

Holcomb reelect on historic footing

As governor weighs final decision on 2020 campaign, he's in best position to succeed since 1976

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Has there been such a thing as a slam-dunk reelection for an Indiana governor?

This question is posed as Gov. Eric Holcomb and First Lady Janet are in the midst of their deliberations on whether he will seek a second term. On the face of it, the notion that Holcomb wouldn't run would be a stunner. Republican Chairman Kyle Hupfer told HPI on Monday, "He's publicly said he and Janet will spend some time talking and thinking about things. That will happen on his own timeline. As a state chair, he's done the work and had achievement that should he desire, he'd been in a strong position.



"I would be very disappointed if he didn't seek a second term," Hupfer said. Short of that silly "rumor" that he was on a short list to become ambassador to Italy, it's hard to fathom Holcomb not seeking a second term. He

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Sen. Lugar, into the ages

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The people of Indiana, and the Lugar family, handed Richard Green Lugar into the hands of his maker and the pantheon of Senate statesmen Wednesday during what resembled a state funeral. In doing so, the man who created the modern Indianapolis, fed its children, then used his mighty wit and indefatigable study to do more than perhaps any American to assure their safety in a terrorized world on a planet under duress.



Lugar's passing at age 87 on April 28 gave him a final historic



"It looks like the fox is watching the hen house. And this is a recurring theme that we see at every level in the Statehouse."

- State Rep. Karlee Macer, on \$750,000 in misappropriated veterans funding. Macer is exploring a Democratic gubernatorial run.



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destination, joining Senate giants like Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, Daniel Webster, Robert Taft, Robert La Follette Sr., Birch Bayh and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who steered the nation in profound ways and fueled the soul of mankind's most dynamic republic.

With Chief Justice John Roberts, National Intelligence Director Dan Coats and Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell looking on in the huge sanctuary of St. Luke's United Methodist Church that had been founded with the help of Dick and Char Lugar, Purdue President Mitch Daniels initially cast the senator in personal terms: "Boss, tutor, mentor, role model, and though it took me decades to think of him this way, just as it took me decades to call him anything but senator, my friend."

Daniels quickly related the senator to the crux of his being. "Most Americans will remember him for his public achievements which were legion and signal, to use a couple of Lugarisms," said Daniels, his former chief of staff. "He was as stunningly rare a person as he was a public servant." Lugar was a man "with a set of principles grounded in patriotism and a commitment for equal opportunity for every American to rise and flourish."

"Something more fundamental took precedence," Daniels said. "It was the pride of association with a man so stellar, so singular, so exemplary in both his professional and personal life that one enjoyed a sense of personal respect by reflection." Lugar was the "paragon of public service ... who comprised the whole package: Intellect, work ethic, integrity. If Dick Lugar ever had an ill-tempered moment, I never saw it; if he ever spoke an unkind word about anyone, I never heard it; acted out of raw selfishness, I never witnessed it. We live in such

a cynical age. I can't be the only one here who is really weary of people issuing these blanket condemnations. Dick Lugar's mode of service went way beyond that."

Vice President Mike Pence paused before Lugar's casket before relating the vast impact on Indianapolis where he was a two-term mayor before his six terms in the Senate; where he drew 7.5 million votes from Hoosiers and cast 13,000 roll calls.

"Perhaps the greatest monument to Dick's leadership here ... is the skyline of Indianapolis and the world class city he leaves behind,"



Pence said. "For many, that legacy of transformational leadership would have been enough, but not for Dick Lugar," Pence said. "No sooner had he set in motion reforms that would transform this city, he was off to another race. In 1974 he took off for a long shot race for the U.S. Senate against Sen. Birch Bayh. It's remarkable that two giants of 20th Century Indiana politics would leave the world within a few weeks of each other."

"It's the end of an era," Pence said.

Pence continued, "He'll be remembered among with the pantheon of senators who commanded the respect of his peers of both parties and who exercised enormous influence in foreign affairs. His contributions to our nation are countless."

Included were the 7,500 Soviet era nuclear warheads that the

Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program eliminated, or the securing of chemical and biological weapons that could have killed every human many times over.

His partner, former Georgia Sen. Sam Nunn, said, "Indiana and our nation were very fortunate to have Dick Lugar as a public servant. I was very fortunate to have him as my trusted partner and friend. Cooperation and compromise is often misunderstood today. Some take it to mean giving up on principles. Dick Lugar never compromised his principles. Dick made the world a safer place and a better place."

Nunn said, "I almost feel like a member of the Lugar family. After years of working together on the Nunn-Lugar legislation, like Char, I discovered that when you become Dick Lugar's partner, you give up half your name."

Nunn related the historic opportunity when the pair were trying to convince Kazakhstan, Belarus and Ukraine to give up their nuclear weapons following the collapse of the Soviet Union. They met with Ukraine President Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk in the fall of 1992, knowing that if that nation gave up its weapons, the others would follow. After arduous talks "as darkness fell, President Kravchuk escorted us out. He had all the news media gathered and he announced Dick Lugar had just committed \$175 million." Lugar and Nunn were stunned, but "offered no serious rebuttal."

"Fortunately," Nunn said, "President Bush later authorized Sen. Lugar's unauthorized and unconstitutional offer." On later trips, Nunn would look at Lugar and say, "Dick, did you bring your checkbook?" In the end, they succeeded. The four nations disarmed.

Sen. McConnell, who was recruited by Lugar and Mitch Daniels, then on the National Republican Senatorial Committee, for his first race in 1984, described his late colleague, saying, "People came first, he met everyone where they were, from street corners to church basements of this city during the civil rights era, to the halls of the Senate and beyond."

McConnell told the story of Lugar being ap-



Vice President Mike Pence reflects at Sen. Richard Lugar's casket; and Pence Second Lady Karen Pence, Gov. Holcomb and First Lady Janet, Chief Justice John Roberts, Sen. Mitch McConnell Sam Nunn and Sen. Patrick Leahy look on. (HPI Photos by Brian A. Howe)

proached by a woman at a Lincoln Day Dinner. "Sen. Lugar, I'm sure you don't remember me," the woman said. Lugar responded, "Of course I remember you, Mary, and I think you were wearing that same lovely dress the first time."

"Talk about scoring some points the first time then giving them right back," McConnell said after the sanctuary erupted in laughter.

McConnell compared Lugar to the biblical Lazarus, who lived beyond the tomb. "The recipient of this miraculous grace didn't hole up in some monastery. He dove into public service, rolled up his sleeves, he tended to the sheep, he repaid God's generosity by serving others by making the church and the world better." Lugar, he said, "Took the blessings poured out on him and poured them back to serving others."

Jim Morris, who served as Lugar's first mayoral chief of staff and later headed the United Nations Food Program, said, "There are thousands of us who worked for the man and he ultimately gave all of us the Good Housekeeping seal of approval. Once you became part of the Lugar family, you had the gift, that privilege for the rest of your life." Other than his wife and family, "It was the greatest thing that ever came my way."

Morris credited Lugar with not only creating Unigov, but convincing Purdue and Indiana universities and the state to forge IUPUI, which has since graduated more than 211,000 Hoosiers, with 90% remaining in the state, nearly 70% in central Indiana. "He was a great advocate for a great university

in our capital city," Morris said. "Dick Lugar had a brilliant way of offering an idea and he was as comfortable in dealing with other people's ideas as he was with his own."

Lugar also changed the course of the city's rejection of federal free lunch funds for schools. "Dick and Char Lugar caused Indiana to have a reputation to being a place that cared about its kids," Morris said.

Dick Lugar – mayor, senator, walnut farmer – will be buried in Arlington National Cemetery in a private family service. ❖

Holcomb reelect, from page 1

purports no national ambition at this point in his career and appears to enjoy every aspect of the job. Not only that, but he's in about as strong a position as an incumbent governor could find.

Holcomb has no credible primary challenger (sorry, Curtis Hill), nor is there an obvious Democrat lining up, though Dr. Woody Myers has told HPI he is seriously considering a run, and we also hear that former congressman Baron Hill and two-time nominee John Gregg haven't ruled out running. Democratic Chairman John Zody met with those three, along with, sources say, 2016 lieutenant governor nominee Christina Hale and State Rep. Karlee Macer to sort out a potential candidate.

Macer sent out a press release Wednesday under the guise of "Karlee for Indiana" organization assailing the Holcomb administration over the \$775,000 in misused Department of Veteran Affairs funds. "It looks like the fox is watching the hen house," Macer said. "The culture of corruption and blind governing that has emerged from our decade-long Republican free-for-all calls for a systemic change."

Elise Shrock, who sent out the Macer release, told HPI, "She's definitely taking under consideration a run for governor. She's humbled to be put in that circle."

Sources say Democrats are weighing whether to go the more traditional moderately conservative path that has been the course since Evan Bayh, or to mirror a more progressive route that could matchup better with the party's presidential nominee.

Myers is the only one to acknowledge to HPI he's weighing a bid. Republicans believe his career as a venture capitalist who has made millions off the health care sector would be an inviting target. Another Republican noted, "Not many voters remember Ryan White," a reference to Myers' influential role on behalf of the young Howard County boy who suffered from AIDS and Myers' role as state health commissioner a generation ago.

Holcomb sits on more than \$4 million in campaign funds, Lt. Gov. Suzanne Crouch adds another \$815,000 in her campaign account, and the governor just achieved what Hupfer calls a "clean sweep" during his second biennial budget session with the help of two GOP super majorities where he is widely respected, and is poised to pick his own superintendent of public instruction.

Holcomb presides over a state with historic em-

ployment and job investment and creation, he'll likely have Vice President Mike Pence on the ticket in the 2020 presidential race, President Trump still influences Indiana election outcomes as he did with the 2018 U.S. Senate race, and the governor's approve/disapprove stood at 54/24% in an online We Ask America Poll released late last week.

Unprecedented attributes

Since governors could serve a second consecutive term beginning in 1976, these reelection prospect attributes are nearly unprecedented.



■ **Gov. Doc Bowen** achieved his property tax reforms and was a distinct favorite for reelection heading into 1976, yet the 1974 Watergate sweep had left him with the lone Democratic Indiana Senate in the past half-century, popular Secretary of State Larry Conrad waited in the wings (though he would be dogged by reports of his "master plan"), and President Gerald Ford was not only vulnerable, but would lose at the top of the 1976 ticket to Democrat Jimmy Carter. Bowen would earn a second term with a 56.8% to 42.6% victory.

■ In 1984, **Gov. Robert D. Orr** was two years removed from instigating the largest tax increase in state history to stave off a severe recession and oil shocks, and faced Democrat State Sen. Wayne Townsend. President Reagan's "Morning in America" campaign and the laggardly challenge from former vice president Walter Mondale gave Orr enough of a tailwind to prevail 52%-47%, the most narrow reelection victory.

■ Of all the governors, Democrat **Evan Bayh** was, perhaps, the best positioned for a second term in 1992. But he served with a 50/50 House and had to deal

with a Republican Indiana Senate, had to run while Vice President Dan Quayle was on the GOP ticket. Bayh faced Attorney General Linley Pearson, who won an easy primary over Supt. H. Dean Evans and businessman John Johnson, but then Pearson self-destructed at the Republican convention when his choice for lieutenant governor was rejected by delegates, prompting him to almost quit the race. He didn't recover from that episode and never really had a chance. Bayh had the most emphatic reelection, defeating Pearson 62% to 39.9%.

■ **Gov. Frank**

O'Bannon was favored to win reelection in 2000, but after a strong first General Assembly session in 1997 in which he forged a new arena for the Indiana Pacers along with a workers compensation increase, O'Bannon struggled with a court challenge to the state's property tax system and faced a widely recruited GOP rising star, U.S. Rep. David McIntosh. O'Bannon prevailed 56.5% to 41.6% after McIntosh stumbled over a proposed 25% tax cut that the incumbent's campaign ably discredited.

■ Finally, **Gov. Mitch Daniels** entered his 2008 reelect with his approval falling into the lower 40th percentile, in part due to his controversial lease of the Indiana Toll Road. He ran in tandem with presidential candidate Barack Obama, who created a sensation in the state and actually carried Indiana's 11 Electoral College votes. But Daniels benefited from an intense Democratic primary race where Jill Long Thompson defeated current Commerce Sec. Jim Schellinger by less than 1%. She was unable to capitalize on her narrow primary victory, struggling on issues and fundraising, allowing Daniels to win a second term 57.8% to 40.1% amidst an array of ticket-splitting.

■ Daniels defeated the only incumbent, **Gov. Joe Kernan** in 2004, in a race that was an anomaly. Lt. Gov. Kernan was expected to run in 2004, but left the race in late 2002 over a row with Gov. O'Bannon over the selection of Peter Manous as Democratic state chairman. Manous was later indicted and convicted, O'Bannon died of a stroke in September 2003, and Kernan reentered the race later that year, but never regained the momentum needed to stave off the former White House budget director.

"He's done a really good job since he was elected," Hupfer said of Holcomb. "He puts people first and it's



consistent with his agenda theme. He tries to make the main thing the main thing. He's just come through an important session with a lot of critical issues on the agenda and achieved a clean sweep across the board."

Hupfer said

that Holcomb "has not taken steps" to build a campaign, though the "Holcomb For Indiana" entity sent an email from Holly Gillham Lawson commenting on the We Ask America Poll. Hupfer has kept together the core of Holcomb's 100-day campaign from 2016 that was managed by Mike O'Brien. Matt Huckleby, Pete Seat and Mindy Colbert have worked for the Indiana Republican Party. "Matt, Pete and Mindy are a political trifecta," Hupfer said in early 2017.

In that release, Hupfer said, "Above all else, Hoosiers value results from their leaders, and this poll shows that Hoosiers see results from Gov. Eric Holcomb. Under Gov. Holcomb's leadership, Indiana is the fiscal envy of the nation, but it doesn't stop there. Indiana is home to record job commitments, record infrastructure investments, new workforce development opportunities and a state government that is becoming leaner and more responsive to the needs of Hoosiers. These results are resonating in Hoosiers' lives, and they overwhelmingly approve of the leadership Gov. Holcomb is providing."

We Ask America's analysis of the poll's results says that Gov. Holcomb's "reelection looks all but guaranteed" and that "Gov. Holcomb is on the cusp of running away with his own reelection."

Hupfer emphasized that in the Holcomb era, the GOP has been a "seamless effort," explaining, "We've run things in conjunction with state party. In the 2018 election cycle, everything was seamless, whether it was the congressional campaigns, Mike Braun's Senate race, the RNC, House Republicans, or the Senate Majority Campaign. We were all pulling in the same direction. It was one team and one focus."

Should Holcomb decide to seek a second term — and we're not expecting to be knocked over by feathers — the modus operandi will be obvious. All he'll need is a Democrat to run against. ❖

Big mayoral battles take shape in Indy, Fort Wayne, Kokomo, New Albany, Muncie

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS — Mayoral races in the state's two largest cities, as well as the I-69 corridor, Kokomo, Elkhart and New Albany, will be the flash points of the coming general election campaign.

These races will follow several dramatic upsets in Gary and South Bend, where Jerome Prince and James Mueller are poised to assume the levers of power with only token (if any) Republican opposition. Last November, Gary Mayor Karen Freeman-Wilson was elected president the National League of Cities



(NLC), telling her colleagues, "I look forward to leading this organization and telling the story of Gary on the national stage." Her "Gary story" now includes her upset primary defeat to Lake County Assessor Jerome Prince, 6,967 to 5,418, with about 1,500 votes scattered among the other seven candidates. Freeman-Wilson drew criticism for the NLC post while Gary wallowed in violence and fiscal woes. Prince entered the race just hours before deadline. "Let's reimagine Gary," Prince told the crowd (NWI Times). "Thank you for believing in me."

South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg endorsed James Mueller to succeed him, with some seeing it as a gambit that could potentially embarrass his presidential campaign. But Mueller won the crowded Democratic primary with 37%. South Bend Tribune's Jeff Parrott reports: Buttigieg said Mueller "answered the call when it was not the most comfortable or obvious thing to do. It's why, even though he's not the cigar-chomping, back-slapping politician that some people might expect, and neither am I, he is exactly the right person." Mueller then said, "I thank all of you for believing in me and I specifically thank the people who were on the ground floor, when it was really rough and they were like, 'Is this guy actually going to get there and make it?'"

Other big primary winners include Democrat Bloomington Mayor John Hamilton who was nominated with 86%, Republican Columbus Mayor Jim Lienhoop and GOP Evansville Mayor Lloyd Winnecke who were nominated with 88% and 89% in their respective primaries. None of these mayors faces a credible fall challenger.

Marquee fall matchups

The marquee matchups this fall will include India-

napolis Mayor Joe Hogsett against Republican State Sen. Jim Merritt. Hogsett has a big money lead, but faces persistent homicide and pothole problems. But Republican sources tell HPI they believe Merritt will close the funding gap while Hogsett remains vulnerable on crime and infrastructure.

Former Republican Elkhart mayor Dave Miller will face former councilman and Northwestern basketball star Rod Roberson, the first African-American nominee there. Three-term Terre Haute Mayor Duke Bennett takes on



Councilman Karrum Nasser, who won his Democratic primary with 70%. After suffering from the property tax caps, Bennett has steered his city into the black, and then successfully lobbied this past General As-

sembly session for a new law that could move one of the Gary casinos to his city. It must pass a referendum in Vigo County.

New Albany Mayor Jeff Gahan will be challenged by Republican Mark Seabrook after winning his primary with 56%. Seabrook has been elected countywide and his family has lengthy business ties to the city. Indiana Republican Chairman Kyle Hupfer told HPI that he recently addressed a record Lincoln Dinner crowd in Floyd County. And in Jeffersonville, Republican Mayor Mike Moore has a rematch with former Democrat mayor Tom Galligan, whom he defeated in 2011.

There were a couple of other notable upsets. Former two-term Anderson mayor Kevin Smith was defeated by Madison County Auditor Rick Gardner, who will face

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Democrat Mayor Thomas Broderick. "People have started calling about raising funds," Gardner told the Anderson Herald-Bulletin. "I know it will be an uphill battle, but I'm up for it." And in Fort Wayne, businessman Tim Smith leaned on a Right to Life endorsement and activism to defeat Councilman John Crawford with 56% and will face three-term Democrat Mayor Tom Henry. "Tom Henry has never seen a campaign like we are about to launch for the general election," Smith said. Henry told HPI he thought Smith had a primary edge, and he also appeared to prefer this matchup.

Open seats

In open seats, Republican Muncie Councilman Dan Ridenour bested Tom Bracken and several others with 44% and will face Democrat Terry Whitt Bailey, who edged Andrew Dale by a little less than 200 votes. Bailey is the first black mayoral candidate in Muncie to be on the general election ballot. "I know how hard African-Americans have worked for me," Bailey said. "History has told us that we couldn't do this, but we did it." While Muncie is perceived as a Democratic city, particularly during the reign of Mayor James Carey from 1984-92, Republicans David Dominick, Daniel Canan and Sharon McShurley held the

office for two decades, until former legislator Dennis Tyler returned it to the Democratic column in 2011.

In Kokomo, Democrat United Way President Abbie Smith defeated Councilman Kevin Moore, who drew vociferous criticism from Mayor Greg Goodnight. Smith will take on Republican Tyler Moore.

Noblesville Councilman Chris Jensen used an endorsement from Gov. Eric Holcomb to win a four-way race with 46% to replace retiring Mayor John Ditslear.

In Madison, Democrat Julie Berry will face Republican Bob Courtney in November's mayoral election. Courtney defeated Andrew Forrester 973-614. "I am extremely grateful for the support from every single precinct," Courtney told the Madison Courier. "That I won every precinct is indicative of the effort we put in and of what the people of Madison want in their leadership."

Lebanon Mayor Matt Gentry was challenged by Robert Hawkins and Deborah Ottinger with Gentry winning with 48%, while Ottinger was second with 31%, and Hawkins at 21%. Democrats have until June 15 to slate a candidate. ❖

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Mayor Pete has Indiana and SC problems

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS — Mayor Pete has an Indiana problem. And a South Carolina problem.

While Mayor Buttigieg has established himself in the upper tier of candidates in national polls, and third place in Iowa and New Hampshire, he is not showing strength in his home state, or South Carolina, which is becoming the most important early primary because of its racial diversity.

First, his Indiana scenario: The We Ask America digital poll with registered Indiana voters released last Thursday has him in third place at 20% behind Joe Biden (33%) and Sen. Bernie Sanders (23%). Buttigieg has essentially leapfrogged his home state to become a viable Democratic presidential contender. But as we've observed, beyond his South Bend political base and strength in that small media market, and his activities with Accelerating Indiana Municipalities where mayors from both parties hold him in high regard, he is not particularly "famous" here. Or as We Ask America put it, "Despite very loud noise from the far left of the Democratic Party and Buttigieg's popularity in the South Bend region, it seems that, for now, rank-and-file Indiana Democrats prefer a traditional party leader" to the tune of 56%.

We were struck at Buttigieg's campaign kickoff last month that there wasn't much of a presence from South Bend African-Americans, the Indiana Legislative Black Caucus or down-state political leaders, though Indiana Chairman John Zody and Indianapolis Mayor Joe Hogsett were on hand. The crowd was overwhelmingly white.

Neglecting his home state gives Buttigieg's primary rivals a few arrows in their quiver: Could Mayor Pete carry Indiana, either in a Democratic primary a year from now, or against the Trump/Pence ticket in November? Our take: Perhaps, but it's no slam-dunk at this point. If no one has the nomination secured by the Indiana primary, support would likely gravitate to Buttigieg, who would be the first Hoosier in such a primary since Gov. Roger Branigin ran as a favorite son stand-in candidate for Vice President Hubert Humphrey in 1968, finishing third behind Sens. Robert F. Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy. Other Hoosiers have run for president, but none has lasted through May.

If Mayor Pete is not viable for the presidential

nomination, this Indiana poll won't make much of a case for him on the ticket.

The recent South Carolina poll by the Post & Observer poses a more immediate threat to Buttigieg's viability. Joe Biden has a commanding 46%-15% lead over Sen. Bernie Sanders, followed by Sen. Kamala Harris with 10%, and then Buttigieg and Sen. Elizabeth Warren both at 8%.

Among white voters (about 35% of the expected turnout), Buttigieg is second to Biden, trailing 38%-18%. But among black voters, Buttigieg lays a goose egg: He's at zero. MSNBC analyst Steve Kornacki observed, "He's not registering here in South Carolina. He's gotten traction, but that traction is among white, college-educated liberals. He's not crossing over with black voters."

While Buttigieg began his campaign with the notion that he was a mayor running for president who just happened to be gay, his sexual orientation has predictably become the emphasis of much national reporting. TIME's recent cover featured Buttigieg with his husband, Chasten. That's not playing to his strengths among black voters, many of whom vote Democratic because of the party's modern civil rights emphasis, but culturally are more moderate to conservative on issues like abortion and gay rights.

The dilemma is that while whiter Iowa and New Hampshire can lend some early momentum, it's South Carolina which can emphatically establish a frontrunner in



a "minority-majority state." It's where Hillary Clinton was able to claim frontrunner status against Sanders in 2016, and Barack Obama did the same in 2008 over Clinton and John Edwards after capturing 55%. Sanders dogged Clinton throughout the spring of 2016, but the Palmetto State essentially put her on a trajectory to the nomination.

In the same news cycle as the South Carolina Poll, Buttigieg generated headlines with his Saturday night address to the Human Rights Campaign in Las Vegas where he decried "identity politics" which he described

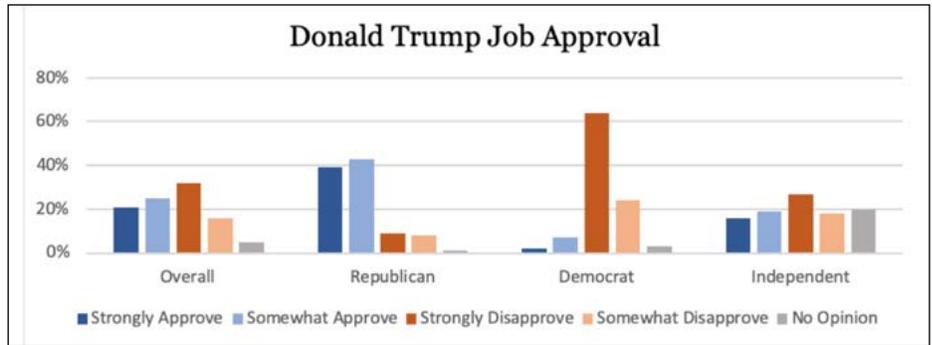
as a "crisis." Buttigieg explained, "I'm not talking about pretending there are equivalencies between the different patterns of exclusion in this country. Divisive lines of thinking have entered Democrats' mindset. Like when we're told we have to choose between supporting an auto worker and a trans woman of color, without stopping to think about the fact that sometimes the auto worker is a trans woman of color, and she definitely needs all the security she can get.

"The wall I worry about the most is not the president's fantasy wall on the Mexican border that's not going to get built anyway," Buttigieg continued. "What I worry about are the very real walls being put up between us as we get divided and carved up."

If Buttigieg can't find traction with minorities, he is destined to become either the flavor of the month, a potential veep pick or a future cabinet secretary.

Trump's Indiana approval 46%

Indiana Republicans would have you believe that President Trump is still phenomenally popular in Indiana.



But the WAA Poll echoes other previous surveys and shows Trump barely above water in a state he carried with 53% in the primary three years ago, and by 19% against the widely loathed Hillary Clinton. Overall, 46% of Indiana voters approve of the job Trump is doing as president, while 48% disapprove. Along party lines, his approval is at 82% with Republicans, while 89% of Democrats disapprove. Among Independents, just 35% approve, while 45% disapprove. As for Vice President Pence, 47% have a favorable opinion, 41% unfavorable. Among independents, Pence approve/disapprove is 35/39%, while 79% of Republicans are favorable. More troubling for the Trump/Pence ticket, the national right/wrong track numbers are

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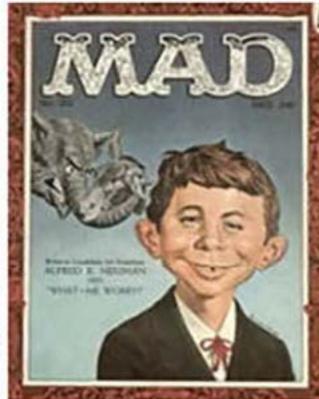
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underwater at 39/51%.

Republican Chairman Kyle Hupfer told HPI on Monday, "I don't know if he's really underwater or not. I tend to believe what I see with my own eyes, and 2018 wasn't too far in the rearview mirror, and I see the way he moved numbers in the Senate race. He's extremely popular in Indiana. I've seen nothing (to indicate) that he won't win Indiana by as much as he did in 2016."



come president of the United States," Trump told Politico. But in doing so, Trump exposed a generational divide. Buttigieg (and, perhaps, many Millennials) didn't know who the Mad Magazine character was.

Buttigieg responded, "I'll be honest. I had to Google that. I guess it's just a generational thing. I didn't get the reference. It's kind of funny, I guess. But he's also

the president of the United States and I'm surprised he's not spending more time trying to salvage this China deal."

Hupfer acknowledges that Trump is facing some "bumps in the road" with his tariff war with China. "The president is taking a long-term view on this and is committed to fixing it," Hupfer explained. "I know there's been some bumps along the way. Long-term, it seems to be short-term bumps."

Media, oppo research in South Bend

As we predicted last winter, South Bend is now in the crosshairs of journalists and opposition researchers. The South Bend Tribune's Jeff Parrott reports that dozens of Freedom of Information requests have been filed in the city, ranging from requests for the mayor's emails, to his Twitter account. "Research isn't cheap and it's not easy,"

Trump sees 'Alfred E. Neuman'

President Donald Trump dismissed Buttigieg on Friday in a single sentence. "Alfred E. Neuman cannot be-



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said Di Resta, president and CEO of The Maccabee Group. "You don't do that if you don't believe someone is a real contender."

Mayor Pete signs Obama ad firm

Larry Grisolano and his firm, AKPD, are joining the Buttigieg campaign (Politico). The firm handled Barack

Obama's early media strategy in 2008, included airing TV ads citing the then-senator's work with the late Indiana Sen. Richard Lugar 'to help lock down loose nuclear weapons.' The ads ran early in Iowa and were meant to bolster Obama's foreign policy chops at a time when he only had a few years as a U.S. Senator under him." ❖

Buttigieg wins his South Bend gamble

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND — Mayor Pete won another South Bend election. This one wasn't so big. Or was it?

While Mayor Pete Buttigieg's name wasn't on the ballot Tuesday, his candidate's name was. James Mueller, his candidate, his choice to be his successor as mayor, won the Democratic mayoral nomination, tantamount to being elected mayor of South Bend.



Mueller, with 37% of the vote, won with a double-digit percentage margin over the nearest competitor in a nine-candidate field that included four other candidates considered viable.

Not bad for a candidate who came from nowhere. Well, he of course came from somewhere, from the Buttigieg administration, where he was the mayor's chief

of staff and then executive director of a key development department. But, politically, from nowhere.

Mueller began the race with low political name recognition, no cultivated political following and lack of political campaign expertise. He hadn't planned to run. Didn't at first really want to run.

Buttigieg told victory celebrants Tuesday night that Mueller "answered the call when it was not the most comfortable or obvious thing to do. It's why, even though he's not the cigar-chomping, back-slapping politician that some people might expect, and neither am I, he is exactly the right person."

Mueller took a chance. It was not always certain that he would win.

Buttigieg took a bigger chance. He put his own prestige on the line while seeking the Democratic presidential nomination.

Mueller's win isn't a plus for Buttigieg with voters nationally. No Iowa caucus-goer will proclaim: "I'm for Mayor Pete. Hey, he got Mayor James elected in South Bend."

However, if his hand-picked successor had been defeated in the city Buttigieg cites in his book, speeches and myriad news media interviews as a place he helped to turn around, knocking some rust off the Rust Belt city and encouraging a new "can do" attitude, the national news media would have pounced.

The news would have been that South Bend rejected Buttigieg's choice for successor, rejecting Mayor Pete and his claims of progress in the city.

The question would be asked: If he was really such a good mayor, worthy of consideration for the presidency, why did his constituents vote against him, against his choice for mayor, against the guy pledged to continue his programs? A loss by Mueller would have been viewed as a slap from his city at Buttigieg's presidential aspirations.

Why then did Buttigieg take the risk? He didn't have to. If he made no endorsement in a South Bend mayoral primary, nobody in the national news media or among movers and shakers in Democratic politics would have cared.

Buttigieg cared. Anybody who has read "Shortest Way Home," his best-selling book telling the story of South Bend as well as his own story, senses that he really cares about his hometown. And he would like his South Bend legacy to be positive.

For both reasons, he picked Mueller, someone he knows and trusts, and took a chance on all-out support, endorsement and campaign finance help.

It was no sure bet. Mueller, no politician, at least at the start, could have stumbled and failed.

Jason Critchlow, former St. Joseph County Democratic chairman, who finished second to Mueller, could have won with his excellent TV blitz and political expertise. Lynn Coleman, a former congressional candidate who is well-known and well-liked, could have won. He was ahead of Mueller in an early professional poll paid for by Buttigieg. Even the two city council members who sought the nomination and fell flat, way out of contention, Oliver Davis and Regina Williams-Preston, were seen at one time as possible threats to win.

Others could have won. They didn't. Mueller won. Mayor Pete won again. ❖

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

TPP pullout poses Trump tariff dilemma

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – This has been a tough spring on Indiana’s grain belt. Because of the soggy weather, the percentage of corn and soybean crops in the field hovers between 1% and 6%. Commodity prices are tanking. And the political giant in rural Indiana, President Donald Trump, has plotted a course that puts farmers in the global crosshairs. With trade talks faltering between the United States and China, and Trump ratcheting up tariffs from 10% to 25% last Friday, there is no end in sight.



Hoosier Ag Today’s Eric Pfeiffer reported: “We’ve all heard the expression, “When it rains, it pours.” Rensselaer farmer and

Indiana Farm Bureau Vice President Kendell Culp says farmers are being poured on, literally and figuratively at the moment, testing their patience. “Because of planting delays, because of rain, and because of lower prices every day, and comments made by the administration which causes an immediate drop in commodity prices, and really no relief in sight, no deals in sight ... It’s just time and, the farmers, I just think they’re out of patience.”

Even if we did have an agreement that was hammered out and announced in the short-term, “the destruction caused in the marketplace and the concern about the U.S. maybe is not such a reliable trading partner, this effect is going to have a long tail and I think it’s going to go along for multiple growing seasons before we get back to anywhere near the position we were at before the trade disruption,” Culp said.

There’s a structural problem with Trump’s love for tariffs and it can be traced back to one of the most fateful decisions of his presidency, his withdrawal from the Trans-Pacific Partnership in January 2017. It fulfilled one of Trump’s oft-stated campaign promises, but apparently Trump’s rural base didn’t understand the long-term implications. The TPP was designed to create a trading coalition based on Western values and rule of law under American leadership. When the U.S. withdrew, the other Pacific Rim nations did not follow, instead cutting their own deals with the Chinese, who rushed in to fill the vacuum.

Rand Corporation analyst Timothy R. Heath explained that the TPP was designed as U.S. approach to a “rising China.” Heath observes, “By strengthening its

leadership, bolstering its alliances and partnerships, and revitalizing an international order, Washington hoped to provide China strong incentives to integrate into and support a U.S.-led order. America’s withdrawal from the TPP in January 2017 marks a major blow to these ambitions.”

The withdrawal has “exacerbated regional doubts about U.S. international leadership and of its role in Asia,” Heath explained. “TPP’s fate powerfully communicated U.S. ambivalence about Asia, because the American people appeared to repudiate the trade deal by electing a president and congressional legislators opposed to it.”

So now President Trump goes it alone, pitting himself against Chinese President-for-Life Xi, who is now in position to simply wait the isolated American president out. There is no incentive for China to make concessions this month, nor in late June at the G-20, and certainly not in 2020 when Trump is fighting for his political life in an uncertain reelection bid.

On top of this, Trump’s ignorance on the basics of trade has even been exposed by his own administration. Trump believes that China is “paying for the tariffs,” just as he insisted Mexico would pay for the wall. Both were abject fallacies.

National Economic Council Director Larry Kudlow contradicted Trump’s assertion that China pays for the tariffs when challenged by Fox News Sunday host Chris Wallace, who stated that U.S. consumers are paying. Kudlow acknowledged, “Fair enough. In fact, both sides will



pay. Both sides will pay in these things. The Chinese will suffer GDP losses and so forth with respect to a diminishing export market.”

That aptly describes a dual dust-in-your mouth reality that Trump has foisted on the global economy. Market certainty is now a rare commodity.

Goldman Sachs weighed in with this analysis: “The costs of U.S. tariffs have fallen entirely on U.S. businesses and households, with no clear reduction in the prices charged by Chinese exporters. Second, the effects of the tariffs have spilled over noticeably to the prices charged by U.S. producers competing with tariff-affected goods.”

Trump is risking the most powerful argument for his reelection, an economy with 2.9% GDP growth and employment at a 50-year high.

On Monday, President Trump said, “I love the posi-

tion we're in," adding that the United States was "taking in billions of dollars in tariffs." The president clearly does not believe Americans are paying for the tariffs. Axios reported Tuesday that senior administration officials say a deal with China isn't close, the trade war will be lengthy, and that Trump actually believes China pays for the tariffs and not American consumers, which has been contradicted by economists and other administration officials.

On Wednesday the Washington Post reported: "President Trump is telling advisers and close allies that he has no intention of pulling back on his escalating trade war with China, arguing that clashing with Beijing is highly popular with his political base and will help him win reelection in 2020 regardless of any immediate economic pain. And sources said Trump was angered at Kudlow for his Fox News comments, with one source saying, 'Trump called Larry, and they had it out.'"

U.S. Sen. Todd Young, who chairs the National Republican Senatorial Committee, reflected the growing angst that greeted Vice President Mike Pence at Tuesday's GOP Senate luncheon. "We all want to resolve this as soon as possible," Young said. "We all want to keep this economy growing faster than we've seen in decades."

In a statement Monday, the American Soybean

Association reacted with frustrated anxiety. "The sentiment out in farm country is getting grimmer by the day," said John Heisdorffer, a soybean farmer in Keota, Iowa, who is chairman of the ASA. "Our patience is waning, our finances are suffering and the stress from months of living with the consequences of these tariffs is mounting." He also said that some fellow farmers he speaks with are beginning to sound notes of discontent with the Trump administration. "Farmers I talk to, I've been surprised they're supportive as they are, but I think it's starting to wane," said Brent Gloy, a Nebraska farmer. "I've personally been very frustrated with it. I think it's just a lack of a coherent plan."

Last month, Vice President Pence was warned by farmers in Boone County and the Indiana agriculture establishment that Trump's most ardent political base was nervous. He heard the same thing at Tuesday's Senate Republican luncheon. Last week, Pence responded to similar angst by saying "The president means business with China, and he's not blinking," according to North Dakota Sen. Kevin Cramer.

"One thing I think we all agree on is that nobody wins a trade war," Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell said. Texas Sen. John Cornyn added, "If this is

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what it takes to get a good deal, I think people will hang in there, but at some point we've got to get it resolved. If this goes on for a long time, everybody realizes it's playing with a live hand grenade."

In the wake of the latest tariff volleys, the administration talked about a second bailout at \$15 billion, on top of the \$12 billion bailout in 2018. USDA's Ted McKinney told Hoosier Ag Today that the handout will materialize in "more like days, not weeks or months. So, that's as close as I can get because I don't want to get out ahead of the secretary or the president, but the intent is to be quick because we want to send a powerful message to, first, our farmers, and ranchers, and the ag world, but also to our friends around the world that ag is not up for

debate."

The lone farmer in the Senate, Montana Democratic Sen. Jon Tester, echoed what we've heard on the Hoosier prairies, telling MSNBC's Morning Joe Wednesday that farmers and ranchers are "not big on socialism. They prefer to get their check from the market. We're not in TPP, and that has empowered China. I don't think there's a plan for trade. China plays the long game, they play the long game on everything. This administration doesn't play the long game and the farmers are going to lose."

Trump supporters backed him in 2016 as he vowed to shake things up. They knew there would be chaos. They just didn't fathom it would hit this close to the farm. ❖



Know your fractions

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – You don't want to hear it, but fractions are important. They guide our lives. The unemployment rate. The pollen count. The interest rate. The speed of a car. All are fractions with numerators (the numbers on top) and denominators (the numbers on the bottom).



Per capita personal income (PCPI) is a fraction that became the holy economic grail for Hoosier politicians. What do they know of that annual numeric stew cooked by the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis?

PCPI is personal income divided by population? Yeah, but personal income is not the amount you report to the IRS.

The top of the fraction (personal income) includes money paid by employers for Social Security, unemployment insurance and other sums you

don't see. Plus there's dividend, interest and rental income "imputed" to you. Also included is the value of government payments you get (Social Security) or made on your behalf by government (Medicare and Medicaid).

But most important, PCPI is a fraction with population as the denominator, meaning that when the population grows, PCPI shrinks and when population declines, PCPI increases.

For example, in Colorado between 2007 and 2017, personal income grew by 52% (fifth in the nation) with population expanding by 17% (third in the U.S.). Both stratospheric figures any governor would be proud to tout. But that left PCPI increasing by 30% (just above the

national average) and 21st among the states.

During those same years, Indiana had a 39% growth in personal income, just one percent below the national growth rate. That, for Indiana, was the rarified 19th best spot. On top of that, the Hoosier state had very slow population growth of just 4.4%, ranking 34th nationally.

Combined, our PCPI increase of 33% pulled us in as 10th best in the U.S. The only mystery is why the legislature didn't hold a dance around the Maypole?

Slow growth or decline in population boosts PCPI. Thus, if increasing PCPI is an official goal of government, shouldn't we be cheering our departing high school and college graduates over the next month? How's that for a state policy reversal?

At the county level, 52 of Indiana's 92 counties lost population between 2007 and 2017. That's something to bring joy to the administration and the legislature.

With just one exception (Ohio County), each of those 52 counties enjoyed an increase in PCPI. The cover story might be written by Rush County. There, personal income grew by 34% (five points below the state figure), but a decline of 6.8% in population gave Rush second place in the push to raise PCPI.

Our Hendricks County was very similar to Colorado where rapid population growth offset fast personal income advances. Ranked fourth among 92 counties in personal income growth and third in population growth, Hendricks landed in 67th place in PCPI growth.

Moral: Know your fractions before you make your wishes. ❖

Mr. Marcus is an economist. Reach him at mortonj-marcus@yahoo.com. Follow his views and those of John Guy on "Who gets what?" wherever podcasts are available or atmortonjohn.libsyn.com ❖

Mayor for life: The secret for Dick Lugar's political success

By **TREVOR FOUGHTY**

INDIANAPOLIS — There's an old aphorism about being a mayor that goes, "Plowing streets isn't a partisan issue." In other words: Being a Republican or Democrat might signal the governing approach of a legislator or a candidate for state or federal executive office with a broad range of powers, but it doesn't tell you much about how a mayor may manage a city. Once elected, a mayor, perhaps more than any other officeholder, is judged more on their ability to deliver results around nuts-and-bolts issues than their ability to advance an ideological agenda.



And yet so many obituaries for the late Dick Lugar note that he was a successful senator and he was a successful mayor, but fail to make the connection that he was a successful senator because he was a successful mayor. To most commentators, his eight years leading Indianapolis are merely a one-sentence biographical prelude to paragraphs about his 36 years of achievement in Washington.

But it wasn't those achievements that earned Lugar the title of statesman, it was his approach to governing. And in so many of his later achievements, we see the approach of a mayor: Someone who understood that bringing people together, solving problems, and delivering results should be the goal of government, at whatever level.

In those few obituaries that do go beyond mere mention of holding the office, Lugar's mayoral tenure is typically summarized in a single word: Unigov. But a review of the historical record shows us that his impact on the city was much more robust than government consolidation, and to focus on this issue alone doesn't give him nearly enough credit. In studying it more closely, many readers may be surprised at what they find, but they'll also recognize an approach to governing that is very familiar to the one Lugar adopted as a senator when dealing with New York City's bankruptcy, Chrysler's loan guarantee, the

Philippines, apartheid, agriculture subsidies and nuclear proliferation.

In most modern tellings of the history of Indianapolis, Lugar was the Unigov mayor, and Bill Hudnut was the mayor who redeveloped the downtown, transforming India-No-Place into India-Show-Place. This is rooted in fact: In his four terms, Hudnut expanded the Convention Center, built a football stadium and then lured in an NFL team, landed the 1987 Pan Am Games, redeveloped Union Station, rebuilt the canal, and developed the idea for Circle Centre Mall. And Unigov was Lugar's crowning achievement, a huge accomplishment which, as Foreign Policy magazine noted last week, "made Indianapolis the nation's 11th-largest city...and helped forestall the kind of urban decay that afflicted many cities surrounded by prosperous suburbs, such as Detroit and Baltimore."

But to the extent that this version of history simply reduces the entirety of Lugar's mayorship to Unigov, it's also partially rooted in myth. Unigov was approved by the General Assembly in March of 1969, barely a year into Lugar's first term. He didn't exactly spend his remaining seven years in office just sitting on his hands. Instead, he developed a bold vision for the growth of Indianapolis as a world class city, starting with its downtown. The work he did laid the foundation for Hudnut to build his own well-deserved legacy.

Lugar's first big move downtown began in secret just months after he was sworn in. He believed that a major city needed a major public university in order to build and attract an educated workforce. He was concerned that the Indianapolis extension programs of Indiana University and Purdue University were afterthoughts to Bloomington and West Lafayette, and thought Indianapolis deserved more. So in April of 1968, he met with outgoing IU President Elvis Jacob Stahr to discuss the possibility of merging the extension programs into a new university, potentially situated on the west side of downtown near IU's medical school campus.

After Stahr retired, Lugar continued the conversation with new president Joseph Sutton and Purdue President Frederick Hovde. That December, he publicly announced he would be pursuing legislation to merge the extension operations into a new autonomous university known as the University of Indianapolis. While the legislature didn't give him the autonomy or name he sought, with support from IU and Purdue they did establish IUPUI as a standalone campus and appropriated funding to begin construction that same year. The first class of Indianapolis's own public univer-



sity matriculated that fall, thanks to Lugar's role as the mastermind, the cheerleader, and the negotiator who navigated the politics of higher education to bring the two schools together.

IUPUI wasn't the only construction project started by the Lugar administration in 1969, as the Indiana Convention Center broke ground in December. While the project was developed under Mayor John Barton (whom Lugar defeated in 1967), it would be Lugar who saw it become a reality. He also realized that without more entertainment options downtown, the city would struggle to attract national conventions to utilize the space once it opened in 1972.

Fortunately, Indianapolis already had a professional sports team, and that team was in search of a new home. The Indiana Pacers were a founding member of the nascent American Basketball Association in 1967, and were quickly proving to be a league powerhouse and a popular team in a basketball-obsessed state. The Pacers were the league runners-up in the 1968-69 season, and the 1969-70 season would see them win their first of three championships in four years. But playing their home games in the Coliseum at the State Fairgrounds, the team struggled to make money.

Lugar saw an opportunity to give the Pacers a new home in a downtown arena, which might also attract a hockey team, host concerts and other shows, and serve as overflow space for the Convention Center. All of this would help provide the much-needed entertainment options that might make the Convention Center attractive nationally. And it almost didn't happen.

The Pacers wanted a new home as much as Lugar wanted them to have one. They didn't want to move downtown, however, because they believed their fans predominately came from the northern suburbs. After scouting multiple locations on the city's north side, in November of 1970 they purchased over 200 acres of land at 71st Street and I-465 in Pike Township. Having already invested in building plans, they announced construction of their new arena would begin the following April.

After months of city leaders publicly pleading with the Pacers to consider building downtown, the team balked at their entreaties; Lugar's hand was forced. Just five days later, his administration made an announcement of their own: After scouting five different downtown locations, they had settled on the site next to the City Market as the perfect location for a sports arena. They, too, had building plans, which included the arena, an office building, a parking garage, and an underground plaza that could house restaurants and retailers. The price tag was \$12 million, and the city was prepared to build it regardless of what the Pacers did.



As it turned out, the building plans the city unveiled at their press conference had been designed by a pair of Ball State architectural students for a school project, a clear sign that the city's planning wasn't as far along as the Pacers'. But it was enough to bring the team to the table and convince them to delay their construction plans.

After months of negotiations, a deal was reached: Market Square Arena would be built downtown, along with three private office buildings, two parks, and multiple parking garages as part of the deal. The total cost would be \$32.5 million, of which the city would only be responsible for their original \$12 million estimate. The rest would be financed by the Pacers and other private investors, whose property tax bills on the office buildings alone would cover the city's \$12 million bond note and interest. The cost for the Pacers to rent the arena, plus additional tax revenue that came from concessions at the arena, increased business activity in the office and commercial spaces, and increased convention activity would provide new revenue streams to address other city needs. When cost overruns threatened construction a few years later, Lugar keenly identified federal revenue-sharing funds that covered an additional \$4.4 million without additional cost to Indianapolis taxpayers.

The whole ordeal was a risky gambit that looks shrewd in hindsight, especially as it resulted in a professional sports franchise locating in downtown Indianapolis. But it speaks to Lugar's belief in the ability to solve problems by first getting all sides to sit down at the same table to talk. Further, not only would this move lay the foundation for Hudnut to later realize the potential of downtown Indianapolis, but its broad strokes would be echoed when Hudnut built a football stadium as part of a Convention Center expansion and ended up luring the Colts to come to town.

Lugar doesn't just deserve credit for building the city up, though; he also deserves some credit for it not breaking down in the wake of the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. Typically, Robert Kennedy's impassioned plea for peace during an Indianapolis campaign event with a mostly black audience is pointed to as the reason why this city didn't see the riots that more than 100 other cities did in April 1968. Kennedy's speech, regarded by many as one of the best political speeches in our nation's history, clearly was instrumental in calming the city, so the acknowledgement it receives is due. However, in praising Kennedy's remarks we have nearly forgotten the courage and leadership shown in those days by the new mayor of Indianapolis.

If it was Kennedy's remarks that initially kept the peace, then it was largely the response of the city

— working with black activists like Snooky Hendricks and Ben Bell, with whom Lugar had formed a strong relationship throughout his campaign and early into his mayoralty — that maintained it. That same night, Lugar sent his staff around the city to meet with leaders of the black community, asking them to help keep things calm, or as he put it years later to “keep a lid” on things. The next morning, Lugar began a series of meetings of his own with black leaders, pastors, and community members. A few nights later, he gave his own extemporaneous speech on live television that lasted for a half hour. Now barely remembered, at the time the speech was praised for its head-on acknowledgement of racial inequality in Indianapolis. “It is not so much that we have condoned hypocrisy or cruelty or harassment, we’ve been indifferent to it,” he said. “We haven’t known about it and less have we cared. ... And this is the case from which we try to unravel and extricate ourselves presently.”

Where civic leaders elsewhere were trying to downplay systemic injustice, Lugar pledged to fix it. In relaying stories he had heard from the black citizens in the preceding days that had helped to open his eyes, he didn’t excuse his past ignorance but instead was willing to indict his own indifference. And he promised that the city would tackle issues like black employment, fair housing, police harassment, and desegregation of schools, to prove that in Indianapolis “human rights come first.”

Lugar’s speech (and more broadly, his approach) carried some weight in the black community in large measure because they already understood him to be a leader who listened to their concerns. That trust dated back to his time on the Indianapolis Board of School Commissioners, a part of his history even less well-remembered today than his time as mayor.

When Lugar ran for the school board at the age of 32 in 1964, a group called the Citizens Committee held every seat on the board. The Citizens Committee, which took a more conservative view of education, had been criticized for not doing more to integrate Indianapolis schools. They were accused of maintaining de facto segregation, despite a state law in effect since 1949 that outlawed school segregation. Amid growing national tensions around issues of race, a more progressive group calling themselves Non-Partisans for Better Schools slated their own candidates that year, making integration their main issue.

Lugar was a slated candidate of the Citizens Committee, and quickly gained a reputation as their hardest working and most well-spoken candidate, earning himself the nickname “The Silver Tongued Orator.” On election day, the Citizens Committee would win all but one race, with State Sen. John Ruckelshaus (father of the current State Senator John Ruckelshaus) the only Non-Partisan candidate to win.

With pressure mounting to address the issue of school integration, the school

board sought to placate the black community by creating a new committee tasked with planning for integration. They named Lugar, the rising star of the Citizens Committee, as its chair in his first meeting on the board.

If the committee was just meant to be for show, nobody told Lugar. He began holding public meetings around the city, with a particular focus on predominately black neighborhoods. Having never been given a serious opportunity to voice their opinion with the school board before, they showed up in droves. Some meeting spaces were so full that would-be attendees had to be turned away.

When the Indiana General Assembly that met in 1965 strengthened the 1949 school desegregation law and gave schools more options for integration, questions about how Indianapolis would proceed mounted. With the help of Lugar and Ruckelshaus, Gertrude Page — the only black member of the school board — introduced and passed a resolution that required the board to publicly outline its strategies for integration. When a statement was produced by the superintendent a few weeks later, the trio led the charge to reject it for not including a plan for integration. A much stronger statement was adopted at the next month’s meeting.

Buoyed by this victory, Lugar continued to use the committee to push for better integration in Indianapolis schools. He succeeded in first pushing through a proposal that would allow students to attend any high school they wished as long as there was space (hoping that it would encourage black students to attend more predominately white schools), as well as a proposal that would make Shortridge High School — his alma mater that historically had been a model of integration, but recently had begun to see several white families leave for the suburbs — a college preparatory school open to any student in the city who met the basic academic requirements.

For his efforts, Lugar was labeled a “liberal” by Citizens Committee supporters for “attempting to use the power of the school board” to maintain racial balance. When three members of the school board who had voted for his Shortridge plan lost reelection in 1966 because of this sort of backlash, Lugar, then serving as vice president, lost the support he thought he had to become board president. Seemingly repudiated by his own side, a few months



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later he resigned in order to run for mayor. Once elected, he vowed to use his office “to prod the Indianapolis Public Schools into becoming a full partner in solving city problems.”

Ultimately, it was this fundamental notion that government has the duty and power to solve problems that was the essence of his statesmanship and the hallmark of his leadership. This approach helped him bring together rival universities in a unique merger that created IUPUI. It brought the Pacers to the table so that Mar-

ket Square Arena could be built, and Indianapolis could become a top site for national conventions. And it helped Indianapolis avoid the racial violence seen in so many other cities in April 1968.

Applying that same approach as a U.S. senator made Dick Lugar one of the most consequential people in the world in the last half century. He was a U.S. Senator for 36 years, but he was a mayor first, and always. ❖

Foughty publishes at CapitolandWashington.com

Making Congress better

By **LEE HAMILTON**

BLOOMINGTON – A couple of weeks ago I was speaking to a group of students and decided to start with a point-blank question: Is Congress doing a good job? There were perhaps 100 people in the room, and not a single one raised his or her hand.

So I asked the question a different way: Is Congress nearly or completely dysfunctional? Most hands went up.

These were not experts, of course. They were simply reflecting a broad public consensus that things are not working well on Capitol Hill. But they weren’t wrong, either. Things aren’t working well on Capitol Hill.

I can tick off the problems and so can you. Congress doesn’t follow good process. It seems to have lost the ability to legislate. It’s too polarized and partisan.



It’s dominated by political game-playing and the undue influence of money. It defers too readily to the president. Routine matters get bottled up. Its output is low and it simply cannot pass a budget on time.

In fact, there’s a lot it can’t get done: It can’t repair or replace Obamacare, it can’t take action on climate change, it can’t find its way to the grand bargain on fiscal reform that everyone wants, it can’t develop an education policy, it’s unable to address our cyber-security needs, strengthen gun laws, or mitigate extreme inequality.

To be sure, there are things that members of Congress do pretty well. They serve their constituents and are superb at reflecting their constituents’ views. Most are accessible, they understand what their constituents want, they’re adept at aligning themselves with their home districts or states and equally skilled at separating themselves from Congress as a whole. They know how to make themselves look good and the institution they serve look bad.

They’re also people of integrity and talent who want to advance the national interest as they understand it. They’re willing to work exhausting hours in an agitated, dysfunctional political environment. It’s frustrating to look out over Congress and see so many talented, well-meaning people who struggle to make the institution work well.

So then what should they do? What are the paths that will lead Congress back to relevance, effectiveness, and higher standing in public opinion?

First, it needs to step up to its constitutional responsibilities. The Founders placed Congress first in the Constitution for a reason: It’s not just a co-equal branch, it’s the branch that most thoroughly represents the will and desires of the American people. Yet over the years, Congress has kept ceding power to the president.

The Constitution explicitly gives Congress the power to declare war, yet military intervention is now the president’s choice. Congress — and the House specifically — is supposed to take the initiative in producing a budget, but it’s been many years since it exercised that power. Instead, the president submits a budget and Congress reacts.

Up and down the line, in fact, the president sets the agenda and then Congress responds to his proposals. It’s pretty hard to identify a congressional initiative within recent memory.

And it doesn’t just defer to the president. Congress leaves regulatory decisions to federal agencies with very little oversight. It yields economic power to the Federal Reserve. It’s allowed the Supreme Court to become a central policy-making body on issues from campaign finance to affirmative action to environmental regulation.

And though recent stirrings of independence among both Democrats and Republicans on Capitol Hill are heartening, they’re just that, stirrings. It hasn’t come close to being a co-equal branch of government for a long time. So the first step toward reforming itself is to determine to become one.

In order to do so, however, it needs to attend to some serious internal housekeeping, from rehabilitating the way it goes about legislating to restoring the bedrock principles of good legislating, including negotiation and compromise. In my next commentary, I’ll address those needs in greater detail. ❖

Mitch Daniels, Washington Post: So here we are in another presidential campaign season (when aren't we?), and the air is thick with greenhouse gas of the political variety. When candidates take a break from talking about themselves, they generally turn to "bold" policy pronouncements that they hope will prove eye-catching enough to separate them from the thundering herd of wannabe Washingtons and Roosevelts. Thanks to the modern primary-dominated process — designed with the goal of returning nominations to "the people" but, instead, captive to the parties' political fringes — these policy ideas tend to fall in two unfortunate classes. The first consists of those crafted to massage the erogenous zones of extremists. The second is those policies chosen for their divisiveness quotient, the extent to which they underscore the stark difference between Us and Them, and the proponent's passionate commitment to Us. Almost all share the common denominator of absurd impracticality. They have given us a new definition of the admirable adjective "aspirational," now taken to mean "I know it's preposterous, so don't hold me to it.. But now, thanks to some wildly imaginative researchers at a group of universities — including Texas A&M, Arizona State, Cal Tech and Purdue University, where I work — candidates have available for inspection a genuine Big Idea that just might transcend these dreary categories. As reported in Scientific American and elsewhere, this consortium of more than two dozen scientists and engineers proposes an "energy-water corridor" along the nearly 2,000 miles of the U.S.-Mexico border. It is that rarest of modern phenomena: an ecumenical concept with unifying potential; an idea that even sworn enemies can love. The scientists envision a chain of green-energy installations, powering seawater desalination that could make the desert bloom Israel-style, ease water-shortage concerns in several southwestern states and trigger enormous economic possibilities in both the United States and Mexico. And, oh yes, provide through its necessary, concomitant protective features a major new physical barrier to illegal immigration. ❖



John Krull, Statehouse File: For a guy who is only one heartbeat away from the office he's coveted his entire life, Mike Pence spends a lot of time feeling sorry for himself. The vice president of the United States was at it again a few days ago. Speaking at the commencement for Liberty University, Pence delivered what is, for him, a familiar lament. "Throughout most of American history, it has been pretty easy to call yourself Christian," Pence told the graduates. "It didn't even occur to people that you might be shunned or ridiculed for defending the teachings of the Bible. But things are different now." This is well-worn ground for the vice president. Looking through his darkly lit lens, Pence has argued,

in tireless and tiresome fashion, that he and other social conservatives somehow are being persecuted if they are not allowed to use the power of government and law to persecute others. Specifically, gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender citizens. The vice president says he and his fellow believers seek to ostracize and punish these fellow citizens because the Bible commands them to do so. And whatever the Bible says, they must do.

Others — most recently South Bend Mayor and Democratic presidential candidate Pete Buttigieg — have called into question the intense focus on sexual orientation Pence and his crowd have drawn from their biblical studies. It's a fair point.

The New Testament, in particular, has little to say about homosexuality. The single reference is drawn from a Greek translation of the original text and is itself open to multiple interpretations. The Bible — and, again, the New Testament particularly — has much, much more to say about caring for the poor and the sick, but that didn't stop Pence from, as governor, refusing to accept pre-school funding for the indigent or denying thousands of Hoosiers access to health care so he could score some political points. But let's be generous and grant the vice president his main contention. Because he calls himself a Christian — his words — if the Bible tells him to do something, he must do it. Well, there's a pretty important admonition in the Bible against adultery. It's one of the Ten Commandments. The language is clear: You shall not commit adultery. Except it doesn't seem so clear to the vice president when his political interests are at stake. Speaking at the same Liberty University nearly three years ago after the man for whom Pence works — President Donald Trump, then as now a married man — had been caught boasting on tape of sexually assaulting women, the vice president said it wasn't a big deal. He urged his fellow evangelical Christians to vote for the man who bragged about groping women without their consent. ❖

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

Hendricks Co. Flyer newspaper closes

AVON — The Hendricks County Flyer, a twice-weekly newspaper covering Brownsburg, Avon, Plainfield and surrounding areas, published its last issue Wednesday and will shut down its website, www.flyergroup.com ([IBJ](#)). In a story at the top of the latest issue, the paper said it closed “the shopper due to challenging market conditions.” The paper was delivered free by carriers to 15,000 readers on Wednesdays and Saturdays. Beverly Joyce, who became publisher of The Flyer in 2017, said in the story that only 6% of recipients voluntarily paid for the paper. “Unfortunately, the business model of free content to a large print audience was not sustainable,” the paper quoted Joyce saying. “We tried every way we could to keep the operation viable.”



Ivey signs Alabama abortion ban bill

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — Alabama Gov. Kay Ivey has signed the bill to make abortion a felony in Alabama, the governor’s office announced ([AL.com](#)). The law does not take effect now or immediately change the legality of abortion in Alabama. “To the bill’s many supporters, this legislation stands as a powerful testament to Alabamians’ deeply held belief that every life is precious and that every life is a sacred gift from God,” Ivey said in a press release. The Senate gave final passage to the bill on Tuesday night, sending it to Ivey’s desk. The language in the bill says it will take effect in six months. But the sponsors said their intent was to trigger litigation that could lead to a challenge of abortion rights nationally. That course of events would involve federal courts blocking the law, followed by appeals aimed at reaching the U.S. Supreme Court as a challenge to the Roe v. Wade abortion rights decision of

1973. ACLU of Alabama and Planned Parenthood have said they would sue to block the law. Televangelist Pat Robertson said on his show, “[The 700 Club](#)”: “I think Alabama has gone too far.” Robertson said, “It’s an extreme law, and they want to challenge Roe v. Wade, but my humble view is that this is not the case we want to bring to the Supreme Court because I think this one will lose.”

Visclosky panel OKs Taliban funds

WASHINGTON — The Trump administration asked Congress earlier this year for funds to reimburse Afghanistan’s Taliban for expenses the insurgent group incurs attending peace talks, according to a spokesman for the chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Defense. The money would cover the Taliban’s costs for expenses such as transportation, lodging, food and supplies, said Kevin Spicer, spokesman for Indiana Democrat Peter J. Visclosky, in a statement for [CQ Roll Call](#). The Pentagon’s request to funnel U.S. funds to the Taliban ‘would implicate provisions of law concerning material support to terrorists, the Taliban’s ongoing offensive operations against U.S. service members, and their continuing lack of acknowledgement of the government of Afghanistan or the rights of women in Afghan society,’ said Spicer. Consequently, Visclosky’s panel approved on Wednesday a \$690.2 billion Defense spending bill for fiscal 2020 that bars any funds for reimbursing the Taliban.

Dr. Box takes on infant mortality

SCHERERVILLE — Indiana’s health commissioner is enlisting the Region in her quest to save the lives of more Hoosier infants. “We need to be site-specific, and community-specific, about what is killing your babies,” Dr. Kristina Box told a crowd of doctors, business owners and social

service providers Wednesday at the Patrician Banquet Center (Bruce, [NWI Times](#)). Indiana has the seventh-highest infant death rate in the nation, according to the latest federal data. In 2017, more than 600 children died in the state before their first birthdays. “Infant mortality is a window into the health of the state or the nation,” said Box, who spoke at Mental Health America of Northwest Indiana’s Legacy Breakfast.

Teachers blindsided by new process

INDIANAPOLIS — Thousands of teachers are starting the process of renewing their teaching licenses before a new law goes into effect that requires educators to learn more about workforce and career-related needs for their students and communities (Lindsay, [Indiana Public Media](#)). The new law requires teachers earn 15 of the 90 professional development points they need to renew their license, through workforce and career-navigation focused programs. Those could be earned through an “externship” with a company, or professional development opportunities that focus on career-navigation for students or economic and workforce needs. Indiana State Teachers Association President Teresa Meredith says many teachers feel blindsided by the change, and see it as an insult and added burden to their work. She says many already work to create community connections and experiences for their students. “I’m not really sure what the whole point of it is. I think if there was an issue they could ask and we might actually already be addressing it,” she says.

Manning, Kor are Indiana legends

INDIANAPOLIS — Former Indianapolis Colts quarterback Peyton Manning and Holocaust survivor Eva Kor of Terre Haute head the Indiana Historical Society’s 2019 class of Living Legends ([AP](#)).