



The end of 20th Century politics

30-second commercial era heads into the age of Tivo and mobility

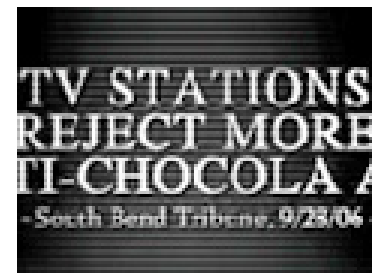
By **RYAN NEES** and **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - The final moments of 20th Century politics ticked away on Aug. 10, 2006. On that day, Brad Ellsworth was pledging not to take a Congressional pay raise. U.S. Rep. Mike Sodrel was blogging from the U.S.-Mexican border. The RNCC was accusing Baron Hill of comparing immigrants to rodents. Gov. Mitch Daniels was putting the finishing touches on Indiana's strategic energy plan.

For on the very next day and 500 miles away, U.S. Sen. George Allen, R-Va., and a prohibitive favorite for reelection as well as a poised 2008 presidential contender, was campaigning in Breaks, Va., when he spotted a 20-year-old James Webb for Senate volunteer, S.R. Sidarth, with a video cam (pictured top, left, with Sen. Allen).

"This fellow here, over here with the yellow shirt, macaca, or whatever his name is. He's with my opponent. He's following us around everywhere. And it's just great," Allen said to amused supporters.

Within hours, Sidarth's video made it onto You



Tube, the quote taken as an ethnic slur (macaca is a monkey and an African racial slur). It quickly became one of the most watched videos on the internet, and within days became the fodder for the cable news outlets and networks.

Webb would go on to defeat Sen. Allen



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Evan, they hardly knew ye

By **MARK CURRY**

WASHINGTON - Ten days. That's how long Evan Bayh owned the lead role of the non-Hillary centrist in the unfolding drama that is the 2008 Democratic presidential candidate selection process.

The afternoon of Oct. 12 must have been a giddy time for the senator's political staff, the crack professionals who over



"We have a two-year budget, not a 10-year budget. I believe that taking care of people on welfare should not be a for-profit enterprise."

- Speaker B. Patrick Bauer




the past year worked in the wings to elevate Bayh's prominence on the national stage. In a surprise announcement made earlier that day, former Virginia Gov. Mark Warner declared he was leaving the race to spend more time with his teenage daughters. For months, both Bayh and Warner clamored to occupy almost exactly the same political role - the non-Hillary, a moderate with executive experience and a resume demonstrating the ability to win votes in a red state. Reports indicate Bayh was immediately on the telephone, working to woo Warner supporters.

"We are very pleased in the reception that Senator Bayh is getting from former Warner supporters," Bayh's communications director, Dan Pfeiffer, told HPR at the time. "There is clearly an appetite for someone with a proven record of winning in red states."

But it was not to be. On Oct. 22 the bright lights focused instead on U.S. Sen. Barack Obama of Illinois. The Democratic senator known for captivating crowds in Kennedy-esque fashion announced on NBC's "Meet the Press" that he was considering entering the fray. Suddenly Evan Bayh had a real fight on his hands - perhaps the greatest challenge in his political career to date - to somehow compete for attention (and funding) on a stage occupied by none other than Hillary Clinton, John Edwards, John Kerry and, finally, Barack Obama.

Last Friday night, less than two weeks after establishing a presidential exploratory committee, the boy from Shirkieville telephoned supporters to say he'd had enough. He was dropping from the race. The decision to withdraw was condensed into a week after dueling with Obama for attention in New Hampshire on Dec. 9-10. Following that, new Iowa polling data showed him barely registering.

"The odds were always going to be very long for a relatively unknown candidate like myself, a little bit like David and Goliath." Bayh said in a statement released Saturday. "...



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I concluded that due to circumstances beyond our control the odds were longer than I felt I could responsibly pursue."

The former Hoosier governor - and his incredible team of political professionals and citizen volunteers - would have had to overcome considerable obstacles if they wanted to claim a place among the celebrity front-runners. "This wasn't about not having the support of his family," a source close to the Bayh camp told HPR. "This wasn't about not being able to raise the money. It wasn't about not being able to enlist the staff and army of volunteers.

"It was about - inevitably - coming up short and letting down all those folks who have devoted their time, talent and treasure to the cause," said the source, who asked not to be identified.

Evan Bayh may be popular in Indiana, but he is largely unknown beyond our borders. Even after spend-

ing a month of days over dozens of trips to the key states of Iowa and New Hampshire Bayh failed to register much more than a statistical blip in poll after poll. Each low ranking diminished his prospects. As former Fort Wayne Mayor Paul Helmke told HPR in mid-November, key Democrats - the gatekeepers and money-makers - were "looking for someone who can win."

In the past two years Sen. Bayh certainly exhibited a winning work ethic. His thousand-hour effort to build support for a presidential campaign took him to more than two dozen states. He appeared on countless TV news programs, offered interviews to newspapers and magazines, toured the Democratic rubber chicken circuit, and campaigned on behalf of state and national candidates across the country. In Iowa and New Hamp-

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Iraq: From page 1

by less than 1 percent, and the Senate would go Democratic

51-49, shifting the balance of power in the United States. It's one reason why TIME Magazine cited "You" and YouTube as its person of the year.

Whereas President Lyndon B. Johnson's "Daisy" ad (showing a little girl plucking petals off a daisy followed by a mushroom cloud) opened the era of the 30-second ad (playing only once on Sept. 7, 1964, during the "Movie of the Week,") Simon Rosenberg of the New Democratic Network, believes "Macaca" essentially opened the era of 21st Century politics.

"I believe the great video that is going to change the election of 2008 is probably going to be generated by an average person," Rosenberg told the seventh annual L. Keith Bulen Symposium on American Politics at IUPUI on Monday. He called the "Macaca" YouTube video "a marginal event" that literally changed the balance of power in the Senate.

You ain't seen nothin' yet

And, as President Reagan would say, "You ain't seen nothin' yet."

The media itself is changing in the United States. Rosenberg believes that newspapers as we know them will be gone within 10 years. It's one reason why Indianapolis Star Editor Dennis Ryerson is replacing reporters and photographers with reader-generated content. It's the reason Marion County Prosecutor Carl Brizzi conducted one of the first true American web campaign components.

"We've left the broadcast era of political communications and we're moving to one that is much different," Rosenberg said. "Broadcast was sort of top-down from one to many. We now have a media environment that is very, very different. Let's talk about new distribution systems. When we grew up, there were three television channels. And now, what are we facing? How many do I have in my home? TIVO is very shortly going to allow you to start recording video off the internet, meaning you will have billions of channels on your television, not hundreds. So the most significant thing happening is that we're moving from a low bandwidth internet to a high bandwidth internet."

Rosenberg, a former soldier in Bill Clinton's Little Rock War Room, explained, "Before it was text and photos. But now we're seeing high bandwidth activities. You can



move onto the internet with music, television and film. We are now entering the YouTube Internet Age. You can see broadband at home is crossing into Americans with huge access. There is 50 percent broadband penetration. If it's 60 percent of households, it will be 70-75 percent of people."

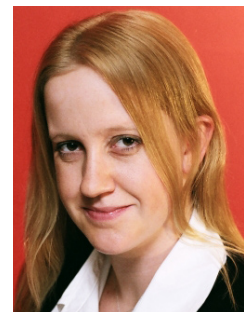
And mobile media

Then there is mobile media. "The next two years, there's going to be an extraordinary explosion of mobile media - cell phones, mobile phones, internet," Rosenberg said. "Forty million people will have access by the end of 2008 to broadband video on their telephones. That's a third of the voters who are going to be able to look at real time video on YouTube. That will be a rapid response toll for a political campaign. A huge part of the internet is user-generated content that people are sharing."

And, Rosenberg predicted, "We have also arrived at an era of cheap new tools. This is very important. In 2002, there were three million blogs. More Democrats get their news from blogs than from any other source other than traditional mainstream. This is not a fringe media any more, this is a dominant media form."

He called Markos Moulitsas Zúniga, who blogs on the Daily Kos "the most influential Democratic operative in Amer-

ica today." As Michael Krempasky of RedStates.Org observed, "Like him or hate him, Kos has a lot of power behind him and opportunity before him. He is helping Democrats all across the country to feel engaged, and have an impact." Indiana Democrats hosted the "Taking Down Words" blog that played to the choir, while earning Jennifer Wagner the reputation of being, perhaps, the nastiest woman in Indiana politics, though the blog's impact of how many votes it attracted and candidates elected for the party are unknown.



Wagner

Tivo killed the 30-second star

But the real game changer is Tivo. Several years ago at DePauw University, HPR asked Dr. James Thurber of American University about the impact of the TV synthe-



sizer that allows users to access any TV show at any time, and filter out the commercials. As the 20th Century slipped away, Thurber was unable to gauge the impact of Tivo.

But Rosenberg said, "With Tivo, we have an enormous increase in DVRs - digital video recording - in home. Almost half of all voters will have the ability to skip all television commercials in 2008. We all know the percentage of people who will skip all political television commercials. It's going to be 100 percent. This is the end of the 30-second spot. A minority of people watching television at any moment in 2008 will be watching live broadcast television, with the incredible penetration of cable and satellite and DVR, we are now entering a period where 30 second spots are no longer going to be the dominant form of political communication. Who's run a political campaign in that environment? It's wide open for all of us as we go forward."

As HPR reported on Nov. 16, Indiana House Democrats went mostly to direct mail in 2006, sending out more than 2 million pieces in 170 different mailings. House Republicans increased their direct mail from 700,000 in 2004 to 1.6 million in 2006.

"In a primary, direct mail is clearly a much better method than TV," Democratic Chairman Dan Parker said. "We know who's going to vote in a primary." But Parker refused to say that TV is a dead medium. "TV saved (State Rep.) Tim Harris," Parker said, adding that using local network affiliates is inefficient. "They spent a lot of money on Indianapolis TV to reach 8,000 people out of a million."

Rosenberg notes, "This year Google will sell as many ads as all of ABC. Google has already become one of the major media advertisers in all the world. The ads can be microtargeted, literally zip plus four. It's a huge differentiation. Internet advertising is really going to be transforming politics."

IndianaOnMessage Review

Which gets us to the project we offered up a month ago. Western High School junior Ryan Nees, who forged the IndianaOnMessage website that has partnered with HPR, for the first time in Indiana history, compiled most of the legislative and congressional TV and radio ads that aired in Indiana during the 2006 election cycle.

As innovative as this project was, if Rosenberg is to be believed, 2006 may be the last cycle of the 30-second ad, which CNN reported ran in the Evansville TV market five hours after the polls closed on Dec. 7. There was \$2.1 billion spent on TV advertising nationally during the 2006 election cycle, a record, with Indiana congressional candidates spending more than \$13.4 million, according to the Center for Responsive Politics. Another \$12 million was

spent by independent groups such as MoveOn (which spent \$245,000 against U.S. Rep. Chris Chocola) and political parties, where national Republicans gave the Indiana GOP \$1.1 million.

Vanderbilt University Prof. John Geer, editor of The Journal of Politics, also appeared at the Bulen Symposium as a defender of attack ads.

"They have increased dramatically in the last 40 years," said Geer because the "parties are polarizing" in a "highly competitive environment." He said that attack ads flourish because the "news media is a huge culprit."

"Negative ads get news media coverage," Geer said. "Journalists and pundits look for the most outrageous ad and talk about it. It's the craziest, most vicious ads that get attention." In the 2004 Bush-Kerry ads, the "swift boat ads" got far more media attention than those discussing the Iraq War.



A good example was an RNCC ad (above) run on behalf of U.S. Rep. John Hostettler that accused Speaker Nancy Pelosi of planning to install the "homosexual agenda."

Geer, however, defends attack ads, noting that 70 percent of the Declaration of Independence was an attack on King George III. Geer said that between 1960 and 2000, about 75 percent of political ads were attack ads with issues, compared to 50 percent of positive ads. Documentation was 8 to 1 more likely in a negative ad than a positive one. "Attack ads have to have a basis of truth, whereas positive ads get away with all kinds of stuff."

HPR and IndianaOnMessage provides this analysis for political ads in the 2006 election cycle.

IN-02: Ads don't have to be memorable.

Some ads took on a nearly cult-like following among activists and junkies alike, notably the DCCC's "Chocolate for Chocola," an ad depicting a series of love notes ex-





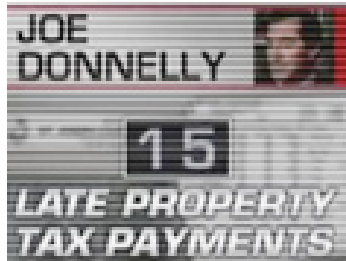
changed between the Congressman and oil tycoons, who came complete with cigars and cowboy hats, bearing gifts of flowers and chocolates. But by and large, the ads were forgettable. Though for Democratic media consultants (like the Fenn Group, which cut Donnelly's ads, and Murphy Putnam Shorr, the firm employed by the DCCC in the Second), that's not the point. Success, they argue, isn't intrinsic to the memorability of the ads. Moving public opinion is done at a subconscious level that depends not on emotion or humor (tactics often employed by corporate

ad makers on Madison Street), but repetition and "persuasion".

The repetition required makes it a more expensive method, both because it's better suited to broadcast television and because the ad has to be run many more times, and makes the ad consultant's job both far easier and far less creative ... but it seemed to work in IN-02. Voters couldn't pick out an individual ad that convinced them of Chris Chocola's special interest-back-slapping kind of corruption, but the impression was clearly cemented.

Republicans: Trash Joe

In any other year, Chris Chocola's series of factually devastating tax attack ads might have sunk Joe Donnelly's campaign. But their sheer shrillness backfired on Chocola, and could have in fact been counterproductive to Chocola's cause, kindly reinforcing Donnelly's primary argument that Chocola was an out-of-touch negative politician, concerned less with people and more with his own power. Their nastiness turned voters off, even against Chocola. For a politician with little goodwill in the community, and whose career was due in large part to negative campaigning, the spots proved to be too nasty. Though a subjective line, Chocola undoubtedly crossed it.



Democrats: Too nice

Though much has been made (by journalists, primarily) about the nastiness of the Marion County Prosecutor's race, it should have been far nastier if Melina Kennedy hoped to win. She should have swung like a cudgel at Brizzi case after case of released murderer. It would have been easy, and the paper trail certainly voluminous enough to create the impression that Brizzi was weak on crime, that,



in fact, he was personally responsible for part of the county's upswing in crime. In a high crime year, during a Democratic wave, in an increasingly Democratic county, it ps beguiling to contemplate how a well-funded candidate personally anointed by Bart Peterson managed to lose this race. The most profound, and expensive, problem was her television ads.



Instead of running thundering, grainy black-and-white ads linking Carl Brizzi to the most depraved of Indianapolis thugs, Kennedy's camp aired sophomoric ads that were weak both on production and message.

When Brizzi's camp ran spots with tough-guy candidate Carl strutting down smoke-filled alleys, Kennedy responded by trying to frame the race as somehow a referendum on leadership style, not prosecutorial misjudgment and neglect, the only compelling (and abounding) reasons the voters had to oust Brizzi. Kennedy alleged that Brizzi's bad judgment allowed repeat criminals to walk out of jail and go on murderous rampages. How many of those criminals are walking Indianapolis neighborhoods now? It's a question that Kennedy never bothered to pose.

Instead, she wasted one spot pointing out that the prosecutor's office employed 150 deputies who needed "direction [and] training." A radio ad -- I swear, I'm not making this up -- actually lectured voters on the fine points of asset forfeiture, a term they all "should know." It personalized Kennedy's campaign perfectly.

Brizzi was the one candidate who distinctly moved from the 20th Century 30-second ads, to 21st Century in-



ternet ads. Developed by Carmel-based Media Soft, Brizzi supporters would get an e-mail with a link that read: "Click here to get a personal message from Carl Brizzi." They would then find Brizzi, with logos, talking directly to them. Or a deputy sheriff, or a three-part cartoon series. It was incredibly innovative stuff taken right out of the YouTube playbook, and available to be passed on from supporter to potential voter. "I don't know of anywhere else where there was a full web campaign," said Jennifer Hallowell, Brizzi's campaign manager and executive director of Indiana GOP. And the impact? "Hard to measure," Hallowell said. "We got some buzz off it. We heard from people who had them forwarded." Watch for more and more campaigns to go this route in 2007 and 2008.

Ellsworth ran an 'incumbent' campaign

Brad Ellsworth, congressman-elect in the 8th CD, ran a near-perfect incumbent campaign, despite the obvious: he was a challenger. Yet the lead that he started with he maintained throughout the campaign, ceding barely an inch. One of his best decisions was undoubtedly hiring Dixon-Davis Media Group, who went 9-0 nationally, winning Claire McCaskill's Missouri Senate race, two governorships, and seven other Congressional races. In the Ninth, Sodrel's media firm, Dawson McCarthy Nelson, went 4-4, and Baron Hill's, McMahon, Squier & Associates, went 3-2. Fenn Communications, which managed Donnelly's ads, won 7 of its 12 races. Chocola's firm, Stevens Reed Curcio & Potholm, won exactly half of its 14 races.



Lugar's positive message

Dick Lugar's ads got a fair bit of press simply because it was universally accepted that he didn't need to run media. So it was refreshing, then, when he spent millions to spur discussion and educate voters on the profound foreign policy and energy challenges confronting the nation. But some national Republicans must be wishing that Lugar had chipped in more to the NRSC (For perspective, at the end of October, Hillary Clinton had given \$1 million dollars to the DSCC. Lugar had transferred \$75,000 to the NRSC.), which could scarcely afford to go on the air in the expensive Philadelphia and New York media markets that might have put Tom Kean Jr. over the top against freshman New Jersey Democrat Bob Menendez,



a win that would have kept Lugar the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. It was a bitter irony for the party that had enjoyed, even boasted about, 3-to-1 (or greater) cash advantages for years.

The Worst ad

In our view, the worst ad of the cycle was Fran- cie Metzger's assault ad against State Rep. Teri Austin. It ran grainy footage of immigrants that accused Austin of aiding and abetting lawbreaker foreigners. It was a Republican attempt to exploit the greatest 2006 campaign fantasy: that immigration would deliver pluralities. The problem is that the issue is largely a federal one, not one where the Indiana General Assembly played a huge role. At the Congressional level, the lasting legacy of U.S. Reps. Chocola, Sodrel and Hostettler is that Latinos voted 70 percent Democratic, up about 20 percent over 2004. Not only did these Hoo- sier Republicans lose, they may have alienated for many election cycles to come the fastest growing demographic group in the nation. Rosenberg explained, "This country has become more southern and western, more suburban and exurban; the nation more spanish-speaking and im- migrant. The transformation of our people is creating is a new kind of politics: 70 of the 100 largest cities are located in the South and West. In 2032, if the Census projections continue, Arizona will have as many Electoral College seats as New York; Hispanics will be 25 percent of the American electorate. Today, they represent 9 percent."



Best radio ad

U.S. Rep. Mark Souder posted a radio ad advis- ing Tom Hayhurst supporters on how to get to Grabill. He supplied directions from both Fort Wayne and New Haven, pointing out cemeteries where his ancestors are buried and where to park when they got there. It was vintage Mark Souder, who despite a mid-October scare, cruised easily to victory against a well-financed opponent.

Epilogue

Simon Rosenberg explained: "Remember how the Boomers changed American culture? We've got a new generation coming along that is just as big in numerical amounts called the Millenials, 26 and younger. The way they do politics, the way they do media - they don't read newspapers, they live off these small devices. Any move- ment has got to focus on Millenials. General assumptions guiding American politics are going to come to an end. Both political parties and both ideological movements are at the beginning of the dawn of a new era." ❖



Evan, they hardly knew ye from page 2

shire he frequented dining halls and coffee houses, attended fundraisers and barbecues, hosted meet and greets, and munched on pork chops at the State Fair. In Indiana he rolled up his sleeves and campaigned for nearly two weeks on behalf of congressional and state candidates.

He continued to come up short in the polls, however, and the prospect of a brutal battle looming in the home stretch may have just been too much.

"So you spend 12-14 months in a whirlwind of travel, fundraising, missing votes, missing your family, and what do you have to show for it?" the source said. "You're broke, exhausted and you've strained your family to the max."

Bayh's announcement that he is leaving the race closes a remarkable chapter in his career. During the past two years his work on the hustings has bolstered an already solid reputation among moderates in the party and has earned him friends and supporters at all levels. He has gained status through his efforts to shape the Democratic agenda on matters of national security, and there is reason to suspect he will be in the forefront when the upcoming Congress debates energy and fair trade policy.

As 2nd Congressional District Chairman Butch Morgan observed, "Evan Bayh knows how to take, read and interpret polls. His political instincts and judgment have been solid all his life."

The much-touted success of the Camp Bayh immersion program may well be one of Bayh's most significant contributions to the American political process. The program trained and supplied 50 staffers to targeted local, state and national races in the key presidential states of Iowa, New Hampshire, South Carolina and Nevada as well as in several Indiana contests. While other presidential contenders provided a staffer or two in the past, none dedicated so much time and talent, and to such great effect. State party officials in New Hampshire and Iowa were particularly grateful, and the program is certain to be duplicated in the future.

"He was certainly the one with the most skin in the game up to this point, at least in Iowa," Iowa state Sen. Jeff Danielson told U.S. News & World Report. "He had the most invested and was building a real framework."

One of the greatest assets of the Bayh campaign was his political staff, which was often described by those in the business as one of the best assembled by any candidate. Finding work after a failed campaign is not always easy, according to Nancy Todd Tyner, a political consultant who specializes in gaming campaigns.

"It's a relatively small group of consultants at that level and if you're friendly with the next camp, you're in, if you're not friendly or have had a past feud you're looking to work in an ad agency - or something," Tyner said. "It's a rough field"

National Journal's Hotline reported Tuesday morning that several staffers of Bayh's leadership PAC, All America PAC, have already been contacted by other campaigns.

"All of the political staff is looking for new jobs," explained Dan Pfeiffer, communications director. "Sen. Bayh has been generous and is helping people with salaries and recommendations. I am leaving and am talking to people about what comes next for me."

Members of Bayh's veteran staff - well seasoned



and tempered in the current political climate - are certain to rise to key roles in whatever campaign they eventually join, which may benefit Bayh in the future as well. The senator also managed to attract a national fan base of citizen volunteers, often known as "Bayh Partisans," who worked on his behalf mostly online. Some have already switched allegiance to another candidate, but many have indicated they would support another Bayh run, although websites touting the senator are rapidly disappearing from the internet.

There has been much speculation about the future of Sen. Bayh, who turns 51 next Tuesday.

"By dropping from the race before it ever really began, Bayh likely bolsters his chances at the vice presidential nomination down the line," wrote Chris Cillizza in the Washington Post's political blog. "If he had run for president and not been able to show strong in any of the four early states, he would have been forced out of the race with a whimper, not a bang. As it now stands, Bayh and former Virginia Gov. Mark Warner have to be considered the front-



runners for the '08 vice presidential nomination."

An "Evan Bayh For Vice President" page has already cropped up on myspace.com.

The Indianapolis Star's editorial board recently criticized the senator for failing to produce substantial legislation in the Republican-run Congress. The newspaper published an article that asked, "What's left for Bayh?"

"Bayh has the opportunity to emerge as a stronger leader in the Senate," the editorial reads. "To do so, he needs to develop an expertise in a few key issue - much like his Republican counterpart, Richard Lugar. Digging deep into matters such as terrorism, the economy or health care would in time help erase the lightweight tag that, deserved or not, has been hung on Bayh in recent years."

Indiana's junior senator sits on some of the senate's most powerful committees, including Armed Services and Intelligence. Incoming Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid (D-NV) has appointed Bayh to Energy as well, where

he may find opportunity at last to push for the passage of his legislative proposal that would reduce U.S. oil consumption by the amount we import today. Such legislative success would lend significant substance to the Bayh resume.

With dad home for the holidays to stay, this Christmas will likely be quite special in the Bayh household. In the course of his extensive travels over the past two years, Sen. Bayh has often brought up the subject of his wife, Susan, and his eleven-year-old twin sons, Beau and Nick. In fact, on his last trip to New Hampshire, only days before he withdrew from the race, the senator said he wanted to run for president "because I care about our country and it's because I care about my children and it's because I care about all of you. And I want to see each and every American, all 300 million of us, have the hope and opportunity necessary to fulfill our destiny and fulfill our dreams." ❖

2008 Indiana Governor

Governor 2008: Republican: Gov. Mitch Daniels.

Democrat: Senate Minority Leader Richard Young. **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. **2004 Forecast:** The 2008 gubernatorial cycle begins!

Senate Minority Leader Richard Young, a Democrat from Milltown, became the first candidate to announce for the 2008 governor's race (Weidenbener, **Louisville Courier-Journal**). It was a development HPR first reported in November. "People deserve to have the best government that elected officials can provide, and I've always liked a challenge," he said in an interview yesterday. "I'd like to try to rise to this challenge." Gov. Mitch Daniels has not said whether he will seek a second term, but

key allies of the governor at the 7th annual L. Keith Buley Symposium on American Politics told HPR they expect the governor to seek a second term. And while Young is the first Democrat to confirm that he will seek his party's nomination in the May 2008 primary, he is unlikely to be the last. "Richard is a well-respected public servant and has done a lot of good things for the people of Indiana," said Mike Edmondson, executive director of the Indiana Democratic Party. "Having said that, we are certainly in the early stages, and I would expect there will be other candidates as well." Young, 64, said he plans to establish a campaign committee, perhaps this week, so he can begin raising money for what likely will be an expensive campaign. "I



have a lot of respect for Gov. Daniels, and I do believe governors should be innovative," he said. "But I believe it's the responsibility of a governor to have good-quality people running agencies as opposed to privatizing them and turning your work over to someone else." **HPR Analysis:** Does Sen. Young have a chance?

The photo op Republicans will use will be Sen. Young showing up at then Senate President Bob Garton's first February presser on legislative health care for life. That is a devastating issue that will continue to demolish any supportive candidate who tries to break away from his or her's insulated legislative district. This is not coming from the press: the Republicans will have a field day with it. The best way we can put it is the reaction from most Democrats we've talked with is one of either amusement or groans - the classic "wink-behind-your-back" thing. Young has not been a "go-to" guy in the Senate, the weakest caucus in the Statehouse. That split caucus has now taken its one true star - Sen. Vi Simpson - and admonished her during the November leadership fight and is now sending forth Sen. Young who is widely seen as not credible for the gubernatorial level. Indiana Democrats will look to its mayoral class and, if a candidate doesn't materialize there, then past officeholders, such as Davis and Gregg, or the business class. **Status:** LEANS DANIELS. ❖



State Sens. Vi Simpson and Richard Young. Young has declared for governor; Simpson is leaning against a second run. (HPR Photo)



Chris Cilizza, Washington Post - Hear us out. By dropping from the race before it ever really began, Bayh likely bolsters his chances at the vice presidential nomination down the line. If he had run for president and not been able to show strong in any of the four early states, he would have been forced out of the race with a whimper, not a bang. As it now stands, Bayh and former Virginia Gov. Mark Warner have to be considered the front-runners for the '08 vice presidential nomination. Both are red-state governors who might be able to deliver a GOP-leaning state to Democrats in the general election (a single red state pick-up for Democrats in 2000 or 2004 would have swung the election the other way). And Bayh has the entire 110th Congress to prove his policy mettle to prospective presidents. ❖

Greg Giroux, Congressional Quarterly - When Indiana Democratic Sen. Evan Bayh announced Saturday that he would not run for president in 2008, he reiterated a Biblical metaphor he had often used for what had turned into a longshot candidacy: He called himself a "David" in a Democratic presidential field that includes "Goliaths." In making this abrupt turnaround, less than two weeks after he filed papers with the Federal Election Commission to establish an "exploratory" committee for a possible presidential campaign, Bayh's self-definition as an underdog "David" suggests his once-soaring political prospects have settled into a much-lower trajectory. Bayh had been mentioned as potential presidential timber years before Clinton, Obama or Edwards emerged as political celebrities. A telegenic centrist, Bayh was elected governor of the generally Republican-leaning state of Indiana in 1988 when he was just 32, and soon thereafter as mentioned as a potential future candidate for the White House. Bayh was overwhelmingly re-elected in 1992, delivered the keynote address at the 1996 Democratic convention, and easily won bids for the U.S. Senate in 1998 and 2004. Yet when Bayh finally tested taking the plunge into national politics, he found himself at a disadvantage to each of the front-runners in the early Democratic presidential polls. While the reaction to Bayh's 1996 convention keynote could best be described as polite, it paled by comparison with Obama's star-making turn as the 2004 Democratic keynoter. And although the ticket Edwards shared in 2004 with presidential nominee John Kerry failed to unseat President Bush and Vice President Dick Cheney, he still has goodwill among many Democrats and is doing well in early polling in Iowa, site of the first-in-the-nation presidential precinct caucuses in January 2008. "He's one of the earliest victims of the 'invisible primary,'" said Robert Dion, a political scientist at the University of Evansville in Bayh's home state. "It's a tough call to try to figure out what his motives are. He could have hung around and

made a respectable showing and then bowed out. Or, who knows, he could have caught fire midyear next year." Bayh's decision to drop out also is notable in that it deprives the Democratic field of a candidate who is closer to its centrist faction than its liberal wing. Bayh is a recent former chairman of the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC), which was founded two decades ago as a counterweight to the liberal forces that were dominating the party. ❖

Grace Householder, Kendallville News-Sun - Dear Mr. President, As we approach the day when the angels proclaimed "Peace on Earth" I urge you to read this with an open mind and an open heart. We here in northeast Indiana share your basic beliefs about promoting religious, economic and political freedom. However, our vision of democracy may not work well in all countries. In addition, democracy without a supporting infrastructure leads to chaos and that is what we have in Iraq. I am very disturbed to hear that you won't announce your decision about our new course in

Iraq until after the holidays. I fear that is because you are going to announce a decision to send more troops to Iraq. When you decided to invade Iraq we supported you. We did not like the idea — which did not have strong support from our allies — but we trusted our government. You said we were winning. We "won" when we eliminated Saddam Hussein and his ability to obtain/use weapons of mass destruction. But now our presence in Iraq seems to be creating more terrorism. We are involved in a complicated civil war. A country is being torn apart and thousands of lives are being lost. We failed to consider the different mindset and the historical and political complexity of the Iraqi people and their neighbors. Our loved ones serving in Iraq are doing the best they can in an impossible situation. Because we love and support them, I am writing this letter. It is not fair to send troops on a failed mission. The Joint Chiefs of Staff do not want you to send more troops to Iraq. They recommend strengthening the Iraqi army and putting more emphasis on political reconciliation and jobs for Iraqis. You still use the word "win" in the same sentence as "Iraq." A "win" in Iraq is not possible — unless we scale down our mission to simply protecting the oil fields. Please remember, Mr. President, the Palestinians' plight is the root cause of terrorism. Please use the message of the Christmas season — "Peace on Earth" — to announce a new peace initiative involving a Palestinian solution. Please use the best diplomatic leaders in the U.S. and around the world to get the world involved in peace — a peace that will begin at the location where "Peace on Earth" was first proclaimed. ❖





Help formulate the 2007 Influence List

INDIANAPOLIS - Obviously, there will be major changes in the 2007 HPR 50 Most Influential List.

Senate President Pro Tempore Robert Garton, U.S. Reps. Mike Sodrel, John Hostettler and Chris Chocola were all defeated. Departing the Daniels administration is Chief of Staff Harry Gonso.

The 2006 list reflected the wave that developed around the Iraq War and congressional corruption, as well as the Daniels administration's Major Moves program.

In 2007, there will be the Evan Bayh presidential campaign, the biennial budget in the Indiana General Assembly, mayoral elections, and a huge decision for Indiana Democrats: who will be challenging Gov. Mitch Daniels?

HPR has been compiling the 50 Most Influential List since 1999. We ask our readers to suggest additions (or subtractions). Some of you compile your own 50 list. HPR encourages this exercise in power, clout and accountability. Send thoughts to HPR Publisher Brian A. Howey at: brianhowey@howeypolitics.com. The 2007 list will be published in the Jan. 11 edition of The Howey Political Report as well as Brian Howey's statewide newspaper column running in 24 papers and reaching more than 200,000 readers each week.

2006 HPR 50 Most Influential

1. Gov. Mitch Daniels
2. U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar
3. U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh
4. Commerce Secretary/IEDC Chairman Mickey Mauer



Speaker Bauer and St. Joseph County Democratic Chairman Butch Morgan. (South Bend Tribune Photo)

5. House Speaker Brian Bosma
6. Marion County Prosecutor Carl Brizzi
7. Indianapolis Mayor Bart Peterson
8. U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky
9. U.S. Rep. Mike Pence
10. U.S. Rep. Mike Sodrel
11. U.S. Rep. John Hostettler
12. State Rep. Rep. B. Patrick Bauer
13. Senate President Pro Tempore Robert D. Garton
14. Ways & Means Chairman Jeff Espich
15. FSSA Director Mitch Roob
16. Lt. Gov. Becky Skillman
17. Marion County Sheriff Frank Anderson
18. U.S. Rep. Chris Chocola
19. State Sen. Luke Kenley
20. John R. Hammond III
21. Bob Grand
22. State Rep. Randy Borrer
23. Secretary of State Todd Rokita
24. Lee Hamilton
25. Fort Wayne Mayor Graham Richard
26. Alan B. Hubbard
27. Marty Morris
28. Tom Sugar
29. U.S. Rep. Steve Buyer
30. GOP Executive Director Jennifer Hallowell
31. Indiana Democratic Chairman Dan Parker
32. Indiana Republican Chairman Jim Kittle Jr.
33. State Sen. Vi Simpson
34. Farm Bureau President Don Villwock
35. Chamber President Kevin Brinegar
36. IMA President Pat Kiely
37. UAW President Terry Thurman
38. Mike O'Connor
39. Mike Gentry
40. Hamilton County Republican Chairman Charlie White
41. U.S. Rep. Mark Souder
42. U.S. Rep. Julia Carson
43. Baron Hill
44. Vanderburgh County Sheriff Brad Ellsworth
45. OMB Director Chuck Schalliol
46. Stadium Authority Chairman David Frick
47. State Sen. Mike Young and State Rep. Phil Hinkle
48. Tim Roemer
49. Dan Coats
50. IACT Executive Director Matt Greller





Feds approve FSSA out-sourced contracts

INDIANAPOLIS - The federal government gave its approval yesterday to Gov. Mitch Daniels' plan to outsource the handling of applications for food stamps and other benefits (**Associated Press**).

Such applications are now handled by the state Family and Social Services Administration.

Under the contract proposed by the Daniels administration, a team of vendors led by IBM Corp. would help process applications for food stamps, Medicaid and welfare and lend technical support to the agency in return for \$1.16 billion over 10 years. Daniels' spokeswoman, Jane Jankowski, said the deal was approved by the federal agencies that run the benefit programs, including the Department of Health and Human Services and the Department of Agriculture, which administers food stamps. House Speaker Bauer said yesterday that the state's portion would be significant and need to be appropriated by the General Assembly. Democrats control the House 51-49 and Republicans rule the Senate 33-17. "We have a two-year budget, not a 10-year budget," Bauer said. "I believe that taking care of people on welfare should not be a for-profit enterprise. Nobody should be for sale."



Council balks at Mayor Richard's pay raise

FORT WAYNE - The Fort Wayne City Council balked at Mayor Graham Richard's request for a 30 percent pay hike but agreed the city executive's salary should be bumped (**Fort Wayne Journal Gazette**). After a lengthy discussion, the council voted 6-3 Tuesday to raise the mayor's salary from \$104,504 to

\$120,000, a nearly 15 percent increase.

Mayor Rea seeks 2nd term

MISHAWAKA - It was no surprise when Mayor Jeff Rea announced Tuesday that he would seek a second term in office (**South Bend Tribune**). "This job means a lot to me," an emotional Rea told supporters gathered in Mishawaka Republican Headquarters.

Commissioner will try political comeback

MUNCIE - Republican Delaware County Commissioner Larry Crouch looked back on his accomplishments and indicated he would run for public office in the future during a farewell speech at his last meeting Monday (**Muncie Star Press**). The board of commissioners, control of which will switch from 2-1 Republican to 2-1 Democratic as a result of the Nov. 7 election, will reorganize on Jan. 1, Democratic Commissioner John Brooke announced. "I've been asked to run for treasurer," Crouch said. "I've been asked to run for surveyor. Yorktown has asked me to come back over there. So I will stay busy."

LaPorte Council rejects illegal alien roundups

LaPORTE - Police in LaPorte will not go after illegal immigrants, but the official who proposed rooting them out locally plans to keep the issue in the spotlight (**Post-Tribune**). The LaPorte City Council, on Monday, voted unanimously against an ordinance that would have authorized local police to find illegal immigrants and detain them for possible deportation by the federal government. Before the decision, Mario Rosa, former director of the El Puento Center in LaPorte, was among a long line of residents who opposed the measure. "Perhaps, LaPorte should be known as the city with maple trees with a bigot behind every one of them," said Rosa, whose words played upon LaPorte's nickname The

Maple City. "That breaks my heart. There are good people here. You have a small minority that is speaking on behalf of the silent majority," Rosa said.

'Big Bopper' a cover boy

TERRE HAUTE - It's a nickname not heard since his fraternity days in Kappa Sigma while attending Indiana University, and needless to say, it brought a chuckle to James Bopp Jr. when he saw the cover of the November issue of the ABA Journal (**Terre Haute Tribun-Star**). The cover reads: "The BIG BOPPER, Exploding the canons of judicial ethics." "I didn't think there was anybody still alive that still remembered that nickname," Bopp said Monday in a telephone interview. "I was truly honored that the work that I have done, and other people in my law firm have done with me, would be profiled and be the featured cover article. It was very humbling." Bopp, 58, was preparing to meet with Massachusetts Gov. Mitt Romney about the Republican governor's potential presidential bid. ❖

Daniels to award slain soldier Silver Star today

INDIANAPOLIS - An Indiana National Guardsman who died in a suicide attack just weeks before he was to return home from Iraq will be awarded the Silver Star. Gov. Mitch Daniels and Maj. Gen. R. Martin Umbarger will present the medal to the family of Sgt. Joseph E. Proctor today.

Tie in Grant Council race

MARION - The winner of the Grant County Council District 2 seat remains unknown after a recount Tuesday showed a tie vote between both candidates. Republican incumbent Myron Brankle picked up two votes, and Democratic challenger Dan Brock picked up three votes, bringing both of their tallies to 2,154 votes. ❖