just 44.9% and Sen. Donnelly had just 44% in 2018. Cowden is an Army Ranger veteran who served three tours in Iraq and Afghanistan. He worked on Donnelly's reelection campaign and is the veteran's service officer for Wayne Township Trustee's Office. "I believe government works when the right people are there to advocate for everyday individuals with common-sense policies, and when people are there to serve their community, not their own ambitions," Cowden explained. "As your next state senator, I pledge to listen, serve, and unite to fight for our community." Cowden backs legalizing medical cannabis and restoring faith in government, saying "I will fight the corruption at our statehouse with the same intensity I fought America's enemies on the battlefield. As your state senator, I will propose reforms to our campaign finance system, and I will stop politicians from choosing their voters by ending the partisan gerrymandering undermining our elections." Cowden advocates "We should pay our teachers on par with other public servants."

Young was elected to the Indiana House in 1986 and joined the Senate in 2000. He managed Rex Early's 1996 gubernatorial campaign and once led the House Republican Campaign Committee. He chairs the Senate Judiciary Committee. Young told HPI that a Democratic attack on a Facebook posting involving his daughter who as a teacher out of state had contracted COVID-19 was unfair. Democrats said the posting identified the student, but HPI reviewed the posting and did not come to the conclusion that the student was identified. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Young.

**SD36: Sen. Jack Sandlin (R) v. Ashley Eason (D).**

**2016 Results:** Sandlin (R) 26,696, Sean Gorman (D) 18,375. **2020 Analysis:** This is another seat that could potentially be in play should a national Democratic wave



impact down ballot races. While Hillary Clinton carried just 39.9% of the vote in 2016, John Gregg carried 46.8% that same year, and Sen. Donnelly won the district with 48.8% in 2018. Eason

easily won the Democratic primary in June. The native Texan is a non-profit executive. She states, "Indiana is on a path of amazing growth, but that growth has to serve everyone. When I talk to our neighbors, it's obvious that Indiana's growth and success haven't reached everyone on the south side of Indianapolis. I'm committed to address-

ing the root causes of the complex issues we face, and I bring my skills in building collaborative solutions: Reaching across the aisle, partnering with local government, and engaging our business and philanthropic communities." She cites Marion County's high infant mortality rate that is 57% more than the national average while maternal deaths are 11% higher than the rate of California. She backs "equality for all," saying, "All Hoosiers should be able to earn a living, take care of their families, and be full participants in our community without fear of harassment or discrimination. We need legislation that protects all Hoosiers from discrimination." And she backs a "robust public transportation to incentivize new employers to open offices here in Indiana."

Sandlin is a former IMPD deputy police chief, served on the Indianapolis City-County Council and was a two-term Perry Township trustee. He was first elected in 2016. Sandlin seeks quality education "from innovative Pre-K programs and effective, results-oriented K-12 schools to affordable college experiences and skills-based vocational programs, our future depends on making a strong commitment to education." He backs removing education regulations. He will support policies that will reduce our taxes, provide fair economic opportunities for the middle class and promote a healthy pro-jobs environment that provides Hoosiers with high-wage jobs. On public safety, his campaign says, "Jack has seen the brutal face of violent crime and drug abuse and has the experience needed to tackle these issues. Jack is committed to providing law enforcement the resources they need to get criminals off the streets, combatting the drug epidemic, and ensuring effective treatment options for drug addicts."

**Horse Race Status:** Likely Sandlin.

## Statewides

### Weinzapfel assails Rokita on masks

Democratic nominee for Indiana Attorney General, Jonathan Weinzapfel, called out his opponent for refusing to clearly back Gov. Holcomb's mask order (Howey Politics Indiana). The campaign said that former Congressman Todd Rokita issued a "purposely muddled statement" Thursday that creates unnecessary confusion over his support of Holcomb's executive order and his legal authority to issue it. "While Congressman Rokita might have learned to speak out of both sides of his mouth in Washington D.C., it's not going to fly here in Indiana," said Weinzapfel, who issued an unequivocal statement in support of the order yesterday. "We are facing a resurgence of this virus across the state and Hoosiers need and expect leadership, not more political doubletalk. This isn't about politics, ideology or anything else. This is about keeping Hoosiers safe and stopping the spread of this potentially deadly virus. The fact that Congressman Rokita refuses to support Gov. Holcomb on something so basic to the health and safety of our citizens, and on something he clearly has the legal right to do, is disqualifying. Just like Curtis Hill, Todd

Rokita is more worried about pleasing his right-wing base than doing what's best for Hoosiers."

## General Assembly

### HD88 caucus set

Indiana Republican Party Chairman Kyle Hupfer has officially called a caucus of eligible precinct committee members to fill the upcoming vacancy in the office of House District 88. The seat is currently held by former Speaker of House Brian Bosma, whose resignation from the Indiana House will be effective July 31 (Howey Politics Indiana). The caucus will be held at 6 p.m. ET, on Wednesday, Aug. 19, at the McCordsville Town Hall, which is located at 6280 W. 800 N. Proper social distancing will be in effect, and facial coverings will be required. The individual selected at the Aug. 19 caucus will fill the remainder of former Speaker Bosma's term. "Former Speaker Bosma has served Hoosiers for more than 30 years, helping grow Indiana into the fiscal envy of the nation," said Hupfer. "Hoosiers will miss his leadership, and there's no doubt that the new representative for this district has big shoes to fill." Individuals interested in running in the caucus should contact the Indiana Republican Party secretary at [dzagone@indiana.gov](mailto:dzagone@indiana.gov) to ensure they file the proper forms prior to the deadline, which is 72 hours prior to the vote. The caucus will be open to credentialed media who pre-register to Holly Lawson at [hlawson@indiana.gov](mailto:hlawson@indiana.gov) prior to 5 p.m. ET on Tuesday, Aug. 18.

## Presidential 2020

### Biden closing in on veep choice

Presumptive Democratic nominee Joe Biden is getting close to announcing his running mate (The Hill). The decision is expected to be the first week in August, several weeks before the Democratic National Convention starting on Aug. 17. The vetting process is completed and interviews are done. Now, the final contenders are engaged in furious last-minute jockeying, The Hill's Amie Parnes reports. We know a few things about the kind of person Biden will pick. The former vice president says he will pick someone he is comfortable around. And he's pledged to pick a woman. Many are expecting Biden will select a woman of color, although Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-Mass.) is very much in the running. Others being considered include Sen. Kamala Harris (D-Calif.), former national security adviser Susan Rice and Reps. Karen Bass (D-Calif.) and Val Demings (D-Fla.).





# Colleges facing long-term challenges

By **MICHAEL HICKS**

MUNCIE – America's colleges and universities are in the midst of reopening in what is sure to be a reckoning for many. My oldest already began her senior year, and my college sophomore heads back in early August. Both face

strict rules on mask wearing and social distancing. They return to a combination of online and in-person instruction, with a schedule fraught with uncertainty.

Right now, about a third of schools have announced this hybrid model, with more than half planning for in-person classes. A few have elected to be online only, but this raises real challenges to colleges. I have written about the economic effects of the K-12 decisions before us, but

there are economic effects to reopening colleges as well.

Some of the costs of COVID-19 on U.S. colleges are already emerging. International enrollment will drop, perhaps profoundly, as few students can travel to the U.S. to start school. Some will take online courses, but many will opt to delay a year or substitute a Canadian or U.K. university for a pandemic-stricken American school. This loss of out-of-state tuition will be enormous for some schools, and it is combined with a drop in other revenues.

Nearly every U.S. state has announced or implemented budget reductions for higher education. For those with endowments, stock volatility augers little good news for financial returns in the year ahead. Research dollars are likely to be down this year, and extra revenue from summer programs and athletic events face epic declines. Nearly every American college or university is downsizing staff.

**COVID-19 hits at** a confusing time for American higher education. The financial returns to a college degree remain stunningly high, well over a million dollars in a lifetime. More than 80% of all the net job growth for the past 30 years has gone to college graduates. Nearly all the wage growth over 30 years went to college graduates, signaling that demand for college-educated workers is outstripping the supply.

At the same time, state cuts to higher education have increased costs to students and forced most public universities to enroll large shares of out-of-state and international students to make up the financial shortfall. Thus, we have the bizarre environment where it is easier to get admitted to out-of-state schools than those in-state schools of the same quality. Incentives matter.

Largely due to low and declining state support, In-

diana is near the very top of the list of states with foreign and out-of-state students. There are many benefits to this, but there are risks. The response to COVID-19 magnifies these risks, and at least one research group, led by Scott Galloway of New York University, attempted to evaluate the risks to schools from COVID-19 response.

Galloway's analysis examined the value to cost ratio and a vulnerability ratio that attempted to capture its risk to COVID-19 effects on enrollment. With this, he put each school into one of four categories. Of the 456 schools he lists, 88 will thrive, 128 will survive, 131 will struggle, and 89 will perish.

**These measures aren't** perfect, and not every school made data available. However, the analysis did capture the gist of the problem. If universities conduct in-person classes, we must expect heavy transmission of disease. No matter what steps are taken in the classroom and on-campus, Galloway calls it "delusional" to believe students will social distance elsewhere.

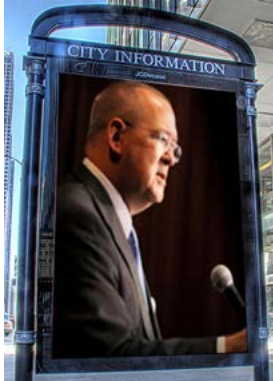
If universities do not re-open, we must expect broad enrollment shifts between schools. For online classes, students will flee low-value schools. High-value schools, which mostly aren't low-priced schools, are safe from this calculus. The low-value schools, with low endowments and high admission rates, are the most at-risk of financial meltdown.

Naturally, we should be interested in how Indiana schools will fare. Not every school was analyzed, but the general outline was clear. Ball State, Wabash and Notre Dame are expected to thrive. All three are high-value schools. Both IU and Purdue are ranked at greater risk, despite their high value, due to their high reliance on out-of-state and foreign students.

**Every other university** or college was on the list of 'struggle' or 'perish' schools. While not every school was analyzed, my guess is that Butler University is the only other Indiana school that would dodge the struggle/perish list. This should be sobering because the schools on the thrive and survive lists are already conducting layoffs and cost-cutting programs. The economic shocks of our national response to COVID-19 will almost surely force some colleges in Indiana to close.

Of course, higher education has to prove its value. Many schools entered this downturn poised to fail, and will soon close. In a perfect world, students from these schools would transfer seamlessly elsewhere and graduates not see a devaluation of their diploma. I fear it is more likely that the most vulnerable students will slip through the cracks and the environment for college completion will worsen across the state. We simply cannot afford that.

Indiana continues to lag in educational attainment, which fueled a steep decline in per capita personal income relative to the U.S. We've slipped from 92.1% to 85.9% just since 2000. Today, we face a perfect storm. Heavy reliance on out-of-state students and a decade of declining higher education funding have left Indiana at risk of steep declines in college attendance.



There are no easy remedies for these challenges, especially with state finances facing the most daunting two years since the Great Depression. Still, the future of Indiana's economy depends on deepening our bench of college graduates. If we fail that, no other policy or spending priority will make Indiana prosper. ❖

**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.**



## All of us should help revitalize democracy

By **LEE HAMILTON**

BLOOMINGTON – Amid all the troubles occupying our attention, one of the more worrisome is also one of the least visible. It is the loss of public faith in the effectiveness of our representative democracy.

While most state and local governments, and certain federal agencies, have maintained public support during the pandemic, concern over our system as a whole is palpable: That it has trouble responding to the country's needs, is resistant to reform as society evolves, and continues to perpetuate inequality, social immobility, and basic unfairness when it comes to creating more opportunity, liberty, and justice for all.



These deficiencies corrode our unity and effectiveness as a nation. Americans increasingly divide themselves into different, often warring, political and cultural camps. Instead of working to create one out of many, they sort themselves into like-minded communities. They narrow, rather than expand, their sources of news and information, seeking those that reinforce their views. These days, we often live in different worlds from one another.

Politicians have played a significant role in this. Some, including the president, are bent on stoking division. Many play to their parties' bases. And some, at both the state and federal level, do their best to narrow the public support on which government rests by making it difficult for everyone who's entitled to vote to cast an actual ballot.

**To be sure, there are** plenty of efforts in many communities to work against these trends, to expand participation and build connections, and to decrease division. Still, the challenge we face as a nation is to revitalize our democracy and its institutions. We need to strengthen representative democracy by restoring the effectiveness of government, rebuild Congress as a functional, co-equal branch of the federal government, and restore confidence in our institutions, public and private.

How do we do this? Calls for greater public par-

ticipation and involvement are on target, but not enough. While I'm always encouraged by political leaders who seek to involve the public and by civic groups that try to enhance and encourage citizen participation, I believe we're at the point where we need to repair our frayed institutions and push back against the forces that divide us.

**We are, after all,** the United States. Our name expresses an ideal. So, for that matter, does the course of our history, which over time has trended toward expanding inclusivity and opportunity for all. One place to start is to appreciate our history and take inspiration from that history: to recognize where we've fallen short, but also to highlight the remarkable progress we've made and the efforts of committed citizens that made it possible.

We also need to recognize that divisiveness weakens us, and that efforts to reknit American society are now urgently important.

To that end, proposals for a year of national service strike me as particularly welcome. This would be expensive but focusing young Americans on a year of shared endeavor with others from vastly different backgrounds – in the military, in AmeriCorps, in internships or public-service opportunities would help meet many needs and be well worth the expense.

We also need to up our game as ordinary citizens and beat back the drivers of divisiveness and polarization as we work to strengthen our communities.

**Among other things,** this means making an effort to seek out alternative points of view in the media and paying attention to objective, factual reporting. It means supporting measures that bring us together, such as bringing young people from all backgrounds and perspectives to work side by side in projects for the public good. And it means being thoughtful about our engagement, voting for candidates focused on pulling us together and working for the common good and putting our time and effort into causes that bring us together rather than pull us apart.

In short, we must decide what we can do in the voting booth and in our own neighborhoods and communities to revitalize our representative democracy. Our aim is to make our communities and our country better places to live: more creative, inclusive, and welcoming. The answer lies not in the stars, but with all of us. ❖

**Lee Hamilton is a Senior Advisor for the Indiana University Center on Representative Government; a Distinguished Scholar at the IU Hamilton Lugar School of Global and International Studies.**



# Hoosiers in the economic zone

By **MORTON J. MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – With apologies to Rod Serling, consider, if you will, Rob and Rhonda, two ordinary Hoosiers doing what they customarily do each weekday in the Economic Zone.



Rhonda leaves the house to be at the job site by 7 a.m., hard hat on, blueprints in hand. Rob takes off at 8:10 with the kids for elementary school and then to the public library where he will drive the bookmobile and serve as its librarian until mid-afternoon.

Rhonda is proud of the building her crew is constructing to green standards with the latest technology. Rob delights in bringing

reading opportunities to people who find it difficult to reach a library branch. Both are warm-hearted do-gooders. Neither is prepared for the crushing truth about to fall on them.

Clouds darken over the city. Lightning flashes and thunder rumbles in the distance. A voice without a direction says softly, but for all to hear, "From this time forward, you will all pay for the costs you impose on others. You are not being punished. You are merely doing right."

"What's that?" Nan, the assistant librarian asks Rob. "I knew it was coming," he replies. "We could be hit with a carbon tax. It's the exhaust from this bus." Nan shrieks in horror and flees to the back of the bus.

At the construction site, a similar conversation takes place. Rhonda explains to her crew, "Stay calm. Yes, despite our good efforts, this building, when finished, will

still release carbon into the atmosphere which has bad effects on the earth's climate."

"Darn, right," says Big Dan, the building owner's representative on the site. "We do it, we can pay for it. But I don't like government taxing us."

"Oh, we don't have to be taxed," Rhonda replies. "We can buy carbon credits on the open market."

**Big Dan shuffles his feet** indicating he doesn't understand. Rhonda continues, "Carbon credits basically give us the right to release certain amounts of carbon into the atmosphere where they are absorbed by someone else's actions planting crops or trees that, as they grow, swallow up carbon."

Big Dan says, "You mean, it's like we pay to have our trash hauled away by Goldstein's Garbage Guys?"

"Yes," Rhonda confirms. "In this case, the unwanted carbon may be absorbed by new plants on the marginal land of a farmer in Newton County, or by new tree-lined streets in suburban Hendricks County, or even by a forest saved from destruction in Borneo or Brown County."

"Sounds complicated," Big Dan says. "Yes, but it makes sense," Rhonda says. "You can explore how this works at non-profit carbonneutralindiana.org."

Narrator: Two ordinary Hoosiers at work, knowing how to do the right thing, while avoiding government involvement, by private exchange in the Economic Zone.



**Mr. Marcus is an economist. Reach him at [morton-marcus@yahoo.com](mailto:morton-marcus@yahoo.com). Follow his views and those of John Guy on "Who gets what?" wherever podcasts are available or at [mortonjohn.libsyn.com](http://mortonjohn.libsyn.com).**



Indiana  
at your finger tips

**Download it today!**  
**[howeypolitics.com](http://howeypolitics.com)**

**HPI Mobile Offers...**

*The Daily Wire - 6 Days a Week*

*Photo & Video Galleries*

*Access to HPI Columnists*

*News Alerts*

*and more for*

**\$0.96**  
*per day*

Now available for iOS and Android devices

# Is this still Trumpiana?

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Is this still Trumpiana?

Or could it again be Indiana, where Republicans clearly are in the majority, their candidates most often winning, but with a functioning two-party system in which Democrats have a realistic chance at times to win important elective offices?

It became Trumpiana in 2016, with Donald Trump carrying the state by a landslide, by over 19 percentage points, and sliding the land so decisively that no Democrat had a chance for statewide elective office or much of anything. Before that, there were such things as Democrats winning a Statehouse office, even governor, winning a U.S. Senate seat and sometimes winning control of the Indiana House.



Democratic oblivion came just as Democrats looked to 2016 as a good year. They had reason for optimism.

John Gregg, the Democratic nominee for governor, appeared poised to defeat a struggling Republican incumbent, Mike Pence, rather unpopular back then in Indiana. Evan Bayh, big Democratic winner in past races for governor and senator, was set to reclaim a Senate seat. Glenda Ritz, the Democratic state school superintendent, who fought to protect schools from politics, was a "sure bet" for reelection.

And, hey, Republicans were saddled with Trump, that reality TV and casino guy. Could Indiana actually go Democratic for president, as it did in 2008 for Barack Obama?

Then, Trump won the hearts of Hoosiers, at least a whole lot of them. A bunch of others disliked him less than Hillary Clinton.

**Trump won narrowly** in key Midwestern states, prevailing in the Electoral College. Nothing narrow about his Indiana win. He did better here than in Mississippi and about the same as in Louisiana. While Gregg and Bayh ran ahead of the Democratic presidential ticket, they were swept away in that Trumpiana landslide. So was "sure bet" Ritz.

Even if Democrats didn't hold any of the six Statehouse offices elected statewide, they still had Sen. Joe Donnelly, lone Democrat in a statewide-elective office. Polls showed him popular as he ran for re-election in 2018. President Trump went all out to defeat Donnelly, including personal pleas in Indiana appearances. Donnelly lost.

So, Democrats hold no office elected statewide. Pathetic ranks in the state legislature leave them unable even to delay anything in either cham-

ber. They hold only two of the nine U.S. House seats, both in the districts in which a Republican gerrymander pushed as many Democratic voters as possible in order to keep the other seven seats safe Republican.

This November? Another Trumpiana landslide? Or plummeting of Trump support? Something in between those two scenarios seems likely.

**Recent polls show** the president with around a 10-point lead in Indiana, not 19. If he continues to drop in approval nationally and in Indiana as well, Trump could hinder rather than help other Republican candidates. If the race tightens, with Joe Biden slipping at the end, Trump could do very well again in Indiana.

Democrats appear to have one shot at winning a statewide race, only one. That's for state attorney general. The Democratic nominee, former Evansville Mayor Jonathan Weinzapfel, is a strong contender for the office held now by tarnished Republican Curtis Hill. Republicans dumped Hill from the ticket, enhancing chances to hold onto the office. Todd Rokita will be harder to defeat.

Republican Gov. Eric Holcomb, well liked, is expected to win easily over a basically unknown and terribly underfunded Democratic challenger, Woody Myers.


Democrats have a real chance to pick up one additional Congressional seat, in the 5th District, where Christina Hale, a former lieutenant governor nominee, seeks an open seat vacated by a retiring Republican incumbent.

Could Democrats pull upsets in other congressional races and state legislative contests? Sure. Not if the state remains Trumpiana. Possibly, however, if the land this time slides away from rather than with the man for whom the name Trumpiana was coined. ❖

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

**ANTELOPE CLUB**

615 N. DELAWARE ST. - DOWNTOWN INDY  
antelopeclub@hotmail.com



- >> Lunch & dinner 6 days a week
- >> Cigar lounge
- >> Beautiful view of Downtown from our 2nd floor patio

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



# Has cancel culture gone too far?

By **KELLY HAWES**

ANDERSON — Cancel culture is one of those rare topics on which Barack Obama and Donald Trump seem to agree. In remarks last fall, Obama suggested that seeking to punish people you disagree with is no way to bring about change. "If all you're doing is casting stones, you're probably not going to get that far," he said. "That's easy to do."



The current president offered his own take in a recent speech at Mount Rushmore. "We want free and open debate, not speech codes and cancel culture," he said. "We embrace tolerance, not prejudice."

Of course, those words ring a bit hollow coming from Donald Trump. He's not exactly a champion of tolerance. Still, a recent survey by Politico found most folks who had an opinion on the topic thought cancel culture had gone too far. A significant number, of course, were blissfully unaware of the controversy.

So, what is cancel culture anyway? In a December 2019 article for Vox, Aja Romano suggested the term grew out of a line in the 1991 film, "New Jack City." In the film, the Wesley Snipes character, a gangster named Nino Brown, has a girlfriend who objects to the violence he's causing. Nino dumps her with a profane and misogynistic suggestion that she has been cancelled.

Lil Wayne recalled the line almost two decades later in his song, "I'm Single," and it surfaced again a few years after that in the reality show, "Love and Hip-Hop: New York."

At that point, the idea of cancelling people began to spread on social media.

**"As it caught on,** however, the term began to evolve into a way of responding not just to friends or acquaintances, but also to celebrities or entities whose behavior offended you," Romano wrote.

This month, more than 150 journalists, authors and academics signed onto a letter published in Harper's Magazine. "Our cultural institutions are facing a moment of trial," they wrote. "Powerful protests for racial and social justice are leading to overdue demands for police reform, along with wider calls for greater equality and inclusion across our society, not least in higher education, journalism, philanthropy and the arts. But this needed reckoning has also intensified a new set of moral attitudes and political commitments that tend to weaken our norms of open debate and toleration of differences in favor of ideological conformity."

It's OK, they say, for debate to be robust and even caustic. "But it is now all too common," they write, "to hear calls for swift and severe retribution in response to perceived transgressions of speech and thought." Such an atmosphere, they argue, will ultimately harm "the most vital causes of our time." "The restriction of debate, whether by a repressive government or an intolerant society, invariably hurts those who lack power and makes everyone less capable of democratic participation," they write.

**Among the letter's** signers was Bari Weiss, an editor and columnist who subsequently had a very public breakup with the opinion pages of The New York Times. In her resignation letter to publisher A.G. Sulzberger, Weiss accused the newspaper of allowing itself to be cowed by the thought police. "Twitter is not on the masthead of The New York Times," she wrote. "But Twitter has become its ultimate editor. As the ethics and mores of that platform have become those of the paper, the paper itself has increasingly become a kind of performance space."

Weiss and I might not agree on much, but we agree on this. Everyone should have a chance to speak. No one, not even those whose views we find abhorrent, should be silenced. Like it or not, that's what freedom of speech is all about. ❖

**Kelly Hawes is a columnist for CNHI News Indiana. He can be reached at [kelly.hawes@indianamedia-group.com](mailto:kelly.hawes@indianamedia-group.com). Find him on Twitter @Kelly\_Hawes.**

## U.S. economy contracts 32.9%

[Wall Street Journal](#)

WASHINGTON — The U.S. economy contracted at a record 32.9% annual rate last quarter and weekly jobless claims rose to 1.43 million, amid signs of a slowing recovery. The Commerce Department's initial estimate of U.S. gross domestic product in the second quarter is the steepest drop in records dating to 1947. The decline came as states imposed lockdowns across the country to contain the coronavirus pandemic and then lifted restrictions. Economists expect the economy to resume growth in the third quarter, which began on July 1.

Separately, applications for unemployment benefits increased by a seasonally adjusted 12,000 to 1.43 million for the week ended July 25, the Labor Department said Thursday. Filings for unemployment benefits have eased since a late-March peak but remained at historically high levels. A surge in virus infections since mid-June appears to be slowing the recovery in some states, according to some private-sector real-time data. The U.S. Census Bureau also said in its latest weekly Household Pulse Survey that 51.1% of households experienced a loss of employment income in the week ended July 21, up from 48.3% four weeks ago. ❖

# Census impact on 2021 reapportionment

By **DUDLEY L. POSTON Jr.**  
and **TERESA A. SULLIVAN**

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. — On July 21, 2020, President Donald Trump addressed a memorandum to the U.S. Department of Commerce directing the Census Bureau to report to him, in addition to the 2020 Census population counts by state, the estimated numbers of undocumented immigrants by state. These data would be included in his report to the Congress on apportioning the U.S. House of Representatives for the 2022 elections. The New York Times reported that Trump’s “action directly conflicts with the traditional consensus interpretation of the Constitution and will almost surely be challenged in court, potentially delaying its effect if not blocking its enactment altogether.” Nevertheless, we explore here the implications of the president’s directive with respect to the 2020 apportionment of the U.S. House if undocumented immigrants are excluded. Which states would gain seats and which states would lose seats?



## Apportioning the House in 2010

The main objective in apportioning the U.S. House is to assign equitably the 435 seats to the 50 states; the District of Columbia is not included in the apportionment. The first 50 seats are automatically assigned, one per state. The method of Equal Proportions is then used to divide up the remaining 385 seats among the states on the basis of the size of their populations. The method determines which states should receive second seats, which states should receive third seats, and so forth. The larger the population of a state, the more seats it receives. The method of Equal Proportions was first used to apportion the House in 1940 and has been used ever since.

The apportionment population of a state is defined as all persons residing in the state as of April 1, plus all American military and civilian personnel of the federal government and their dependents from the state who were residing abroad; this latter group is known as the overseas

population.

In 2010, the state receiving the largest number of seats was California with 53; Texas followed with 36 seats, and then Florida and New York with 27 apiece. The states of Alaska, Delaware, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Vermont, and Wyoming each received only one seat, the one they are granted automatically.

## Apportioning the House after '20 census

For this exercise, we have projected to 2020 the apportionment populations of the 50 states and then used the method of Equal Proportions to distribute among the states the remaining 385 House seats. Remember that every one of the 50 states first automatically receives a seat. We began with the estimated resident populations of the states for July 1, 2019 as produced by the U.S. Census Bureau; we then subtracted from these 2019 estimates their July 1, 2018 estimated counts. We then took three-fourths of the differences, and added them to the 2019 population estimates, to yield the projected April 1, 2020 counts of the resident populations of the states. To determine the overseas populations of the states, we calculated the proportion of each state’s 2010 overseas population to its 2010 resident population. We multiplied these 2010 overseas proportions by the 2020 resident population projections of the states to produce overseas estimates for 2020; we added them to the 2020 resident populations to produce projections of the 2020 apportionment populations.

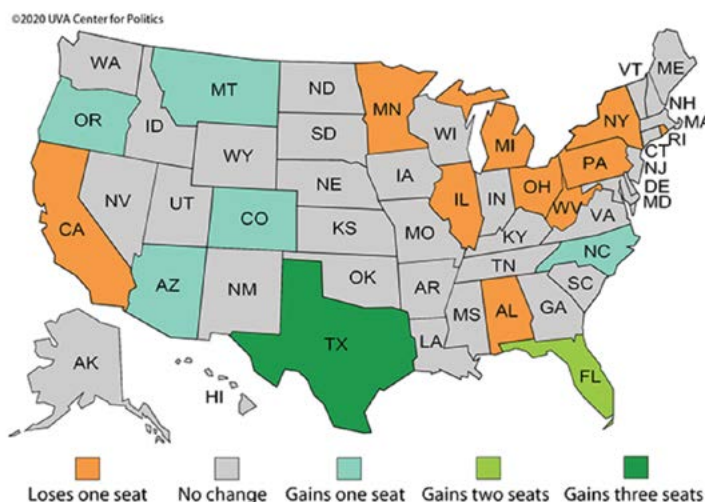
We then allocated the House seats to the states.

We first gave each state its automatic first seat. We then used the method of Equal Proportions to assign the remaining 385 seats. We show that 10 states are projected to lose House seats in 2020: Alabama -1 (from 7 to 6), California -1 (from 53 to 52), Illinois -1 (from 18 to 17), Michigan -1 (from 14 to 13), Minnesota -1 (from 8 to 7), New York -1 (from 27 to 26), Ohio -1 (from 16 to 15), Pennsylvania -1 (from 18 to 17), Rhode Island -1 (from 2 to 1), and West Virginia -1 (from 3 to 2).

As those states are poised to lose seats, seven states are

projected to gain House seats in 2020. These are Texas +3 (from 36 to 39), Florida +2 (from 27 to 29), Arizona +1 (from 9 to 10), Colorado +1 (from 7 to 8), Montana +1 (from 1 to 2), North Carolina +1 (from 13 to 14), and Oregon +1 (from 5 to 6).

Map 1: 2020 reapportionment projection





## Apportioning excluding undocumented

To gain an understanding of the possible effects of President Trump’s directive to exclude undocumented persons from the apportionment populations, we next developed for the 50 states population projections and U.S. House seat assignments for 2020 excluding their undocumented residents. We first obtained estimated numbers of undocumented immigrants residing in the states in 2017 produced last year by demographers Jeffrey S. Passel and D’Vera Cohn of the Pew Research Center. They used a residual method to estimate the number of undocumented immigrants residing in the 50 states in 2017, totaling approximately 10.5 million persons. We divided these 2017 undocumented estimates of the states by the 2017 Census Bureau estimates of their resident populations to obtain estimates of the proportion of undocumented immigrants in the states in 2017. We multiplied these proportions by the states’ projected 2020 resident populations and subtracted them from the 2020 resident populations. Finally, we added in our estimates of the states’ overseas populations, as discussed above, to produce 2020 apportionment counts for the states that exclude undocumented immigrants. We are assuming that the estimated proportions of undocumented immigrants in the states in 2017 are correct and will be the same proportions in 2020.

We then used the method of Equal Proportions to apportion the House using these apportionment counts that exclude undocumented immigrants. How do these seat assignments based on 2020 counts excluding our estimated numbers of undocumented immigrants compare with 2020 seat assignments that do not exclude undocumented immigrants? Compare column 3 with column 4. Three states gain a seat in 2020 compared to the number of seats they are projected to receive in 2020 if undocumented persons are not excluded, and three states lose a seat: Alabama +1 (from 6 to 7), Minnesota +1 (from 7 to 8), and Ohio +1 (from 15 to 16); and California -1 (from 52 to 51), New Jersey -1 (from 12 to 11), and Texas -1 (from 39 to 38).

Steven A. Camarota and Karen Zeigler of the Center for Immigration Studies published research late last year in which they also apportioned the House after excluding undocumented residents. Their results are the same as our results, except that they show New York, and not New Jersey, losing a seat.

Finally, if the 2020 apportionment excludes undocumented immigrants, what will be the changes in seat assignments between 2010 and 2020? Compare column

2 with column 4. If undocumented persons are excluded in 2020, we predict that eight states will lose nine seats, namely, California -2 (from 53 to 51), Illinois -1 (from 18 to 17), Michigan -1 (from 14 to 13), New Jersey -1 (from 12 to 11), New York -1 (from 27 to 26), Pennsylvania -1 (from 18 to 17), Rhode Island -1 (from 2 to 1), and West Virginia -1 (from 3 to 2); and we predict that seven states will gain nine seats in 2020, namely, Texas +2 (from 36 to 38), Florida +2 (from 27 to 29), Arizona +1 (from 9 to 10), Colorado +1 (from 7 to 8), Montana +1 (from 1 to 2), North Carolina +1 (from 13 to 14), and Oregon +1 (from 5 to 6). This projection is shown in Map 2.

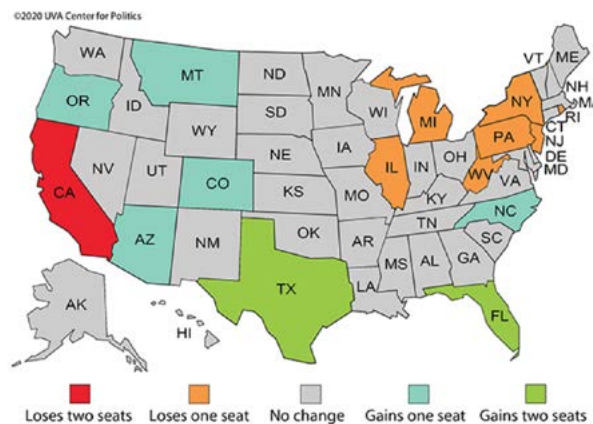
## Technical and legal obstacles

Our estimates of the numbers of undocumented residents for the states would not be sufficient for use in the official apportionment. Moreover, it is not clear whether the Secretary of Commerce could produce acceptable numbers of undocumented residents according to the timetable the new memorandum requires. Last year, President Trump’s Executive Order 13880 instructed the Bureau to develop its “best citizenship” assessment for each enumerated person by linking that person with administrative records held by government agencies. Those data, however, were to be made available to the states for redistricting (not for apportionment) and are not due until March 31, 2021. Also, the Supreme Court has struck down the use of sampling data for the purpose of congressional apportionment, and a direct count is impossible because of the well-publicized absence of the citizenship question. Whether there is enough time by Jan. 1, 2021 to compare every census return with administrative data seems doubtful.

Even if that gargantuan task could be accomplished, there are formidable obstacles both statutory and constitutional with respect to the exclusion of people who are “best guessed” not to be legally residing in the United States, according to Martin Lederman of the Georgetown University Law

Center. Among these issues is that the only constitutionally established exclusion is for “Indians not taxed.” Also, the Constitution requires that apportionment be based on the actual number of inhabitants. Moreover, the president’s recent innovation in apportionment runs counter to the governing statute (2 U.S.C. §2a), which requires him to report “the whole number of persons in each state” and “the number of Representatives to which each state would be entitled . . . by the method known as the method of equal proportions.” ❖

Map 2: 2020 reapportionment projection excluding undocumented immigrants



**Thomas Friedman, New York Times:** When people ask me about my mood these days, I tell them that I feel like I'm a reporter for The Pompeii Daily News in A.D. 79, and I'm sitting in the foothills of Mount Vesuvius and someone just walked up and asked, "Hey, do you feel a rumbling?" Do I ever. The summer of 2020 could be remembered as one of those truly important dates in American history. Everywhere you turn you see parents who don't know where or if their kids will go to school this fall, renters who don't know when or if they will be evicted, unemployed who don't know what if any safety net Congress will put under them, businesses that don't know how or if they can hold on another day — and none of us who know whether we'll be able to vote in November. That is a lot of hot, molten anxiety building up beneath our economy, society, schools and city streets — just waiting to blow the top off our country — because we have so failed at managing the coronavirus. We have 25% of all recorded infections in the world, and we're only 4% of the world's population. In the ultimate irony, Vietnam, which has a little less than one-third of our population but has reported only 416 cases and no deaths, is feeling sorry for us.

How did we get so inept? If, God forbid, America were buried under lava the way Pompeii was and future archaeologists were to come along and dig it out, I have no doubt that the artifact they'd dust off and hold up first to answer that huge question would be a simple item that costs pennies to make and is so easy to wear: the face mask. For something that's supposed to cover our mouths it speaks volumes about how crazy some have gotten.

Specifically, that face mask tells how the world's richest and most scientifically advanced country generated a cadre of leaders and citizens who made wearing a covering over their nose and mouth to prevent the spread of a contagion into a freedom-of-speech issue and cultural marker — something no other country in the world did. There is nothing more demoralizing than this, nothing that set us back in the fight against Covid-19 further and faster. A society that can politicize something as simple as a face mask in a pandemic can politicize anything, can make anything a wedge issue — physics, gravity, rainfall, you name it. And a society that politicizes everything will never realize its full potential in good times or prevent the worst in bad times. President Trump's resistance to masks actually had nothing to do with ideology. It was just his primitive opposition to anything that would highlight the true health crisis we were in and that therefore might hurt his re-election. But Vice President Mike Pence — always happy to put lipstick on Trump's piggishness — dressed up his crude mask-resistance in elegant constitutional garb. When asked by a reporter at Trump's Tulsa rally a few weeks ago why the president appeared unconcerned about the absence of masks and social distancing at his event, Pence solemnly intoned: "I want to remind you again, freedom of speech and the right to peaceably assemble is in the Constitution of the U.S. Even in a health crisis, the Ameri-

can people don't forfeit our constitutional rights." What a fraud. But let's give a small shout-out to Republican governors Larry Hogan of Maryland, Mike DeWine of Ohio, Eric Holcomb of Indiana and Kay Ivey of Alabama, who have been or become pro-mask. It is not only good for their states' physical health but also the country's political health. ❖

**Hugh Hewitt, Washington Post:** Republicans hold statehouses in some big states and there the counts look like this: Florida has seen 5,931 deaths, Texas with 5,085 fatalities and Ohio with 3,344. Arizona, also with a GOP governor, has 3,304 dead. Thus, of the 10 states with the most fatalities, the six highest tolls are all in states with Democratic leadership. Republicans run the virus response in states ranked seventh through 10th in this grim lineup. How often have you seen those harshest of facts? Instead, the headlines trumpet new cases, where California leads with 453,155 cases, Florida with 432,747, New York with 412,344 cases and Texas with 394,927. Case numbers follow population totals fairly closely, but Florida Gov. Ron DeSantis (R) is pummeled by New York and Beltway media, while New York's Andrew M. Cuomo (D) gets at least a pass and often praise. The pandemic is not political. It isn't a Republican or a Democratic disease. Reopening of states led to spread. If the mass demonstrations around Memorial Day did not contribute to spread, it is hard for me to imagine that they reduced it. Trump hoped that summer's heat would rout the virus and that has obviously not occurred. Few have all the right calls here; life generally cannot contain an invisible virus spread by asymptomatic carriers. ❖

**Jason Riley, Wall Street Journal:** Trump supporters don't like to hear this, but with just over three months to go before Election Day, their guy is playing catch-up. Yes, some pollsters were off four years ago, but that merely confirms that polls (and pundits) are fallible, not that they're always wrong and should be ignored. The president often derides polls that show him trailing, but if he didn't take them seriously he wouldn't have replaced his campaign manager earlier this month. Mr. Trump preferred to run against a progressive Democrat. But Joe Biden spoiled those plans, and the Covid-19 response stamped out the president's best argument for re-election: a growing economy with low unemployment and rising wages among broad swaths of workers. Mr. Trump's biggest problem is that Mr. Biden isn't Hillary Clinton, and it can't be overstated how much the president benefited four years ago from anti-Clinton sentiment. Back in 2016, voters who said they didn't like either candidate went with Mr. Trump over Mrs. Clinton, 47% to 30%, and helped put him over the top in swing states like Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin. This year, voters with a negative opinion of both Mr. Trump and Mr. Biden say they favor the former vice president by 60% to 10%. ❖



## Holcomb keeps state at stage 4.5

INDIANAPOLIS — As COVID-19 cases are on the rise again in parts of Indiana, Gov. Eric Holcomb on Wednesday announced plans to keep the state in its current phase for re-opening for another four weeks while urging Hoosiers to wear masks to curb the spread (Cross, [NWI Times](#)). Holcomb did say local governments with hot spots can impose more stringent guidelines if they so choose. Gary, Michigan City and Whiting, for example, have closed their beaches, with many city leaders worried of the rise in cases among young adults exhibiting risky social behavior.

“What I’m reminded of on a daily basis is this virus will take what we give it,” Holcomb said. “So it’s incumbent upon us to be on our best behavior.” Over the last week, the state health department has reported 6,400 new cases — which accounts for 10% of all cases identified since the beginning of March, according to Dr. Kristina Box, the state health commissioner. She said 630 new cases were reported in Indiana on Wednesday. In total, 64,299 Hoosiers have tested positive for the virus. Under Stage 4.5, restaurant dining rooms can open at 75% capacity, and places like zoos, museums, movie theaters and bowling alleys can open at half-capacity. Bars, nightclubs, and tourism sites can operate at 50% capacity. Rather than imposing more restrictions, Holcomb said he plans to keep Indiana in Stage 4.5 until Aug. 27. He announced the state’s moratorium on rental evictions will be extended through Aug. 14.

## Pence meets with controversial group

MIDLAND, Tex. — Vice President Mike Pence held a quiet meeting on Tuesday with a group called America’s Frontline Doctors to discuss the use of the anti-malarial drug hydroxy-

chloroquine as an unproven treatment for COVID-19 ([Huffington Post](#)). The meeting came as video of a Monday press conference held by the group was going mega-viral online, racking up tens of millions of views and leading to a widespread effort by social media companies to remove the video and penalize some people who shared it, including one of the president’s sons. Pence’s office did not publicize the meeting nor respond to requests for comment, but several members of the group tweeted Tuesday evening that the meeting had just occurred. “Just finished a great meeting with Vice President Mike Pence and his Chief of Staff,” wrote James Todaro, a member of the group who trained as an ophthalmologist. “We are doing everything to restore the power of medicine back to doctors. Doctors everywhere should be able to prescribe Hydroxychloroquine without repercussions or obstruction.”



## Dubois Herald sold to Paxton

JASPER — The Rumbach family has published The Herald for more than 100 years of the newspaper’s 125-year history. On Aug. 1, the Paxton family, newspaper publishers since 1896, will assume ownership and will produce and print that Saturday’s Herald. It’s no secret that the newspaper industry has experienced major disruptions over the last couple of decades. More than 2,000 newspapers, large and small, but especially family-owned, community newspapers, have closed or been sold. We were fortunate that the disruptions took as long as they did to reach us. Ultimately, The Herald no longer had enough subscribers or local advertising revenue to support the quality community newspaper and website that our readers were accustomed to — and producing a quality newspaper has always been our priority. The Paxton Media Group, which publishes more than 70 newspapers across the Midwest and Southwest, including 12 dailies in Indiana, has the ability to

share resources among its publications, thereby reducing costs — something our family, owner of one newspaper, couldn’t do.

## IMPD announces new use of force

INDIANAPOLIS — The Indianapolis Metropolitan Police Department announced Wednesday that it has adopted new use-of-force policies in the wake of nationwide protests over racial injustice sparked by George Floyd’s death in Minneapolis police custody ([AP](#)). The department said the new policies include an emphasis on deescalating potentially volatile situations and explicitly ban officers from using chokeholds and shooting into or from moving vehicles. “The adoption of these new use of force standards is a substantial milestone, one that I hope demonstrates our commitment to building community trust and developing stronger neighborhood partnerships to address violent crime,” Chief Randal Taylor said in a statement.

## Mystery seeds are Chinese bush clover

INDIANAPOLIS — More today on the mystery seeds showing up on doorsteps around the country from China. Utah agriculture officials have done testing and they do contain a plant considered a noxious weed in the Midwest (Pfeiffer, [Hoosier Ag Today](#)). Robert Hoggard, director of Plant Industry at the Utah Department of Agriculture, says they have already identified several seeds. “There’s been some roses, some rose species. A lespedeza species, which is noxious in some of the Midwestern states, specifically Kansas, it’s a Chinese bush clover. There’s one that’s an Asian herb that’s in the mint family. And then there’s been flower species, some of those that we already have in the United States and wouldn’t be a problem. But, some of these really are a concern, we don’t want to get those established here.”