

Hupfer on Holcomb's 'triple slam dunk'

GOP chairman on the budget, Rokita showdown, and 'stolen' elections

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Indiana Republican Chairman Kyle Hupfer began his fifth year at the helm with Statehouse Republicans embroiled in constitutional battles, his governor

hitting a policy trifecta with an historic budget, a delayed reap-

portionment process that won't yield new maps until Thanksgiving, and questions on whether President Biden's 2020 election was legitimate.

The potential 2024 gubernatorial candidate, however, insisted he is "laser focused" on 2022 and the reelection of U.S. Sen. Todd Young as well as retaking congressional majorities.



Hupfer described Gov. Eric Holcomb as having achieved a "triple slam dunk" in the General Assembly. "The long-term take-away for the state, and I think this will shine a light over the next three years on the governor as well, is how fiscally sound we were going into the pandemic, how well it was managed during the pandemic

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Schmuhl's INDem retool

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Last year, Mike Schmuhl managed a \$100 million presidential bid and helped Pete Buttigieg win the Iowa caucus. Two months ago, he took the helm of the woebegone Indiana Democratic Party. Which will be the bigger challenge?

That question won't be answered until November 2022, or perhaps two years beyond that, but Chairman Schmuhl has been building a new foundation. Last week, he announced a new red state program with the Democratic National Committee bringing a four-year fundraising agreement that includes direct investments



"That certainly changes the meaning to this text from Greg: 'Hey bro! Wanna hang this weekend?'"

- Talkshow host Stephen Colbert, commenting on U.S. Rep. Greg Pence's vote against the 1/6 Commission. The mob had chanted 'Hang Mike Pence.'



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Jack E. Howey
 editor emeritus
 1926-2019



Newly appointed Indiana Democratic Party deputy chairs include (from left) Christina Hale, Destiny Wells, Nicole Bolden, Kent Yeager and State Sen. Eddie Melton.

and grants for states that meet the following criteria: No Democratic senator or governor, less than 25% of the congressional delegation are Democrats, and a super majority of Republicans in their state legislature.

Earlier this week, Schmuhl added five deputy chairs: Bloomington Clerk Nicole Bolden, liaison for cities and towns; 2016 lieutenant governor nominee Christina Hale, candidate recruitment; Sen. Eddie Melton, equity and engagement; Kent Yeager, a former aide to U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly, rural communities; and former Indianapolis associate corporation counsel Destiny Wells, coalitions and expansion.

The chairman also announced the following staff appointments on Monday: Lauren Ganapini, executive director; Megan McCullough, data director; Tiera Johnson, digital specialist; and Drew Anderson, communications director.

Schmuhl said the deputies had been more regional in representative under past chairs Dan Parker and John Zody. "I wanted to have regional representation but I wanted more responsibility than that," Schmuhl told HPI on Monday. "Something they could focus on to boost our efforts around the state."

He called the DNC's red state investment program that fits Indiana to a T "the largest investment in state parties in history. We'll get more money."

This summer and fall, Schmuhl and his team will fan out

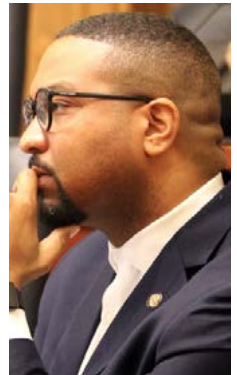
across the 92 counties to try to make Indiana a competitive, two-party state again. This effort will coincide with a redistricting process that Republican Chairman Kyle Hupfer believes will delay new General Assembly and congressional maps until Thanksgiving.

Schmuhl called that delay "disappointing," and added, "Redistricting has been tilted in one direction. We want to be able to this summer going around the state holding the Republicans accountable as far as fairness, equity and composition."

Noting that while 57% of voters chose Republicans in 2020, the majority party carried 70% of legislative seats. "I think it's skewed and unfair," Schmuhl said. "I want a level playing field across the state as much as we can."

The operative clause there is "as much as we can." Standing in the way are the General Assembly super majorities poised to redraw maps using 2011 terminology: Compact districts, communities of interest, preserving county lines. Those maps have resulted in the current historic longevity of Republican super majorities, while not a single U.S. House incumbent lost this past decade, which was unprecedented.

But in two out of three U.S. Senate races, control of a seat switched parties.



"What we'll do is have events across the state and talk to Hoosiers directly about what's going on in Indianapolis, on how Republicans tip the scales in their favor," Schmuhl said. "We need to really hammer that home, issues like competition and fairness. We need to call out Republicans when they rig their environment."

Schmuhl said that "creating alternative maps" is also another option.

As for the 2022 reelection bid by Republican U.S. Sen. Todd Young, who defeated former senator and governor Evan Bayh in 2016, Schmuhl said, "I've been talking to a few candidates who have shown interest. Out of respect for those folks I don't want to share their names. I continue to chat with those folks about what it would take to put together a competitive bid. Todd Young does need to be held accountable for his term in office."

Schmuhl called the biennial budget forged by the General Assembly in April "a successful session ... because of Joe Biden and his leadership as president and the federal stimulus coming in an extraordinary set of circumstances."

Indiana received more than \$5 billion in American Rescue Plan funding, on top of the bipartisan-passed 2020 CARES Act that was signed by President Trump.

"We were able to accomplish some goals that had been sought for years. Public education, teacher pay, investments in infrastructure across the state are all very, very welcome," Schmuhl said.

Reminded that voters will opt to vote against their own economic well-being for cultural issues, Schmuhl responded, "We are organizing around that right now. This summer, we are going to go around the state and talk about the American Rescue Plan and what it is bringing to Indiana. That's every county, that's every city. Everybody

is backing this plan. It is hugely popular to the tune of 70% plus."

He believes the political environment will provide a tailwind for Democrats. "This mid-term can be very different from previous ones," Schmuhl said. "This summer and fall, kids will be back in school, parents back at work, we are gathering again socially, life is back to normal. That is not overly political, that is just human nature.

"We're already seeing how popular Joe Biden is," he added. "We want these policies to continue and we'll be promoting them throughout the entire state."

As for Donald Trump's persistent efforts to portray himself as a victim of a "stolen election," Schmuhl said. "I think there is a huge fracture within the Republican Party from ex-president Trump all the way down to the state level here in Indiana.

"Trump wants to be the guy and many people are still with him," he continued. "Then you've got the Cheney/Stefanik battle and where a majority of people were against Liz Cheney when she talks about the big lie, that has come back to Indiana with Rokita v. Holcomb, and then you get down to the more granular level and it's Lucas v. the speaker." That was in reference to Speaker Todd Huston admonishing State Rep. Jim Lucas for racially-oriented Facebook postings.

"It's a battle for the identity of the Republican Party," Schmuhl said. "We're going to be talking about things that are actually helping people, helping families, helping workers, while they figure out who they are and how extreme they want to be.

"We know where we stand, we know the issues we believe in. We're going to go everywhere to talk about these issues and listen to people."❖

Hupfer, from page 1

to maintain our economy, and how much foresight the governor had on key issues that he was already working on in advance of the pandemic," Hupfer said.

Despite legal show-downs over HEA1123 on whether calling a special session is an executive decision, Hupfer said that Holcomb, House Speaker Todd Huston and Senate President Pro Tem Rodric Bray remain on good terms. "He has strong relationships with Speaker Huston and Sen. Bray, and that continues," Hupfer said. "It shows in how the budget got worked out; that this disagreement over the governor's powers and the special session language didn't get in the way of good policy and good



governance."

Ditto for Gov. Holcomb's legal showdown with Republican Attorney General Todd Rokita over the governor's right to legal counsel. "They talk," Hupfer said, answering a question of whether the two executives are on good terms. "I don't think it came as a surprise. There had

been dialogue before. I think it's a very complex issue."

Hupfer said that delay in U.S. Census data will push the redistricting process back to around Thanksgiving. "I'm hopeful that Thanksgiving is a timeline we know," Hupfer said. "That would allow folks to understand the new

district, still have some time to make a decision on whether or not they want to run once they know what the districts will look like." He said that prospective General Assembly and congressional candidates could have less than 30 to 60 days to make that decision on whether they're going to run after the maps are forged.

As for former president Donald Trump consistently asserting that the 2020 election was "stolen" from him, Hupfer pointed to several "irregularities" in states, but said, "When you see some of these small things, again, like poll watchers being excluded from an area, it raises questions. Was that enough for the election to be stolen? It appears, and Kevin McCarthy knows better than me, that I think it's pretty clear the outcome of this election is going to stand. Joe Biden is the president; he's going to be the president for the next four years."

Here is the HPI Interview conducted with Chairman Hupfer at the Downtown Hyatt on the afternoon of May 13:

HPI: Let's start with the General Assembly session. You described it as a triple slam dunk for Gov. Holcomb. Why?

Hupfer: The litigation has gotten some focus that will play its way out and will ultimately get a decision from the Supreme Court on what is and what is not provided in the Indiana Constitution. The long-term take-away for the state, and I think this will shine a light over the next three years on the governor as well, is how fiscally sound we were going into the pandemic, how well it was managed during the pandemic to maintain our economy, and how much foresight the governor had on key issues that he was already working on in advance of the pandemic. One of them was rural broadband, which was one of his top priorities, and now this budget, because that prior fiscal restraint and discipline is going to set Indiana up for an unbelievable future. You start with some of the more conservative aspects of it, which was a significant pay-down in debt, which will provide for fiscal stability long into the future. You've got a tremendous investment in education and workforce development which is something the governor was extremely focused on as you look around the state. Hoosiers still need to skill up for the jobs now and still coming. The boost in K-12 education is going to be immense. A lot of the things that came out of the teacher pay report aren't totally solved, but have substantially moved forward, including not a basement on teacher pay, but a requirement for school boards to explain why they aren't paying the minimum salary for new teachers.



A flush biennial budget like no other



An infusion of Biden relief funds, \$2 billion of new revenue brings a springtime Statehouse Christmas

By BRIAN A. HOWEY
INDIANAPOLIS — The late great budget analyst Dil Styring reacted to a modestly positive General Assembly revenue forecast sometime in the 1990s by proclaiming,



"Christmas presents... for everyone!" That was back in the day when "Ilions" were sized with "Bis" instead of "Ts" and there were two viable political parties jousting for power in the Indiana General Assembly. Then there was Gov. Mitch Daniels who presided over the state during the 2008-09 Great Recession that nearly devoured the state's domestic auto industry. Congress passed an \$800 billion American Recovery and Reinvestment Act stimulus package, and the state ended

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Vaccine time bomb

By BRIAN A. HOWEY
INDIANAPOLIS — The headline under LaPorte Mayor Tom Demodry's sunny, smiling face in the Herald-Dispatch was this: "LaPorte officials urge everyone to get COVID-19 vaccine: 'We're not trying to be political.'" It's headlines like this that really make me wonder whether the human race, which has been around in our evolutionary state for only about 10,000 years, is going to last more than the next century or two.

Here we stand amidst a modern scientific medical miracle: The development, testing and implementation of a COVID-19 vaccine within a year. And what we face as a so-



"It is my hope now that a proper sentence is given that fits the crime committed and our entire country can use this case to transform the relationship and trust between people of color and the police."

- State Sen. Eddie Melton, on the conviction of Derek Chauvin.

past four decades and I have never seen as big an infusion of funding for this sector. Do you know what those priorities will be?

Hupfer: The Department of Health and FSSA will have to work out all the details. We know that COVID has had a negative impact on mental health. The governor hears that when he's out traveling. He's identified that as a priority. You'll see that, like a lot of the programs the governor has put into place, it will impact at the people level. The work at the agencies will be to decide how to best invest those dollars to help those who are most hurting.

HPI: You mentioned the governor got everything he wanted in the budget. Walk me through that.

Hupfer: You start with the huge paydown in debt, significant investment in education, some one-off projects that are sorely needed across the state including \$250 million for rural broadband, the READI grants, that's a half a billion dollars for regional growth initiatives. Those are some of the high points.

HPI: Gov. Pence told me that his Regional Cities Initiative would likely stand as one of the most significant parts of his legacy as governor. I get the sense that this governor is pretty pumped about his version of this, the READI Grants.

Hupfer: Well, sure. You're talking about a program that is more than three times the size of Regional Cities. You're going to see an expanded ability to impact targeted areas like workforce training and development, economic development and mental health are all factors that were included as parts of this. You've got quality of life which is such a critical component to continuing to

That inevitably will get the starting salary above \$40,000, which was one of the governor's goals. There are huge investments in infrastructure that are yet to come, and half a billion in READI grants that are going to literally transform every region, every community in this state likely to a tune of \$3 billion and \$4 billion in new investment when you see the leverage we've seen historically. The governor is set up to lead the state to a place of immense heights. He is truly making that a reality where every Hoosier has the ability to optimize oneself with these tools.

HPI: The budget includes an extra \$100 million to address mental health issues. I've been covering the General Assembly off and on over the

add residents to this state, so trails and infrastructure and when we look around at the communities that have gotten grants like this in the past, the leverage has been tremendous and the impact of these communities has been tremendous. We can expect that on a much larger scale as these are implemented over the last several years.

HPI: The governor's legal showdown with Attorney General Rokita ... what's going on here? Lay down the scenario that led to this. Is this the 2024 campaign beginning to play out?

Hupfer: You'd have to ask the attorney general how we got to this point. I'm not a constitutional law expert. I've heard the viewpoints of both the governor and the legislative branch. It's a general legitimate disagreement. From all the experts who have been talking about the involvement of the attorney general in all of this, there seems to be a consensus that the third branch of government, the judiciary, is the correct locality for a dispute like this to be resolved. We'll see what the courts decide.

HPI: Does the governor have a relationship with the attorney general? Do they talk?

Hupfer: They talk.

HPI: This was the classic bad news dump at 5 p.m. on a Friday.

Hupfer: I don't think it came as a surprise. There had been dialogue before. I think it's a very complex issue. Legal scholars are digging in. We haven't had something of this nature in a significant period of time. Each person involved, whether it's the governor, the legislature or Todd are trying to do what they think the law provides. Ultimately the courts will decide. I struggle to think the legislature's position is to arbitrate the constitution.

HPI: There have been showdowns over HEA1123, over SEA5, but the governor seems to be maintaining good relationships with Speaker Huston and President Pro Tem Bray

Hupfer: Sure.

HPI: Fill in some blanks. What is the dynamic going on there?

Hupfer: It's positive. I think the governor is a positive guy. He's a glass one and a half times full. So he's always going to look at the positive in these situations. He has strong relationships with Speaker Huston and Sen. Bray, and that continues. It shows in how the budget got worked out; that this disagreement over the governor's powers and the special session language didn't get in the way of good policy and good governance, particularly in the budget. As the governor said from the beginning, it's not really a question of calling a special session. Everyone has acknowledged he offered that multiple times to the legislative leaders and they declined. But their personal and legislative relationship remains strong. This is a fairly minor disagreement that is going to be more historical in context that will likely impact a governor 20, 40, 80 years from now and not Gov. Holcomb. It's one for the courts

to sort out. The personal relationships remain completely intact.

HPI: When I traveled with the governor last October, I asked if there was a pandemic plan in place and he said, yes, for the flu. So I'm assuming there's going to be some foundational things laid in the coming three years that could be used in 20, 40 or 60 years for the next pandemic.

Hupfer: Sure. There will be a lot of takeaways.



There will certainly be study and analysis, not just in Indiana, but across the country and world as you look at how this pandemic played out and how things should be prepared for in the future in a different way. I expect that to happen here, I expect the federal government to look at what they are stockpiling, what they have on hand. You're also going to have some innovative things to come out of this. We are getting ready for 40% of the eligible population across the United States to be vaccinated, that speaks to what Vice President Pence and President Trump put in place at the time, and what these private companies did to innovate in very short order and it's very apparent it's working. There will be a post-mortem done as to how things should look in the future, to prepare for this and, you know, next one may or may not look anything like this one.

HPI: Were you surprised there was no COVID outbreak during the General Assembly?

Hupfer: No. You were not seeing throughout the pandemic a lot of breakouts coming by transmission in the workplace. The legislature is just one big workplace. Employers were able to put in safeguards and protections. By the time they met there was enough of a track record to do such things.

HPI: When do you think redistricting will be fin-

ished?

Hupfer: I'm hopeful it is in the Thanksgiving time frame or earlier. Some of these dates are still moving targets. As soon as we have the data available, the legislature will take it up and start working on the maps, with input from the public and others. I'm hopeful that Thanksgiving is a timeline we know. That would allow folks to understand the new district, still have some time to make a decision on whether or not they want to run once they know what the districts will look like.

HPI: This will really compact the timeline for potential candidates.

Hupfer: Sure. You could have less than 30 to 60 days to make that decision on whether you're going to run.

HPI: What are your priorities for new maps? Do you want to see them help preserve the Republican super majorities?

Hupfer: If you look at the statewide map and where votes are going from, it's difficult to draw any maps that don't have the Republican Party with the super majority or a number really close to it. I think the legislature has done a good job historically, and I think they'll do a good job again of keeping communities of interest together, drawing as compact districts as they can. I fully expect them to take that same approach, to use as many county lines as they can that are already existing borders for continuity, and we'll see a good, fair shape of maps coming out of the legislature.

HPI: Do you expect the 1st CD to come into play?

Hupfer: We'll have to see what the maps look like. Certainly it wasn't last time.

HPI: Will there be significant changes in the 5th CD?

Hupfer: We're going to see the 7th CD move up some with the population changes going. My guess is you'll see the 5th change in some way. My guess is you'll see every congressional district change in some way as population has grown and shifted in places.

HPI: U.S. House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy came out today after Liz Cheney was ousted and acknowledged that the 2020 presidential election wasn't stolen. And that's one thing I've been asking Republicans, was the election stolen? Because Donald Trump is still putting statements out saying it was. Apparently that is catching on with the rank and file. We've been seeing polls where anywhere from 50% to 70% believe the election was stolen and that President Biden is not legitimate. What do you

say?

Hupfer: It's not as simple as the question you're asking.

HPI: How should I be asking the question?

Hupfer: There were certainly irregularities that at the time caused some people angst. Any time during any election process, when you're restricting access, denying transparency to the ballots being counted and handled, when you change the rules in any election mid-process, it causes folks who are not successful in that election to question things. Those questions have been asked. I don't think there is any question there were irregularities of a decent size.

HPI: Give me an example.

Hupfer: In Detroit there was video of them shutting out watchers. If you look at statistics looking at ballots disregarded in some places to historic statistical numbers don't add up. And I think a lot of it was driven by COVID, to be fair. There wasn't an ability to run some of the normal processes like signature matches. There were



so many ballots coming in. When you see some of these small things, again, like poll watchers being excluded from an area, it raises questions. Was that enough for the election to be stolen? It appears, and Kevin McCarthy knows better than me, that I think it's pretty clear the outcome of this election is going to stand. Joe Biden is the president; he's going to be the president for the next four years. We need to, regardless of how that happened, focus on insuring our election integrity going forward, strengthening ballot and election provisions in law to give the public confidence. The public should have confidence, 100% utmost confidence that election results are legitimate. I think every state legislature owes that, to tweak and insure that. Certainly the Republican National Committee will do that

with several committees that will put out recommendations. And we have to be, as the RNC is, laser focused on 2022. We've got to win back the House and Senate. We've got to slow down the destruction coming out of the House; the Senate is putting a halt, but the House is passing bill after bill that would gut America as we know it.

HPI: We had Attorney General Barr and U.S. Cyber Security Director Chris Krebs say there was no widespread fraud that would have changed the results.

Hupfer: It was a very difficult election. There were numerous changes in elections, how ballots were cast, how they were counted, how they could be delivered, in midstream by consent decree or by executive order. That doesn't necessarily mean the outcome would change. It was a very difficult election to administer.

HPI: Donald Trump continues to put out blog statements saying the 2020 election was stolen and he is considered the titular head of the Republican Party. Will the GOP accept future victories by Democrats?

Hupfer: The minority leader of the House has said that Joe Biden won the election so it seems like Republicans have accepted that outcome.

HPI: Except for Donald Trump.

Hupfer: Republicans have always had a big tent with differing views. The president is going to share what his belief is. Some Republicans are going to align with that, some are not. What we have to do as Republicans is stop some of infighting we've had and turn it on to 2022. It is of vital importance we come together as a party and it is well on the way to do that. A lot of this other stuff will play itself out over time and I tend to focus on what we can do here in Indiana. Sen. Young is in an enviable position and, thus far, there's not even a whisper out there of an opponent.

HPI: There's a woman from Gary, Haneefah Khaaliq, who is campaigning on Twitter.

Hupfer: That would be news to me.

HPI: Have you talked to Mike Pence lately and do you expect him to run for president in 2024?

Hupfer: I've not talked to the vice president in well over a month. But I will say the focus of the Republican Party and the state and national levels has to be on 2022. Anybody deviating from that



point and that focus is making a mistake. When we see what the potential damage for Congress and Joe Biden to do on this country, we have got to get the House and Senate back. That's where all my energy is going to be, and that's where every Republican should be, and 2024 will take care of itself after that.

HPI: Critique President Biden at this point.

Hupfer: It just seems that there is a lack of leadership. We don't see him but there is no ability to trust anything that he says. He guaranteed when he was running that he wouldn't attempt to pack the Supreme Court and we already have a commission that he's put forth to study it. He's out of touch with the working man of this country. He's shut down jobs on the Keystone Pipeline and now we find ourselves instead of strengthening our energy independence through something like that, we sit here today with a pipeline being

taken over by a cyber threat. I think the world has very little respect for Joe Biden. If you look at what is happening in the Middle East, that wouldn't be happening under President Trump and Vice President Pence. To see the rockets raining in on Israel is a sad situation. You see Iranian fast attack boats coming up on our warships. There is going to be a significant test of this administration over the next several months. We've got to



break up the Biden, Schumer, Pelosi triumvirate in 2022.

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Citizen's Redistricting Commission Report:

What Hoosiers have to say about 2021 reapportionment

Indiana Citizens Redistricting Commission

INDIANAPOLIS – For a long time redistricting was an issue that only politicians and political insiders cared about. Those days are over. We held nine public forums, one in each congressional district, plus a 10th follow-up, from late February through mid-April 2021. Almost nine hundred Hoosiers participated. We heard several consistent themes at all of the virtual public hearings, revealing the desire for a new redistricting process in 2021 focused on the needs of voters and communities and where voters choose their legislators, instead of legislators choosing their voters.

What the public wants

1. Draw districts that encourage competitive elections. The most common complaint heard at our virtual hearings was that too many districts in Indiana, at both the congressional and state level are not competitive. This leaves people feeling as if their voice isn't heard in the process. People also complained that their representatives are not responsive to their concerns and they attributed this disregard to "safe" districts.

2. Keep communities of interest (COI) together; don't combine clashing COIs in same district. We heard from many people, particularly people living in the largest cities in Indiana, that their communities are divided into multiple districts. This is confusing for voters and can make it difficult for communities to get the representation they need. This is particularly problematic in districts that combine rural areas with urban areas. Constituents in these districts often have very different needs and concerns; making it difficult for their legislators to fully represent everyone.

3. Divide cities and counties into as few districts as possible. From Fort Wayne to Greencastle we heard numerous examples of cities and counties divided into far more districts than their population would seem to justify, creating confusion and again serving to reduce the political influence of the community.

4. Create a transparent process that gives the public real opportunities to participate. The public is distrustful of a redistricting process that is opaque and controlled by the same people who will run in the new districts. They want an open and transparent process that gives them real opportunities to help shape the new dis-

tricts and enough time to consider the legislative proposals and provide feedback. The public wants the opportunity to draw maps and submit their proposals for consideration by the legislature.

How can the legislature give the public what they want?

To create a redistricting process that will result in the kind of districts the public wants, the Indiana General Assembly should start with transparency and public participation. Give the public the information they need to evaluate redistricting proposals and provide opportunities for meaningful public participation. Conduct the process in public and explain how decisions about where to draw the lines were made.

■ **Transparency:** The redistricting process must



be fully transparent.

1. The public must have access to all the data the General Assembly will use to draw maps.
2. When proposed maps are introduced, legislators must disclose which redistricting criteria was prioritized.
3. If consultants are hired to assist with redistricting, the contracts to engage them must be disclosed.
4. The General Assembly should strive to conduct redistricting in public and avoid caucus or other private discussions that prevent public scrutiny.
 - **Public participation:** Invite public participation and make redistricting information and materials accessible.
5. Let the public know well in advance when the General Assembly will return for redistricting.
6. Public hearings should be conducted in each congressional district both before maps are drafted and after the initial legislative proposals become public. Hearings should be held both virtually and in-person if public health conditions allow.
7. Adequate time should be given for the public to study redistricting proposals and provide feedback. Thirty days would be appropriate.
8. The public should be given access to a mapping website and the ability to draw maps and submit them for consideration by the House and Senate elections committees.

Fostering competition and protecting communities

It is imperative that the legislature be deliberative about what redistricting criteria it chooses to empha-

size and make those decisions public. This is important because redistricting involves making choices among competing interests. Two redistricting criteria that often play against each other are compactness and competition.

The Indiana General Assembly has said that it prioritized compactness when drawing districts in 2011. A decade of elections has shown that districts emphasizing compactness have had a negative impact on competition in both congressional and state legislative races. When called to choose between compact districts or districts that are competitive politically, a majority of participants in our public meetings said that competition should be prioritized over compactness.

The ICRC recognizes that seeking to emphasize compactness over competitiveness, or vice versa, can create problems. For example, compactness will often require splitting communities of color in ways that make it hard for minority voters to have meaningful impact on elections.

On the other hand, stressing competition as the pre-eminent criteria for map-drawers can mean dividing towns, cities, and neighborhoods to manufacture competition. Neither of these outcomes is in the public interest. The advice of redistricting policy experts suggests the best way to achieve an increase in competitive districts is to ensure that redistricting prioritizes and respects the needs of voters and communities. To do this, the legislature must ask the public for input specifically on their communities of interest (COI). Allowing the public to identify and having map-drawers acknowledge communities of interest is an essential factor and pledging to respect these groups and not divide them is paramount. We believe that drawing district maps around communities of interest will help produce districts that encourage organic political competition.

To facilitate the identification of communities of interest for legislative map-drawers we offer the public mapping website the All IN for Democracy coalition has developed, Indiana DistrictR. The website can be used to both draw districts and map communities of interest. Maps drawn by the public to identify their communities of interest can be uploaded and used by legislative map drawers to inform their decision making and facilitate the drawing of districts that protect communities and encourage natural political competition.

Finally, districts should be drawn with a goal of splitting political subdivisions such as counties, cities, and towns into as few districts as possible. To facilitate this the General Assembly should adopt different population deviation targets for Congressional and state legislative districts. While congressional districts are required to have as equal population as practicable, more variation is allowed at the state legislative level. If the goal is to prevent dividing a political subdivision, larger population differences should be allowed.

Background

The Indiana Citizens Redistricting Commission

(ICRC) was formed by the All IN for Democracy coalition in early January 2021 after an open application process that yielded nearly 300 candidates. It is composed of nine Indiana voters; three Republicans, three Democrats, and three who are neither Republican nor Democrat. The purpose of the ICRC is to demonstrate how redistricting could be conducted if Indiana had a citizens redistricting commission. Members of the All IN for Democracy coalition believe that it is important to have a group that is multi-partisan, diverse, representative of all voters and independent of the legislature leading the redistricting process. They are determined to lead a process that is open and transparent and that welcomes public participation. All of our virtual public forums were recorded and can be accessed at All IN For Democracy - YouTube

In addition to holding a series of public meetings to educate Hoosiers about redistricting and to take public comment, the ICRC will also sponsor a public mapping competition. We have worked with the redistricting experts at Tufts University to develop the Indiana DistrictR website and will award cash prizes to the citizens who draw congressional and state legislative districts that our group believes will best fulfill the priorities outlined in this report. Our mapping website can found at Indiana | DistrictR.

Indiana Citizens Redistricting Commission members are:

- **Republicans:** Clara Glaspie of Indianapolis. Ms. Glaspie worked for many years for the State of Indiana and has served on a number of public and private boards, including serving as board chair of the Indianapolis Housing Agency. She was the first Black woman to participate in the Richard G. Lugar Women's Leadership series.

- Leigh Morris of LaPorte. Mr. Morris is a former mayor of LaPorte and retired as the CEO of the community hospital in that community. He is active in a number of civic and community groups.

- Marilyn Moran Townsend of Fort Wayne. Ms. Moran-Townsend is the CEO of CVC Communications and is a co-founder of AVOW: Advancing Voices of Women, an organization that supports and empowers women as civic leaders.

- **Democrats:** Xavier Ramirez of Carmel. Mr. Ramirez just finished his freshman year at Indiana University Bloomington where he works with the Civic Leader Learning Center as a student advisory board member.

- Ranjan Rohatgi of South Bend. Mr. Rohatgi is assistant professor of mathematics and computer science at Saint Mary's College where he developed a class called "Mathematics of Voting."

- Missie Summers Kempf of Portage. Ms. Summers-Kempf is active in a number of groups organized around racial justice and environmental issues in Northwest Indiana.

- **Independents:** Christopher Harris of Hammond. Mr. Harris is a project manager for a commercial

construction general contractor and participates in the Mitch Daniels Leadership Foundation.

- Sonia Leerkamp of Nineveh. Ms. Leerkamp is the former Hamilton County prosecuting attorney who serves on the board of the Brown County League of Women Voters. She is also the chairperson of the ICRC; their rules require that the chair be one of the Neither Republican Democrat members.

- Charles Taylor of Muncie. Mr. Taylor is a professor of political science at Ball State University who has moderated numerous political forums and is committed to civic education.

Specific recommendations from the public regarding communities of interest and criteria

Congressional District 1

The Lake Michigan shoreline is a community of interest. Keep those counties that border Lake Michigan in the same district whenever possible. The Calumet Region is a distinct community of interest. We are “one region” even though we are very diverse. People in NW Indiana often feel ignored by the state legislature; want districts drawn that allow their community to be heard. Growing Latinx population in northern Lake County, particularly around Whiting. Perhaps create a majority Latinx district(s) around these communities. Concerns expressed about how the shifting population in Lake County will impact the demographics of the districts. Declining population in the northern part of Lake County means that CD1 will expand geographically, either to the south or to the east. Consider time zone, metropolitan statistical areas, other ways that NW Indiana is grouped with other parts of the state.

Congressional District 2

There are several universities and colleges in CD2; they are communities of interest and if they are in close geographic proximity, they should be in the same district. Numerous people expressed frustration that CD 2 went from being one of the most competitive in the state from 2001 – 2011 but has been uncompeti-

tive since new maps were drawn in 2011. People in South Bend felt that their influence as the fourth largest city in Indiana is diminished because they are an urban center in a largely rural congressional district. People expressed frustration that they invite their congressperson to participate in public forums and other community events and their invitations are declined or ignored. They attribute this lack of response to uncompetitive districts and note that previous incumbents from both parties were quite accessible when the district was competitive.

Congressional District 3

Concerns expressed about HD50, which includes all of Huntington County and a portion of Fort Wayne. The Fort Wayne portion of the district has a large Latinx population, and they feel underrepresented. Concerns about Fort Wayne being divided into too many state legislative districts, and the combination of urban neighborhoods with rural areas. Most of the legislators who represent significant portions of Fort Wayne do not live in Fort Wayne. Advocates for the public school district in Fort Wayne feel it is difficult to get adequate representation because the city is divided into too many state legislative districts. Concerns about gerrymandering contributing to an unbalanced political landscape, which is causing young professionals to leave Indiana for a place they feel is more compatible with their political views.

Concerns about gerrymandering contributing to an unbalanced political landscape, which is causing young professionals to leave Indiana for a place they feel is more compatible with their political views.

Congressional District 4

Concerns about prison gerrymandering in Putnam County. It is a small, rural county so including prisoners from correctional facility in Putnamville in redistricting numbers skews their population. Same concerns from Plainfield regarding prison gerrymandering. Same concerns from Miami County regarding prison gerrymandering. Greencastle is divided into two state Senate districts; they would prefer that the whole town be in one. Voters in Howard County believe that it should not be divided into two congressional districts.

Congressional District 5

Large Latinx population in Clinton County is an important community of interest and should be kept intact. Multiple people in the 5th CD complained about the lines moving



in 2011 to shift them from an urban-focused district (7th) to the 5th CD. They did not move but their representation in Congress changed considerably. Multiple people from the urban parts of CD 5 complained about their voices being drowned out by rural voters in the northern part of the district. Concerns expressed about the multiple communities of interest in the 5th District (urban, suburban, and rural) and how many feel unheard. Proportional representation was suggested as a way to make redistricting more accurately reflect the will of the voters.

Congressional District 6

Multiple people in the southern part of the district said it is inappropriate to have a congressional district that extends from the Ohio River to Muncie. Voters in southern Indiana usually access media from Louisville or Cincinnati, so they do not know much about candidates from the northern part of the district. Several people said that the counties bordering the Ohio River are a community of interest. Delaware County and the city of Muncie are divided into too many legislative districts given the population. Common economic interests should be considered when drawing district lines. Senate District 42 contains all or parts of seven counties. More effort should be made to not split counties.

Congressional District 7

Suggestion that the doughnut counties surrounding Marion County be joined in a congressional district since they are mostly suburban areas and share common interests. Several people living in the Indianapolis portion of SD28 commented that voters in their community are not well-served by being grouped in a district with largely rural counties. Concerns expressed about several state legislative districts that combine Marion County with surrounding counties. Residents of Marion County feel their voice is not heard. Several people commented that more competitive districts are essential to holding elected officials accountable and to improving voter turnout.

Congressional District 8

Several people from Evansville said their city should not be divided into two state Senate districts. Like in other urban centers, Evansville voters complained that their voices are silenced because they are in districts with rural voters from adjoining counties. Multi-member districts suggested to encourage more diversity and competition. Concerns expressed about college students leaving the state upon graduation because they want to live in a place more compatible with their political views. A voter complained about HD78, which is mostly in Vanderburgh County but contains a small section of Warrick County. Warrick County voters feel disconnected. Discussion about the decline of competitiveness in the congressional district with the removal of Bloomington. As in CD6, discussion about the Ohio River as a community of interest and how the southern and northern parts of CD8 are very different and voters would be better served if they were not combined in the same district.

Congressional District 9

Several people from Bloomington complained that Monroe County is divided into five state House districts. Lake Monroe is a community of interest but currently it is divided into three state House districts. People from Clark and Floyd counties testified that the Ohio River is a distinct community of interest and they do not feel well-served by a congressional district that extends north to the southern Indianapolis suburbs. Others felt that the northern part of CD 9 is economically and culturally different from the southern part and they should be in different congressional districts. One person commented that Black and Brown communities in Johnson County are cracked. One person suggested that Columbus, Mooresville, Nashville, and Martinsville share commonalities and should be joined in a district. ❖



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The 1/6 Commission capitulation underway

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – There’s a reason U.S. Sen. Todd Young has been fanning out across Indiana, meeting with policemen and sheriff deputies in recent weeks. He’s up for reelection next year, but he will likely be confronted with some hard truths about the Jan. 6 insurrection at the U.S. Capitol. According to multiple media reports, about 140 U.S. Capitol and Washington Metropolitan PD officers were injured by the mob inspired by President Trump. They suffered injuries ranging from a lost eye, cracked ribs, smashed spinal disks, heart attacks after being repeatedly tased by their own weapons, to dozens of concussions. Some 38 Capitol Police employees have tested positive for COVID-19 since the attack, almost all of them had responded to the riot.



“I have officers who were not issued helmets prior to the attack who have sustained head injuries,” said the Capitol Police officer’s union chairman, Gus Papatthaniou to the Police1 website. “One officer has two cracked ribs and two smashed spinal discs and another was stabbed with a metal fence stake, to name some of the injuries. The officers are angry, and I don’t blame them. The entire executive team failed us, and they must be held accountable. Their inaction cost one officer his life, and we have almost 140 responding officers injured. They have a lot to atone for.”

Capitol PD officer Michael Fanone told CNN that he suffered a heart attack and a concussion during the insurrection and is now dealing with a traumatic brain injury and post-traumatic stress disorder. “I experienced the most brutal, savage hand-to-hand combat of my entire life, let alone my policing career, which spans almost two decades,” Fanone said this past week. “It was nothing that I had ever thought would be a part of my law enforcement career, nor was I prepared to experience.”

In the days and weeks that followed, here’s what House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy said, urging a congressional censure of Trump: “The president bears responsibility for Wednesday’s attack on Congress by mob rioters. He should have immediately denounced the mob when he saw what was unfolding. Some say the riots were caused by antifa. There is absolutely no evidence of that. And conservatives should be the first to say so.”

Here’s what Senate Minority Leader Mitch Mc-

Connell said on the Senate floor following Donald Trump’s impeachment trial acquittal on Feb. 13: “January 6th was a disgrace. American citizens attacked their own government. They used terrorism to try to stop a specific piece of democratic business they did not like. Fellow Americans beat and bloodied our own police. They stormed the Senate floor. They tried to hunt down the Speaker of the House. They built a gallows and chanted about murdering the vice president.”

McConnell continued: “There is no question that President Trump is practically and morally responsible for provoking the events of that day. The people who stormed this building believed they were acting on the wishes and instructions of their president.”

Trump unleashed the MAGA mob in an attempt to stop Vice President Mike Pence and members of Congress from counting 50 sets of state-certified Electoral College votes that would confirm the election of Democrat Joe Biden as president.

Fast-forward to this week when House Democrats and Republicans reached a deal for a congressional commission to investigate the first attack in the U.S. Capitol since Puerto Rican terrorists breached security and shot up the House chambers in 1954, and the first invasion since the War of 1812. The problem was that these two “minority leaders” have gotten cold feet.

A back bench Republican, U.S. Rep. Andrew Clyde, said of the mob: “If you didn’t know the TV footage was a video from January the 6th, you would actually think it was a normal tourist visit.” Subsequent tweeted photos show a terrified Clyde barring the House doors.

On Tuesday, Trump put out this statement: “Republicans in the House and Senate should not approve the Democrat trap of the January 6 Commission. It is just more partisan unfairness and unless the murders, riots, and fire bombings in Portland, Minneapolis, Seattle, Chicago, and New York are also going to be studied, this discussion should be ended immediately. Hopefully, Mitch McConnell and Kevin McCarthy are listening!”

And they were!

“After careful consideration, I’ve made the decision to oppose the House Democrat’s slanted and unbalanced proposal for another commission to study the events of January the 6th,” McConnell said Wednesday on the Senate floor of the proposed bipartisan commission would have an equal number of Republicans and Democrats, five on each side. It would have subpoena power. A final report would be produced by Dec. 31.

The day before, McCarthy pulled his support. “Given the political misdirections that have marred this process, given the now duplicative and potentially counterproductive nature of this effort, and given the speaker’s shortsighted scope that does not examine interrelated forms of political violence in America, I cannot support this legislation,” Mc-



Carthy said.

The House voted 252-175 vote Wednesday to create the commission, with 35 Republicans joining all Democrats in support, including U.S. Rep. Trey Hollingsworth.

What McCarthy fears is his phone call to President Trump during the insurrection and a commission subpoena. Or as McCarthy put it to Chris Wallace on Fox News Sunday, "I was the first person to contact him when the riot was going on. He didn't see it.



What he ended the call was saying – telling me, he'll put something out to make sure to stop this. And that's what he did, he put a video out later."

This has everything to do with politics. McConnell and McCarthy dream of become majority leader and speaker after the 2022 elections. A bipartisan Jan. 6 commission report that mirrors their initial reaction of the mob-induced savagery has the potential of spilling into the mid-term elections, unnerving the suburban voters they need to complete their quest. ❖

The Arizona 'recount'

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Arizona's long-running recount of ballots, searching for bamboo, special watermarks and other signs that fantasies of conspiracy are real, brings understandable laughter. Really, though, it's no laughing matter.

Jokes abound about the failed search of ballots for traces of bamboo. Why the bamboo probe? If you don't know, you're not up on conspiracy theories of how the election was stolen from Donald Trump. One theory of why he lost Arizona is about a plane from South Korea delivering thousands of fraudulent ballots marked for Joe Biden. If they came from Asia, maybe in a Chinese plot to oust Trump, traces of bamboo fibers would be found. Alas, no bamboo fibers were found.



Maybe they should have checked for traces of Russian vodka. No! No way. This recount seeks only conspiracies against Trump, not whether Putin could have done anything to help him.

What's with watermarks? Inspection of some ballots under ultraviolet light was to check on a conspiracy theory from QAnon, the cult believing the nation is controlled by pedophiles who cannibalize kids. The Q claim is that Trump, guarding against Democratic pedophiles out to steal the election, secretly affixed special watermarks on legitimate ballots. Counters finding no watermark would know the ballot was fraudulent. Alas, no watermarks were found. Does that mean all the Arizona ballots, for or against Trump, are fraudulent?

This late and ludicrous Arizona recount is moving so slowly that it could drag on through most of summer. One of the Republican state senators who launched it concedes now that they "look like idiots." There will be more jokes. Really, though, it's no laughing matter.

Unravelling ridiculous conspiracy theories actually

means that more folks out there will hear of the theories and believe them. That can bring serious consequences. Think of the QAnon tale about Hillary Clinton and others in the "deep state" pedophile cabal holding kids captive in the basement of a Washington pizzeria. A believer drove from North Carolina to save the kids, storming the pizzeria, firing a military-style assault rifle. No laughing matter.

Republicans controlling the Arizona Senate ordered this very unusual and very late audit of 2.1 million votes cast in Maricopa County, home of Phoenix and where two thirds of the state's presidential votes were cast in Joe Biden's win over Donald Trump by 10,457 votes in Arizona. This recount, too late to change any results, came after totals had been checked and rechecked by state election officials and certified as accurate.

So, why are they still recounting? It's to appease Trump and avid Trump supporters of the type that stormed the Capitol to "stop the steal." The Arizona senators, knowing the results are valid and can't be changed, still want to find some irregularities to show need for tighter voting laws and to keep the Trump base angry and active.

For the recount, they hired a Florida firm with no experience in elections and a chief executive who had spread conspiracy theories about a stolen election in Arizona. No transparency. Real reporters were blocked. Only the pro-Trump cable channel One America News was allowed total access, livestreaming what it chose.

The sheriff and the U.S. Justice Department are concerned about law violations and mishandling of ballots. But the Arizona Senate president still predicts that "we'll find irregularities." Of course. They won't pay that firm if it doesn't find some irregularities, real or manufactured.

Perpetuation of the lie that the election was stolen convinces many Americans, too many, that there is no real democracy and election totals don't have to be accepted if results aren't what they want. As Liz Cheney warned before she was dumped from leadership for disputing Trump's denial of losing: "Remaining silent and ignoring the lie emboldens the liar."

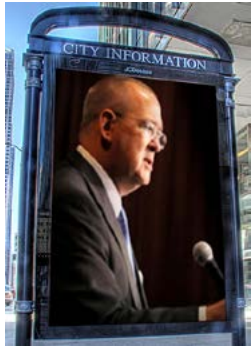
It's no laughing matter. ❖

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

College graduates and today's job market

By MICHAEL HICKS

MUNCIE – This month, nearly 2 million Americans will graduate from college with a bachelor's degree. Roughly 800,000 will receive a master's degree, and just over 200,000 will receive law, medical or doctoral degrees. Additionally, just over 1 million students will receive an associate's degree. Some of these graduates will continue their education immediately; most of the rest will directly enter the labor force. This is an interesting time to think about what those labor markets hold for them.



The unemployment rates for college graduates is unusually high right now, at 3.5%. This is somewhat expected, given we are near the tail end of a very difficult economic downturn. However, the unemployment rate for high school graduates is almost double that, at 6.9%.

The unemployment rate isn't the whole story. The labor force participation rate of college grads is 72.2%, while the rate for high school graduates only is 55.3%. That means that fewer than half of adults with only a high school diploma are currently working, while more than two-thirds with a college degree are working. There are many reasons for these differences, chief among them being employment opportunities.

Employment levels for college graduates are back to the levels seen nationally in the last quarter of 2019. But, for those with only a high school diploma and no college, employment levels are 2.7 million below the pre-recession levels. The total number of high school-only graduates now working is back to 1983 levels. So, for college graduates the current labor market picture is relatively rosy. Of course, this depends in part what major you've chosen.

Not surprisingly, the highest paid undergraduate degrees are among the least common ones. Leading the pack for median salaries are degrees in chemical, computer, electrical and aerospace engineering. Fifth, I am very pleased to report, is economics, followed by physics, computer science, industrial and mechanical engineering. Starting salaries for all these workers is over \$50,000, based on 2018-19 data.

For those students wanting the higher salaried jobs, it's worth noting that the 90th percentile salaries are highest for economics majors, followed by finance, chemical engineering, math and physics. There are many pathways to affluence, but it appears some skill at mathematics is a common one.

Of course, there's a lot of variation in pay. Health-care occupations tend to start out with relatively high salaries, but have less career growth. Also, some degrees are particularly good preparation for graduate school. The fact that philosophy graduates land in the top 10 high-wage occupations is probably because the degree is such a fantastic preparation for graduate school.

For students graduating this month, it is a bit late to be thinking about undergraduate major selection, but it is not too late to think about graduate school. If you've had strong undergraduate training, there are many graduate degrees that will boost your pay. The top 10 master's programs in terms of salary boost are in healthcare, engineering, economics and business.

Most young people who go to college aren't likely thinking primarily about salary. Wages are important, but most of the young people I know are thinking about other matters. Students majoring in religion and education didn't complete four years of college thinking primarily about their salary prospects. Neither did criminal justice, music, or forestry majors. I don't think most economists, financiers or engineers did, either.

Most students graduating today chose their majors based on many interests and passions. Most will work for 50 years, spending about half their awake time, five days a week, at work. This generation will spend more time working than any before it, so it is a happy occurrence that they may derive satisfaction from it. We should be thankful to live at a time when most young adults can pursue a college degree and career in field they find interesting.

Of course, the simple act of work, of making money, producing value and sustaining a business is noble and important. Earning an honest dollar and providing for a family are good things in and of themselves. They need no embellishment by this columnist.

Many students graduate with debt. The lifetime earnings premium of a college degree are about \$1.5 million dollars, making the average cost of college one of the best investments an individual can make. It is also a good investment for states. A 5% increase in the share of college graduates is correlated with a \$6,500 increase in per capita income.

No one can write about the Class of 2021 without mentioning COVID-19. The rushed departure from school last spring, the shift to virtual classes, and a long summer of uncertainty ushered in this school year. For many students, the fall semester was profoundly challenging. Two of my oldest children spent the year at military colleges in Virginia and Colorado. There they endured lengthy quarantine lockdowns and social isolation. I had few words to comfort them, other than explaining that a year filled with anxiety, isolation, and an uncertain end was much like a military deployment. Minus of course, being shot at. This was the experience of several million students across America, no matter where they went to school.

The experience of COVID-19 was tough on many

Americans, but few will have been as disrupted as college students. Colleges and universities did what we could to soften the experience.

Quite frankly, I am proud of my colleagues at Ball State University, along with faculty and staff around the nation who worked to make this year a success for our students. But, in the end, that so many young people graduate this spring is testament to their resilience. ❖

The minimum wage quagmire

By **MORTON J. MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – The minimum wage discussion is remarkably complex. The Biden administration has proposed a gradual increase from the current federal minimum of \$7.25 to \$15 an hour. The word gradual has been ignored by critics who would have us believe that a radical, sudden move is being made to \$15.

A few facts: Nationally, there were only 392,000 persons in 2019 earning the \$7.25 minimum. That was a tiny 0.47% of the 82.3 million wage and salary workers.



The minimum wage is the lowest rung on the wage ladder. The lowest 10% of private sector workers earned \$10.06/hr or less in 2019. The median private sector worker earned \$17.64/hr and the top 10% were up at \$46.64 or more.

The minimum wage is \$7.25 in 21 of our 50 states. Indiana and Kentucky are included, but not neighboring Ohio (\$8.80), Michigan (\$9.65) nor Illinois (\$11.00). Washington State (\$13.69) has the top minimum wage. In all, 29 states exceed the federal minimum.

These four facts indicate we already have a flexible system, adjusting the minimum wage to individual state circumstances. Then why do we have to raise the federal minimum wage?

The answer is imbedded in another question: What is the purpose of the minimum wage? That purpose is twofold: To provide all workers with a wage sufficient to support him/herself at a basic level of health, safety, and comfort, and to end various supplemental benefit programs for the working poor. The current \$7.25/hr minimum does neither.

An increase in the federal minimum is necessary to overcome the reluctance of 21 laggard state legislatures to recognize changes in economic and cultural expectations. Typically, legislators are ensnared by small businesses which pay low wages because their market size does not

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.

accommodate upgrading facilities and compensating workers at contemporary standards. These businesses have great cumulative political power.

In addition, legislators have to trust people to provide for themselves both in the present and the future. Neither Democrats nor Republicans have such trust. Libertarians, those irrepressible idealists, believe people will make mature decisions.

When wages are low, workers live from paycheck to paycheck. Yet, we could raise hourly wages for the lowest 10% of private sector workers by \$2.31/hr (23% immediately with one simple change. How?

Employers pay for employee benefits (pension plans and health insurance, for example). Slowly we are seeing this practice from WWII disappear. Companies cannot be allowed to stop paying the money managers and insurance companies without putting equal amounts in the workers' paychecks. That money must increase workers' pay so they can allocate those funds as they choose. It's not an adequate solution, but a step in the right direction.

Workers might prepare for tomorrow if they were paid adequately today. Tomorrow, however, is still a luxury, even at \$15 per hour. ❖

Mr. Marcus is an economist. Reach him at mortonjmarcus@yahoo.com. Follow his views and those of John Guy on "Who Gets What?" wherever podcasts are available or at mortonjohn.libsyn.com. Reach him at mortonjmarcus@yahoo.com. Follow his views and those of John Guy on "Who Gets What?"

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

Remembering Hoosier hero Henry Lawton

By **CRAIG DUNN**

CARMEL – Someone taking in a fine spring day at Indianapolis' Garfield Park might stumble upon a strange statue dedicated to a Hoosier hero who has faded from memory over the last century. Attired in khaki field dress,



topped with a tropical pith helmet, the impressive statue implies to the observer that its subject was once a giant among men. The name "Lawton" adorns the statue, but no clue is given to the amazing life of the man.

As a young man, Henry W. Lawton aspired to become a humble Methodist Episcopalian minister. Yet, before his amazing life ended, this man of modest origins and Hoosier upbringing would obtain a Harvard law

degree and serve his country for nearly 40 years, rising to the highest levels of responsibility in the United States Army.

Lawton was born near Akron, Ohio, in 1843, and moved to Fort Wayne, Indiana, later that same year when his father found work in a mill. His mother died when he was 11 and he bounced around northeastern Indiana and northwestern Ohio following his father's ever-changing employment.

In 1858, Henry Lawton enrolled at the Methodist Episcopal College in Fort Wayne. Lawton excelled in his studies there but was called away from the school by the steady beat of the war drums announcing the commencement of the Civil War.

Lawton enlisted in Company E of the 9th Indiana Volunteers and was mustered into service on April 24, 1861, as company sergeant. His regiment was one of the units formed under the fanciful term of service of 90 days or until the end of the war, whichever came first. During his service with the 9th Indiana, he fought in engagements at Philippi, Laurel Hill and Corrick's Ford, in what is now West Virginia.

When his term of service expired, he returned to Fort Wayne and enlisted in a newly formed regiment, the 30th Indiana Volunteer Infantry. He quickly was promoted from first sergeant to first lieutenant and served in Kentucky throughout

the remainder of 1861. In 1862, the 30th Indiana fought its first major engagement at the Battle of Shiloh. The regiment suffered major casualties including the loss of its colonel, and Lt. Lawton distinguished himself for his callous disregard of the flying shells and whizzing bullets.

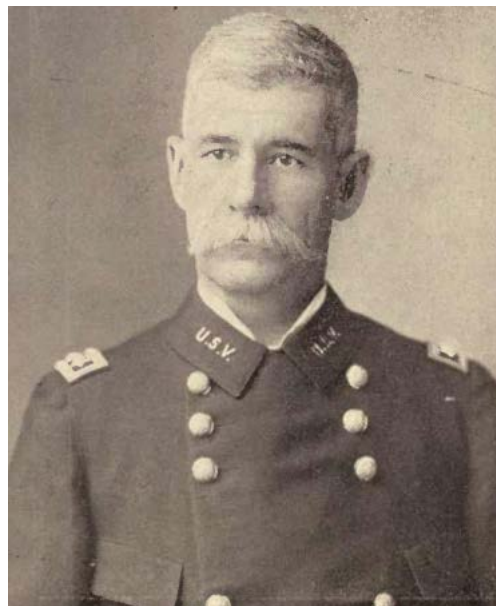
At the age of 19, Lawton was promoted to the rank of captain as the Union Army advanced on Corinth, Mississippi.

Throughout 1862 and 1863, Lawton engaged in almost non-stop combat, as he was involved in over 22 major engagements, including Stones River, Chickamauga and the bloody campaign to capture Atlanta. On the outskirts of Atlanta, Lawton led his company in a fierce assault on Confederate defensive works. Lawton's men drove the rebels out of their position and then, under his leadership, held on against repeated attempts by the Confederates to recapture the critical position. For his bravery and leadership, Henry W. Lawton was awarded the Medal of Honor. By the end of the Civil War, in recognition of his continued outstanding leadership, Lawton was promoted to brevet colonel.

With the Civil War finally at an end, Lawton pursued a captain's commission in the Regular Army. When the appointment was not forthcoming, even with the considerable support of both William Tecumseh Sherman and Philip Sheridan, Lawton decided to study at Harvard Law School, graduating in 1866. Despite his prestigious law degree, Lawton still longed for the military life and with Philip Sheridan's encouragement accepted a second lieutenant's commission in the 41st Infantry Regiment, under the command of the famous Indian fighter, Col. Ranald Mackenzie. Lawton served for 20 years with Mackenzie in most of the major Indian campaigns in the southwest, fighting Cheyenne, Comanche and Apache warriors.

In 1886, as captain of B Troop, 4th Cavalry, Nelson Miles selected Lawton for the difficult task of capturing the Apache chief Geronimo. Lawton was given questionable orders to head south of the United States and Mexico border and return with Geronimo dead or alive. After months of stalking Geronimo through brutal mountains and deserts, Lawton's troopers finally compelled the Apaches to surrender. Lawton's official report of this campaign gave credit to several his troopers for subduing the Apache chief but took no credit for himself. Geronimo, for his part, gave credit to Lawton's relentless pursuit for wearing the Apaches down and forcing his capitulation. Regardless, it was Lawton who brought Geronimo before Gen. Nelson Miles for his official surrender on Sept. 4, 1886.

After his two decades as Indian fighter, Lawton was promoted to major



and spent the next decade fighting bureaucratic battles as inspector general of the Army. In this capacity he brought many improvements to the organization and armaments of the Army. His work was instrumental in preparing the Army for the coming war with Spain.

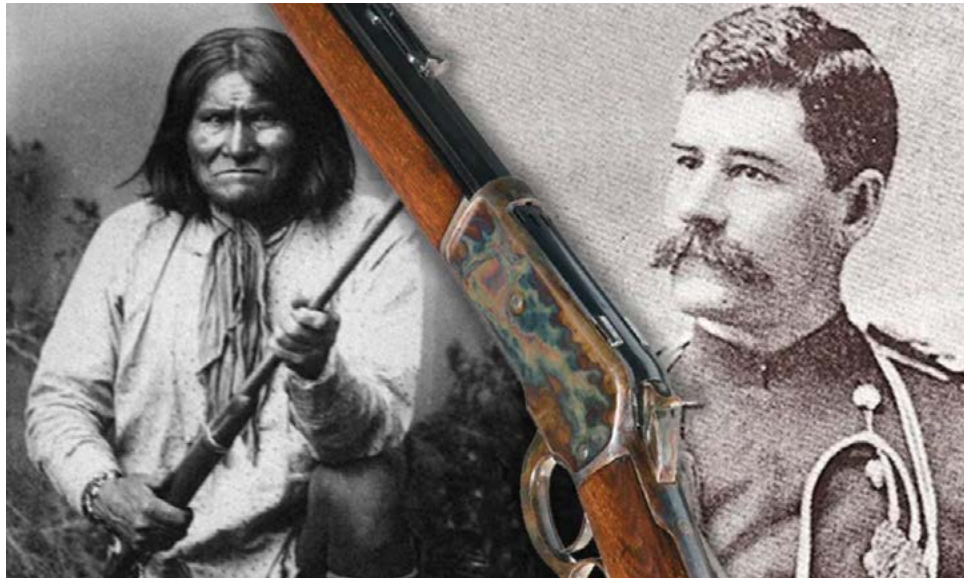
In May 1898, Lawton was appointed brigadier general of volunteers and assumed command of the 2nd Division which was being sent to Cuba as the spearhead for the American invasion. Lawton led 6,000 men ashore at Daiquiri, 18 miles east of Santiago. Lawton's forces advanced inland against retreating Spanish forces and drove them back to the fortress city of El Caney. There, without adequate artillery or cavalry, Lawton's division suffered heavy casualties, but eventually took the city and linked up with the remainder of the United States forces on San Juan Hill for the siege of Santiago. After Santiago fell, Henry Lawton was appointed military governor of Cuba.

Lawton's task as military governor was daunting. The Cuban population was starving and in need of a wide variety of medical attention. Public sanitation was virtually nonexistent and the resulting health problems were staggering. Lawton's fight to improve the health of the Cuban people was fought under sweltering conditions under the ever-present scourge of malaria. His work won the admiration of the Cuban people and they named the main square in Santiago after him.

For a brief time, Lawton returned to the United States to battle and recover from his own severe case of malaria. With the war with Spain ended, he would soon find new challenges to meet his rising star in the United States Army.

The United States had fought Spain in both Cuba and in the Philippines. There were those in the Philippines who were determined to fight for their own independence. They had no intention of substituting the hegemony of the United States for that of Spain's. A significant insurgency developed into a wide-open insurrection and Henry Lawton was called to command once more.

Lawton arrived in the Philippines and immediately took aggressive command of all United States forces. Lawton eschewed the comfort and predictability of daylight battle for the surprise and uncertainty of night attacks. He soon was nicknamed "the General of the Night" by the insurgent commander Aguinaldo, who said that



Lawton attacked so many times at night that he never knew when he was coming.

Henry Lawton knew only one way to command troops and that was from the front. He could always be seen on the front line leading his soldiers into combat. During the Battle of Paye, Lawton, as usual, was in the thickest of the fight when he was shot in the chest and killed immediately. His death represented the highest ranked officer killed in either the Spanish American or Philippine American wars. In fact, the day that he was killed, President McKinley signed the papers promoting Lawton to brigadier general of the United States Army. Lawton's body lay in state in Indianapolis before it was taken to Arlington Cemetery to be buried with many of his comrades.

Nine years after his death in the Philippines, a statue was commissioned by Indianapolis city leaders and erected in front of the Marion County Courthouse. As an indication of his reputation and stature in the American Army, the dedication ceremony was attended by both President Theodore Roosevelt and Vice President Charles W. Fairbanks, a fellow Hoosier. The Indiana poet James Whitcomb Riley composed a poem to commemorate the event. In 1917 the monument was moved to its permanent resting place in Garfield Park and rededicated to his memory.

Henry W. Lawton was one of those ordinary Hoosiers who lived an extraordinary life. He was known for personal bravery, leadership and compassion for those he encountered along the way. As we approach Memorial Day, his life of service is one to remember. ❖



Dunn is the former chairman of the Howard County Republican Party.

Janet Williams and Bill Theobald,

Indiana Citizen: Last month, after nearly four months in session, the Indiana General Assembly passed a new state budget and headed for the exits. But the lawmakers left the Statehouse with the knowledge that they will need to return in 2021 to take on another big job, redistricting—and with their plan for that still in question. For example, what criteria will be used to ensure fairness in the redrawing of the state's congressional and legislative districts? Will outside consultants be involved, and who will they be? And given several more months than usual due to delays in the release of census data, how will the process be conducted to provide openness and public involvement? In a post-session interview with *The Indiana Citizen*, the Indiana Senate's top Republican, Rodric Bray, shared a few specifics of how legislative leaders will guide the redrawing of the state's congressional and legislative districts. The process, based on population counts from the 2020 census, will help to determine who controls the state's political agenda for the next decade. To those seeking more transparency and public involvement in redistricting, Senate President Pro Tempore Bray said exact details of the process have yet to be worked out, but the public will have a chance to see the map-drawing as it progresses as well as to testify about what is important to their communities. The plan, he added, is for lawmakers to begin holding public hearings across the state as soon as July. Even though the U.S. Census Bureau won't release finalized counts to the states until as late as Sept. 30 due to delays blamed on the coronavirus pandemic, Bray said lawmakers can begin sooner by using "legacy data," which is delivered in an older format and is expected to be available, according to the census bureau, by mid- to late August. During the redistricting process a decade ago, three or four terminals were placed on some college campuses to give the public a chance to draw their own maps. "We're going to do that in an expanded nature," Bray said, "but I can't quite tell you how many we'll have just yet." Sen. Jon Ford, chairman of the Senate Elections Committee, said in an interview that there hasn't been much discussion about how to proceed, blaming the delay in the census data. "If we really don't get the data until Sept. 30, we're kind of pressed to get it done," Ford said. "I don't know that there's all that much we can do 'til we get the data other than having public hearings." ❖



Gary Truitt, Hoosier Ag Today: The biggest factor impacting the ability of U.S. farmers to produce the food we need has nothing to do with the weather, the markets, trade, regulations, or disease. The worldwide shortage of computer chips will impact all aspects of agriculture for the next two years and beyond. Almost every piece of farm equipment, like most everything else in our lives, needs a computer chips to operate. Due in part to the Covid 19 Pandemic, there is a massive worldwide shortage of chips; and the industry is unable to meet the skyrocketing

demand. Industry sources say the current shortage will not be resolved until sometime in 2022. Meanwhile, farm equipment manufacturers have halted shipments to dealers because they don't have the chips to put in the equipment. Reynolds Farm Equipment, one of Indiana's largest John Deere dealers, says they are unsure about when they will receive the new equipment that is on order. They indicated that not only have combine, planter, tillage, and tractor sales been impacted, but even ATV supplies are limited. Parts, even non-electric parts, are also in short supply because the manufacturers of those parts use the chips in the manufacturing process. In the U.S., we love our quick-fix solutions which usually involve federal government bailouts. This time, however, that solution will not work to solve the shortage. Most of the world's chip production does not take place in the U.S. The share of chips manufactured in the U.S. has fallen from 37% in 1990 to 12% today, according to the Semiconductor Industry Association. The make it in America rhetoric espoused by many conservatives gets criticized as being protectionist. While free and fair world trade is important, there is value in having adequate domestic production of vital things like computer chips, energy, vaccines, and, of course, food. This is something our leaders need to be thinking about before the next shortage reaches crisis proportions. ❖

Jennifer Rubin, Washington Post: House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy (R-Calif.), in making spurious objections to an agreement negotiated by his own member, Rep. John Katko (R-N.Y.), to set up an independent commission on the Jan. 6 insurrection, revealed he remains a toady for the disgraced former president who instigated the violent assault on the Capitol. That's precisely what Rep. Liz Cheney (R-Wyo.) has alleged, and her diagnosis proves again to be spot on. McCarthy's cowardly position betrays his own members, shows he will continue to put MAGA obedience above truth and democracy, and reminds the country why it would be dangerous to make him speaker. Part of his motivation is likely attributable to his own role as a witness. Unless he perjures himself or refuses to testify (risking a contempt finding), he will have to testify about a phone call on Jan. 6 in which he failed to persuade the outgoing president to rescue the Capitol. The phone call indicts both people in that conversation — the president for refusing to perform his duties and McCarthy in covering up that salient point. McCarthy may also be nervous that the commission will confirm that multiple members of the House may have played a more serious role in provoking the assault than previously known. We know Rep. Mo Brooks (R-Ala.) participated in the rally provoking the crowd. Allegations have also swirled that other Republican members gave tours of the Capitol to insurrectionists ahead of the attack. And, of course, a majority of House Republicans plus a batch of Senate Republicans sought to overthrow the electoral college results — even after the insurrection. ❖

DCCC assails Spartz on 1/6 vote

WASHINGTON — The DCCC assailed U.S. Rep. Victoria Spartz for her vote against creating a bipartisan Jan. 6 commission. “The January 6th insurrection was an incredibly dark day for American democracy, but Rep. Spartz would rather whitewash the deadly events than pursue the truth,” said DCCC spokesperson Elena Kuhn. “Tonight’s vote is the latest sign that Rep. Spartz doesn’t believe her constituents deserve to know the truth about what happened on January 6th and only cares about toeing the line for Kevin McCarthy and Donald Trump.” Sabato’s Crystal Ball today rates the current CD5 “likely Republican.” Another vote against the commission was U.S. Rep. Greg Pence, brother of former Vice President Mike Pence, who was threatened by the mob that overtook the U.S. Capitol. U.S. Rep. Trey Hollingsworth was the only Hoosier Republican to vote for the commission. Republicans who co-sponsored a bill calling for a commission that looked strikingly similar to the final product, but who voted no anyway included U.S. Reps. Jim Banks and Jackie Walorski.



Braun calls 1/6 panel ‘political’

WASHINGTON — The proposed commission to investigate the Jan. 6 attack on the U.S. Capitol will not be able to uncover anything more than the FBI already has, said Sen. Mike Braun (R-Ind.), in a conference call with reporters Wednesday. Braun said he believes the creation of the commission has been and continues to be fueled by politics, rather than solely the search for truth (Davis, [WIBC](#)). “I was here that day. Most of us understand exactly what happened. We saw it. We participated in it, in terms of having to evacuate the chambers and

coming back later that day,” he said. He said keeping it “out there” means his colleagues are trying to capitalize on it in a political way. “Committees here have been working and looking at how you increase the security both physically and in terms of the Capitol Police,” he said. “Most of feel that we’ve got the information we need to make the right decisions, in terms of what to do.”

Indy to lift mask mandate June 7

INDIANAPOLIS — Marion County will wait until June 7 to ease its current pandemic-related restrictions, Indianapolis Mayor Joe Hogsett announced Wednesday, and could fully reopen in July if enough people get vaccinated. On June 7, he said, the Marion County Public Health Department is expected to recommend to the City-County Council that the county’s mask mandate be lifted in most cases for residents who are fully vaccinated. Hogsett said the county also plans to recommend loosening capacity limits for large gatherings, including allowing 100% capacity for religious services, 50% for indoor sporting events, and 75% for bars, restaurants and entertainment venues. Capacity limits for outdoor sporting events will remain at 50%.

Vote advocates want 30 day map review

INDIANAPOLIS — Voting rights activists on Wednesday urged Indiana legislative leaders to give the public at least a month to review proposed new congressional and state election district maps before they are finalized (Davies, [AP](#)). Members of the Indiana Citizens Redistricting Commission organized by Common Cause and other groups released a report calling for greater public involvement in the once-a-decade redrawing of election maps based on population shifts. The Republican-dominated Legislature plans a fall return to the Statehouse for votes on the new maps. The pro-

cess will be delayed because the U.S. Census Bureau won’t release data for congressional and legislative redistricting until perhaps September due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Common Cause Indiana policy director Julia Vaughn said the Legislature should use the coming months to hold hearings around the state for public comment. “Once you have proposals available, slow the process down,” Vaughn said. “Give people at least 30 days to understand and give feedback on what the Legislature has proposed.”

Rokita lines up v. critical race theory

INDIANAPOLIS — Indiana Attorney General Todd Rokita is leading a multistate coalition of 20 attorneys general in urging the Biden administration to reconsider proposals that would put critical race theory and similar curriculum into American classrooms (AP). Critical race theory (CRT) essentially teaches students how racism has shaped American policy, with the main idea being that racism is a social construct. Rokita called the teachings “deeply flawed” and “radical.” He said CRT and similar curriculum is “woven” into a new proposed rule by the U.S. Department of Education that establishes priorities for grants in American history and civic education classes. “We don’t need a new liberal indoctrination project that endorses factually-deficient instruction and racial division,” Rokita argued.

Indy cop hired for South Bend review

SOUTH BEND — South Bend City Clerk Dawn Jones has hired a police community review office director, the first step toward creating a citizen review board that she thinks could be ready to start handling police misconduct allegations by late August (Parrott, [South Bend Tribune](#)). Jones said Joshua Reynolds, a former police officer who runs an investigative firm in Indianapolis, will start on June 7. He was one of 40 applicants.