



Hogsett could learn from Daniels

Gov. Daniels forged an Indy stadium deal with suburban voters in 2005; Hogsett should study the effort

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

CARMEL – Mayor Joe Hogsett, come with me into the Howey Politics Indiana Way-back Machine ... to June 2005. But this is no Twilight Zone; Rod Serling will not step out from behind the salad bar with an ominous observation. This was a true, true story.

There, coming into focus are large swells of people – Republican – at a Golden Corral in Shelbyville, in a Noblesville Council Chamber, and other doughnut outposts such as Greenfield and Lebanon. There's a figure of slight physical stature, but with the tenacity of a champion flyweight boxer and an intellect that, if parlayed into physical mass as George Will once suggested, would be huge. This figure looks like ... Gov. Mitch Daniels.

There were well-tailored men standing in the wings, Joe Loftus and Bob Grand, among throngs of



Republicans who had issues fathoming the phrase "tax increase" that would go toward building a new football stadium ... in Indianapolis.

This way-back trip is relevant after Mayor Hogsett, facing a potentially tough reelection battle, used his State

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FBI director hot messes

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – This is the era of FBI directors leaving us hot messes in their wake.

Who could forget James Comey's July 2016 press conference when he said he couldn't indict Hillary Clinton on the private server/email issue, but also leveled searing criticism of how she had conducted sensitive affairs of state?

Then came the late October surprise when Comey announced a rekindled investigation of Clinton after finding her emails on horndog Anthony Weiner's computer. That did more to create the conditions for the political upset that led to President Donald John Trump



"I don't know. It's hard to do hypotheticals, but the reality is that we were not given anything that was salacious."

- Jared Kushner, asked by Axios if he would report to the FBI Russia reaching out to the Trump campaign in the 2020 election cycle.



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than about anything else in 2016. What Comey didn't mention that October was that the FBI was conducting a counter-intelligence probe into the Trump campaign.

Then there was this past week, when former FBI director and Special Counsel Robert Mueller appeared from behind the curtains in an attempt to bid farewell to public life. His nine-minute statement created a new sensation when he refused to absolve President Trump of obstruction of justice. "We did not, however, make a determination as to whether the president did commit a crime," Mueller stoically said. Due to DOJ rules, "Charging the president with a crime was therefore not an option we could consider. If we had confidence the president clearly did not commit a crime, we would have said so."

The statement flies in the face of President Trump and congressional Republicans' contention that Mueller's 440-page report released in mid-April "exonerated" the president of obstruction of justice. "It would be unfair to potentially accuse somebody of a crime when there can be no resolution of the charge," Mueller said. "So we concluded we would not reach a determination one way or the other."

Essentially, what Mueller did was to take this hot mess and toss it into the lap of Congress, the most politically polarized and dysfunctional branch of the federal government (with the Trump White House a close second).

It rekindled talk of the "political" rectification of Trump's untoward behavior which in Mueller's findings did not rise to the level of collusion and conspiracy. His report details some 140 contacts between Russian assets, trolls, Putin chefs, and a dozen employees of the Directorate of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation who were indicted just hours after Trump's Helsinki BFF session with Russian President Putin. Mueller's indictments were so Russo-centric that he made

steady use of Russian language fonts. As some of you who have read the Mueller report or its summaries know (sans, it appears, the incurious and supplicant Indiana congressional delegation), the other untoward aspect of Trump and his administration, campaign and political minions, is the 10 specific cases that portend to at least the appearance of obstruction.

This has reignited the impeachment virus among about 40 House Democrats and one Republican (Rep. Justin Amash of Michigan). Speaker Nancy Pelosi has taken the impeachment inoculation as Trump goads her freshman class into the ultimate dare. Impeachment has zero chance for conviction in the U.S. Senate, where majority Republicans have



fully bought into the Trumpian cult of personality, fear his strident Twitter revenge, and publicly lap up the Kool-Aid while muttering alarm and discontent off-camera and out of earshot.

The Comey/Mueller dynamic is troubling on two counts.

First, Mueller cites this Department of Justice rule that a sitting president cannot be indicted, not even in a sealed indictment that can be opened once he exits office. Fox News analyst Judge Andrew Napolitano says the DOJ rule is "up for interpretation," calling the guidelines "advisory only, not mandatory." The Office of Legal Counsel (OLC) ruled in October 2000 that a sitting president "should not" rather than "cannot" be indicted while still in office "because of material

disruption to his constitutional duties.”

So Mueller punts this mess to the most appropriate, but ill-equipped, wing of government to sort out these alleged high crimes and misdemeanors. “He has ginned up all the Democrats to believe there must be a there there, and it was a parting shot at his soon-to-be former boss, Bill Barr, who basically whitewashed what Mueller said in the four-page summary he distributed back in March,” Napolitano explained.

The second Comey/Mueller sin comes under the category of prosecutorial misconduct. Issues & Insights’ Tom McArdle observes that “in the United States, we don’t let prosecutors publicly blemish the reputations of law-abiding citizens for actions that fall short of criminality. At least we didn’t until Special Counsel Robert Mueller.”



McArdle writes that “a prosecutor’s job is — or at least used to be — to charge or not charge, not choose this or that shade of gray. Mueller compounds his error with an equally nonsensical claim that he’s somehow protecting Trump.” Mueller says the only reason he didn’t bring criminal charges against Trump for obstruction was because the president can’t be charged with a crime while serving in office: “It would be unfair,” he said in his statement, “to potentially accuse somebody of a crime when there can be no court resolution of the actual charge.”

The Issues and Insight editorial board writes further: “... What Mueller has done is worse. He’s left the public with the impression that Trump is — nudge, nudge, wink, wink — guilty of something, even if Mueller can’t say what exactly it is. And in doing so, he’s laying the groundwork for Democrats to impeach Trump, without ever having to actually accuse Trump of anything. How exactly is that fair?”

Ex-federal prosecutor Andrew McCarthy of National Review noted earlier this month that Mueller had options if he actually thought Trump had committed a crime. If there were a case against Trump, he says, “then it is the prosecutor’s job to recommend indictment. The question of whether the (Office of Legal Counsel) guidance should then be invoked to delay indictment should then be up to the attorney general. The guidance should not burden the prosecutor’s analysis of whether there is an indictable case. Yet Mueller chose not to see it that way.”

Thus, the festering hot mess before us.

Former U.S. Attorney and New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie observes how Mueller’s farewell statement essentially “contradicted” the initial analysis by Attorney General William Barr, who is now seen by many not as the people’s attorney, but President Trump’s protector. “Those comments by Bob Mueller about the other processes — obviously impeachment being the only constitutional way — definitely contradicts what the attorney general said when he summarized Mueller’s report and said he then had to draw the conclusion on that. Mueller clearly contradicts

that today in a very concise way.”

Christie agreed with ABC News host George Stephanopoulos that Mueller’s comments, in which he reaffirmed that his probe did not exonerate Trump, move the discussion “from the legal processes and puts it right back into the political arena,” explaining that the question of whether Trump obstructed justice “was never going to be a special counsel call. In the end, when [it’s] a sitting president, this is the call of the Congress, playing their role as a co-equal branch of government, and they’re now going to have to decide what it is they want to do.”

Speaker Pelosi is having none of it at this point, calling impeachment a “fool’s errand.” Her fear is that the spectacle of Democrats seeking impeachment with zero chance for a conviction in the Senate will only make Trump’s reelection in 2020 more probable than it already is.

Washington Post editor and author Bob Woodward described the differences between this Trumpian saga and President Nixon’s legal exposure during Watergate on MSNBC’s “Morning Joe.” When the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in July 1974 that White House recordings be released, members of Congress and the American public heard Nixon attempt to obstruct justice with their own ears.

“Now, where it goes, I think it turns on the quality of evidence,” Woodward said. “In the Nixon case again ... the tapes showed conclusively the president of the United States ordered the payment of hush money to the Watergate burglars and their overseers. Now, in the case of the Trump case here ... they stumbled, Trump stumbled. It was kind of obstruction of justice-lite,” Woodward continued. “And as I reported in my book, there were lots of people who said, ‘I’m not going to do these things that he ordered.’ So where this goes, does somebody come up with tapes or new evidence? I think that would be the propellant here.”

Without such compelling new evidence that drives to bipartisan political consensus, what we end up with is another Beltway fiasco. There are no winners here.

Donald Trump and his campaign were open to assistance from an American enemy hellbent on discrediting the cornerstone of our republic, which is the election process, with the peaceful transition of power potentially at stake. Congressional tribalism rules. FBI directors and special counsels have and are making troubling statements and judgment calls.

When Axios’ Jonathan Swan asked Jared Kushner this weekend that if the Russians approached the Trump campaign with assistance in 2020, would he contact the FBI? “I don’t know,” Kushner responded. “It’s hard to do hypotheticals, but the reality is that we were not given anything that was salacious.”

It will have to be the American people who sort out this sorry mess in November 2020. ❖

Hogsett, from page 1

of the City address last week to drop what has been described in Doughnut Land as “a bombshell.” He proposed a nine-county “infrastructure fund” fueled by enhanced income tax revenue (or, bluntly, an income tax hike).

“The concepts you’ll find there do not redirect one dime of revenues currently enjoyed by our city or by our neighbors,” Hogsett said. “Rather, it would seek to dedicate a portion of future income tax growth to a regional infrastructure fund. With the income taxes paid by these commuters exclusively benefiting the counties where they live, Marion County taxpayers bear the brunt of the financial burden for infrastructure which serves the entire region.”

The thrust of Hogsett’s pitch was augmented by an Indiana Business Research Center dataset showing 161,500 people who work in Marion County but commute from surrounding counties. Their cars and trucks contribute to the wear-and-tear of Indy’s long-neglected roads and Hogsett believes Marion County taxpayers are disproportionately burdened with building, maintaining and replacing its roads and bridges.

Potholes are indiscriminate, mindlessly willing to take out an axle or the rim of a motorist from Beech Grove, Cicero or Bargersville. Hogsett may be right on the policy, but the politics are another matter.

Hogsett appeared to be banking on the good will of Central Indiana Conference of Elected Officials (CICEO), led by Fishers Mayor Scott Fadness, to work regionally. It’s a concept that has slowly developed, then enhanced with Gov. Mike Pence’s “Regional Cities” program that has prompted three regions of the state to paddle in the same direction to the tune of \$44 million each. When the Amazon HQ2 project surfaced, we saw further evidence of county lines becoming the invisible things that they are to the naked eye as Hogsett and mayors from Boone and Hamilton counties worked in concert to land the big opportunity.

Landing with a thud

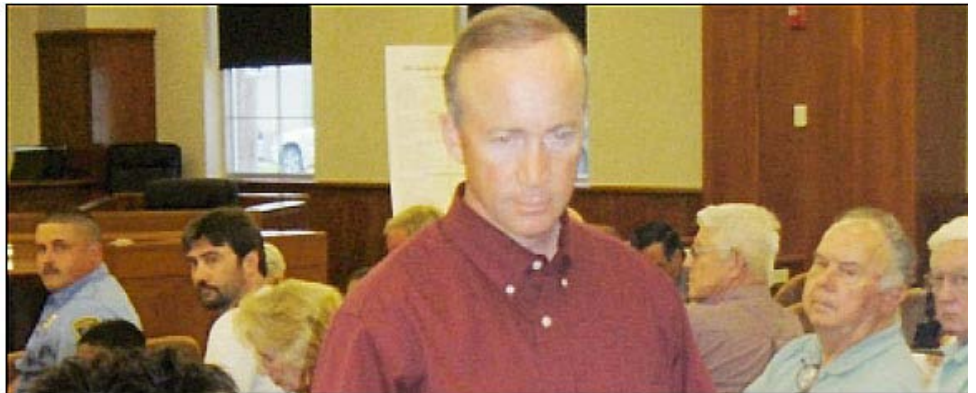
But Hogsett’s proposal landed with a thud. “I’m perplexed by Mayor Hogsett’s proposal that is not consistent with the work the Central Indiana Conference of Elected Officials has been doing collectively over the last year,” Fadness said. “While I agree that regionalism is important, I believe we need to find a solution that will transcend political seasons and ensure the long-term sustainability of our region.”

“I was very surprised by Mayor Hogsett’s proposal, as were many of my fellow mayors,” Westfield Mayor Andy

Cook told the IBJ. “He has been right there with us as we’ve discussed this larger, regional approach.” Greenwood Mayor Mark Myers added, “It doesn’t reflect the conversations many mayors and town leaders have been having about ways to collaborate and invest in transformative projects.”

Fadness told the IndyStar that Hogsett mentioned the concept to him 18 months ago, wherein Fadness “summarily dismissed it,” adding, “I haven’t talked to him about it since and had no advance notice it was coming.” Fadness told the Star that a truly regional approach “has to outlive us individually.”

Hogsett’s timing was politically charged. He faces



Gov. Mitch Daniels listens during a town hall meeting in Greenfield in June 2005. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

a potentially tough race from State Sen. Jim Merritt. The suburban mayors, too, are facing reelection (Noblesville Republican nominee Chris Jensen is a shoo-in), though none appears to be in serious danger of losing in November. But that could change by the 2023 election cycle, when many of these cities will take on a more purple hue, as evidenced with Democrat J.D. Ford winning a Senate seat partially located in Carmel and Zionsville, while Merritt’s own Senate district straddling Marion and Hamilton counties is also becoming more competitive.

Daniels 2005 doughnut tour

This is where Hogsett would do well to study what Gov. Daniels did in 2005. Then-Indianapolis Mayor Bart Peterson ran into roadblocks to fund what would become Lucas Oil Stadium. His city owed the Colts \$48 million, the Republican majority General Assembly was reluctant to lift a finger, and Los Angeles looked predatory toward the city’s NFL franchise. There was fear that Peyton Manning would be flinging TD passes as an LA Colt.

So Daniels did one of the things he does best, which was to build consensus. The June 9, 2005, edition of the Howey Political Report led off: “Mitch Daniels is not only governor of Indiana, but he is a listener, an empathizer, an innovator, a solution-seeker ... and a tax hiker. The ‘town hall’ circuit he has conducted this week in the ‘doughnut counties’ surrounding Indianapolis has become

not only an extension of his historically successful 2004 gubernatorial campaign, but a release valve. Most of the folks showing up for these town halls voted for Daniels in 2004. Until now, not only were they some of the most ardently reliable Republican voters in the nation, they were also for small, efficient government and low taxes."

He was confronted with headlines like this one from the Greenfield Daily Reporter: "Don't force-feed food tax, citizens warn governor" and its lead story began, "A vocal group of Hancock County residents told Gov. Mitch Daniels Monday they object to a 1% food and beverage tax being shoved down their throats."

In Shelbyville, Daniels found a laid-off sixth-grade teacher wanting more funds for school children, not NFL linebackers. "I would rather see that 1% tax go to our schools. If you need a new roof, you don't go on vacation," Betsey Treon told him. Daniels empathized, saying, "Frankly, it was a problem I didn't want to deal with. I didn't dream this thing up. It's not my idea; not my design." As that exchange ended, Daniels told Treon, "Thank you for teaching." Treon responded, "I wish I could."

In Noblesville, he heard from a man who had just lost his \$80,000 job and didn't want to pay more taxes.

"State and local officials need to stop taxing people. It's not in our budget," the man said. Daniels listened and commiserated. "I agree we have a tax problem," Daniels answered. "For many, many years – for decades – we were a low-tax state. Indiana governors bragged about this. Total taxes, if you put them all together, were always in the low 40s (out of 50 states). Then we were in the 30s for a good part of the last decade. Last year, we were 16th. I thought, wow, I must have taken my eye off the ball."

Said Boone County Councilman Butch Smith, who opposed the new tax, "You'll notice I called it the Indianapolis Colts, not the Indiana Colts, not the 'Doughnut County Colts.' It is the 'Indianapolis Colts.' It is an Indianapolis problem."

There were other headwinds, such as a sixth Colts player making the news with an arrest, not an interception. There was the historic "Indianapolis gets everything" sentiment you can hear out-state folks complain about in bars and restaurants adorned by Colt and Pacer logos.

As Howey Politics reported: "From the governor's perspective, timing is everything. Pushing a stadium tax



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he didn't want comes almost three years before he earnestly begins campaigning for reelection. Today's stadium tax will probably be forgotten as few of us add up all our restaurant tabs."

When the votes were tallied that late June, Daniels was able to persuade seven of the eight counties. Morgan, the furthest out, was the lone holdout. It passed by a 4-3 vote in Boone County, 6-1 in Johnson, 23-5 in Indy.

In our June 2005 analysis, there was this assessment: "The people loved this governor coming to their hometowns to sell and defend something that would have been unfathomable in times gone by. Many of them didn't agree with him on the tax hikes. But few were rolling their eyes or spewing under their breath as they left. The press found this to be a spectacle, a Republican governor going to seven base counties selling tax hikes he agreed to after legislative Republicans cut off the options. There is no doubt the governor has some real gonads. But it was striking that legislative leaders who brought this spectacle on were missing. It wasn't too long ago that legislative leaders would have leaped at the chance of sharing the limelight with their governor. Perhaps they thought the doughnut kitchen during Gov. Daniels' salad days would be too damn hot."

Lessons for the mayor

The lessons for Mayor Hogsett?

- Surprises are bad, baaaad. At least courtesy calls should have been made to his mayoral colleagues.
- Timing is everything. Springing a tax hike to improve Indianapolis roads in an election year was a blunder. None of the suburban mayors will likely pay a price this year, but as noted above, the political dynamics are likely to shift in a coming cycle or two.
- Some mayors are open to the concept. Greenfield Mayor Chuck Fewell told the Star he needed more time to review and said, "It is widely known that given the current restrictions on tax revenues to counties, cities, and towns throughout the state, all of us struggle with having sufficient funds to maintain our infrastructure. I will continue to review and consider any proposal that fairly and equitably distributes tax revenues for infrastructure needs, and benefits our community." Carmel Mayor Jim Brainard



Mayors Hogsett and Fadness (top photo); and Hogsett with Gov. Holcomb during a wreath laying ceremony for Sen. Richard Lugar. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howe)

added he needed more time to study Hogsett's strategy before ensuring whether it acts in the "best interests of residents of both Indianapolis and Carmel."

■ As Daniels demonstrated in 2005, a political figure who listens, commiserates and can state a clear case of mutual interest can succeed.

■ Hogsett needs to recognize the historic animosity in out-state Indiana toward its capital city. Beyond Sen. Richard Lugar, mayors Bill Hudnut, Stephen Goldsmith and Hogsett himself have all lost statewide races.

■ Thus, it may be impossible for an Indianapolis mayor to lead such a charge. If there were discussions in the wings, and a consensus of three or four suburban mayors joining to form a common front, the more likelihood for success.

■ During the funerals and memorials for Sens. Birch

Bayh and Lugar, Hogsett appeared several times with Gov. Eric Holcomb. The current governor learned at the master's knee Daniels' ability to engineer asset management (e.g., the Major Moves toll road deal) and form consensus. It was Holcomb who was Daniels' point-man with the unions on Major Moves and his successes were conspicuous. At the 2008 Democratic Jefferson-Jackson Dinner that featured keynoters Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama, the two union sponsors with banners flying above the stage had both endorsed Daniels for reelection, a fascinating juxtaposition.

Holcomb is bounding toward his own reelection, handing out \$1 million Next Level road checks to places like Brown County (population 15,000) and Ellettsville, while Indianapolis also got \$1 million. These funding ratios don't reflect population and use. But Holcomb is an Indianapolis area homeowner, knows the streets in his capital are bad, and learned the art of political capital expenditure from Daniels. A successful Holcomb reelection will give him more latitude to spend the political capital he has accrued. Future political ambitions could warrant the notion of better political traction in the capital city.

Mayor Hogsett might be wise to shift this notion to the back burner, then build consensus and find political partnerships, should he earn a second term. But the die is cast and this becomes a major issue this year and heading into 2020. ❖

The shame of our cities

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – In his muckraking 1904 book, “The Shame of the Cities,” Lincoln Steffens spoke, not exclusively of corruption by the political bosses, but also of the shame of the people who tolerated that corruption. A reporter today might easily write on the same theme.

Today, Hoosier citizens tolerate, virtually without protest, the political corruption of power. Today’s officeholders, whether elected or appointed, at the state or local level, do not seek wealth as much as they covet power.



Our shame is clearly the shame of the cities. Although the 2010 Census identified 72.4% of Indiana’s population as “urban,” we and the world think of Indiana as a rural state.

No Indiana mayor has ever been elected governor of the state. That’s right. The route to the Statehouse is not through

City Hall. Power in the Hoosier Holyland rests with a rural identity.

Remember the Bayhs, father and son? Both wanted to be known for their Shirkieville roots. It’s a bi-partisan pleasantry; Dick Lugar listed a farm as his Indiana address.

But the problems and concerns of Indiana are urban issues which Hoosiers try to evade by moving to urban suburbs. The three E’s: (Economics, Education, and

the Environment) are left to state decision-makers. Mayors and town officials are impotent players in the games of the General Assembly.

Our largest cities are strangled by suburban politicians drunk on the power they derive from their narcissistic fiefdoms. Why does the Indianapolis transit system stop at the county lines? Why do weak transit efforts within Lake County not combine into a unified service to include the burgeoning suburbs?

We know the answers. Urban areas are dirty, dangerous places where people who did not go to high school with us tend to live. Urbanites are foreigners who were not baptized in Wabash River waters.

The result is rational 21st century proposals to recognize the realities of the 20th century are blocked by 19th century thinking in the General Assembly.

We won’t tax vehicles by their weight as well as by where and when they are driven. Potholes are the diseased pockmarks of our sick, older cities. They cannot be filled because the state (rural) legislature has denied cities and towns permission to manage their own fiscal affairs.

Local officials must be inferior and immoral when compared with the virtuous members of the General Assembly. The state rules on the budgets of localities. The state controls the levies of local governments. The state assesses the properties of businesses whose voices are sweeter in the Rotunda of the Statehouse than in the corridors of the County Building. And the state gives us a constitutional amendment capping local property taxes.

Who is to blame? The people who live in our cities and towns. It is they who submit to their own disenfranchisement. They who elect those who fail to address urban urgencies. ❖

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Buttigieg town hall sets him up for a big June

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS — As his third nationally televised town hall began, MSNBC Hardball's Chris Matthews described Mayor Pete Buttigieg as "the biggest star from South Bend, Indiana since Rudy."

By the time the two finished an hour later, Americans watched the Democratic presidential candidate describe his city's "smart" sewers, call for the impeachment of President Trump, gun background checks and revisited a moment when as a Harvard University student he questioned former U.S. Rep. Dick Gephardt.



Buttigieg was asked if he would vote to impeach Trump if he was a member of the U.S. House. Responding "yes," he described current times as a "historic hinge point" that began under President Reagan. Buttigieg said Americans in 2016 "voted to burn the house down" when they elected Trump, adding, "That's what they got."

Buttigieg nuanced any criticism of House Speaker Nancy Pelosi for slow walking impeachment, saying, "Even though I have revealed myself to be ambitious in that I'm a young man running for president, I'd also think twice before offering strategic advice to Nancy Pelosi."

Asked by a woman why people of her gender should vote for a man for president, Buttigieg referenced Hillary Clinton, saying, "We ought to have a woman in the White House right now."

Asked if he backed the resignation of Sen. Al Franken over sexual harassment allegations, Buttigieg said, "I would not have applied that pressure at that time, before we knew more," adding, "it's not a bad thing that we hold ourselves to a higher standard."

On the topic of tariffs, Buttigieg said, "We will each pay \$800 a year" on the tariffs. "Republicans don't believe in raising taxes, but that's what they're doing now."

Toward the end of the show, Matthews showed a clip of a young Buttigieg asking Gephardt a question during a town hall at Harvard. "Give back to your country, don't just take from it," Gephardt advised the future mayor.

Appearing on a screen above the town hall at Fresno State University, Gephardt said, "Amen, Pete, you really took me seriously, didn't you?"

Gephardt questioned the mayor about the current

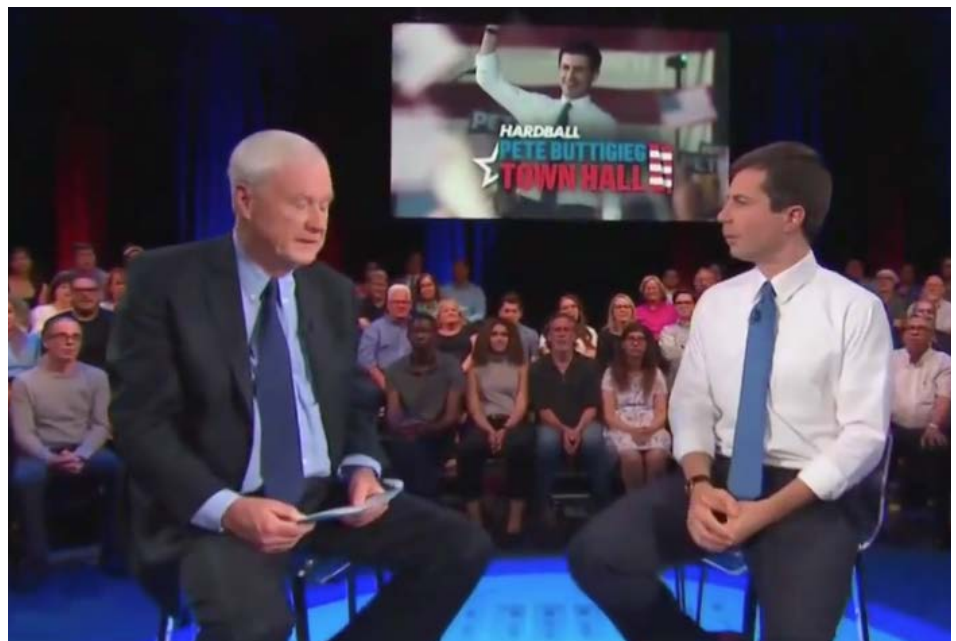
state of affairs. "People just want to know they are going to be OK," Buttigieg said. "People individually and collectively, we can become worse when we are not secure ... and it makes it possible for a cynical leader to draw out the worst of us. You can also use the tools and the skills you learn as an elected leader to draw out the best in people. That, even more than policy, administration and management, that is the thing that we're most missing in the White House right now."

Asked by Matthews if there was a "living Republican" he respects, Buttigieg paused, then said, "Aw, I had such a great answer if it wasn't living." Buttigieg then said "Wendell Willkie," adding, "He was from Indiana. He put country before party."

Fellow Hoosier Vice President Mike Pence came up once when Matthews said, "Let's talk about the people – not like Mike Pence – who are never going to vote for you for all kinds of reasons."

"Hey, there's hope for everybody," Buttigieg responded.

Buttigieg has used the town halls on CNN, Fox News and now MSNBC to project his campaign into the upper tier of candidates, though former vice president Joe



Biden has an Real Clear Politics advantage of 18% lead over the field. Buttigieg echoed a sentiment he said when he urged California Democrats to keep moving "forward" at their convention last Saturday.

"Democrats can no more keep a promise to take us back to the 2000s and 1990s than conservatives can keep promises to take us back to the 1950s," he said. "The riskiest thing we can do is to try too hard to play it safe."

Buttigieg faces a big June. He hopes to post impressive second quarter FEC funds to augment his standing as an upper tier candidate. His biggest opportunity to take over the role of "frontrunner" will come with the first Democratic debates in Miami June 26-27.

Polling Data

Poll	Date	Biden	Sanders	Warren	Harris	Buttigieg	O'Rourke	Booker	Klobuchar	Castro	Yang	Gabbard	Ryan	Williamson	Spread
RCP Average	5/11 - 5/30	35.0	16.5	9.0	7.5	5.8	3.8	2.3	1.5	1.2	1.0	0.7	0.7	0.5	Biden +18.5
Harvard-Harris	5/29 - 5/30	36	17	5	8	5	4	3	0	1	1	0	1	0	Biden +19
Morning Consult	5/20 - 5/26	38	20	9	7	7	4	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	Biden +18
Quinnipiac	5/16 - 5/20	35	16	13	8	5	2	3	2	1	1	1	0	0	Biden +19
Monmouth	5/16 - 5/20	33	15	10	11	6	4	1	3	1	1	1	0	1	Biden +18
The Hill/HarrisX	5/17 - 5/18	33	14	8	6	6	5	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	Biden +19
FOX News	5/11 - 5/14	35	17	9	5	6	4	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	Biden +18

Buttigieg staffs up

The Buttigieg campaign continues to staff up. George Hornedo is the national delegate director, Jillian Maryonovich is creative director, Ann Mei Chang is chief innovation officer, Tess Whittlesey and Marisol Samayoa are deputy national press secretaries; Constance Boozer is surrogate communications director, and Manuel Bonder is media monitor. Veteran Democratic ad makers Larry Grisolan and John Del Cecato of AKPD Message and Media signed on to consult for the campaign. The campaign has 80 staffers. Politico report that the campaign held a retreat last week and rolled out a set of guiding principles for staff.

Buttigieg seeks massive money haul

Buttigieg is aiming to shake the Democratic presidential race with a massive fundraising total this quarter, staking his claim in the top tier of the primary and demonstrating staying power after rocketing to prominence two months ago (Politico). Buttigieg is encouraging moneyed supporters to juice his campaign's fundraising with a new bundling program, details of which were recently circulated to some donors and obtained by POLITICO. Members at different levels of the program pledge to raise anywhere from \$25,000 to \$250,000 for Buttigieg over the course of the primary campaign and receive special perks, including briefings with the candidate and senior campaign staff.

Buttigieg blasts Trump over USS McCain

Buttigieg was critical of President Trump's treatment of the USS John McCain during his Memorial Day state visit to Japan. "This is not a show. Our military is not a prop. Ships and sailors are not to be toyed with for the benefit of a fragile president's ego," Buttigieg tweeted Thursday. It came after multiple media reports surfaced that the White House sought to hide the USS John McCain during Trump's visit. Trump said he didn't order the snub but said the White House effort was "well meaning." The Wall Street Journal reported that in addition to instructions for the proper landing areas for helicopters and preparation for the USS Wasp—where the president was scheduled to speak—the official issued a third directive: "USS John McCain needs to be out of sight." The White House official wrote, "Please confirm #3 will be satisfied." A tarp was hung over the ship's name ahead of the president's

trip, according to photos reviewed by the Journal, and sailors were directed to remove any coverings from the ship that bore its name. After the tarp was taken down, a barge was moved closer to the ship, obscuring its name.

Biden lead narrows in CNN Poll

Former Vice President Joe Biden continues to be the top pick for the Democratic nomination for president among Democrats and Democratic-leaning registered voters, according to a new CNN poll conducted by SSRS, but his support has faded some since just after the official launch of his campaign. That shift comes as more potential Democratic primary voters say they have made up their minds about whom to support (44% say so, up 8 points since April), even before the top 20 candidates take the stage for the first formal debates of this cycle, set for later this month. The poll finds 32% support Biden, down from 39% saying they supported him in an April CNN poll. That survey was fielded in the days immediately following Biden's formal entry into the race. Since then, the former vice president has been running with an eye toward protecting his early advantages, making fewer public appearances than his fellow candidates even as they begin to turn their fire on him. Vermont Sen. Bernie Sanders continues to stand alone in second place with 18%, followed by California Sen. Kamala Harris with 8%, 7% for Massachusetts Sen. Elizabeth Warren and 5% each for Buttigieg and former Texas congressman Beto O'Rourke.

Models project Trump victory in 2020

Three analysts who set up and look at predictive models say President Donald Trump is likely to win reelection in 2020. The secret? A combination of favorable economic data as well as the normal advantage that incumbents enjoy, according to Steven Rattner, a counselor to the Treasury secretary in the Obama administration. In a column for the New York Times, Rattner notes that "one of the best" models to predict election outcomes makes clear that Trump is likely to receive a significant tailwind from the economy. Ray Fair, a professor at Yale, has come up with a model that takes into account GDP growth rates, inflation, and incumbency and has been quite accurate in previous cycles. According to that model, Trump's vote share should be as high as 56.1% in the next election, although in reality the divisiveness of the candidate means

the actual number won't be as high.

Dems must impeach, says Prof. Lichtman

An American University professor who has correctly predicted the last nine presidential elections says President Trump will win the 2020 election unless congressional Democrats, "grow a spine," CNN reported (The Hill). Allan Lichtman, a political historian, said Democrats only have a shot at the White House if they begin impeachment proceedings against Trump, calling the decision both "constitutionally" and "politically" right in the wake of special counsel Robert Mueller's investigation into Russian interference in the 2016 presidential election. "It's a false dichotomy to say Democrats have a choice between doing what is right and what is constitutional and what is politically right. Impeachment is also politically right," Lichtman told CNN's Brooke Baldwin on Wednesday. Lichtman has developed a system of 13 "key factors" that help determine whether the party in the White House will maintain its hold, according to CNN. The factors range from whether the party has an incumbent president running to the country's short- and long-term economic conditions to foreign policy successes and failures. If the party loses out

on six factors or more, he says they will lose the presidency. Lichtman says the Trump administration is down three key factors: Republican losses in the midterms elections, a "lack of foreign policy success" and Trump's "limited appeal to voters," CNN reported. Impeachment would trigger a fourth key, scandal over the proceeding's public nature. "Let's not forget, impeachment is not just a vote in the House," Lichtman said. "It involves public hearings as part of the impeachment inquiry, and, what everyone forgets, a public trial in the Senate in which House prosecutors present evidence, present documents, make opening and closing statements." Lichtman cited scandal as a central factor in former Vice President Al Gore's loss in the 2000 presidential election after President Clinton's impeachment process. "Democrats are fundamentally wrong about the politics of impeachment and their prospects for victory in 2020," Lichtman told CNN's Chris Cillizza on Tuesday.

Mayors

Merritt not welcome at gay pride parade

Sen. Merritt is "not welcome" at this weekend's parade celebrating the LGBTQ community, organizer Indy



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Pride said Monday on social media (Colombo, IBJ). "He is not an ally and not welcome at our events due to his track record," the group tweeted Monday evening about Merritt. Organizer Chris Handberg said Merritt's vote in 2015 for the "notorious 'religious freedom' bill was one reason why Merritt is not welcome.

General Assembly

Seven seek HD93 tonight

The final roster of candidates vying to fill the remainder of former Rep. David Frizzell's term has been set (Howey Politics Indiana). The caucus will be held at 6:30 tonight the Perry Township Government Center located at 4925 Shelby St., Indianapolis, IN 46227. The candidates are: Megan Dugan, Shawn Gardner, Melinda Griesemer, Joe Mulinaro, Dollyne Sherman, Jim Sullivan and Robert Turner.

Governor

Melton announcing exploratory committee

State Sen. Eddie Melton will announce the formation of a gubernatorial exploratory committee and state-

wide listening tour at the Gary Teachers Union. Melton will be joined by teachers, parents, and working community members to discuss Indiana's future and how Hoosiers can re-prioritize education funding, affordable healthcare and economic opportunity to create good-paying jobs here in Indiana. Melton joins a potential field that includes State Rep. Karlee Macer and former Indiana and New York City health commissioner Woody Myers, who told HPI last month he was nearing a decision to run.

Macer changes campaign moniker

Rep. Macer recently changed the name of her Facebook account to "Karlee for Indiana," and amended the name of her campaign committee to "Karlee for Indiana" from "Karlee D. Macer for State Representative 92" (Carden, NWI Times). Records also show the currently blank website karleeforindiana.com was claimed May 2 through the GoDaddy registrar system by an unnamed Indiana resident. In addition, Macer surrogates this month have issued press releases pertaining to state issues on Macer's behalf from an email address connected to the karleeforindiana.com domain. "I am seriously evaluating the path forward and how I can further contribute to our state," Macer said. ❖

Indiana Manufacturing's Economic Impact

547,000
Hoosier Manufacturing Jobs
Highest Percentage in the U.S.

28.6%
Indiana GDP
#1 in the U.S.

\$15,205
GDP Per Capita
#1 in the U.S.

Indiana's Leading Advocate for Industry
IMA Indiana Manufacturers Association
www.imaweb.com

What Indiana Makes, Makes Indiana

Buttigieg is good for South Bend tourism

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND — This past week, Japan. That after France, Denmark, the United Kingdom and Canada. Soon, France again.

My busy vacation travels? No, although I've been to Chicago.



Those are the foreign countries with broadcast or print journalists interviewing me. Not asking about me, of course, but about the mayor of South Bend. Never had foreign journalists come before to ask questions about a South Bend mayor.

But this is about Mayor Pete, Pete Buttigieg, now viewed even abroad as a surprising, very surprising, and serious, very serious, contender for the Democratic nomination for president.

Will he make it?

"Still a long shot," I told a Japanese camera crew last week.

"Long shot? What does that mean?" the reporter asked. A saying like that, an American idiom, isn't always understood even by someone who has learned perfect English.

The parade to South Bend by journalists from this country obviously is far larger than the number reporting for viewers, listeners and readers in other countries. Chris Matthews was here to interview the mayor for his MSNBC "Hardball" program on the same day of the Japanese TV visit. (Chris had a most unusual mispronunciation of Pete's last name).

The Buttigieg presidential campaign has become a local business enterprise attracting lots of "tourists," not only journalists but also hundreds of people who come to seek employment with or to volunteer for the campaign.

It's a growing business. The presidential campaign headquarters, now with about 45 people, will be moving for the second time to a larger site, taking up an entire floor of

the Key Bank Building downtown.

Mike Schmuhl, Buttigieg's campaign manager, says that overall staff, including people working in other states, such as Iowa and New Hampshire, is approaching 80.

While the focus of the campaign will be nationwide, Schmuhl says that the headquarters will remain in South Bend, not move to New York or Washington or some other media and transportation center.

Buttigieg's campaign was in retreat at the end of the week.

Not that kind of retreat.

It was a retreat of the type many businesses stage to get employees out of their usual work routines for a couple days to get together to meet in a convivial atmosphere, getting to know one another better, build camaraderie and teamwork and clarify overall goals.

Is this unique for a presidential campaign? No, Schmuhl says, other presidential candidates have held retreats. It enabled some Buttigieg staffers to meet each other for the first time. About 70 people attended. Yep, a little more tourism, and it was important for these tourists to become familiar with South Bend, the city their candidate cites constantly in his campaigning around the nation.

The visiting journalists ask myriad questions, many similar, some unique.

The only one I wouldn't answer was: "Would you vote for him for president?"

I don't say how I vote or recommend how others should. That's up to an editorial board.

They all seek to find if there is some lurking scandal. I say you can't prove there isn't but that I know of none (and would report it myself if I knew) and that I would be surprised if there is some smoking gun somewhere.

Journalists coming from afar seem impressed by developments in a bustling downtown, not Rust Belt deterioration they imagined. Did Mayor Pete do all of this? No. But his "can do" determination was a factor. Big factor.

They also ask about crime and poverty. Too much of each exists.


Just as the mayor doesn't deserve total credit for all the positive, he shouldn't be blamed for not abolishing all of the negative.

Whether impressed or unimpressed about the mayor's presidential prospects, the visiting journalists seem to leave with a favorable impression of South Bend. A tourism plus. ❖

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

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'Business-centric' model is wrong

By MICHAEL HICKS

MUNCIE – Any economy is a wondrously complex affair with far too many interactions to reasonably observe or even begin to understand through direct observation. Most of us play infinitesimal roles in a large economy and can master one, or perhaps two, professions.



Families organize themselves in many different ways, undertaking complex lifetime earnings and production decisions in ways that seem mysterious to even close observers. These decisions include where to live, how to work and vacation, when to retire and what to buy across a huge spectrum of items.

Firms are simply organizations of households, be they a single hotdog vendor or a multinational organization. Households supply labor and capital to these firms, and interact with other firms in ways that dazzle. A typical Walmart in a dusty backwater will offer for sale a full 80,000 different products in a given week.

Governments intervene well and badly in this economy, enforcing contracts, locking up criminals, regulating pollution and a hundred million less valuable contributions. This complexity means we have to understand our economy through simplified models. All science works this way, and it is a mistake to suppose it can be otherwise. In fact, one way to think about the way scientists organize themselves into different disciplines involves broad agreement in one set of models.

Thus, it should be unsurprising that there is very little disagreement among economists about the basic models of the economy. We actually call these textbook models for that very reason. Even when we dissent from these textbook models, it is usually about the magnitude of effects. I use the minimum wage issue as an example. There is disagreement within the profession over the effects of the minimum wage on employment. But, the debate isn't about whether or not the model is valid, but whether the supply or demand side dominates, or even more fundamentally, whether we can measure either of these well.

The most common mistake non-economists make when thinking about the economy lies not in this sort of interpretation of a model, but in choosing an entirely wrong model of the economy. By far the most common of these is what I call the 'business-centric' model. This used to be called mercantilism, and was a common view as late as the 1700s. Why it is wrong is easy to distill into just a few observations.

For an individual firm, growing profits are fabulous. For an overall economy, growing profits could be a sign of monopoly, which might be disastrous to growth and innovation. For a firm, growing wages can be calamitous, but for an economy, it could signal broad and healthy productivity growth. Individual businesses are critical to an economy, but economies do not run like a business. This has been well known since the days of King George III.

Mistaking the economy of a nation or region as one giant company can lead to deep policy mistakes. One example is international trade. Viewing nations as two large businesses vying with one another for market share seems to inspire our current trade war. In fact, the opposite is true. Trade is not competition, but cooperation between nations. Friendly nations trade, competitors do not. The mercantilist or 'business-centric' model of the economy cannot explain any of the results of foreign trade, like the simple fact that U.S. economy has more than doubled in the past 30 years of trade with China.

The business model is not bad because it offers inconvenient predictions; it is bad because its predictions are nearly uniformly wrong. But, the use of the 'business model' isn't only confined to the current trade war. The obsession with focusing solely on business success is an equally bad way to view the health of an economy. Let me offer two examples.

The myopic view of business costs as a primary local problem in economic development leads to the excessive use of tax incentives. Viewed through the 'business-centric' prism, every reduction in business taxes is optimal for the region. I could explain why this is true by noting the importance of broad, low taxes in creating an environment that is conducive for both businesses and households. Instead, I'll just note that the 'business-centric' model would predict that high tax places like San Francisco, Boston and New York would be ghost towns.

Still, the most egregious 'business-centric' policy is our state's workforce development policies. As I have written before, about four years ago, the state's broad workforce development apparatus shifted its focus from a worker-centered to a business-centered mission. One of many bad consequences is the myopic focus on delivering trained workers to Hoosier businesses. While this sounds credible (just like the tax and tariff policies), this emphasis has helped over-supply low-skilled workers while a shrinking share of Hoosiers pursued higher education. This policy shift marks a radical departure from the aspirational goals of earlier administrations.

One result is a major divergence of employment quality in Indiana. Since 2010, less than 17% of new Hoosier jobs have gone to college graduates. Nationwide, the share is now 74.4%. To be sure, there are more factors than bad workforce development policies contributing to this troubling trend. However, if our state government is going to influence decisions about college and workforce choices, it should at least apply some elementary economics to the process. Instead, our workforce policies are

doing harm, precisely because those entrusted to contrive and deliver them are using a discredited 'business-centric' model.

Just to make sure I do not confuse the picture, this is not an argument for a state-level technocracy. I would not advise we elect or appoint public officials based primarily upon their understanding of economic modeling. But, it is useful to place in context the credibility of the current policy atmosphere.

The 'business-centric' model of the economy was discredited by the 1770s, at about the time germ theory was becoming well understood to science and more than a

half-century before bloodletting was fully condemned as a medical procedure. That we still derive policy lessons from the 'business-centric' model makes about as much sense as it would for us to have a state health commissioner who was just reading up on germ theory and still practiced bloodletting. ❖

Hicks, PhD, is the director of the Center for Business and Economic Research and the George and Frances Ball Distinguished Professor of Economics in the Miller College of Business at Ball State University.

Persuasion is at the heart of democracy

By LEE HAMILTON

BLOOMINGTON – I am lucky enough these days to be in regular touch with young people – students – who are interested in public service. I find hope in their quality, energy, and motivation, and they press me to think more deeply about what it takes to pursue a life in the public realm.



In trying to answer that question, I've come to believe that at the heart of it all – indeed, at the heart of representative democracy itself – is persuasion. If you're trying to improve society you have to persuade other people about issues, facts, proposals, legislation, strategy, tactics ... In fact, the only way to get things done is to convince other people to join in. If we can't persuade them, we can't move forward.

I was seated once in a private airport terminal, waiting for a plane to fly me home to Indiana. Someone walked in, and I looked up to find Martin Luther King, Jr. He was alone. This was a bit before the peak of his celebrity, but most Americans would have recognized him even then. We chatted for a long time as we waited, and one of the things that struck me most deeply was that he was a minister of the gospel and a civil rights leader, I was a politician, yet we shared a deep and abiding interest in the question of how you persuade people to your side.

I saw the same quality in another masterful public figure, Lyndon Johnson. Not only was he a remarkably persuasive politician himself — he always had on his mind, 'What do I have to do by word or by deed to get your support?' — but he was a student of how effective or ineffective others were.

From time to time, he'd have members of his

cabinet speak to a group of assembled members of Congress, sometimes just a small group of us, sometimes a large roomful. He would take a seat in the front row, turn his chair around so that his back was to the speaker, and look out over the room. It was clear he wasn't interested in what they were saying; he was interested in the impact of what they said. In other words, he was interested in whether or not they were persuasive.

In a democracy like ours, you need help from allies, partners, friends, sometimes even antagonists — because you're trying to find common ground on a particular issue and build coalitions of support. This means that you have to convince others to do something for your benefit, which is difficult. Your chances are best when you can convince them that it's in their best interest. To do so, you have to listen carefully, learn what's important to them, and appeal to their values and interests. You also have to gain their trust, because if they think you're a liar, you're not going to persuade them to your side.

This, in turn, requires several things. Above all, you have to know what you're talking about and master the facts. You need to study the issue at hand, so that you're familiar with the arguments on all sides; being well-informed boosts your credibility.

And I was struck, when I was in Congress, by the tactics members used to appeal to people who often had different backgrounds, priorities and perspectives. They mentioned precedents, sought to connect to their listeners' core values, compared their proposals to the alternatives, cited experts, and knew how much public support or major interest-group support they had.

This is how we decide things in this country; we listen, we argue, we cajole, we compromise, and we persuade. The whole process can get untidy, and it's tough work in today's polarized, hyper-partisan environment.

But as we continue to try to answer Abraham Lincoln's 1863 question — whether a nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure — here's what I tell the students thinking of going into public service: that it is an extraordinary privilege to be part of a system, representative democracy, that gives you the opportunity to persuade others, and by doing so to chart the future course. ❖

Peggy Noonan, Wall Street Journal: The investigation is complete, his office is closed, he returns to private life. And Robert Mueller leaves in his wake a great murk, doesn't he? Even in his statement this week, presumably aimed in part at making things clearer, he spoke between the lines. What did he say, between the lines? Apparently I was too subtle for you. Apparently you are a large, balky mule in need of being hit over the head with a stick. So let me try again. I cannot bring federal charges against a sitting president because I believe it is constitutionally prohibited. And since there couldn't be a trial, it would be unfair to leave him unable to defend himself. But someone else, according to the Constitution, can bring charges. Someone else can hold a public trial. Who? It rhymes with shmongress. Good luck, shmongressmen. Mr. Mueller is a serious man who in a long career has earned the respect in which he is held. But he's slipped out of public life on a banana peel, hasn't he? He was the investigator. He led the probe. He should have advised Attorney General William Barr of his views as to whether the actions of the president merited federal charges, and let Mr. Barr take it from there. If Justice Department guidelines had been otherwise—if federal charges could be brought against a sitting president—would Mr. Mueller have recommended them? That's the question. Instead we get "If we had had confidence that the president clearly did not commit a crime, we would have said so." Oh. Independent counsel Ken Starr wasn't so shy with Bill Clinton: His 1998 report outlined to Congress 11 possible grounds for impeachment. I'm sure Mr. Mueller was trying to demonstrate probity. But it looked to me like a loss of nerve. The spirit of impeachment is now given a boost. It is still a terrible idea. ❖



Jennifer Rubin, Washington Post: During an interview in Washington on Thursday, The Post's Robert Costa tried his best to get Democratic presidential candidate and South Bend, Ind., Mayor Pete Buttigieg to say something negative about fellow candidate Joe Biden. Part of the old guard? Defended credit card companies? Responsible for mass incarceration as a result of the 1994 crime bill? But each time, Buttigieg calmly sidestepped the invitation to go after the former vice president, while using the opportunity to lay out policy differences ("I have a difference of opinion with anybody who favors credit card companies over consumers"), and demonstrating his wonkish knowledge. "And when you look at the circumstances that lead to violence and other harms, you look at the kind of adverse childhood experiences that can set somebody back in life: exposure to violence is one, exposure to drug use is one, incarceration of a parent is one," he said in discussing the 1994 crime bill. "So, the mass incarceration that may have felt in a knee-jerk way as a way to be tough on crime in the '90s is now one generation later being visited upon communities today

through the absence of parents." Buttigieg's bluntness, succinctness and even-keeled delivery help him score TV-memorable points. During the same interview, he went after President Trump's "bone spurs" excuse to get out of fighting in the Vietnam War: "If you're a conscientious objector, I'd admire that. But this is somebody who, I think it's fairly obvious to most of us, took advantage of the fact that he was the child of a multimillionaire to pretend to be disabled so that somebody could go to war in his place." Is the president a racist? "If you do racist things and say racist things, the question of whether that makes you a racist is almost academic," Buttigieg said. "The problem with the president is that he does and says racist things and gives cover to other racists." Buttigieg also has begun to use his military service to his advantage. As someone who served in Afghanistan, his response to Trump's promise to pardon war criminals was a particularly effective. He explained, "If you are convicted by a jury of your military peers of having committed a war crime, the idea that the president is going to overrule that is an affront to the basic idea of good order and discipline, and to the idea of law, the very thing we believe we're putting our lives on the line to defend." ❖

Peter Van Buren, American Conservative: As another Memorial Day came and went, Mayor Pete Buttigieg was criticizing President Donald Trump for reportedly considering pardons for several service members accused of war crimes. He called the idea "slander against veterans that could only come from somebody who never served." The 37-year-old Democrat mocked the president, saying, "I don't have a problem standing up to somebody who was working on *Celebrity Apprentice* when I was packing my bags for Afghanistan." Mayor Pete also defended NFL national anthem protests, declaring, "Trump would get it if he had served." He claimed he'd "put his life on the line" for those rights. Buttigieg gets away unchallenged with these shots because critical thought on military service is the third rail of journalism. But context matters. Buttigieg did all of six months in 2014 as a reservist deep inside Bagram Airfield, mostly as a personal driver for his boss, locked and loaded inside a Toyota Land Cruiser. It is unlikely he ever ate a cold meal in Afghanistan. On the campaign trail, Buttigieg refers to himself "as the first veteran president since George H.W. Bush." Meanwhile, Democratic presidential candidate Seth Moulton was a platoon commander in the initial company of Marines that entered Baghdad in 2003, returning for a total of four combat deployments. Tulsi Gabbard did two full tours in the Middle East, one inside Iraq. Everyone at war has different experiences, and unless you're the dude who held bin Laden's still-beating heart in his hand (and then took a bite out of it), someone had it tougher than you. But Mayor Pete is milking his service for all it is worth politically, stretching a short tour into civics lessons he suggests can't be learned any other way. ❖

House passes disaster relief

WASHINGTON — House Democrats finally managed to pass a \$19.1 billion disaster relief bill Monday, sending the measure on to President Donald Trump, who is expected to sign it. The 354-58 vote came after Republican conservatives blocked the bill from advancing on three separate occasions while lawmakers were away on a week-long recess — an appropriately acrimonious legislative finale after months of partisan discord (Politico). Once it's signed into law, the bill will unlock billions of dollars in grant funding and reimbursement cash for communities still recovering from hurricanes, tornadoes, volcanic eruptions, extreme flooding, wildfires and typhoons. "It's been protracted. It's so long — longer than I've ever heard," Senate Appropriations Chairman Richard Shelby (R-Ala.) said Monday night about the process of negotiating the disaster aid deal. "A lot of people were waiting too long. I think we could do better. I don't think it was our best show."

Judge Barker hears state abortion case

INDIANAPOLIS — A federal judge grilled an attorney for the state of Indiana on Monday over whether the Legislature had legitimate reasons for approving a law that would largely ban a second-trimester abortion procedure (AP). The American Civil Liberties Union of Indiana is seeking a preliminary injunction blocking the restrictions on dilation and evacuation abortions, which the legislation calls "dismemberment abortion." During a hearing on that request, U.S. District Judge Sarah Evans Barker questioned why the state would force women seeking an abortion to undergo "highly risky" alternative procedures, such as prematurely inducing labor or injecting fatal drugs into the fetus be-

fore its removal. Barker balked at the possibility that a surgical opening of the uterus might be needed in some instances. "My goodness, that hardly seems like a solution to this," she said. The measure passed by Indiana's Republican-dominated Legislature and signed by GOP Gov. Eric Holcomb would make it illegal for doctors to use medical instruments to remove a fetus from the womb except to save the pregnant woman's life or prevent serious health risk.



Clay resigns from Indy Council

INDIANAPOLIS — Stephen Clay has resigned from the City-Council (WIBC). His resignation as representative of the city's 13th district was effective Monday at noon, according to city spokesperson Angela Plank. Clay had previously stepped down as council president on Feb. 19, 2018 after only six weeks on the job.

Rep. Pence cites 'Mueller fatigue'

INDIANAPOLIS — The first five months in office for U.S. Rep. Greg Pence, R-Ind., have been a whirlwind of setting up district offices, meeting with constituents, getting acclimated to the job and working on legislation (Columbus Republic). And all of that has been amid the looming question of whether House Democrats will attempt impeachment proceedings against President Donald Trump, for what they perceive as impeachable offenses following the conclusion of a two-year investigation by special counsel Robert Mueller into Russia's meddling in the 2016 presidential election, and whether the president and his campaign colluded with Russia in its efforts. Pence, 62, a Columbus resident, said he thinks the country is suffering from "Mueller fatigue" and is ready to move on. "It doesn't seem that the (Democratic) leadership has much appetite to pursue impeach-

ment. You hear different interpretations of the Mueller Report. I've moved on. In my heart, I know that the president and the campaign did not collude, and as far as obstruction, to me, it's pretty clear Mueller didn't recommend any charges be brought, and I think that was his responsibility," the freshman congressman said.

Mexico cracks down on immigrants

TAPACHULA, Mexico — They arrived at dusk, dressed for combat, pouring from government vehicles. A phalanx of military and police personnel swarmed a small hotel in the center of Tapachula, this scrappy city near Mexico's border with Guatemala. Their target: undocumented migrants (New York Times). Agents rushed door to door, hauling people away, while migrants shouted or ran out the back, scampering over the rooftops of neighboring homes, witnesses said. It was one of several raids here last week to sweep up migrants, part of a broad Mexican crackdown against the surge of Central Americans and others streaming toward the United States. In recent weeks, the Mexican authorities have been breaking up migrant caravans and setting up round-the-clock roadblocks along common routes north.

House Dems to vote on contempt

WASHINGTON — The chairman of the House Oversight Committee said Monday that the panel would vote to hold Attorney General William P. Barr and Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross in contempt for failing to comply with a bipartisan subpoena for documents on a Trump administration plan to add a citizenship question to the 2020 census (Washington Post). The panel's chairman, Rep. Elijah E. Cummings (D-Md.), announced the move in letters to Barr and Ross on Monday. He gave them until Thursday to comply and raised the possibility of delaying the vote if they cooperate.