

Hoosier Senate lions rest in peace

Lugar's passing following Birch Bayh's death leaves us wondering whether new, bipartisan leaders will emerge

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The Hoosier Senate lions, Richard Lugar and Birch Bayh, rest in peace now. They join Thomas Hendricks, Oliver P. Morton and the tall sycamore of the Wabash, Daniel Voorhees. And Charles Fairbanks, Albert J. Beveridge and Sherman Minton, all past Hoosier senators who left enduring legacies.

But there may never again be a tandem as productive or insightful as the two farmers Richard Lugar and Birch Bayh.

When we gathered Wednesday at the Indiana Statehouse, the send-off was to be for Sen. Bayh, who



died in March at age 91. That Dick Lugar would leave this earthly clutch on Sunday is the Hoosier version of John

Continued on page 3

RGL: Right makes might

By **CAMERON CARTER**

INDIANAPOLIS – It's just a little over 48 hours since the call came early Sunday morning that "RGL," as Senator Richard Lugar was known to his staff, had passed during the night. The news is still sinking in while accolades for the great man, many and varied, accumulate from nearly all quarters.

With his death, a mighty titan of Indiana politics and global affairs passes from the scene. More than a few have remarked that Lugar's passing marks the end not only of his life, but of his kind of bipartisan politics. Maybe so



“Since the process was established 13 months ago, it has been a master class in government inefficiency and plagued by maddening inconsistency.”

- U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski, expressing concerns about the tariff exclusion process to Commerce Sec. Wilbur Ross



**Howey Politics Indiana
WWHowey Media, LLC
405 Massachusetts Ave.,
Suite 300 Indianapolis, IN
46204
www.howeypolitics.com**

Brian A. Howey, Publisher
Mark Schoeff Jr., Washington
Cam Carter, copy editor
Joel Weyrauch, copy editor
Mary Lou Howey, Editor
Jacob Curry, Statehouse
Jack Howey, editor emeritus

Subscriptions

HPI, HPI Daily Wire \$599
HPI Weekly, \$350
Ray Volpe, Account Manager
317.602.3620
email: HoweyInfo@gmail.com

Contact HPI

bhowey2@gmail.com
Howey's cell: 317.506.0883
Washington: 202.256.5822
Business Office: 317.602.3620

© 2019, **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.



– supporting evidence abounds – but because Dick Lugar was quite simply the model public servant, the ideals he embodied will live on alongside his many accomplishments. Archetypes never die; they endure to be emulated.

I'm not sure that any recitation here of his accomplishments adds much to the current remembrances of his life or leads to an understanding of him as a statesman and leader. They range in impact from the personal, to the political, to the local, to the national, and finally to the truly global.

However, I might humbly offer that they are all rooted in one, plain truth: Right makes might.

Lugar's power in life and his legacy in death lay in his drive to be in the right and to do the right thing by and for his fellow man in any given "situation" (his oft-used crutch word). This altruistic motive married to a brilliant intellect and an exhausting work ethic was the key to his success.

Lugar's approach to political leadership was first to arrive at the best possible public policy through thorough study and analysis, and then to advance that policy while gracefully engaging its opponents. Only then would he address any political fallout. I observed this principled yet all too rare approach to public service time and again while working for him in the U.S Senate (1988-92) and on his 1996 presidential campaign. To have served this servant was the highest honor.

His humility stands out, as well. Dick Lugar was a very important person who never found anyone else unimportant or unworthy of his time or attention. Presidents, heads of state and random strangers were greeted with the same engaging smile and gentlemanly, diplomatic style. He was invariably, in today's parlance, "present" in his interactions with

people.

(One of the more engaging conversations I had with him was about an amateur racquetball league I had joined at Fort Myer in Virginia. He wanted to know all the details. The conversation occurred while I was driving him and another aide to the Pentagon for a briefing. I missed the Pentagon's exit; Lugar was nonplussed as always but did glance down at his watch.)

His interest in and impact upon the personal lives of others was substantial. The Lugar alumni network is real and tangible. With the exception of remaining high school and college friends, I can honestly say



that nearly all of my lasting, meaningful friendships have been because of or made through Dick Lugar. These personal relationships have lasted decades, enriching my life immeasurably. The senator was a great connector of people and ideas.

Among Dick Lugar's greatest attributes were his sense of equanimity and a wise prescience developed through deep and thoughtful study. Having had to carry his briefcase on occasion (and briefly misplacing it in transit on one Indiana-to-New Hampshire campaign swing), I can attest that its heft matched that of the man. He read voraciously – books, briefs, newspapers, newsletters, weeklies, studies, white papers, actuarial reports, People magazine – you name it and it was crammed in there. The senator was renowned as a runner but schlepping around that

briefcase likely enhanced his physical fitness, as well (that of his aides, too).

His leadership in global affairs culminated with the passage of the Nunn-Lugar Act in 1991 and no single policy or piece of national security legislation has had a better return on investment than this wise, but at the time counter-intuitive and controversial, effort to pay an adversary to disarm itself. Entire nations are denuclearized today and the threat of myriad weapons of mass destruction greatly diminished as a result of Lugar's efforts. His internationalist perspective and willingness to work with erstwhile opponents, both foreign and domestic, actually led to greater American security and prosperity.

Dick Lugar's greatest political sin was his eagerness to engage and work with Democrats such as Sam Nunn. It caught up to him when he lost the Republican

primary to Richard Mourdock on a glum May evening in 2012 that served as a harbinger of our diminished, tribal politics of today.

May we have many more such sinners who place public service above political self-preservation or aggrandizement. But I'm afraid there was and always will be only one Dick Lugar, beloved and missed and yearning to be emulated if never equalled.

Thank you, Sen. Lugar. It is a cliché, but you literally made the world a better place. It feels a lesser one without you in it. ❖

Cameron Carter is a contributing editor at HPI, founder of the strategic communications firm Content by Carter, and former aide to the late Senator Richard G. Lugar.

Senate Lions, from page 1

Adams and Thomas Jefferson dying on the same day, July 4, 1826. For many of us, recognizing their towering legacy that played out far beyond the Wabash and Ohio rivers, beyond the Dunes, into the national and global realm, is both reassuring and, yet, troubling by the void they leave behind.

A sense of loneliness now prevails throughout the warrens of power. Tens of thousands of Hoosiers, perhaps even hundreds of thousands, connected with one another through the nexus of Bayh and Lugar's public service. These came through programs like the Lugar Series or Bayh's pinpoint knowledge of where every Dairy Queen in the state was located, giving him access to soft ice cream and scores of voters. Their political organizations spawned a wave of talent, from Mitch Daniels and Larry Conrad to Todd Young and Joe Hogsett, that pervades the state's power structure to this very day.

For a half century, a Lugar and a Bayh would serve together in the U.S. Senate, with Evan Bayh extending the latter family dynasty. We know in our hearts that Hoosier mothers and fathers still produce men and women of epochal fortitude. Yet, we fret as the Bayh and Lugar lights flicker out, asking whether such men and women of durable stature will continue to come and lead the way through the inevitable darkness and crisis over the horizon.

Combined, Richard Lugar and Birch Bayh compiled legacies on a scale befitting a Founding Father, whether it was Bayh's two amendments to the U.S. Constitution, his ability to establish Title IX, or Lugar's work to render harmless the most potentially devastating weapons stockpiles known to mankind. The pair would determine the

fate of Supreme Court nominees, save auto companies, open up new energy strategies and address a growing thirst and hunger spreading across a rapidly growing populace on a planet under duress. They would work to protect intellectual property and combat juvenile delinquency.

There would be two ill-fated presidential campaigns. Both men would lose their final campaigns after decades of triumph. But it was clear during the Bayh



memorial service on Wednesday that these two opponents had forged the kind of steadfast friendship that we've seen in other rivals, perhaps most notably from Bill Hudnut and Andy Jacobs.

"He was a remarkable man," Jim Morris said at the Richard G. Lugar Plaza Monday as Mayor Joe Hogsett and Gov. Eric Holcomb laid a wreath in the Republican senator's honor. "He saw his opportunities in the largest context. He had high aspirations for this community, with

genuine affection for young people who were sad, lonely, at risk. He treated everyone the same. He would do anything for anyone. He would write a letter for a student wanting to go to the military academy. Or he would write the letter for the student who wanted to go to IUPUI, or he would write the letter to the president of the United States." Many of us have files filled with hand-written letters from Lugar on an array of topics.



Morris continued as tears streaked his cheeks, "He was a perfect gentleman, yet there was not an ounce of big shot-itis in his veins."

In 1974, Mayor Lugar challenged Sen. Bayh, with the Democrat winning his biggest plurality in four Senate races by 4.3%. In the days after Bayh's death, Lugar told John Krull of Franklin College that he didn't want to challenge Bayh, but said he was "almost drafted" by a Republican Party deeply wounded by President Nixon's Watergate scandal. Lugar called Bayh "a great shoe-leather politician" and added, "I cannot recall an occasion when Birch and I had reason to be angry with one another."

No one can remember Lugar ever getting angry with anyone or losing his temper, though I saw him get testy over press coverage of his presidential campaign in Muscatine, Iowa in the summer of 1995. A tale closest to paramount frustration was told by Andy Fisher, his Senate press secretary, who described Lugar and Chief of Staff Marty Morris eating a late dinner on an arduous journey. Lugar grabbed a couple of packages of saltine crackers and crumpled them in his fist, saying, "You either eat 'em or destroy 'em."

When the five living Indianapolis mayors gathered in November 2017 to announce the Lugar Plaza, this leadership arc that commenced with Lugar became evident. As a member of the Indianapolis School Board, Lugar wrote Stephen Goldsmith after he was elected president of the Broad Ripple High School Student Council, urging him to consider a career in public service. "I wanted to become mayor because of Dick Lugar," Goldsmith said, working his way up from the first floor clerk's office to the 25th floor mayor's office. Mayor Bart Peterson recalled meeting Lugar at a Pacers game with his father, Howard, where the mayor autographed an ABA basketball. "I only met the mayor once and it was at that moment," Peterson said. "If he had been in a bad mood ... I would have remembered that my whole life."

After Lugar lost the 2012 Republican primary, he fretted about the future of American leadership. Lugar

talked of the mental-ity afflicting Washington this generation, where candidates were "elected to correct all of that, to rectify all the misdeeds of my predecessor." It was thus when Barack Obama took the reins from President George W. Bush, and today when Donald Trump followed President Obama. There's a "tear it down" mentality that has gripped the nation's capital, and it becomes problematic

when there isn't a clear alternative to replace what's been removed, Lugar warned.

That hasn't happened in Indianapolis. Among the mayors in 2017, Lugar observed, "The fact is, we had a very clear flow, strong progress all the way through." Mayor Bill Hudnut took Lugar's initial amateur sports plan and Market Square Arena and expanded it to include the RCA Dome, which brought the Colts to town. Mayor Goldsmith completed Hudnut's Circle City Mall despite being a critic of the plan, forged the Artsgarden, and expanded the Indiana Convention Center and downtown canal, built Bankers Life Fieldhouse (with the help of Democrat Gov. Frank O'Bannon), while creating enduring commissions on youth and human services.

Mayor Bart Peterson took the Goldsmith blueprint for Fall Creek Place to create a vibrant near-northside neighborhood, built an award-winning international airport and Lucas Oil Stadium (with the help of Gov. Daniels and taxpayers in seven suburban counties), and embraced charter schools. Mayor Greg Ballard completed Peterson's initial work to comply with EPA mandates on combined sewer overflows and river water quality, forged the new Cummins HQ and residential tower on the long vacant Market Square Arena site, and was responsible for the "greening" of the city with bike lanes and both bike and auto sharing platforms. Mayor Joe Hogsett worked with the Gov. Holcomb to get the CIB/Pacer deal done this session.

In essence, there was continuity across generations and across party lines. No one was tearing something (or someone) down unless it was to build something up on foundations forged by others.

Birch Bayh's legacy

The memorial service to Sen. Bayh was the classic bittersweet moment. Sen. Lugar's passing on Sunday lent a more distinct "end of an era" aura. Master of ceremonies Bill Moreau told the packed South Atrium audience, "Let's share a moment of silence for Richard Lugar. He and Sen. Bayh were truly best friends."



The entire gathering was a display in bipartisanship so lacking in Washington. Seated next to Evan Bayh was U.S. Sen. Todd Young, who defeated Bayh in 2016. Republican House Speaker Brian Bosma, Purdue President Mitch Daniels and Gov. Eric Holcomb all paid homage.

Mayor Hogsett gave some early levity when Birch Bayh told the young operative on a swing through southern Indiana, "Here's the deepest secret that can possibly be shared: Whatever you do, don't ever take on the township trustees."

Bosma recounted a theme that came up consistently through the service: The young law clerk was sent by Dan Evans to pick Bayh up at the airport, he introduced himself to Bayh at the baggage claim, with Bayh saying, "Oh hell, Brian I know your dad. Call me Birch." Bosma said the next "20 minutes was all about me. Not one word about Birch Bayh."

That was another common thread between Lugar and Bayh: Both focused much of their energy to young people. Former congressman Baron Hill talked about one of his interns working in his office. An "old man" came in for a meeting and helped her stuff envelopes and "asked me about the internship for 30 minutes. That was Birch Bayh."

U.S. Rep. Andre Carson noted that Sen. Bayh voted for the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 "which helped our access to the ballot box."

"Birch Bayh, a white man from a state that was once the epicenter of the Ku Klux Klan, fought discrimination in the halls of Congress with every fiber of his being," Carson said to wide applause.

Purdue President Mitch Daniels noted that Bayh's

graduation from his university helped him forge two of the great legislative achievements of his career. He noted that there were only two women in Bayh's agriculture classes. "It gave him the idea that all was not right," Daniels said. It gave him background understanding when he inserted the epic Title IX legislation to the Higher Education Act. "He might be pleased today that in the College of Agriculture we have 57% women studying."

Daniels noted the Bayh/Dole Act. "He passed a bill across the aisle with another great still with us, Sen. Robert Dole." Daniels read from an article that called it "possibly the most inspired piece of legislation enacted in America over the past half century. This single policy measure helped reverse America's precipitous slide into industrial irrelevance. Because of that act, the products of genius on American campuses are moving out into the world in a way they would not have in the past."

Bayh's widow, Katherine, noted that Sen. Russell Long had been blocking the bill, but after Bayh lost in 1980, allowed it to pass, telling him, "You deserve it."

Daniels noted that he was on the "losing end" of Bayh's 1968 defeat of Bill Ruckelshaus, and again when Lugar lost to the Democrat in 1974 working on those campaigns. "Even then when I saw him as an opponent, one had to have a profound respect on the way he conducted himself in office. This is someone who won three major close elections. He was a person of such principle, but he took his chances. Those who take that chance, and whose wins are narrow ones" make for the best leaders.

Gov. Eric Holcomb said Bayh left his mark across the state and added, "If ever there was a Mount Rushmore of Indiana public figures, surely and certainly, Birch



Bayh would head that list. There has got to be a quarry down near Lawrence County somewhere. I can just see his limestone smile right now in my mind."

Evan Bayh described his father's last campaign in 1980 when he lost to U.S. Rep. Dan Quayle. They had flown down to Warrick County late in the afternoon after the polls had closed across most of Indiana. Bayh greeted Alcoa workers at the end of their shift, and then hopped back on the plane to Indianapolis. He showered, got a read-out on the polls and knew he was losing.

The Bayhs went to his west-side Indianapolis campaign headquarters where 2,000 to 3,000 people awaited, many in tears. "There were banks of cameras there, all the national media, the New York Times and Washington Post to see how the grand man would handle his political adversity. My father came out and said, 'I'd like to thank more than a million of my fellow citizens for encouraging me to take up the practice of law.'"

"The tears dried up, the frowns went away," Evan Bayh said. "It was just an election. There are more important things in life than that." The next morning, Sen. Bayh went to a Ford plant to shake hands. "The election was over, he lost, there was nothing to be gained. He was there to say thank you. Elections come and go, but friendships and loyalty never die."

Evan Bayh paid tribute to his wife, Susan, who is battling brain cancer. He told the former First Lady that he and his sons could handle the ceremony. "She said, 'If I weren't sick, would we all go?' I said, 'Yes, sweetheart, we would.' She said, 'Well, then I'm going.'"

Bayh talked about his last conversation with the senator via Facetime. "I asked him how he was doing, and he said fine, Kitty and Chris were taking excellent care of him. I asked him, 'Dad, you can get some ice cream. I hope it's good ice cream.' He paused for a moment and said, 'Well, I never had any bad ice cream.'"

The former governor and senator ended on a philosophical tone in what might be his greatest speech. "What makes a life worth living? How do we define a race well run? There are many answers to that question, and no one right."

He cited a 6th Century BC attack on Rome. A company of soldiers was sent to defend a bridge on the approach to Rome. "It was a suicide mission," Bayh said. The commander "looked at his soldiers and spoke about their impending fate. His name was Horatius and this is what he said, 'Death must come to everyone, be it soon or be it late. How can a man find death in facing fearsome odds for the ashes of his followers and the temples of his gods?'"

"My father devoted his life often against fearsome odds," Bayh said. "The fundamental responsibility of an elected official is to get things done to help people in their

daily lives. And so he set out attempting to do just that."

The program for Bayh's memorial service included a quote from the late senator: "My life here on earth may have come to an end, but sense my presence in the hand of a friend, who labors on in our common task, please, no tears for me, of him I ask.

"Picture me on some small plot of land, with a bit of warm rich earth in my hand, there joyously working away in the loam, for more bounty and beauty in our heavenly home."

Richard Lugar's mark

Lugar's career was dense and rich as the soil he would work on his Decatur Township farm. Any reporter interviewing Lugar would struggle to find the simple soundbite. A question could yield a 10-minute reply, complete with a thorough history, footnotes and asides. Lugar was a consistent supporter of a free press, and he was the first subscriber to what began as the Howey Political Report in 1994.

Lugar's impact on Indiana and the world were profound. He collected 7,135,898 votes in U.S. Senate races, a record that may never be broken, with a 7-2 win-loss record. He ran statewide for reelection in 2006 without a Democratic opponent, one of the few times that's occurred north of the Mason-Dixon Line. He had 227,442 votes in his two Indianapolis mayoral races. He cast more than

13,000 roll call votes in the U.S. Senate. He mentored more than 1,000 interns.

University of Indianapolis President Robert Manuel noted that more than 20,000 Hoosier students came through the Lugar Symposium for Tomorrow's Leaders at the university. "We have benefited greatly by his presence on campus over the past 42 years," Manuel said. "In many ways, these records will ensure that his leadership style, approach to public service and impact will be remembered. Senator Lugar's life example served as a model for our students. He was a constant reminder that all individual talents should accrue to the

benefit of others, and he believed that civic engagement was a cornerstone of a meaningful life and the bedrock of a civil society."

Many of us know the Lugar legacy well, that he helped engineer a bailout of Chrysler Corporation in 1979, saving hundreds of Hoosier jobs. His monitoring of a tainted election in the Philippines marked the beginning of the end for Ferdinand Marcos, convincing President Reagan to abandon his support of the strongman. And Lugar went against the popular President Reagan and led the effort to





pass sanctions to oppose apartheid in South Africa, paving the way for Nelson Mandela's freedom and rise to power.

Purdue President Daniels, who worked for Lugar for 14 years both at city hall and in his Senate office, summed up Lugar best: "Dick Lugar was not just the finest public servant I will ever know, he was the finest person. He embodied all we can hope for in our leaders: Brilliance of mind, purity of motive, stainless in character, tireless in the pursuit of duty. Incomparably knowledgeable about the world, he was first and always a patriot, utterly dedicated to the security and wellbeing of his fellow Americans. His voice is now silent, but he is still with us."

His greatest legacy is the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program that passed in 1991 after the Soviet Union collapsed. The communist implosion and scattering of the Soviet republics left unpaid nuclear scientists, huge stockpiles of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons with no inventory controls, some even "protected" by nothing more than chain-link fencing and padlocks. It could have been a terrorist's treasure trove.

I described in my 2007 Indianapolis Monthly article "[A Farewell to Arms](#)" why it was one of the most quietly significant pieces of legislation ever crafted in Congress. Ever. With American funds flowing despite vivid Cold War animosities between Washington and Moscow, it deactivated 7,191 Soviet strategic nuclear warheads and destroyed 662 intercontinental ballistic missiles, 485 ICBM silos, 110 ICBM mobile launchers, 615 submarine-launched ballistic missiles, 30 nuclear submarines, 155 bombers, and 906 air-to-surface missiles.

In 2007, I traveled with Lugar, Nunn, and U.S. Ambassador William Burns, along with Sergey Nikolayovich Shevchenko, to the Geodeziya facility outside of Moscow to destroy a warhead motor. They entered a building about a mile away, from which the demolition was directed. In a



nondescript room painted pea green, two television monitors sat on a table at the front of the room as about 50 people gathered. On the long table where the Americans sat rested three small boxes with red knobs.

"Have there ever been three button-pushers?" Lugar asked, and then, shortly after 5:30 p.m., a translator from the U.S. Department of Defense said: "Please prepare to put your fingers on the buttons." A few minutes later, the trio did just that, and almost immediately there was a loud roar outside, akin to an airliner taking off. The walls rumbled. Inside the burn chamber a mile away, the temperature soared to 1,000 degrees centigrade as the SS-25's propellants burned, destroying the missile motor. The Americans sat, transfixed. The pitch and tenor of the roar grew, began to fade, grew once more, and then finally faded away with the rainbow. It lasted about two and a half minutes. For the first time in history, Americans had destroyed a Soviet-era missile on Russian soil.

About 20 minutes later, the cinder-and-cement walls of the burn stand were still warm. There was the stench of fuel exhaust. All that was left was the hollow shell of a motor that could have transported a nuclear warhead into an American city. One would think that after 15 years of work, Lugar would be jubilant — or at least have expressed some satisfaction. But he was low-key. I asked what he was feeling, and he answered with little emotion. "This used to be carried by rail," Lugar explained. "It could not be pinpointed by our bombers like an ICBM. This is true progress."

That evening at a big feast with the Russian and American delegations, Nunn put it into biblical context: "The Old Testament talks of converting swords to ploughshares. And that's what we're doing."

The Fissile Material Storage Facility at Mayak, with walls 23 feet thick, was built for \$309 million to round-up

and store much of the Soviet era highly enriched uranium. Nunn-Lugar has upgraded security at 12 nuclear-weapons facilities and built nine biological-monitoring stations. It has safely transported 363 nuclear weapons. "Perhaps most importantly," Lugar told me, "Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan are nuclear weapons-free" as a result of the program. It probably had the best return on investment of any Cold War era or post-Cold War national security expenditure.

Former Washington Post foreign editor David Hoffman, writing in his Pulitzer Prize-winning book, "The Dead Hand," observed, "It was never going to be easy for a country so turbulent as Russia to accept the hand of a rich and powerful rival, and it wasn't. Suspicions, delays, misunderstandings and errors were so abundant in the years after the Soviet collapse. But overall, given the immense size of the Soviet military-industrial complex, and the sprawling nature of the dangerous materials, the Nunn-Lugar gamble paid off. The world is safer for their vision and determination."

"It was also a bargain," Hoffman wrote. "The yearly cost for all facets of Nunn-Lugar was about \$1.4 billion, a tiny sliver of the annual Pentagon budget of more than \$530 billion."

Much of this work came before the Sept. 11, 2001 terror attacks on New York and Washington. The idea that someone like Osama bin Laden would seek highly enriched uranium or weaponized anthrax was the stuff of "spy magazines," Lugar said. Even when the U.S. became aware of the huge Soviet pathogen-production facilities, had there not been moments of alarm? "There should have been," Lugar said. "But this was seen as interesting, not life-threatening. The preoccupation was with how cities could be blown up and the fear that New York might be obliterated."

One of the most chilling chapters occurred when Lugar and Nunn toured a Soviet-era ICBM site. Taped to the wall in a kitchenette of the facility was an aerial photo of one of the facility's targets: Indianapolis, Indiana.

Nunn, who sought out Lugar as a partner knowing he would need Republican support in an era when there was much gloating over the Soviet collapse, said Sunday, "Our nation has lost an extraordinary statesman who made the world a safer and better place. I have lost a wonderful friend and trusted partner. Dick Lugar treated every person with dignity and respect. This generation and future generations can learn much from his example in the political world and in life."

CORN CHECKOFF ROI GOOD FOR FARMERS. GOOD FOR INDIANA.

A strong economy starts in the field.

[LEARN MORE](#)



Funded with Indiana corn checkoff dollars.

President Obama called the Nunn-Lugar program “one of the country’s smartest and most successful national security programs.” As Lugar prepared to depart the Senate, Obama told an audience at the Pentagon in late 2012, “Early in the Cold War, Einstein warned of the danger of our wisdom not keeping pace with our technology. And with Nunn-Lugar, our wisdom began to catch up.”

“And, Dick,” Obama added, “I want to take this opportunity to say something else. At times, we’ve disagreed on matters of policy. But one thing we’ve always shared is a notion of what public service should be. That it ought to be more than just doing what’s popular in the moment. That it ought to be about what’s right for our nation, over the long term. It ought to be about problem-solving and governance, not just how we can score political points on each other or engage in obstructionism.”

Agricultural impact

Another key part of the Lugar legacy dealt with hunger and nutrition. “He actually got his start in public life when he ran for the Indianapolis Public School Board,” Jim Morris told HPI on Monday. “It was at a time when Indianapolis had not ever accepted any federal aid.”

For school lunches?

“Or for anything,” Morris explained. “He said, ‘This is ridiculous that we don’t have the school lunch and breakfast program for kids in Indianapolis who are hungry.’ He knew the importance of feeding a child so that the child could be successful in school.

So he brought the school lunch program to Indianapolis. That was a piece of who he was every day of his public life. When he was mayor he did school gardens and community gardens, (and was) very instrumental in starting Gleaners (Food Bank). Clearly, he was one of my big supporters when I went to the United Nations food program.”

“He made a huge commitment to young people. He always started the summer running with high school students at the Tech High School track,” Morris said.

In his 1974 race against Bayh, Argi-Pulse noted that Lugar advocated policies to “encourage the farmer to move toward full production by assuring him that freedom to market his products will not be hampered by the federal government.” After taking office in 1977 with his defeat of Sen. Vance Hartke, he became a persistent critic of quota programs for tobacco, peanuts and sugar. As chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee, he was able to achieve the abolition of the first two, but not sugar.

Argi-Pulse added that Lugar championed international agriculture development and the U.S. “Feed the Future” initiative, and he also urged other countries to accept agricultural biotechnology. He saw both U.S. aid and genetic engineering as critical to feeding a growing global population. “Agricultural productivity does not turn around

overnight. Providing the right conditions and incentives to eliminate poverty is a long-term endeavor,” Lugar wrote in a 2014 op-ed.

Argi-Pulse’s Jim Webster reported that in 1994 as Lugar was preparing to become chairman of the Agriculture Committee, he spoke and fielded questions from reporters for 90 minutes “referring only on a few occasions to the handful of papers before him, demonstrating a grasp of details and effects of farm programs few other members of Congress even knew by name. He distributed a nine-page interrogatory to the standing-room news conference in the committee’s hearing room, questioning almost every facet of farm support and income transfer programs.”

Former Democratic Sen. Max Baucus, who co-chaired the advocacy group Farmers for Free Trade with Lugar, said the Hoosier senator “leaves behind an unmatched legacy of bipartisan achievement on everything from nuclear nonproliferation to food and agriculture policy. At a time when trade policies that keep many farmers afloat have come under fire, Dick stood up with me to ensure their voices were being heard. It was a typically brave stance from a man who has always been guided less by politics than by doing what was right for his constituents.”

There was also the Lugar farm system, with staffers like William G. Leshner, who became an assistant USDA secretary and headed the Global Harvest Initiative, and Chuck Conner, another

deputy secretary at USDA.

Epilogue

In his Senate floor farewell in December 2012, Lugar departed, saying, “In my experience, it is difficult to conceive of a better platform from which to devote oneself to public service and the search for solutions to national and international problems. We do our country a disservice if we mistake the act of taking positions for governance. They are not the same thing. Governance requires adaptation to shifting circumstances. It often requires finding common ground with Americans who have a different vision than your own. It requires leaders who believe, like Edmund Burke, that their first responsibility to their constituents is to apply their best judgment.”

Lugar continued, “My hope is that Senators will devote much more of their energies to governance. In a perfect world, we would not only govern, we would execute a coherent strategy. That is a very high bar for any legislative body to clear. But we must aspire to it in cooperation with the President because we are facing fundamental changes in the world order that will deeply affect America’s security and standard of living.” ❖



A life altering turn: Interning for Lugar

By RYAN NEES

NEW YORK — The first time I visited Washington, D.C., was in elementary school, when my uncle took me on a road trip: Just him, me, and my cousin. I'd never gone anywhere without my parents. We stayed at a downtown Holiday Inn. The first sightseeing I did was across the street from our hotel: A drab 1960s concrete structure known to the government as Federal Office Building – FOB – Number Six, home to part of the Department of Education. I was so star-struck I took a picture of the sign outside it.



The second time was not long after, to begin an internship with Richard Lugar. I had been on an airplane only once before, and I remember the woman I talked to who was seated next to me, the

\$70 my ticket cost, and the view I had of the National Mall landing at DCA. I was 17 years old, and about to live on my own in a city a lot bigger than Kokomo (albeit in the guest room of one of Sen. Lugar's longest-serving staffers, just a few blocks from Capitol Hill, a setup Lugar had arranged).

I'd ended up working for Sen. Lugar that summer because I'd spent much of the previous year writing in these pages about Indiana politics, columns I would surely wince at today but which Lugar treated with charity and, I'd have to imagine, wry amusement. Maybe he too had been a cocky, hot-headed teenager with misdirected energy. Rather than treating me as I was – a politically opposed, ambitious, combustible, impending public relations threat ready to blog about the pettiest shortcomings of his public service, seen up close – he instead invited me to work for him, without worry or reminder that my time there should be off the record.

My first week of work, I led a group of visiting Hoosiers – barely more tourists than me – on a guided walk around the Capitol, mostly just pointing out the senators I excitedly recognized in the halls. When we got to the security check outside the Senate Gal-

lery, they went in while the Capitol Police pulled me aside to have a talk about the keychain mace I was illegally carrying, following my mom's orders. I couldn't go to bars with any of the other interns – all college students, impossibly older – and though they treated me with absolute politeness, none of them became friends. I spent most weekends going to museums alone and reading the new Harry Potter book.

But I was never left lonely at work, and recognizing what I saw to be Special Intern Status, I whiled away untold hours solicitously loafing about the offices of his chief of staff, press secretary, legislative director, executive assistant, and a half-dozen others, all of whom appeared to me sincerely interested in talking about what I could expect in college, and how to think about a career, and the importance of government service. Sometimes after these conversations Marty Morris would pass articles I'd discussed with him to Lugar. He inscribed the first – some piece I'd read in a psychology journal, somehow about Islam – with "RGL, Fix This!" For weeks after, I thought about the next thing I could find that might be worthy of RGL's attention.

Every couple of weeks, Lugar would stay late and have dinner with the interns: Hours-long, ponderous conversations about his fraternity, his fatherhood, his campaign for his high school class presidency, his campaign for the real presidency. He took multiple courageous votes that summer: In favor of expanding the state children's health insurance program, and in support of comprehensive immigration reform. He gave a tough, hour-long speech challenging the Bush administration's strategy in Iraq. He discussed all this with us first. Our conversations were so frequent and intimate that years later I would boastfully advise college friends that, if they weren't going to intern with a senator who treated their interns the way Lugar treated his, why, then they shouldn't bother working in the Senate at all.

Though he surely knew how easily dazzled I

could be that summer, Lugar never acknowledged it to me. Pretending I had worthwhile things to say, he sent me off to bother the many talented people around him, people like Paul Foldi and Neil Brown, whose jobs were to actually know things, with memos I wrote on topics like Romanian adoptions. As though we were colleagues, Lugar had several of us to lunch in the Senate Dining Room. I had crab cakes.

In retrospect, the signs of Lugar's political defeat were already flashing. Lugar kept up a busy public schedule,



but he also saw it as part of his job to close his office door and spend hours reading the books stacked upon his table. I saw one, published six months earlier: "Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid." Here he was, Indiana's senior Republican — still deeply conservative, to be sure — befriending leftist teenagers and reading Jimmy Carter.

It's impossible for me imagine a more powerful intervention at a more important moment in my life than the mentorship Richard Lugar gave me. He cracked open my small world and showed me I could stick it out in a much bigger one. He demonstrated the humbling, hard, never-ending work of a life of learning and open-handed generosity.

Lugar and I exchanged letters for years after

that summer. He told me that, when he applied for the Rhodes, a Denison University administrator had dismissed his ambition, calling it born of thinking he had "mystical powers."

"You and I have faced many of the same obstacles, occasional skeptics, and sometimes straight-forward opposition," he once wrote me. "If my memories gave you encouragement to persevere, I am delighted." He sent periodic notes, handwritten, to let me know he was keeping an eye on me.

"More power to you!" the last one read. ❖

Ryan Nees was an intern for Sen. Richard Lugar in the summer of 2007.



Lugar often rose above partisanship

By MARK SCHOEFF JR.

WASHINGTON — When I would return home to Fort Wayne from Washington while working for Sen. Richard Lugar, I would frequently find myself talking politics the moment I mentioned my boss. Folks would express frustration with what was happening in the capital and, occasionally, blame it on the Republican Party. I politely reminded them that I worked for Lugar, not the GOP.



During his 36 years in the Senate, Lugar was a Republican and conservative stalwart. He voted with President Ronald Reagan more than 95% of the time and was a reliable ally of each Republican occupant of the

White House as well as GOP Senate leaders.

But Lugar was a brilliant and independent thinker who would defy his party — and political convention — when it was necessary to achieve policy breakthroughs to benefit the country and the world.

Despite his strong backing of Reagan, Lugar veered away from him on the issue of applying sanctions on the government of South Africa. Lugar played a key role in enacting sanctions, which ended apartheid.

He drew Republican ire when, as chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee, he pursued reforms of the Department of Agriculture that included streamlining its sprawling field office structure. Sen. Charles Grassley, R-Ia., decried Lugar as a "Lizzie Borden." I remember Lugar's uphill battle against USDA bloat because I was his Senate press secretary at the time.

In the midst of a political atmosphere that was

dominated by domestic policy and health care in 1991, Lugar joined then-Sen. Sam Nunn, D-Ga., to author the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Act, which led to the destruction of thousands of nuclear weapons in the former Soviet Union.

Lugar's partnership with Nunn was the most prominent of countless examples of his ability to reach across the aisle. In his post-Senate career, he launched the Lugar Bipartisanship Index to assess how lawmakers work with the opposite party and to encourage more of it.

In the days since Lugar died, many people have praised the example he set. I was reminded of what Gene Robinson, a former Episcopal bishop, once said in a sermon at Foundry United Methodist Church in Washington. He pointed out that it's one thing to be an admirer of Jesus. It's much harder to be a follower of Jesus.



Let me be clear: I am not comparing Lugar to Jesus. But the tension that Robinson illustrated applies to Lugar's legacy. It's a lot easier to be an admirer of Lugar than a follower of Lugar. If you're a follower of Lugar, you have to be politically courageous and have the ability to put aside politics.

Those who aspire to be the next Lugar have their

work cut out for them.

In a touching Senate floor speech, Hoosier Republican Sen. Todd Young, a former Lugar aide, called Lugar “the gold standard.”

“We should all look to Dick Lugar,” Young said. “We should all learn from his example.”

Young’s counterpart, GOP Sen. Mike Braun, said in a floor speech about Lugar, “I do intend to do what he did. He stuck his neck out. He led.”

But a couple months before his death, Lugar joined 24 other former GOP lawmakers in signing a letter to congressional Republicans urging them to vote in favor of a joint resolution to end President Trump’s border emergency declaration. They argued that Trump was circumventing congressional authority.

“We who have served where you serve now call on you to honor your oath of office and to protect the Constitution and the responsibilities it vested in Congress,” the letter states.

Young and Braun both voted against the resolution and in support of the border emergency declaration. Becoming the object of Trump’s wrath – or the wrath of the party base he controls – can be painful. But tough

votes are a requirement for followers of Lugar.

You also need to rise above the bitter partisanship that often grips Washington.

“He was a very successful politician, but the rare one who managed to come to work every day not thinking about politics,” Dan Diller, a longtime key Lugar Senate aide and policy director at the Lugar Center, said in an April 28 NPR interview the day Lugar died. “He really believed the United States could be governed with civility and with compassion.”

In a similar vein, an April 29 Washington Post editorial said: “In today’s environment of ‘weaponizing’ every issue to advance party and ideology, Mr. Lugar’s example should remind all that public service ought to mean rising above personal consideration in the interests of the country and the world.”

Perhaps followers of Lugar will emerge and make Americans proud of their government again. But no one will be exactly like him.

“I’m not sure we’ll ever see another Dick Lugar,” Young said. ❖

Schoeff is HPI’s Washington correspondent.

When road tax dollars are diverted to projects other than roads and bridges, we all pay the price.



Safety is compromised through congestion and by roads that continue to need repair.



www.InTrucking.org

Promoting Highway Safety. Providing Educational Programs. Fostering a Healthy Business Environment.

Lugar's genuine statesmanship

By JAY RUCKELSHAUS

OXFORD, England – The first time I heard of Sen. Lugar, I was in middle school. My dad was driving me back from swim practice with some political show on the radio (to my grand protestations). A story about the senator aired, and I asked who that was.



"A true statesman," my dad immediately replied, with an air of reverence I associated with only a few other figures. His dad, his uncle. The Pope. Ronald Reagan.

Sensing I still didn't know who the man was, my dad continued, "He's one of our U.S. senators, serves in Washington. Each state gets two. And he's about the best you could ever ask for."

Learning about Senator Lugar was one of the first ways I learned about politics, which is a little like learning about basketball by following Michael Jordan. Learning the rules of the game was inseparable from falling in love with it. Small wonder I've spent my whole academic career, and hope to devote my professional one, to learning about that thing he did so well while remaining so good.

I've thought about that word a lot over the years: Statesman. How it's made to bear so much weight, the weight of a career's achievements, of a sterling character maintained while achieving them, of the political observer's estimation of what it means to represent a whole people, and not just those who voted for you.

I had only recently started to seriously follow politics when he was defeated, a victim of his own party's excesses, but never subdued by them. If anything, the opposite; the magnitude of just how much the Senator did seems all the more impressive – almost mythically so – in an era of legislative gridlock and our tournaments of smallness.

I saw him speak at Duke University my freshman year. Although I had by then already drifted to the other side of the aisle, he loomed as large as ever in my mind, answering every question with keen intelligence and care, and revealing the smiling evenhandedness that made him the enemy of ideologues everywhere.

And that curiosity! He was always reading, always learning. He forged a reputation as one of America's most respected foreign policy voices through the strength of his quest to understand what he did not.

He reminds us that being a statesman, contrary to

popular belief, doesn't always require certainty. It requires a more nuanced and altogether rarer acknowledgment that one cannot ever know everything – but trying all the same.

I mentioned evenhandedness – that's an accurate description of Senator Lugar, but it mustn't be confused with unprincipledness. He won the kind of policy victories that are only possible when a leader is not afraid to back down from what he or she believes, after careful study and deliberation, is right. I can only imagine how difficult it was to navigate the conflicting interests involved in passing something like Unigov, but he did it. Indy would be a shadow of itself had he not.

That's what made his emphasis on bipartisanship, especially through his leadership at the Lugar Center, so genuine. He knew well that Americans disagree. Of course we do. The essence of bipartisanship is not, despite what many pundits and moralizers would have you believe, some attainment of consensus that papers over differences.

The statesman knew that bipartisanship is a hardy, sometimes grudging, but nevertheless sturdy, respect for others despite principled disagreement, and a willingness to continue the conversation, always.

I feel the pull to resist canvassing Senator Lugar's



legacy for practical political lessons so soon. But I also feel that calling on his example is a way of honoring it. Especially when the stakes are so high, as tolerance for nuanced policy discussion wanes, as appetite for smart international cooperation around arms control – a hallmark of the Senator's career – has all but disappeared from the right.

There is time enough to argue about such issues in a state and a country made safer and more humane by this consummate statesman. Thank you, Senator. ❖

Jay Ruckelshaus is a Rhodes Scholar from Indianapolis and a graduate student in politics at the University of Oxford.

Myers eyes challenge to Gov. Holcomb

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The most likely gubernatorial scenario appears to be former health commissioner Woody Myers challenging Gov. Eric Holcomb. Indiana Democrats tell HPI that beyond Myers, John Gregg and Christina Hale, others are gauging potential runs, though party sources were reluctant to reveal who they are. Other names



surfacing include former congressman Baron Hill, State Rep. Karlee Macer of Indianapolis and State Sen. Eddie Melton of Gary.

Myers told HPI last week, "I'm thinking about it very seriously. I haven't made an irrevocable decision, but I'm leaning in that direction. I'm doing all the preliminary stuff, but I'm not quite there."

In an email to supporters, Myers added, "Today I was interviewed by Brian Howey (a senior political reporter, Howey Politics Indiana), and I confirmed to him that I am strongly considering, and close to making the decision, to become a candidate for governor in 2020 in Indiana, my home. As most of you know, I've been encouraged by many Hoosiers (and a surprising number of "non-Hoosiers") to rejoin the Public Sector and to fight daily and directly to bring better public education, better jobs, and of course better healthcare (with better "health") to the wonderful people of our state. I appreciate your words of encouragement and your expert counsel. This is a big decision and I am making it as thoughtfully as I can."

Gregg, the 2012 and 2016 Democratic nominee, did not return phone calls, though he continues to tour the state, some of that appears to be associated with his work at Ice Miller. Democratic sources tell HPI that Gregg still feels a call to serve, but realizes there has never been a three-time gubernatorial nominee.

He appeared at the Jackson County Democratic Dinner Saturday night and tweeted Wednesday, "Great group of Democrats fired up for the 2019 election!"

Hale hasn't ruled out a gubernatorial race, but is being recruited to challenge U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks in the 5th CD.

This all comes as Gov. Eric Holcomb signed his

second biennial budget, insisting that "Indiana is on a roll." In signing the \$34.6 billion budget, Holcomb said, "Hoosiers will benefit from the legislation advanced by our Next Level agenda, including a balanced budget, increasing funding for education and improving school safety. We made these achievements while maintaining responsible reserves and our AAA credit ratings. I applaud lawmakers for completing another productive legislative session." The two-year state budget provides \$763 million in new money for K-12 including paying down a \$150 million teacher pension liability that will free up funds that can go into teacher paychecks. It is the eighth straight balanced budget and maintains at least 11% in reserves.

A Morning Consult poll released last week revealed 49% of registered voters in Indiana approved of Holcomb in the first quarter, 22% disapproved and 29% had no opinion. There was little change from the same polling in late 2018.

Those are decent numbers for an incumbent, bolstered by an unemployment rate of 3.4% and a campaign war chest of more than \$4 million at the end of last year. Holcomb and Indiana Republicans have thus far perpetrated an aura of invincibility.

Myers isn't buying it. "Indiana has been lagging in so many areas," Myers said. "There's an illusion that things



Former health commissioner Woody Myers chats with former Evansville mayor Jonathan Weinzapfel at the Birch Bayh memorial on Wednesday, while John Gregg addresses Jackson County Democrats last Saturday.



are going great for us, but we are losing ground quickly." He cites public education, "integrity in office" and keeping talent in the state as top priorities.

Former Democratic chairman Robin Winston also mentioned Gregg, Hale and Myers, but pushed back on the notion that 53 weeks before the primary, Democrats are losing the opportunity to adequately fund a campaign. Winston said that in the days of Frank O'Bannon, a candidate needed a big war chest to fund TV and direct mail

campaigns. Social media has changed that, as well as the ability to directly target specific TV audiences. Look no further than President Trump's historic 2016 campaign where he was vastly outspent by Hillary Clinton on TV. Trump and his media partners at Indianapolis-based Prosper Group used social media to target voters effectively.

"It's not as byzantine as it used to be," Winston said. "I'm not so sure you need the direct mail. Television is cutting the data for you. I can go after a specific segment. You may need to assuage donors who were acclimated" to older campaign styles.

President

Trump approval a net 3% in Indiana

President Trump has a net approval of just 3% in a new Morning Consult poll. Indiana is the only Big Ten state giving Trump a positive approval. He stands at -12% in Michigan and Wisconsin, -9% in Iowa, -5 in Ohio and -14 in Minnesota.

Former vice president Joe Biden has a 36-22% lead over Sen. Bernie Sanders in the latest Morning Consult Poll. Sen. Elizabeth Warren is third at 9%, Mayor Pete Buttigieg is at 8% and Sen. Kamala Harris is at 7%. But-

tigieg has 55% approval, 10% disapproval and 35% have never heard of him.

In a CNN Poll, Biden leads with 39%, followed by Sanders at 15%, Buttigieg at 11% and Sen. Warren at 8%, Beto O'Rourke at 6% and Harris at 5%. In a Quinnipiac Poll released Tuesday, Biden had 38%, Warren at 12%, Sanders at 11% and Buttigieg at 10%.

The upshot of all this is Mayor Pete is firmly in the top tier of candidates and Biden is showing some early strength. Whether he follows other "frontrunners" like Walter Mondale and Al Gore, who were able to close the deal, is the big question. Biden is directly training his sights and criticism on President Trump, while other Democrats are talking specific issues and not making the campaign about the president at this point.

Buttigieg is polling only 2% among black voters in the Morning Consult Poll and could find resistance from black evangelicals as a married gay man. Beyond Biden, that appears to be his biggest obstacle to the nomination. That's why he met with Rev. Al Sharpton in Harlem on Monday. "I thought he was very much authentic. He seemed firm in who he was and what he represented," Sharpton said. "I challenged him on some issues of concern like firing the black police chief when he was mayor

**INDIANA
MANUFACTURERS
ASSOCIATION**

The only trade association
dedicated to representing
Hoosier manufacturers at
all levels of government

Advocating to create,
protect, and promote quality
Indiana manufacturing jobs



What Indiana Makes,
Makes Indiana
www.imaweb.com



of South Bend. He was very forthcoming and said if the tapes come out, that was the question of why this person was terminated, the police chief. I asked him about removal of black homeowners, he said they were abandoned homes. So, he talked forthright. I thought he was well received. He actually insisted on going to every table in the restaurant, shake hands with people. He was very well received if not enthusiastically received."

Buttigieg asked for advice for running in South Carolina, a key early voting state where black voters will be pivotal. "The thing that is more important than anything is that people can tell if you're sincere or acting and playing a certain role for a vote," Sharpton said. "I think if you're committed to more than just the candidacy, if you're running for a higher purpose, it gives you energy ... people need to feel that you're representing something bigger."

Buttigieg continued to make national media rounds. He told Trevor Noah's "Daily Show" on Monday, "I think Day One you launch a package of democratic reforms to strengthen our democracy. Some things that I think we could achieve in the first year, the kinds of things that were in HR1 that the House passed but that's going to go to the Senate and die there: Making voter registration easier, making it easier to get to the polls. But also launching things that are going to take years to achieve: Launching a reform to the Electoral College based on the idea that you might say is simplistic, that we ought to give the presidency to the one who gets the most votes, launching a commission to propose measures that would depoliticize the Supreme Court – big, deep structural reforms that need to happen."

Appearing on WGBH-TV in Boston on Tuesday, Buttigieg said the U.S. is at a "watershed moment," explaining, "We're in this tectonic moment where things are changing around us. I think it's as big a moment as the beginning of the FDR era, and I mean not just his presidency, but the 30, 40, 50 years of the New Deal consensus — or, for that matter, the beginning of the Reagan era ... and now something completely different is coming. It could be enlightened. It could be ugly, and people are looking for leadership that takes the long view."



And he will be on the cover of TIME. Charlotte Alter writes from South Bend: In a primary divided between candidates who want to fight Trump and candidates who talk about uniting the country, [Mayor Pete] Buttigieg is in the latter camp. That puts him out of step with the party's activist base, who clearly want a fighter. Warren, for example, used the word 'fight' 25 times in her announcement speech; Buttigieg didn't mention it once. His husband says he's never heard him raise his voice in anger. "We've

almost fetishized fighting," [the mayor] explains, sitting in his living room between an antique British musket and an old Soviet spying device, both relics of old and painful wars. "There is a point where you become so absorbed in fighting that you begin to lose track of winning."

Buttigieg released his past 10 years of tax returns on Tuesday. In 2018, Pete and his husband earned \$128,630 in taxable income. After their marriage, Pete and Chasten filed jointly as a married couple. In 2017, Pete earned \$117,973 in taxable income. Buttigieg received a \$30,000 advance to write his book, "Shortest Way Home." In 2016, Buttigieg earned \$94,573 in taxable income. In 2015, Pete earned \$105,394 in taxable income. In 2014, Pete earned \$34,133 in taxable income. In 2010, Pete earned \$21,317 in taxable income. Buttigieg left his job to run for state treasurer and had a lower taxable income than previous years. In 2009, Buttigieg earned \$136,129 in taxable income.

Mayors

Fort Wayne: RTL endorses Smith

Indiana Right to Life Political Action Committee (PAC) announced its endorsement of Tim Smith for Fort Wayne mayor in the May 7 primary election. "Tim has been a long-time advocate for the unborn and their mothers in Fort Wayne," said Mike Fichter, chairman of the Indiana Right to Life PAC. "He will ensure the sanctity of life is protected in Fort Wayne. Make no mistake, abortion policy matters at the local level. Fort Wayne's long-time abortion doctor ceased operations in part due to a county ordinance. Over in South Bend, Mayor Pete Buttigieg stopped Women's Care Center from offering pro-life pregnancy services next door to a proposed abortion center. We urge Fort Wayne voters to vote for pro-life candidate, Tim Smith, for mayor." Informed and reliable sources tell HPI that internal polling shows Smith leading Council President John Crawford. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

South Bend: Sheriff endorses Critchlow

St. Joseph County Sheriff Bill Redman endorsed Jason Critchlow in the Democratic primary for mayor of South Bend. Sheriff Redman stated, "The people of South Bend need a mayor who listens, has deep roots in our community, and focuses on the issues affecting families. Jason Critchlow will continue the progress we've made over the last several years with a renewed focus on our neighborhoods, schools and the people of South Bend."

Early voting low

Without a strong Republican opponent in the November 2011 election, in a city that has had Democratic mayors for decades, Pete Buttigieg was effectively elected mayor of South Bend in that year's Democratic primary in May. He needed only 7,663 votes to become the city's

leader. The vote total represented 54% of the nearly 14,000 votes cast among five candidates that year. But it was only about 12% of the city's voting-age population in a city of 101,000 (Parrott, South Bend Tribune). This year, with five candidates actively campaigning in the May 7 Democratic primary, an even smaller number of votes could win the mayor's office. Voter turnout will be critical, and the numbers so far suggest a weak showing. By the end of the day Tuesday, two weeks before the election, 599 people had turned in early ballots — counting in-person early voting and mail-in ballots — about 30 percent fewer votes than at the same point in 2011. Mayoral candidate Lynn Coleman said the city would "probably be lucky" if 16,000 votes are cast. "That's a sad commentary on our democracy, that that few people are interested in the process," Coleman said. "We've tried to engage new people who have not registered to vote before. Fifteen to 20 votes could make the difference." Another mayoral candidate, Jason Critchlow, attributed low voter interest so far partly to the focus on Buttigieg's presidential campaign. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Mueller.

Carmel: Brainard has big money lead

Carmel Mayor Jim Brainard has raised \$167,000 since Jan. 1 (Quinn, IBJ). He spent even more, \$251,000, leaving him with about \$58,800 cash on hand, according to a recent campaign finance report, which covers the period between Jan. 1 and April 12. Brainard's biggest donor was DPBG Political Action Committee, which lists engineering firm American Structurepoint as its address. The PAC has donated \$21,000 to Friends of Jim Brainard since Jan. 1, campaign finance reports show. Pedcor Cos. donated \$10,000 to Friends of Jim Brainard, with Pedcor CEO Bruce Cordingley donating an additional \$5,000. Hamilton County Councilman Fred Glynn has raised about \$94,800, with notable donations from the Todd Rokita Election Campaign, which gave \$3,000, and Seidensticker for Council, the committee of former Carmel City Councilor Eric Seidensticker, which gave Glynn \$500 (IBJ). He also received \$5,000 from Huntington-based The Fund for American Exceptionalism. Glynn loaned his campaign about \$50,000. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Brainard.

Gary: Mayor raises \$156K

Karen Freeman-Wilson goes into the May 7 mayoral sweepstakes with more opponents and more campaign cash than any contest in Lake County (Dolan, NWI Times). The mayor is running for her third term in office in the May 7 primary. She is challenged by eight Democrats. They include

Lake County Assessor Jerome Prince; City Councilwoman LaVetta Sparks-Wade; Mildred Tinye Alcorn; Kerry Rice Sr.; Carl "Doozie" Jones; Eddie Tarver Jr.; Joe L. White; and James "Sirmack G.I." Edward McKnight II. Only Gary's Freeman-Wilson faces multiple opponents this spring, but she has received the most donations among the contested mayors — more than \$156,000 this year, according to a campaign finance report she submitted last week to county election officials. That includes a \$10,000 donation from Gary Property Development, \$5,000 from U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky and \$1,250 from Gary Material Supply, which recently received \$2.95 million from City Hall to demolish the Delaney West and Concord Village housing projects. Her campaign has taken in more than twice those of Prince, who has received \$66,296, and Sparks-Wade, who has received more than \$13,300 in donations. The mayor and her opponents spoke Wednesday of the challenges and promise of the city of Gary (Dolan, [NWI Times](#)). Carl "Doozie" Jones told an audience of nearly 100 at Indiana University Northwest he is running for mayor because, "This city is practically disappearing." Kerry Rice Sr. said, "Our city is going in the wrong direction. I've been looking for answers for 26 years. I've decided to be that answer." Freeman-Wilson said, "It has been an honor to serve the city and I want to continue my service, not for myself, but for the hopes and aspirations for the city." They spoke at the second mayoral debate in two nights in the Savannah Center auditorium of Indiana University Northwest in the city's Glen Park neighborhood. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Freeman-Wilson.

Fishers: Fadness leads in funding

Fishers Mayor Scott Fadness began running broadcast TV ads this week, touting his city's growth and coming transformation. As of April 12, the end of the filing period for pre-primary campaign finance reports, Fadness had spent about \$187,000, leaving him with about \$356,800 on hand. Fadness received several donations of \$5,000 from well-known executives, firms and PACs. Primary challenger Logan Day has raised \$9,694 and has spent all but \$20. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Fadness. ❖



CONTENT BY CARTER
strategic content creation and deployment

Five Dems viable in South Bend mayoral

By JACK COLWELL

MUNCIE – Democratic primary election voters on May 7 will likely pick the next mayor of South Bend, the successor to Mayor Pete Buttigieg. There are nine candidates for the Democratic nomination, five of whom are viable.

The winner almost certainly will be elected mayor in the general election this November. A Republican hasn't won the mayoral election since 1967, and recent GOP



efforts in city elections have been pathetic.

The leading contenders based on their ability thus far to get out their messages and attract significant support are:

James Mueller, Buttigieg's former chief of staff, who has the most significant support of all, an endorsement from Mayor Pete. He also has the most funding, according to campaign finance reports, enabling him to continue to send

out his message widely in mailings and on TV. Television advertising could be especially effective this time.

Jason Critchlow, former St. Joseph County Democratic chairman, who has significant support from prominent Democrats who admire ability he showed as chairman. He is second to Mueller in campaign funding. He surprised Mueller by getting on first with effective TV. Whether he can continue to match Mueller on TV is important.

Why the significance of TV this time?

It's because viewers haven't been turned off already by myriad TV ads for presidential, congressional, or gubernatorial races or all kinds of other state and county offices. Those offices aren't up this year. So, there has been no blizzard of political ads to annoy viewers and cause them to tune out political messages.

Also, with Mayor Pete's presidential campaign capturing such attention, there has been little oxygen left for the city candidates. Many are upset about lack of voter interest and awareness as the election fast approaches.

Voters will take more interest now, with many learning about the candidates from their TV messages over the last week of the campaign.

But money isn't everything in campaigns. Neither are TV ads.

Three other candidates are viable, with followers and messages of their own.

Could one of them come up through the middle of the Mueller-Critchlow battle and win? There are plausible scenarios for just that.

The three other viable mayoral candidates are:

Lynn Coleman, a past Democratic nominee for Congress, who is well known from his congressional race and decades of involvement in city government. He is well liked and admired for his congressional campaign effort in a hopeless race. He was the leader in an early poll taken for Mueller. His name recognition was a big factor early, and it still could be.

Regina Williams-Preston, 2nd District council member, who emerged as the anti-Pete in national news stories about whether South Bend really has turned around. She is highly critical of what the mayor cites as a major achievement, fixing up or tearing down over 1,000 unoccupied and deteriorating houses in 1,000 days. She has support in progressive Democratic ranks.

Oliver Davis, 6th District council member, who has name recognition from his years on the council and involvement in citywide issues. His message is out on a flurry of yard signs, a campaign approach he hails and believes he has perfected. He would have been a favorite for reelection as councilman but decided instead to pursue his goal of mayor.

The endorsement by Mayor Pete looms large in this race. But it's difficult to transfer popularity in politics.


While Buttigieg is at the height of his popularity here in his eighth year as mayor and quickly rising presidential prospect, that doesn't automatically mean that Mueller, his choice to carry on his programs, will win.

Buttigieg took a risk in endorsing and channeling campaign resources to Mueller. The national news media and presidential primary opponents will take note if his choice is rejected. Mayor Pete's name isn't on the primary election ballot this time. Or is it? ❖

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?

Holcomb mulls signing the gaming bill

By JACOB CURRY

INDIANAPOLIS – With the General Assembly now well out of town, the only piece of the legislative puzzle left in 2019 is Gov. Eric Holcomb’s review and potential signature of the enrolled bills. The governor’s office has been at it since late March, and Holcomb has signed more than half of the legislative acts up for his consideration, including most of the priority bills on the budget, education, the CIB, infrastructure, and more.

One enrolled act currently still under review, however, is the controversial gaming bill. That bill passed on the final day of session, and on top of the long-running controversy you’d expect when it comes to casinos, some further eyebrow-raising changes were made during that final week. Although Holcomb had been largely absent from discussions on the issue in the first half of session, the governor found himself inserted into the picture by an IndyStar article which raised ethical questions over his taking a flight courtesy of an Indiana casino owner. Combined with the other controversial aspects of the bill, you might not be blamed for thinking there could be something more to the governor’s delay.

But the governor is telling reporters that’s not the case. The delay, he says, isn’t related to those concerns as much as it is due to the complexity of the legislation and its impact. “I want to make sure Indiana is the winner. And for me to be sure of that, I have to read the bill. Word for word. And we’re not there yet” Holcomb explained Monday. He added, “Nothing specific raises a concern for me but I haven’t read the bill, and I’m going to. We have 200-plus bills to read and sometimes we get 30 down here in one day.”

The gaming legislation, which is now contained within House Enrolled Act 1015, is technically not quite ready to reach Holcomb’s desk for signature and is still in a review phase. Once it is officially “on his desk” the governor will have seven days to sign it.

So, there’s still plenty of time for the governor to get his reading in, and going by the expectations set by GA leaders, Holcomb will indeed likely end up signing the bill. Both the pro tem and the speaker offered some fairly positive thoughts on the gaming bill after sine die last week. Senate President Pro Tempore Rod Bray reasoned that despite the controversy the bill hit the right marks: “At the end of the day I think we found a spot where at least

enough people could land. And I think it was pretty widely supported here in the Senate.”

Even Speaker Brian Bosma, who expressed reservations about the bill earlier this year before recusing himself from the matter when it came to his chamber, noted the margins of its victorious votes last Wednesday. “It was such a massive bill, I didn’t think it was going to go anywhere. Clearly not the case; overwhelming support in both [the House and Senate].”

Neither Bray nor Bosma rejected the idea of coming back to the subject of the bill in later sessions, however. In particular, they both relayed some reluctance within the General Assembly on the hold-harmless payments. The timeline for those payments won’t kick in until the Gary casino is able to move to Vigo County (assuming it wins the bidding process), which means lawmakers will have time to take a look next session. The same applies to most of the other money exchanges within the bill. In that case, Holcomb could always sign the bill under the assumption that the legislature will be taking a look at the stickier parts of this year’s product in later sessions.

Beyond gaming, Gov. Holcomb has signed multiple key agenda bills into law in the past week. The governor placed special emphasis on education as he signed the budget bill Monday afternoon. “Hoosiers will benefit from the legislation advanced by our Next Level agenda, including a balanced budget, increasing funding for education and improving school safety,” Holcomb said. “We made these achievements while maintaining responsible reserves and our AAA credit ratings. I applaud lawmakers for completing another productive legislative session.”

In the days following sine die, Holcomb has also highlighted jobs and workforce programs, rural broadband service development, veteran tax deductions, and efforts to improve the state’s infant mortality rate.

The governor signed a campaign finance reporting law, HEA1597, and an election cyber-security bill, SEA570, last week. Other election bills, such as the one concerning Porter County’s election board, are still under consideration.

Other bills still pending include the school expenditure targets measure, a school safety bill, new school bus safety regulations, underground carbon dioxide storage, hemp regulation, and more.

Overall, Holcomb unsurprisingly sounds very pleased with the products of the work by his fellow Republicans in the House and Senate this year. In his reflective remarks on the 2019 session, Holcomb said he was proud of the accomplishments and praised both Bosma and Bray for their leadership roles. The governor also repeated a phrase that he has employed often since assuming office: “Indiana is on a roll.” ❖



Carol Giacomo, New York Times: I last saw Sen. Richard Lugar in March, at a conference on “America’s Role in the World” at the Hamilton-Lugar School of Global and International Studies at Indiana University. Over dinner on the night before it started, he spoke fondly of continuing to oversee the 604-acre soybean and corn farm in Indiana that his father bought in the 1930s. The conversation became darker but no less animated when it segued to the arms control system that he worked decades to help build and which President Trump seems to be abandoning. Mr. Lugar told conference attendees the next day that he worried that Mr. Trump had no plan on that and other central foreign policy issues. There was no enmity in his voice, just deep concern for the nation and the world. One of Mr. Lugar’s most heralded contributions was the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program that he pushed through Congress with Senator Sam Nunn, a Democrat from Georgia, then chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, after the fall of the Soviet Union. Over the years, it has provided millions of American dollars to secure and dismantle weapons of mass destruction and related technology inherited by the former Soviet states of Russia, Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan. The concept of having America pay to destroy an adversary’s weapons was so controversial that it met opposition from Mr. Lugar’s own Republican Party. One of his closest foreign policy partners, former Representative Lee Hamilton, a Democrat and fellow Hoosier, told the conference attendees in March that voting for the program was his toughest vote ever. “You think that was popular in southern Indiana, giving money to the Russians? ... They thought I was nuts,” Mr. Hamilton said as Mr. Lugar, seated nearby, grinned. But it was worth it: More than 7,500 strategic nuclear warheads were deactivated, and more than 1,400 ballistic missiles that could be launched by land or submarine were destroyed. ❖



Bud Herron, Madison Courier: I have decided not to run for president of the United States in 2020. The decision was not made easily, because I believe I have many attributes that would make me a president who would be no worse than ... say ... James Buchanan or Warren G. Harding. Yet, several dark corners in my past make me doubt I could pass the public scrutiny that comes with such a run for office in 2020. I am now in my seventh decade. In each of those decades I have done things I now see as wrong. I look back and recognize many of these shortcomings and regret most of them — certainly the ones that hurt other people — but I can’t change the fact that they happened. These hurtful acts were wrong, even the ones I did not recognize as wrong at the time. And, if I should change my mind and run for president, I suspect much of my past will return to haunt me during the campaign. So let me clear the air with some confessions: I have acted and spoken in ways I now consider

racist. I have acted and spoken in ways I now consider sexist. I consumed alcohol when I was under the legal age and smoked marijuana when I was a college student. I have viewed women as sexual objects and at times treated them as such. I have embraced hundreds of people — both men and women — without asking permission or even considering the idea I should. These five admissions do not cover all the misdeeds throughout my life, but I think they are the main ones I will be asked about during my media interviews in the event of a run for office. ❖

David French, National Review: It’s hard to think of a single prominent American Christian who better illustrates the collapsing Evangelical public witness than Franklin Graham, Billy Graham’s son. His commitment to the Christian character of American public officials seems to depend largely on their partisan political identity. Let’s look at the record. In 1998, at the height of Bill Clinton’s sex scandals, the younger Graham wrote a powerful op-ed in the Wall Street Journal combating Clinton’s assertion that his misdeeds were “private” matter. Clinton argued that his misdeeds were “between me, the two people I love the most — my wife and our daughter — and our God.” Graham noted that even the most private of sins can have very public, devastating consequences, and he asked a simple question: “If [Clinton] will lie to or mislead his wife and daughter, those with whom he is most intimate, what will prevent him from doing the same to the American public?” Graham was right: Clinton, it turned out, wouldn’t just lie to mislead his family. He’d lie to influence courts, Congress, and the American people. Fast-forward 20 years. By 2018, Donald Trump was president — and helping to win important policy victories for religious conservatives — and Graham’s tune had changed dramatically. He actively repudiated his condemnations of Clinton, calling the Republican pursuit of the then-president “a great mistake that should never have happened,” and argued that “this thing with Stormy Daniels and so forth is nobody’s business.” Graham was wrong: Trump, it turns out, doesn’t just lie to mislead his family. He lies all the time to influence courts, Congress, and the American people. So is this the “new normal” for Evangelicals? Is politics entirely transactional now? Do we evaluate politicians only on their policies and leave the sex discussions to the privacy of their own bedrooms? Apparently not, according to . . . Franklin Graham. Now that the Democratic primary is gaining steam and a gay candidate is surging forward, Graham has rediscovered his moral voice. Yesterday he tweeted this: Mayor Buttigieg says he’s a gay Christian. As a Christian I believe the Bible which defines homosexuality as sin, something to be repentant of, not something to be flaunted, praised or politicized. The Bible says marriage is between a man & a woman—not two men, not two women. ❖

2 Clark judges shot in Indy

INDIANAPOLIS — Two judges from a southern Indiana county were shot and wounded in an overnight shooting in downtown Indianapolis, police said ([IBJ](#)). Indianapolis police spokeswoman Officer Genae Cook said two Clark County judges were shot early Wednesday in the parking lot of a White Castle restaurant at 55 W. South St. Brad Jacobs of Clark Circuit Court 2 was in critical and stable condition Wednesday morning, the Indiana Supreme Court public information officer said. Judge Andrew Adams of Clark Circuit Court 1 was in stable condition. Indianapolis police initially said the judges were at the nearby Red Garter Gentlemen's Club shortly before they were shot, but later said they had visited other area bars, but not the strip club. Cook said the men were attending the Spring Judicial College conference in Indianapolis when they were shot around 3:25 a.m. following a disturbance. She said detectives found no evidence suggesting they were targeted because they are judges. "Our judges across the state are heartbroken to learn of this violent act against our colleagues," Indiana Chief Justice Loretta Rush said in a written statement. "We send our prayers for a speedy recovery for both Judge Jacobs and Judge Adams and our love and support to their families and the Clark County community."

Walorski presses Ross on tariffs

WASHINGTON — U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski (R-Ind.) this week sent Secretary of Commerce Wilbur Ross a second letter in as many months to outline her growing concerns that U.S. manufacturers and small businesses seeking relief from steel and aluminum tariffs are being treated un-

fairly. Walorski has not yet received a response to her letter dated March 11, 2019, that raised questions about the product exclusion process. "Since the process was established 13 months ago, it has been a master class in government inefficiency and plagued by maddening inconsistency," Congresswoman Walorski wrote. "There are ways to fix the process and, as has always been the case, I am raising these myriad issues in hopes of working with you to improve its fairness, transparency, and efficiency for all."

Man was coerced to frame Buttigieg

SOUTH BEND — The recent accusations of sexual assault against South Bend Mayor and Democrat presidential candidate Pete Buttigieg are "completely false," says his accuser ([WIBC](#)). Hunter Kelly is a college student at Ferris State in Michigan. He's an openly gay Republican who says he follows conservative activist Jacob Wohl on Instagram and that Wohl was someone he looked up to as a conservative. Kelly told WOOD in Michigan that he had gotten a message on Instagram from Wohl about possibly coming to Washington, D.C. Wohl told him he'd like to get Kelly's perspective as a gay conservative for a new piece he was working on. "I had three days off and I was like, 'Yeah,'" Kelly said. "I'll come get some experience in politics and come do some research with you guys. It sounds great." Kelly flew out to D.C. and met up with Wohl and Jack Burkman at Burkman's mansion. He said it was not long after that he saw an article online that said Kelly was accusing Pete Buttigieg of sexually assaulting him in a hotel. They even forced him to sign papers confirming the accusations, he said. "I didn't want to put up a fight and get thrown out on to the street in the middle of Arlington, Virginia at 3:30 in the morning where I had no way to get anywhere," said Kelly. "It had been about 45 minutes

of me saying I wanted to leave and I wanted to go." Wohl and Burkman are refuting Kelly's statements saying that he was not coerced in anyway to accuse Buttigieg of rape.

Susan Bayh thanks Hoosiers

INDIANAPOLIS — Former First Lady of Indiana Susan Bayh attended a memorial service Wednesday honoring her late father-in-law (WTHR-TV). She was diagnosed last year with the same kind of brain cancer that claimed the life of Senator John McCain — glioblastoma. Her husband, Evan Bayh, said she is responding to her treatments including radiation, chemo and immunotherapy. She said she is thankful for everyone who is praying for her. "I think I've gotten more prayer letters from Indiana. And good, because they are pretty close to God here, so that's good. And it really doesn't matter what religion it is, just as long as people are praying and keeping me up in somebody's thoughts," Susan said.

Biden says China is not a threat

IOWA CITY — Former vice president Joe Biden on Wednesday dismissed the notion that the United States should be worried about China as a geopolitical competitor, prompting criticism from some congressional Republicans who argued that Biden is underestimating the world's second-largest economy ([Washington Post](#)). The argument is one Biden has frequently made in speeches throughout the years, but it is drawing increased attention due to his status as the apparent front-runner among Democrats running for president. At a campaign stop in Iowa City, Biden pointed to his years serving as vice president and as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, telling the crowd that there's not a "single solitary" world leader who would trade the problems the United States faces for those confronting China.

