

## Buttigieg, Sanders Indiana show

Frontrunner senator and upstart mayor wage their battle across Indiana

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

SOUTH BEND – The fight for the Democratic presidential nomination played out across northern Indiana last weekend. There was socialist Sen. Bernie Sanders defending his million-

aire status in, of all places, poverty-stricken Gary on Saturday. The next day about 100 miles east, Mayor Pete Buttigieg kicked off his improbable campaign framed in the hulking, leaking Studebaker Building 84 just south of downtown South Bend, declaring that the party doesn't need to just win an election, "It needs to win an era."



Instead of launching in his revamped downtown or on the stunningly beautiful Notre Dame campus, he ended up in a vestige of the past. Studebaker's abrupt col-

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## Hardly an 'exoneration'

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The American people now have access to most of the Russia collusion investigation of Special Counsel Robert Mueller. As I write this, I waded through 440 "lightly redacted" pages.

The good news for all Americans is that the actions of President Trump and his 2016 presidential campaign did not rise, in the eyes of the special counsel, to the proverbial "high crimes and misdemeanors." But the reasoning there is a Department of Justice ruling that a sitting president cannot be indicted. This was hardly an



**"Today's release of the special counsel's report confirms what the president and I have said since day one: There was no collusion between the Trump campaign and Russia, and there was no obstruction of justice."**

*- Vice President Mike Pence reacting to the Mueller report*



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“exoneration” described by Trump and many in the GOP. It offers a narrative of a dysfunctional and chaotic White House.

President Trump was quick to declare a victory — and this would be strictly in a legal sense — following Attorney General William Barr’s memo last March. On Thursday, Trump said, “I’m having a good day, too. It was called no collusion. No obstruction. This hoax, it should never happen again.” Trump reelection campaign manager Brad Parscale added, “President Trump has been fully and completely exonerated yet again. Now the tables have turned, and it’s time to investigate the liars who instigated this sham investigation into President Trump, motivated by political retribution and based on no evidence whatsoever.”

**But this report** is troubling in many ways for the conduct of Trump and his campaign.

Why?

In the executive summary, Mueller writes, “First, the Office determined that Russia’s two principle interference operations in the 2016 presidential election — the social media campaign and the hacking-and-dumping operations — violated U.S. criminal law.”

The problem here is that the Trump administration has not taken the necessary steps to prevent similar assaults from occurring again. The Department of Homeland Security is essentially leaderless.

“Second,” Mueller continued, “while the investigation identified numerous links between individuals with ties to the Russian government and individuals associated with the Trump campaign, the evidence was not sufficient to support criminal charges. Among other things, the evidence was not sufficient to charge any campaign officials as an unregistered agent of the Russian government or other Russian principal.”

“Although the investigation established that the Russian government perceived it would benefit from a Trump presidency and worked to secure that outcome, and that the

Campaign expected it would benefit electorally from information stolen and released through Russian efforts, the investigation did not establish that members of the Trump Campaign conspired or coordinated with the Russian government in its election interference activities,” the report said.

**In the history** of American presidential politics, I cannot remember any campaign, by a Republican or Democrat, which left itself open to assistance from a foreign power, let alone one that has been as antagonistic as Vladimir Putin’s Russia. Since taking office, Trump has met alone with Putin at least five times, there are no read-outs available to U.S. officials including National Intelligence Director Dan Coats, and Trump’s troubling actions toward NATO and our European Union allies align with Putin’s goals to destabilize the western alliance.

The third point: “The investigation established that several individuals affiliated with the Trump



campaign lied to the Office, and to Congress, about their interactions with the Russian-affiliated election interference.” These would include former national security adviser Michael Flynn, foreign policy adviser George Papadopoulos and Paul Manafort, who has been convicted on an array of crimes.

Lying has become an operating credo of Trump World; it is a wormwood of deception. So while the conduct did not rise to criminal behavior, this is hardly the kind of behavior Americans should expect or accept of people seeking the highest office in the land.

Further, Mueller explains that Donald Trump’s actions and intent “presents difficult issues that prevent us from conclusively determining that no criminal conduct occurred.”

On questions of whether Pres-

ident Trump attempted to obstruct justice with his firing of FBI director James Comey and tweets aimed at witnesses, Mueller explained, "With respect to whether the President can be found to have obstructed justice by exercising his powers under Article II of the Constitution, we concluded that Congress has the authority to prohibit a President's corrupt use of his authority in order to protect the integrity of the administration of justice.

"The evidence we obtained about the President's actions and intent presents difficult issues that would need to be resolved if we were making a traditional prosecutorial judgment," the report stated. "At the same time, if we had confidence after a thorough investigation of the facts that the President clearly did not commit obstruction of justice, we would so state. Based on the facts and the applicable legal standards, we are unable to reach that judgment."

Anderson University President John S. Pistole, who served as deputy director of the FBI from 2004 to 2010, told the Anderson Herald-Bulletin, "There's a lot of detail in there. It begs the question about if he wasn't president, would he be indicted? That was much more powerful, and that's why we saw some comments from the president's team that did not accurately capture (Mueller's) team's findings."

The report details at least 10 instances where Trump pressured people in his administration to end the probe. It has made 14 referrals to other criminal investigations, including the so-called "follow the money" front. It kicked the obstruction issue to Congress.

The report details President Trump attempting to get National Intelligence Director Dan Coats to "help with the investigation" on two occasions in March 2017. On March 22, Trump asked Coats and Mike Pompeo to stay behind after an Oval Office meeting and then asked if Coats could publicly state no link existed between Trump and Russia. Coats refused, saying he had no role in making such a public statement. According to ODNI official Michael Dempsey, the director described Trump's comments as falling "somewhere between musing about halting the investigation" and wanting Coats to "do something to stop it." Dempsey said Coats made it clear he would not get involved in an on-going FBI investigation.

**Another ODNI staffer**, Edward Gistaro, recalled that "Coats was upset because the president had asked him to contact Comey to convince him there was nothing to the Russia investigation." On Saturday, March 25, 2017, the president called Coats and again complained about the probe. Coats told the president that the investigations were going to go on and the best thing to do was to let them run their course. Coats later testified in a congressional hearing that he "never felt pressure to interfere in any way and shape, with shaping intelligence in a political way, or in relationship ... to an ongoing investigation."

Vice President Mike Pence is mentioned five times in the report. On Oct. 11, 2016, candidate Pence was asked about the campaign connection to WikiLeaks, with Pence saying, "Nothing could be further from the truth."

## Reaction to Mueller report

**Vice President Mike Pence:** "Today's release of the Special Counsel's report confirms what the President and I have said since day one: There was no collusion between the Trump campaign and Russia and there was no obstruction of justice. After two years of investigation, conducted with the full cooperation of this Administration, that involved hundreds of witness interviews and millions of pages of documents, the American people can see for themselves: No collusion, no obstruction. Now that the Special Counsel investigation is completed, the American people have a right to know whether the initial investigation was in keeping with long-standing Justice Department standards — or even lawful at all. We must never allow our justice system to be exploited in pursuit of a political agenda."

**U.S. Sen. Mike Braun:** "Now that the report is public, it is clear there was no collusion between Russia and the Trump campaign and that President Trump did not engage in obstruction of justice. It's time for the country to move forward and focus on real issues like lowering the cost of healthcare and keeping our red hot economy roaring."

**U.S. Rep. André Carson:** "Attorney General Barr's premature vindication of the President at his press conference this morning runs completely contrary to Director Mueller's findings in his report, including many documented instances of extremely unethical and dishonest conduct by the President and his inner circle. I am particularly concerned by evidence that President Trump repeatedly obstructed justice while in the White House. Director Mueller provides clear evidence of wrongdoing and intent, before and after the 2016 election, while explaining how he was unable to prosecute because of stringent prosecutorial guidelines. Despite the repeated assertions of the Attorney General, this report in no way exonerates the President and instead exposes a systemic culture of misconduct."

**U.S. Rep. Jim Banks:** "No collusion. No obstruction. Let's get back to work, @SpeakerPelosi."

**U.S. Rep. Larry Buchson:** "The Mueller report is abundantly clear — there was no collusion between anyone on President Trump's campaign and Russia in the 2016 election and there was no obstruction of justice. Nancy Pelosi and Washington Democrats owe the President, his family, and the American people an apology for peddling misleading and defamatory statements for more than two years."

**South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg:** "The Mueller report is a disturbing if not completely surprising collection of evidence that shows a president putting his own interests ahead of the country's. Today again demonstrates why we need to change the channel in 2020." ❖

Pence was also in the report dealing with Flynn's lies to him over his contacts with Russian Ambassador Sergey Kislyak.

The narrative offers fascinating looks into Trump's mindset. When Robert Mueller was appointed, Trump said it would mean "the end of my presidency" and added, "I'm f---ed."

**The tension between Trump** and White House counsel Don McGahn flared repeatedly. In June 2017, the president called McGahn from Camp David twice and told him to fire Mueller for having a "conflict of interest." McGahn refused, saying he did not want to repeat the "Saturday Night Massacre," when Richard M. Nixon ordered the firing of Watergate prosecutors. McGahn was on the brink of resigning, telling then Chief of Staff Reince Priebus that Trump had asked him to "do crazy shit." Trump might have been saved by the so-called "guardrail" aides that prevented potentially illegal acts. Other than Coats, most of those "guardrails" are now gone.

Mueller said he declined to subpoena the President Trump because it would delay the investigation. "We made the decision in view of the substantial delay that such an investigative step would likely produce at a late stage in our investigation," the special counsel wrote. "We had

sufficient evidence to understand relevant events and to make certain assessments without the President's testimony."

The report is not a clarion refutation of the conduct of Trump and his campaign. What we know now is that their actions didn't rise to criminal conduct, in Trump's case because a president can't be indicted. But these activities are still deeply, deeply troubling. It will be a topic Mueller will be asked about when House Democrats seek his testimony, which will likely be sensational.

But here's a greater question for all Americans and Hoosier Republicans in particular: Mueller portrays the Kremlin reaching out to the Trump campaign, and the campaign readily accepting its assistance. It just fell short of conspiracy. An overwhelming number of American political figures would have been on the phone to the FBI if that had happened. This didn't happen here.

**Is this, now, a new norm** in American politics, where campaigns will accept the aid and assistance from anyone, even an enemy regime? Would it be OK for the Pete Buttigieg or Bernie Sanders campaigns to accept campaign assistance from China?

If this, indeed, is a new norm, that will be a troubling legacy of the Trump/Pence campaign. ❖

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## Buttigieg, from page 1

lapse in 1963 sent the city on a half-century decline, with the 29-year-old Buttigieg returning to pick up the mantle eight years ago, changing, as he put it, South Bend's trajectory.

As the Emerson College Poll would reveal on Monday, this was No. 1 (Sanders) sparring with No. 3 (Buttigieg), with the possibly fading and undeclared Joe Biden (who sometimes finds respite with family half-way between Gary and South Bend at Long Beach), the other septuagenarian facing the young mayor.

At his kickoff with 4,500 people crowding the Studebaker building that now houses some 40 tech firms, and another 1,500 in an adjacent viewing area, Buttigieg channeled two other young presidents, John F. Kennedy and Barack Obama.

On the JFK passing-the-torch front, Buttigieg said, "If America today feels like a confusing place to be, it's because we're on one of those blank pages in between chapters. Change is coming, ready or not. The question of our time is whether families and workers will be defeated by the changes beneath us or whether we will master them and make them work toward a better everyday life for us all."

As for Obama, he added, "Such a moment calls for hopeful and audacious voices from communities like ours. And yes, it calls for a new generation of leadership."

### 4 huge obstacles

There are at least four huge obstacles between "Mayor Buttigieg" and "President Pete." The first three are: Joe Biden, who will be 77 on Election Day 2020; Sanders, who will be 79; and President Trump, who will be 74 and is the oldest elected commander-in-chief. So little wonder that Buttigieg, who would be the youngest president ever if elected, will accentuate this generational shift. He called his candidacy "more than a little bold, at age 37, to seek the highest office in the land. Up until recently, this was not exactly what I had in mind either, for how to spend my eighth year as mayor and my 38th year in this world. But the moment we live in compels us to act."

There is also the race factor. No modern Democratic candidate has clinched the party's nomination without significant African-American support. Buttigieg's current support comes from cohorts of young, rich, white and gay Democrats. When you panned across the Studebaker rally Sunday, it was a mostly white audience. David Axelrod, President Obama's key political strategist, observed of the Buttigieg rally on Twitter: "Seems very large,

very impressive but also very white — an obstacle he will have to overcome."

Part of the lack of black turnout on Sunday was that Buttigieg endorsed James Mueller in the South Bend mayoral race. Mueller is seen as a policy wonk, technocratic kind of guy. Missing from the rally were black mayoral hopefuls Oliver Davis and Lynn Coleman.

Paul Mirengoff of the Powerline blog explained, "If Buttigieg has a problem with black voters, then he has a problem. One can imagine him gaining buzz through good showings in Iowa and New Hampshire, but then getting clobbered when states with large numbers of black primary voters, e.g., South Carolina, vote."

Buttigieg's lack of black support is blamed on two South Bend elements: His dismissal of the city's first black police chief, Darryl Boykins, during his first year in office back in 2012. In Buttigieg's defense, Boykins was under



federal investigation. The second is one of his policy attributes, his razing of 1,000 "zombie" homes in 1,000 days, many in black neighborhoods which some found unsettling.

Other than his 2010 race for treasurer and his work within Accelerating Indiana Municipalities, Buttigieg has skipped much of the Indiana base-building, and that includes, for instance, the Legislative Black Caucus, none of whom were at Sunday's kickoff. So beyond his work as mayor, the building blocks of diversity here in his home state are not particularly evident.

MSNBC's Steve Kornacki explained on "Morning Joe" Thursday, "The support he's attracting right now, it comes disproportionately from white voters, wealthy voters. It comes from college educated, liberal and very liberal voters." Kornacki cited past Democratic presidential candidates Gary Hart, Paul Tsongas and Bill Bradley who found "traction at some point in primary, and they failed to find support from poor and African-American voters and faded."

Buttigieg said on Morning Joe, "It's extremely important and we're very attentive to that." In attracting wider support, Buttigieg said, "You do that through substance and you do that through organizing, reaching out to audiences we speak to, not just with media, but

appearances.” He cited his 2011 mayoral campaign where he found support “from the affluent east side. We needed support from west side. In the end, we won every minority majority district. We need to find ways to speak to everybody.”

Buttigieg told CNN’s Poppy Harlow and John Avlon on Tuesday, “We need to invite more and more people into the process. We do it through our team and the team that we’re building. I think we need to do better. As I’ve been on the trail, we found, to some extent, it depends on geography. We had a very diverse crowd at my first stop in Nevada, but less so in South Carolina. One of the most important things you can achieve in South Carolina is engage with African-American voters in particular, which represents such an important part of our party’s coalition.”

As his campaign staffs up, Buttigieg says his team will reflect diversity. Beyond such diversity, Buttigieg is well behind opponents. There aren’t yet campaign offices in South Carolina, Iowa and New Hampshire, just his campaign HQ in South Bend and a satellite office in Chicago.



There has been much chatter about how Sanders could close out the nomination early with a win in Iowa, followed by another in New Hampshire, where he easily defeated Hillary Clinton in 2016. But many elements have yet to play out in this race, including Joe Biden’s entry expected next Wednesday, and who emerges into a more solidified top tier following the summer and fall debates that begin in June.

For now, Buttigieg has emerged in third place in several Iowa and New Hampshire polls, as well as the national Emerson College poll with 9%. Whether he can do what Barack Obama did in 2008, which is to eke out a narrow Iowa upset (over Hillary Clinton and John Edwards) remains to be seen.

Washington Post reporter David Byler notes another potential obstacle, the lack of a dominating issue. “The last two dark horse candidates to pull it off — Barack Obama and Donald Trump — had unique, signature issues (for Obama, it was his opposition to the Iraq War; for Trump, it was his a combination of immigration restrictionism and populist rhetoric on issues such as trade, health care and entitlements) that helped gain attention and build support.”



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Buttigieg has created a boomlet with well-reasoned interviews, a unique biography, and a decent \$7 million FEC haul, coming in a crowded field. He must come up with that signature issue.

Buttigieg will also need money and Politico reports he will conduct an aggressive California fundraising tour next month.

### South Bend metaphor

South Bend will be his metaphor in a campaign mode where he is doing more "storytelling" than coming up with metrics-filled white-paper plans.

"Once in this city, we housed companies that helped power America into the 20th Century," Buttigieg told the packed room Sunday as a heavy rain and sleet pounded outside. "Think of the forces that built the building we're standing in now, and countless others like it now long gone. Think of the wealth created here. Think of the thousands of workers who came here every day, and the thousands of families they provided for. And think of what it must have been like in 1963 when the great Studebaker auto company collapsed and the shock brought this city to its knees.

"Buildings like this one fell quiet, and acres of land around us slowly became a rust-scape of industrial decline, collapsing factories everywhere," the mayor said. "For the next half-century it took heroic efforts just to keep our city running, while our population shrank, and young people like me grew up believing the only way to a good life was to get out. Many of us did. But then some of us came back. We wanted things to change around here. And when the national press called us a dying city at the beginning of this decade, we took it as a call to arms. I ran for mayor in 2011 knowing that nothing like Studebaker would ever come back, but believing that we would, our city would, if we had the courage to reimagine our future. And now, I can confidently say that South Bend is back."

As for the future, Buttigieg declared, "That's why I'm here today. To tell a different story than 'Make America Great Again,'" a reference to President Trump's signature slogan. "It comes from people who think the only way to reach communities like ours is through resentment and nostalgia, selling an impossible promise of returning to a bygone era that was never as great as advertised to begin with. The problem is, they're telling us to look for greatness in all the wrong places. Because if there is one thing the city of South Bend has shown, it's that there is no such thing as an honest politics that revolves around the word 'again.'"

"It's time to walk away from the politics of the past, and toward something totally different," the mayor said as rays of sunlight suddenly poured through the glass windows atop the ceiling. "So that's why I'm here today, joining you to make a little news: My name is Pete Buttigieg. They call me Mayor Pete. I am a proud son of South



Bend, Indiana. And I am running for president of the United States." Buttigieg is claiming resilience in his city, and the South Bend Tribune on Sunday provided some data. In the three years before Buttigieg took office, South Bend police reported an average of 6,845 serious crimes tracked by the FBI. Since 2012, Buttigieg's first year in office, the city has averaged 5,890. There has been a decline in property crimes, but the number of murders and robberies

has remained mostly unchanged. In the neighborhoods, the Tribune reported 1,122 houses receiving action, with roughly 40% of them repaired and 60% demolished. The downtown renaissance is measured in more than 300 new apartment units, while the assessed value of downtown property rose from about \$132.8 million in 2013 to roughly \$160.9 million last year, a 21% increase.

### Trump opened up his path

During his speech and media appearances, Buttigieg hasn't mention President Trump, but has addressed the opening the current administration has presented for his political career. Toward the end of his speech, Buttigieg described "the horror show in Washington" as one that "is mesmerizing, all-consuming. But starting today, we are going to change the channel. Sometimes a dark moment brings out the best in us. What is good in us. Dare I say, what is great in us. I believe in American greatness. I believe in American values. And I believe that we can guide this country and one another to a better place."

He added, "The forces of change in our country today are tectonic. Forces that help to explain what made this current presidency even possible. That's why, this time, it's not just about winning an election — it's about winning an era."

Appearing on MSNBC's "Rachel Maddow Show" Monday evening, Buttigieg talked about the Trump presidency creating the current opening. "What are the conditions that made this moment, this presidency, possible? And one of them, I think, is a fraying in the social cohesion that we experience."

The early contrast with Sanders found the Vermont socialist on the defensive. Appearing with embattled Gary Mayor Karen Freeman-Wilson (who is in a tough reelection primary), Sanders grew testy when reporters asked about his millionaire status. "I didn't know that it was a crime to write a good book which turns out to be a bestseller," Sanders said defiantly. "So again, I don't apologize for writing a book that was number three on the New York Times bestseller (list), translated into five or six languages and that's that."

It was an odd twist, coming in a city with just a 51% workforce participation rate and a median household

income of \$29,293, while 35% of its residents live in poverty. Gary and South Bend are the northern Indiana, Rust Belt poster cities.

Indiana Republicans are beginning to respond to Buttigieg. Chairman Kyle Hupfer said of the rally, "Finally, after over two years of bashing President Donald Trump, personally attacking Vice President Mike Pence, and neglecting his duties in South Bend, Pete Buttigieg announced what we all knew he was up to the whole time. But no amount of mudslinging, unhinged political rhetoric or time rubbing elbows with the coastal liberal elite will hide the facts of his failed tenure as mayor of South Bend. Poverty and eviction rates are high and crime is plaguing the city. If he can't effectively run a city of barely 100,000, how is he supposed to lead a nation of 300 million-plus?"

President Trump had been ignoring Buttigieg until Wednesday when he told SiriusXM he wouldn't mind running against "the mayor from Indiana. I think I'd like running against him. It'll be interesting to see it unfold." On Tuesday, he made a Twitter prediction on who he will likely face: "I believe it will be Crazy Bernie Sanders vs. Sleepy

Joe Biden as the two finalists ... I look forward to facing whoever it may be. May God Rest Their Soul!"

## Iowa responds

Two days after his South Bend kickoff, Buttigieg was drawing big crowds – and hecklers – in Iowa. The campaign expected about 50 people for a meet-and-greet at a Des Moines school, but 1,650 people showed up, including a heckler who shouted "Remember Sodom and Gomorrah, Pete" – an apparent reference to the married Buttigieg's homosexuality.

Buttigieg responded, "The good news is the condition of my soul is in the hands of God, but the Iowa caucuses are up to you!" The Des Moines Register reported, "Before, Pete Buttigieg drew polite interest from Iowans. Now, he has masses of fans." CNN's Chris Cillizza reported: "The crowd in Des Moines on Tuesday night is a living, breathing sign of that organic energy."

Buttigieg heads back to New Hampshire this weekend. ❖

# It rained on Mayor Pete's parade, but ...

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Cold and pouring rain usually is viewed as nothing positive, even as a disaster, for planners of an outside event. But those conditions were a factor in the positive national news coverage of the announcement of presidential candidacy by South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg.



The announcement was planned for Sunday at a major downtown intersection, with nearby streets blocked off, providing space for a crowd of up to 10,000. It seemed likely that the crowd would be the largest in 51 years for a political rally in downtown South Bend. Maybe it would even top the crowd of an estimated 6,000 at the legendary 1968 Dyngus Day rally as Bobby

Kennedy spoke on the steps of the courthouse. That has been regarded as the largest gathering ever for a downtown political speech.

**Then came the forecast** for terrible weather. The forecast proved accurate. So, the decision was made to move the event inside, but not to some auditorium. The announcement was switched to an inside site that hardly seemed inside at all. No heat. Leaks in the roof getting



many members of the audience wet as the rain continued.

The site was a long-abandoned part of the former Studebaker automotive assembly complex. Auto production ended there in 1963.

Mike Schmuhl, Buttigieg's campaign manager (pictured), said the site would provide symbolism as well as shelter. It's between an old building still looking much like the past and a

building with extensive rehab for new, modern office and commercial space.

**In his TV interviews** and in his book, "Shortest Way Home," Buttigieg tells of South Bend moving from old days of defeatist "can't do" doldrums after Studebaker closed to a new, positive attitude bringing economic development and halting population decline. He places himself in the middle, not single-handedly bringing change but as a catalyst in developing "can do" enthusiasm and programs.

Most of the national news accounts told of the place packed to a maximum capacity of about 4,500. No new record. Although there were reports of another 1,500 in an overflow crowd outside at the start.

Television showed and newspaper accounts told of the wild enthusiasm. The fact that the well-written, well-delivered and well-received speech came in an old, cold building from days of Studebaker fit right in with the story Buttigieg told of South Bend, old and new.

One example of the story reported to the nation



is the lead of a front-page account in the Chicago Tribune: "With a drenching April rain dripping through the cracked roof of a former Studebaker automobile building on the edge of downtown, Pete Buttigieg..."

**That so many people would** walk for so many blocks through the rain, with the temperature hovering at 36 degrees, to find the old building somewhere in the midst of what had long seemed destined to meet the wrecking ball showed real dedication, real support for Buttigieg.

Many more would have gathered on a sunny day on downtown streets. But how many would have been just curious onlookers, not necessarily committed supporters? And an outside site would not have brought such focus on

Studebaker and on a unique place for a presidential announcement.

The cold and rain certainly wasn't pleasant for the folks who attended. Those who traveled for hundreds, even thousands of miles to be there didn't seem to mind as they bonded in cheering and applauding.

It rained on Mayor Pete's parade. Yet, the parade of enthusiastic supporters slogged on to a new site that was old and leaking, a factor in positive news coverage that would have been missing on a sunny day. ❖

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

# Mueller campaign plays up Pete ties in South Bend race

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

**SOUTH BEND** — The Democratic primary mayoral race here now appears to be a two-way showdown between James Mueller and Jason Critchlow. Mueller began his TV ad campaign this past week and, as with his website, it features images and B-roll of the candidate with South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg, who endorsed him last winter.



"Serving my hometown with Mayor

Pete has been a great honor, and I'm running for mayor because we have much more work to do," Mueller says.

Mueller's campaign initiatives include "ensuring universal access to pre-K by 2025; rebuilding, repairing, and reimagining our neighborhoods with public spaces, retail stores, walkable and bikable streets, parks and green spaces, and strong communities; lowering barriers to opportunity so that more of our city can share in our growth."

Local sources tell HPI that while Buttigieg is not expected to actively campaign for Mueller due to his national presidential campaign schedule, the two will almost certainly appear together at Dyngus Day celebrations at the West Side Democratic Club on Monday. Mueller and Critchlow

both attended Buttigieg's campaign kickoff last Sunday.

Buttigieg also had about \$200,000 in his local campaign account that cannot be transferred to his presidential campaign, and some of that money, along with some in-kind polling, has been available to his former chief of staff.

Critchlow's TV ad notes that he is the son of a policeman, a Washington HS and IUSB grad and that he'll work to improve neighborhoods. "It's time for every neighborhood to have someone looking out for them," said Critchlow, the former St. Joseph County Democratic chairman. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

**Fort Wayne: Race takes nasty turn**

Republican Tim Smith unveiled negative TV ads and fliers taking aim at "taxman" Councilman John Crawford. The TV ad features a cartoon character hammering a person, accusing Crawford of raising parking, water, trash and sewer taxes. The ad features audio of Crawford saying

he favors a "local income tax." Crawford told WANE-TV, "I have never had a candidate be that mean-spirited." At a press conference at the Allen County GOP headquarters, Crawford said, "I have dedicated 20 years of my life and likely 10,000 hours to public service to make our community better. To summarize my whole career as harmful to the city and citizens I've served is insulting, over the top and unacceptable." Smith told WANE-TV, "This ad is to educate voters about the differences between John Crawford and me." The Smith campaign



released a statement saying, "I am fully committed to running a clean, issues-based campaign. Councilman Crawford doesn't welcome the full, public exposure of his tax and regulatory rate hikes."

**Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.

### Carmel: Brainard, Glynn debate debt

A Carmel mayoral debate Tuesday night mostly focused on the city's debt load and the current administration's spending, with Mayor Jim Brainard at one point handing his opponent a \$10 bill in an attempt to prove a point (Quinn, IBJ). The debate between Brainard and his challenger, Fred Glynn, a current county councilor, was hosted by the Ritz Charles and the Current in Carmel. The men are running against each other in the May 7 Republican primary. From the onset of launching his campaign, Glynn has taken issue with the amount of debt – \$1.3 billion, according to the Department of Local Government Finance – Carmel has taken on under Brainard's 24-year tenure as mayor. In his closing statement, Brainard told Glynn he calculated his opponent's property taxes for next year and then reached into his wallet and pulled out a \$10 bill. "Today, Fred, I did the math," Brainard said. "I figured out what you're going to owe next year on your property-tax debt. Since you're upset about it, I'm going to give it to you. It's \$10. Actually, that's 31 cents more than it actually is—\$9.71. There you go." Glynn accepted the cash before handing it to his daughter, who was seated in the front row. "I gave that money to my child," he said. "You know why? Because it's children in this city that will be forced to pay for his reckless spending." **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Brainard.

### Fishers: Day lawsuit dismissed

The Hamilton County Superior Court has granted the city's motion to dismiss a lawsuit by Republican mayoral candidate Logan Day. The court stated, "This Court finds that STNP brought and continued to litigate a frivolous and groundless claim regarding the July 2017 Meeting in that it was pursued more than a year after the statute of limitations had clearly run. Viewed another way, no "reasonable attorney would consider" a claim for a remedy under Indiana's Open Door Law, that is statutorily stale by over a year, to be a claim "worthy of litigation" or justified. Jennifer Hallowell, spokeswoman for Mayor Scott Fadness's reelection campaign said, "Logan Day has only resided in Fishers less than six months but he has cost Fishers' taxpayers thousands of dollars in what the court ruled were "groundless" claims on a "fishing expedition" resulting in "frivolous" failed lawsuits. Day used the Nickel



This is the TV ad from Fort Wayne Republican Tim Smith portraying Councilman John Crawford as a big taxer.

Plate Trail proposal to build a business for himself and raise his own profile. Logan Day has subjected Fishers' residents to incredible misinformation and cost them thousands of dollars." **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Fadness.

### Muncie: Jones probe dismissed

As quickly as it was brought up, the investigation into election law violations against Nate Jones has been dismissed (Muncie Star Press). The election board met briefly Thursday afternoon to discuss that Victor Whitehead, the local Republican party chairman, asked to withdraw his complaint against Jones that launched the investigation in the first place. Jones is a Republican candidate for the mayoral race in Muncie. Jones was accused by Whitehead of being inside the election room several times while people were voting. Jones refuted the claims, explaining that the complaint was him simply assisting his uncle, who is a disabled veteran and to whom Jones is the guardian of, in casting a ballot. Jones has said he followed all of the advice of people in the election office at the time when he helped his uncle. Whitehead's request to withdraw his complaint to the election board was only one sentence. **Primary Republican Horse Race Status:** Tossup

### Elkhart: Dems debate on PD scandal

For a second straight day, and a third time overall, Democratic candidates for Elkhart Mayor, Rod Roberson and Ashley Boling Molyneaux, debated each other Tuesday evening (Jorgenson, Elkhart Truth). Asked how he would handle the city's police department, Roberson said that incidents like the one when two officers punched a handcuffed suspect to the ground in January 2018 "will not be tolerated" with him as mayor. He also suggested that the issue was about individuals rather than bad policies in the department. "The guidelines would not have prevented this incident from occurring," Roberson said. "I disagree with that," said Boling Molyneaux. "The problem is, over a period of years, and actually when Rod was on the council, the department allowed their accreditation to lapse." In order to improve public safety, she said her administration would increase the use of data by the police department. That would ensure that resources are spent in the wisest possible way, she said she believes. The candidates were asked how development beyond the downtown area should occur. "In order to create opportunities for investment in other neighborhoods, we have to have hubs,

places that people are excited about investing around," said Boling Molyneaux. She said that in the south-central neighborhood, that could be done by reopening the Tolson Center. Roberson, who also wants to reopen the Tolson, suggested a similar approach. "We've taken the Aquatics Center, and we're using it as an anchor for the new apartments that are coming downtown. Tolson could be an anchor for revitalization of the entire south side," he said.

**Democratic Primary Horse Race:** Leans Roberson.

**Indianapolis: Hogsett opens field offices**

Mayor Joe Hogsett opened the 2019 City-Wide Coordinated Campaign's first field headquarters last weekend. At a rally with supporters, Mayor Hogsett unveiled two office locations where Democratic candidates, staff, and volunteers will launch voter outreach efforts through November. In December of 2018, Mayor Hogsett and Council President Vop Osili launched a landmark campaign effort aimed at reelecting Mayor Hogsett and building the City-County Council majority. "Since its start, the 2019 City-wide Coordinated Campaign has seen a surge of grassroots support and has already reached thousands of voters across Indianapolis. This year, Council President Vop Osili and I worked together to launch our landmark 2019

City-Wide Coordinated Campaign that is already building on the successes of 2015 and setting up our Democratic candidates for what will be one of the most important local elections in recent history," said Mayor Hogsett. "From putting organizers on the ground to opening two field headquarters, today this landmark campaign effort takes a major step forward. Working with President Osili and my partners in the City-County Council, I am proud of what we have delivered on public safety, infrastructure funding, and the fiscal stability of our city over the last three years. With the campaign efforts that we are investing in now, I know that we will build on that coalition this year." **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Hogsett.

**Evansville: The homemade flier**

There are a lot of reasons to doubt Connie Whitman will shock the world by becoming the Republican nominee for mayor on May 7 (Langhorne, Evansville Courier & Press). You could start with the fact that Whitman is asking Republicans not to even renominate Mayor Lloyd Winnecke, whose perceived popularity and six-figure campaign war chest were enough to scare off all potential Democratic challengers. And then there's the 68-year-old Whitman's homemade campaign flier, which contains such

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promises as a “free first year of college or trade school,” ending homelessness within a month and preservation of cursive writing “by ordinance, if necessary.” “Have you seen her campaign flier?” asked Vanderburgh County GOP Chairman Wayne Parke. They were the first words out of Parke’s mouth when asked about Whitman. But wacky as the flier may sound to some, in it lay the rationale for a candidacy borne of years of small frustrations and the conviction that government should help people with their needs. Unfortunately, Whitman says, politicians are too besotted with “federal money” and huge capital improvement projects to know what those needs really are. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Winnecke.

### Kokomo: Candidates debate

Kokomo Democrats Abbie Smith and Kevin Summers debated Thursday night at IUJ (Myers, [Kokomo Tribune](#)). The two Democrats, who neglected to critique each other and instead reiterated many of their most prominent policy positions, will face off May 7 in what is the most anticipated primary race

of the year. Summers, however, presents a formidable challenge to the municipal future envisioned by out-going Mayor Greg Goodnight and the Howard County Democratic Party, which have both critiqued Summers and hit him with accusations of misconduct since his campaign announcement in December. If Summers, running as an outcast of his own party, feels awkward about the arrangement, he didn’t show it. He rolled out many of the positions he has embraced since announcing his campaign, including increased staffing in numerous city departments, specifically police and fire; a rethinking of the city’s philosophy on road diets and bump-outs; and a return to an ambulance service within the Kokomo FD. Smith said she has talked with 2,666 people and walked 73.5 miles inside Kokomo to learn the top concerns of city residents: infrastructure, jobs and the economy, and drugs and public safety. “Eighty sworn officers with approximately 40% eligible to retire in the next couple of years, a competitive market, a waiting list at the police academy, extended onboarding time for the industry, is not currently an adequate amount for Kokomo to have,” said Smith, adding later that “the net number needs to be higher” in reference to police officers. “People tell me, out there ... on the street talking, they don’t feel safe here anymore,” Summers said. “That’s real people. That’s not getting up here and fluffing it for the paper or anybody else. That’s real.” **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup.



### Statewides

#### Dem gubernatorial candidate MIA

With just over a year before the 2020 gubernatorial primary, there is no obvious Democratic candidate making the rounds. Multiple sources tell HPI that other than some hints that former state health commissioner Woody Myers was making some calls and that he is on the party’s Victory Committee, no one is making an obvious move.

#### Buttigieg gubernatorial run suggested

Even as Pete Buttigieg’s star shines brighter and brighter in the Democratic presidential primary, back home in Indiana there are GOP fears that the young South Bend mayor could drop out and instantly become a threat to win the state’s governorship (The Hill). The chance that Buttigieg would bow out of the presidential race to run for statewide office seems to be dropping by the day. There are persistent worries among GOP Hoosiers that Buttigieg could shift gears — if his presidential hopes fade — and instead try to unseat Republican Gov. Eric Holcomb in 2020, two GOP sources told The Hill. “There is a growing concern and an increasing amount of anxiety among the Indiana Republican leaders associated with Gov. Holcomb that Buttigieg could make a switch several months down the road and challenge Holcomb for governor instead,” said one of the GOP sources who hails from Indiana and is close to the state party leadership. “That’s why the Indiana state party is taking shots at Buttigieg,” the source added. Buttigieg campaign spokesman Chris Meagher issued a five-word statement in response to this story: “Pete is running for president.” And in a 20-minute phone interview, Indiana Republican Party Chairman Kyle Hupfer aggressively pushed back on what he called a “fabricated narrative,” insisting that Buttigieg would have no shot at winning a statewide race in Indiana. Hupfer noted that Buttigieg in 2010 was crushed by Republican Richard Mourdock in the race for state treasurer. “There is zero accuracy to it,” he told The Hill. “He’s not a viable candidate statewide in Indiana. There’s zero concern by the Indiana GOP that he could come back here and run against the governor.” ❖



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# Money matters in final days of session

By **JACOB CURRY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Legislators at the Statehouse have a budget and two major bills on their plate as they head into what could be their last week of work for this session. The budget discussions in particular have gained complexity thanks to the State Budget Agency’s latest revenue forecast. That forecast, looking at the 2019-2021 fiscal biennium, shows figures falling short of previous predictions made in December, showing a net loss around \$33 million.

While the state’s revenues are expected to make gains from miscellaneous taxes on certain businesses like alcohol sales, cigarette sales, and insurance, changes in other sales taxes and individual income tax calculations brought on the biggest losses. Presenters from the SBA pointed out that a downturn of state revenue from South Bend’s Tribal Casino lowered the forecast as well.

In addition to the newest forecast showing less revenue than lawmakers expected, updated predictions to the state’s Medicaid expenses over the biennium also went up to the tune of \$60 million – and that’s on top of an increase predicted in December. Combined, the new forecasts are forcing lawmakers to tighten up the budget to make up for the approximate \$130 million difference.

The forecast came just as legislators entered into official budget talks, with the conference committee for the budget bill, HB1001, meeting for the first time Thursday morning. The lawmakers spearheading the committee are Ways & Means Co-Chair Todd Huston and Senate Appropriations Chairman Ryan Mishler.

The pair have been discussing their respective chambers’ budget proposals throughout session, and apparently aren’t far now from putting forward a unified pitch. Senate President Pro Tempore Rod Bray has been hearing about Huston and Mishler’s work and told reporters that they’ve whittled it down to a couple of issues. Bray expects the GA will “be able to have a product by the first of the week.” If that’s the case, lawmakers could be out by Wednesday or Thursday of next week.

Speaker Brian Bosma says that budget talks at this point aren’t necessarily about making specific cuts for the final version but finding headroom on funding. “It’s mostly where funds are coming from and going to, just in a handful of categories,” Bosma said Thursday morning.

The issue there is that the biggest spending area to take away from is education, where funding has been an especially important topic of debate this session. If too much funding is taken away from education, it could diminish Republican efforts to appease the teacher pay

squeeze, most of which rely on increasing the amount and proportion of money available for school corporations to give to educators. Additionally, the two chambers appear split on giving a 13th annual check to state teacher retirees this biennium, as that money is rerouted elsewhere under the Senate GOP’s plan. The 13th check will be handed out outside the budget in a reserve process starting in 2021, but House Republicans are objecting to the 2-year gap proposed by the Senate.

As budget talks advance and the conference committee grapples with adjusting to new forecasts, the GA is still facing two other major revenue-related bills: the gaming bill and the CIB bill.

On the gaming bill, Senator Bray didn’t share much in the way of details but said SB552’s conferees are making good progress and are “just about finished” bringing the two – very different – versions together. Bray did say that the \$50 million fee for one casino to move from Gary to Vigo County (on top of a \$25 million minimum bidding process) was one House-instituted change that was getting looked at thoroughly. The fee might not be removed entirely but could become payable over multiple years as opposed to being a one-time payment.

Although those issues are consuming most of the time, there are still a few other bills causing hiccups. One is a school safety bill, HB1004, which has drawn concern from parental rights groups since its initial passage in the House earlier this year. Those groups have raised questions about the fact that the bill would allow students to receive mental health services without parental consent. The Senate was responsive to those concerns when they were handling HB1004, but bill author Rep. McNamara has sought to strike the Senate’s changes in conference committee.

Despite the attention those bills are getting, Bosma continues to say that passing the budget is the only mandatory task left and told reporters that he wasn’t looking to let other bills, even the major ones, hold up sine die: “Once the budget’s done, everything else needs to be done or needs to be expendable.”

## Mayors Bennett, Freeman-Wilson appeal

Terre Haute and Gary mayors held a joint press conference at the Indiana Statehouse this afternoon to “reframe” the discussion about gaming in the state as legislation that could benefit both communities heads to conference committee (Modisitt, [Terre Haute Tribune-Star](#)). Mayors Duke Bennett of Terre Haute and Karen Freeman-Wilson of Gary stood shoulder to shoulder for the better part of 20 minutes, touting the economic benefits their respective communities would reap if Senate Bill 552 were to pass conference committee and, eventually, be signed into law. “Senate Bill 552 is obviously a gaming bill and that’s where all the drama is and all the conversation is,” Bennett said. “But from our perspective, it’s also about economic development opportunities in our communities. “In Terre Haute we’re looking at a \$150 million investment,



500 construction jobs and 300 to 400 new jobs with the casino. And so it's not only putting these people to work, but it's got long-term benefits with revenue that's going to come in and help us do quality-of-life projects." Freeman-Wilson said SB 552 has never been about the casinos to Gary officials, but is more about the opportunity to develop Buffington Harbor into an intermodal transportation hub. "Too often, people can focus on the shiny object in the room, in this case it's the casinos," Freeman-Wilson said. "And there's no question that Gary benefits from moving the casino from Buffington Harbor to 80-94. ... But for us, this has never been about the casino and has always been about the ability to develop Buffington Harbor into the North American Intermodal Gateway."

### **Bosma recuses from gaming bill**

The leader of the Indiana House is skipping votes on a major gambling-related bill after a casino investor arranged a local government contract for his law firm ([Indiana Public Media](#)). The Indianapolis Star reports Republican House Speaker Brian Bosma is working for the Vigo County Capital Improvement Board, which is among entities supporting the bill to allow a proposed Terre Haute casino. Bosma told the House ethics committee he was first contacted about the work by then-Vigo County board member Greg Gibson, an investor in Spectacle Entertainment seeking to move a Gary casino license to Terre Haute. Bosma says the contract hasn't influenced his legislative actions. The Star previously reported Spectacle's CEO treated Republican Gov. Eric Holcomb to private jet flights last year as they traveled together for meetings in Colorado and Arizona.

### **Foster parent bill to governor**

The Senate sent a bill to the governor's desk Thursday that aims to reform Indiana's foster care system (Smith, [Indiana Public Media](#)). The legislation changes how foster parents interact with both the Department of Child Services and the court system. And Sen. Erin Houchin (R-Salem) says there was a lot of input. "I appreciate the collaborative effort of the Department of Child Services, stakeholders, members of this caucus, members of the House and the juvenile judges," Houchin says. Among the changes: if a child is with foster parents for at least 12 months, those parents now have a voice in court proceedings and get priority placement if the child re-enters the system. The measure also requires DCS and the courts to report to the General Assembly next year on progress in getting foster parents more involved in child welfare cases.

### **Rep. Frizzell to resign in June**

State Rep. Dave Frizzell, R-Indianapolis, announced Thursday at the Indianapolis Statehouse that he would retire from his position June 30 ([IBJ](#)). Frizzell, 69, has represented House District 93, which includes portions of Johnson and Marion counties, since 1992. During

his time in the House, Frizzell served as assistant majority floor leader, majority whip, and chair of the House Family, Children and Human Affairs Committee. He also served on the House Public Health Committee, and House Utilities, Energy and Telecommunications Committee. "It has truly been an honor to represent our community over the last 27 years," Frizzell said in a written statement. "During my time with the legislature, I always strive to seek the Lord first when making decisions at the Statehouse, and do what is best for the citizens of Marion and Johnson counties. I am humbled by voters' continued support over the years, and appreciate the opportunity to serve our great state." Frizzell is leaving mid-term. He will be replaced by a caucus of Republican leaders in his district.

### **NORML event outside Gov residence**

Gov. Eric Holcomb has been a leading figure in opposing the reform of Indiana's punitive cannabis laws in Indiana. Accordingly, Indiana NORML will be holding its second annual gathering outside of the Governor's Residence in Indianapolis to demonstrate the public support for cannabis reform in Indiana at noon Saturday. The event is dedicated to Charly Curtis, the 6-year-old girl who lost her life to epilepsy in February. Charly's story has been told in the Indianapolis Star and on WISH-TV, and her parents, Heidi and David Curtis, will be attending our event. We will also be joined by a number of guest speakers, including: Rob Kendall, WIBC radio host and producer; Dan Canon, a civil right attorney who sued the state of Kentucky to fight their ban on the medical use of cannabis; John Barnes, retired educator and former District 89 state representative; Jared Hall, Political Director for the Libertarian Party of Indiana; and Sylvia Kemp, former registered nurse and MS patient.

### **Ex-EPA chief Pruitt registers as lobbyist**

Scott Pruitt, the scandal-ridden former head of the Environmental Protection Agency, registered as an energy lobbyist in Indiana on Thursday as fossil-fuels interests in the state fight to block the proposed closure of several coal-fired power plants ([AP](#)). A lobbying disclosure report for Pruitt provides little insight into precisely what he's doing in Indiana, but several clues point to work on behalf of the coal industry. The disclosure report lists an address for Pruitt in an office tower in his hometown of Tulsa, Oklahoma, and says he is a self-employed consultant who will be lobbying on issues involving energy and natural resources. Pruitt's sole client is listed as RailPoint Solutions LLC, a Delaware corporation created in January that has no listed street address or website. But Pruitt's form lists the name Heather Tryon as the company's manager. That's also the name of the chief financial officer of Terre Haute-based Sunrise Coal, which operates four coal mines in the state.

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# Sorry to see the legislature leave town

By **LINDA CHEZEM**

MARTINSVILLE — As the Indiana General Assembly begins to put a wrap on the 2019 session and prepare to leave Indianapolis, I am somewhat sorry to see them leave town. I fell in love with the Indiana General Assembly in the fourth grade when I paged for Rep. John Thomas of Brazil.



Rep. Thomas is my model of what a legislator should be. He was thoughtful, a smart lawyer, and a great example for the next generation. If my path had included legislative service, I would have tried to be a conscientious legislator like he was.

Legislative watching is a bit of a passion for me, the same as bird-watching or rock-collecting is for normal people. Spending free time watching the committee work via webcast and, of course, the full chamber

sessions for both the House of Representatives and the Senate is better than watching the news on television.

Watching the unguarded expressions of legislators is easier to do via the web. Their "tells" are fascinating. People forget about those unobtrusive cameras. Color is added to what could be a boring process by those who testify and the observers in the audience provide unintended sidenotes.

Not being a lobbyist, just a simple observer of the Indiana General Assembly, I find that the legislative agenda offers a cornucopia of content. In reference to the same general subject matter in the United States Congress, Congress may be duller than the Indiana General Assembly. Congressional hearings are usually heavily choreographed. The questions are pre-written and the testimony is provided to staff in advance. Thus, the spontaneity of the Indiana General Assembly is often far more interesting.

**From the sanctity of the** cyber-center, the legislative content and process is the focus. The internet delivers the ability to listen intently without the distraction of whatever crowd came to the Statehouse that day. The nuances of the opposing views of the lobbyists as well as the legislators when they rise to speak in their chamber are more obvious when not distracted by the others in the room. The remote viewing is a luxury of technology. I have not had to battle traffic or find parking. Another value of watching from my cyber-center is that I do not have to strip down to go through security at the Statehouse or a

state office building. I do not appreciate the current security systems adequately. My boots set off the alarms and I have lost one pocketknife too many to the security staff. (I recognize that there is some value in discouraging people like me from coming to the Statehouse in person. It makes the halls less crowded! However, someone thinking I am dangerous is more humorous than flattering.)

**The privacy of the internet** is priceless. In the cyber-center, a groan at the testimony of an obnoxious or ineffective advocate will not fire up anyone's ire. A muttered "you dimwit" at someone who's testifying will not offend the chair, nor be disruptive. A useful plus is that another screen is only a click away for immediately fact-checking statements and bookmarking the time for future reference when the advocate testifies in another hearing.

Despite the personal convenience of the webcasts, by not being in the halls I miss some gossip. Some nuances can be easily missed in an email and there are just some things that should never be put in an email.

Remote viewing has practical drawbacks. For example, I missed following a bill because I thought the language was nonsensical. I assumed that particular bill was dead on arrival. But someone was able to get a hearing scheduled. Had I been hanging in the halls, I would have heard the chatter.

I created a template to track my chosen bills. For the 2020 session, there is an app for that!

So, what are the lessons learned from watching? For sure, I am not announcing my candidacy for state representative or senator any time soon. I have not missed my calling!

**Hoosiers should thank** their representatives and senators for their steadfastness in doing the legislative work of the State of Indiana. Watching them work hard on painful matters and generally guard the best interests of this state, I am grateful that Indiana is a state that does not have general ballot referendums or initiatives. Those two mechanisms are just fancy government terms for mob rule in states like California. Voters who care about a law can watch our General Assembly hearings and sessions and evaluate the proposals. When ballot referendums and initiatives do not go through the public legislative process, it is the groups with the most money to buy slick and often misleading advertising campaigns that get their proposal passed.

It is the legislative process and the public deliberations of the Indiana General Assembly that protect us from the more rabid special interest groups. The moral of this article is that our legislators may not always be perfect, but they are far better than the alternatives.

Godspeed and thank you, ladies and gentlemen of the Indiana General Assembly! ❖

**Chezem is a former Indiana Court of Appeals judge who practices law in Martinsville.**

# Pence is finding toadyism has its limits in Indiana

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

NASHVILLE, Ind. - Toadyism has its limits. Even for Vice President Mike Pence who is practicing a unique brand of Trumpian toadyism. Even back home here in Indiana.

Pence's affection for President Trump is now legendary. Peter Nicholas in *The Atlantic* provides a quote from Kenneth Adelman, who served in the Reagan administration. "I'd like my wife to look at me just for one day the



way Mike Pence looks at President Trump every day they're together. That would be special," Adelman said.

The past couple of weeks are beginning to define the limits of Pence's political fealty.

At first glance, Taylor University's invitation to Pence to give its May 18 commencement address seemed like a no-brainer. But then came the unexpected pushback. Both the

Washington Post and Salon are reporting that by a 61-49 vote, its faculty opposed the address. Why would Pence stir up so much controversy at the 2,000-student evangelical college in rural Indiana?

Author and Taylor alumnus C. Christopher Smith penned an op-ed in the progressive Christian publication, "Sojourners," Friday stating, "As a long-time Indiana resident, and an observer of Mike Pence's political career for over a decade, one of the greatest flaws ... is his ambition."

Pence's ambition to become president of the United States is also legendary. Embracing the opportunity to become Donald Trump's running mate in June 2016 when scores of other Republicans begged off was seen as a shrewd gambit by Pence. Take the veep nod, fight the good fight, and after Trump lost, his veep nominee would get little blame. Pence could get a Fox News show and prepare for 2020, probably as the frontrunner.

**Except Trump won**, even after being exposed during the campaign in the "Access Hollywood" audio as a horndog, and throughout his presidency as a nativist, anti-free trader, who sought Muslim bans and then signed off on fringe to murderous behavior from Charlottesville to Istanbul, from white supremacist marchers to murderous Saudi crown princes.

Nicholas describes Pence as "gushing" and frequently "taking pains to ensure that Trump has no cause to turn on him." Nicholas writes that Pence is "Trump's No. 1 ally, even in private White House meetings, where he's loath to disagree with his boss." He lunches with Trump

every week and is a frequent presence around the Oval Office to ensure he remains in favor of the notoriously mercurial president.

Nicholas relays one incident following a meeting in which former White House chief economic adviser Gary Cohn raised objections to Trump's comments following the 2017 white-nationalist rally in Charlottesville. In front of the president, Pence said nothing to support Cohn. After the meeting broke up, Pence told him, "I'm proud of you." Nicholas explained, "It was a declaration that might have had more meaning had it been made in Trump's presence. Brave."

**Smith writes of Taylor University**, "This ambition has been particularly problematic during his vice presidency, because he has said little or nothing that disputes the character and political vision of Donald Trump. So, as far as we know, Mike Pence's values are compatible with those of Donald Trump, whose false statements are off the charts in comparison to any politician in recent memory, who casually boasts of grabbing women's genitalia, who has a long and well-documented history of racist behavior, who keeps immigrant children fenced off like animals in a zoo."

Smith continues: "In contrast to the dismissiveness and prejudice of the Trump/Pence administration, evangelicals might excel in our empathy, taking seriously the wisdom of the apostle James, and being 'quick to listen, slow to speak, and slow to become angry' (James 1:19). Our politics would be radically different if we tried



to listen carefully to those whose convictions differ from our own and tried to understand them well."

Historian John Fea's book, "Believe Me: The Evangelical Road to Donald Trump" described the range of motives evangelicals had for casting their lot with Trump and Pence, including the two pro-life U.S. Supreme Court justices President Trump nominated and the Senate seated. Smith observes, "The scene is clearer now in 2019. After two full years in office, the Trump administration is



no longer an unknown entity. Its values and character have been made known, and they do not reflect the best virtues of evangelicalism. Taylor University, and other evangelical institutions, should no longer give credence to this administration as representative of evangelicalism."

Another Taylor alumna, Amy Peterson, teaching as an adjunct in the university's English, honors and communications departments, writes in the Washington Post: "In our increasingly polarized political climate, this decision does not encourage unity, but exacerbates existing divisions. Over the past few years, political tensions on campus have intensified. The open bigotry expressed by Donald Trump during his campaign led some students to feel safe expressing their bigotry."

Peterson adds, "Taylor, an institution without denominational ties, has a chance to be a place where deeply divisive political questions on issues like racism, immigration policy and sexual ethics can be faithfully worked through by Christians from many backgrounds. But giving Pence a position of honor makes that difficult, if not impossible. It doesn't build bridges; instead, it ratchets up the already-high level of division and distrust on campus."

As of 2 p.m. on Monday, a change.org petition against the Pence address had around 3,600 signatures. A similar page has been posted supporting the vice president's visit and had nearly 1,400 signatures.

**The other front here is** Indiana agriculture. Asked if Pence has been accessible during the tariff sequence, the answer from Indiana agriculture leaders is no – unless he needs a photo op.

When this writer addressed soybean and corn growers last fall, the room was easily 85% pro-Trump. Many believed he had a long-term strategy that would pay off in the long run. But the tariffs and economic uncertainty surrounding the 2019 planting season are fraying nerves among this loyal bastion of Trump support.

Hoosier Ag Today columnist Gary Truitt has long been sympathetic to President Trump. But that is changing. "Last week Vice President Mike Pence came to the Lamb Farms, Inc. in Boone County to listen to what farmers had to say about the USMCA trade agreement. At least that was the spin from Washington," Truitt wrote. "In reality, this was a media dog-and-pony show designed to put pressure on Congress to get off their duffs and take action on the important trade agreement with Canada and Mexico."

Truitt described a cross-section of about 50 farmers, all specially selected and most known personally by the VP from his days as governor and congressman, who were trotted out in front of the media to give well-rehearsed speeches to Mr. Pence who looked serious and concerned and repeated, "I hear you" over and over. "After this charade," Truitt observed, "the VP then made a few remarks

in which he reaffirmed the Trump Administration's commitment to USMCA and blamed Congress for the lack of ratification."

Truitt said the "real substance" took place later. "As the media was held in a separate secure area under Secret Service guard, Mr. Pence posed for a group photo with the farmers and things really got interesting. Those in attendance then had a chance to talk freely and candidly with the vice president without the spin doctors managing things. While I don't know what was said, I do know that most of the farmers I spoke with afterwards felt they had made their real concerns known and came away feeling like their voices had actually been heard.

**"If Pence was really listening,** what he heard was a call for action on a wide variety of farm issues currently being ignored by Washington," Truitt said. "Repeated over and over by those in attendance, both in the

public and private conversations, was a sense of urgency. The farm economy and many farming operations are in bad shape financially. For at least the third year, and for some even longer, farmers are burning their equity to keep the farm going. This is a nice way of saying they are spending their savings to pay bills and feed their families."

There have been flooding disasters in South Dakota, Nebraska and Iowa from two rare bomb-cyclone events, a stalled disaster relief bill in the Senate, President Trump's Chinese tariffs

that have blunted the soybean markets and induced great uncertainty in an industry that thirsts for as much market certainty as possible, and EPA exemptions allowing oil refiners to stop blending ethanol.

"If Mr. Pence really wanted to demonstrate empathy to farmers, he would tell his boss to spend a little more time fostering demand for U.S. farm products and a little less time obsessing about the Mexican border," Truitt wrote. "If the Democrats in Congress really wanted to show their policies are better than the President's, then they should drop their opposition to disaster aid and work with the GOP to adopt USMCA."

**"As farmers go to the field** this spring to plant a new crop without quick action to improve the farm economy, it may be the last crop for many — especially those in the next generation," Truitt explained. He noted U.S. Agriculture Secretary Sonny Perdue saying at Purdue University, "You've got parents out there that have children here at Purdue or other universities that aren't sure they want their children to come back [to the farm] because of the rigors of economic stress that we're going through right now."

Truitt concluded: "The circus at Lamb Farms was an attempt to put lipstick on a pig."

Between Lebanon and Upland, the lesson for Vice President Pence should be that toadyism has its limits. ❖



# How politics has changed

By **LEE HAMILTON**

BLOOMINGTON – I became active in politics in the late 1950s, got elected to Congress in 1964, and have remained engaged in one way or another every year since then. I've had a ringside seat for a long time. So I suppose I should not be surprised that I get asked a lot these days how American politics have changed over the last six decades.



A few things stand out. When I first arrived in Congress, Americans had faith in the institutions of government. President Lyndon Johnson had actually run on a platform that we could successfully wage a war on poverty — and been elected. It seems inconceivable today that a politician of prominence would be so bold and so naïve as to propose

such a thing, let alone believe that we could do it.

Today, Americans have little confidence in government's ability to deliver. And with reason; Congress can't even pass a budget on time, and even the most routine matters get bottled up. A war successfully waged on anything domestic seems beyond its grasp.

We can argue about when this shift began. Was it catalyzed or merely summarized by President Ronald Reagan when he famously said that government is the problem, not the solution? Regardless, the days of LBJ-style confidence are long gone.

The second big difference is the extreme political intensity we see all around us. Almost every facet of politics is more complicated and pursued more vigorously, with a harder edge to it, than when I began.

**Voters are more** demanding and want instant results. Consultants are everywhere you turn. Lobbyists have multiplied and become immeasurably sophisticated and effective at finding ways to get what they want. Interest groups have exploded in number and competency. The media has become more aggressive. And money, of course, has become an avalanche.

Politics has shifted from low-intensity conflict to big business, and very serious business, at that.

With all this, of course, the sharp polarization that

marks our politics today has flourished. We've always had partisanship, but today it penetrates everything: The electorate, the political parties, legislatures, Congress, and the White House.

Which has led to one of the greater ironies of this era. On the one hand, the political world is flooded with information. It used to be that one of the chief tasks of a politician and policy-maker was to gather information; today your problem is sorting through it. On the other hand, in this atmosphere deliberations are often based less on facts, experts and evidence than on partisan beliefs. In a sea of information, we're drowning in misinformation.

**Finally, the audience for** politics has changed. When you spoke to the Rotary Club in southern Indiana in the 1960s, you were speaking to Rotary members in southern Indiana. Today, you could very well be speaking to the world. Whatever you say can become available everywhere in a matter of hours, if not minutes. Newsworthy events and statements that once took days to stoke a reaction today get an instantaneous, and often hot-blooded, response.

This has all made the work of politics and governing much more difficult. Organizations intensively scrutinize every tiny step, and can gin up a massive response at a moment's notice. The basic building blocks of politics — gathering facts, deliberating on next steps, finding common ground — have become charged in their own right, subject to partisan attack. Bridging our divisions over health care, taxation, immigration, the debt and deficits, and U.S. intervention abroad seems ever more elusive. Plain and simple, it's become harder to make the country work.


**When I began in politics,** elected officials felt a responsibility to find their way through difficult problems together. They believed that compromise and negotiation were core political values, intrinsic to our democracy and crucial to making it work for everyone. There are still plenty of politicians who believe this, but also plenty who do not, who have shown they can thrive in a political environment that stacks the deck against the shared work of finding common ground.

We've come a long way as a country over the last six decades. But when it comes to politics as a democratic endeavor to address the nation's challenges? We've lost ground. ❖

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# Direct foreign investment is key

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – Helping our communities grow is one objective of governors, mayors and their economic co-conspirators. We might thrive better if they focused on helping our communities develop.



Development, as one of my co-conspirators reminds me, is a precursor, a foundation for growth. If diversity of ownership is considered development, then foreign direct investment (FDI) has many virtues.

When a foreign-owned company invests in a local city or town, it does more than build or repurpose an existing structure. It hires local labor to

do that work and may exhibit different expectations about construction methods and timing. This can be an improvement or a degrading, but it is a difference.

**And difference is valuable** as a contribution to our understanding of how things are done and how people think. This shows up again in the management style of the foreign company, its choices of personnel, its supply chain relationships and its customer service practices.

Indiana has been a domestic-branch plant state for the past century. Foreign ownership of Indiana companies has been growing, sometimes dramatically, in recent years. It can be the result of a company starting from scratch (de novo), or the foreign acquisition of, or merger with, an existing firm.

In 2007, Indiana had 2.76% of America's em-

ployees who worked for U.S. affiliates of foreign majority-owned companies. This was basically unchanged at 2.72% by 2016 (our latest data from the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis.)

The actual number of Hoosier jobs in such companies was just 149,100 in '07 and 193,000 in '16. That was 5.6% of Indiana's total employment in '07, growing to 7.3% nine years later.

**In both years, about 60%** of those jobs in foreign-owned firms were concentrated in manufacturing. In addition, although the U.S. and Indiana lost 11 and 5% of manufacturing jobs respectively between '07 and '16, jobs at foreign-owned manufacturing firms increased by 20% nationally and statewide. Perhaps that difference derived from a higher level of efficiency in newer machinery and more resolute management at foreign-owned firms.

Not only does foreign direct investment provide jobs, it announces to the nation that places often overlooked by domestic investors are well-suited for economic stimulus. Think of South Carolina and Alabama with German automotive investments, or Japanese investments in Decatur and Gibson counties of Indiana.

Yet, the greatest benefit of foreign investment could be the diversification of expectations in the community. When Siemens located in Princeton, the local schools were slowly improved. When Siemens left, I am told, the local schools began to regress in quality.

Only the state, its largest cities, and cooperative regions can afford prospecting for foreign investments. Although disparaged by locals, these efforts may offer the greatest returns. ❖

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**Nathan Robinson, The Guardian:** For being the mayor of the fourth-largest city in Indiana, Pete Buttigieg has been shockingly successful in carving out a national political profile. Buttigieg has only just formally announced that he is running for president, but already he is placing near the top of some polls, and being given cover stories in national magazines, touted as a “wonder boy” and the “Democrats’ heartland hope”. But for all the buzz, an important question still hangs over Buttigieg: what, exactly does he stand for? Himself, mostly. The New York Times says Buttigieg puts “story-telling first, policy details later”. Media coverage of Buttigieg dwells on what his favorite socks are or his dogs’ personalities. Pete is all about Pete: Buttigieg is frequently evasive about his actual substantive agenda, preferring rhetoric about “freedom”, “democracy” and “security”. His campaign’s branding and graphic design have been hailed as “radical”. As for his actual policies ... he’s working on them. Buttigieg represents the apex of a kind of “politics of demographics”. Why is the mayor of a small city suddenly on the national political radar? It’s not as if Buttigieg’s tenure in office has been especially noteworthy – his signature policies were technocratic improvements like improving sewer technology along with some fairly middle-of-the road, even conservative, development initiatives. Buttigieg is not attracting attention for anything he has done, but for who he is. He’s a man who checks all the right boxes. Buttigieg’s pitch embodies what Luke Savage has called the “West Wing view” of politics: the idea that the best candidates for high office are the “smart” ones who went to elite schools and have a wonkish command of the facts. Buttigieg is clearly a skilled politician. He knows exactly the right words to say to his audience to get them on his side – it’s not surprising that a man who prides himself for being multilingual can slip into the dialect of progressivism or conservatism depending on which group he is trying to court. But he’s a classic “empty suit”, a package without contents. He stands for nothing except his own advancement. Let’s hope his time as the Democratic “flavor of the month” is rapidly coming to an end. ❖



campaign and while in office. The 448-page document is replete with evidence of repeated lying by public officials and others (some of whom have been charged for that conduct), of the president urging advisers not to tell the truth, of the president seeking to shut down the investigation, of a Trump campaign hoping to benefit politically from Russian hacking and leaks of information damaging to its opponent, of a White House in chaos and operating under abnormal rules. It shows a White House where officials sometimes — but not always — resisted the president’s more nefarious orders and concludes that Trump was not able to influence the investigation as much as he wished because advisers declined to carry out some of those orders. It also suggests, despite his many claims to the contrary, that the president felt vulnerable to an investigation. When informed just months after taking office that a special counsel was to be appointed, Trump exclaimed that it would mean “the end of my presidency.” ❖

**John Krull, Statehouse File:** Truth is messy. It often makes people uncomfortable. It neither knows nor honors any political party. And it often comes from unsavory sources. Perhaps no other living figure illustrates this fundamental reality more than Julian Assange. The WikiLeaks founder held prisoner now in Great Britain isn’t a likable guy. He has been accused, credibly, of rape and sexual molestation in Sweden. He seems to have used the political asylum he sought from Ecuador to skillfully and successfully run out the statute-of-limitations clock to avoid facing most of those charges. He also has a knack for mixing smug moralizing and base hypocrisy into a kind of stomach-churning stew. He claims to be a servant of transparency — of allowing people access to all information — but he hides the methods he uses to gather information. And, without question, he has lied about how and from whom he got some of that information. Assange’s eel-like ethical slipperiness has made it easier for different people to embrace him at different times. Liberals and Democrats tended to like him when WikiLeaks exposed many of the lies and distortions that led America into the Persian Gulf War. Conservatives and Republicans cheered him on when WikiLeaks released many of the emails and internal correspondence from Democrat Hillary Clinton’s 2016 presidential campaign. There’s nothing new about this. One thing journalists and other lovers of free speech learn quickly is that a disquieting number of First Amendment victories are won in defense of other disreputable people or causes. Protecting the Klan’s right to march also preserves the rights of civil rights advocates to demonstrate. Mounting a defense for the National Enquirer’s often-scurrilous speculations guarantees that The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal and other papers of weight can do investigations that matter. ❖

**Dan Balz, Washington Post:** The Trump presidency long has been an exercise in normalizing extraordinary behavior, with President Trump repeatedly stretching the limits of what is considered appropriate conduct by the nation’s chief executive. The report from special counsel Robert S. Mueller III puts into high relief the degree to which Trump has violated the norms. The principal focus of the special counsel’s investigation was on questions of criminality. But there is more than the issue of what rises to the level of criminal conspiracy or criminal obstruction when judging a president and his administration. These are questions that go to the heart of what is acceptable or normal or advisable in a democracy. On that basis, the Mueller report provides a damning portrait of the president and those around him for actions taken during the 2016

## Pistole says DOJ policy saved Trump

ANDERSON – If it weren't for the Department of Justice policy that sitting presidents should not be indicted, President Donald J. Trump very well might have found himself in hot water based on special counsel Robert Mueller's report released Thursday, John S. Pistole said (Bibbs, [Anderson Herald-Bulletin](#)). Now president of Anderson University, Pistole, 62, in his past life worked for DOJ, serving as deputy director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation from October 2004 to May 2010. "There's a lot of detail in there. It begs the question about if he wasn't president, would he be indicted," he said, though he has yet to read the 448-page report cover to cover. "That was much more powerful, and that's why we saw some comments from the president's team that did not accurately capture (Mueller's) team's findings."

Even so, DOJ is not required to hold to its policy. "Again a policy is not a law. It's not a statute. Policies are overruled," he said. In addition, Pistole said, the president faces possible impeachment by Congress, even though Democrats have ruled that out. It's unlikely the content of the report would be used by other investigative agencies or attorneys general to whom certain parts of the investigation have been assigned, he added. "I think that was political posturing by the Democrats," he said. "Now it seems like it's been dumped back in their laps."

For the most part, the report was what he expected, Pistole said. "It's actually about what I thought it would be in the conspiracy and collusion portion and actually a bit less than I thought it would be in the obstruction section," he said. Pistole, who maintains a security clearance, only had access to the heavily redacted document available to other members of the public. Even with his clearance, there is no guarantee he

would have access to an unredacted version, and he would have to be in a secured facility on secured equipment to access it. Pistole said he can't recall a time, except maybe with Ken Starr's report following an investigation of former President Bill Clinton, that a special counsel report became so politicized. However, there were no reported attempts from the investigated parties to influence the content or outcome of Starr's report, he said.



## Man arrested for threatening Trump

HAMMOND — A federal grand jury has indicted a Hobart man on allegations he threatened President Donald Trump's life last month ([NWI Times](#)). The U.S. District Court unsealed the three-count indictment Thursday against 20-year-old Steffon Gonzalez, who has been in custody in the Lake County Jail since local and federal authorities arrested him March 30 at his home in the 3800 block of Parker Street. Gonzalez was charged earlier this month in Lake Superior Court on a state felony charge of intimidation and was being held without bail for violating his pretrial release on an earlier, unrelated intimidation count from last year, according to court records. The new federal case contains two counts of making threats against the president's life by posting to Facebook on March 28 that he was standing outside with a rifle and a "bullet chambered to blow his head off."

## Four regions eye Stellar funding

INDIANAPOLIS — Four Indiana regions have been chosen as finalists for state funding aimed at boosting community ties and economic development (AP). Lt. Gov. Suzanne Crouch announced the finalists for the 2019 Stellar Communities Designation Program on Thursday. They include "Constellation of Starke," which con-

sists of the communities of Hamlet, Knox, North Judson and Starke County, and "Jay! Region," which encompasses Dunkirk, Portland, Pennville, Redkey and Jay County. The two other regional finalists are "Marshall County Crossroads," which comprises Argos, Bourbon, Bremen, Culver, Plymouth and Marshall County, and "Safe and Welcome," which encompasses Knightstown, New Castle and Henry County. This year's 2019 Stellar Communities Program designations will be announced Dec. 5. The multi-million dollar investment initiative is led by the Office of Community and Rural Affairs, which Crouch oversees.

## Chet Coppock dies after car accident

HILTON HEAD, S.C. — Chet Coppock, a longtime Chicago and Indianapolis TV sportscaster and pioneering sports talk radio host who flamboyantly wore his bravado like his hip-length racoon coat, has died (Chicago Tribune). Coppock, 70, reportedly died Wednesday as a result of injuries suffered as a passenger in an April 11 car accident outside Hilton Head, S.C.

## McConnell seeks to raise smoking age

WASHINGTON — Senator Mitch McConnell, long one of the tobacco industry's loyal allies, said on Thursday that he would sponsor legislation to raise the minimum age to 21 for the purchase of tobacco and e-cigarettes (New York Times). Mr. McConnell, the Republican Senate majority leader whose home state, Kentucky, is the nation's second-largest tobacco producer, said he was motivated by the increasing rate of vaping among teenagers and young adults. Public health agencies have cracked down on e-cigarette companies and distributors in an effort to curb access to the products. "For some time, I've been hearing from the parents who are seeing an unprecedented spike in vaping among their teenage children," Mr. McConnell said in Louisville.