

**Indianapolis and Taipei:
A Relationship Forged for Democracy?**

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Undergraduate History Program, Fall/Winter 2021

Undergraduate Status: Senior

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In 1949, the Communists in China officially established the People's Republic of China (PRC) upon defeating the U.S.-backed Nationalists. The Nationalists then fled to the island of Taiwan and established the Republic of China (ROC). Both governments claimed they were the official government of China and proclaimed authority over the other. This controversy has been a significant part of U.S. foreign policy since the end of World War II. Initially, the U.S. backed the Nationalists, but under President Nixon relations with the PRC relaxed, starting off a period of tumultuous and ambiguous U.S. policy regarding the two Chinas. Indianapolis did not have many international ties during this period but decided to establish a sister city relationship with the capital of Taiwan in 1978, months before President Jimmy Carter announced the U.S. recognition of the PRC. "A sister city, county, or state relationship is a broad-based, long-term partnership between two communities in two countries."ⁱ They are created when the highest official in each community signs an agreement to establish such a relationship. The details and main components of the relationship are decided by the communities to reflect their values and needs. The sister city relationship between Indianapolis, Indiana and Taipei, Taiwan presents a compelling look at how local government was able to implement significant policy contrary to the national government because of the changing status of politics and economics in the U.S. during the 1970s.

Indianapolis's first sister city relationship is interesting because of the environment in which it was created. U.S. policy towards China changed significantly in the late 1960s and early '70s. The civil war between the Chinese Communists and Chinese Nationalists was still raging following World War II. During this period, the U.S. supported the Nationalists because the administration "saw the Chinese communists as an extension of Soviet power" and wanted to prevent their increasing power as the Cold War progressed.ⁱⁱ Furthermore, public opinion of

communism was extremely poor in the U.S., even following the end of the Chinese Civil War the U.S. did not recognize the establishment of the PRC and instead supported the ROC that had fled to the island of Taiwan. This did not change until under the presidency of Richard Nixon.

Once Nixon was elected president in 1968 “there were cautious moves towards reconciliation” with the PRC.ⁱⁱⁱ Nixon was the first president to refer to the PRC as its official name rather than as Communist China. He also eased the restrictions surrounding the PRC and decreased the military presence of the U.S. in East Asia. Nixon believed that the U.S. “simply cannot afford to leave China forever outside the family of nations.”^{iv} The main incentive for these actions was to use the PRC as a counterweight to the USSR. The U.S. wanted to “form a ‘united front’ with the enemies of its enemy.”^v A major breakthrough occurred in 1971 when the U.S. National Table Tennis Olympic team was invited to visit China following the Olympic games in what has since been termed “ping-pong diplomacy.” This was the first time that the U.S. had been allowed entry into the PRC. This worried the ROC because they feared this indicated that the U.S. would soon abandon them. To staunch these fears Nixon sent California Governor Ronald Reagan to Taiwan. However, as Taiwan feared, in October 1971 the Chinese seat in the United Nations (UN) was transferred from the ROC to the PRC. Nixon then visited the PRC personally in February 1972, further signaling an increase in U.S. favor toward the PRC. Nixon’s presidency shifted the U.S. from a staunch anti-PRC stance to a more favorable and open relationship between the two countries. This was a drastic change compared to early policy towards the question of the two China’s and created a tumultuous backdrop to the creation of the sister city relationship between Indianapolis and Taipei.

The leaps toward acceptance of the PRC by Nixon were cemented when the Carter administration officially recognized the country in 1978. This recognition was a “dramatic,

unexpected bombshell” by Carter as he did not consult the U.S. Congress prior to making this announcement.^{vi} Therefore, his decision was not backed by the United States as a whole and the people’s representatives in Congress. As a result of this recognition, the U.S. withdrew its recognition of the ROC and ended its diplomatic relations with the country. The U.S. embassy to China at Taipei was closed and a new one was opened on March 1, 1979 in Beijing.^{vii} In Carter’s speech, he stated that this action was the “final result of long and serious negotiations begun by President Nixon in 1972” and that the purpose was to promote the advancement of peace.^{viii} He did state that the U.S. would maintain its current economic ties with Taiwan, but its military support would be lessened, and the mutual defense treaty would be dissolved.^{ix} The congressional response to Carter’s speech varied wildly. Conservatives were more likely to admonish President Carter for his actions, whereas liberals were generally more enthusiastic at the prospect of an open PRC. Republicans referred to this change in policy as a “cowardly act... [that] stabs in the back the nation of Taiwan.”^x They also asserted that this action destroyed the trust placed in the United States by free nations and that no free nation would be able to confidently ally with the United States in the future.^{xi} The people of the United States were taken aback by these developments in U.S. – China foreign policy which created an opening in which the Indianapolis – Taipei sister city relationship was developed.

As a counter to the recognition of the PRC, the United States Congress passed the Taiwan Relations Act in 1979. This act intended to provide some support to Taiwan in the face of the canceled mutual defense treaty and protect Taiwan from being taken over by the PRC. Congress argued extensively over whether or not to add sections diminishing the new policies toward the PRC put in place by Carter, but Carter’s allies narrowly prevented this.^{xii} The act explicitly states that the U.S. will “preserve and promote extensive, close, and friendly commercial, cultural, and

other relations” with both Taiwan and the PRC.^{xiii} It also establishes that the U.S. is invested in a peaceful resolution of the situation between the PRC and Taiwan and that any action counter to a peaceful resolution is of “grave concern” to the U.S.^{xiv} Finally, the act allows for U.S. arms to be sold to Taiwan so that the country can maintain a “sufficient self-defense capability.”^{xv} The Taiwan Relations Act established that even though the U.S. officially recognized the PRC, it will not abandon Taiwan to be subject to the whim of the PRC.^{xvi} Many still did not see this as enough and were appalled at the actions taken by the National Government which for many was contrary to their beliefs.

The interesting nature of U.S. – Chinese Foreign Policy since the Cold War reveals the importance of the relationship created between Indianapolis and Taipei. The timing of actions taken by Indianapolis’s mayors point to a larger motivation. Indianapolis’s relationship with Taipei did not spring into existence in 1978 but was fostered by Mayor Richard Lugar during his term in office from 1968 to 1976. Mayor Lugar’s term in office almost exactly coincides with the presidential term of Nixon. Thus, the actions taken by Nixon to increase relations between the U.S. and the PRC occurred at the same time in which Mayor Lugar was fostering a relationship between Indianapolis and Taipei. Mayor Lugar was in contact with the Consul-General of the ROC, Hugh H. O’Young, by letter as early as 1974, which was just two years after President Nixon’s visit to the PRC. In their correspondence, Lugar and O’Young discussed establishing ties between the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce and Indianapolis World Trade Center and their counterparts in Taipei.^{xvii} Additionally, the letters between Lugar and O’Young expressed the importance that the ROC is “free China.”^{xviii} Lugar’s timing in reaching out to O’Young in 1974 to establish economic ties between Indianapolis and Taipei cannot go unnoticed in its proximity to increasingly positive relations between the PRC and the U.S. Lugar’s actions

revealed an Indianapolis attitude that favored the ROC over the PRC from the beginning. Thus, Lugar's actions in reaching out to O'Young initiated the more drastic political maneuvers of Indianapolis to support the ROC that will be seen under Mayor William Hudnut.

Hudnut had worked to create this relationship between the two cities while President Carter was preparing to announce the U.S. recognition of the PRC. Thus, the sister city relationship was created on September 11, 1978, which was just months prior to Carter's recognition announcement in December.^{xix} The establishment of the relationship with Taipei showcases that Indianapolis was against the decision of President Carter and that the city remained a staunch ally of democracy. The city cited its "mutual interest to ... abide by constitutional democracy for the protection of the free way of life" and other economic and cultural aspects as reasons for the relationship's creation.^{xx} Furthermore, the City Council described the relationship to be "in the interest of peace" and referred to Taipei as "the capit[a]l city of Free China."^{xxi} Therefore it can clearly be seen that Indianapolis was devoted to maintaining a connection with the soon to be spurned U.S. ally in the name of democracy and freedom. The local government felt that this problem was not being handled properly on the national level and took local policy action that was more in line with local beliefs and values.

While democracy was a key idea in the formation of the sister city relationship it was not the only one. If democracy was the sole idea behind the relationship, it was in name only as many different U.S. politicians cited a less than stellar democratic record in Taiwan.

Representative Jim Leach of Iowa, in his statement before the subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs in 1980, cited that in Taiwan "constitutional guarantees of fundamental human rights have been suspended since martial law was declare[d] in Taiwan in 1949."^{xxii} This means that the ROC had been under martial law for almost the entirety of its existence. He goes on to

say that “democratic progress has not kept pace with the enormous social and economic advances.”^{xxiii} Even though he is attacking Taiwan for its democratic process he still gives them praise for their economic advances, revealing the true motivation behind relations with Taiwan. Mayor Hudnut himself even said that “they do not enjoy as much personal freedom in political and religious life as we do or as they would have us believe,” but gives them a pass by arguing we cannot judge another country for their political progress.^{xxiv} Therefore, it is evident that there is more to the story of the sister city relationship than support for a supposedly democratic government. The main factors that must therefore be looked at are the atmosphere of the 1970s and the political and economic changes that occurred during the decade and how this local level policy was used to address this atmosphere.

The characterization of the 1970s has gone under extensive revision in the past several years. Many scholars are now revising the view of the 1970s as a wasted decade. Many had considered it to be a dull, forgetful decade as opposed to the wild 1960s. Brian Schulman’s book *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics* provides the main framework for understanding the substantial changes occurring throughout the decade. He characterizes the ‘70s by its changes in the realms of politics, race relations, and cultural identity. Christopher Booker argues a more extreme version by saying the 1970s were the most important decade of the twentieth century in his book *The Seventies: The Decade that Changed the Future*. He puts emphasis on the shifts in psychological, intellectual, and spiritual perspectives. Both Edward D. Berkowitz and the editors Beth Bailey and David Farber, in their respective books *Something Happened: A Political and Cultural Overview of the Seventies* and *America in the Seventies*, concede that the 1970s presented a significant change in the attitudes and beliefs of people during the post-WWII period.

The changes characterized by all these individuals contributed to a unique decade that laid the foundation for the sister city relationship between Indianapolis and Taipei. The beginning of the period set the stage for the mindset of many Americans as the United States experienced a “quite startling decline in the power, self-confidence and world standing.”^{xxv} This was a profound shift from the global powerhouse image that the U.S. had presented during and following the Second World War. The U.S. population was facing the reality that they no longer had hegemony of the world and experienced first-hand the aftereffects of this change. The seventies were a “rude awakening” in the words of Edward Berkowitz.^{xxvi} The U.S. had finally reached its limit and was now experiencing the facts of life outside of the postwar era. There was uncertainty in the political, economic, and social stability of a nation that had been at the forefront following WWII. Americans struggled with “the meanings of happiness, success, patriotism, and national identity.”^{xxvii} Instead of the abundance they had been used to, many Americans, particularly the middle and lower classes, were met with “limits, losses, and betrayals” on a national scale as the Watergate scandal came to a head and the dangers of stagflation made themselves known.^{xxviii} Americans were scared and they were not going to wait around for the national government to fix things.

Furthermore, a unique cultural identity developed during the ‘70s that was characterized by sensibility as well as individuality. This decade saw changes in gender roles, music, and religion and how each played a role in the daily life of the ordinary American. Schulman attributes this to the end of the postwar era, saying that “the Great American Ride... had run out of gas.”^{xxix} The state of the economy was plummeting as inflation skyrocketed and faith in the government plummeted to new lows. The idea of the “Me Decade” rose with a shift away from the collective consensus to individualism. The new attitude of sensibility lined up perfectly with

the existing culture of Indiana. As Madison argues in *Hoosiers: A New History of Indiana*, evolutionary change characterized Indiana throughout its history. Their transitions into statehood, from constitution to constitution, and entry into the industrial world were characterized by slow and gradual change when possible and only rapid change when necessary. The Hoosier mentality favors tradition and continuity and is characterized by sensible and slow change. Hoosiers do not want to challenge the status quo and end up with a “propensity to conserve and to cling to traditions.”^{xxx} That is why it is imperative to further understand the atmosphere and motivations surrounding the sister city relationship between Indianapolis and Taipei as it is exactly contrary to the national foreign policy at the time but in line with the national mood. This relationship shows how local level officials can make a difference in their own community by creating policy that is contrary to the national government, but beneficial for local communities.

A significant factor in the creation of the sister city relationship is the mayor under which it was established, William Hudnut. He was a Republican in name, but a moderate in action.^{xxxi} Unlike the decreasing level of trust placed in the national government, Mayor Hudnut gave Indianapolis an example of what a public servant should be. He was originally a Presbyterian minister, which influenced many of his decisions while mayor. He was not someone that sat on the sidelines and got others to do his work. He believed that “credits belong to the person who engages in the fray, not to the one who sits on the sidelines.”^{xxxii} Hudnut believed that a public official had to be someone that worked with multiple different types of people and synthesized their interest in the betterment of the community. He is truly exemplified in the following excerpt from one of his autobiographies:

It is far better to work for the little good in our corner of the world, in each chapter of our lives, with the hope that like leaven in bread or salt in meat, our small efforts will

improve the quality of life where we touch it, than to be forever thinking that we will accomplish nothing unless we become famous, receive much attention, pile up lots of money, or wield political power.^{xxxiii}

He worked for the betterment of Indianapolis and was able to bring in many different attractions to enhance the city and market it to others. He was focused on his community and attuned to its needs and wants. Therefore, he was the perfect candidate for local level policy action in an environment where the average American was more focused on their local needs as they were no longer being serviced by the national government.

Thus, it is imperative to understand how the community plays a role in the formation of public policy. This is particularly relevant since the focus is on Indianapolis, which is the capital of a midwestern state, Indiana. As mentioned previously, the Hoosier mindset is focused on tradition and continuity, generally characterized by an unwillingness to challenge the status quo. Therefore, the assertion from “When does Government Listen to the Public? Voluntary Associations and Dynamic Agenda Representation in the United States” of a positive correlation between the number of voluntary associations about an issue and its agenda representation is especially valuable in a state unwilling to make radical change.^{xxxiv} Hoosier literature does not mention foreign policy as a prominent thought in the minds of Hoosiers, but instead focuses on their localized worries. Therefore, it is important to understand these localized worries as “a national or global scale political movement may well be energized and initiated through the organizing at the local scale.”^{xxxv} The beginning stages of this were being seen in the 1970s as people turned their focus more towards local level officials as their faith in national level officials deteriorated. This issue of the relationship between the two Chinas and the United States continues to be a problem to this day, but Indianapolis proved its leanings with the promotion of the sister city relationship with Taipei.

In creating this relationship, the government of Indianapolis was formulating policy that was supported by citizens and businesses alike. At the time of the creation of the relationship, an Indianapolis businessman, Harold P. Ransburg, expressed his support of the move to Consul General Hugh H. O'Young. He expressed his elation that Indianapolis was joining with Taipei to "protect [its] precious freedoms from the tragedies that would become our lot if we ever bec[a]me dominated by Communist enslavement."^{xxxvi} He also expressed his bafflement that the president and his advisors in Washington D.C. threw away their support of Taiwan in favor of the Communists. His attitude toward the PRC is an important example of the mindset of Indianapolis as a whole. When Richard Lugar, by then a senator for Indiana, asked the Indiana population whether they supported the recognition of the PRC, almost 54% of them responded that they disagreed with the decision to some degree.^{xxxvii} Therefore, this new sister city relationship was an accurate representation of the Indianapolis community's beliefs regarding the two China's controversy at the national level.

Additionally, Chinese Americans in Indianapolis supported the sentiments expressed by Mayor Hudnut about the maintenance of the relationship. Following his visit to Taiwan with the Conference of Mayors delegation, he submitted commentary to Congress stating his three takeaways from visiting the country. First, "in free China, we have a very staunch friend and ally."^{xxxviii} Second, "Taiwan seems to be a showcase of capitalism in action."^{xxxix} Third, "they do not enjoy as much personal freedom in political and religious life as we do or as they would have us believe."^{xl} All three of these statements were met with almost unanimous support from Chinese Americans. Erin Wu, John Yu, and L.W. Frank Wu were just some of the people who wrote letters written to him expressing support.^{xli} Even J. Irvin Miller, a businessman from Columbus, Indiana, responded with "like yourself, I am impressed with what they have

accomplished economically, but well aware that the whole society, however, is right on the edge of repression.”^{xlii} All in all, Mayor Hudnut was creating a relationship that was well supported by the community he aimed to represent.

The culmination of the “exploding numbers of interest groups, weakening political parties, an increasingly hostile media, and wrenching policy controversies over issues such as Vietnam and civil rights”^{xliii} were also key elements in the development of the sister city relationship between Indianapolis and Taipei. The exploding number of interest groups paved the way for increased local level policy that was pertinent to local level issues and more representative of their wishes and values. The weakening political parties allowed local level policy to be more loosely aligned with their party and gave room for policy that was contrary to that of the national level. Unfortunately, the hostile media and wrenching policy controversies have hidden these local policy steps under the larger umbrella of the Watergate scandal, Vietnam War, and rise of Reagan as descriptions of the 1970s and its importance.

The 1970s are characterized by the emergence of new political movements within the Democratic and Republican Parties. The atmosphere of the 70s was one of political mistrust. Bruce Schulman emphasizes the rising doubt towards the national government’s ability to facilitate meaningful change. This reached a head because of the Watergate scandal. Nixon “undermined the institution of the presidency itself at just the moment when the nation faced unprecedented challenges at home and abroad.”^{xliv} Many blamed him for the increasing atmosphere of mistrust, even though others note that the Watergate scandal just reaffirmed what they already believed about big government. Carter did not do the national government any favors under his term either. Even though he did not give the nation a reason to doubt him as momentous as the Watergate scandal, he was a weak president. “This weakness continued to

undermine the crumbling confidence of a nation facing its limits for the very first time.”^{xlv} At a time when the United States needed a strong, confident leader to lead them to prosperity, they were instead met with Carter. This weakness was fully realized in the election of Ronald Reagan as his successor. Reagan had a “patriotic, small-government, anti-establishment appeal” which reflected the persistent pessimism of Americans regarding their government.^{xlvi} This opened the door to larger local level policy changes as many people no longer had faith that the national government would be able to help them. Instead, a community’s local level officials became more important as they had a better idea of the beliefs and values of their constituents and were more inclined to create policy that they agreed with directly. These larger political trends are also accompanied by the shifting consistencies of the traditional two-party system.

On the Democratic side there was the emergence of the New Left. In “Searching for a New Politics: The New Politics Movement and the Struggle to Democratize the Democratic Party, 1968 – 1978,” Adam Hilton characterizes the New Left by the movement within the Democratic Party to realign it further left and pull away from the rigid structure of the past. “Party reformers wanted to transform the Democratic party into a more programmatic, progressive party.”^{xlvii} They were interested in transforming the party following the collapse of the traditional New Deal coalition and the end of Democratic dominance in the political arena. These radicals promoted a new kind of liberalism that did not trust the government to help individuals through aid programs and the welfare state. They aimed to “assure that voters...will have the opportunity to participate fully in Party affairs” regardless of their minority status.^{xlviii} The Democratic party had traditionally relied on three key bases: the Democratic South, labor, and northern political machines. These three groups had been bound together by the New Deal, but that unity was becoming a memory. The fracture in the labor movement over the liberalizing

policies threatened to push the Democratic Party further left. With this mentality in mind, it is not surprising that the Democratic party experienced “a severe drop [in the number of voters in] blue-collar and middle-class districts” which were the traditional constituents of the labor movement.^{xlix}

Furthermore, the south rose from their racist backwardness of the previous eras towards a conservative voting bloc that abhorred bureaucrats and the idea of big government. This caused a substantial move away from the traditional northern Rustbelt dominance in the political arena. The south had shifted from a rural agrarian society to a burgeoning industrial powerhouse as businesses and workers flocked to the warmth provided by the southern and southwestern states. Schulman asserts that this new political powerhouse was a key aspect in Nixon’s Silent Majority and the rise of conservatism. Reformists within the Democratic party wanted to “purge the conservative South from the party.”^{li} The increasingly hostile environment towards conservatives within the Democratic Party added to the increasing hegemony of the Republican Party in the 1970s.

On the other side of the aisle, the New Right emerged from the antiliberal, unorganized groups of people who made up the Silent Majority. These were people who had been flying under the radar and on the fringe of society when the New Deal was met with a wide array of support. The ‘70s pushed conservatism into the forefront of politics as the tax revolt accelerated many conservatives into action in what Schulman describes as “thunder... gathering on the right.”^{li} This new brand of conservative Americans was “an institutionalized, disciplined, well-organized and well-financed movement of loosely knit affiliates.”^{liii} They rallied around the ideas of American power, anti-elitism, and the traditional family. Conservatives incorporated what they referred to as the ordinary American, those who had been buried under the liberal welfare

state. The increasing focus on what Nixon coined the Silent Majority and the rise of conservatism were key factors in the rise of the party. In Dominic Sandbrook's book, *Mad as Hell: The Crisis of the 1970s and the Rise of the Populist Right*, he emphasizes the reawakening of populism which he asserts became the most powerful political and cultural force in the nation. This new idea of a conservative powerhouse was the wave on which Ronald Reagan was elected president in 1980. Moreover, according to Schulman, it shaped the politics of the decade to come.

Robert Mason focuses on the broader impacts of the rise of the Republican party because of these shifts. "‘I was Going to Build a New Republican Party and a New Majority’: Richard Nixon as Party Leader, 1969 – 73" reveals the impact of Nixon on the party and a growing political climate of conservatism. His collaboration with Iwan Morgan in *Seeking a New Majority: The Republican Party and American Politics, 1960 – 1980* brings additional light to the divides between different factions within the Republican Party and the emphasis placed on those divides when a Republican was in the White House. Conversely, Karen M. Hult and Charles E. Walcott present a vision of decreased party power for the president and point to a weakening in the power of political party affiliation. Nixon had a mixed impact on the Republican Party. On the positive side, he had given a voice to the silent majority and brought them to the forefront of the political arena from which they had traditionally been silent. On the negative side, he was focused on creating "a new American majority, rather than a new Republican majority"^{liii} which at times could be detrimental. Instead of being a rallying point for his own party, Nixon was too focused on being palatable to every American. By doing so, the parties no longer became rallying points for the average American. Instead of a candidate's party being the most important thing about them, their policy and values gained importance.

Foreign policy was directly impacted by these national trends with the Democratic and Republican parties. The new “divisions were sharpest in the realm of foreign policy.”^{liv} The rise of conservatism in the Republican party led to an increase in the stance of anti-communism as a significant part of the party’s foreign policy. Nixon did not always embody the conservative constituency of his party, especially in the foreign policy sector. He instead pushed “American interests, not [what he thought was] morality or ideological fervor.”^{lv} This led him to make decisions that were not always in line with his own party opening the door for Reagan as the next Republican candidate. On the Democratic side, “disappointment with Carter’s foreign policy helped to fuel a rightward shift among voters in the late 1970s.”^{lvi} In the realm of foreign affairs, both parties were pushing voters towards the conservative right.

These national trends heavily impacted how the sister city relationship between Indianapolis and Taipei was formed. The shifting allegiances of both parties and the changing state of their constituencies paved the way for change on a local level. Normally, “in contrast to the advances in governance and administration at the federal level, scholars wrote of municipal government as a ‘lost world.’”^{lvii} But this lost world was the beginning ground for policy change and generally more representative of their respective constituencies. This is especially true in the Midwest during the 1970s when the focus was on the rising Sunbelt states and the decline of the Rustbelt. The states, and other local officials, did not feel as if they were represented by the president and the rest of the national government. They felt that “the administration did not act in a sufficiently partisan way” and therefore not fulfilling the promises they had been elected on.^{lviii} In this discontentment rises the sister city relationship between Indianapolis and Taipei.

Finally, as Schulman points out, Americans were losing faith in the possibility of change fueled by the government. The economic environment of the 1970s was as bad as the political

sector was evolving. Stagflation was rampant; the economy was characterized by high inflation, high unemployment, and a stagnation that no one could shake off. Scholars have since revised this economic turmoil as a pivotal change in the way the United States economy works. The 1970s were a period where “America struggled through a fundamental economic transformation.”^{lix} However, during the 1970s this change was detrimental to the work force and the people were not prepared for a fundamental change in the economic importance of industry. “From [town to town] it was the same story: crippling losses, plant closures, job cuts, and unemployment.”^{lx} The economy continued in a declining spiral. As a result, “city budgets, increasingly dependent on state and federal aid, were barely keeping with the growth of the economy.”^{lxi} This meant that many local governments had to turn to the private sector to support their policy ventures. “Rather than depend on spending, they used the full force of government to shift private sector priorities.”^{lxii} To counter these national trends, most people were turning their focus towards the private sector and capitalism as a vehicle for change.

Kathe Newman and Robert W Lake delve deeper into this topic in “Democracy, Bureaucracy and Difference in US Community Development Politics since 1968” by focusing on the shift from the Keynesian welfare state to the post-Fordist entrepreneurial state because of the pressures of globalization. Unemployment rose as “the United States imported more goods than it exported,” so local governments needed to work to reverse this problem in their own community.^{lxiii} They had to compete with the increasing globalization of their markets and try to bring economic prosperity back into the hands of their citizens. This could be accomplished through the introduction of foreign investment.

Two statistical studies, “Foreign Growth, the Dollar, and Regional Economies, 1970 – 97” and “Foreign Export Orientation and Regional Growth in the U.S,” further emphasize the

importance of foreign investment and exports on the regional economies of the U.S. with special emphasis on the impact of Asian markets. The increasing concern about the economy and the effect of foreign markets on local economies was “heightened even at the subnational level.”^{lxiv} They were no longer being serviced by the larger national trends present in the United States and instead needed to take local action that would service local needs. This led to “one potential problem area ... the possible divergence between national and sub-national policy concerns.”^{lxv} This was not just a potential problem, but a fully realized one as can be seen specifically in the sister city relationship between Indianapolis and Taipei.

Connecting regional economic growth and foreign markets was shown to be one remedy to this situation. Specifically, Manrique found statistically significant evidence that “the more rapidly a state shifts towards export orientation the higher its industrial growth rate will prove to be” (p-value < 0.10).^{lxvi} Similarly, Hervey and Strauss found that “positive growth in a region’s foreign markets tend to exert a positive impact on a region’s manufacturing activity” ($R^2 = 0.8$).^{lxvii} These two studies show that regional economies needed to have higher interaction with foreign markets to market their goods to. The second study even correlated their point with the increase of foreign markets in the Pacific Rim and East Asia as particularly influential in the growth of regional economies.

The results of these studies provide context and support for the economic motivations of the creation of the sister city relationship between Indianapolis and Taipei. Indianapolis was suffering from the effects of stagflation, the increase in unemployment, and decrease in industry and needed to foster relations with foreign powers to gain foreign markets as a city. The sister city relationship helped them foment such a relationship with an East Asian country, which was shown to be especially helpful in boosting economic success in a region. Indianapolis was

working towards becoming the entrepreneurial city that Mayor Hudnut wanted it to become.^{lxviii} The economy was changing, and the auto industry was changing, there was more outsourcing of products, and the writing on the wall could be seen for many in the manufacturing industry, but technology was the new route.^{lxix}

This was all in line with the motivations of Mayor Hudnut in his work to promote the city of Indianapolis. In the words of his Deputy Mayor John Krauss, “Indianapolis was an unsold city” and what they needed to do was get people to the city to discover its beauty.^{lxx} Mayor Hudnut and Deputy Mayor Krauss were able to do this by relying on two key philosophies. The first was that “the world was our customer [and] the world was our partner” and the second was that “the world is just not Indiana, the world is not the United States, the world is the world.”^{lxxi} By realizing the importance of the foreign markets on their city, the Mayor and Deputy Mayor were able to bring in substantial business to the city that provides the backbone for many of its industries today. Through the sister city relationship specifically, Mayor Hudnut was able to bring in countless Taiwanese investors and business to the city of Indianapolis. He fostered trade delegation after trade delegation between the two cities. He even named the people of Tatung Corp, Chang Hwa Commercial Bank, the Deputy Director General of the Board of Foreign Trade and other business and political men honorary citizens of Indianapolis. He worked hard to connect businesses in Indianapolis with possible counterparts in Taipei.

The economic factors alone are not sufficient evidence towards the creation of the sister city relationship between Indianapolis and Taipei. If that were true then they would have had similar cause to form a relationship with the PRC, which has yet to officially occur to this day. Indianapolis’s interaction with the People’s Republic of China has warmed into the 21st century, but never reached the same heights politically as its relationship with Taiwan. The first

indication of Indiana's willingness to work with the PRC came in 1987 when Indiana created a sister state relationship with the PRC Zhejiang province.^{lxxii} This relationship was far ahead of the later developments between the PRC and Indiana. However, Indianapolis has yet to create a sister city relationship with the PRC. It did establish a friendship city with Hangzhou in 2008, but a friendship city is a less official version of a sister city relationship and thus does not have the same importance. Additionally, this was most likely motivated by the fact that tensions had also lessened between the PRC and Taiwan because of the election of Taiwan President Ma Ying-Jeou in 2008; he supported a policy that said Taiwan would not push for independence, unification, or use force in relations with the PRC.^{lxxiii}

Furthermore, when creating this friendship city Indianapolis cited Hangzhou's "reputation for tourism, education and high-technology" as reasons for establishing relations between the two cities.^{lxxiv} This is a stark contrast from the language cited when creating Indianapolis's and Taipei's sister city relationship. Indiana has maintained this emphasis as the PRC is the "fifth largest export partner of Indiana" and multiple major Indiana universities boast connections to PRC universities in the Zhejiang province.^{lxxv} As the number of Chinese immigrants in Indiana continues to increase and the economic power of the PRC skyrockets, so does the connection between Indiana and the PRC. Some believe that as the PRC continues to amass influence and power that "Taiwan will ultimately be forced to accommodate."^{lxxvi} However, Indiana and Indianapolis are clear in expressing that the ties with the PRC are based purely on economic and cultural exchange, but not the same politically motivating factors that tie Indiana and Taiwan.

In conclusion, the sister city relationship between Indianapolis, IN and Taipei, Taiwan provides a window into the changing decade of the 1970s and showcases the outcome of local

level policy change that is necessary when national trends are not working for a particular region. While the relationship appears to have been formed on the basis of democracy and freedom, the deeper roots of it rely on the changing political and economic status within the U.S. during the 1970s. Foreign policy is an especially poignant sector of the economy for this analysis as it is generally characterized by only analysis on the national level and usually the local level is ignored. Local level policy shows the mindset of a region and provides a look at their motivations. This event provides a learning moment for the United States as a similar situation is being approached. The Republican and Democratic parties are again shifting, the economy is faltering because of the COVID-19 pandemic, and mistrust in the institution of the government is widespread. Local level policy thus presents an arena for citizens to express their opinions and should be given full heed as the national situation progresses. Thus, the sister city relationship between Indianapolis, Indiana and Taipei, Taiwan is a focused look at the effects of national trends on local policy and the actions local level policy makers can take in response.

Illustrations



Figure 1: Mayor Hudnut and Joe Staehler hanging the new Indianapolis International Sister Cities Sign

Source: The William H. Hudnut, III Collection. Institute for Civic Leadership and Digital Mayoral Archives. <https://uindy.historyit.com/item.php?id=286847>.



Figure 2: Mayor Hudnut with John Ni, C.Y. Liu, A. Wu, and William Sun from Taiwan, November 15, 1985

Source: The William H. Hudnut, III Collection. Institute for Civic Leadership and Digital Mayoral Archives. <https://uindy.historyit.com/item.php?id=208024>.

Appendix A

Excerpt from the Issues Survey Senator Lugar sent out in Spring 1979

Q16. Do you approve or disapprove of the President's decision to end political relations with Taiwan in order to establish relations with mainland China? (Circle the number to the left of your answer.)

5.4%	(1) STRONGLY APPROVE
24.2%	(2) APPROVE
36.4%	(3) DISAPPROVE
17.5%	(4) STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
16.5%	(5) NO OPINION

:42

Source: The William H. Hudnut, III Collection. Institute for Civic Leadership and Digital Mayoral Archives. <https://uindy.historyit.com/item.php?id=391437>.

Appendix B

Statistical Output of Models and Variable Explanations from "Foreign Export Orientation and Regional Growth in the U.S."

TABLE 2. PARAMETER ESTIMATES OF A REGIONAL GROWTH MODEL, WITH % Δ EMP AS THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE

Independent Variables	1971-81	1971-76	1976-81
Constant	.647	.417	.159
% Δ EXO	.166 (2.60)**	.108 (1.89)**	.062 (1.30)*
TAX	.001 (2.33)**	.002 (2.00)	.002 (2.3)**
ENERGY	-.124 (2.24)**	-.092 (3.15)***	-.008 (.400)
TEMP	.007 (.35)	.012 (1.09)	.004 (.403)
UNEM	.061 (1.48)*	.031 (2.06)**	.019 (1.36)*
UNION	-.011 (1.76)*	-.006 (3.05)**	-.008 (2.35)**
R ²	.40	.43	.38
F	4.40**	4.93**	4.51**

TABLE 3. PARAMETER ESTIMATES OF A REGIONAL GROWTH MODEL, WITH % Δ Q AS THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE

Independent Variables	1971-81	1971-76	1976-81
Constant	.908	.699	.644
% Δ EXO	.068 (1.52)*	.070 (1.36)*	.053 (1.29)*
TAX	.009 (1.87)**	.003 (1.69)**	.001 (2.00)**
ENERGY	-.113 (1.43)*	-.079 (2.28)**	-.023 (.821)
TEMP	.018 (.621)	.013 (.976)	.017 (1.21)
UNEM	.070 (1.4)*	.029 (1.55)*	.041 (2.06)**
UNION	-.017 (1.91)**	-.004 (1.37)*	-.006 (1.81)**
R ²	.33	.37	.37
F	3.27**	3.78**	3.44**

UNION = percent of the state's labor force belonging to a labor union, averaged for the initial (*i*) and terminal (*t*) years. Previous studies of the differences in growth rates among states and regions have attributed an important role to the relative weakness of labor unions, particularly in the South in attracting industry. Firms are presumably sensitive to the type of labor-management relationship it can expect with the labor force in the area, which therefore affects the location decision. The coefficient of the **UNION** variable is expected to be negative.

UNEM = the unemployment rate for the state in the initial year, averaged for the initial (*i*) and terminal (*t*) years. The availability of labor may be another factor affecting the dynamics of industrial location. Relatively high rates of state unemployment may signal a surplus of labor relative to other areas. Furthermore, a surplus of labor may result in lower relative labor costs for a firm in the form of lower wages. Thus, following earlier studies, the expected sign of the **UNEM** coefficient is positive.

ENERGY = the average price of gas in the state measured in dollars per million BTU, averaged for the initial (*i*) and terminal (*t*) years. Aside from labor, energy is another input whose cost and availability may be important in the location decisions of firms, particularly those in the capital-intensive industries. **ENERGY**, used here as a measure of energy cost, is expected to have a negative coefficient.

TEMP = normal heating degree days in the state, averaged for the reporting cities in each state. The physical climate is also a probable reason for the differences in the more recent regional rates of growth typified by the Sunbelt/Snowbelt dichotomy. It has been hypothesized that the warmer climate in certain areas has contributed in attracting industries. Hence, the expected sign of the **TEMP** coefficient is negative.

TAX = the amount of state and local taxes collected per thousand dollars of personal income in the initial year, averaged for the initial (*i*) and terminal (*t*) years. Previous evidence on the effect of state taxes on location decisions and hence industrial growth is mixed.

Level of significance of t-statistics:

*** .01

** .05

* .10

$$\% \Delta \text{EMP} = \frac{\text{EMP}_t - \text{EMP}_i}{\text{EMP}_i},$$

the percentage change in each state's non-export manufacturing employment, where **EMP** is the number of persons employed in manufacturing for each state and *i* and *t* stand for initial and terminal years respectively. The non-export rates were used to avoid regressing a component of the dependent variable on itself.

$$\% \Delta Q = \frac{Q_t - Q_i}{Q_i},$$

the percentage change in each state's non-export manufacturing output where **Q** is the value of a state's manufacturing output in constant 1971 prices.

$$\% \Delta \text{EXO} = \frac{\text{EXO}_t - \text{EXO}_i}{\text{EXO}_i},$$

the percentage change in each state's export orientation where **EXO** is the ratio of the state's manufactured exports to the state's total output in the manufacturing sector. If shifts toward greater export orientation contribute to higher rates of overall growth for reasons already cited, then the sign of the coefficient of % Δ EXO will be positive.

Appendix C

Statistical Output of Models for Midwest and Explanation of Variables used in analysis from
"Foreign Growth, the Dollar, and Regional Economies, 1970 – 97"

Legend for Chart:

A - Total GRP C - Durable GRP
B - Manufacturing GRP D - Nondurable GRP

Region-specific foreign GDP

0.1290 (0.3733) 0.1229 (0.4719)
0.2111 (0.5822) -0.0841 (0.2715)

Price of crude oil by industry

-0.1266 (0.01152) -0.0130 (0.1205)
-0.0474 (0.1164) -0.0840 (0.1107)

Real GDP, U.S. by industry

1.1769^c (0.2583) 1.4066^c (0.1826)
1.4053^c (0.1692) 1.0179^c (0.1412)

Real GRP by industry

0.0460 (0.1073) 0.0003 (0.0829)
-0.0656 (0.0817) 0.0470 (0.0954)

Exchange rate index by industry

0.0134 (0.1164) 0.1411 (0.1649)
0.2538 (0.2110) 0.0330 (0.0959)

Exchange rate index by industry,
one-period lag

0.0343 (0.1078) 0.1907 (0.1580)
0.2705 (0.2013) 0.0916 (0.0916)

Exchange rate index by industry,
two-period lag

-0.0426 (0.1024) -0.2000 (0.1589)
-0.3019 (0.2013) -0.0652 (0.0978)

Sign/significance of sum of
exchange rate variables

- +
+ +

R²

0.79 0.87
0.87 0.86

j = country (1 to 44),
i = U.S. manufacturing industry category (SIC 20-39),
t = time period; observations are monthly January 1970 through December 1997. (The indexes are available through July 1998, reflecting the widespread appreciation of the U.S. dollar that began in 1996; however, the focus of this article ends with 1997.),
XR = exchange rate of country j with respect to the U.S. dollar (foreign currency/U.S. dollar),
PPI = Producer (wholesale) Price Index for country j or the U.S., 1990 = 100, and
Wgt = share of U.S. exports of industry i, from region k, to country j. (Weights are an average of 1993 and 1994 U.S. good exports.)
OIL = refiners' acquisition price for oil (real) defined above--enters equation with a one-period lag,
GDPfrs = export-weighted average of annual GDP growth rate (ln) of region k's 20 major foreign export markets for time t (region-specific GDP),
GDPf = annual real GDP growth rates (ln) for country j for time t,
X_{T20,k} = sum value of exports of manufactured goods (annual) from region k to country j; 20 major foreign markets (average for 1993-94),
X = value of region k's manufacturing goods exports (annual) to country j (average for 1993-94),
GRP = gross regional product (real) as defined
RGTWD = regional export-weighted dollar,
k = U.S. region with n states,

Appendix D

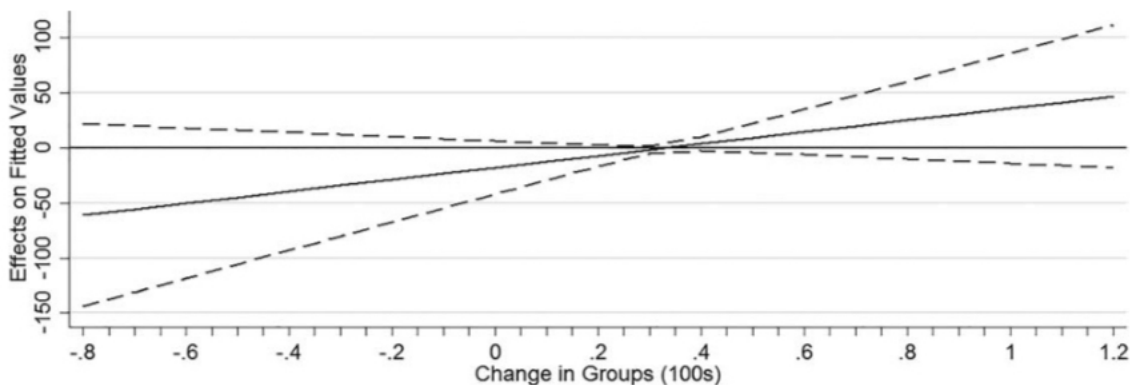
Statistical Analysis and Output from “When does Government Listen to the Public? Voluntary Associations and Dynamic Agenda Representation in the United States”

Table 3. Pooled Mean Group Estimates on the Change in the Count of Current Laws

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Public priorities _{t-1}	-0.022 (0.066)	0.077 (0.049)	0.156** (0.054)
<i>New York Times</i> _{t-1}	-0.000 (0.122)	0.072 (0.117)	0.063 (0.114)
Associations _{t-1}		-0.491*** (0.101)	-0.421*** (0.106)
Public priorities _{t-1} * Associations _{t-1}			-0.022* (0.011)
Error correction _{it}	-0.981*** (0.087)	-1.102*** (0.075)	-1.114*** (0.075)
Δ Public priorities _{it}	-10.247 (9.138)	-9.918 (9.588)	-17.855 (12.299)
Δ <i>New York Times</i> _{it}	-1.663 (1.242)	-1.570 (1.265)	-1.682 (1.264)
Δ Associations _{it}		9.504* (3.987)	7.959* (3.840)
Δ Public priorities _{it} * Δ Associations _{it}			53.916 (37.694)
Constant	15.615** (5.042)	19.118*** (5.280)	18.894*** (5.206)
Log likelihood	-1,811	-1,767	-1,756
N	589	589	589

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$.

Effect on Change in the Number of Current Laws when there is a one-unit change in public prioritization



Note: The dashed line is the 95% confidence interval, and the solid line is the prediction

Appendix E

Timeline of Major Events

President	Governor	Mayor	Year	Events
Lyndon B. Johnson	Rodger Branigin	Richard Lugar	1968	
Richard Nixon	Edgar Whitcomb	Richard Lugar	1969	
Richard Nixon	Edgar Whitcomb	Richard Lugar	1970	
Richard Nixon	Edgar Whitcomb	Richard Lugar	1971	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ping-pong diplomacy visit • UN seat for China goes to PRC
Richard Nixon	Edgar Whitcomb	Richard Lugar	1972	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nixon visits PRC
Richard Nixon	Otis Bowen	Richard Lugar	1973	
Richard Nixon (until August)	Otis Bowen	Richard Lugar	1974	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lugar in contact with Hugh H O'Young
Gerald Ford	Otis Bowen	Richard Lugar	1975	
Gerald Ford	Otis Bowen	William Hudnut	1976	
Jimmy Carter	Otis Bowen	William Hudnut	1977	
Jimmy Carter	Otis Bowen	William Hudnut	1978	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sister City Relationship Created
Jimmy Carter	Otis Bowen	William Hudnut	1979	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognition of PRC • Taiwan Relations Act
Jimmy Carter	Otis Bowen	William Hudnut	1980	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Election of Ronald Reagan

Note: The boxes for elected office are colored according to the official's party affiliation

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- ⁱ Sister Cities International, “What is a Sister City?,” About Us, Last Modified 2020, <https://sistercities.org/about-us/sci-at-a-glance/>.
- ⁱⁱ Warren I Cohen, “The United States and China Since 1945,” in *New Frontiers in American-East Asian Relations*, ed. Warren I. Cohen (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 136.
- ⁱⁱⁱ DuPre Jones, ed., *China: U.S. policy since 1945* (Washington D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1980), vii.
- ^{iv} *Ibid.*, 4.
- ^v *Ibid.*, 8.
- ^{vi} *Ibid.*, 14.
- ^{vii} U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian and Foreign Service Institute, “A Guide to the United States’ History of Recognition, Diplomatic, and Consular Relations, By Country, Since 1776: China,” Countries, accessed April 2, 2021, <https://history.state.gov/countries/china>.
- ^{viii} Jimmy Carter, “Text of President’s Statement on Ties with China,” *New York Times*, December 16, 1978.
- ^{ix} *Ibid.*
- ^x Terence Smith Special, “Link to Taiwan Ends,” *New York Times*, December 16, 1978.
- ^{xi} *Ibid.*
- ^{xii} Jones, *China: U.S. Policy*, 48.
- ^{xiii} Taiwan Relations Act of 1979, H.R. 2479, 96th Cong. (April 10, 1979).
- ^{xiv} *Ibid.*
- ^{xv} *Ibid.*
- ^{xvi} Appendix D is a timeline of these events
- ^{xvii} Hugh H. O’Young, letter to Richard Lugar, August 27, 1975, Lugar Collection, Lugar Box 007 No Folder 2, Institute for Civic Leadership and Digital Mayoral Archives.
- ^{xviii} Hugh H. O’Young, letter to Richard Lugar, September 29, 1975, Lugar Collection, Lugar Box 007 No Folder 2, Institute for Civic Leadership and Digital Mayoral Archives.
- ^{xix} “Why Taipei?,” September 11, 1978, Indianapolis Sister Cities International, Indianapolis Public Library Digital Collections, <https://www.digitalindy.org/digital/collection/isci/id/422/rec/1>.
- ^{xx} *Ibid.*
- ^{xxi} Indianapolis City-County Special Resolution No. 8, 1978, Indianapolis Sister Cities International, Indianapolis Public Library Digital Collections.
- ^{xxii} Representative Jim Leach of the Iowa First District, speaking to the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, on June 17, 1980, Hudnut Collection, Box 070, 1980 TAIWAN TRIP Background Information & Articles, Institute for Civic Leadership and Digital Mayoral Archives.
- ^{xxiii} *Ibid.*
- ^{xxiv} William H Hudnut III, letter to the Indiana Congressional Delegation, May 28, 1980, Hudnut Collection, Box 122, Taipei Sister_City 1, Institute for Civic Leadership and Digital Mayoral Archives.
- ^{xxv} Christopher Booker, *The Seventies: The Decade that Changed the Future* (New York: Stein and Day, 1980), 43.
- ^{xxvi} Edward D Berkowitz, *Something Happened: A Political and Cultural Overview of the Seventies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 4.
- ^{xxvii} Beth Bailey, and David Farber, eds., *America in the Seventies*, (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 2.
- ^{xxviii} Stephanie Slocum-Schaffer, *America in the Seventies*, (Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press, 2003), 213.
- ^{xxix} Bruce J Schulman, *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics* (New York: The Free Press, 2001), 121.
- ^{xxx} James H. Madison, *Hoosiers: A New History of Indiana* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004), 191.
- ^{xxxi} John Krauss, interview by author, Zoom, November 4, 2021.
- ^{xxxii} William H Hudnut, *Minister/Mayor*, Edited by Judy Keene, (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1987), 181.
- ^{xxxiii} *Ibid.*
- ^{xxxiv} Appendix C

- ^{xxxv} Kathe Newman, and Robert W. Lake, “Democracy, Bureaucracy and Difference in US Community Development Politics since 1968,” *Progress in Human Geography* 30, no. 1 (2006): 59.
- ^{xxxvi} Harold P. Ransburt, letter to Hugh H. O’Young, September 29, 1979, Hudnut Collection, Box 082, November 1979 November 1979 Regrets, Institute for Civic Leadership and Digital Mayoral Archives.
- ^{xxxvii} Issues Survey – Richard G. Lugar, Spring 1979, Human Relation Task Force, Institute for Civic Leadership and Digital Mayoral Archives; Appendix A
- ^{xxxviii} William H Hudnut III, letter to the Indiana Congressional Delegation, May 28, 1980.
- ^{xxxix} Ibid.
- ^{xl} Ibid.
- ^{xli} Ernie Wu, letter to Mayor Hudnut, May 20, 1980; John Yu, call to Mayor Hudnut, May 20, 1980; L.Y. Frank Wu, letter to Mayor Hudnut, May 20, 1980, Hudnut Collection, Box 070, 1980 TAIWAN TRIP Correspondence, Institute for Civic Leadership and Digital Mayoral Archives.
- ^{xlii} J. Irwin Miller, letter to Mayor Hudnut, June 18, 1980, Hudnut Collection, Box 070, 1980 TAIWAN TRIP Correspondence, Institute for Civic Leadership and Digital Mayoral Archives.
- ^{xliii} Karen M. Hult, and Charles E. Walcott, *Empowering the White House: Governance under Nixon, Ford, and Carter*, (Lawrence, KS, 2004), 4.
- ^{xliv} Berkowitz, *Something Happened*, 3.
- ^{xlv} Slocum-Schaffer, *America in the Seventies*, 90.
- ^{xlvi} Dominic Sandbrook, *Mad as Hell: The Crisis of the 1970s and the Rise of the Populist Right*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011), XIII.
- ^{xlvii} Adam Hilton, “Searching for a New Politics: The New Politics Movement and the Struggle to Democratize the Democratic Party, 1968 – 1978,” *New Political Science* 38, no. 2 (2016): 157.
- ^{xlviii} Schulman, *The Seventies*, 147.
- ^{xlix} Sandbrook, *Mad as Hell*, 119.
- ^l Hilton, “Searching for a New Politics,” 146.
- ^{li} Schulman, *The Seventies*, 189.
- ^{lii} Ibid., 196.
- ^{liii} Robert Mason, “‘I was Going to Build a New Republican Party and a New Majority’: Richard Nixon as Party Leader, 1969 – 73,” *Journal of American Studies* 39, no. 3 (2005): 483.
- ^{liv} Robert Mason and Iwan Morgan, *Seeking a New Majority: The Republican Party and American Politics, 1960 – 1980*, (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2013), 143.
- ^{lv} Slocum-Schaffer, *America in the Seventies*, 94.
- ^{lvi} Mason, *Seeking a New Majority*, 172.
- ^{lvii} Pierre Clavel, *Activists in City Hall: The Progressive Response to the Regan Era in Boston and Chicago*, (London: Cornell University Press, 2010), 172.
- ^{lviii} Mason, “I was Going to Build a New Republican Party,” 467.
- ^{lix} Slocum-Schaffer, *America in the Seventies*, 2.
- ^{lx} Sandbrook, *Mad as Hell*, 240.
- ^{lxi} Clavel, *Activists in City Hall*, 14.
- ^{lxii} Ibid., 1.
- ^{lxiii} Slocum-Schaffer, *America in the Seventies*, 3.
- ^{lxiv} G. G. Manrique, “Foreign Export Orientation and Regional Growth in the U.S.,” *Growth & Change* 18, no.1 (Winter 1987): 4.
- ^{lxv} Ibid., 11.
- ^{lxvi} Ibid., 5; Ibid., 8; Appendix B
- ^{lxvii} Jack L. Hervey, and William A. Strauss, “Foreign Growth, the Dollar, and Regional Economies, 1970 – 97,” *Economic Perspectives* 22, no.4 (1998): 35; Appendix C
- ^{lxviii} Hudnut, *Minister/Mayor*.
- ^{lxix} John Krauss, interview by author, Zoom, November 4, 2021.
- ^{lxx} Ibid.
- ^{lxxi} Ibid.
- ^{lxxii} “Why Hangzhou?,” December 5, 1978, Indianapolis Sister Cities International, Indianapolis Public Library Digital Collections, <https://www.digitalindy.org/digital/collection/isici/id/734/rec/1>.
- ^{lxxiii} Richard C. Bush, “Policy Implications for the United States,” in *Uncharted Strait: The Future of China-Taiwan Relations* (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2013), 215.
- ^{lxxiv} Ibid.

^{lxxv} Indiana Economic Corporation, *Economic Ties Indiana-China*, last modified April 27, 2015, https://www.in.gov/governorhistory/mikepence/files/Indiana_China_Fact_Sheet.pdf.

^{lxxvi} Ping-Kuei Chen, Scott L. Kastner, and William L. Reed, “A Farewell to Arms?: US Security Relations with Taiwan and the Prospects for Stability in the Taiwan Strait,” in *Taiwan and China: Fitful Embrace*, ed. Dittmer Lowell (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2017), 223.

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A collection of chapters each outlining a distinct facet of U.S. culture and how it developed in the 1970s. The editors argue that the 70s was its own era characterized by a struggle over the meaning of society.

Berkowitz, Edward D. *Something Happened: A Political and Cultural Overview of the Seventies*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.

An in depth look at the changing public opinion that resulted from key events in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This book emphasizes the emerging skeptical attitude of many Americans regarding the effectiveness of big government.

Bevan, Shaun, and Anne Rasmussen. "When does Government Listen to the Public? Voluntary Associations and Dynamic Agenda Representation in the United States." *Policy Studies Journal* 48, no.1 (2020): 111 – 132.

A study to determine the effect of voluntary associations' population on the attention paid to an issue by the U.S. government. The resulting conclusions revealed a positive correlation.

Booker, Christopher. *The Seventies: The Decade that Changed the Future*. New York: Stein and Day, 1980.

A thematic overview of the 1970s built around the major issues and people throughout the decade. The book concludes that the 70s were the most important decade of the 20th century.

Bush, Richard C. "Policy Implications for the United States." In *Uncharted Strait: The Future of China-Taiwan Relations*, 213-43. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2013. <http://www.jstor.org>.

A look into the major U.S. policy shifts toward China during the 1990s and in 2008. The 1990s are characterized by a dual deterrence policy, but tensions eased in 2008 between China and Taiwan. The role of the U.S. in cross-strait policy is also explored.

Chen, Ping-Kuei, Scott L. Kastner, and William L. Reed. "A Farewell to Arms?: US Security Relations with Taiwan and the Prospects for Stability in the Taiwan Strait." In *Taiwan and China: Fitful Embrace*, edited by Dittmer Lowell, 221-38. Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2017. <http://www.jstor.org>.

A focused outline of U.S. arms dealing with Taiwan and its effects on foreign policy. The author argues that ending security commitments to Taiwan would be destabilizing, but fully explains multiple different pathways of such a change.

Clavel, Pierre. *Activists in City Hall: The Progressive Response to the Regan Era in Boston and Chicago*. London: Cornell University Press, 2010.

A focused look at what the author defines as a Progressive City that emerged at the beginning of the 1980s. He focuses on very specific examples in Chicago and Boston.

Cohen, Warren I. "The United States and China Since 1945." In *New Frontiers in American-East Asian Relations*, edited by Warren I. Cohen, 129-168. New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.

An essay describing U.S. foreign policy toward China from 1945 to the 1970s. This essay focuses heavily on the policies in the period immediately following World War II. It emphasizes the policy setbacks caused by an extremely hostile public attitude toward Communist China.

Hervey, Jack L., and William A. Strauss. "Foreign Growth, the Dollar, and Regional Economies, 1970 – 97." *Economic Perspectives* 22, no.4 (1998): 35.

A statistical analysis of the effects of changes in exchange rate and foreign economic activity on regional economies of the U.S. from 1970 to 1997. The study concluded that an increase in a region's foreign markets has a positive correlation to their economy.

Hilton, Adam. "Searching for a New Politics: The New Politics Movement and the Struggle to Democratize the Democratic Party, 1968 – 1978." *New Political Science* 38, no. 2 (2016): 141 – 159.

A focused analysis on the changing Democratic Party during the 1970s. The article warns of the possibility for similar outcomes in the 2020 presidential election.

Hult, Karen M., and Charles E. Walcott. *Empowering the White House: Governance under Nixon, Ford, and Carter*. Lawrence, KS, 2004.

A descriptive analysis of the office of the president under Nixon, Ford, and Carter. This book outlines different aspects of the presidency and each president's impact on those areas.

Indiana Economic Corporation. *Economic Ties Indiana-China*. Last Modified April 27, 2015. https://www.in.gov/governorhistory/mikepence/files/Indiana_China_Fact_Sheet.pdf.

A short descriptive outline of the economic and educational ties between Indiana and China. This document provides a brief account of Indiana's sister state relationship with Zhejiang and the universities and companies that have connections with the PRC.

Jones, DuPre, ed. *China: U.S. policy since 1945*. Washington D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1980.

A descriptive overview of U.S. relations with China. The book includes not only commentary on the different policy changes, but biographies on the major players on both sides and important texts and documents relating to these policies.

Madison, James H. *Hoosiers: A New History of Indiana*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004.

An in depth look at the State of Indiana and the development of its people from the state's founding through the 21st century. This book outlines the shaping of Hoosier opinion that has persisted to the 21st century.

Manrique, G. G. "Foreign Export Orientation and Regional Growth in the U.S." *Growth & Change* 18, no.1 (Winter 1987): 1 – 12.

An analysis of the hypothesis that states that focused on foreign exports experienced a rapid rate of economic growth. The article establishes a linear regression model with parameters that are based on conditional state factors and more defined economic factors.

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