

# Impeachment for a polarized nation

President Trump cites ‘witch hunt’ while Democrats say he abused his power

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – A polarized nation watched its executive and legislative branches lurch into a fourth impeachment sequence on Wednesday.

Democratic Judiciary Chairman Adam Schiff portrayed a scheme by President Trump’s White House to have a desperate ally – Ukraine, under invasion from Russian proxy forces – supply political dirt on a potential political rival.

Republicans from Trump himself to his allies on Capitol Hill called the probe a “witch hunt” designed to overturn the 2016 presidential election. “Today, America



House Judiciary Chairman Adam Schiff (left) and ranking Republican Devin Nunes at Wednesday’s opening impeachment hearing on President Trump.

will see one party try and overturn the constitutional election of a president of the United States of America, a goal since @realDonaldTrump was elected,” tweeted U.S. Rep.

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## Why evangelicals back Trump

By **CURT SMITH**

ZIONSVILLE – When asked why traditional Catholics and evangelical Protestants so overwhelmingly support the Trump Administration, despite President Trump’s personal shortcomings and rash rhetoric, I respond that the answer should be obvious. We support this president because he supports the policies and practices most consistent with the religious liberty promised Americans from Plymouth Rock through 1776, to Gettysburg, to D-Day, and on to Afghanistan today.

As one Washington friend quipped, the vote of the faithful in 2016 was not a vote for president. It was for bodyguard,



**“Over the last three years I have worked to fulfill my pledge to Hoosiers. That’s why today I am announcing my reelection campaign for attorney general. Indiana needs strength, courage and bold conservative leadership.”**

*- Attorney General Curtis Hill, announcing for a 2nd term today*



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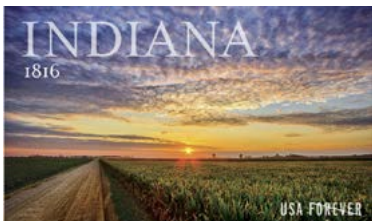
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because these liberties are more at risk now than at any time in our 400-year history. Furthermore, he is delivering these protections at significant political costs despite efforts to thwart him that may well be proven criminal. That's because all presidents pray for peace and prosperity, but if they are bold in their prayer life, they might beseech Providence for progress as well.

**This hat-trick of** presidential performance is actually the exception rather than the rule. In the post-World War II era, only Presidents Eisenhower, Reagan and Clinton enjoyed relative peace, prosperity and progress. Now the nation has this opportunity again, but Trump is subject to unending political harassment. In this tumult we are fortunate



succinct, brilliant and devastating critique of the left's decades-long assault on religious liberty. In so doing, Barr also underscored that President Trump's administration will defend Americans of faith, especially if voters grant it four more years.

In a speech that should be required reading by every high school U.S. government class student, Barr delivered an equally cogent summary of the religious foundations of American understanding of self-government. Then he added: "The problem is not that religion is being forced on others. The problem is that irreligion and secular values are being forced on people of faith. Similarly, militant secularists today do not have a live and let live spirit; they are not content to leave religious people alone

his definition of progress includes our most important concern, religious liberty. No wonder he has such strong support from this key constituency.

The practical policies Trump advances include religious liberty, per se, but also appointing federal judges who will uphold the Constitution, taming the smothering federal bureaucracy and standing up for American exceptionalism. These are related aspects of a robust civil society where we celebrate the lessening of social and governmental burdens by religious organizations. We should not threaten them.

U.S. Attorney General William Barr beautifully articulated this in an Oct. 11 address at the Law School of Notre Dame University. He offered a

to practice their faith. Instead, they seem to delight in compelling people to violate their conscience."

**In contrast to Barr's** Constitutional defense of religious liberty, the left's thinking was clearly revealed the evening before during a CNN broadcast focused on LGBTQ+ issues. Then Democrat presidential contender Beto O'Rourke, the former congressman from Texas, grabbed the headlines with his call to eliminate tax exemptions for churches and houses of worship, non-profits, schools, colleges and universities whose sincerely held religious beliefs hold marriage is only one man and one woman.

"There can be no reward, no benefit, no tax break for anyone

or any institution, any organization in America that denies the full human rights and the full civil rights of every single one of us," O'Rourke declared, sending shock waves through American politics before dropping out of the race just days later.

**Sorry, Notre Dame,** Indiana, actually home to three distinct institutions of higher learning. They can choose nice new buildings and endowed professorships or fidelity to the tenets of the Catholic Church, which gives these schools legitimacy and identity. Your work will be threatened, not celebrated.

Similarly think of all the bakers, florists, counselors, private schools receiving vouchers, photographers, adoption agencies and others hounded through the courts since the landmark Obergefell same-sex marriage case (2015). In that decision Justice Anthony Kennedy wrote people of good will, faith-filled and irreligious alike, may disagree on same-sex unions receiving recognition by the state. So Kennedy declared tolerance must prevail, and

the courts have been working overtime since underscoring that understanding.

Similar Trump Administration pro-faith efforts could be detailed on judicial appointments, rolling back Obama-era restrictions on faith-based adoption and foster care agencies, and initial steps toward defunding Planned Parenthood, America's largest abortion provider and the recipient of hundreds of millions of tax dollars annually, despite explicit statutory bans on federal funding for abortion.

**For those Americans** whose faith is their defining characteristic, a Trump presidency, as cacophonous and coarse as it is at times, is far better than the cold, calm, calculating and callous hostility of his predecessor and wannabe successors. A moral executioner is a far greater threat than an amoral protector. ❖

**Smith is the former president and CEO of the Indiana Family Institute.**

## Impeachment, from page 1

Jim Banks, an ardent defender of Trump.

"The questions presented by this impeachment inquiry are whether President Trump sought to exploit that ally's vulnerability and invite Ukraine's interference in our elections?" Schiff said. "Whether President Trump sought to condition official acts, such as a White House meeting or U.S. military assistance, on Ukraine's willingness to assist with two political investigations that would help his reelection campaign? And if President Trump did either, whether such an abuse of his power is compatible with the office of the presidency? The matter is as simple, and as terrible as that. Our answer to these questions will affect not only the future of this presidency, but the future of the presidency itself, and what kind of conduct or misconduct the American people may come to expect from their commander-in-chief."

**Republicans sought to portray** the proceedings as a partisan farce. Rep. Devin Nunes of California, the top Republican on the Intelligence panel, cited a "three-year-long operation" to "overturn the results of the 2016 election" by congressional Democrats. "This is a carefully orchestrated media smear campaign," Nunes said, and described the Ukraine controversy as a "low-rent" sequel to the investigation of the Trump campaign's contacts with Russians. Republicans argue that the proceedings are an attempt to abrogate the 2016 election that thrust Trump into a shocking upset that gained him the White House.

This fourth impeachment proceedings are expected to yield an indictment of President Trump in the House, and an acquittal in the Senate. The Indiana congressional delegation enters this process along partisan lines, with

Democrat Rep. Andre Carson and the retiring Pete Visclosky supporting the impeachment inquiry, while Republicans are opposed.

U.S. Rep. Andre Carson was the lone Hoosier to participate in the House proceedings on Wednesday.

**The two potential "jurors,"** U.S. Sens. Mike Braun and Todd Young, have been largely mum on the proceedings. Braun said last week he didn't believe there is enough evidence to force President Trump from office, telling WIBC, "The quid pro quo seems to be an interpretation and not to where there actually was one," Braun said. "I think that makes a difference."

In his opening statement, Chairman Adam Schiff framed the proceedings: "Earlier this year Volodymyr Zelensky was elected president of Ukraine on a platform of ending the conflict and tackling corruption. He was a newcomer to politics and immediately sought to establish a relationship with Ukraine's most powerful patron, the United States. The questions presented by this impeachment inquiry are whether President Trump sought to exploit that ally's vulnerability and invite Ukraine's interference in our elections? Whether President Trump sought to condition official acts, such as a White House meeting or U.S. military assistance, on Ukraine's willingness to assist with two political investigations that would help his reelection campaign? And if President Trump did either, whether such an abuse of his power is compatible with the office of the presidency?"

"The matter is as simple, and as terrible as that," Schiff said. "Our answer to these questions will affect not only the future of this presidency, but the future of the presidency itself, and what kind of conduct or misconduct the American people may come to expect from their

commander-in-chief.”

“These are the questions we must ask and answer. Without rancor if we can, without delay regardless, and without party favor or prejudice if we are true to our responsibilities,” Schiff said. “Benjamin Franklin was asked what kind of a country America was to become, ‘A Republic,’ he answered, ‘if you can keep it.’ The fundamental issue raised by the impeachment inquiry into Donald J. Trump is: Can we keep it?”

**Nunez said, “What we will** witness today is a televised theatrical performance staged by the Democrats. ... It will take years if not decades to restore faith in these institutions. This spectacle’s doing great damage to our country. It’s nothing more than an impeachment process in search of a crime.”

President Trump has characterized the proceedings as a “witch hunt.” He said in the Oval Office around noon Wednesday, “It’s a witch hunt, it’s a hoax. I’m too busy to watch it. I have not been briefed. ... They’re using lawyers that are television lawyers.”

Trump later tweeted: “The Impeachment Scam hearings begin today! This is a complete Fake Hearing (trial) to interview Never Trumpers and a Pelosi-Schiff SCAM against the Republican Party and me. It’s obvious they hate me, but more importantly, they HATE YOU. The Democrats know they can’t win in 2020, so they want to rip the power from your hands by ERASING your VOTE, ERASING your VOICE, and ERASING your FUTURE!”

But Republicans were not fully unified. Attorney George Conway, husband of senior White House official Kellyanne Conway, explained on MSNBC’s Morning Joe Wednesday, “When you take on that duty... you are promising to take that awesome power that’s being thrust upon you and use it for the nation’s benefit, and not for your own benefit. And the problem with Donald Trump is he always sees himself first. Trump is all about Trump. That’s what this is all about, he’s using, he was using the power of the presidency at its most unchecked area, foreign affairs, to advance his own personal interests as opposed to the country.”

**This impeachment effort** is different than the first three involving Presidents Andrew Johnson in 1868, Richard Nixon in 1974 and Bill Clinton in 1998-99, in that it comes during Trump’s first term and while he is seeking reelection. Johnson opted not to seek a second term in 1868, while Nixon and Clinton were prosecuted during second terms after winning landslide reelections.

The political implications are impossible to weigh. For much of the year, President Trump seemed to be goading Democrats to impeach him, believing it would help him win a second term in 2020.

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi resisted the bait for much of the year, until it was learned that on July 25, literally a day after President Trump seemed to dodge the Russia collusion investigation of Special Counsel Robert Mueller, that he appeared to extort political dirt on Joe and

Hunter Biden from Ukraine President Zelensky.

As Schiff explained, “A week later, on July 18, a representative from OMB, the White House agency that oversees federal spending, announced on a video conference call that Mulvaney, at the direction of the president, was freezing nearly \$400 million in security assistance authorized and appropriated by Congress and which the entirety of the U.S. national security establishment supported. One week after that, Donald Trump would have the now infamous July 25th phone call with Ukrainian President Zelensky. During that call, Trump complained that the U.S. relationship with Ukraine had not been ‘reciprocal.’ Later, Zelensky thanks Trump for his support ‘in the area of defense,’ and says that Ukraine was ready to purchase more Javelins, an antitank weapon that was among the most important deterrents of further Russian military action. Trump’s immediate response: ‘I would like you to do us a favor, though.’

Schiff added, “Trump then requested that Zelensky investigate the discredited 2016 ‘Crowdstrike’ conspiracy theory, and even more ominously, look into the Bidens. Neither of these investigations was in the U.S. national interest, and neither was part of the official preparatory material for the call.”

**Echoing many of the same** terms used by President Trump to describe the Democrat-led impeachment hearing, alternately referring to it as a “hoax,” a “scam” and a “carefully orchestrated media smear campaign,” Nunes charged that the proceeding was just the latest in long-running Democratic efforts to oust Trump from the White House.

Nunes also posited that Wednesday’s first witnesses at the live broadcast, longtime U.S. Ambassadors George Kent and William Taylor, could be participants in a Democrat-led effort. “It seems you agreed, wittingly or unwittingly, to participate in a drama,” said Nunes to the pair. “But the main performance, the Russia hoax, has ended. And you have been cast in the low-rent Ukrainian sequel.”

Nunes in particular objected to Democrats’ refusal to summon Hunter Biden to testify. In a July phone call with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky, Trump requested that the nation probe Biden and his former Vice President father for alleged wrongdoing in the nation.

There was some new ground. Politico called “the most explosive revelation” came from Taylor, who told lawmakers that one of his aides overheard Gordon Sondland, the U.S. ambassador to the European Union and a Trump campaign donor, on the phone with the president, during which the aide could hear Trump ask about “the investigations.” Taylor said Sondland told the president that the Ukrainians were “ready to move forward.”

The aide told Taylor that Sondland subsequently relayed “that President Trump cares more about the investigations of Biden, which Giuliani was pressing for.” Taylor said he was “not aware of this information” when he testified at a private deposition on Oct. 22.

When pressed by Schiff about whether he took

Trump's remarks on the call with Sondland to mean that Trump cares more about a Biden investigation than he does about Ukraine, Taylor responded: "Yes, sir."

Taylor also testified: "I want to emphasize at the outset that, while I am aware that the Committee has requested my testimony as part of impeachment proceedings, I am not here to take one side or the other, or to advocate for any particular outcome of these proceedings. My sole purpose is to provide facts as I know them about the incidents in question as well as my views about the strategic importance of Ukraine to the United States. Once I arrived in Kyiv, I discovered a weird combination of encouraging, confusing and ultimately alarming circumstances. There appeared to be two channels of U.S. policy-making and implementation, one regular and one highly irregular. I encountered an irregular, informal channel of U.S. policy-making with respect to Ukraine, unaccountable to Congress, a channel that included then-Special Envoy Kurt Volker, U.S. Ambassador to the European Union Gordon Sondland, Secretary of Energy Rick Perry, White House Chief of Staff Mick Mulvaney and, as I subsequently learned, Mr. Giuliani."

The hidden story for history is Trump's stonewalling of the investigation.

Former solicitor general Neal K. Katyal writes in the New York Times, "He has been blocking government officials from testifying before Congress, invoking specious claims of constitutional privilege. And while the Ukraine allegations have rightly captured the attention of Congress and much of the public, Mr. Trump's effort to hinder the House investigation of him is at least as great a threat to the rule of law. It strikes at the heart of American democracy, and it is itself the essence of an impeachable offense. President Trump has categorically refused to cooperate with the impeachment investigation. He has declined to turn over documents related to the inquiry and has instructed all members of his administration not to testify before Congress. Every member of the executive branch who has gone to tell the truth to the House impeachment investigators, like Marie Yovanovitch and Alexander Vindman (and maybe Gordon Sondland, too, at least the second time around), has done so in defiance of the president's instructions."

"Mr. Trump's stonewalling is a grave problem because it means there is no way to police executive branch wrongdoing," Katyal said. "The attorney general, William Barr, has said a sitting president cannot be indicted. The president's lawyers have gone so far as to say, in light of that principle, that he cannot even be criminally investigated. But every serious scholar who adheres to the view that a sitting president cannot be indicted combines that view with the belief that the impeachment process is the way to deal with a lawless president. Indeed, the very Jus-



tice Department opinions that Mr. Barr relied on to "clear" the president say exactly that. Otherwise a president could engage in extreme wrongdoing, and the American people would have no remedy."

## Reaction to opening testimony

Reaction to the first day of proceedings wasn't completely predictable.

Fox News host Chris Wallace said that Ambassador William Taylor's House testimony Wednesday was "very damaging" to President Donald Trump. "I think that William Taylor was a very impressive witness and was very damaging to the president," Wallace said. "First of all, as you pointed out, he took very copious notes at almost every conversation when he put quotes in his opening statement, he said those were direct quotes from what was said. It also doesn't hurt that he has a voice like Edward R. Murrow. He is a pretty impressive presence up there. And I think very non-political. He went out of his way to talk about what he knew, what he was specifically testament to."

U.S. Rep. Andre Carson, who questioned Ambassador Taylor during the hearing, said, "The testimony from these two men further confirmed and corroborated what we've been hearing for several weeks now, first through the report from the anonymous whistleblower, and then through depositions with a variety of first-hand witnesses: That this President abused his power and compromised our national security in a scheme designed to force the Ukrainian government to investigate a political rival. Through the hearing, it became even clearer how the President and his associates used a White House meeting and hundreds of millions in U.S. aid as a bargaining chip for Ukraine, putting our ally in a terrible position. And we learned new, deeply troubling details, like when Ambassador Taylor recounted a phone call in which President Trump asked Ambassador Sondland about the status of the investigation into Joe Biden."

U.S. Rep. Jim Banks, R-Columbia City, called the first day of hearings by the House Intelligence Committee "a made-for-TV circus meant to smear the president." U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski, R-Jimtown, said majority Democrats in the House "have been working to impeach the president since day one."

Trump campaign manager Brad Parscale said, "The entire world can read the transcript of President Trump's conversation with President Zelensky, so people don't need to rely on third-party opinions when they can see the facts for themselves. Despite that, today we heard from Democrats' hand-picked star witnesses, who together were not on the Ukraine phone call, did not speak directly to President Trump, got third-hand hearsay from one side of a different phone call in a restaurant, and formed opinions based on stories in the pages of the New York Times. We hate to break it to these unelected, career government bureaucrats who think they know best: The president of the United States sets foreign policy, not them." ❖

# Mayor Pete leads Iowa in Monmouth Poll

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS — South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg has joined former Vice President Joe Biden, Massachusetts Sen. Elizabeth Warren, and Vermont Sen. Bernie Sanders at the top of the leaderboard in the third Monmouth University Poll of the 2020 Iowa Democratic caucuses. Buttigieg's gains since the summer have been across the board, with increasing support coming from nearly every demographic group. Regardless, less than one-third of likely caucusgoers say that they are firmly set on their choice of candidate and most would not be too disappointed if they had to switch their support.



The poll also finds that Mike Bloomberg receives a chilly reception among Hawkeye State Democrats as he considers whether to make a late entry into the nomination contest. Four candidates are currently vying for the top spot in Iowa's caucuses – Buttigieg (22%), Biden (19%), Warren (18%), and Sanders (13%). Compared to Monmouth's August poll, Buttigieg has gained 14 points (up from 8%) and Sanders has gained 5 points (up from 8%), while Biden has lost 7 points (down from 26%), and Warren's standing has changed by only 2 points (20% previously). Buttigieg has gained ground among every major demographic group since the summer. His support stands at 26% among voters who describe themselves as moderate or conservative, 23% among those who are somewhat liberal, and 15% among those who are very liberal. He is currently in the top tier for both women (24%, to 22% for Biden, and 20% for Warren), and men (20%, to 19% for Sanders and 16% for Warren). "Buttigieg is emerging as a top pick for a wide variety of Iowa Democrats. While he has made nominally bigger gains among older caucusgoers, you really can't pigeonhole his support to one particular group. He is doing well with voters regardless of education or ideology," said Patrick Murray, director of the independent Monmouth University Polling Institute.

## Buttigieg airing Medicare ad in Iowa

Pete for America announced a television ad buy focused on Mayor Pete Buttigieg's signature Medicare for All Who Want It proposal. The new 30-second spot "Refreshing," will run statewide on television and digital. The ad highlights Iowans' support for Pete's Medicare for All Who Want It plan, which combats the rising cost of health care while providing Americans with the freedom to choose the best health care plan for themselves and their families.

## Buttigieg seeks a coalition

As Pete Buttigieg boarded his campaign bus Monday afternoon, a New Hampshire voter stopped him to ask if campaign staffers were hawking "Republicans for Pete" stickers yet. They aren't. But Buttigieg, who's staking out center-left ground in the Democratic presidential primary, is trying to build a coalition of unaffiliated voters to go along with Democrats and make a surprise splash in the open-primary state featuring two senators-next-door, Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warren, campaigning on the left (Politico). At town halls during his latest swing across New Hampshire, Buttigieg name-checked "future former Republicans" in the same breath as "progressives and moderates ... ready for some kind of change." His organizers are targeting independent voters from the new field offices Buttigieg opened this fall. And while Buttigieg is polling well in both Iowa and New Hampshire right now, jockeying for first place in the caucus state and breaking into double-digits in several recent polls of each state, the presence of non-Democrats in the New Hampshire Democratic primary, unlike Iowa's closed caucus system, could prove decisive in a tight Democratic nominating race that has divided sharply along ideological lines in recent months. "We're running in the Democratic primary and I'm running on the values that make me a Democrat, but there is room for a lot of people," Buttigieg said. "We're definitely going to make sure we're reaching out and cultivating folks who are ready to cross sides."

## Governor

### Holcomb approval at 50% in BSU Poll

Gov. Eric Holcomb's approval rating is very similar to his approval ratings in the two previous years, standing at 50% in the Ball State University Hoosier Poll. Only 17% of Hoosiers expressed disapproval of the governor. Approximately 33% of Hoosiers expressed no opinion about his job performance or said they had never heard of him.

The Indiana General Assembly's job approval rating is at 45%. At 19%, disapproval is at the lowest point measured in the history of this survey.

### Melton committed to governor's race

State Sen. Eddie Melton said he will remain in the governor's race and not pursue the open 1st CD race. "Rep. Visclosky is a powerful member of Congress with a passion for improving the lives in his district and this nation," Melton said. "I have been lucky enough to have a front seat to his leadership throughout my lifetime and I couldn't be more grateful for his work. I have been humbled by the outpouring of bi-partisan support encouraging me to pursue this congressional seat in 2020, but as I said upon my announcement, I am firmly committed to becoming the next governor of Indiana and fighting to improve the quality of life of every Hoosier." So far Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr., and North Township Trustee

Frank J. Mrvan have said they will pursue the 1st CD. Bill Hanna, president and CEO of the Northwest Regional Development Authority is also being encouraged to run.

**Holcomb endorsed by State Police Alliance**

Gov. Eric Holcomb joined Cory Martin, executive director of the Indiana State Police Alliance, and active and retired state troopers as the organization announced it is endorsing the governor’s 2020 reelection bid. “It is very apparent that through countless interactions, Gov. Holcomb not only supports our members but truly cares about them as one Hoosier to another,” said Martin. “He truly does put people first.”

**Statewides**

**Hill announces for reelection**

Attorney General Curtis Hill announced that he is running for re-election in 2020: “Over the last three years, I have worked to fulfill my pledge to Hoosiers: from cracking down on violent criminals to protecting the most vulnerable in our society. Standing for what’s right is harder than ever, but I do it every day with courage

and conviction as Attorney General, and I’m just getting started. That’s why, today, I am announcing my re-election campaign for Attorney General. Indiana needs strength, courage, and bold conservative leadership,” Curtis Hill said. “At a time when freedom and our way of life are under attack, I’ll continue to work with President Trump, and



others, on important issues facing our nation and state. I’ll never back down from partisan attacks, the media, and even Republicans embarrassed to defend our values,” Hill added. The BSU Poll tested Hill for the first time. Large percentages of Hoosiers either have not heard of Curtis Hill (11%) or didn’t express an opinion (36%).

Only 38% of respondents approved of the attorney general’s job performance; 15% expressed disapproval. As might be expected, Democrats were most likely to express disapproval. Republicans were more likely than Democrats or Independents to express approval, but even among Hill’s fellow party members, fewer than half (48%) expressed approval. ❖





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# Remembering Adm. Spruance and the Battle of Midway

By **CRAIG DUNN**

INDIANAPOLIS — A quiet, composed teenager graduated from Shortridge High School in May, 1903, and embarked on a career that few have ever experienced.



From a sedate, normal and uneventful high school career, this young Hoosier rose to the apex of the United States Navy and commanded a vast flotilla of ships during the darkest days of the Pacific War until witnessing the signing of the Japanese surrender on the USS Missouri in Tokyo Bay. Admiral Raymond Spruance is one of those Hoosiers who amazingly pop up throughout the history of our great country.

The movie "Midway" tells the story of the miraculous series of events which led to the reversal of fortune for the Japanese Navy and ultimately to its complete defeat. The resurrection of the United States Navy is directly related to Raymond Spruance and his accidental command at the Battle of Midway.

Raymond Spruance was born in 1886 in New Jersey, and moved to Indianapolis when he was 13. Spruance entered Shortridge High School as a 13-year-old and was graduated just shy of his 17th birthday. His father wanted him to try to attend the United States Military Academy, but Spruance had his heart set on the Naval Academy. Entrance to the service academies for anyone who did not have a congressional sponsor was done by competitive entrance exams.



**Spruance qualified by** examination in both Indiana and New Jersey. He asked that he be admitted to the Naval Academy as a midshipman from Indiana. Spruance demonstrated no athletic ability nor extracurricular abilities during his academy days. He is remembered as being quiet, studious, serious and totally focused on his

studies and duty. He was also well-liked by virtually all and made no enemies in school, an important distinction in the United States Navy.

Spruance progressed steadily up through the ranks, demonstrating competence at a wide variety of postings and commands. He instilled confidence from his superiors and subordinates alike. This competence was recognized early in his career by William F. "Bull" Halsey. The two frequently found themselves working in a productive superior and subordinate relationship in the peacetime navy.

**In 1938, Spruance was** promoted to rear admiral and given command of the battleship USS Mississippi. When World War II erupted in December 1941, Spruance commanded the four heavy cruisers and support ships of Cruiser Division Five. His cruiser division was built around the aircraft carrier USS Enterprise, commanded by Vice Admiral Halsey.

While he was in command of his cruiser division, fate smiled down on Spruance and Halsey. Sent from Pearl Harbor to deliver a squadron of dive bombers to Wake Island, the Enterprise and its cruiser protection were at sea and absent from Pearl Harbor when Japanese forces launched from aircraft carriers made their devastating attack on Dec. 7. Spruance was due to sail into Pearl Harbor at 07:30 on Dec. 7 but his flotilla was held up by a strong headwind and heavy seas.

The Japanese had not only launched surprise attacks at Hawaii but had also hit the Philippines and several other strategic Southeast Asian locations. American forces were staggered by the collective Japanese blows but not bowed. Naval forces longed for retribution and soon they



were given an opportunity to launch an attack directly on the Japanese mainland.

On April 18, 1942, the USS Hornet launched 12 U.S. Army Air Force bombers from its deck on a daring bombing raid against Tokyo. The Japanese could not conceive of the possibility that the bombers were carrier-launched and assumed incorrectly that the planes were launched from the tiny island of Midway. The Imperial Navy at once ordered preparations for a surprise attack on Mid-



way.

During the third week of May, 1942, Naval Intelligence had cracked the Japanese communications code and confirmed that the Imperial Navy would strike against Midway by early June. After much consternation and worry that the cracked code might not be accurate, American codebreakers had an innocuous message broadcast from Midway that the island's desalinization plant was not working properly. When Japanese intelligence sent a coded message to the fleet informing Admiral Nagumo that Midway had a fresh-water problem, the focus of the Japanese attack was verified.

**The commander-in-chief** of the U.S. Pacific Fleet, Admiral Chester Nimitz, knew that he had a golden opportunity to strike a deadly blow at the Japanese carrier fleet. He must act quickly and dispatch his own fleet to an appropriate rendezvous with the Japanese. Nimitz had one nasty operational problem; the commander of his joint carrier task force, Bull Halsey, was laid up in a hospital with a debilitating case of the shingles. Halsey recommended that Nimitz appoint his able subordinate Raymond Spruance to be his replacement in the upcoming engagement. Although Spruance had never commanded an aircraft carrier nor flown a plane, he was selected by Nimitz for this incredible command assignment.

Spruance steamed to the northeast of Midway Island and began the task of sending out scout planes in search of the Japanese fleet. At a few minutes past 06:00 on June 4, a scout plane reported sighting two Japanese carriers. Spruance sailed the Enterprise to the southwest with the intent of launching planes as soon as the Japanese force could be pinned down. Planes from the USS Hornet located the Japanese carriers first and made several fruitless attacks with both torpedo dive bombers and dive bombers. Virtually all of the attacking planes and their pilots were lost.

Spruance had been given specific orders by Nimitz to defer to his air commander, Capt. Miles Browning, when it came to air operations. Browning wanted to get both the dive bombers and the torpedo dive bombers into the air at one time before advancing to the attack. Something about this troubled Spruance and the inexperienced carrier commander overrode Browning's orders and issued his own orders that the Enterprise's dive bombers should proceed in their attack, lest the overall force suffer from lack of fuel. As it was, the Enterprise dive bombers expended over half of their fuel before they located the Japanese carriers. Thirty dive bombers dove on the Japanese carriers whose decks were full of munitions and aviation fuel. In less than five minutes two of the Japanese carriers had been destroyed. Further attacks by a combined attack by

planes from the Yorktown and the Enterprise sank the remaining two Japanese carriers. One final attack from the Japanese severely damaged the Yorktown and it later was sunk after being abandoned.

**The history-changing** Battle of Midway was made possible because Admiral Chester Nimitz had made the bold decision to meet the overpowering Japanese fleet in battle, Raymond Spruance overruled his air commander and ordered his bomber pilots to proceed on mission assigned, and by Commander Wade McClusky who flew his squadron's planes past half empty in search of the Japanese, knowing that there would not be enough fuel to return to his ship, and in the process located the Japanese carriers at the last moment.

Admiral Spruance went on to full command of one of the two fleets in the Pacific Theater, the Fifth Fleet. He commanded U.S. forces at the Battle of the Philippine Sea, destroying three carriers, two oilers and over 600 enemy planes. For most of the war he preferred to use the heavy cruiser the USS Indianapolis as his flagship. For his service



he won the Navy Cross for his actions at Iwo Jima and Okinawa.

After the war, Spruance was made president of the Naval War College. He retired in 1948 and was appointed ambassador to the Philippines by President Harry S Truman. He died in 1969 and is buried in California.

**Who would have ever** imagined that a quiet little kid who walked down Meridian Street and turned into Shortridge High School would one day serve to turn the fortunes of war in the Pacific? As another Veterans Day passes, let us pay special remembrance to Hoosier Raymond A. Spruance. ❖

**Dunn is the former Howard County Republican chairman.**

# National trends in South Bend race

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – National politics, usually of little significance in city elections, was an important factor as James Mueller won the mayoral race in South Bend. It was reflected in the totals in these two examples: Mueller, the choice of Mayor Pete Buttigieg to be his successor, won



with 63% of the vote, impressive, but short of the 80% by which Mayor Pete won reelection in 2015.

Still, Mueller got more votes this time than Mayor Pete did in that reelection landslide.

Election night totals showed Mueller, the Democratic nominee, defeating Republican Sean Haas by 9,261 to 5,341. Four years ago, it was Buttigieg over Republican Kelly Jones by 8,515 to 2,074.

Obviously, total turnout was higher, even though once again there was the perception that the real race for mayor was in the May Democratic primary, with the November general election more of a noncompetitive formality. After all, no Republican has won a mayoral race in South Bend since 1967, and in many of the races since then the Republican nominee was considered a joke.

Haas was no joke. He waged a serious campaign. Many Republicans who in the past couldn't justify voting for a joke decided this time they could vote for the party nominee.

More than that brought higher totals.

**Mueller's campaign found** in polling that the tribalism on the national political scene – neither side willing to concede anything positive about members of the other side – was at work here, too. And Mayor Pete now is a serious contender for the Democratic presidential nomination. A poll taken for Mueller for the primary election showed sky high approval for Buttigieg, and what the pollster said was astounding agreement that South Bend was on the right track. That approval for Mayor Pete was why Mueller, who began as a little-known contender, won the nomination. Buttigieg endorsed him and contributed funds and campaign expertise.

But in later polls it was found that some voters were starting to have more negative views. Some poll respondents were even saying the downtown really hadn't been improved. What? Remember downtown eight years ago?

Polling also found that people in the same area would split on condition of the same streets, with politics rather driving determining how their streets should be graded.

Some folks who thought Mayor Pete was smart, capable and moving South Bend in the right direction became aware that he also was a Democratic presidential candidate, a partisan Democrat saying harsh things about President Trump, who retains high approval ratings in Indiana. Could they vote for Mueller, also in that other tribe and endorsed by Mayor Pete to carry on his policies in the city?

**National political concerns** worked both ways.

A key reason why Mueller got even more votes than Mayor Pete did four years ago was that some Democrats who otherwise would have stayed home, regarding the race as already over, went to the polls to give a vote of confidence to Buttigieg, to make sure that the national news media and political opponents didn't find that the mayor's hand-picked successor did poorly.

While Buttigieg's name wasn't on the ballot, the race and the turnout were in large measure about him. "No Re-Pete" was a theme of the Haas campaign. He consistently portrayed Buttigieg as a failure and warned that Mueller would continue disastrous policies.


"Working with Mayor Pete" was a theme of Mueller's extensive TV campaign. He cited his efforts as a key figure in the administration and promised to continue similar efforts.

If Buttigieg was going off to be a college president, national politics would have been of little significance, Mueller wouldn't have needed such an all-out campaign effort and totals for both Mueller and Haas would have been much lower. ❖

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

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# Fort Wayne following national trends

By **MARK SOUDER**

FORT WAYNE – In a year when introducing yourself as an incumbent mayor in many Hoosier cities was akin to being known as the carrier of a transferable, incurable disease, Mayor Tom Henry romped to a fourth consecutive victory with over 60% against a relatively strong candidate



(e.g. smart, organized, very well-funded). It is the sixth straight Democrat triumph in the Fort Wayne's mayoral race. In other words, there has not been a Republican mayor in the 21st Century.

The only two Republicans to have won in the last 50 years (since Harold Zeis in 1967) – one-term Robert Armstrong in 1975 and Paul Helmke in 1987 – were

greatly aided by legal problems of the incumbent Democrats. Helmke won three times, and only left office in 1999 to seek and win the Republican nomination for the United States Senate.

Yet some Republicans continue to peddle the falsehood that Fort Wayne is a Republican city. It is not. The annexations, most initiated by Mayor Helmke as sort of a mini-Unigov, added largely Republican territory, just as Unigov made Indianapolis more Republican than it otherwise would be, which is a different point. The general demographic readjustments that occur in every major city even occur, though more slowly, in smaller-sized urban areas; former non-city residents move out further beyond the new city limits.

Years ago, during a redistricting, my good friend Congressman John Shadegg of Arizona was in an intense battle with some of his Arizona Republican colleagues over new district lines. John's district was anchored in Scottsdale and the northern areas. The battle was not over real people, but over sand. Phoenix continues to sprawl. Every Republican knew that the highest percentage Republican areas, within the next few years, were areas that were currently just sand.

**In other words**, viewing from the sky, a similar pattern is occurring everywhere in America and it is impacting the control of Congress. For years, the Democrat popular vote was under-represented in the House of Representatives because the Democrats would win their seats something like 90% to 10% and the core Republican areas were 70-30% in their favor. The key was the suburban and cities under 100,000, which Republicans more often than not carried by 55-45% or 58-42%. As Republicans move

further out, and pack in, the adjacent areas to the city absorb more Democrats. Or, if the city annexes, the annexed areas become less Republican faster which counters the Republican political advantage of annexation. In other words, such "big picture" shifts also impact city elections.

I can see this steady change in my neighborhood. We live in Aboite Township, once a Republican bastion. Our annexed portion is no longer a bastion, but a leaky hold. The margins slip just a little each election. The area outside the city, once farmland, is now the GOP stronghold. There are similar signs in the older portions of Hamilton County.

**Another common reason** given that Fort Wayne is Republican, and that it is internal divisions that cost the party elections, was that the City Council was controlled by Republicans, with an unusually large 7-2 majority going into this election. However, the same congressional district structure changes are true inside many cities, the packing in of similar voters.

There are six districts and three at-large. The Republicans held, and continue to hold, the north three districts (1-3). These areas include most of the annexed areas and each is drawn to cut toward the center city like pie slices (each have areas inside Coliseum Boulevard), but not too much. They could be drawn differently but the map is not egregiously drawn. It is just moderately helpful to Republicans. Democrats are packed into Districts 5 and 6, covering the heart of the original city and the minority-dominated southeastern section. District 4 is southwest and includes the annexed areas of Aboite. This was once the strongest Republican area but is increasingly becoming a battleground area.

Here is another way to make this point: Tim Smith would have defeated Mayor Henry in the portion of Allen County not inside the city limits. He was very popular there. Since all of Allen County gets mostly the same media, the GOP events, donors, and activists include city and non-city residents which confuses observers and fellow Republicans about how well the GOP candidate is doing. It is hard to sort who is who.

**The barometer** of what is happening overall, beyond the mayor, are city-wide contests which are the at-large council seats plus the city clerk. This is an interesting but very important side note. All the city-wide candidates endorsed by the liberal Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette won. They endorsed Mayor Henry, two of the three at-large Democrats for Council, and two Republicans. Lana Keesling is the city clerk. She does her non-ideological job well, and to their credit (in my opinion), the Journal endorsed her. They also endorsed incumbent Republican Tom Freistroffer, the least partisan Republican. He is basically conservative but more supportive of Mayor Henry.

Katie Zuber, the Democrat candidate for clerk, won 48.3% of the vote, losing by only 1,700 votes out of 52,000. Steve Corona, the third Democrat, also narrowly lost, by a little over 2,000 votes. It is not clear why the Journal opposed him in the primary and the general

elections. While newspapers are not what they once were in influence, they still are influential to readers, especially when openly partisan information dominates. Given how close the election was, had the Journal endorsed both of those Democrats, it seems likely they would have swept all city-wide races, though not by a landslide like Mayor Henry accomplished.

**The Democrat victory** was also not a matter of Election Day turnout. For example, among the at-large city council candidates, those who voted on Election Day voted for the two incumbent Republicans by significant margins and the third, a newcomer, was nipped by long-time Democrat councilman Glenn Hines. The Republicans, however, were mashed by the organized Democrat (more likely Tom Henry) political machine among early voters by thousands.

At the core of the Republican problem is that in Indiana we don't have party registration, so identifying Republicans and Democrats by primary voting patterns is risky. Many Democrats vote in Republican primaries because in this region there is not much of a functioning Democrat Party beyond the city elections. Congressman Jim Banks defeated the Democrat challenger, who raised around \$800,000, by the same large margin as he had defeated Tommy Schrader, who had zero dollars and was a sad, rather pathetic figure in the city. That is unlikely to change in the near future. The Republicans still get a decent vote inside the city, with some candidates carrying it depending upon their opponents, and then clobber the Democrats in the rest of the region.

**One incomplete** poll during my last primary in 2010 showed that between 25% and 35% of my closest Republican opponent's supporters answered that they had voted for President Obama (almost all in Fort Wayne). The best way to defeat a Republican sheriff, commissioner or congressman is to vote in the Republican primary. This has been true for decades. The core Democrat vote is larger than the core Republican vote. Turnout is not the solution. Winning the large numbers of people in Fort Wayne who are willing to switch determines the margins.

How did Tom Henry turn a Democrat-leaning city into a romp? I plan to next discuss some of the core issues Fort Wayne, Indiana and the nation are struggling with in both parties: Negative ads, social issue divides, business versus free market conservatives on economic issues, and the increasing ideological demands of a growing number of factions inside each party that insist they are "the base."

Tom Henry brilliantly managed to negotiate his party's landmines while exploiting the Republican fractures. ❖

**Souder is the former Republican congressman in the 4th CD.**

## Where did they come from?

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS — The moving van pulls away leaving new people and their strange possessions next door. There is something different about them and the things they own. Something strange that suggests they are not quite like us, long-time residents of this place.



Where do those strangers come from? We're fortunate the U.S. Bureau of the Census has studied that question concerning persons who were one year of age and older in 2018. They found 84.9% of Hoosiers were folks who lived in the same house as they did in 2017. But that's below the national average of 86%, and we rank 32nd among the 50 states (plus the District of Colum-

bia). Hoosiers are less homebodies than other residents of this nation? Where did those strangers come from?

Take heart! Indiana ranks 10th in the nation (12.4%) in terms of persons who moved within the same state in the last year. Those strangers may be from just around the corner, or as far away at Angola, Aurora, Mt. Vernon or Whiting. Thus, they're not really strangers. Take them a welcoming casserole. Make sure you exchange cell phone numbers and don't hesitate to give them your email address.

So, with 84.9% of us living in the same house as a year ago, and 12.4% moving from somewhere else in Indiana, we have only 2.7% of our neighbors coming from some other state or nation. We're securely in 38th place in the U.S. in having "foreigners" in our midst, whether they come from Illinois or Indonesia.

**Yes, we're not burdened** with having to understand accents or customs from far off Kentucky or Kazakhstan. In Alaska, North Dakota, Idaho and Wyoming, 5% or more of the residents come from out of state or foreign lands. No, at 2.7% of folks who were resident in a different state one year earlier, we're just behind Mississippi and Alabama, and tied with Texas and Iowa.

It's noteworthy that Texas, with its "porous" border, under attack from Central American hordes, is no different from Indiana in regard to its stay-put population. Further, where Indiana ranked 32nd in the portion of the population living in the same house as a year earlier, New York, New Jersey and Delaware topped the list with 89%

in that category. New York State, where the city maintains some degree of rent control, is understandable.

Also, we can understand Washington, Colorado and Oregon leading the list of states with the lowest percent of persons living in the same house. Those states have Seattle, Denver and Portland, each a strong magnet for populations, old and young, seeking dynamic environ-

ments. Next week in this space, we'll look in detail at where Hoosiers have been moving and from which states we have attracted movers. ❖

**Mr. Marcus is an economist. Reach him at [mortonj-marcus@yahoo.com](mailto:mortonj-marcus@yahoo.com). Follow his views and those of John Guy on "Who gets what?" com**

## In democracy, you can't accomplish things alone

By LEE HAMILTON

BLOOMINGTON – One of the not-so-small gifts of living in a representative democracy is that you can't accomplish things alone. Whether you're trying to get a stop sign put up on a dangerous corner or to change U.S. policy on greenhouse gas emissions, you have to reach out to others. And learning how to persuade, motivate,



and involve them – learning the skills of active citizenship, in other words – makes this a stronger, more resilient country.

So I want to make a case for building and using those skills by tackling the issues right in front of us. We all live in communities that we know better than anyone who doesn't live there, including the policy makers who every day make decisions on larger issues that affect our lives

there. Who better than those who live in a particular community to step up, identify its problems, and then work to solve them?

Don't get me wrong. There are battles aplenty on the big issues of health care, education, the role of government, tax policy, foreign policy. These matter, and they require the attention of ordinary citizens as well as of political leaders and policy makers.

**But so does improving** the quality of life where we live. As a member of Congress, I was constantly impressed by the issues constituents wanted addressed; they were usually linked in some way to the larger issues we took up on Capitol Hill, but always approached with the unique perspective of the particular community.

These approaches ranged widely. One group's purpose was to upgrade railroad warning lights, after too many accidents at crossings spurred them on. In a drought-stricken community, residents came together to manage the use of water in their watershed. Schools were a constant concern, as parents struggled to make

sure that bright kids could be challenged while kids who were struggling or in some other way disadvantaged got opportunities to find a path to success. Hospital emergency rooms, roads and bridges, community centers and programs for the elderly, all of these commanded attention from ordinary people who identified the problem, gathered allies, debated tactics, and found a way to make their communities better.

**Often these were people** who were not closely connected with politics or government. They just wanted to improve something in their community, so they learned how the system works, and then learned how to make it work to help them accomplish their goals. Some of them, over time, became community leaders and moved on to school boards, city councils, and state legislatures after honing their democratic skills by working on problems of immediate concern. Others went back to their lives, pleased that they'd improved one aspect of their neighbors' lives.

I came to see these examples as the wellspring of representative democracy.

To be sure, even at the local level, things can get complicated. It used to puzzle me when someone would come forward with an idea to improve a water system or a sewer system, and just as quickly opposition would pop up. Often this was because improvement required change – including, sometimes, a tax increase. And there will always be voices for leaving things be. But that's the nature of the democratic process; change deserves debate, and learning to marshal facts, find and work with allies, and ultimately sway public opinion is part and parcel of living in the system we enjoy.

**The more people are willing** to do this, the more confident we can be that the answer to Lincoln's question at Gettysburg – can this nation "long endure" – is "Yes." It works if citizens step up to address the needs and conditions they face. Participating in the process challenges us to make our case, develop our skills of persuasion, and become better at speaking, listening, building consensus, and being an engaged member of a community.

These are the bedrock skills on which democracy rests, and the more of us who possess them, the stronger our system will be. Nothing in public life gave me greater pleasure than to see citizens in action. ❖

**Lee Hamilton is a Senior Advisor for the Indiana University Center on Representative Government.**

# To be blunt and tribal

By **LINDA CHEZEM**

MARTINSVILLE – To be blunt is new under the political sun? “The Red and the Blue: The 1990s and the Birth of Political Tribalism,” by Steve Kornacki and about 10 hours of airport and flight time may help answer this question.



“The Red and the Blue” provides an interestingly precise look back at the time I was serving on the nonpartisan Indiana Court of Appeals and limited to the role of an interested spectator of the political world. I was prohibited from political participation by Indiana law. This past weekend, I was happily reading when Mr. Kornacki’s direct quotes

caused me to do a double take and reconsider that era of which, I thought, I had observed with political detachment. Are there portents for Election 2020 in the 1990’s? Did the campaign of Patrick Buchanan foreshadow the election of 2016?

As we start the countdown toward Election 2020, we face what threatens to be a long year of political gotchas and nasty competition among the candidates to make damning accusations about each other. Should the sane among us turn off the electronic delivery of all media, social or news? What is the message and what one is believable as the political slings and arrows fly? Are the stories more likely meant to improve the writer’s income than to inform the reader? A story may be accurate and still be an inflammatory story. Yellow journalism? Yes, I read all about it in my undergraduate journalism class.

**Musing, I turned to the** Columbia Journalism Review and found an interesting observation in December 2016 from David Uberti: “The broader issue driving the paranoia is the tardy realization among mainstream media that they no longer hold the sole power to shape and drive the news agenda. Broad­sides against fake news amount to a rearguard action from an industry fending off competitors who don’t play by the same rules, or maybe don’t even know they exist.”

Mr. Uberti’s observation leads to wondering of whether there is something new under the political sun? Considering the foregoing quote, the answer is no, and yes. Not new, money and chicanery have always been a factor in campaigns. The courts are not equipped with good legislative language to deal with the sloppy political mores including money challenges nor any guarantee of fair and open reporting. The new factors in shaping the campaigns for Election 2020 may be the amounts of money needed, the inability to obtain accurate and unopinionated reporting, and the speed of modern communications.

The speed and volume of electronically transmitted news is outstripping our ability to follow, to fact check, and to consider the source and extent of the report we are seeing. It takes time to think. Just as one takes the time to brew a good cup of coffee, one must percolate the ideas and the references in the various stories to achieve a modicum of understanding. Lynching by media is not new but the speed of the yank is. Most of us do not have the ability to deal, in a thoughtful fashion, with the speed and volume of information thrown at us.

**For example, Mr. Kornacki** wrote about the various views of the character of President William Clinton. With a nickname of “Slick Willie,” a time traveler might wonder how did he get elected? The unflattering characterizations by his own Democrat Party were water off a duck’s back and did not stick. Mr. Kornacki noted that allegations of extra-martial affairs by presidents were nothing new and had not moved the needle of public opinion regarding previous presidents. The stories in hard copy printed newspapers and magazines about the old and new allegations against President Clinton were ho-hum sex. What was unprecedented was the appearance on national TV by President Clinton and Mrs. Clinton, specifically to deny the affairs. I did not watch the show because I thought voyeurism was in poor taste. Dragging personal details of a marriage into the public discussion was just icky. At the time, I did not think a president’s sex life was a relevant aspect of his performance as a president.

The allegations of corruption and self-dealing in the 1990s against the Clintons were not much different than against previous presidents. And the effort to remove President Clinton failed, although somebody should tell the “Me Too” crowd about this footnote in history. However, the 1990’s and the Clinton presidency may become more relevant as the U. S. House of Representatives is lurching (The Huddle calls the process “streamlined”) toward impeachment. The reporting frenzy suggests that this is going to be a titillating week.

**The distractions of shiny** ornaments such as sex scandals and personal financial corruption can sell news and political consultants’ strategies even if they are not very bright. But scandal-mongering accusations about sex and corruption do not solve problems. Neither political party has a monopoly on scandal. The take home from “The Red and The Blue” is that much of the scandal broth and the blathering about it (especially impeachment threats and issues) is not making for a better government nor even more reliable reporting about the government. And, if we were serious about fixing the problems, we would demand legislation that gives clear mandates and authority to the courts to ensure fair and honest elections.

If the past is portent of the future, the content of the 2020 campaign will be tediously nasty, and we have reason to dread the next 363 days. ❖

**Chezem is a former Indiana appellate court judge.**

# The pitfalls of Medicare for all for Democrats

By **ALAN I. ABRAMOWITZ**

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. — “Medicare for All” has emerged as a key issue in the 2020 Democratic presidential nomination campaign. Two of the leading candidates, Sens. Bernie Sanders (I-VT) and Elizabeth Warren (D-MA), have made Medicare for All a central issue in their campaigns. Warren’s and Sanders’ proposals would abolish private health insurance in the U.S. within a few years and move all Americans into a government health plan based on the current Medicare program but with no copayments or deductibles.

Several Democratic candidates, including former Vice President Joe Biden, who has led in most national polls, have been highly critical of this idea. These candidates, along with a number of health policy experts and pundits, have attacked Sanders’ and Warren’s Medicare for All proposal as prohibitively expensive and politically unrealistic. They have also argued that embracing Medicare for All would alienate many independents and moderate Democrats and risk costing Democrats the electoral votes of several key swing states.

But 2020 is not the first election in which Medicare for All was an important campaign issue. It was also debated extensively during the 2018 midterm elections. By examining the impact of Medicare for All on the results of the 2018 U.S. House elections, we may gain some insights into how this issue could affect the 2020 presidential election.

Fortunately, we have very good information about the positions taken by Democratic House candidates on Medicare for All based on their responses to a survey conducted by a group advocating for this policy, National Nurses United. According to the results of this survey, 51% (219 of 429 districts included in the survey) of Democratic House candidates endorsed a version of Medicare for All supported by NNU -- one that is fairly close to that proposed by Sanders and Warren.

Not surprisingly, support for Medicare for All was most

prevalent among Democratic candidates running in safe Democratic districts. As the data in Table 1 show, fully 73% of Democratic candidates in districts that Hillary Clinton won by a margin of at least 20 points supported Medicare for All. However, the data in Table 1 show that the lowest level of support for Medicare for All was not in strongly Republican districts but in districts that leaned Republican -- those that voted narrowly for Donald Trump in 2016. These findings suggest that Democratic candidates were least likely to support Medicare for All

in marginally Republican districts where it could reduce their chances of winning.

Table 2: Outcomes of House elections by candidate position on Medicare for All for Democrat-

ic challengers and open seat candidates in competitive districts

The evidence in Table 2 suggests that Democrats in marginal House districts were right to be concerned about the potential impact of Medicare for All on their electoral prospects. This table displays the relationship between the Democratic candidate’s position on Medicare for All and the election results in 60 competitive House districts -- districts that featured no incumbent running or a Republican incumbent seeking another term where Donald Trump won or lost by a margin of less than 10 points. These 60 districts accounted for at least 31 of the 40 net seats gained by Democrats in 2018.[1]

The results in Table 2 show that Democratic candidates supporting Medicare for All did substantially worse than those who did not -- winning only 45% of their races compared with 72% for the non-supporters. Their average vote margin of 0.5 percentage points was also somewhat worse than the average vote margin of 3.5 points for the non-supporters. This was true despite the fact that in terms of 2016 presidential vote margin, the districts of supporters were

somewhat more Democratic (average Clinton margin of -0.2 points) than the districts of non-supporters (average Clinton margin of -2.7 points). However, non-supporters did spend more money on their campaigns than supporters -- an average of nearly \$5 million compared with an average of \$4.2 million. ❖



**Table 1: Support for Medicare for All among Democratic House candidates by district partisanship**

District Partisanship	Medicare for All		Total number of candidates
	Yes	No	
Safe Rep (20+)	44%	56%	116
Solid Rep (10-20)	42%	58%	62
Favor Rep (5-10)	29%	71%	24
Lean Rep (LT 5)	15%	85%	20
Lean Dem (LT 5)	45%	55%	20
Favor Dem (5-10)	40%	60%	15
Solid Dem (10-20)	50%	50%	38
Safe Dem (20+)	73%	27%	134
<b>Total</b>	<b>51%</b>	<b>49%</b>	<b>429</b>

	Medicare for All	
	Yes	No
Democrat Won	45%	72%
Republican Won	55%	28%
Avg. Dem House Margin	0.5	3.5
Avg. 2016 Dem Pres Margin	-0.2	-2.7
Mean spending (millions)	4.2	4.97
Number of Candidates	20	40

## Jared Noblitt & Heather Reams, *nwi*

**Times:** Over the last few years, it has become clear that our goals of reducing emissions and expanding the economy are not mutually exclusive — and they reinforce each other. Nationwide, figures from the past decade suggest the decoupling of energy use and GDP growth, and in the Hoosier State, a recent report from Indiana Advanced Energy Economy affirms that the number of clean energy jobs has increased at a rate four times higher than the state's overall jobs growth last year. Voters are getting behind the trend, including increasing numbers of politically conservative individuals. Recent polling by the Indiana Conservative Alliance for Energy found that a solid majority (57%) of Indiana Republicans favor political candidates who will increase the use of renewable energy, including wind (57%) and solar (71%). Among younger Republicans across the country, this trend is even more apparent: a poll released this summer by Citizens for Responsible Energy Solutions Forum and the American Conservation Coalition revealed that over three in four (78%) millennial Republicans support the government taking action to accelerate the development of clean energy. Our elected officials are listening. In particular, Indiana's own Sen. Mike Braun, a Republican, has embraced responsible approaches to protecting the environment while supporting the economy and jobs. Indiana voters sent him to Washington not to perpetuate problems, but to solve them, and he has delivered most recently by co-founding the bipartisan U.S. Senate Climate Solutions Caucus. Braun should be applauded for his leadership. Last year, renewable energy accounted for over 6% of Indiana's net electricity generation, and the state is now the fifth-largest producer of ethanol nationwide at roughly 1.2 billion gallons per year. This progress has taken place thanks to policies enacted under Republican-led state legislatures and Republican governors. ❖



the Indianapolis City-County Council, with just five Republicans from the southern part of the county elected. It's a 180-degree swing from the council make-up when I first moved here in the 1970s. In fact, Republicans held the council majority just three elections ago, thanks to the four at-large seats that the GOP-controlled Legislature eliminated once Democrats started to win those. Among the casualties: The Republican minority leader, Mike McQuillen, who lost his district in the northeastern corner of the county. Republicans could once count on suburban areas as reliable vote gushers, the Old Faithfuls of election math. There is little to indicate that they'll swing back by 2020. That could put in play the 5th Congressional District, where Republican Susan Brooks is retiring, and even the legislative seat of House Speaker Brian Bosma, an Indianapolis Republican whose district includes northeastern Marion County. As he collected his campaign yard signs from around his district, McQuillen said several factors contributed to his loss: A somewhat-confusing ballot design; the lack of coattails, or even much of a coat, from GOP mayoral candidate Jim Merritt; and a relatively popular incumbent mayor, Democrat Joe Hogsett. But he also had to carry the baggage of simply being a Republican in the era of President Donald Trump. "Going door-to-door, shaking hands, I had a lot of people ask me about Trump and about being a Republican with Trump," McQuillen said. "My response was always, well, city and local politics are different than national politics; my tweets are happier than Trump's and I'm just trying to do the best job I can for my constituents." "Marion County is becoming more Democratic every day," McQuillen said. "It just made it more difficult. I won in 2015 with 59 percent of the vote, and in 2019 I had 48 percent of the vote. It just speaks volumes about the other things swirling around." Everyone on the 2020 ballot needs to pay attention, he said. Adam Kirsch, a political consultant and former Marion County Democratic Party executive director, argued that "any suburban Republican in Indiana needs to be very, very afraid." ❖

## Mary Beth Schneider, *Statehouse File:*

While the nation seemed riveted last Tuesday night by a big Democratic victory in Kentucky, more significant Democratic wins were happening in Indiana. The defeat of Republican Gov. Matt Bevin said more about Bevin than it did about trends for future elections. As Louisville Courier-Journal columnist Joe Gerth wrote, "Matt Bevin lost because he's a jerk." But in some key races in Indiana, we saw Republicans with no scandal, no big personal negatives lose in places where election victory was once assured simply by being Republican. In Hamilton County, Democrats for the first time ever won council seats — one in Carmel and two in Fishers. And a Democrat unseated the Republican incumbent in oh-so-GOP Zionsville. In Marion County, areas that once were solidly Republican have been gradually becoming more Democratic. Last Tuesday, there was nothing gradual about it as Democrats picked up six seats to win a supermajority of 20 seats on

**Kelly Hawes, *CNHI:*** CNN's Brian Stelter unleashed his frustration when a 10-year-old tweet seemed to set off a firestorm. "Just how sick and poisoned has our information environment become?" he wrote. "Here's an example that's made my Twitter mentions unreadable." In that tweet from 2009, Stelter had reported stopping at a bar called Epstein's. "Today, people suddenly started replying to that tweet, falsely claiming I'm part of a Jeffrey Epstein conspiracy," Stelter reported. "That's not only completely factually incorrect and dangerous, it's nuts. And this insanity happens to all sorts of people, all the time." Never mind that the now-defunct bar had no connection to the late billionaire. Anonymous Twitter users churned out all sorts of accusations. "Crazy memes falsely claiming I rode on Epstein's jet," Stelter wrote. "Bots and anonymous commenters using words I don't even want to repeat." ❖



## Navy to name warship for Lugar

WASHINGTON — U.S. Sen. Todd Young (R-Ind.) announced that the U.S. Navy has agreed to name a warship in honor of Senator Richard G. Lugar. Senator Young will host a naming ceremony for the USS RICHARD G. LUGAR (DDG 136) in Indianapolis next Monday, November 18, where he will be joined by U.S. Navy Secretary Richard V. Spencer and members of the Lugar family at the Indiana War Memorial. In June, Sen. Young and Sen. Mike Braun (R-Ind.) introduced an amendment to the National Defense Authorization Act that called for the Navy's next unnamed Arleigh Burke Class Destroyer warship to be named in honor of the late Senator Lugar. "At a time when nuclear proliferation was civilization's greatest threat, Sen. Lugar helped save the world," said Young. "It is fitting that the Navy honor Sen. Lugar's legacy by naming one of their warships after this dedicated statesman, and I look forward to joining Secretary Spencer and the Lugar family for this momentous occasion." Senator Lugar volunteered for the U.S. Navy and served his country as an officer from 1957-1960, including as an intelligence briefer to then Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Arleigh Burke. As Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Sen. Lugar was a leader in reducing the threat of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons by passing and overseeing the implementation of the bipartisan Nunn-Lugar program, which deactivated more than 7,600 nuclear warheads, millions of chemical munitions, and several thousand nuclear capable missiles, and continues to perform non-pro.



roduced by Rep. Jim Banks, R-3rd, that would encourage the Department of Veterans Affairs to use design-build construction when appropriate. Design-build construction integrates architectural, engineering and construction activities into a single contract rather than splitting the work among multiple contractors. The Democratic-controlled House passed the VA Design-Build Construction Enhancement Act by unanimous consent Tuesday, advancing the legislation to the Senate for consideration. During floor debate Tuesday, Banks said design-build construction

has been used in the private and public sectors, including for the reconstruction of the Pentagon after terrorists crashed a hijacked jetliner into the building Sept. 11, 2001. "VA has a multibillion-dollar backlog of construction projects but has never made much use of the design-build method, despite it being available for over 20 years," Banks said, according to a transcript of his comments. A 1996 law encouraged design-build contracts for the federal government.

## Pence coming to Indy next week

INDIANAPOLIS — Vice President Mike Pence is planning to visit Wisconsin and Indiana next week. Pence's office has announced he will be in Wisconsin on Wednesday, November 20. Later that afternoon, he will make a stop in Indy to speak at the Strada Education Network National Symposium. That's the same day Gordon Sondland, the U.S. Ambassador to the European Union, is expected to testify as part of the impeachment hearings.

## Holcomb names Porter Co. judge

INDIANAPOLIS — Gov. Eric J. Holcomb today announced Mary DeBoer as his appointment to the Porter County Circuit Court. DeBoer will succeed Judge Mary Harper, who will

retire on Dec. 31. Judge Harper holds the distinction of being the longest serving woman in the Indiana judiciary. Following her graduation from law school, DeBoer served as a deputy prosecutor in Starke and Porter counties. DeBoer has also been in private practice. Since 2011, she has served as a magistrate for the Porter County Superior Courts in Valparaiso. DeBoer earned her undergraduate degree from Western Michigan University and her law degree from Valparaiso University School of Law. She will be sworn into office on a date to be determined. e Sen. Angus King.

## School closings don't concern Gov

WASHINGTON — Indiana Gov. Eric Holcomb isn't promising any quick action on the call for further boosting teacher pay that thousands of educators will be making at the Statehouse next week. (Indiana Public Media). Teacher unions say at least 107 school districts with more than 40 percent of Indiana's students will be closed Tuesday while their teachers attend the rally. Holcomb didn't criticize school districts for closing the day of the union-organized rally, saying it was a local decision. The Republican governor said Thursday he applauds teachers for expressing their concerns but he's waiting for a teacher pay commission he appointed to make recommendations by the end of next year.

## Decorum breaks down in Muncie

MUNCIE — For a second straight month, a Muncie City Council meeting went into the wee hours of the night, marking another meeting with an unhappy public and some people speaking off topic (Muncie Star Press). Tuesday's meeting was extended in part because of public opinions on two topics: The censure of one council member, and the eligibility to serve of another council member.

## House passes Banks' VA bill

FORT WAYNE — The U.S. House has approved legislation in-