



Holcomb prepares for his reelect

Governor talks of his plans for teacher pay, combatting addiction, his marijuana policy

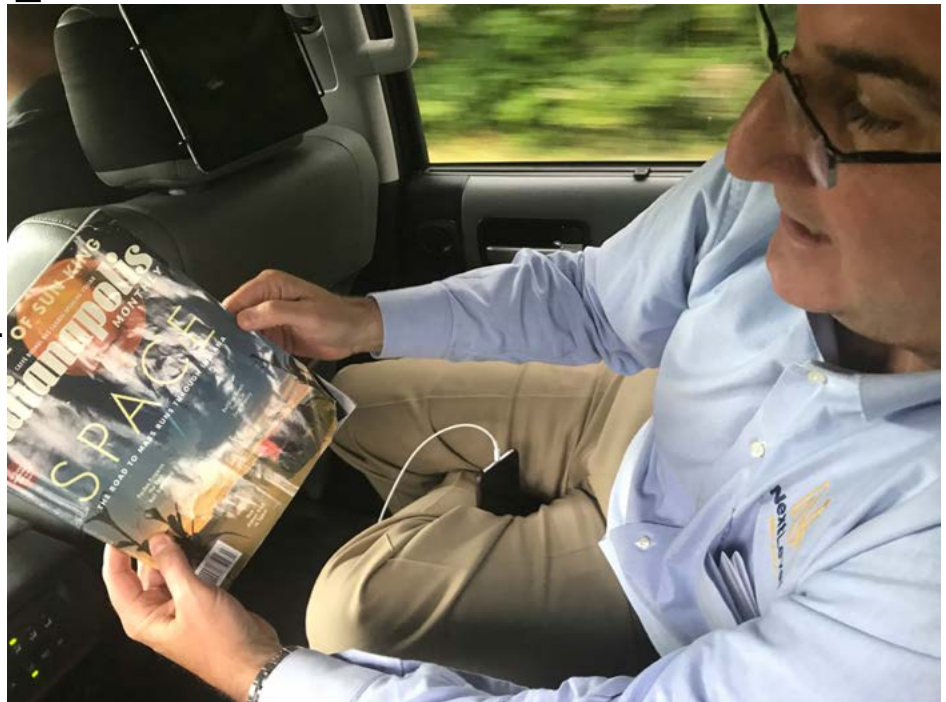
By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

NEW ALBANY – The road to the Clark County Fair in Charlestown took Gov. Eric Holcomb and myself past State Rep.

Jim Lucas's town of Seymour, past the heroin-HIV torn city of Austin in Scott County, past the sprawling River Ridge

development between Jeffersonville and Charlestown as we conducted this interview.

When we arrived at the fair, Holcomb and Indiana Republican Chairman Kyle Hupfer were met by Clark County Sheriff Jamey Noel. This will be the nexus of the governor's reelection bid.



Hupfer will manage the campaign; Noel is the chairman. This will be Holcomb's first gubernatorial campaign de-

Continued on page 3

Dems take the bait

By **JACK COLWELL**

SOUTH BEND – They took the bait. Just as President Trump knew they would. Just as he made it almost impossible for them not to snap back, snap at the bait.

Just as he planned.

So, there they were on television, all four of them, the ultra-progressive Democratic congresswomen who stir controversy in their own party caucus. There they were with saturation coverage for days, appearing as the face of the Democratic Party.

And right after House Speaker Nancy Pelosi had somewhat successfully



“Today, I voted to condemn the racially offensive remarks the leader of our country made.”

- U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks, voting for a House resolution condemning President Trump for ‘racist’ tweets. She was just one of four Republicans to do so.





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

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

Subscriptions

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

Contact HPI

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

© 2019, **Howey Politics Indiana**. All rights reserved.
 Photocopying, Internet forwarding, faxing or reproducing in any form, whole or part, is a violation of federal law without permission from the publisher.



pushed them farther from the spotlight, portraying them as rogue rather than representative of the Democratic House caucus. Pelosi did so out of concern that their strident calls for impeachment and insistence on pushing for what now is politically impossible could endanger chances of Democrats retaining control of the House.

Trump baited a Twitter trap, insulting the four congresswomen of color and telling them to “go back” to the “totally broken and crime infested” countries “from which they came.”

He clearly was targeting Congresswomen Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York, Ilhan Omar of Minnesota, Ayanna Pressley of Massachusetts and Rashida Tlaib of Michigan. All are American citizens. Three were born in this country and the other came here as a child.

While there was nothing funny about the president’s racist attack, it was humorous to hear some talking heads on news channels questioning the next morning whether the president would take back the outrageous comments or address it at all with the news media at the White House later that day.

Take back anything? Of course not. Never.

Address it at the White House? Of course. And he doubled down on his attack, saying they hate America and are dangerous socialists, maybe communists.

He goaded them into responding. They had to.

At their news conference live on television, the congresswomen deplored the president’s racist ways that

go beyond the attacks on them. They avoided scary “socialist” rhetoric that the president no doubt hoped they would spiel. But two did take the bait to call for impeaching the president, a call he welcomes as a sign to his supporters that Democrats are scheming to overturn the 2016 election before awaiting a new election.

The president knew exactly what he was doing. Same tactics he used to win the presidency. Same tactics he has used throughout his presidency.

He says the outrageous to draw attention. Often it’s to distract from some of his administration’s problems and failures, usually it’s to provide red meat for his base. Frequently it’s to bait outraged critics to respond in ways that he wants.

Some analysts are saying that Trump made a mistake this time, bringing Democrats together just when there were signs of friction between the speaker and the outspoken progressives.

Sure, all the House Democrats were unified in deploring the racist attack on the progressive congresswomen. But that doesn’t mean future agreement on whether to seek impeachment now and to push for changes that cannot come until after the next election.

And the president was successful in getting the four congresswomen to appear as the face of the Democratic Party. Many Democrats looked proudly at the four congresswomen as proof of the diversity of the party.

The Trump base didn’t look

fondly at that diversity. And all the allegations that the four are scary socialists – or “a bunch of communists,” as Sen. Lindsey Graham said – is what Trump wants to spread beyond his base to others, especially in the key Middle America states where the election will be decided.

The president knows he isn’t widely popular. But if he can again convince enough voters that the Democratic

nominee is even scarier than he is, he can win reelection. That’s why he put out the bait to get the face of the Democratic Party pictured just the way he wants it. ❖

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

Holcomb Interview, from page 1

signed with structure and order. It comes as a new Morning Consult Poll released this morning put his approval at 50%, disapproval at 28% with 22% having no opinion.

Noel said of Holcomb, “He can relate to anybody he’s talking to, no matter what the subject. I’ve seen him handle people who have walked up and in my view to be confrontational. I’ve seen some of those people wanting to pick a fight walking away scratching their heads. He relates well with everybody, whether they’re a congressman, a state senator or state rep, or some kid walking up.”

Minutes later, while at the Clark County Fair, Holcomb found himself surrounded by teachers wearing red ISTA shirts. Some governors and many politicians might have shied away from what would be perceived as a confrontation. Holcomb spent almost 15 minutes in an animated and sometimes emotional conversation with the educators.

Holcomb told the teachers the state used \$150 million to retire local school corporation debt freeing up funds for pay raises, adding that in addition, “We designated \$37 million for teacher appreciation grants. So is it not getting to you?” One of the teachers wearing a red ISTA T-shirt responded, “It’s not getting to us.” Holcomb turned to another teacher, saying, “Someone told me you were the local bargainer.” The man responded, “Yeah. It goes to the district, then we have to bargain for it.”

The exchange signals a coming reckoning for local school boards, who were also supposed to benefit from an additional \$763 million in K-12 funding increases in the biennial budget passed in April and extend the funding for teacher pay raises. It’s designed to provide some immediate pay raises to teachers while the administration conducts a two-year study to come up with a comprehensive strategy to increase teacher pay. Holcomb told HPI after the exchange that the state will seek metrics to determine how much of the \$187 million in new monies actually ended up in teacher paychecks.

In 2016, Holcomb didn’t receive the nomination until late July when the 22-member Indiana Republican Central Committee voted on a replacement after Gov. Mike Pence resigned to run with Donald Trump on the presidential ticket. Thus began what Holcomb and then-campaign

manager Mike O’Brien likened to building an airplane in mid-flight. It was the “100-day campaign” that ended with Holcomb’s stunning 7% upset of Democrat John Gregg, who had been favored over the embattled Pence, who passed along only a fraction of his total war chest to Holcomb.

The 2016 Holcomb campaign was like shoveling coal in the engine to keep it running. This campaign is vastly different. Holcomb sits on a \$7.2 million war chest.



Gov. Holcomb with Indiana Republican Chairman Kyle Hupfer (left) who will run his reelection campaign, and Clark County Sheriff Jamey Noel (center), who will chair the campaign. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

His approval in internal GOP polling is 61%. Only one Democrat challenger, Dr. Woody Myers, has emerged. Indiana Republicans control 80% of all county offices and have a vast network in place. Indiana Democrats are confined to Indianapolis, Lake County and the university communities.

So, this conversation took place as we drove down I-65. Around Seymour, there was about 20 miles of construction as the interstate expands to six lanes, emblematic of Holcomb’s 20-year, \$20 billion plan to revive the state’s crumbling infrastructure. I asked Holcomb about his vision for the state when he might leave office in 2025 if he fulfills his heavy, front-running status. We talked about the first term disappointments and joys, and the opioid

and Department of Child Services crises. And we talked about future issues, such as increasing teacher pay and marijuana reform.

Here's a portion of the 53-minute interview:

HPI: You appear to be in a great position for reelection, as I've analyzed over the past few months. Project beyond this election and describe the Indiana you hope will be in place should you exit office in January 2025, depending on a successful reelection.

Holcomb: Where I hold myself accountable is, No. 1, how much progress we are making every day. No. 2, I want Indiana to be a model state in terms of how our workforce, our economy and our location are synchronized. We're blessed to have superior location in the heart of the heartland and we are making massive investments to leverage that location. Not just in a 20-year, \$60 billion commitment to our roads and bridges, (but) we've also taken another billion and we're also talking about trails, we're also talking about connecting people in 83% farm-and-forest terrain to the 21st Century economy through broadband. We're talking about our port commerce, via water and air. So that's why we're looking at potential additions in water-port business in Dearborn County. We're looking at more non-stop, direct flights in South Bend and Fort Wayne and Evansville. Even regional communities are making investments in partnerships to connect to places around the country that help develop our whole state. That's why I described Saturday "One Indiana." That's why we're investing in rail in The Region with the South Shore and the West Lake Corridor. These investments, like the bridges in Jeffersonville, are huge advantages to attract talent when you have easy commerce across state lines.

That South Shore line will not only make the commute shorter, it will ease the decision for people to move to Indiana, save a lot of money and give themselves a pay raise, whether it is in business or their own personal life, concerning property taxes, etc. That's why we're seeing this massive investment in Terre Haute and Jeffersonville and River Ridge, which is only 19% developed. It is hot. People are moving up north from Louisville and we are making it easy. Having an economy that's very attractive, having a superior location and a network to reach out to the country and world, and having the workforce 10 years from now that addresses the different populations, different profiles, whether it is a recovering addict, an incarcerated individual, a high school dropout, and 55-year-old who needs to be reskilled or someone who's in the third

grade right now, in the pipeline, we have to make sure it's like McDonald's where you look up at the menu and say, "I want one of those, and one of those.. "

It can be tailor-made so you can pick the program and the state has the policies in place to the population and the individuals. Then we've got to hold ourselves accountable. Are these working? Are they feel-good programs, or are they actually working? So we'll measure those placement rates. Having a state that's synchronized,



Gov. Holcomb talking with teachers at the Clark County Fair Wednesday at Charlestown. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

having the people, the economy and the infrastructure, that's a huge advantage. And having the Indiana story known around the world, it will feed off itself, as it's starting to do right now.

HPI: What will the Dearborn County port do for the state?

Holcomb: We're doing record business in our three ports in Mount Vernon, Jeffersonville and Burns Harbor. Having a fourth port strategically across the river from Cincinnati is not only about economic development, it's about commerce efficiency. So you think about doing record business at the port in Jeffersonville right across the river from Louisville, think about the port across from Chicago at Burns Harbor, think about the port at Mount Vernon and having a fourth port in the Cincinnati market is a huge magnet for companies to say, "Now we have access to road, rail, river to get our products to any place in the world." We could just rest on our laurels and say, "You have to drive through us anyway." Now we're making

it easier and more efficient for business.

HPI: What was the biggest challenge of your first term? Was it the opioid epidemic? And if so, where are we at?

Holcomb: Absolutely the biggest challenge has been not just the opioid crisis, but addiction challenges. I heard an individual at a dinner one night say something profound, "The strongest brand loyalty program in the world is addiction." Whether it's drugs, alcohol, looking at your phone, addiction keeps getting you to come back. When you're addicted to a product, they got ya. It takes a force greater than you to get on the road to recovery and stay on that road. The individual who said that at a Fairbanks Foundation Dinner is no longer with us. That was less than a year ago and he was counseling people on addiction.

HPI: Overdose?

Holcomb: He's not with us.

HPI: You set an ambitious five-year goal to get this under control. Where do you think we are? I've seen the 35% reduction in opioid scripts. Is that one of the telltales?

Holcomb: The key to this is we've got incredible team chemistry and expertise on deck with Dr. Wathall (FSSA commissioner) and Dr. Box (IDOH commissioner) and Terry Stigdon (DCS) and Jim McClelland. These are people who have "been there, done that" and have dealt with the good and the ugly. They don't prematurely celebrate. Yes, we're taking steps in the right direction. Part of the battle is ... is to get going in the right direction. If you're just off five degrees, that can be all the difference in the world and lead you into a very dark place. But if you're headed in the right direction then it becomes how fast do we responsibly scale up? Absolutely we're headed in the right direction. The challenge is how fast can we go? I give a lot of credit to the progress we're making on the substance abuse front, to addiction in general. I give a lot of credit to the local communities who are dealing with reality and have gotten out of the mode of denial.

HPI: Like Clark County, where we're headed.

Holcomb: Yes, Clark County. Because they had a hard-charging community which said, "We're going to deal with this right now because it's dealing on our kids. It's dealing on our families, it's dealing on our community." It's had a ripple effect on suicide rates. It seemed unstoppable, but they grabbed it. It takes a local community to make sense, because the further away from the problem you get to try to solve it, the harder it gets. The more rhetorical it gets, the more finger-wagging it gets. The way



Gov. Holcomb with Brittany Young and her family. The Knightstown woman served a prison sentence after battling addiction, learned to weld during her sentence and is now supporting her family. She was featured in the Holcomb campaign kickoff video.

we're able to get people on their feet again ... is by partnering with them and not trying to become their government.

HPI: What's your biggest disappointment during the first term?

Holcomb: Every jobs deal I don't get. We bat about .900. We're able to get picky now. That's a luxury. I was in Washington for the Select USA Conference the Department of Commerce puts on. Sec. Wilbur Ross and his team were on one side of the table and four governors (were) on the other. Sec. Ross says, "Tell me about the greatest threat to your state." Mississippi Gov. Phil Bryant ... talked about a \$50 million ticket to space. And then it got to the governor of Ohio and he shared a few thoughts. And then it got to me and I talked about the greatest challenges ahead in skilling up, and have hundreds of thousands of Baby Boomers retiring and being nimble enough to train and supply and meet the demand. Then it goes to Oklahoma Gov. Kevin Stitt, "Governor, what's the greatest threat to Oklahoma?" He said, "Indiana." Everybody laughed and I said, "It's kind of awkward sitting here, Kevin." He said, "It's true. We've got some catching up to do." Well, competition makes us better. We're all so competitive. When one gets away, you remember it. But we've got a full pipeline and the mood and appetite to come to Indiana is strong. We have to continue working with friends at the local level to offer high-quality, fun, vibrant places to work, live and play.

HPI: Your greatest joy in the first term?

Holcomb: The satisfaction of seeing people's lives get turned around. It is salutary to me to meet people like ...

HPI: Brittany Young? (An addict from Knightstown who was featured in Gov. Holcomb's reelection campaign kickoff video.)

Holcomb: Brittany Young. I've got lists galore of job announcements we've made, jobs we were hunting.

I keep a list of individuals who changed their lives or changed a station in their lives. They're experiencing it. When you talk to people who get a credential that puts them in a different salary bracket and the coolest thing is ... they know how a credential gets them to \$57,000-a-year job and the next credential gets them to \$64,000. Because it's such a tight job market, they can move around. We're a state of pioneers. We own this space. (Holcomb produces a copy of Indianapolis Monthly). It says, "The road to Mars runs through Indiana." I always talk about (how) we're the Crossroads of America.



companies, "If you come to Indiana, if you need nutritionists or engineers, if you need H.R., we've got the schools in Indiana. What do you need?"

HPI: Do we wait for the next biennial budget to deal with the teacher pay issue, or does it come to the front burner next year?

Holcomb: I think we'll be doing more than talking. We'll be putting our recommendations in place prior to that budget. This is hundreds of millions of dollars issue to solve. How to solve it is the key. I look at this as a similar approach to what we need to do at the Department of Child Services, or with our infrastructure. We were data-driven in both of those

HPI: And they're talking about Indiana, Crossroads of the Cosmos.

Holcomb: It's not just about Neil Armstrong and Purdue University's cradle of astronauts. It's about the 14 companies that every time we ship something to outer space, it has the fingerprints of 14 Indiana companies on it. It's about going from our ag roots to limestone, to what's next. The way we have aligned our providers – Notre Dame, IU, Purdue, Rose-Hulman – they will tailor their pipelines to fit your business. We tell

examples. I said, "I want the good, the bad and the ugly, bring it to me."

HPI: So are the DCS reforms meeting your benchmarks?

Holcomb: I am very proud of DCS personnel and leadership. They are executing and implementing those recommendations with courage. It's making a difference.

Financial Strategy
Leading Progress, Intelligently

Strategic Management
How, Why, Who

Policy Preparation
Comprehensive, Transparent

Areas of Concentration

5-Year Scope Capital Planning
Five Years, Forward

Proficiency Mastery
Proven Knowledge, Proven

Communications
Clear. Concise. Connected. Proven Solutions.

Oscar Gutierrez, Principal

Trish Whitcomb, Partner

BONDRY
MANAGEMENT CONSULTANTS
LLC

MUNICIPAL • FINANCIAL ADVISORS

**Bond Mastery for
Common Good**

www.BondryConsulting.com

Inquiries@BondryConsulting.com

317-537-9555

The foster families that are writing me are telling me so and those are the people I'm in touch with. Kudos for Terry Stigdon and her whole crew. They know I've got their back. It's one of the toughest jobs one could imagine.

HPI: We are likely going to be surrounded by recreational marijuana states by 2020. The disconnect a lot of people have with federal marijuana laws

is it's listed as a Schedule One drug. And most people don't believe that marijuana is in the same class as heroin or morphine. The federal government doing so discredits this prohibition. How do you process that?

Holcomb: Not to be a blockhead about it, but I've shared this: With federal leadership, that it is illegal. I have a hard time picking and choosing what laws to obey. I've taken a couple of oaths in life at upholding the law. Just because others are choosing not to, doesn't make it right for me not to. Even as attractive financially as it might be, (that) doesn't make it right. The hurdle we have to get over is there is very little American medical research on this drug.

HPI: I agree. What we do know is nebulous.

Holcomb: So, I have said to our federal partners that we have one of the best medical schools in America, we have one of the best agriculture schools in America – at Purdue and IU – and I've talked to them. We would be willing to do the medical research on this product and then deal with the medical research just like every other medicine has to. Why does this one have to be treated differently if we're calling it "medicinal?" I'm willing to be part of the solution, but it has to be done right.

HPI: This also goes beyond the windfall of what legalized and taxed marijuana would mean to this state. I haven't been able to find the extent of the black market and the cumulative costs of interdiction, prosecution, corrections, probation, loss of wages and the 100,000 Hoosiers each decade who end up with a criminal record. As states around us legalize, Indiana is actually prosecuting more people, mostly for possession.

Holcomb: To answer the question of what it costs, I have a lot of cost questions, too. Quite a few people who are struggling with drugs give me the other costs. They say, "My kid is struggling with marijuana and it's a lot harder than what it was during the Vietnam days when I was a kid." I talk to other states who say they have regret. They see the auto accidents, the auto insurance rates going up, seeing THC levels in babies' blood in the hospitals and the cost of that for years. To do this right, you have to have the



right medical research done. Then that leads to the right policy questions. Do we need more interdiction? I will tell you in talking with others around the country, in California in counties where it is legal, the market rate or the corruption is up, or the entrepreneurs are being squeezed out by the black market. It's not that the black market went away in California, it got bigger.

Crime has risen in some of these counties. How you do it is very important. But before you do it, you better know the medical research. I don't dispute for one second people who are going through radiation (treatment) or have served (in the military) and are trying to deal with stress. I want them to do it legally. I have a heart for them, but I want them to be able to do it legally. I don't want it to be a cash business. I don't want it to be under the table and encouraging corruption and I don't want to see these mothers and their kids get hooked from one drug to another, or the State Police pulling people over and busting for heroin, cocaine and large quantities of marijuana in the same shipments. These are bad people peddling these hard drugs. I'm pretty passionate that we do this right. I've offered to be part of the solution. I think it's long overdue that we have the medical answers to this. It's frustrating to me that we don't.

HPI: There's a whole lot we don't know. We don't know the extent of the black market. We don't know how much we spend to interdict, prosecute, correct and probate. The other thing is as the other states legalize, wouldn't it make sense for Indiana to decriminalize? Particularly since our county jails are overcrowded and county budgets are under duress? If we run into a county commissioner or councilman today, they're going to tell you their jails are full, and their jails are maternity wards, drug treatment centers, psychiatric wards. According to the uniform FBI statistics, we're sending about 10,000 Hoosiers a year into these courts and jails for doing something that is legal across state lines, mostly on possession charges. Would you consider seeking decriminalization?

Holcomb: What I have found in having his conversation is while some would rightly say our jails are overcrowded, you would also hear from, as an example, the county prosecutor who would be adamantly against legalizing marijuana in that county, or decriminalizing in that county and could give you all kinds of anecdotal stories of where it was central to being part of a larger problem. I've not been persuaded by that argument

that by decriminalizing it will make the overarching public problem go away. I think we're sending a mixed message. It used to be that in states that haven't legalized (marijuana), the opioid epidemic is lower. Now we find that wasn't right because the opioid epidemic wasn't out in those western states. As the opioids headed westward, they've caught up and those stats have been turned on their heads and it's the opposite. I don't buy into this will make it better if we make it legal. However, just like any other drug, medicinal, if it goes through the process and we figure out Eli Lilly was able to extract that THC ... it still doesn't make you well. You can come home from a hard day of work and have a drink and it will relax you, but (it) doesn't make you better. It's not medicine. There's a difference to me. Drugs are substances (to be) controlled. It needs to go through the FDA process. If it's proven to be helpful for the two cases I've mentioned, folks will line up to produce it and they will be doing it legally and customers can purchase it with a prescription.

Last July, I went out to Colorado, got on a plane, sitting by an exit and the flight attendant came back and

was explaining the emergency exit to this lady on how to open the emergency door and this lady was just sitting there literally like a zombie. (The attendant) said it again and she was like, zoned out. The attendant then looked at me and said, "Sir, would you handle this in case of an emergency?" I said, "Yes, I will." This lady next to me never said a word the whole flight. There's said to be a lot of people (who) double down on the brownies before they go home. I said, "What?" They told me they'll do a brownie and it doesn't kick in, so they'll order another one, and then it kicks in and they are freakin' out.

There's the potential good side to this and then there's a lot of public policy we just don't know. There's one small farm in Mississippi that has the one (federal) contract to do the research. That's it! You talk about the scale (that) this effects... I'm happy to say we're a law-and-order state and we're going to continue to be, but I want to be helpful on this front. How can we be helpful? How can we send a message that we've got an out-of-control drug issue in America, which we do, but let's go ahead and legalize another drug? ❖



Holcomb kicks off in the Hoosier Gym

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

KNIGHTSTOWN – Gov. Eric Holcomb, who has shot baskets in all 92 Indiana counties during his first three years in office, kicked off his reelection campaign in the historic Hoosier Gym on Saturday before a packed house to the strains of Neil Young's classic, "Rocking in the Free World."

Under banners proclaiming, "Go Holcomb All the Way," the Hoosier Gym scoreboard showing Hickory tied with Terhune 20-20, Holcomb emerged from the gym's locker room, high-fived running mate Lt. Gov. Suzanne Crouch and proclaimed, "What a way for me and Suzanne to officially announce our commitment to keep Indiana moving forward for four more years! And it's all because of our team – all of you – getting at it every day, taking Indiana to the Next Level, exceeding high expectations!"

In the gym where many key scenes of the classic movie "Hoosiers" were filmed, Holcomb stated, "We've done it the right way, the Indiana way, by Putting People First. From the economy, to job creation, to infrastructure, to public health, to education, you name it."

He was greeted by chants of "Four more years!" from the packed house.

Holcomb seeks a second term with the state experiencing historic employment and job creation investment. On Friday, after Auditor Teri Klutz announced \$400 million in additional revenue and \$2.3 billion in reserve, Holcomb announced \$300 million in one-time spending, including an accelerated construction schedule on the U.S. 31 freeway between South Bend and Indianapolis.

The incumbent launches his reelection with a \$7.2 million war chest, a 61% job approval rating (according to internal polling), and only one Democratic opponent to date. Democrat Dr. Woody Myers entered the race on Wednesday, while State Sen. Eddie Melton of Gary and Karlee Macer of Indianapolis are weighing potential campaigns.



"I'm not tired of winning yet," Holcomb told the boisterous crowd. "Are you? And we're going to keep on winning, because Indiana provides certainty, stability, predictability and aspirational continuity – exactly what the pro-growth career creators crave. And that's why we're breaking new job commitment records year after year. That's why we've tripled the foreign direct investment here on Hoosier soil in just the last three years. And that's why we're able to maintain our triple-A credit rating, and we have more Hoosiers working in the private sector today than at in any other time in our state's history! Yes, jobs are up – and unemployment is down."

Holcomb continued, "Wages are up. Reserves are up. Exports are up. And our GDP is up! We're also putting people first by investing in our infrastructure (the way we connect with each other and markets) on an unprecedented scale, completing transformational projects, border to border. We're finishing I-69 three years ahead of schedule. We're making (U.S.) 31 a true freeway, so you can finally put it on cruise control. We're bringing more nonstop flights to our statewide regional airports. We're double-tracking the South Shore Line up in The Region, connecting us to the nation's third-largest economy like never before."

The Holcomb-Crouch reelect is a completely different scenario than his "100-day" 2016 race when Gov. Mike Pence resigned his nomination to run for vice president with Donald Trump. Holcomb edged out U.S. Reps. Susan Brooks and Todd Rokita on a second ballot caucus of the Indiana Republican Central Committee. He then was propelled by the Trump/Pence ticket to win a shocking 7% victory over two-time Democrat nominee John Gregg.

Holcomb said that his campaign will be "different" than others, vowing to feature Hoosiers like Brittany Young, a Knightstown woman who overcame addiction and learned the welding trade in the Department of Corrections. She was featured in a short film introducing the ticket. "We did not come this far to come only this far. As Coach Dale said, 'My team is on the floor. The stars are aligned. No one here is going to keep watching the paint dry. Let's hang more banners.'"

Holcomb passes on 'the shot'

In a state with a long list of basketball pols (Lee Hamilton, Baron Hill, Frank O'Bannon, Rep. Bob Heaton, Elkhart mayoral nominee Rod Roberson, Kyle Hupfer among them), Gov. Holcomb entered the legendary Hoosier Gym as a governor who boasts about taking basketball shots in all 92 counties. So we quizzed GOP spokesman Pete Seat: Will ol' Hickory Holcomb take a shot after declaring for reelection? The east goal was retracted to the roof, but the west goal was ready to go. Seat said that Holcomb had taken (and made) some shots the day before. There were concerns



about the crowd getting in the way. Ultimately, there would be no shot, though the crowd did go wild anyway.

Political operatives, ever mindful of B-roll and opposition trackers, know all too well the risk. What if the Guv missed? What if he missed again? What if Hickory Holcomb went on a cold streak and had to finish with a layup, instead of the trey? My response would have been: Can't go wrong with a slam dunk. But the cowboy boots could have presented a problem. And a missed slam dunk could cause a polling free fall, because, well, this is Indi-

ana. Ted Cruz paid a dear price in 2016 when he talked about a “basketball ring” here (it’s a “hoop,” Theodore; Cruz finished with a cold, cold 36%).

In the 2000 reelect campaign, Gov. Frank O’Bannon was featured as a “pure shooting guard” in a TV ad with this voiceover: “It’s like he’s in a whole other

league. No telling what he’ll do next.” And this visual: The former IU guard launched an over the shoulder shot while gazing into the camera with his twinkling smile. On the TV ad, the shot went in. Legend has it that it really happened, it really went in. But it wasn’t before a live audience. Big difference. ❖

Hogsett ad features Hudnut, the man he defeated in 1990

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Twenty-eight years ago, appointed Secretary of State Joe Hogsett faced a big threat. Big as in 6-foot-5, larger than life Indianapolis Mayor Bill Hudnut, who occasionally dressed up as a huge leprechaun.



Hogsett was up for his first full term in the 1990 election after succeeding Evan Bayh, who had won the governorship two years earlier. Hudnut was a three-

term mayor gazing down Market Street at the Statehouse with a particular sense of envy. Like Bayh, winning the secretary of state office was considered a viable ticket to the Second Floor gubernatorial suite.

“They have drawn the line here,” Hogsett told the Chicago Tribune’s Mike Tackett in 1990. “This election could have a profound effect for years to come. Bill Hudnut is running for governor. His candidacy is his party’s attempt to make a last stand.”

Hudnut also saw it in generational terms. “I think the Republican Party feels this is almost a make-or-break year for them and this race is a symbol of our effort to come back. We got whipped by Evan Bayh in 1988.”

But the GOP “comeback” would have to wait another 14 years for Mitch Daniels to return from Washington. Hogsett characterized Hudnut as a free-spending, big taxer. He exploited the outer Indiana distrust of the big city pols. What transpired was a 51.5% to 48.1% upset that helped flank the Bayh era gubernatorial juggernaut that would extend 16 years through Govs. Frank O’Bannon and Joe Kernan.

Given this background, jaws were plummeting Monday morning when Indianapolis Mayor Hogsett’s reelection campaign’s [second TV ad featured Hogsett lauding Hudnut](#). “From a love of dancing, to ambitious plans to move Indy forward, to taking a bipartisan approach to government in order to accomplish things for our city,

Mayor Bill and Mayor Joe have both always shared the goal of lifting our city up,” the campaign said of the ad that it says “honors” the late mayor. “Bill brought us a football team, built our skyline and was still a neighborhood mayor,” Hogsett says in the ad. “We’re rebuilding our roads, adding jobs and hiring 150 more police for our neighborhoods. Bill didn’t care what party you are in. Neither do I.”

The ad closed with Hogsett seated next to the larger-than-life statue of Hudnut on Maryland Street (note the Coltish irony there, too).

Our sources say that the Hogsett campaign did not reach out to the Hudnut family. And it had people wondering who Hogsett was attempting to swing in his showdown with Republican State Sen. Jim Merritt. Republicans? Swing voters? Hudnut fans?

John Krauss, a former aide to Mayor Hudnut, thinks Hogsett will pale in the contrast. “There was only one Mayor Bill. It was a cast of one,” Krauss told HPI. “Others may wish to copy, but Bill broke the mold. He left a vibrant Indianapolis for future mayors to govern and lead in their own way. We all benefit from a thriving Indy.”

Republican nominee Jim Merritt has scheduled a



Indianapolis Mayor Hogsett with the statue of former Mayor Bill Hudnut in his second TV ad that began airing Monday.

10 a.m. presser today at Hudnut Commons to talk about this ad.

Hudnut’s political career essentially ended when he left the mayor’s office in 1992. If anything, the Hudnut defeat burnished the notion that a highly successful Indianapolis mayor (who brought the Colts to the state) has almost nowhere to go politically, the lone exceptions being the late Richard Lugar who won a Senate seat in

1976 against Democrat Vance Hartke (a former Evansville mayor), having lost a 1974 race to Sen. Birch Bayh in his first attempt to win outside city hall. Lugar and Hartke are the only mayors who were able to move up in the television age of politics.

In fact, a Hoosier mayor has never been elected governor. When HPI left Hogsett off our initial 2020 prospects list, few expressed qualms about it.

Hudnut's successor, Stephen Goldsmith, was the victim of a stunning upset by Lt. Gov. Frank O'Bannon in 1996. Mayor Bart Peterson has shown no interest in seeking a statewide office before and after his 2011 defeat to Greg Ballard. Fort Wayne Mayor Paul Helmke lost U.S. House and Senate races. And while we're hearing Ballard is kicking the tires on a potential 5th CD run in 2020, which would come five years after voluntarily retiring in 2015, it would surprise no one if he took a pass. Going from mayor to being a freshman legislator in a minority caucus isn't appealing to someone with an executive mindset (or, perhaps, his wife, Winnie).

The other conspicuous mayor, South Bend's Pete Buttigieg, decided he had better prospects running for president of the United States than seeking the Indiana governorship. This all tells you that post-mayoral shelf lives are very limited in the context of Indiana state government.

New Albany: Holcomb stumps for Seabrook

Gov. Eric Holcomb joined a campaign fundraiser for Republican New Albany mayoral nominee Mark Seabrook in his race against two-term incumbent Mayor Jeff Gahan. "I'm rewinding the tape about this past decade and how far we've come," Holcomb said of Floyd County, once a Democratic stronghold that has been overtaken by Republicans. "When we mapped out our tour, the man of the hour is Mark Seabrook." Holcomb cited Seabrook's three terms as a Floyd County commissioner and three on the city council. "You're fortunate to have already seen him in action," Seabrook said, "I can tell you from the bottom of my heart what New Albany means to me."



Seabrook, who owns a funeral home in downtown New Albany, told of a potential merger between two local funeral homes and an outside firm. Seabrook said he asked about a "young widow with three kids" and whether she could make payments. Seabrook said the corporation said it would need the widow's money "up front" and then offered to break for lunch. Seabrook said they could break for lunch "but there's no sense for you to come back."

Seabrook told HPI, "We're in very good position," noting that his campaign has polled the race. "There's no

majority that has allegiance to my opponent. We feel like name recognition is a lot." Asked about Mayor Gahan's biggest vulnerability, Seabrook said, "Transparency. Where's the money coming from, where's it going and why don't we have a say?" He said his campaign is doing social media advertising. The Indiana GOP has supplied the Seabrook campaign with an intern and the state party is helping with a walking list.

"The last election was 7,000 votes. You can't control what they're doing, but we can control what we're doing," Seabrook concluded.

Statewides

Rokita mulls AG bid

Seated conspicuously to the right of Gov. Holcomb's reelection kickoff at the Hoosier Gym in Knightstown Saturday was former secretary of state and congressman Todd Rokita. Catching up with Rokita after the event ended, HPI asked him if we should continue to include him as a potential challenger to embattled Attorney General Curtis Hill. Rokita said he was at the event "to take the temperature" of a potential Statehouse comeback. He said he might have until October to decide. Hill has faced calls for his resignation from Holcomb and other GOP leaders after sexual harassment allegations were leveled against him in 2018. He faces a Supreme Court review of his law license, expected to be decided by October. Hill hasn't announced for reelection, but reported raising \$220,000, though \$100,000 of that came from the Republican Attorneys General Association. Zionsville attorney John Westercamp has already announced he will challenge Hill at the June 2020 Republican Convention. Rokita won a four-candidate, multi-ballot floor fight for secretary of state in 2002. Stay tuned.

Congress

5th CD: Hales raises \$100k

Fifth CD Democrat candidate Christina Hale announced Monday that she's raised \$100,000 since launching her campaign last Thursday, less than 100 hours in. The 2018 nominee, Dee Thornton, raised a total of \$73,000 last cycle. "I'm so grateful for the outpouring of enthusiasm and support from Hoosiers that we've received since announcing our campaign," said Hale. "It's clear that Hoosiers are ready for new leadership in Washington that understands the challenges they face and that they want representatives who will get to work and put middle-class families first, not more of the chaos and gridlock we see now." In announcing her campaign last week, Hale said, "People want their representatives to not only understand but to feel the challenges they face. I know these challenges personally. I know the price of milk and how hard it can be to find qual-

ity daycare. I've been a single mom scrapping to balance work and school, and then repay my student loans and buy my first house. Whether it was doing what's best for my family or trying to get ahead in the working world, I've had to work for it. That's exactly what Hoosiers can expect of me in Congress, where I'll fight every day to make life better for people by lowering the cost of health care and working to ensure that we have an economy that works for everybody."



Thornton kicked off her campaign on Monday in Westfield, but her campaign didn't promote the kickoff. She received nominal coverage on public media websites and the Indianapolis Recorder. "What I found in the 5th District, probably the top two issues that I heard most from voters were concerns about health care. And, secondly, concerned about the environment," she said. "I have a great appreciation of the diversity of the district. I think I bring a very fresh perspective to representing the people. I am not a career politician, I don't intend to be."

6th CD: Lake seeks rematch with Pence

Community activist and businesswoman Jeannine Lee Lake has announced she is seeking a second bid for the Democratic nomination to become the first congresswoman representing the 6th CD (Columbus Republic). Lake, who won the May 2018 primary but lost to Rep. Greg Pence, R-Ind., in the general election in November, is a 30-year journalist and longtime community leader who chairs the Feed My Sheep charity. "Last time out was my first foray into politics and I believe I did it for the right reasons, because I care about my country and I am concerned about the state of our democracy as the greatest nation in the world," Lake said. "This time around, seeing the degradation of the leaders in this administration, I have a greater sense of urgency to redirect Americans to our better selves."

Indiana won't lose a CD seat

According to a late 2018 report from Election Data Services, here are the current projections for the states that will gain and lose seats thanks to population shifts. Projected gainers: Arizona (+1), Colorado (+1), Florida (+2), Montana (+1), North Carolina (+1), Oregon (+1), and Texas (+3). Projected losers: Alabama (-1), California

"I have had several opportunities to use the services of Content By Carter and its founder, Cameron Carter, over the years. The fact that I have continued to use Cam and his team to help on new projects speaks more than any words of recommendation can say."

Greg Zoeller

Chairman, World Trade Center Indianapolis
and former Indiana Attorney General



CONTENT BY CARTER
strategic content creation and deployment

(-1 or even), Illinois (-1), Michigan (-1), Minnesota (-1 or even), New York (-2), Ohio (-1), Pennsylvania (-1), Rhode Island (-1), and West Virginia (-1). The South and West -- particularly Florida and Texas -- are gaining seats at a rapid rate, while the Northeast and Midwest lose seats.

Presidential

Buttigieg in Indy tonight

Mayor Buttigieg will address the national Young Democrats at 6 p.m. tonight at the Crown Plaza Hotel. Saturday, he will return to Iowa for the AARP candidate forum in Council Bluffs. He addresses the NAACP in Detroit on Sunday.

Trump takes a poke at Pete

President Trump took a poke at Mayor Buttigieg at his rally Greenville, N.C. last night. After pronouncing his name "Boot-edge-edge," Trump added that "He's a beauty, he's a mayor of a failed city. That's not a star. I don't see him meeting with President Xi of China."

Buttigieg adds former DNC CEO

Buttigieg has hired two seasoned Democratic operatives to boost his early-state and policy teams. Jess O'Connell has signed on as a senior adviser charged with leading the South Bend mayor's strategy in early primary and caucus states, campaign officials told POLITICO. O'Connell served as CEO of the Democratic National Committee in 2017 and has also been executive director of EMILY's List. The Buttigieg campaign has also hired Sonal Shah as national policy director.

Mayor Pete 4th in NH poll

Sen. Kamala Harris has moved into second place among Democratic presidential contenders, in the latest New Hampshire primary poll conducted by Saint Anselm College (WMUR-TV). Harris, apparently still resonating with voters following her debate performance more than two weeks ago, is backed by 17.5% of likely Democratic first-in-the-nation primary voters. Biden at 20.8%. Sen. Elizabeth Warren is a close third, at 16.7%, Sander 9.9%, behind Buttigieg, who is fourth in the poll with 11.5%.

Buttigieg gets 2% in SC poll

Fox News polled South Carolina Democratic primary voters: Biden 35%, Sanders 14, Harris 12, Warren 5, Booker 3, Buttigieg 2, Delaney 1, Williamson 1, Yang 1. Buttigieg is getting just 1% of the African-American vote.

Biden leads Warren in NBC/WSJ Poll

Former Vice President Joe Biden tops an NBC News/Wall Street Journal poll with 26% support, followed by Warren at 19% and Sens. Kamala Harris of California and Bernie Sanders of Vermont each at 13% (Politico). Mayor Pete Buttigieg ranks fifth with 7% support. ❖

Republicans are owning Trump's racist rhetoric

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

NASHVILLE, Ind. – Memo to Sens. Mike Braun and Todd Young, and Reps. Banks, Bucshon, Hollingsworth, Pence, Baird and Walorski: You inherited the mantle of the



Party of Lincoln, you have compromised, and soon you will own the fallout from what is being described as President Trump's "premeditated" tropes on race.

This comes after Trump's incendiary Sunday tweets telling four liberal congresswomen "of color" to go back to the crime-riddled "countries" they came from. Three of them were born in America and the fourth is a naturalized American. Trump doubled

down, saying the four "hate America," with Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Lindsey Graham declaring them to be "communists." Last night in Greenville, N.C., Trump led chants of "send her back."

So, this is a new stew and brew of David Duke meeting Joe McCarthy. It's one thing to object and denounce the congresswomen's positions on issues. It's another to demand sitting members of Congress leave the country and relegate them as treasonous subversives.

U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks, who is retiring and thus freed from the shackles of Trumpian political retribution, was the lone Hoosier to disagree.

"Yesterday, I issued a statement regarding the president's recent inappropriate remarks because I believe they do not reflect American values," Brooks said. "I believe our diverse backgrounds as Americans make our country greater and stronger. These differences should be celebrated by all of us. Today, I voted to condemn the racially offensive remarks the leader of our country made. However, I remain disappointed that the Democrats refuse to hold their own members accountable for their targeted, anti-Semitic and hateful speech. The lack of civility between the executive and legislative branches has reached an unacceptable low. We must remember our words matter and carry great weight. Our words and the ways in which we deliver them have a lasting impact on those who hear them. My hope for our country is that we can move beyond divisive rhetoric in order to more effectively govern."

But it begs the question if Brooks would have taken that stand if she was seeking another term.

The other Indiana Republicans brushed off Trump's actions. Rep. Jackie Walorski called it a "misguided resolu-

tion" that "will only further divide the country." Rep. Jim Banks said that until House Democrats force "Rep. Ilhan Omar from the Foreign Affairs Committee or address her anti-Semitic remarks in any way, it's hard to take any of their efforts to condemn the President, or anyone else, seriously." Sen. Todd Young said, "We oughta be focused on our policy solutions and the victories for the American people."

Beyond Brooks, the closest to a rebuke came from Sen. Braun, who said, "The president is better than that. He knows better. I didn't like the content of it." But like Banks, Braun added, "I don't think he's a racist."

With that logic, it's just that the non-racist president is simply willing to play the race card with the AP noting he's the first since George Wallace to overtly do so since 1968.

Then the Conways jumped in, with Kellyanne describing Brooks as representing "the dark underbelly of America," which was really a stunningly audacious comment. Husband George Conway weighed in: "No matter how much I came to dislike him, I didn't want to think that the president of the United States is a racial bigot. But Sunday left no doubt. Telling four non-white members of Congress — American citizens all, three natural-born — to 'go back to' the 'countries' they 'originally came from'? That's racist to the core. It doesn't matter what these representatives are for or against — and there's plenty to criticize them for — it's beyond the bounds of human decency. For anyone, not least a president."

Thus, this has been a disheartening week across the U.S. The racial divide widened and is being exploited by a president who appears to be willing to do anything to win a second term. And it's surfacing here in Indiana, with the police-action shooting in South Bend, the majority GOP in Indiana with little black participation and estranged from the one African-American officeholder it has in the entire Statehouse. There is peril in Trump's racist rantings. A USA Today/Ipsos Poll revealed 68% found Trump's Sunday tweets offensive, though 57% of Republicans agreed, a third of them "strongly." So this is meat for the base. Pew Research found that 55% believe Trump has changed the tone for the worse, though 54% say they are sometimes "entertained" by what he says.

The encroaching national environment will likely become a rhetorical invasion. That's where the Hoosier delegation better gird themselves for bombast going even further than what we've seen this past week and in past news cycles involving the Charlottesville controversy. Axios is reporting that the Trump campaign has placed "a lot of calculation behind his race-baiting. It's central to his 2020 strategy." AOC is "young, Hispanic, female and a democratic socialist — a 4-for-4 grievance magnet." Trump



Gov. Holcomb chats with supporters of New Albany Republican nominee Mark Seabrook on Tuesday. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howe)

"watches Fox News and knows AOC, in particular, is catnip to old, white voters, especially men. Trump sees the four progressive women in The Squad as perfect foils until he gets a Democratic nominee to run against."

So how far will he go? My guess is very, very far.

I was with Gov. Eric Holcomb Tuesday night and he is the antithesis of Trump when it comes to civility and race, easily mixing and conversing with people of all races, creeds and political beliefs. I asked him if he was concerned about the race baiting that roared back this week.

"I just came from the Indiana Black Expo Governor's Reception. I can tell you, I walked away feeling so good. My interaction with all Hoosiers has been very good," he said. "No. 1, when I go all over the state of Indiana, something I hear more often than other comments is, 'Thank you for focusing on Indiana.' I don't wake up every day and chase the squirrel. Every night I take my dog out when I get home and Henry is constantly looking for squirrels. I think about all the squirrels throughout the day that I could have chased, and it would have taken my attention away. I am very disciplined. I try to lead by example. My five pillars rest on a foundation of civility and people will hold me accountable for my words."

What could confront Holcomb over the next 15 months is there is a decent chance he will be challenged by the state's first African-American Democratic nominee, whether it is Dr. Woody Myers or Sen. Eddie Melton. In this context, simply focusing on Indiana may include being confronted with crude rhetoric emanating from the White House and Washington. ❖

This week's coup at Planned Parenthood

By JOSHUA CLAYBOURN

EVANSVILLE — Planned Parenthood President Leana Wen, the first physician to head the abortion provider in 50 years, was removed by the organization's board after serving in the role for less than a year.



Dr. Wen encouraged her team to emphasize her medical credentials, kicking off her presidency with a campaign called "This Is Healthcare," highlighting Planned Parenthood's role outside of politics and drawing a contrast with her predecessor, Cecile Rich-

ards. “I believe that the best way to protect abortion care is to be clear that it is not a political issue but a healthcare one,” Wen wrote in a statement about her sudden termination.

Reports from within the organization suggest that Dr. Wen’s management style unsettled some, including a deep mistrust of staff, but a markedly different vision appears to have been a driving force behind her termination.

Planned Parenthood’s public messaging frequently butts heads with the contention that it is anything but a healthcare provider. There are the well-worn lines that abortions are only 3% of what Planned Parenthood does, the assertion that their healthcare services are robust and vital, and on and on. Against the accusation that they are fundamentally an ideological machine relentlessly dedicated to the positive promotion — not just the availability — of abortion, they push back hard.

It seems Dr. Wen took that messaging seriously and tried to manage the organization accordingly. The organization rebelled.

There’s more: Dr. Wen also refused to demonstrate contempt for ordinary people and common sense. She appears to have obliquely affirmed that only women may have pregnancies — a thoughtcrime on the social-

justice progressive left — and that the sensibilities of Midwesterners ought to be respected. Biological fact and existential truth being anathema, and loathing of flyover-America being pervasive, this was too much. She had to go.

Dr. Leana Wen is, of course, an absolutist abortion ideologue. She believes that killing children in the womb is a right, and she was perfectly willing to make herself the public face of that right. But she misunderstood the true nature of the organization and the movement she briefly helmed. Planned Parenthood is not a health provider. It is not even principally about abortion, although abortion is the major issue by which it advances its end. It is a vanguard organization on the progressive left, moving relentlessly toward the total eradication of the base units of human existence — gender, motherhood, family — in the interest of replacement by a wholly new structure and understanding resting upon the unfettered individual will.

She didn’t get that. She believed the public line. She bought the lie. So she had to go. ❖

Claybourn is an Evansville attorney and an HPI contributor.

Let’s not focus on just who we elect, but how we elect them

By **LEE HAMILTON**

BLOOMINGTON – A few years ago, I was at a polling place here in Indiana where a long line of people stood waiting to vote. A woman recognized me and called me over. “Why is it,” she asked, “that you politicians make it so hard and inconvenient to vote?”



I thought of this the other day when I read the news reports about presidents Trump and Putin meeting and jestingly accusing one another of election meddling. The background, of course, is the pressing issue of Russian interference in US elections. American voters take elections seriously enough to stand in line – for hours, sometimes – to cast a ballot. And

here were the two presidents making light of attempts to subvert the voices of ordinary people. I’d expect nothing less from Putin, but from an American president?

The sad truth is, Russian meddling isn’t our only election problem. We’ve got an archaic registration process, restrictive voting practices, voting systems bedeviled by outdated technology, inadequate budgets for the voting infrastructure, and an entire nation’s worth of overloaded local elections staff. There are robust efforts afoot, by many people and groups, to suppress, not encourage, votes; much effort in this country goes into keeping some groups of people from having a say in the conduct of their government.

It’s also distressingly common to find officials who are uninterested in promoting a fair and convenient vote, but instead are looking for ways to manipulate the system so that their preferences emerge from the voting. Too few of them believe in Abraham Lincoln’s formulation at Gettysburg: “Government of the people, by the people, for the people.” They define “people” so as to exclude voters they don’t like.

So, let’s remember: The ballot is the foundation of our democracy. It’s our best way to gauge the public’s will. If we fail to get the ballot box right, then our democracy fails.

Elections are not the sum total of “democracy.” An independent judiciary, an informed public, institutions such as schools, labor unions, business groups, and the news media, all are necessary as well. Democracy is a hugely complex phenomenon. But at its heart is one thing, the vote.

We’ve come a long way on this front. The Founders thought that rule by the people was tantamount to

anarchy. So they restricted the vote early on to white males who owned property. In a sense, our history as a nation has been written in terms of extending the franchise to more and more people.

But that's not the only requirement. Over time, I've come to look at a good election not so much in terms of who wins or loses – liberal or conservative, Republican or Democrat – but in terms of the process, and whether it was fair and democratic. Sure, I'm disappointed sometimes in the results of voters' decisions at the ballot box. But I'm always reminded that our system is designed with the capacity to correct errors. In a lot of ways, we'll be strongest as a country not by means of a strong military or a strong economy, but when our battle cry is, "Let the people vote!"

If you look across the state and local landscape, you'll find efforts to make voting more accessible and more verifiable that offer hope in the midst of voter suppression and election meddling. But these need to be a national aspiration that's pursued at every level: To protect voting

infrastructure, provide a paper trail for every vote, ensure adequate resources for the conduct of elections, and vow to ensure that state and local elections systems are run fairly, on behalf of everyone who's entitled to vote. Our governments have to work constantly at what that woman in line wanted to see, making voting accessible and convenient. Yes, we need to protect the integrity of the vote. But we also need to make it a positive civic experience, not a burden.

Elections have consequences. The winners get political power that enables them to change the course of history. Our chief way to have a say in this is to vote in every election, every time, for every office. Let's make sure we can, and that when we do, our vote matters. ❖

Lee Hamilton is a Senior Advisor for the Indiana University Center on Representative Government; a Distinguished Scholar at the IU Hamilton Lugar School of Global and International Studies.

Opportunity ahead

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS — In this space we've discussed the plight of Indiana's many smaller towns edging toward extinction as viable economic communities. This has even become a topic for political lip-service with emphasis on individual places rather than a systemic approach to a statewide problem.



The stagnation and decline of once thriving mid-sized Hoosier cities cause hands to be wrung and construction projects to be initiated that have little chance to make substantive change possible. Terre Haute's numbers are virtually unchanged in this decade. Evansville and Richmond had population

declines of 2% and 4% respectively.

Lake County saw 12 of its 17 municipalities lose population from 2010 to 2018. How has the state responded? Federal funds for the most part will be used to build a questionable nine-mile mega-million-dollar extension of a commuter rail line. The South Shore serves downtown Chicago, but job growth in the southern portions of the Chicago metro area may be far more important. No public transit from Indiana serves those jobs.

If these issues are ignored or misdiagnosed where decay is prevalent, then what about our prospering, growing urban areas? What lies ahead for suburban Indianapolis? Hamilton County's quartet of places enjoyed population growth of 51,000 (21%) from 2010 to 2018. Four similar places in Hendricks County grew by 16,000

(22%) in the same period.

All of these places, large and small, growing and declining, will have municipal elections this November. Are the candidates for mayor, city or town council prepared with modern visions of their communities?

From what I've observed of local politics in Indiana, the discussion in the next three-and-a-half months will not stretch beyond potholes and policing. The hard questions will not make it to the coffee-klatches or the barroom tables because the voting public has little interest in the future. Hoosier voters want immediate response to perceived present problems. They refuse to recognize that today's problems are the result of their past indifference to the future.

Potholes and policing are problems because voters have not supported long-term solutions to foreseeable difficulties. Failures of our streets arise from decades of insufficient financing and satisfaction with inferior construction.

Our policing problems are the residue of wide-scale, successful efforts to diminish the status of professional educators. This shows up in the quality of students entering the profession, the remuneration of teachers, the centralized control of education, the disrespectful behavior of parents, and the increased focus on non-academic aspects of schooling.

If our cities and state are to thrive, then changes are necessary at the local level. Municipalities must form strong regional and statewide political bonds because they cannot depend on the General Assembly.

On election day we have an opportunity to elect candidates who are dissatisfied with present policies and willing to examine new approaches to development rather than just growth. ❖

Remembering Apollo 11

By **MICHAEL HICKS**

MUNCIE — This weekend marks the 50th anniversary of our first trip to the moon. I was not yet 7 years old, so was just old enough to sense the energy and pride that consumed our nation. Few people younger than I will remember the electric excitement of that week. The relevance of a grand governmental undertaking and national unity on the matter bears some relevance today.



I watched the lunar landing late on a Sunday evening, July 20, 1969. As I recall, it was a delicious festival on a perfect barefoot summer night. I was too young to understand the consequence of the effort of that night, and to be honest, the moon

never looked that far away. My father was then a professor at Johns Hopkins applied physics lab, and he somehow always made the heavens accessible. Moreover, he was a Purdue graduate, as was Neil Armstrong. As transplanted Hoosiers in a Maryland suburb, my mom and dad felt a kinship with the space program. Gus Grissom's sacrifice and my dad's work with early satellites made all of it seem very personal.

What I did not know until later, is that everyone across the country felt the same way. My first hint of the universality of the moment came in the weeks before Halloween when the search for an astronaut costume proved daunting. As the years passed and I moved around the world, the largeness of the feat became clear. Not only did most Americans of my age remember clearly the landing, I have had conversations about the lunar landing in Germany, Egypt and Zimbabwe, all started by my hosts.

I remember clearly the night of the landing, the grainy images on a small black-and-white TV, and the suited newscaster. Sadly, I remember nothing of the immortal words spoken by Mr. Armstrong. The living room was packed and loud. My next-door neighbors were deaf, and in the days before close-captioned TV they relied upon my mother to write out the significant events on a school notepad. I was a tired 6-year-old, and headed to bed soon after Mr. Armstrong bounded away from the lunar module.

The 1960s were a difficult and contentious time. It was apparent even to a 6-year-old, though I understood nothing of the reasons behind it. All I knew was that in the

year before, smoke rose from Washington, D.C., and a place called Vietnam kept my neighbor's dad away from home. This space flight seemed to capture all of everyone's attention, and from my seat on the living room floor wrapped in an old blanket, all was fine.

As the years passed, I began to appreciate more fully the seductiveness of those unifying moments along with the wonder of the achievement. Tens of millions of Americans watching that space flight had been born before the Wright Brothers' first flight. The span from Kitty Hawk to Tranquility Base saw many millennia of human dreams compressed into a lifetime.

Moments of national unity are seductively rare, but they always seem to come along just as we need them. Too often, they are wrapped in tragedy, but this one was bathed in triumph. There are lessons in that, and in its replication.

In the years following the Apollo missions, criticism of them became inevitable. They were costly, failed to achieve all their goals and diverted resources from other more pressing needs. The entire Apollo program cost about \$150 billion in today's dollars; a pittance really, hardly worthy of note in today's federal budget.

It is also a mistake to think that we have need for frequent moments of national unity, even in a polarized political environment. After all, the years after Apollo 11 were hardly serene, and maybe that is the wrong way to think about it. One element of our national success is the in the success of what Edmund Burke called "little platoons." These are our neighborhoods, places of worship and clubs. As exciting as Apollo 11 was, we all absorbed that moment in our own little platoons of extended families, neighbors or co-workers. All that excitement and feeling of national achievement could be shared only with those around us. No matter what we saw on that old TV, we really shared it only with family, friends and neighbors.


This year we have spent a few days remembering or retelling the story of Apollo 11, and basking in its warm memory. By Monday, there is sure to be another ugly tweet or intemperate remark by some elected leader, reminding us that national unity is elusive. Maybe the way out of turmoil comes not from some grand moment of national unity, but in triumphs of purpose within those small groups around us. Maybe the best lesson of Apollo

11 is the one I could not hear well that night 50 years ago. It is that all great achievements of humankind come from a single small step, from beginning to end. ❖

Michael J. 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.

ANTELOPE CLUB

615 N. DELAWARE ST. - DOWNTOWN INDY
antelopeclub@hotmail.com



>> Lunch & dinner 6 days a week

>> Cigar lounge

>> Beautiful view of Downtown from our 2nd floor patio

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

Leo Morris, News & Tribune: “Conservative, n: A statesman who is enamored of existing evils, as distinguished from the Liberal who wishes to replace them with others.” – Ambrose Bierce. I unflinchingly claim conservatism as part of my political philosophy, and I am happy to live in a conservative state. In fact, I even wish Indiana would take the lead in trying to foster a conservative revolution in this country. And “conservative revolution” is not an oxymoron. A definition of terms is probably called for here. I am not qualified to declare definitively what conservatism is and to dismiss as inadequate any who fail to live up to the standard. All I can do is say what the concept means to me. I am not now a liberal, but I used to be one, so I’m also qualified to give my personal understanding of that idea. For a little help with the theories, allow me to turn to Brian Howey, a Hoosier political columnist. In a recent piece on marijuana laws, he notes that by 2020, Indiana’s prohibition will be nearly unique in this region of the U.S., with Illinois, Michigan and Ohio among the growing number of legal-weed states despite the drug’s continued federal illegality. He attributes this to Indiana’s political class, which “can sometimes be a decade behind the sentiment of voters,” citing a poll showing 73 percent of Hoosiers approve of legalization at least for medicinal use. This seems like a positive attribute of conservatism to me. It does not slavishly follow public opinion. Instead, it allows elected officials do take seriously their duties in a representative democracy by doing what they think is right, which can keep foolish mistakes to a minimum. Howey acknowledges this by reporting that our governors and political leaders “have trailed national trends before. During the 1970s as surrounding states lowered drinking ages to 18 and 19, Indiana resisted. Its neighboring states later reinstated the 21 age limit.” Oops! He then suggests (without using the word) how federalism provides Indiana with the perfect response to demands for change: Gov. Holcomb “would be wise to form a task force to study the impacts of medicinal/recreational marijuana and learn from legalized states.” This is how it should work in our “laboratories of democracy” — the patient learning from the foolhardy. I don’t claim he intended it as such, but so far, the column sounds like a ringing defense of conservatism. ❖



mann. Among them was the renowned philosopher Martin Buber, who had escaped from Germany in 1938. Buber and Israeli Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, two secularists, were members of a Bible study group. Anticipating that the high court would validate the death sentence, Buber approached the prime minister at a session of the study group and asked if they could meet so that he could argue for clemency. Ben-Gurion agreed. During their two-hour meeting, Buber cited the Hasidic rabbi Menachem Mendel Hager of Kosov (1768-1825): “The Torah teaches us, none but God can command us to destroy a man.” Ben-Gurion, an opponent of the death penalty, decided to bring this idea to his cabinet ministers. They rejected it. When news of Buber’s request became public, the newspaper Maariv was unequivocal: “A pardon for Eichmann? No! Six million times no!” I was reminded of this incident when I learned that Eva Mozes Kor had died this month at age 85. Kor, who was imprisoned at Auschwitz for 10 months, was among the 1,500 sets of twins upon whom the Nazi doctor Josef Mengele conducted horrific experiments. That alone would have rendered her an iconic figure. But Kor did something else, and it made her controversial. She declared that she forgave those who had tortured her, together with all who had participated in the genocide. She traveled to Auschwitz in 1995 with one of the doctors who had conducted the experiments. She grasped his arm and held him tight, while he gallantly helped her up and down the stairs. She appeared in 2015 in Lunenburg, Germany, at the trial of Oskar Groening, the “accountant” of Auschwitz, where she held his hands and patted his shoulder and accepted his grateful kiss on her cheek. Kor always insisted she was forgiving these perpetrators in her name only. Nonetheless, many survivors were troubled by her actions. I watched them grimace as audiences gave her standing ovations and the media described her as someone “who found it in her heart” to forgive, the implication being that survivors who did not follow her lead were unable to rise above their resentment. Survivors told me they felt they were being depicted as hardhearted, while Kor was being celebrated as the hero, someone bigger than they. ❖

Deborah Lipstadt, Washington Post: In 1961, Adolf Eichmann, among those most responsible for the organization and implementation of the Holocaust’s killing process, was sentenced to death in Israel. Up to that point, no state execution had ever been carried out by the young nation. Israel had abolished the death penalty for murder in 1954. But the sentence could still be imposed for Nazi war criminals and their collaborators. A death sentence automatically triggered an appeal to the Israeli Supreme Court. While the court was deliberating, many of Israeli’s most prominent academics, artists and intellectuals joined in opposing a death sentence for Eich-

Marc Chase, NWI Times: No one wants to fork over cash for services not rendered. And many folks renting from an absentee landlord know of the frustrations that can ensue. The bad news is Lake County taxpayers apparently have been experiencing both scenarios for the past two years as elected Recorder Mike Brown rarely shows up to work, according to multiple accounts of other public officials and government center employees. The good news, according to those same public officials and employees? Deputy Recorder Gina Pimentel is keeping the office running for about \$20,000 less per year in annual compensation than taxpayers are paying elected Recorder Brown to not show up to work much. ❖

House blocks impeach motion

WASHINGTON — The House easily killed a maverick Democrat's effort Wednesday to impeach President Donald Trump for his recent racial insults against lawmakers of color, a vote that provided an early snapshot of just how divided Democrats are over ousting him as the 2020 presidential and congressional campaigns rev up (AP). Democrats leaned against the resolution by Texas Rep. Al Green by 137-95, with U.S. Rep. André Carson voting for the measure. That showed that so far, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi has successfully prevented a Democratic stampede toward impeachment before additional evidence is developed that could win over a public that's so far skeptical about ousting Trump.



Trump reacts to vote to impeach

GREENVILLE, N.C. — Upon arriving in North Carolina, President Donald Trump said the same thing: "We have just received an overwhelming vote against impeachment. And that's the end of it. Let the Democrats now go back to work" (Politico Playbook). A few smart, seasoned people in the White House wondered to us Wednesday night if TRUMP actually believes this vote ended impeachment. Of course, it didn't. This was a procedural vote that means nothing in the grand scheme of things. There are still nearly 90 Democrats who are now on record supporting an impeachment inquiry, and Robert Mueller is coming to the Hill next week. There are Democrats who believe the impeachment caucus will swell as soon as he opens his mouth.

Trump following Wallace '68 strategy

NEW YORK — President Don-

ald Trump has placed racial animus at the center of his reelection campaign, and even some of his critics believe it could deliver him a second term (Associated Press). Every successful modern presidential campaign has been built on the notion of addition, winning over voters beyond core supporters. But Trump has chosen division on the belief that the polarized country he leads will simply choose sides over issues like race. He intensified his attacks on Wednesday, blasting four young congresswomen of color during a rally in Greenville, North Carolina. The crowd responded by chanting, "Send her back!" echoing Trump's weekend tweet in which he said the lawmakers, all American citizens, should

"go back" to the countries from which they came. "I do think I am winning the political fight," Trump declared at the White House. "I think I am winning it by a lot." Not since George Wallace's campaign in 1968 has a presidential candidate — and certainly not an incumbent president — put racial polarization at the center of his call to voters. Though Trump's comments generated outrage and even a resolution of condemnation in the House, the president and his campaign believe the strategy carries far more benefits than risks.

Hill won't appeal abortion ruling

INDIANAPOLIS — Indiana Attorney General Curtis Hill says he won't appeal a federal judge's recent decision to temporarily halt the state's latest anti-abortion law (Smith, Indiana Public Media). The law largely bans dilation and evacuation abortions, or D&Es, the safest and most common procedure for terminating a pregnancy in the second trimester. D&Es are rare — only a couple dozen are performed in Indiana each year. Judge Sarah Evans Barker ruled in late June the new law unconstitutionally denies women access to D&Es and stopped it from taking effect. Attorney

General Hill says he won't appeal that decision. Instead, he says he'll focus on defending the law in the future legal battle over permanently striking it down.

Johnson County prosecutor resigns

FRANKLIN — Johnson County Prosecutor Brad Cooper apologized in a Hancock County courtroom Wednesday before a special judge sentenced him to 540 days of probation (Indiana Public Media). Cooper pleaded guilty in April to felony charges of criminal confinement, identity deception and official misconduct and misdemeanor domestic battery. He was sentenced after his plea was officially entered Wednesday. Cooper then resigned from the post he'd held since 2009. Indiana law requires the removal of elected officials who plead guilty to a felony.

Morning Consult on senator approval

WASHINGTON — Morning Consult released its Senate approval numbers this morning and U.S. Sen. Mike Braun has a 42% approve, 31% disapprove while 27% had no opinion. U.S. Sen. Todd Young stood at 40% approve, 35% disapprove and 25% have no opinion.

Carson to host Pelosi in Indy Friday

INDIANAPOLIS — U.S. Rep. André Carson will host a Speaker in the House event with Speaker Nancy Pelosi at the Indianapolis Central Library at 1 p.m. Friday. The two lawmakers will lead a conversation on women's equality, health care, the economy and the minimum wage. Through the Speaker in the House series, Speaker Pelosi has visited communities across the country to talk about House Democrats' efforts to empower everyday Americans through bold reforms.