



JLT labors under the unity facade

UAW, Schellinger don't join Jill's Convention confab

By RYAN NEES

INDIANAPOLIS - Jill Long Thompson has work still to do with the party faithful, who at the state convention Saturday appeared more swept by the candidacy of Barack Obama and even the muted appearances by the Hoosier Congressional delegation than of Indiana's first female gubernatorial nominee. And behind the scenes, the machinery of the Democratic establishment still appears to be exacting upon her nothing short of malicious vengeance.

The candidate was met with polite applause as she toured district and interest group caucus meetings, but skepticism persisted especially amongst the roughly half of the party that supported her opponent in Indiana's May primary. That unease was punctuated dramatically by the UAW's refusal to endorse her candidacy the morning of the convention, a move that appeared designed to rain on the nominee's parade.

The UAW's support provided vital to architect Jim Schellinger's primary campaign, which received

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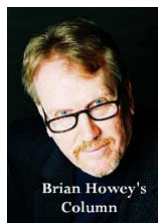
Jill Long Thompson listens to her brother talk about her life and candidacy just prior to taking the stage Saturday at the Indiana Democratic Convention. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

Back home again with Jill

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

NASHVILLE, Ind. - In the Hoosier brand of gubernatorial politics, home is where the heart is. We remember Frank O'Bannon talking about his "wired" barn down near Corydon. In January 2005, Mitch Daniels talked about an Amish-style barn raising. He expanded on that last summer when he told the story in Lafayette of a FEMA worker approaching an Amish man walking in the rubble-strewn path of a tornado. The federal expressed his amazement that the house before him was in pristine condition, having escaped the wrath of Mother Nature. To which the Amish man said, "Tweren't there three days ago."

Jill Long Thompson gave a spiritual



Brian Howey's Column



"These days many politicians are demanding change. Just like homeless people."

- George Carlin, who died this week at age 71



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speech on Saturday at the Indiana Democratic Convention. It was too bad that only one Indiana TV station (WISH-TV) bothered to send a crew to watch the first female gubernatorial nominee set the tone for her coming campaign. She talked of her family homestead in Whitley County. "That farmhouse really did look the same as it did in the 1930s," she said of a time when her family descended on the homestead for remodeling. "The same slate roof, the same sturdy porch, the same white paint. But in many ways it had changed."

Thompson explained. "The rural electric co-op brought electricity to the farm in the 1940s. Running water and the indoor plumbing came in the 1950s. But more significant than the electricity, in indoor plumbing and the other changes in the house were changes in the opportunities for the people who lie on that farm and in that community today. Those new opportunities came about because of the leadership and the policies of the Democratic Party and organized labor. From public education to college loans to civil rights and medical leave - and the list goes on and one - our party has made the difference."

Thompson did a nice job in laying out where the Democratic Party has been. She cited big drop-out rates and 30,000 lost jobs and the "bad deal" the Indiana Toll Road lease is. Less clear is where she will take the party. She has a "three-tiered" economic plan for counties. She promises to not leave behind a single town, a single county, which is in sharp contrast to Daniels image shaper Mark



Lubbers, who wrote a mid-1990s tome titled, "Get real or die."

As Indiana slowly but surely becomes a referendum state (and I strongly disagree with Gov. Daniels on this one), there will be communities that thrive because they'll vote to build schools and libraries, maintain their parks and shower their business districts with wi-fi. Others will be overtaken by tax crumudgeons and will ... die.

Indiana is home

to dozens of forgotten communities. A town like Attica thrived 150 years ago because it was on the Wabash River. Then the railroads came and

railroad towns like my hometown of Peru thrived. Then came the National Road, and U.S. highways and places like Greencastle did well. When the natural gas in East Central Indiana ran out, Gas City suffered. Then came the Interstates and a city like Brownsburg does well. While it sounds good, I don't think every community can be saved. Muncie turned to the auto industry after the natural gas ran out and, now due to corporate malfeasance of General Motors and others (there were industry and CIA estimates on the supply and demand of oil timetables) Muncie is in dire straits while Gas City, sitting next to I-69, has become a logistics hub.

But I am still having a hard time getting my mind around where Jill Long Thompson wants to take us. With Gov. Daniels, there was a fairly explicit picture (literally) with his "Aiming Higher: Roadmap to an Indiana Comeback" poster/brochure of 2004. With Thompson, the picture isn't as clear. She explains, "In addition to reforming our tax, healthcare, education and infrastructure systems, I want



to develop a 'tier' system in Indiana to help guide future development efforts. Modeled after successful programs in Georgia, Nebraska and the Carolinas, this approach would encourage businesses to build or expand in the state's most economically distressed areas. Specifically my plan would categorize the state's 92 counties into three different economic tiers based on a variety of factors, including a county's unemployment rate, median household income, population growth and assessed property value per capita. Counties within each tier designation would be allotted different tax incentives to help grow and retain good-paying jobs. Sectors eligible include manufacturing, telecommunications, information technology, research and development, warehouse distribution, life sciences and tourism."

Some of us wonder if we even need 92 counties, let alone the townships. We know that of the 27 Kernan-Shepard Commission recommendations, Thompson can publicly only support one (only voting entities can raise taxes). She wants to review privatization efforts of the past five governors. I'm not sure where that takes us.

Of her economic development plans, she says, "As governor, I will focus on the impact of our state's broad policies on growth as opposed to one-time giveaways aimed at luring any job - no matter the wage level - to Indiana. The real barriers to growth in Indiana include an outdated tax structure and a lack of any real policy to make healthcare affordable and accessible to every Hoosier."

The problem here is that a year ago, just as her campaign was beginning, a property tax crisis emerged. Thompson had most of the summer, all fall and into the winter to fashion a tax reform proposal, just like Speaker Doc Bowen did in 1971-72. I was a teenager back then, but I remember Doc coming to the Miami County Lincoln Day Dinner talking specifically about his tax reforms. Thompson (and Jim Schellinger, along with House and Senate Democrats) took a pass on intricacies of tax reform. Gov. Daniels had the only plan in town and it is the one that has now passed into law.

I've been asking acquaintances this: What's the phrase that describes Thompson's campaign? It's a real stumper. Even some of her most loyal fans are at a loss. I've known Jill Long Thompson for almost 20 years and I will attest that she is a fine public servant, particularly when she represented Northeast Indiana in Congress.

But there's a vast difference in being in the legislative branch and being an executive. She did the latter when she was undersecretary of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. We know she had 7,000 employees and a \$10 billion budget.

Being an executive tied to electoral politics means having a network of relationships, clearly projecting ideas and goals, and execution. I look at how a gubernatorial candidate manages a campaign. If you can't manage a \$20 million campaign, how are you going to manage 6 million people and a \$22 billion budget? There are troubling signs for Thompson here. She managed to qualify her candidacy's signature requirements just hours before the deadline. She hasn't been able to raise much money (a \$50,000 EMILY's List contribution is only the seventh above \$10,000 since her primary win). She clearly has problems with labor - which had been her forte as a congresswoman - as there is trouble with the UAW, possibly AFSCME while



the FOP, firefighters, sheetmetal unions are supporting Daniels and there are divisions within building trades.

I watched a pleasing veneer at the Indiana Democratic Convention and have to give Chairman Dan Parker credit for appealing stagecraft. But at a time when Thompson sorely needed credibility, there wasn't an O'Bannon, Kernan or Schellinger around (Birch and Evan Bayh along with Lee Hamilton were lavish in their praise in Chris Sautter's bio film).

Thompson did something I've never heard a gubernatorial nominee do: she told us she loved us. It was a poignant ending to a speech I wish more Hoosiers could have heard. Thompson is a compelling figure with manure on her boots, an audacious spirit who seems to thrive by taking on the big boys despite long odds. She pulled off one stunning upset in 1989. Her 2002 attempt to return to Congress featured an inspired primary win, but 2nd CD Democrats say she faltered down the homestretch before losing as the Iraq war drums were pounding. To win again, Thompson needs to reach further down, build her coalitions and fill in many policy blanks. She cannot afford to let the opportunity like the tax crisis of a year ago come and go without specifics.

Her most critical problems are time and money. Watching those six weeks between the primary and the convention come and go without much money, policy or union support consolidation is sending a message that the Hoosier Democratic house is not in order. ❖



JLT, from page 1

\$215,000 from the autoworkers' political action committee in 2007 alone. Without the UAW's field mobilization, Schellinger would likely not have made it onto the ballot. And in 2004, the group donated \$255,000 to Governor Joe Kernan's reelection campaign. Long Thompson appears set to lose at least as much in funding for her campaign as long as the UAW holds out. Though Long Thompson minimizes the problem by asserting that the bulk of the UAW's volunteers will hit the pavement against Governor Daniels whether or not she receives a formal endorsement, the financial loss will be significant for a campaign that already acknowledges it will never reach fundraising parity with Daniels.

UAW Region Three Chief Mo Davidson announced the union's "problem" with Long Thompson at the group's State Convention caucus almost two months after he submitted a letter to the Indiana Election Commission questioning how Long Thompson funded her television advertising, accusing her of "Washington political games." Davidson wrote that he was "calling into question her commitment to ethics," though not accusing her of any crimes "at [the] time."

Long Thompson over the weekend was intent on healing wounds. "If you do in November what you did in May," she told the UAW members, "we're going to have a Democratic governor." Asking, "Are you going to work as hard as you did in the primary?" Long Thompson seemed to implicitly say, work for me this fall as hard as you worked against me in the spring. Please.

Yet there is only so much the candidate can do, and this weekend it appeared as if the UAW is working as hard against her even now as it did during the primary. UAW head Davidson indicated during the convention that not only would his union hold out support for Long Thomp-

son, but that the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees union might as well. The group has yet to vote on an endorsement. (AFSCME gave Governor Kernan's campaign \$200,000 in 2004.)

The UAW is upset that Thompson won't sign off on a retroactive order that would send more power to the local UAW units.

And Schellinger himself sought to send another storm cloud to the victor's celebration over the weekend, publishing an editorial Friday in the Indianapolis Star that used the word "I" sixteen times and not mentioning Long Thompson once. It even seemed to take subtle digs at the former Congresswoman and longtime

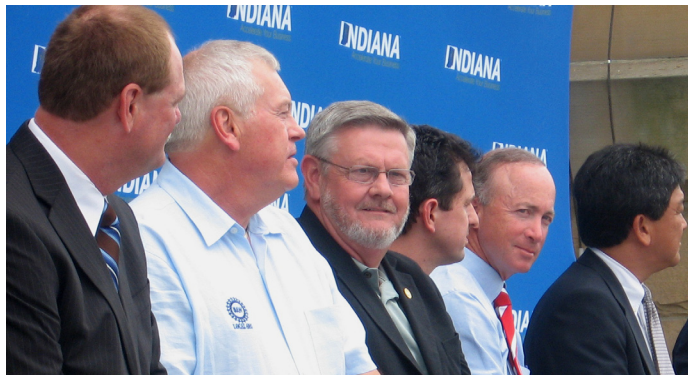
politician, expressing the wish that his campaign "will be an example for others who want to serve the public but who believe there is no place on the ballot for outsiders, first-timers and nontraditional candidates." He incredulously cast himself as a not-entirely-welcome rebel against the machine, encouraging others like him to "feel just as welcome running for office as someone who's been involved in politics for decades."

The newspaper was the only place to find Schellinger, who despite writing that he would "absolutely" mount a hypothetical future campaign, decided to skip the convention and congratulations.

While the Indianapolis Star ("State Dems Display United Front") and the Louisville Courier-Journal ("Primary Feud Set Aside, Democrats Unite Behind Thompson") judged what was seen in the Marriott ballroom - a well produced, fast moving political pageant - neither story mentioned the UAW split or Schellinger's Star letter and lack of endorsement.

Instead of rallying the base, Davidson focused on preventing a public maelstrom. "We don't need to be bad mouthing each other; that's just what the news media and the Republicans want," he said.

The convention's veneer of unity was little more than just that. ❖



The Democratic ticket tried to push the perception of unity, but the UAW's Mo Davidson (below with Gov. Daniels at the Getrag groundbreaking) couldn't produce an endorsement that has been vital to past gubernatorial campaigns. (HPI Photos by Brian A. Howey)



It's not just the economy, stupid

By **MORTON J. MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS - No doubt, the Daniels administration will trumpet the fact that Indiana was the ninth fastest growing state in the first quarter of this year. That's right; personal income in the Hoosier state grew at an annual rate of 5.1% while the nation advanced by 4.6%.



Morton Marcus
Column

But, as noted by the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis which generates these data, Indiana was among the faster growing states because of dramatic increases in the prices of corn and soybeans. North Dakota came in first with a 34.1% increase while Arkansas, a poultry state and thus a heavy user of animal feed, was last at -7.3%. State government deserves no credit for the explosion of commodity prices.

ity prices.

Of course, Jill Long-Thompson and the Democrats will search through the same data to find negative truths and use them to accuse the Daniels administration of grave neglect of the Indiana economy. For example, if they look beyond the most recent quarter, over the past year, Indiana's personal income growth rate ranked 36th in the nation. From the start of the Daniels administration (first quarter of 2005), they'll find Indiana has been the fifth slowest growing state in the nation.

Plus, when we remove the unusual farm sector gains, Indiana's non-farm earnings for the most recent quarter were up 4.6% compared to the nation's 5.5% increase. However, it is foolish to believe that any governor, any administration has much influence on the state's economy. The state government can do little to keep our auto manufacturers and their suppliers competitive. At best a state government's policies can be effective in the long-term and in limited areas.

These areas include, first, education, not trade schools focused on employable skills. What is required is emphasis on imagination, initiative, ideas, ideals, and inspiration. This is possible if students can read effectively and have a fundamental knowledge of history. We should be less concerned about ISTEP scores, graduation rates, and college attendance. We should enhance the capabilities of students to be independent citizens whenever they leave school.

As they enter the larger society, students need to be energetic and ambitious. Do our schools nurture or crush independence? A successful economy is populated by people who want to be successful, not by those who

feel entitled to rewards because they have certification from the education bureaucracy.

Second, the state can promote modernization and efficiency by maintaining superior infrastructure. "Major moves", a highway reconstruction program made possible by leasing (not selling) the Indiana Toll Road, was truly a major move. It put funds to work that can bring Indiana's highways into the latter part of the 20th century. The opposition of a few vocal citizens to this innovative step is based either on a misunderstanding of reality or partisan stubbornness.

But we cannot rest. Our cities must reclaim their environmentally damaged land and restore or replace unused structures. If Indiana is to be competitive, it cannot attract or retain entrepreneurs with antiquated, shabby communities. We need to invest in sewage systems, land clearance and the full complement of urban amenities.

Third, local governments must be liberated from the serfdom imposed by the megalomania of the General Assembly. As long as 150 legislators dictate how localities function, as long as an anti-urban philosophy retards progressive government, Indiana has little hope of prospering.

In this decade, 77% of Indiana's population growth has occurred within our cities and towns. But much of that is sub-urbanization. Nine of our ten most populous cities together lost 30,300 citizens while Fishers, Noblesville, Plainfield, Westfield, St. John, Brownsburg, Greenwood, Carmel, Zionsville and Crown Point grew like cankers.

These three areas of concern are appropriate challenges for the gubernatorial candidates. But do the political parties and the major office seekers from Argos, Bedford, and English understand that our urban needs are our state's priorities? ❖

Mr. Marcus is an independent economist formerly with IU's Kelley School of Business.

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Chairman O'Connor to bow out

TRENDLINES: Psssst. Someone tell the Star's Behind Close Doors that Marion County Democratic Chairman Michael O'Connor has already confirmed he's stepping down. O'Connor told HPI last week that he will likely step down sometime in the next month. He said there is a "strong possibility" that former Chairman Ed Treacy will re-take the chair. "We're talking with the party about the right time," O'Connor said. "I had made a commitment through December 2007, given what happened, I felt an obligation to stay." O'Connor said that with U.S. Rep. Andre Carson essentially securing the 7th CD, the time to move on is close.

Indiana Statewides

Governor: Republican: Gov. Mitch Daniels, **Democrat:** Jill Long Thompson. **Libertarian:** Andrew Horning. **1996 Results:** O'Bannon (D) 1,075,342, Goldsmith (R) 997,505, Dillon (L) 35,261. **2000**

Results: O'Bannon (D) 1,230,345, McIntosh (R) 906,492, Horning (L) 38,686. **2004 Results:** Daniels (R) 1,302,912, Kernan (D) 1,113,900, Gividen (L) 31,644. **2008 Fore-**

cast: In the six weeks since her primary win, Thompson accomplished geographical diversity by adding State Rep. Dennie Oxley to her ticket. Her convention was a mixed bag: a fine presentation but, as you've already read, the unity is yet to be established. Can she win? Yes she can. But like Frank O'Bannon did in 1996, she has to run pretty much perfect campaign from here on out and hope that Daniels makes a big gaffe or, in the case of 1996, a big scandal breaks out. Or, Barack Obama picked Evan Bayh as his running mate and a major Democratic tidal wave washes out the governor. We saw stories over the weekend that taken in tandem could put some chinks in Daniels' armor. The Fort Wayne Journal Gazette reporting that legislators and the toll road consortium are getting a lot of complaints about toll road management. A key source was State Rep. Scott Pelath. The South Bend Tribune reported that prison inmates are complaining about the quality and serving sizes of prison food since privatization. This story was primarily sourced by prison inmates. Neither of these stories will provide much impact, but this could be the beginning of a wave of press reports reviewing the first term of the Daniels administration and privatization in particular. Of course, the Hoosier political community is waiting to see if John Price can pull off the "miracle" 33,000 signatures to get the Waterman-Jehl ticket on the ballot. **Status:** Leans Daniels



Democrat Linda Pence vowed to take on the "big boys," but does that mean she'll continue civil proceedings against former East Chicago Mayor Bob Pastrick, who is a member of the Democratic National Committee? Pence is shown here with Lake County Sheriff Roy Dominguez at Saturday's Indiana Democratic Convention. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

Attorney General: Democrat: Linda Pence. **Republican:** Deputy Attorney General Greg Zoeller. **2004 Results:** Carter 1,389,640, Hogsett (D) 953,500, Milewski (L) 45,212. **2008 Forecast:** Pence, introduced by former attorney general Pamela Carter, vowed to "take on the big boys" at the Indiana Democratic Convention on Saturday. "The attorney general should be a tireless, relentless advocate for all Hoosiers," Pence told the delegates. "I am that person. I am tireless. I am relentless. For 34 years I have practiced law in concentrating on people who need it most. I have taken on big oil. I have punished polluters. I investigated and prosecuted crooked executives. I put them behind bars. I am not afraid to take on the big boys, in fact, I relish the battle." Pence, who will face Republican Greg Zoeller in the general election, told delegates, "If you want a tough attorney general, who is not afraid of big oil, cyber criminals or meth peddlers ... I am your lawyer." But a key question and a key campaign issue is whether Pence will take on the Bob Pastrick "big boy." Current Attorney General Steve Carter is working a racketeering civil suit against Pastrick and Zoeller has vowed to continue if elected. As the Times of Northwest Indiana explained, "Bob Pastrick left the East Chicago mayor's office following defeat in a 2004 special election prompted by rampant absentee ballot fraud in the regular contest a year earlier. His last successful re-election, in 1999, later was tainted by the unearthing of a massive sidewalks-for-votes scandal that snared a trio of top aides and three city council-



men. But Pastrick, the so-called King of Steeltown, never has been charged with a crime. And that's enough for the Indiana Democratic Party. Despite his considerable political baggage, the 33-year mayor continues to serve as one of three Hoosiers on the Democratic National Committee. The prime post, which Pastrick has held for more than three decades, makes him a member of the exclusive club of 13 Indiana superdelegates. "We think a lot of Bob Pastrick," said Bonnie Reese, a Wheatfield Democrat, who serves as 1st District chairwoman of the party's State Central Committee. "He's an elder statesman of the party, and we treat him with respect. And unless he's convicted of a crime, we're going to keep on treating him with respect." State Democrats have no plans to push Pastrick, 80, toward political retirement, even though the longtime mayor is at the center of a civil racketeering lawsuit seeking to recover more than \$24 million in public money diverted to a paving spree that preceded his last re-election victory "He'll always be welcomed in our party, and the attorney general hasn't proved anything in this case," said Indiana Democratic Party Chairman Dan Parker. "The only thing he's proved is he can spend a lot of money with an out-of-state (legal) firm." Zoeller, Carter's chief deputy, has vowed to carry out the lawsuit. Pence, who represented a paving firm that paid \$625,000 to settle claims it colluded with city officials, has said she doesn't know enough about the case to make such a commitment. Pastrick, meanwhile, said his continued presence in the state party should not cast a pall over Pence, or any other Democratic candidate. "I can't see why that has any merit whatsoever toward their abilities and the manner with which they would conduct themselves in office," Pastrick said from his home in Ogden Dunes. "I certainly hope that everybody would have better judgment than that, around the state of Indiana, than to judge somebody on a situation that is in effect up here. It's a political situation, which I hope will be over soon." Watch for Pastrick to play a role in this attorney general's race. **Status:** TOSSUP.



Indiana Legislative

HD5: Republican: Dave Miller. **Democrat:** State Rep. Craig Fry. **2004 Results.** Fry 10,947, Reddy (R) 10,507. **2006 Results.** Fry 8,906. Hiler (R) 6,603. **2008 forecast:** Dave Miller and state Rep. Craig Fry have both said they get along and have respect for each other (Ronco, South Bend Tribune). But that probably won't stop either from trying to convince you they each would be better at representing Indiana's 5th District in the state House of

Representatives. Miller, the Republican mayor of Elkhart from 2000 to 2007, is expected to announce Wednesday that he will challenge Fry, a Mishawaka Democrat, to the 5th District seat he has occupied since 1988. "He and I are from different parties; it's not a personal thing," Miller said Friday. "I thought that frankly, the citizens — the voters — deserve a choice. And uncontested races offer no choices except not to vote." Miller says he was asked to run and got the blessing of his employer, Horizon Transport, where he works as vice president of sales and marketing. The company moves recreational vehicles from manufacturers to dealerships and between dealerships. And although Miller's candidacy isn't official — papers have yet to be filed and he must be chosen at a June 29 GOP caucus — his place on the ballot is exciting to St. Joseph County Republican Party Chairman Chris Riley. "I had a number of conversations with him, and I know some close friends had conversations with him," Riley said. "I think the party, in terms of statewide Republican leaders, have been urging him for years to consider running for this position." Fry has represented the 5th District for 20 years. And Miller has low name recognition in most of the district, Fry said. "The district is 80 percent in St. Joseph County and the part of Elkhart County that I have is about 60 percent Democratic, on average," he said. Not that that's a free pass. "If somebody's name's on the ballot, they're always competitive," Fry said. "You have to assume they're competitive." Fry says he's going to attack what he sees as Miller's weak record during one term on the Elkhart City Council and two terms as the city's mayor. "In each and every case, he raised taxes, voted for pay increases, and some would say the city is worse off after he is there than it would have been otherwise," he said. But Miller defends those decisions and wonders if Fry hasn't made similar ones in his career. "It frankly costs more each year to do what cities do," he said. "Gasoline prices that people pay for their personal vehicles also must be paid to run firetrucks and police cars and snowplows and paving equipment." **Status:** Leans Fry

Indiana Congressional

Congressional District 7: Republican: Ray Irvin. **Democrat:** U.S. Rep. Andre Carson. **2008 Forecast:** Marion County Republicans have approached former Indianapolis councilman and greenways director Ray Irvin to challenge Carson. Irvin worked under Mayors Stephen Goldsmith and Bart Peterson and recently retired from INDOT. He was the catalyst behind the Monon Trail and Indy Parks greenways. Irvin would be an ideal candidate for the Republicans because, unlike Rep. Jon Elrod and other challengers to the Carson dynasty, Irvin has actually worked with various communities and built something: a bridge between communities. **Status:** Likely Carson ❖



A retrospective on Clinton, Obama and the Hoosier pivot point

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - With each applause line, the seven letters in the stands at Roberts Stadium in Evansville would rise - I-N-D-I-A-N-A. And as the noise gradually subsided, and Barack Obama spoke again, the letters would sink back into the crowd. The memorable scenes for Democrats, reporters and searching Republicans and independents fill our collective journals. Lines forming at 3 a.m. to see Hillary Clinton in Terre Haute. Bill Clinton with John Gregg at Vincennes University. John Mellencamp singing "Small Town" to Obama supporters as the "bitter" controversy faded. Obama's quiet town hall at Garfield Park a few hundred yards from a monument to Confederate Civil War soldiers who took their last breaths there.

There was Obama sinking buckets at the Indiana Basketball Hall of Fame with George McGinnis, playing a pickup game in Kokomo and visiting Hinkle Fieldhouse on Election Day. And Hillary sipping a shot and an Old Style at Bronko's in Crown Point. There was Obama recalling Dr. King's "arc of the moral universe" in Fort Wayne on the 40th anniversary of the assassination. They appeared at VFW halls, at a Tipton County homestead where the Obama bloodlines once flowed. There was Hillary Clinton with an animated Evan Bayh at the Wigwam a few blocks away from Anderson's hulking rust belt. Obama showing up at Nick's in Bloomington.

It was an amazing, dizzying, incredible seven

weeks, shadowed by the spirit of the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, who was invoked often. Hoosiers remembered what he did 40 years ago. People will be talking about 2008 some 40 or 50 years from now. His widow, Ethel, recited a poem at the Kennedy-King Memorial on April 4: "Two heroic hearts, who for a short time, traveled toward the sun. And sang the vivid air ... with their honor."

With the Hoosier air sung by the campaign, the smoke has barely cleared.

Howey Politics Indiana suggested the Hoosier state could be a battleground in late 2007, though we thought it more likely to be the Republicans, not the Democrats. But hours after Super Tuesday as Hillary Clinton began sinking into a 12-primary defeat hole, we told you this: For the first time since 1992, Indiana Democratic voters will have a contested presidential primary that will draw in the candi-



The girl on the shoulders was one of 21,000 who turned out for Obama at the American Legion Mall on May 5. At left, Hillary Clinton at the J-J Dinner and Obama in Evansville. (Photos by Mark Curry, A. Walker Shaw, Brian A. Howey)



dates and flood city squares, gymnasiums and schools with fervent supporters. Perhaps it will be as stimulating as the granddaddy of them all in 1968.

And in our March 21 edition, working off a rare leaked memo from the Obama campaign, Howey Politics Indiana was the first to declare Indiana as the "last swing



state" - the last true up-for-grabs battleground, or, as Obama would put it at one of the three press conferences he held here (on April 11) "the potential tiebreaker."

When it was all said and done in the early morning hours of May 7 with Clinton's minuscule victory, Indiana was essentially her last hurrah. And even then, with Gary Mayor Rudy Clay holding Lake County returns to deprive her of the prime-time TV network momentum she so desperately needed, the victory was pyrrhic. The super delegate dam was compromised the week before when Joe Andrew switched sides and turned the topic away from Rev. Jeremiah Wright, augmented by U.S. Rep. Baron Hill's courageous endorsement of Obama that stood in stark contrast to the people of his Southern Indiana district. With Obama declaring victory in North Carolina, the Clinton's stewed, harrassed Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott, and saw any hope of political salvation diminish in Indiana.

Lament and resilience

At the Indiana Democratic Conventoin last weekend, the buzz was still about what happened here in Indiana in March, April and May. The Clinton supporters can only lament how only if Hillary had found her Hoosier groove in February when she lost her way in a terrible losing streak. For Barack Obama, Indiana was resilience. After enduring the worst two weeks of his campaign with the Rev. Wright fiasco, he had come within 14,000 votes, essentially putting a giant asterisk behind the Clinton win. The delegate count was a wash, with Clinton coming out only a handful better. That following week, U.S. Reps. Joe Donnelly and Pete Visclosky joined the super delegate tide toward Obama. And by June



Hillary did shots at Bronko's in Crown Point in mid-April, while Obama appeared with Rep. Baron Hill at IU. (Times of Northwest Indiana and HPI Photos)

3, it was over. America had its first minority presidential nominee, eclipsing the Hillary gender dream of getting there first, buoyed by millions of women. Four days later, Clinton suspended her campaign and endorsed her bitter rival, though she said the glass ceiling had "18 million cracks."

When the history of the 2008 campaign is written in dozens of future books, the Hoosier spring will be an integral chapter. Perhaps, as well, will be the Hoosier fall as Obama seeks to become the first Democrat since Lyndon Johnson to carry the

state.

What impressions and revelations should be mined as the drama is still fresh?

There are the words of the candidates, like Obama on May 5 talking about "when politics became small as the problems became big" and he felt that people "want change in Washington." He said the challenges are more urgent because the problems facing the people of Indiana "are growing by the day. I'm not telling you anything you don't know. We are here today looking for an answer to the same question: Where is that America today? How many years? How many decades do we talk and talk and talk about these problems while Washington has done nothing or tinkered around the edges? Or in some cases, made them worse. There is no doubt these problems require fundamental shifts. The question is whether we shed our cynicism and fear and doubt and we reach for what we know is possible. It won't be easy. Change in America is never easy. That's why a black guy born in Hawaii can win this race. I will never forget that the only reason I'm standing here is that someone, somewhere stood up for what they believed. Stood up for me when it was hard. Stood up for me when it wasn't popular. Then a few people stood up, and then a few more stood up. Now is our turn,"

And Clinton, speaking in hushed tones at the Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner 48 hours before the election: "There is no doubt in my mind we can repair the damage we will inherit. I carry the dreams of people all across the country. People who embrace hard work and opportunity, who never wavered in the face of adversity; who never stopped believing. And tonight across Indiana and across America, teachers are grading papers and nurses are caring for the sick. They need a president who listens to them. Waitresses are pouring coffee and police officers are stand-



ing guard. They need a president who stands for them. Small business owners figure out how to grow their companies and pay their employees. They need a president who delivers for them. And our brave men and women in uniform, some on the deserts of Iraq and in the mountains of Afghanistan, some on their third and fourth tours, deserve a commander-in-chief who will bring them home and take care of them."

Parallels to 1968

For me, the parallels to 1968, when I was 12 years old and just coming of age, help accentuate the changes and the mainstays. I remember my father, an editor with the Peru Daily Tribune, coming home one night and telling us he had spent the day campaigning with Sen. Eugene McCarthy. Or the South Bend Tribune's Jack Colwell getting mobbed with RFK to the point that the senator's cuff links were ripped away and he needed emergency dental work in Mishawaka. In 2008, the entire relationship between press and candidate was much more guarded. Most journalists could only get 10 minutes of interview time with Clinton and Obama. There was no whistlestop campaigning; no spontaneous town-to-town gladhanding. Clinton and Obama were rock stars this time, playing to Hoosier arenas or setting up well-choreographed stages like Clinton and Bayh did on April 12 at Allison Transmission and AM General.

In 1968, Gov. Roger Branigan was the favorite son, running (and finishing second) as a stand-in for Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey. Forty years later, it was Evan Bayh who became the Hoosier son. Our analysis on February 21 came under the headline: "Evan Bayh's predicament," in which we laid out the stakes for Bayh in forging a win for Clinton. "Bayh hasn't been earnestly tested since his first statewide races in 1986 and 1988. Now he faces a challenge, unless Clinton loses big in both Texas and Ohio and the race fizzles before it gets to Indiana."

It didn't.

In our Feb. 14 edition, Bayh explained, "I am hopeful that we will play an important role and the reason I am hopeful is that I have great confidence in the people of our state. Our values, our common sense, our judgment. We

don't all tend to get caught up in the media hype, if I can say that. Instead, people want to focus on who can deliver the changes we need the most that matter in their daily lives. They want our nation and state to get back on the right track. So, it's that Hoosier common sense, decency and practicality that I think our nation could use right now. So I think it's good we're going to play a role in selecting the nominee for president."

Hillary teetered on oblivion

While Clinton arrived in Indiana a few days after Obama kicked off the campaign sequence here on March 15 in Republican Plainfield, and seemed to have some momentum with primary wins in Ohio and Texas (though she would lose the caucus there), her campaign often teetered on oblivion. In Mark Curry's April 24 analysis ("Clinton at the Crisis Point"), he explained: By every metric, the New York senator should already be down and out. Pledged delegates: Obama. Popular vote: Obama. Number of states won: Obama. But the nation's former first lady, and her millions of supporters, refuse to surrender. Fresh from hard-fought victory in Pennsylvania, and apparently ceding North Carolina to her opponent, Hillary Clinton is mustering every resource to convince Hoosiers - and the country - that she is the best candidate to battle John McCain in the general election this November. Situated in the heartland that borders Obama's home in Illinois, Indiana is Hillary's last relevant opportunity to demonstrate the mettle of her campaign. With 72 delegates at stake, Indiana is likely the last remaining battleground. She must win here if she intends to dominate the party

convention in Denver come August. To that end, Hoosiers can expect nothing short of a political spectacular unseen in these parts since the days of Bobby Kennedy.

Bayh was able to attract a number of key endorsements - John Gregg, B. Patrick Bauer, Dan Parker, Joe Kernan, Judy O'Bannon and 40 county chairmen - many following his lead because they thought it was his best path to a vice presidential nod. He cited his organization's "seamless" integration with the Clinton campaign as a pivotal development. HPI writer Ryan Nees observed: The Clinton camp has relied primarily on Bayh and state party chairman Dan Parker to secure endorsements from legislators, mayors, and county chairs in an effort that



Sen. Obama invoked Martin Luther King Jr. on April 4 at Wayne HS in Fort Wayne (top) while former President Clinton campaigned with former Speaker Gregg



Sen. Evan Bayh looks on as the Clintons project victory in Indiana on May 6 even though the networks hadn't called the race. Gary Mayor Rudy Clay had denied them the momentum they needed as super delegates began cascading to Obama the following day. (HPI Photo by A. Walker Shaw)

has encompassed personal phone calls, dinner dates, and sometimes acrimonious arm-twisting. The covert organizing has miffed Obama supporters and impartial party leaders hoping that neutrality will mitigate post-primary fractures in the party.

The Clinton trio - Hillary, Bill and Chelsea - went on to visit more than 100 Hoosier cities, many of which had never witnessed a presidential candidate or a former president. Bill Clinton concentrated on small towns like Hartford City and Martinsville. Chelsea hit the college campuses. Hillary did the arenas and the policy events.

Bayh emerges intact

Even though Clinton's win was by only 1.14 percent, Bayh emerged intact and on some of the Obama vice presidential short lists. While he placed his face and name on the line, insisting that Hillary Clinton had "a spine of steel" in her first Indiana TV ad, he never denigrated Obama, the man whose emergence on Tim Russert's Meet the Press in November 2006 essentially forced a pragmatic Bayh out of the race in a stunning move a month later.

There were other moments that lifted eyebrows. One occurred on April 8 with a fascinating trail going back to 1968: Bill Ruckleshaus' endorsement of Obama. "Senator Obama's ability to attract not only Democrats, but also Republicans and Independents, makes him uniquely qualified to build the broad

coalitions needed to address our nation's challenges," said Ruckleshaus, who ran for the Senate against Birch Bayh with the Nixon ticket in 1968, then defied him during the Watergate scandal five years later. "Senator Obama's integrity and commitment to ethics reform give me confidence that he's the best candidate to bring transparency to Washington, D.C." Another was former conservative Notre Dame law professor Doug Kmiec, who also endorsed Obama.

Changing contours

Then came former congressman Lee Hamilton's wise voice, who in March predicted the changing contours of American politics. "The beginning point for me is to ask the question, 'What kind of leadership does the country need at this particular juncture in its history?' Hamilton asked. "I think the country is very evenly divided.

I think it's very difficult to get things done. We've got enormous challenges both domestic and foreign. It's also an environment in the country that has very sharp partisanship. So I support the election of Sen. Obama for several reasons. He has the best opportunity to create a sense of national unity and to transcend the divisions in the country. He's a person that strikes me as one who seeks the politics of consensus. I believe the political skill most needed in the country today ... is the ability to bring people together; not to drive them apart."

In the April 27 edition of Howey Politics Indiana, we observed: By early this week,





you could almost feel the air rushing out of Barack Obama's campaign. While the Howey-Gauge Poll of April 23-24 had Obama with a narrow 47-45 percent lead over Hillary Clinton, later surveys, including an April 28 SurveyUSA Poll had Clinton surging to a 52-43 percent lead. It came a day before Obama conducted a press conference in North Carolina and denounced the Rev. Jeremiah Wright. The sense on the ground was that a shift was under way. Within 12 hours, Obama picked up two stunning endorsements. The first was from U.S. Rep. Baron Hill, who ran counter to 10 of the county chairs in the 9th CD that endorsed Clinton. The Obama dilemma with Rev. Wright actually prompted Hill to act. "His comments regarding statements made by Reverend Wright showed me another aspect of Senator Obama's leadership, a strength of character and commitment to our nation that transcends the personal," Hill explained. "One of the tests of a true leader is his ability and willingness to come to a new conclusion based on new events. Senator Obama did just that yesterday."

Andrew switches the topic

But the real stunner came when former Democratic National Chairman Joe Andrew reversed course and endorsed Obama. "I am convinced that the primary process has devolved to the point that it's now bad for the Democratic Party," Andrew said "While I was hopeful that a long, contested primary season would invigorate our party, the polls show that the tone and temperature of the race is now hurting us."

Howey-Gauge also noted that gas prices had gone from 1 percent in top issues in our February poll to 12 percent in April. That set off the Obama-Clinton gas wars: Clinton proposing a three-month federal gas tax holiday; Obama denouncing it as a "gimmick" while holding a press conference in front of Phillips66 gas pumps. "Few costs are rising faster than the ones at the pump," Obama said. "To most Americans, it's a huge problem bordering on a crisis. Here in Indiana, gas costs \$3.60 a gallon. Last year alone, the price of oil has shot up almost 80 percent,

reaching a record high, which explains why the top oil companies made \$123 billion last year." Obama accused "Washington politicians" dating back to President Nixon of avoiding finding solutions to alternative energy "when they had the chance."

It was an issue that exit polls essentially indicated Obama had won. Coming on the heels of the Rev. Wright denunciation, it was gas that got him back in the game as the race see-sawed.

Hamilton's remarks of a divided nation were only a precursor to Clinton's razor thin victory in a primary where 1.7 million Hoosier voted, including 1.3 million who voted Democratic. But the real irony was predicted



Hillary Clinton at the Wigwam in Anderson and Obama at Garfield Park in Indianapolis. (HPI Photos by Brian A. Howey and A. Walker Shaw)

at the April 29 Howey-Gauge Poll that showed Clinton and Obama locked in a 46-46 percent tie. It would be Republicans, we accurately predicted, who would decide the Democratic primary. And of all Republicans, it was Rush Limbaugh who might have prodded the 14,000 difference as he sought "chaos." Obama campaign manager David Plouffe acknowledged Limbaugh's measurable impact.





Sen. Barack Obama and wife Michelle greeted eager Hoosiers in Evansville on the night of his loss to Pennsylvania. He became much more hands-on in the final two weeks in Indiana. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

New era of campaigning

Despite Obama's loss, his organization opened a new era of campaigning. Former Fort Wayne mayor Graham Richard called it a confluence of "grassroots meets ne-troots" inspired by Facebook. At my Broad Ripple home, the Obama campaign made five touches: two canvassing calls, a direct mail piece with the Evansville I-N-D-I-A-N-A featured on the front; a door hanger, and two phone calls, including the offer of a ride on Election Day. HPI Washington writer Mark Curry observed in an April 17 analysis: Obama arrives at a nexus of message, philosophy and technology that thus far has served to further his career. But he has not arrived alone. With him are thousands of campaign workers and volunteers attracted to Obama's notion that ideological labels are "old politics," that the familiar means to success in Washington is no longer working, that, in fact, "we can do better." The Obama campaign relied on elements like Thiessen Polygons, means of increasing bandwidth, methods of capturing and parsing data, and using graphic overlays for Geographic Information Systems (GIS).

The Clinton-Obama race also revealed the Indiana Democratic Party's dirty little secret. A number of editors and political operatives had told us that many Democrats just wouldn't be able to vote for a black man for president. MSNBC exit polling revealed that 15 percent (10 percent white and 5 percent black) saw race as a reason for their vote. Of the whites, Clinton would carry 78 percent.

If Clinton's Pennsylvania win presented her with

the last Hoosier opportunity, the Keystone loss was an awakening for Obama, who quickly took a hands-on role when in smoother times he delegated much of the logistics to others. While he always wrote his speeches and signed off on his TV commercials, Obama personally re-engaged in Indiana. He shifted from the arena town halls to more intimate settings, like Garfield Park or drinking Budweisers at a St. Joseph County VFW Hall. Or, as HPI put it on April 28, "When in doubt in Indiana, play hoops."

Yet Obama ended his spring Hoosier experience with a 21,000-person rally at the American Legion Mall in downtown Indianapolis on the eve of the primary, perhaps the largest political rally since the Ku Klux Klan took over the state eight decades before. "I'm not out to win an election," said Obama, who would lose Indiana but win this political war. "I'm here to change the country." ❖



Obama at the American Legion Mall on primary eve. He would declare victory on June 3 and just days later, put staffers back in Indiana. (HPI Photo by A. Walker Shaw)



Lesley Stedman Weidenbener,

Post-Tribune: Southern Indiana voters and independents could determine who wins the governor's race this year. That's among the conclusions reached by the Mike Downs Center for Indiana Politics after conducting an interesting poll of Hoosier voters this month. What made the poll fascinating is that the center measured support for the major party candidates using four different questions. "Depending on how the question is asked, this either appears to be one of the closest gubernatorial elections ever or it will be a comfortable re-election victory for Gov. Mitch Daniels," the center said in an analysis of the poll. "The way a question is worded can influence greatly how people respond to it and can result in very different interpretations." Even with the differing results, however, the center came to four conclusions: Daniels, a Republican, is leading Democrat Jill Long Thompson, but not by much. Daniels' base is more solidly behind him than Thompson's is behind her. A large percentage of independents could be swayed to vote for either candidate. Both candidates have regional advantages and the candidate who is able to improve in Southern Indiana may be the candidate who wins. The latter is not too surprising. Daniels won four years ago in part by winning a surprising number of votes in the traditionally Democratic areas of Southern Indiana. That's one reason Thompson picked state Rep. Dennie Oxley of English as her running mate. He'll likely spend the rest of the campaign stumping across Southern Indiana. But it's unclear from the poll just how good a chance Thompson has of unseating Daniels because voters sent different messages, depending on the way the question was asked. For example, 452 voters were asked, "If the election for governor were today and you were standing in the voting booth right now, who would you vote for, Republican Mitch Daniels or Democrat Jill Long Thompson?" The answers to that question indicate the race will be tight, with each candidate receiving the support of 49% of the respondents, the Downs Center said. That question showed that Daniels, who is from Indianapolis, had a big lead in Central Indiana while Thompson, a former congresswoman who lives in Marshall County, is far ahead in Northern Indiana. The two candidates were much closer in the southern part of the state, where Thompson has 51 percent to Daniels' 47 percent, the poll showed. Another version of the question asked 434 voters, "If the election for Indiana governor were today, and you were standing in the voting booth right now, how likely would you be to vote for Mitch Daniels -- very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or not at all likely?" The question was asked for both candidates. In this case, 57 percent of respondents said they were somewhat likely or very likely to vote for Daniels, while 43 percent said they were somewhat likely or very likely to vote for Thompson.



Stephanie Salter, Terre Haute Tri-

bune-Star: While Barack Obama and John McCain are working out the ground rules for the next four months, it would be so great if they would agree to a moratorium on religious pandering. Before they decide about town hall meetings, running mates, which convicted felon pals to defend or jettison — both men should sign a joint promise to lay off of seeking and trumpeting religion-related endorsements. Given their experiences so far with religious cheerleaders, McCain and Obama ought to be extra-motivated. The Rev. Jeremiah Wright and the Rev. John Hagee revealed themselves to be such liabilities, it should be cause, not just for renunciation, but for a shared vow to go forth and politically sin no more. Co-humbled, Obama and McCain could use their dispiriting clergy crises to return evangelizing and faith-based policy making to their rightful place: The pulpits and TV studios of America's tax-exempt churches, temples, synagogues, mosques and strip mall storefronts. ❖

Rich James, Post-Tribune:

There is a faction in this country that lies awake at night making up reasons why they can't vote for Barack Obama. I see it on a daily basis, reading letters to the editor and listening to calls to Quickly. You hear it on the TV news shows as well. There are a myriad of reasons why people say Barack Obama shouldn't be the next president of the United States of America. The people who spew forth this drivel probably don't believe what they are saying, but it is considerably less painful than having to tell the truth. So, why is it that some don't feel Obama should be president? Well, they say ... -- He's a Muslim. To show proof that he is a Muslim, they always mention that his middle name is Hussein. The first name of the guy who started the Coors Brewing Co. is Adolph. Wonder if that means he's a Nazi? -- Obama was too slow to condemn what the Rev. Jeremiah Wright -- his Baptist pastor -- had to say about white folks many years ago. And if you weren't sure whether to dislike Obama because of what Wright said, there's also what his Catholic buddy, the Rev. Michael Pfleger, had to say about Hillary Clinton. That's all got me terribly confused, because if his pastor is Baptist and his longtime buddy is Catholic, how in the heck can Obama be Muslim? ❖

Gary Gerard, Warsaw Times-Union:

I wonder if county officials around the state are starting to think differently about tax abatements. Taxpayers in Kosciusko County whose applications for a tax abatement on real estate was approved in 2007 for 2008 total \$17,509,890. So it seems to me, with the property tax dilemma lots of municipalities are facing, it might be time to adjust policies with regard to tax abatements. ❖



McCain lags behind in Hoosier money

INDIANAPOLIS - Republican John McCain had his second best fundraising month from Hoosiers in May, but still lagged behind the Democrats, according to the most recent disclosure reports filed with the Federal Election Commission (Indianapolis Star). The Arizona senator raised \$108,824 from Hoosiers last month compared with the \$132,185 raised by Sen. Barack Obama, D-Ill., and the \$113,645 raised by Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton, D-N.Y.



GOP chooses Yarde in HD52

AUBURN - David Yarde will try to keep Indiana House District 52 in Republican hands (**Fort Wayne Journal Gazette**). Yarde, a DeKalb County councilman, was selected from eight candidates Monday evening in a caucus in Wolcottville to replace Rep. Marlin Stutzman, R-Howe, on the fall ballot. Stutzman was chosen to fill Sen. Robert Meeks' spot on the Senate District 13 ballot after Meeks decided not to seek re-election because of health concerns. Stutzman's current district covers parts of LaGrange, Noble and DeKalb counties. Yarde was first elected to the council in 1994. This is the first run for state office for the fifth-grade teacher at Northcrest Elementary in Fort Wayne.

Dems may punish radio show host

MICHIGAN CITY - Dennis Metheny, Coolspring Township trustee and Democratic precinct committee-

man, says he is being forced to choose between his precinct position and his right to free speech (Michigan City News-Dispatch). Metheny used his Saturday morning WEFM radio show to blast efforts by party members to oust him as precinct committee person because of his public criticism of fellow Democrats. "I want people to see how the La Porte County Democratic Party wants to shut down my freedom of speech," Metheny said. "I went into the military to defend the freedom of speech for everyone." Vidya Kora, the La Porte County Democratic Party chairman, said the issue has nothing to do with freedom of speech but is a matter of Democratic Party rules for precinct committee persons. Kora received a letter from Rich Mrozinski Jr., president of the La Porte County Democratic Civic Club, saying the members unanimously voted on April 10 to request Metheny's removal. They said he was violating guidelines requiring him to be supportive of the Democratic Party and promote party candidates. The letter criticizes Metheny for verbally attacking fellow Democrats in public, encouraging citizens to vote against certain Democratic candidates and criticizing Democratic elected officials. It alleged he "uses his radio show to state his anti-Democrat views."

Evansville Council passes annexation

EVANSVILLE - The City Council approved an ordinance Monday to annex a heavily commercial part of Knight Township, a decision that one council member called paramount to the city's future (Evansville Courier & Press). Council President Keith Jarboe said adding the land will give Evansville greater political influence in the region. "I think that we are on the right track but with that we need to continue to move forward," Jarboe said.

Budget cuts will be painful in St. Joe

SOUTH BEND - Layoffs of workers, including police officers and jail guards. Closing of county parks, or reducing their hours. Keeping county government open only four days a week. Eliminating funding for agencies like the Youth Service Bureau and REAL Services. No raises again for county workers (South Bend Tribune). "Everything's on the table," County Council President Rafael Morton said as the county begins its annual budget process. The budget must be ready for a public hearing Sept. 12, with a vote possibly Sept. 23, he said. No decisions have been made yet, Morton and Auditor Peter Mullen stressed, but they're certain the process will be painful. The county is looking at layoffs and budget cuts; new local option taxes; or a combination of both,

EPA approves BP permit

WHITING - The Indiana Department of Environmental Management has issued the final air permit for the BP Whiting Refinery's \$3.8 billion expansion project (Times of Northwest Indiana). The permit, which will allow significant modifications to the refinery's air permit, was issued June 16, the day after the Environmental Protection Agency's proposed review period of the operating permit ended without the federal agency raising any objections. In a letter to IDEM dated June 13, the chief of EPA Region 5 air permits section, says the agency reviewed the proposed Title V operating permit and compared it to issues it had raised concerning the draft construction permit, as well as to issues raised by the public. "As a result, EPA concludes that IDEM has adequately addressed the issues raised in our March 21, 2008 letter," states Pamela Blakely in the letter. "We have no further comments on the proposed Title V operating permit."