

# VP Pence, Marshall power parallels

In 1919, Marshall had President Wilson's stroke; in 2019 Pence faces Trump scandal

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – A former Indiana governor has become vice president of the United States. He sits on the precipice of power as the world awaits the fate of the president. He is, literally, a heartbeat away.

That's where America stood almost a century ago in 1919. President Woodrow Wilson had suffered a minor stroke in September and then a more severe one on Oct. 2, leaving him partially paralyzed and incapacitated.

The former Hoosier governor was Vice President Thomas Riley Marshall of Columbia City, urged by some to assume acting presidential powers and duties, though top Wilson aide Joseph Tumulty and First Lady Edith Wilson



Vice Presidents Mike Pence and Thomas R. Marshall find themselves on the precipice of ultimate power a century apart.

prevented Marshall from taking control. The pair, who viewed Marshall as having an "uncouth disposition," never notified the cabinet or Marshall of the president's dire condition. There was no 25th Amendment (it was adopted many decades later) allowing a cabinet and vice president to act if a president were to be incapacitated or mentally

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## Mayor Pete's rollout

By **JACK COLWELL**

SOUTH BEND – Takeaways from national news media coverage of South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg's launch of his presidential candidacy are clear. He is viewed as a serious contender for the Democratic presidential nomination.



Right after his early-morning-hours disclosure of an exploratory candidacy, news that he was in the race was on morning network news and reported in the major newspapers. Think you could announce for president and get even two seconds or one sentence of national coverage?



**“This is a sensitive issue and an issue we ought to talk about this afternoon and discuss in a closed session.”**

*- National Intelligence Director Dan Coats, asked by Sen. Ron Wyden if he knows what Presidents Trump and Putin discussed in Helsinki*



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Buttigieg had extensive coverage throughout the day, even live interviews. Coverage continues and certainly will go on during his book tour in February. A key factor in this is that the mayor won by losing in his 2017 bid to be Democratic national chairman. He wasn't selected but still gained national exposure and stature with his impressive bid for the post.

**Also clear from** the coverage by the national news people is that they aren't sure how to pronounce Buttigieg. Heck, even some of his South Bend constituents aren't sure. Most of the national stories, TV and print, referred quickly to the way the mayor's name is pronounced.

Chuck Todd, host of "Meet the Press," talked in his weeknight show about the confusion. "Thankfully," Todd said, he goes by "Mayor Pete."

Different ways to pronounce the name were offered in the national news media, including "boot-ah-judge," a familiar pronunciation in South Bend, and his own offering of "BOOT-edge-edge."

There also is consensus in the national news media that Buttigieg, while to be taken seriously as a candidate, has little chance to be elected president in 2020. Stories about his candidacy describe him in such terms as "clear underdog," "longshot" and even "rank outsider." There are no descriptions of Buttigieg as a "front-runner" or "top contender."

**Questions are** raised of whether the 37-year-old mayor could be the first Millennial president, the youngest president ever or the first gay president. Questions. Not predictions that it will happen.

Still, possible pathways to the White House are cited in some accounts, including one in Nate Silver's

FiveThirtyEight, headlined "How Pete Buttigieg Could Win the 2020 Democratic Nomination." That analysis ends with the suggestion that Buttigieg, "given the odds against him," could again win by losing – no nomination but more national acclaim for the future.

The Wall Street Journal reports that Republicans in Indiana say Buttigieg "would be hard-pressed to win statewide office" in Indiana.

A New York Times story also



mentions state election chances, questioning why he "opted for an underdog presidential campaign," when "he has been regarded as a potentially strong candidate for the governorship."

**Well, both the** Journal and Times observations have some merit. He probably would be a strong candidate for governor but would be hard-pressed to win in the state that was overwhelmingly Trumpiana last November.

Washington Post opinion writer Jennifer Rubin describes Buttigieg as "at an extreme disadvantage" in seeking the presidency. "And let's be clear," she adds. "Having served in the military and having held public office in which he has been accountable to voters, Buttigieg is already more qualified than Trump was in 2016."

One clear winner in the national stories is South Bend. In telling



the story of Buttigieg as mayor, they cite prior descriptions of “a dying city” and relate the progress in economic development and jobs and population gain during his two terms as mayor. In his book, going on sale nationally on Feb. 12, Buttigieg tells the story of South Bend as it finally recovered from the decades-long doldrums after the demise of Studebaker auto-making.

Coverage of his book tour – also, of course, a campaign tour – will include the positive description of South Bend. Buttigieg hopes the coverage also will include a positive description of its mayor. ❖

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

## Vice President Pence, from page 1

unfit to serve.

Today, it is Vice President Mike Pence who is the proverbial heartbeats away. The former Indiana governor serves at the right hand of President Donald J. Trump, the oldest president ever elected and one hounded by scandal. Perhaps the biggest parlor game in Washington these days is this question: What are the chances that Michael Richard Pence of Columbus, Indiana, becomes the 46th president before 2019 rolls into 2020?

Thus, we find Vice President Pence at a crossroads. Unlike Marshall, Pence appears to be on good terms with President Trump and the Trump/Kushner clan that runs the West Wing. Pence is a frequent presence in the Oval Office and travels routinely with Trump to rallies and summits. The two have lunch almost every week (Monday’s was the only thing on Trump’s official schedule this week).

Marshall served two terms as Wilson’s vice president, but was aloof and rarely attended cabinet meetings. Trump appeared, at least rhetorically, to openly want Pence on the ticket in 2020. “Mike, will you be my running mate?” Trump asked Pence on the day after the midterm elections. Pence stood up, raised his hand, and nodded with a broad smile. “Will you? Thank you. OK, good,” the president said. “That was unexpected, but I feel very fine.”

Was it a joke? Was Trump just goading his tormenting press corps? Only one man knows, or, perhaps, he really doesn’t.

### Jettisoned veeps

Other presidents have jettisoned veeps prior to reelection. President Jefferson replaced Vice President Aaron Burr with George Clinton during the first cycle with a true presidential ticket; President Lincoln traded Vice President Hannibal Hamlin in 1864 for Andrew Johnson. And President Franklin D. Roosevelt went from vice presidents John Nance Garner to Henry Wallace to then, fatefully, Harry Truman. (It was Garner who memorably described the vice presidency as “not worth a bucket of warm piss.”)

Both the New York Times and Vanity Fair have published pieces where Trump has questioned Pence’s loyalty and future. On Dec. 5, [Vanity Fair’s Gabriel Sherman posted](#): “On Monday, Trump hosted a 2020 strategy meeting with a group of advisers. Among the topics discussed was whether Mike Pence should remain on the ticket,



given the hurricane-force political headwinds Trump will face, as demonstrated by the midterms, a source briefed on the session told me. ‘They’re beginning to think about whether Mike Pence should be running again,’ the source said, adding that the advisers presented Trump with new polling that shows Pence doesn’t expand Trump’s coalition. ‘He doesn’t detract from it, but he doesn’t add anything either,’ the source said.”

On Nov. 16, the [New York Times](#) reported that President Trump questioned Pence’s loyalty: “In one conversation after another he has asked aides and advisers a pointed question: Is Mike Pence loyal? Mr. Trump has repeated the question so many times that he has alarmed some of his advisers. The president has not openly suggested dropping Mr. Pence from the ticket and picking another running mate, but the advisers say those kinds of questions usually indicate that he has grown irritated with someone... But some Trump advisers, primarily outside the White House, have suggested to him that while Mr.

Pence remains loyal, he may have used up his utility. These advisers argue that Mr. Trump has forged his own relationship with evangelical voters, and that what he might benefit from more is a running mate who could help him with female voters, who disapprove of him in large numbers." The name that often surfaces is former United Nations ambassador and South Carolina governor Nikki Haley.

Vanity Fair's Sherman further observed: "Trump's doubts about Pence are surprising given Pence's frequent public encomiums and professions of loyalty. 'Trump waxes and wanes on everyone,' a prominent Republican close to the White House explained. Part of what's driving the debate over Pence's political value is Trump's stalled search for a chief of staff to replace John Kelly. According to a source, Kelly has recently been telling Trump that Pence doesn't help him politically. The theory is that Kelly is unhappy that Pence's 36-year-old chief of staff, Nick Ayers, has been openly campaigning for Kelly's job. 'Kelly has started to get more political and he's whispering to Trump that Trump needs a running mate who can help him more politically,' the source said."

That Nick Ayers turned down becoming Trump's chief of staff in December to return to Georgia was revealing. It underscored some of the speculation on Kelly's reservations about Pence, but Kelly is now gone. HPI's take at the time was that as Trump heads into a tumultuous 2019 and challenging reelection cycle, Ayers decided his future is really with Pence. Should Mueller's report be so damning that Trump's political support within the Republican Party collapses – the most likely end to a Trump presidency, not impeachment – Ayers could return to serve a President Pence.

The tumult at hand and still reverberating is the 35-day government shutdown that stiffed 800,000 federal workers (and 20,000 Hoosiers) two paychecks, and came close to throwing the nation's aviation grid into dangerous turmoil. Its end coincides with Special Counsel Robert Mueller tightening the noose around Trump's campaign inner circle; chairman Paul Manafort, deputy Rick Gates and now confidante Roger Stone have all been indicted.

Strokes and God determined the fate of President Wilson. With Trump, it could be Mueller and Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell. In 1974, it was a Supreme Court ruling on the Watergate tapes which revealed President Nixon's lies that prompted GOP support to collapse as impeachment loomed.



Gov. Christie and Donald Trump meet with Pence at the Indiana Governor's Residence; Pence, Trump and Rex Early at the Columbia Club on the day of the Westfield "audition."

Across Washington, Pence is largely viewed with high esteem among congressional Republicans and as more trustworthy by Democrats. He is seen as more predictable, more likely to stay within the guardrails than the petulant Trump. But being President Trump's vice president hasn't been easy.

### Pence's political lifeline

From Mike Pence's perspective, Trump's offer in July 2016 to join the ticket was a political lifeline. Pence's own presidential ambitions were derailed in 2015 with the RFRA controversy. In a looming rematch with Democrat John Gregg, many saw Pence as a distinct underdog. HPI's Horse Race rated the Pence/Gregg rematch in the "Leans Democrat" category, but Pence could have pulled it out.

What we do know is that Pence's inner circle wasn't so sure. When many Republicans couldn't fathom joining Team Trump, Pence adroitly positioned himself for the national ticket, as Dan Quayle did in 1988. Team Pence made a conspicuous behind-the-scenes play for the nomination. It culminated in a jittery 36-hour period when Mike and Karen Pence flew to New Jersey after abandoning the gubernatorial nomination, while Trump flirted with picking New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie.

Christie writes in his new book, "Let Me Finish," that Trump called him after Pence's audition at Westfield (and a fundraiser at the Columbia Club), asking him "Are you ready?" In the end, it was Manafort and the Trump/Kushner clan that prevailed for Pence, convincing Trump to stick with the Indiana governor. The gamble paid off with Pence performing strongly in the vice presidential debate and making the closing argument for the ticket after it nearly collapsed in the wake of the "Access Hollywood" tape. Pence beseeched skeptical Republicans to "come home," and enough of them did to help forge the most epic presidential upset in history.

Two days later, Jared Kushner and Steve Bannon convinced President-Elect Trump to jettison Christie as the head of the transition team. Vice President-Elect Pence was installed at its helm, and the very survival of the Trump presidency perhaps will be traced to that fateful decision. What ensued was the worst presidential transition in modern history.

### Pence transitions

Christie writes in his new book, "Let Me Finish," that his work for President Trump's transition team ended up in the dumpster, literally: "The day after Trump was

elected, he was handed a detailed road map that would have avoided many of these pitfalls and launched him on a far more promising path, a plan that was fully consistent with his values, his campaign promises, and his publicly stated views. But that plan was thrown in the trash. Literally. All 30 binders were tossed in a Trump Tower dumpster, never to be seen again. Steve Bannon, Rick Dearborn, Jared Kushner and others, for their own selfish reasons, got rid of the guidance that would have made their candidate an immensely more effective president and would have saved him an awful lot of heartache, too. In so doing, they stole from the man they'd just helped elect the launch he so richly deserved." Christie has spared Pence, not mentioning him in that passage or Tuesday on MSNBC's Morning Joe as he promoted his book.

Journalist Michael Lewis, author of the books "Moneyball" and "The Big Short," writes in his book on the transition "The Fifth Risk": By August, 130 people were showing up every day, and hundreds more working part-time, at Trump transition headquarters, on the corner of 17th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue. The transition team made lists of likely candidates for all 500 jobs, plus other lists of informed people to roll into the various federal

agencies the day after the election, to be briefed on whatever the federal agencies were doing. They gathered the names for these lists by traveling the country and talking to people: Republicans who had served in government, Trump's closest advisers, recent occupants of the jobs that needed filling. Then they set about investigating any candidates for glaring flaws and embarrassing secrets and conflicts of interest. At the end of each week, Christie handed over binders, with lists of names of people who might do the jobs well, to Kushner, Donald Jr. and the others."

One Hoosier nugget here: Christie recommended Purdue President Mitch Daniels for secretary of Education (Can you imagine Daniels at that Trump cabinet meeting espousing praise and loyalty for the commander-in-chief?)

According to Lewis, Trump became aware of the transition team's activities and accused Christie of "stealing my f---ing money" and accused Steve Bannon of "letting [Christie] steal my f---ing money." When the pair pointed out that a transition team was required under federal law, Lewis writes that Trump replied: "F--- the law, I don't give a f--- about the law. I want my f---ing money."

## TRUCKING DRIVES THE ECONOMY



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All that ended just hours after the election. Lewis writes of Max Stier, whose organization, "Partnership for Public Service," had attracted Christie: "A bad transition took this entire portfolio of catastrophic risks – the biggest portfolio of such risks ever managed by a single institution in the history of the world – and made all the bad things more likely to happen and the good things less likely to happen," Lewis writes. While the Obama administration waited, the Trump transition team never showed up at the sprawling federal bureaucracy. Even before Stier created an organization to fix the federal government, the haphazard nature of presidential transitions drove him nuts. "We have a legacy government that hasn't kept up with the world we live in, largely because of disruptions from bad transitions," he said. "People don't understand that a bungled transition becomes a bungled presidency."



Pence during the transition at Trump Tower, and with future chief of staff Josh Pitcock.

And Lewis provides this fascinating account from Election Night: "Christie was sitting on a sofa beside Trump when Pennsylvania was finally called. It was 1:35 a.m., but that wasn't the only reason the feeling in the room was odd. Mike Pence went to kiss his wife, Karen, and she turned away from him. "You got what you wanted, Mike," she said. "Now leave me alone." She wouldn't so much as say hello to Trump. Trump himself just stared at the TV without saying anything, like a man with a pair of twos whose bluff has been called. His campaign hadn't even bothered to prepare an acceptance speech."

Looking back at all this through the prism of Special Counsel Mueller, it was the transition period that presaged the ominous trajectory of scandal Trump faces today: Michael Flynn's meeting with the Russians, his past ties to Russian President Putin, his lies to Vice President Pence, the warnings from the FBI and the Department of Justice, Flynn's abrupt dismissal in February, all leading to the May 2017 firing of FBI Director James Comey.

From an Indiana perspective, the ascendance of Vice President Mike Pence has been a boon for the state. Former senator Dan Coats controls the Trump-tormented national intelligence community. Health and Human Services Sec. Alex Azar and Medicaid/Medicare Director Seema Verma control a vast amount of the federal purse; HHS is expected to spend \$1.2 trillion in FY2019. According to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, Medicare, Medicaid, the Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP), and Affordable Care Act (ACA) marketplace subsidies accounted for a combined 26% of the federal budget in 2016, or \$1 trillion.

Pence was instrumental in bringing Coats, Azar, Verma and Surgeon General Jerome Adams to Washington

to serve the Trump Administration. There have been no less than 25 other Hoosiers serving in various capacities in the Trump administration. Much Hoosier political talent has migrated into the Trump/Pence sphere. Indiana Republican Chairman Kyle Hupfer told HPI last year that this migration has opened a new strata of young talent within the Indiana GOP and the election results of 2018 bode well for the future.

But, it remains unclear how hands-on Pence was during the transition. We have photos of him showing up at Trump Tower holding binders (presumably new, presumably with some of the aforementioned Hoosiers' names). Multiple sources tell HPI that key Pence lieutenant and future chief of staff Josh Pitcock was a key transition operative. It was curious that Pitcock would exit the scene just six months into Pence's vice presidency. Why would such a trusted, long-time aide leave just as the boss was nearing his pinnacle? Multiple sources tell HPI that Pitcock has been interviewed by the special counsel's office. We know that Pence has lawyered up, but there is no reporting that Pence has met with Mueller's team.

Conspicuously, only this from the indicted Roger Stone, telling Fox News' Sean Hannity Monday night: "Look, I honestly believe that they are gonna try to charge the president and the vice president with some hopped-up frame of Russian collusion. That way they could make Nancy Pelosi president. She could make Hillary Clinton vice president, and then step aside. It's a nightmare. But, I think that's what they have in mind."

Stone offered no reason that Pence would be charged, other than his theory. "There is no Russian collusion. I have no collaboration with WikiLeaks. I'm not charged with conspiracy. Believe me, if they could've made that case, they would've." But Stone has been Trump's own Gabriel, harkening strange and dark events.

### VP Pence from a historic perspective

Washington Post reporter Joel Goldstein surveyed Pence as veep and observed: "Mike Pence has lasted almost two years as Donald Trump's vice president. That's an accomplishment of sorts, given the short tenure of many high-level Trump officials. But it's not clear what Pence has added — or what the next two years will bring for Pence or the office he holds."

Goldstein sees Pence as an integral part of this White House in a modern vice presidency shaped by Vice President Walter Mondale under President Jimmy Carter: "Some observers expected Pence to be an important, even historic, White House partner, especially as Trump entered office without experience in public service. Pence has apparently kept some basic resources of the White House vice presidency and taken on legislative, diplomatic and political assignments for Trump. What's more, his comparative longevity in Trump's administration gives him a behind-the-scenes familiarity that Trump may value in a thinned White House with few able people interested in coming on board."

But all this access and proximity to power has come with a series of indignities. President Trump undercut Pence when he tried to negotiate during the government shutdown with Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer. When HPI analyzed U.S. Rep. Pence's 12 years on Capitol Hill, we were struck by his lack of bipartisan relationships or legislation. Sen. Dan Quayle had teamed up on key workforce legislation with Sen. Ted Kennedy, and current U.S. Sen. Todd Young just had a bill signed into law with U.S. Sen. Elizabeth Warren. Pence had no similar relationships or record.

Goldstein confirms: "Pence hasn't been as effective an emissary to Capitol Hill as were Mondale, George H.W. Bush, Dan Quayle and especially Joe Biden, in part because Pence hasn't had the strong across-the-aisle relationships they had built. Biden and the others could reach agreements because they worked with presidents who understood the need to compromise and to protect the vice president's clout. Pence does not."

Part of the rationale for Pence joining the ticket was his experience and relationships on Capitol Hill. But he has virtually none with Democrats and results are wanting. On the key Obamacare repeal vote in the summer of 2017, Pence failed to convince Sen. John McCain to support the administration, the late senator's thumbs-down gesture on the Senate floor coming hours after Pence had tried to fashion a victory there.

Still, Pence is a player. Last Thursday, Republicans senators frustrated about the historic government shutdown vented at Pence during their weekly lunch. According to The Hill, one GOP senator said lawmakers told Pence "the shutdown needs to come to an end, this is not a strategy that works [and] we never should have had a shutdown in the first place." Pence in turn told them that



**Vice Presidents Pence and Biden meet during the transition; The Second Couple at the Colts-49ers game before walking out on Trump's orders.**

"the president is interested in striking a deal."

And on issues such as tariffs, where Republicans like U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski have attempted to steer the administration into "scalpel" tariffs as opposed to the administration's "shotgun" approach, there is little evidence that the former free-trade advocate Pence has tried, let alone succeeded, in recalibrating the president on economic moves that are wreaking havoc with U.S. and Indiana agriculture and manufacturing sectors.

### Pence's mission

There are two schools of thought on Vice President Pence. One is that he is a trusted voice for Trump, advising him behind the scenes and is working, as one reliable source told HPI "to keep a lid on things." We just don't see that side of Pence and his team has cordoned off the media, even on background so we do understand. Congressional sources tell HPI that they view Pence as one of the "adults" who keeps Trump within the

guardrails.

The other school is that he is the classic lackey, sycophant, bootlicker and brown-noser. The public face is the loyal, praising partner, though Pence has stopped comparing the sunny, optimistic President Reagan with the dark, mercurial "I alone can fix it" President Trump. Vice presidents are there to support the president.

The vice presidency can be a tough job and Trump has undercut Pence in many ways. Pence defended the Comey firing in May 2017 (he was at Bedminster, N.J., with Trump the weekend before) based on Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein's memo from the Department of Justice blaming him for the Hillary Clinton probe, only to have Trump tell NBC's Lester Holt that Comey was fired due to the Russia collusion probe. When Pence walked out of the Colts/49ers football game at Lucas Oil Stadium due to players kneeling during the National Anthem (and on the day honoring legend Peyton Manning), Trump outed Pence via tweet: "I asked @VP Pence to leave stadium if any players kneeled, disrespecting our country. I am proud of him and @SecondLady Karen."

On CBS Face The Nation on Jan. 20, Pence tried to make the case for the president's border wall by comparing Trump to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. "I want to set the table for us resolving this issue in a way that achieves his objectives to secure the border, end the humanitarian security crisis, end the government shutdown," Pence said. "You know the hearts and minds of the American people today are thinking a lot about it being the weekend where we remember the life and work of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. But one of my favorite quotes from Dr. King

was, "Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy."

It wasn't quite Sen. Lloyd Bentsen telling Dan Quayle in 1988, "Senator, you're no Jack Kennedy," but the civil rights icon's son at the National Action Network MLK Breakfast on Monday offered this retort: "Whenever I get to this period, it always is reflective. This year is probably more reflective than ever because I wonder what my father would be thinking and asking ... the vice president attempted to compare the president to Martin Luther King Jr. Now, Martin Luther King Jr. was a bridge-builder, not a wall-builder. Martin Luther King Jr. would say love, not hate, will make America great."

Such is the indignity of service as vice president, aggravated by the peculiarities of our current president.

### Pence's path to power

Mike Pence set course on this path because he saw it as the best chance of a White House administration of his own. Yet, we know that for Hubert Humphrey, Bob Dole, Walter Mondale, Al Gore, and Dan Quayle, the office truly wasn't worth a bucket of warm piss. All lost presidential races after making the ticket or serving as vice

president. Vice President Nixon lost his 1960 race, but was able to bounce back eight years hence. Hossier Democratic boss Thomas Taggart nominated Marshall for president in 1920, but outside the Hoosier delegation, he mustered little support, giving way to the James Cox/FDR ticket.

Only Presidents U.S. Grant, Warren Harding, Richard Nixon and Bill Clinton have faced the level of scandal that President Trump does today. None of them was dealing with it this early in their respective presidencies.

Fate was cruel to Vice President Marshall, who after 1921 returned to Indiana and relative obscurity, practicing law in Indianapolis and died in 1925.

Pence is one of the most conspicuous people in Washington. His first two years as vice president have brought controversy, even bedlam. And yet both Trump and Pence played an integral role in the defeat of U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly and the ascension of Sen. Mike Braun last year, so there is still significant political clout.

What does the future hold for Mike Pence? No one knows, but this much is clear: Only he and Vice President Marshall faced the scenarios now presenting themselves to the latest Indiana governor to find himself a heartbeat away. ❖

## Dems believe Brooks' 5th CD vulnerable

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS — Could U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks be vulnerable in 2020? National and Indiana Democrats sense that the 5th CD is becoming one of those purple suburban districts where a well-funded candidate could find traction.



The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee added the 5th CD to its list of potential targeted seats.

While the Cook Partisan Index in 2017 listed the 5th CD as a

+9 Republican seat, statistically her races have become closer in recent cycles. Brooks defeated underfunded Democrat Dee Thornton 56.8% to 43.2% last November. In 2016, Brooks defeated Democrat Angela Demaree 61.5 to 34.3%. In 2014, Brooks won the general election with 65% of the vote, defeating Democrat Shawn Denney and Libertarian John Krom. And in 2012, she won the seat by defeating former state representative Scott Reske with 58%.

So her closest race was against Thornton, but on the money front it wasn't close at all. She out-raised Thornton \$1.34 million to \$189,042. In the 2016 race against Demaree, she posted \$1.72 million to \$147,943. Reske was the only Democrat that had any money trac-



U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks during the Republican National Convention in Cleveland in 2016. (HPI Photo by Randy Gentry).

tion, posting \$399,589 for the open seat, but Brooks still had a million-dollar money advantage in that race.

Democrats sense an opening backed on several things. First, former Sen. Joe Donnelly carried the district in 2012, though Mike Braun carried it last November in his defeat of the incumbent. Democrats picked up SD29 with J.D. Ford defeating State Sen. Mike Delph by 9%, while Sen. Jim Merritt had a close race in SD31 against Derek Camp. But the more Democrat portions of those legislative districts fall outside of the 5th CD.

If Brooks were to draw a top opponent like 2016 Democratic lieutenant governor nominee Christina Hale, Democrats believe a well-funded challenger could make



the 5th competitive. But there are a lot of variables. First, this will be the final cycle of the 2011 maps, and the 5th has probably moderated more than the other six Republican-held districts. Republicans in Indiana tend to do better in presidential election years, and Vice President Mike Pence will likely be on the ballot either for reelection to his current post, or possibly as president or the Republican nominee, depending on whether President Donald Trump weathers the Russia collusion probe. That's the giant wildcard here.

The other aspect to consider is that while Brooks has won four easy races, she won a tough multi-candidate primary to replace the retiring U.S. Rep. Dan Burton in 2012. She edged out former congressman and current Club For Growth President David McIntosh 30-29%. In 2016 in a caucus race for the Republican gubernatorial nomination, Brooks lost to Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb by one vote in a 22-vote caucus with the Republican Central Committee. So this is not a congresswoman who only knows landslides in safe districts.

Brooks has been tasked with recruiting female Republicans, as the GOP's numbers in the U.S. House have dwindled to just 13.

## Mayors

### Fort Wayne Mayor Henry seeks 4th term

Fort Wayne cannot be satisfied with previous accomplishments, Mayor Tom Henry said last week, as he formally announced his 2019 reelection campaign, becoming the third candidate to enter the race since candidate filings opened this month (Gong, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). If elected, it will be Henry's fourth term. He was first elected mayor in 2008. In addition to Henry, four other candidates filed paperwork with the Allen County Election Board on Tuesday, including one incumbent City Council member. "I sincerely believe that our city is moving in the right direction," Henry said. "For the last several years, we have tried as a city to make sure that our voice was heard throughout the state of Indiana and throughout this country." Speaking to a crowd at the Allen County Democratic Party headquarters Tuesday, Henry said he plans to focus on public safety, neighborhood improvements, stewardship of public money and

Cycle	Race	Top vote-getting candidates	Raised	Spent	Election Results
2018	IN05	Susan Brooks* Deirdre Thornton	\$1,346,175 \$189,042	\$1,421,686 \$117,274	Incumbent Reelected
2016	IN05	Susan Brooks* Angela Demaree	\$1,725,753 \$147,943	\$1,224,524 \$147,475	Incumbent Reelected
2014	IN05	Susan Brooks* John Krom	\$1,689,676 \$6,948	\$1,018,137 \$6,948	Incumbent Reelected
2012	IN05	Susan Brooks Scott Reske	\$1,440,815 \$399,589	\$1,265,518 \$399,589	Open Seat

continuing Fort Wayne's economic growth. "I think the fact that we've been maintaining a 3.5% unemployment rate speaks volumes for our community," Henry said. "Employers not only want to invest in our community, they want to stay in our community and grow in our community."

Documents filed with the Allen County Election Board show the three mayoral candidates – Mayor Henry, City Councilman John Crawford and businessman Tim Smith – had a combined total of \$1,303,088 on hand at the end of 2018. Henry raised \$542,207, Crawford raised \$425,855 and Smith raised \$335,027. "What you have in John Crawford and Tom Henry are two people who have been around a long time. They know how this works, they know how much it's taken to win in the past," Andy Downs, director of the Mike Downs Center for Indiana Politics, said Friday. "Tim Smith is obviously talking to people who have been around and know what it takes to win."

### Greenwood mayor seeks third term

Greenwood Mayor Mark Myers filed for reelection today, officially launching his campaign to seek a third term as mayor. A lifelong Greenwood resident and former volunteer firefighter, EMT and police officer, Myers was first elected mayor in 2011. "Greenwood is my home. I've lived and served here nearly all my life, and I'm committed to helping our city succeed," Myers said. "I look forward



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to continuing our track record of promoting fiscally responsible growth, while balancing the budget and keeping taxes low for residents. I'm proud of what Greenwood has accomplished in recent years, but there's more work to do to keep our city thriving," Myers said. "Helping to attract new jobs and investment to Greenwood, strengthening our infrastructure and improving public safety are all priorities going forward."

**Evans drops out of Indy race**

Former Indianapolis Councilman Jose Evans has dropped out of the Republican mayoral race, and has endorsed State Sen. Jim Merritt.

**Richmond Mayor Snow seeks second term**

Richmond Mayor Dave Snow is seeking another four years. Snow made the announcement through video on social media Sunday afternoon (Kicks96). "This week, I'll be filing to run for reelection as Richmond's mayor," Snow said. Snow indirectly addressed some of the growing pains that have come with major projects that have taken place in his first term. "The alternative – sitting still, stagnation – will never lead us to prosperity," Snow added.

Snow will face Jack Cruse in the Democratic primary. So far, no Republicans have filed for mayor.

**Broderick posts \$189,000**

Although the municipal election is still almost a year away, incumbent Anderson Mayor Thomas Broderick Jr. has a significant financial advantage (de la Bastide, Anderson Herald-Bulletin). Campaign finance reports filed with the Madison County Clerk's office last week showed Broderick's election committee with a balance of \$180,827 going into 2019. His two possible Republican Party opponents for mayor both have less than \$5,000 available. Former Anderson Mayor Kevin Smith starts the year with a balance of \$2,109. Smith has not officially filed for the May 8 primary to seek the party's mayoral nomination. Madison County Auditor Rick Gardner has filed for the GOP nomination for Anderson mayor and has a balance of \$4,472 in his campaign's account. Brod-



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erick started 2018 with a balance of \$93,795 and received \$110,138 in donations last year. The campaign spent \$23,106.

### Barge to challenge Mayor Hamilton

Monroe County Commissioner Amanda Barge is challenging Bloomington Mayor John Hamilton in the Democratic primary. Last November, Barge announced she was embarking on a community-wide listening tour to see if she might run for mayor in the 2019 Democratic primary election. She said she was convinced by what she heard from community members to run on a platform with an incremental approach to annexation and fiber infrastructure, a more collaborative relationship between government bodies and a more sustainable transportation system. "Bloomington deserves a mayor who will listen, learn, and lead in that order," said Barge. "I pledge to bring true leadership to the office and put people before politics. Transparency and open governing are the foundation of creating inclusive policies that benefit all voices."

### Winnecke is well-funded

The numbers dance across the pages of Evansville Mayor Lloyd Winnecke's inch-thick campaign finance report, mute witness to the construction of a war machine (Langhorne, Evansville Courier & Press). The perpetually sunny Winnecke blanched at the use of the word "war," but he didn't raise nearly a half-million dollars in 2018 in anticipation of an easy reelection. The two-term Republican mayor had to cover his bases in case Democrats find a worthy challenger this year. The deadline, by law, is noon Feb. 8. That also goes for any Republican who thinks he or she can oust Winnecke. So far, no one has come forward. But if someone does, Winnecke will be ready. He ended 2018 with more than \$614,000 in his campaign account. He has a full-time campaign manager, former Parks Director Denise Johnson, who helmed his 2011 campaign, and a full-time political director. There are plans to hire a receptionist for a new campaign headquarters that will open in a now-vacant storefront at 506 Main Street in the next week. "At the risk of sounding repetitive, we're just assuming that we will have an opponent until such time as all the deadlines have passed and there can't be one," the mayor said Thursday. "We're preparing, as we did for 2015." Throughout 2018, as he made speeches and appearances all over Evansville, Winnecke was periodically checking in with his Indianapolis-based political consulting firm, Limestone Strategies. Among the Republican firm's other clients are Indiana Congresswoman Susan Brooks and U.S. Senator Todd Young. Winnecke has used the firm since his first campaign in 2011. He reported paying Limestone a total of \$18,000 last year.

### 3 Democrats ponder Winnecke challenge

Three Democrats are "interested in running" for mayor of Evansville this year, according to party Chair-

man Scott Danks (Evansville Courier & Press). Danks declined to identify the trio of potential candidates. But HPI sources say one is Danks' son, Jonathan. Democrats have struggled to scare up any candidates for mayor, given Winnecke's \$614,000-plus war chest, formidable campaign organization and perceived popularity. Nor has any Republican emerged to try to deny Winnecke renomination by the GOP.

### Kokomo race heating up

Abbie Smith, who for years has led one of Howard County's largest nonprofits, is running for Kokomo mayor (Myers, Kokomo Tribune). Smith, the United Way of Howard County's president and CEO, will seek the Democratic nomination this spring, she announced during an event



Tuesday evening at Martino's Italian Villa. "I found myself thinking about how to ensure that Kokomo stays competitive in the constant change we've come to know as the 21st century, while holding tight to the things that have always made our community special," remarked Smith, describing a "swirling" past week as she stood before vibrant paintings in a Martino's event room. A political newcomer, Smith

emerged with a platform focused primarily on economic development, infrastructure and public safety. She said her campaign will narrow its focus to specific ideas following "listening sessions" and interactions with city voters. Smith, who acknowledged being on the political sideline until Tuesday's announcement, bemoaned the divisiveness of today's politics and said she will invite prospective voters back to the electoral process largely through positive campaigning and regular engagement. "A mayor is responsible for an efficiently functioning city government that fulfills the needs of its citizens," said Smith. "That's the one. That's the key. And that's why I'm running."

Democratic mayoral candidate Kevin Summers detailed his platform for the first time Thursday evening, describing needs he believes range from road construction reversals to the return of a city-run ambulance service (Myers, Kokomo Tribune). Summers, joined by family and a coterie of supporters inside The HuB Downtown, laid out an agenda of items that in many ways serve as a rebuttal to the last 11 years of Kokomo Mayor Greg Goodnight and assuage the concerns of residents who believe the city has misplaced its focus on public safety. The Democratic primary race that Summers thrust himself into in mid-December, however, made an unexpected turn on Monday when Goodnight announced that he will not seek a fourth term. The longest-serving mayor in Kokomo history, Good-



night broke the shocking news with a scathing speech that called on Summers and Republican Tyler Moore to drop out of the mayoral race. That call has gone unheeded. "Working on the Kokomo Police Department for 21 years and taking the oath of office to serve and protect, I have heard your cries," said Summers, a former Kokomo School Board member, common councilman and KPD captain. He said fire staffing cuts "created the elimination of our ambulance service within the Kokomo Fire Department."

**Critchlow running in South Bend**

"Every voice. Every neighborhood." That's the message from one South Bend mayoral candidate to his supporters (WNDU-TV). Jason Critchlow officially announced last week he will be on the ballot, vying to lead the city once Mayor Pete Buttigieg leaves office.



The Democrat said he is focused on a number of issues, including stronger neighborhoods and schools, an inclusive economy and public safety. A South Bend native, Critchlow said the city has continued to progress, and now it's time for someone with a new vision to keep the momentum going. "We really need to start addressing those huge issues that are affecting entire blocks of homes.

There's big drainage issues, there's issue of public safety," Critchlow said. "We need to work on affordable housing options for families that are coming into our city in order to get them to stay in this city."

**Candidates lining up in Muncie**

With Mayor Dennis Tyler retiring, more candidates are lining up in Muncie. Other candidates for the Democrats to file with clerk's office include Andrew Dale who was one of the first to file, and perennial candidate Kenneth Davenport. Steve Smith joins the primary race alongside fellow Republicans Tony Cox, Councilman Dan Ridenour, and Delaware County Veterans Affairs Officer Nate Jones.

**Jensen lays out priorities for Noblesville**

Chris Jensen announced his campaign's public safety priorities as part of the Noblesville's Next Chapter policy platform. "Noblesville is ready to tackle the next generation of safety issues." Chris Jensen said, "Our city is ready to fight the opioid epidemic, compassionately and proactively address the state of our city's mental health, and equip our police, firefighters, and EMS with the

tools they need to face these challenges."

**National**

**Kasich DePauw speech moved to Thursday**

John Kasich, former governor of Ohio and two-time presidential candidate (with speculation he will run again in 2020), will now visit DePauw University at 7:30 p.m. Thursday at Kresge Auditorium for the Timothy and Sharon Ubben Lecture Series. The event was set for today, but DePauw has decided to close due to record cold conditions forecast. Kasich's talk, "Navigating These Partisan Times and Finding Your Personal Political Voice," will be followed by a question-and-answer session.

**Buttigieg campaign staffing**

Mike Schmuhl will manager South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg's fledgling presidential campaign. They are boyhood friends. Marcus Switzer will be finance director (he's from the Obama and Clinton campaigns), and Lis Smith is in charge of communications. Buttigieg called himself in a press call the only candidate "living a middle-class lifestyle, in a middle-class neighborhood, in Middle America." He knows he's a long-shot, saying, "I get the odds, but I also believe that we can do something that no one else can do." And he vowed to keep South Bend running, telling the South Bend Tribune he has a "fantastic staff," adding, "I will be engaged and at the service of the city whenever needed." On a sad note, Buttigieg's father, Notre Dame Prof. Emeritus Joseph Buttigieg, died on Sunday at age 71.

**Harris gains in poll**

U.S. Sen. Kamala Harris gained traction in a new [POLITICO/Morning Consult](#) poll. Over the course of four surveys this month, former Vice President Joe Biden has ranged between 26% and 33% among Democratic voters, roughly twice the support of the next candidate: Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.), who has been between 15% and 16%. Harris is at 10%, up from 3% earlier this month. That puts her ahead of the next two candidates: former Rep. Beto O'Rourke (D-Texas) and Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-Mass.), both of whom are at 6% in the poll. Sen. Cory Booker (D-N.J.) is in sixth place, at 3%. ❖

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# Buttigieg follows Hoosiers into the presidential arena

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

NASHVILLE, Ind. – So South Bend Mayor Peter Buttigieg is running for president. For those of you out there who love the campaign trail, this is fantastic news.

My mind takes me back to Iowa in February 1996 ... and there stood U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar, seeking the



Republican presidential nomination. Lugar was giving a talk to Drake University students on the topic, I recall, of Africa. Lugar did this with a sedate, academic flourish and after a few minutes, I wandered out. There was a commotion down the hallway.

I came upon the Drake student newspaper office – the Times-Delphic – and I could hear shouting. I peered inside, and a couple of students

covered nearby. There was Lugar’s campaign manager, Mark Lubbers, and communications guy, Terry Holt, both profanely bellowing into their cellphones. “I want you to \$%#@\*& get those fliers out,” Lubbers ranted. I couldn’t tell what Holt was stirred up about (and if I could, it couldn’t be printed here). But it was an utter contrast between the statesmanly Hoosier senator and the gritty campaign aides trying to find a political foothold in the Hawkeye State.

Buttigieg joins a small fraternity of Hoosiers who have looked into the mirror and envisioned a President of the United States. There were the Harrisons, William Henry and Benjamin, who actually won the White House in 1840 and 1888. Neither one of them had to mount the kind of campaigns we see today. Grandpa Harrison’s “Tippecanoe and Tyler too” is one of the iconic American campaign slogans. Grandson Benjamin spent most of his time at his Delaware Street mansion in Indianapolis while marching bands and torchlight parades pranced before him nightly.

**I include Abraham Lincoln** in the Hoosier presidential pantheon because he grew up here. Hoosier Republicans gave him early support at the 1860 Chicago convention, helping forge one of the great nomination upsets in history. Between 1900 and 1920, Socialist Eugene Debs of Terre Haute ran five times, the last from a prison cell, charged with sedition for urging young men to evade the Great War draft.

There was Republican Wendell Willkie from Elwood, who headquartered his 1940 presidential campaign

in Rushville. He secured the nomination on the seventh ballot, with U.S. Rep. Charlie Halleck bellowing before the Philadelphia convention an indelible battle cry: “Weeee waaaaant Willllllkie!” He lost in a landslide to President Franklin Roosevelt, but polled more votes than any previous Republican nominee.

In the television age, U.S. Sen. Vance Hartke ran briefly for the Democratic nomination in 1972. Four years later, U.S. Sen. Birch Bayh was considered a frontrunner with a campaign theme, “Yes he can,” but he finished a distant third to an obscure Georgia governor named Jimmy Carter in both the Iowa caucuses and the New Hampshire primary.

**After Lugar came a brief** campaign by former vice president Dan Quayle in 1999, but he withdrew in short order after Texas Gov. George W. Bush quickly consolidated support among the GOP establishment for the nomination. In 2006, U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh announced, but he pulled out just weeks later after Hillary Clinton and another upstart, Sen. Barack Obama, sucked away campaign funding, key staffers and the political oxygen for success in the 2008 race.

Lugar’s presidential aspirations were always a little snakebit. He was a leading candidate to be Ronald Reagan’s running mate at the 1980 GOP convention in Detroit. But The Gipper settled on George H.W. Bush, commencing that modern family dynasty. When Lugar kicked off his campaign in Indianapolis on the morning of April 19, 1995, the Oklahoma City federal building had just been bombed, dominating the news and obscuring his rollout. One of Lugar’s campaign themes was ominous: That we



would likely lose an American city to a catastrophic terror attack. Lugar was prescient, as tens of thousands of people worked at the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon when both were attacked on Sept. 11, 2001. Thousands perished and the world changed.

I followed Lugar’s campaign in Iowa and New Hampshire that summer of 1995, and again during the caucuses and primary. There were debates and torchlight



parades. I watched aides place Lugar in a sterile room with a phone, where he would ignominiously “dial for dollars.” I found myself on the steps of Reagan’s old radio station, WHO in Des Moines, standing behind rival Republican Steve Forbes and a phalanx of 50 TV cameras. Late at night, the whole media pack would descend on a Des Moines hotel bar. You could scan the smoky horizon and there were Sam Donaldson and Wolf Blitzer, Stu Rothenberg and Charlie Cook, and Mary Matalin. It was great, boozy fun.

**A key Lugar lesson** for Mayor Pete: The senator often was asked how he could win. Lugar would always answer, “You have to become famous.” I rendezvoused

with the Lugar campaign in the rivertown Muscatine, Iowa, one day and Lugar was uncharacteristically fuming. The most prominent Hawkeye journalist kept reporting that Lugar had “no chance.” And he didn’t, getting just 4% for a seventh-place finish in Iowa, and 5% for a fourth-place finish in New Hampshire.

As Birch Bayh had learned two decades earlier, when that happens, you go back to being a senator.

For activist Hoosier Democrats, Mayor Pete offers a portal into the presidential derby. Volunteering means no or little pay, a lot of pizza, stale coffee and doughnuts, and a lifetime of contacts, memories and, if lightning strikes, a place in history. ❖

## Columbus moving forward progressively

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – Like other Indiana cities, Columbus seeks to strengthen its downtown area. The plan was detailed by The Republic (Dec. 2, 2018). What appears to some as a progressive move forward is perceived by this aged observer as a reversion to previous concepts.

This is not a disparagement of the Envision Columbus plan. No. It’s a recognition of changing preferences and lifestyles, as well as the pendulum swings in urban land prices.

Let’s look at some details. As the burdens of suburban living became manifest, downtown residences became popular again. The Columbus plan asserts: “young people and families expressed an interest and desire to live in the downtown area.” This might be a real trend or a transitory Millennials’ mirage.



High on the list of priorities is an “urban grocer.” Downtown Columbus, as in other cities, is short of places to buy the necessities of daily life. Grocery stores and other everyday retail outlets moved from downtown and from the commercial streets of neighborhoods.

**Today, shoppers tell planners** they want to walk to the grocery. It’s a bit of self-deception and misrepresentation. To be successful, that grocery will have a multi-storied parking garage. Who will walk to a grocery in winter’s freezing cold or under the blazing summer sun? Only the most rabid fitness acolytes when they limit their purchases to light-weight energy bars.

Who are the shoppers talking to the planners? Are

they poor and infirm, or are they young, affluent techies, the purported foundation of the future?

Next, the Columbus plan calls for a downtown conference hotel. A downtown location will have many benefits for Columbus. There was such a place on the western edge of Columbus, adjacent to Interstate 65 that did little for downtown. But a 2008 flood is blamed for financial difficulties and the facility’s demise in 2017. In the 1960s, a hotel/conference center next to the interstate was a good investment. A comparable piece of downtown land was too expensive. Now, downtown properties, in the hands of governmental entities, are priced for investment.

**But is there a place for** sheltering the homeless in the downtown plan? Or, unlike other cities, doesn’t Columbus need such accommodations?

Many Hoosier cities are still recovering from the interstate impacts and subsidized suburban strategies of the past century. Already gone are early attempts like downtown pedestrian malls in Evansville, Richmond and South Bend.

Likewise, the efficiency of one-way streets is challenged; some return to two-way traffic is encouraged. This proposal attempts to solve the problem of arduous navigation for visitors and inefficient local trips. Also recommended is the return of the Columbus Transit hub to downtown from exile west of the core area.

This plan is not a step backwards. It seeks to align downtown with contemporary yet ever-changing desires of high-end consumers. Its implementation should provide flexibility for low cost adjustments as those desires change again in the future. ❖

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



# Sen. Raatz moves into Ed chairman role

By JACOB CURRY

INDIANAPOLIS — Considering the attention that teacher pay and school safety have garnered over the last year or so here in Indiana, it might not be a stretch to say there are people in the Statehouse who have their work cut out for them early in 2019.



State Senator Jeff Raatz (R-Richmond) has just taken the helm of the Senate Education Committee after Sen. Dennis Kruse relinquished the chair. Sen. Raatz believes he is transitioning to the chair position quite well, emphasizing that he's not looking to rush the process or make rash changes to the approach of his predecessor. He summed up his strategy in one word, "thoughtful." He says that means taking it slowly when it comes to understanding unfamiliar issues or establishing strong relationships with education leadership in the House and the new members of his committee. Raatz added that he and his fellow members have also looked for ways to better manage the committee's time, especially during public testimony.



Raatz dubbed teacher pay and school safety as the top priorities on the education agenda this session. On the issue of teacher pay, he praised the proposal Gov. Holcomb put forward in his State of the State address, calling it "brilliant" and noted that it "took some of the heat off of us, or off of me, in respect to trying to at least come up with ideas." Of course, the issue is one that falls more under the purview of the budgetary committees, but as Raatz recognized, "It certainly affects everything we do."

Speaking on school safety, Raatz was optimistic on the Senate's approach, a consolidation of four bills into the "hodgepodge" Senate Bill 266. In particular, Raatz singled out one of the bill's fundamental provisions, that it will not use the Secured School Safety Grant program, as what he sees to be its best part. As other Republicans have expressed, Raatz stated that the provision keeps the SSSG funding program sustainable, preventing what he called a raid on the fund for the benefit of SB 266.

The senator also highlighted some of his own bills as ones to look out for, two of which are designed to help relieve pressure on teacher salaries. The first of these, Senate Bill 606, removes a limit in the Indiana code which

states that certain factors (e.g. years of experience or holding a degree in additional content areas) may not account for more than 33.3% of the calculation used to determine a teacher's salary increase. The second, Senate Bill 362, increases the income tax credit for teachers on spending for classroom supplies from \$100 to \$500 per year.

Raatz talked about a third bill as well, intended to improve Indiana workforce education programs. Senate Bill 420 creates further incentives for businesses to support industry credentialing Organizations, nonprofits who manage work-based learning initiatives for students, by offering a sizable 50% tax credit on all donations. The senator said he sees the bill as "a benefit all the way around." However, he acknowledged that the benefit may not be shared equally, acknowledging that "in some respects, it's selfish on an employer's behalf, because the concept is, they'd be creating a workforce pipeline for themselves" but added that "at the same time they have skin in the game."

Regardless, Raatz said it's in the best interest of the state and its students for these types of opportunities to be well-funded, and the senator sees SB 420 as a pathway to do so.

Looking forward, Raatz sounded assured of the direction his committee was taking. On the larger agenda, he did note that he has the usual concerns that come along with education – particularly competing for adequate funding in a tight budget – still, he remained optimistic in his assessment of the committee and the legislature: "I'm pleased at this point with where we're at."

## Meredith says teachers weighing options

The president of Indiana's largest teachers' union says they're waiting to see what lawmakers do before deciding whether to take more serious action (Atkinson, [Indiana Public Media](#)). Indiana State Teachers Association President Teresa Meredith says the governor and legislators have indicated a willingness to make progress on teacher pay and benefits. Striking is illegal for all public employees in Indiana, including teachers. But Meredith says it doesn't mean teachers won't take action if needed. "If they do take off the table the things that they had put on the table, then it would certainly be time to regroup," she says. Meredith says ISTA is planning a weekend rally during the middle of the legislative session. Recently, teachers in Los Angeles County walked out of schools and protested for six days before reaching an agreement that included a 6% pay raise and funds for classroom support staff. Meredith says Indiana teachers are seeking some of the same terms. "This is not just about money, this is also about the conditions in which our students learn," she says.

## Charbonneau water plan passes Senate

State Sen. Ed Charbonneau, R-Valparaiso, has crossed the first bridge required to put into effect key recommendations of Indiana's 2018 Water Infrastructure Task Force (Carden, [NWI Times](#)). The longtime champion of improving the state's water quality, capacity and distribution mechanisms on Monday won unanimous chamber approval for Senate Bill 4.

The measure divides the state into water regions to promote local utility cooperation and consolidation, requires utilities to annually measure their water lost due to leaky pipes, mandates the governor appoint a "water czar" to coordinate state water programs and creates a state task force to tackle stormwater management issues. In addition, the legislation encourages water utilities to replace galvanized steel service lines at the same time as they replace their lead lines.

"The issue is when you have galvanized lines that connect to lead lines, the galvanized lines will absorb the flaking that happens to the lead lines," Charbonneau said. "So even if you come in and replace the lead lines, you've not completely fixed the problem." "If we pass this legislation, Indiana will be the first state in the nation to have a comprehensive removal plan. So it's nice to become a leader in the water area that we just haven't been up to this point in time." The measure was approved 48-0 and now goes to the House.

## Soliday's Porter election bill advances

State Rep. Ed Soliday's (R-Valparaiso) legislation improving efficiency and accountability in Porter County elections advanced out of the House of Representatives on Tuesday. "Many issues emerged during the 2018 election in Porter County, including the delayed opening of 12 polling places and the complete disorganization of early and absentee ballots," Soliday said. "By restructuring the board of elections and putting



protocols in place, we can prevent the same collapse from happening during future elections." Under this legislation, the number of officials on the Porter County Election Board would increase from three to five, all absentee and early voting ballots would be counted at a central location, and all employees would be subject to the rules in the county employee policy manual. Under the legislation, the election board's director and assistant director would be chosen by the county clerk and must be from different political parties. Currently, the director is appointed by the county chair of the political party whose nominee for secretary of state won the popular vote in the county during the last

election, and the assistant director is appointed by the county chair whose nominee received the second highest number of votes. Soliday said after reviewing the issues that emerged in the 2018 Porter County election, he discussed potential solutions with local officials from both parties and the secretary of state's office. He said those discussions resulted in this legislation. "This board structure has received tremendous support from state and local officials," Soliday said. "The new organization would be more accountable and efficient, and provide more clarification for voters and the board."

## House passes Pryor transition bill

Indiana House members have passed legislation authored by State Rep. Cherrish Pryor (D-Indianapolis) that will ensure a smooth transition to office for newly-elected officials in local government. By a 97-0 margin, representatives passed House Bill 1140, which requires state and local officials to develop a checklist of pertinent information that the new officeholders would need to ensure a seamless transition from the incumbent official to the successor. "These checklists would include details like who has contracts, the number of employees in that office, their job descriptions, and salaries, along with a flow chart that shows a chain of command," Pryor said. The lists would be required for offices at the township, town, city, and county levels.

## Tax amnesty bill passes Senate

Indiana lawmakers considering property tax amnesty period (IBJ). The bill approved 48-0 by the Indiana Senate would allow counties to waive penalties and interest if overdue taxes are paid by May 2020.

## Lawmakers consider tax on e-liquids

Indiana lawmakers are considering tax on e-liquids. House Bill 1444 would impose a tax of 8 cents per milliliter on e-liquids (IBJ). The tax could generate between \$4.16 million and \$7.33 million in annual revenue.

## Volunteer firefighter bill expected to pass

Indiana volunteer firefighters may get some funding relief in the form of increased clothing allowances ([Indiana Public Media](#)). A bill at the Statehouse would double the minimum allowance each department distributes from \$200 to \$400. Sen. Rick Niemeyer is one of the bill's three authors and says it is overdue. "At least 15 to 20 years it has not been increasing," he says. "We all know what the increase in public safety and fire protection and all that plus the cost of equipment and stuff is a long time coming." Niemeyer anticipates the bill to pass out of the House later this week.

## Groups address teacher pay

Two education groups released a plan Tuesday to combat a teacher shortage in the state – and it's not

cheap (Kelly, [Fort Wayne Journal Gazette](#)). Lawmakers are in the middle of drafting a new two-year budget and have identified teacher compensation as a key priority. The Stand for Children Indiana and Teach Plus Indiana report assesses the state of the teaching profession in Indiana and puts

forth several recommendations to combat teacher shortage and help retain teachers in the Hoosier State. The first is to increase funding for teacher pay to align teaching with other professions. Indiana should initiate a dramatic increase in funding for teacher compensation. ❖

## Local newspapers key in corruption battle

By **MICHAEL HICKS**

MUNCIE – The past few weeks have contained more reports of newspaper downsizing at metro daily papers in Indiana. This news involved some of our state's largest daily print publications, but it is a familiar story affecting papers large and small in the age of the Internet.

Last week Muncie saw the first sentencing in a broad federal investigation of local government corruption. If reports are to be believed, this investigation has already

touched nearly every arm of local government, the city's largest institutions and has peeked into nearly every local public project. The local paper reported all of this to taxpayers, serving its primary goal as a watchdog of the public sector.

With local newspapers threatened, it is useful to evaluate the connection between newspapers and the corrupting influence of power in local government. One of the better



studies of this is by Dr. Pengjie Gao of Notre Dame and two colleagues from Chicago. In this very carefully crafted study, Dr. Gao finds that the closure of a local newspaper leads to higher costs of local government borrowing. He attributes this to loss of monitoring of local government leading to higher inefficiencies in several areas.

These effects Dr. Gao reports are fairly large. Applying just the borrowing cost to, say, Muncie's current debt means the difference of more than \$3.5 million over the cost of a 20-year government bond. To put it in context, that is enough to repave 33 miles of two-lane highway.

**Dr. Gao's work is very** interesting, both because it is technically so convincing and because it focuses on the newspaper's role in monitoring the public sector. Other studies find similar costs of corruption, either directly or through its influence on household and business location. Several studies find that public corruption leads to lower immigration, lower school enrollment, higher costs of capital investment, worse public health, lower public participation, higher levels of nepotism and much lower GDP growth.

To put this in context everyone can understand, I'll go back to Muncie's budget for schools and city governance.

Using a common research finding that corruption leads to 5% higher costs of both public education and general budgets, I calculate that over 20 years this corruption costs Muncie citizens more than \$100 million.

**In terms everyone can understand**, this excess burden of corruption could have been spent on 100 miles of repaved two-lane roads, full repairs to Muncie Schools' Fieldhouse, a new 10-lane enclosed public pool, and provided two full years of early childhood education for every child in poverty, for each of the past 20 years. That still would have left the city enough money to bulldoze 2,500 abandoned homes and left us with \$12 million left over for a Rainy Day fund.

These are conservative estimates and don't include the costs of special funds, like the redevelopment commission or the sanitary district. They also do not include the effects of businesses and people who avoid the community due to corruption or the negative GDP growth that has plagued Muncie throughout this century. It is safe to say that corruption alone is sufficient to explain why Muncie has the worst performing economy in the Midwest.

These are not pretty things to say, but they are truthful. Muncie's paper helped uncover corruption and continues to report vigilantly this news despite threats of legal action by city officials. It makes me wonder just how bad things would be if there was no local paper, no local reporters and no one to expose the corruption that started its long trail through federal court last week.

**Finally, that brings me to this point.** Many in our communities criticize local papers for publishing too much bad news. I am guilty of the same thoughts from time to time. I have even heard some folks claim that all the bad news hurts the local community and keeps businesses out. Well, as it turns out, that is pure nonsense, refuted by reams of studies and frankly a good dose of common sense. What hurts a community is not bad news, but the absence of a newspaper that reports honestly the troubled actions in government, business and our communities. It'd be good to remember that next time you open a local newspaper or wonder why your city isn't doing as well as it should be.

**Disclaimer:** I receive no financial compensation for this column. ❖

**Hicks, PhD, is the director of the Center for Business and Economic Research and the George and Frances Ball distinguished professor of economics in the Miller College of Business at Ball State University.**



# Knowing the art of politics and legislating

By **LEE HAMILTON**

BLOOMINGTON – Over a lifetime in politics, I’ve met a lot of interesting, impressive politicians. But those I truly admired were men and women who were adept at the arts both of politics and legislating, a rarer combination of talents than you’d hope for in our representative democracy. They’re a reminder these days of what consummate skill looks like.



For instance, Wilbur Mills, a Democrat from Arkansas who chaired the House Ways and Means Committee, was a master of legislative detail. When he brought changes to the tax law to the floor, members of the House of both parties would simply ask him questions, rather than challenge him, because his grasp of the internal revenue code was so overwhelming. When Mills was on the floor, it was never really an equal debate.

The same held for Jim Wright of Texas and Hale Boggs of Louisiana, also both Democrats. They were great orators with vibrant, unique voices that drew audiences to the House floor and galleries simply to hear them. They seldom referred to notes, but I suspect they practiced — the chuckle in the right place, the extended pause at the perfect moment. They were masters at using humor as an effective weapon to counter an opponent and deflect critics.

Edith Green, a Democrat from Oregon, served 10 terms in the House from the mid-’50s to the mid-’70s. She specialized in education and was a potent force behind Title IX, the 1972 law that did so much to end sex discrimination in education. Green, too, was a highly effective debater, who did not back down from a fight she chose to wage, but who also had a keen sense of when the time was right to wage it. She paved the way for many talented women who followed her.

**Charlie Halleck of Indiana** and H.R. Gross of Iowa, both Republican, were parliamentary masters. I often saw them block or delay measures I personally supported, and had to admire their skill at stalling, slowing down or just plain defeating legislation by the adroit use of just the right parliamentary maneuver.

Meanwhile, John Anderson of Illinois served as the principal Republican voice at a time when the GOP was in the minority. He was a powerful debater, took delight in verbal combat, and was often the lone voice against an onslaught of speakers from the majority party. He spoke forcefully, and out of a genuinely deep

devotion to the nation that made plain his ideals.

You couldn’t call Tip O’Neill, the legendary Speaker of the House from Massachusetts, a great orator. But he was a truly great politician. He had a knack for putting people at ease, calming tensions, and softening debates. He made everyone in the room feel as though they were all in it together — whatever the “it” was that O’Neill was focused on.

**Mike Mansfield, the Senate** Majority Leader from Montana, had similar gifts. He was easily the most popular man in Congress during the years he served; he was decent, humble, fair-minded, and he spread credit to everyone around him while taking none for himself. He had a bedrock integrity about him and knew how to use his consummate personal skills to make the process work, even dealing with the difficult egos you could find in the Senate.


I routinely watched Senators Hubert Humphrey, a Democrat from Minnesota, and Jacob Javits, a Republican from New York, come into a meeting, quickly grasp the issues, speak to them forcefully and right to the point, and then move on to their next meeting, on an entirely different issue, and give the same performance. Their ability to jump from agriculture to nuclear proliferation to health care to education, all in the course of a few hours, was astounding.

**Finally, Speaker Carl Albert** of Oklahoma somehow managed to unite both northeastern liberals and southern conservatives in his party. They were opposed to one another in ideology and culture, yet Albert often reconciled the irreconcilable with grace and insight. He spent hours listening patiently to people, trying to understand their points of view, patch things up, and find even the tiniest plot of ground for consensus. ❖

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

**Steve Cavendish, Washington Post:** Wednesday was a bloodbath for journalists. BuzzFeed said it would lay off 15% of its employees, and Verizon Media announced it would cut 7% from its newsrooms at HuffPost, AOL and Yahoo. Worst of all, a wave of layoffs tore through Gannett newsrooms across the country that day, hitting staffs that had already been thinned by years of nearly annual cuts. In December, Gannett's USA Today Network president, Maribel Wadsworth, told her employees that the nation's largest-circulation newspaper chain "will be a smaller company" in the future and, well, the future is now. Wadsworth is facing a lot of pressures: Print revenue is down, digital and mobile revenue aren't nearly enough, and now a hedge fund promising even deeper cuts wants to acquire the company. If the future of corporate news operations looks bleak, that's because it is. In Tennessee, we've been watching the slow-motion destruction of our news institutions under Gannett for a few decades now, and the idea that things are about to get even worse is appalling. As badly as the country needs strong coverage of national news these days, the local news landscape is important, too. And what happened here mirrors what's already happened in city after city. So what is the right response if your largest local news organization is firmly in corporate crosshairs? "I say to everyone, 'Gannett made the Daily Memphian possible,'" says Eric Barnes, the president and executive editor of the newest media outlet in Memphis. Barnes and a group of local journalists and civic leaders, concerned about the decay of the Commercial Appeal under Gannett, formed a 501(c)(3) nonprofit, raised \$6.7 million and launched the Daily Memphian as an online-only news site in September. Its staff of 30 is almost as big as the Commercial Appeal's now that Gannett has shrunk the paper. The nonprofit route, pioneered by outlets like the Texas Tribune, emphasizes generating most revenue directly from audiences through paywalls or membership. It's attractive because the local revenue model for Gannett, Digital First and other big newspaper chains is irrevocably broken. All over America, we need something different: We need more reporters covering the issues that matter to our communities. We need to stem the crisis in statehouse reporting; here in Nashville, the Capitol Hill press corps has dwindled from 35 to just 10 over a few decades. We need more investigative power to follow the billions of dollars spent by state and local governments, often with little oversight. We need competition in places where corporate news has carved out monopolies and let local news wither. And we need to do it fast, because the butchers are sharpening their knives. ❖



**Mitch Daniels, Washington Post:** One needn't be a hidebound traditionalist to appreciate the value of our national civic ceremonies, those uplifting occasions when Americans pause even briefly to be reminded of our shared citizenship and our fortune to live in a government

subject to the people's consent. The wreath-laying at the Tomb of the Unknowns on Memorial Day; public naturalization proceedings, when we welcome new Americans into the national family; state funerals such as those last year for Sen. John McCain and former president George H.W. Bush; the peaceful transition of authority at a presidential inauguration, which not even the occasional subpar speech can fatally depreciate. A fractured country needs, if anything, more such moments for reflection on common bonds and mutual obligations. Events that dignify, unify and signify our membership in this special polity, and all the reasons we should be grateful for it, faults and all. Mark me down as a big fan of them. But one such event has long since passed its sell-by date. It no longer fulfills the civic purpose that might once have justified its existence. On the contrary, it diminishes rather than elevates respect for the United States and its institutions. I refer to the tasteless, classless spectacle of the modern State of the Union speech. Or SOTU, in White House parlance. The political mud-wrestling over the State of the Union address in recent weeks only underscores the reasons for my belief that it's time for this affair to be retired. President Woodrow Wilson has a lot to answer for in U.S. history: his disdain for constitutional limits and prescriptions, his introduction of rule by unelected "experts," his refusal to disclose an incapacitating illness. But among Wilson's most regrettable legacies, at least these days, is the delivery of the constitutionally required annual message to Congress through an in-person speech. ❖

**Richard Feldman, M.D., NWI Times:** The state of health in Indiana is pathetic. The state ranks among the states with the highest prevalence of cancer, obesity and most chronic diseases. Our infant mortality rate, long thought of as a strong barometer of a state's general health, is one of the worst in the country. Indiana ranks 9th highest in smoking and 49th in public health funding. Tobacco use still is the leading cause of preventable disease and premature death, and the Hoosier state is mired in human and economic losses due to its use. The smoking rate nationally is now down to 15%, but Indiana's rate tops 21%. One in five Hoosiers die as a result of smoking (11,000 per year), 4,100 kids start smoking every day, and tobacco use costs our state \$7.6 billion in total economic loss yearly in health-care costs and lost productivity. Think back to 2000, when Indiana enacted its historic tobacco settlement legislation. We were the only state to allocate 100% of the funds to health-related purposes and meet CDC-recommended funding for tobacco prevention programming. It was a proud bipartisan achievement; Indiana was recognized as a leader in public-health policy. But the attitude changed quickly as the much of the funds were diverted to other uses. Tobacco prevention funding was quickly reduced to an ineffective amount, especially for our children. Raising the cost of tobacco is the single most effective strategy in reducing use. ❖

## Coats, intel leaders contradict Trump

WASHINGTON — A new American intelligence assessment of global threats has concluded that North Korea is “unlikely to give up” all of its nuclear stockpiles, and that Iran is not “currently undertaking the key nuclear weapons-development activity” needed to make a bomb, directly contradicting two top tenets of President Trump’s foreign policy ([New York Times](#)). Daniel R. Coats, the director of national intelligence, also challenged Mr. Trump’s insistence that the Islamic State had been defeated, a key rationale for his decision to exit from Syria. The terror group, the annual “Worldwide Threat Assessment” report to Congress concluded, “still commands thousands of fighters in Iraq and Syria,” and maintain eight branches and a dozen networks around the world. Mr. Trump is expected to meet next month with Kim Jong-un, the North Korean leader, in a second round of direct negotiations aimed at ridding Pyongyang of its nuclear weapons. But Mr. Coats told the Senate Intelligence Committee on Tuesday that “we currently assess North Korea will seek to retain its W.M.D. capability and is unlikely to completely give up its nuclear weapons and production capability.”



## Trump met Putin privately at G20

WASHINGTON — Donald Trump sat down with Vladimir Putin for several minutes of conversation at the end of an evening event at the G20 summit in Buenos Aires in November, with no translator or note-taker from the US side to record the dialogue between the leaders ([Financial Times](#)). Trump was accompanied by Melania Trump, his wife, but no staff, while Mr Putin was flanked by his translator. Trump’s aides character-

ized “the Putin encounter as one of several ‘informal’ conversations that Mr Trump had with his counterparts.” Why it matters: “The accounts of people familiar with the conversation said it appeared longer and more substantive. According to a Russian government official’s account, the two leaders spoke for about 15 minutes about a number of foreign policy issues, including the Azov Sea incident, and the conflict in Syria.

## Porter opts for touchscreen voting

VALPARAISO — The Porter County Council gave unanimous approval Tuesday night to buying new voting machines and other election equipment, the third round of voting for the new equipment in a single day (Maddux, [NWI Times](#)).

Council President Dan Whitten said the purchase had nothing to do with the three-day delay in counting ballots in the November general election. He blamed human error for lost ballots and other mishaps causing the delay. Whitten said the purchase had been discussed for several years, and it was simply time to replace 18- to 22-year-old equipment, which had a projected 10-year lifespan. “We don’t want to be behind the times in Porter County,” Whitten said. Approval was given to allocating slightly more than \$446,000 as a down payment and financing the \$1.3 million balance.

## Brother testifies v. Mayor Snyder

HAMMOND — Jon Snyder had been cooperating with the FBI since 2012, but he didn’t bring the agency information about his brother until a mutual friend began talking about an alleged bribe for towing scheme. (Russell, [NWI Times](#)) That mutual friend was John Cortina, who, until earlier this month was Portage Mayor James Snyder’s co-defendant in an allegation that Cortina paid James Snyder \$12,000 to get on the city’s

tow list. Cortina pleaded guilty this month to paying James Snyder the alleged bribe. Jon Snyder, Porter County assessor, testified for less than two hours Tuesday afternoon against his brother as members of their family sat in the audience and watched. “I had enough going on in my life and didn’t want another investigation,” Jon Snyder explained as to why he went to the FBI in 2015 to tell agents about the alleged bribery scheme. He didn’t know at the time his brother was already being investigated on the allegation and that another confidential informant had been wearing a wire to collect incriminating evidence.

## Vigo Co. endorses casino move

TERRE HAUTE — The Vigo County Board of Commissioners Tuesday unanimously passed a resolution in support of a casino in the Terre Haute area ([Terre Haute Tribune-Star](#)). The resolution states that “Vigo County will benefit from the development of a gaming and entertainment destination in our community. The citizens of the community would benefit through an injection of jobs and employment benefits. The region would benefit from the unique opportunity to enjoy new flows of tourism associated with a dynamic destination venue. “Vigo County would see direct positive budget impact through the collection of new taxes,” the resolution states.

## Deal to avoid shutdown grim

WASHINGTON — Democrats are ruling out the idea of negotiating on Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, skeptical that Trump would actually provide a permanent fix for the young undocumented immigrants after he previously rejected just such a deal ([Axios](#)). Meanwhile, top Republicans also doubt an expansive agreement could be put together in the next three weeks.