

## Birch Bayh and the Indiana Democratic Party

*(This was written in mid-1978 by the author, who was fully engaged with Birch Bayh in the campaign to make a change in the leadership of the state Democratic Party)*

Birch Bayh's involvement in the Party begins in 1954 in Terre Haute as a candidate for the State Legislature. The Vigo County Democratic organization was reputed to be a corrupt machine headed by the county chairman, Ralph Berry. Berry opposed Bayh's nomination and election with his machine, the precinct workers, but suffered a loss at the hand of the voters. Berry had thrown out corrupt leaders previously as a reformer but had since changed his spots, was clearly no longer seen as a reformer. Bayh maintained his seat despite Berry's efforts and went on to become Speaker of the Indiana House of Representatives and a statewide political figure by 1958, when he was 30.

In 1960, with John Kennedy's election to the Presidency, Democrat Matthew Welsh was elected Governor. Hoosier Democrats looked to 1962 for the opportunity to elect a second Democratic U.S. Senator as well. R. Vance Hartke had defeated Senator William Jenner in 1958 by a landslide. Republican Senator Homer Capehart was up for a fourth term in 1962.

Bayh won the Convention's nomination in 1962 at age 34 over Indianapolis Mayor Charles Boswell and went on to upset Capehart. The Democratic Party, under Chairman Manfred Core, was firmly in power.

For years, Bayh and Hartke had to maintain their bases of support while existing in a political party jealous of its prerogatives and patronage. Welsh was the titular head of the party, then Roger Branigin, who followed him as governor in the Lyndon Johnson landslide of 1964, a year in which Indiana voted for a Democratic Presidential candidate for only the fourth time in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

When Manfred Core stepped down, he was succeeded by Gordon St. Angelo. St. Angelo, a shrewd political operative, was never personally close to Bayh. He had clearly established himself in the Party as a power to be reckoned with and wielded significant power as Party leader. The power, however, was through patronage and not by winning elections. A master of manipulation and intimidation, St. Angelo worked to separate the party from Bayh, with the result coming in the 1968 election. Bayh ran for a second term with his own organization and became the only statewide Democratic winner, despite the fact that Richard Nixon won Indiana over Hubert Humphrey for the presidency by the largest percentage of any state.

The enmity between Bayh and St. Angelo continued, with the former maintaining a clean image with a Kennedyesque style and the latter quite the opposite. As 1970 rolled around, Bayh began traveling across the country to explore his chances of seeking the Democratic presidential nomination to oppose Nixon in 1972. St. Angelo used the State Democratic Committee funds to travel similarly but with the purpose of seeing other state chairmen to let them know that he did not support Birch Bayh.

This came to a head in the 1970 reorganization of the Party. Every election year after the primary, county chairmen and vice chairmen are chosen by their respective, newly elected precinct committeemen. The chairs and vices then meet to choose district chairs and vice chairs in each of the Congressional Districts. The result is 22 people elected in the 11 Congressional Districts who then choose the state chairman of the party. Bayh decided he couldn't afford St. Angelo undercutting his Presidential efforts and knew St. Angelo hadn't won a single statewide race as chairman, so decided to take him on at the reorganization.

Vance Hartke, up for a third term in 1970, agreed to help and Bayh chose the Morgan County Chairman, Ken Cragen, to oppose St. Angelo. In a battle marked by lies, threats and bribes, in a manner many observers feel Indiana politics is noted for, Bayh and Cragen were severely beaten. The interests were often parochial, many people were scared and at the last minute, Hartke switched sides.

Bayh was livid by the result and the lies that determined it. He was as mad as I had ever seen him and he candidly shared with me the story of Hartke's deception and the resulting snowball effect the opposition benefited from. The vote was 21-1 with the 9<sup>th</sup> District Chairman Bill Trisler hanging on out of loyalty to Bayh.

The net effect of all this was an increased national stature by Bayh and a turning away from state politics. St. Angelo resigned in April 1974 to take a position with the Eli Lilly Foundation and Trisler became the chairman. Hardworking but inarticulate and ineffectual, Trisler worked with the Bayh organization in the 1974 election. Re-elected to a third term, Bayh and Trisler remained in power but Bayh recognized that Trisler was of little help in the election and that the statewide party organization was nearly worthless.

In 1976, the nomination for governor went to Larry Conrad, who had managed Bayh's 1962 campaign and went to Washington as the Chief Counsel on the Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments. As the architect with Bayh of the 25<sup>th</sup> Amendment and the battle to deny confirmation of Judge Clement Haynsworth to the Supreme Court, Conrad returned to Indiana to be elected Secretary of State in 1970. After trying to win the nomination for Governor against Matt Welsh in 1972, Conrad lost and became the victim of a vicious plan. Welsh, trying for a return to the Governor's mansion, lost badly to Dr. Otis R. Bowen in the Nixon landslide.

The *Indianapolis News* was a Pulliam newspaper that was always outspoken in its opposition to Bayh and Conrad, as well as other Democrats. Its political reporter, Ed Ziegner, released a document reputed to be a “master plan” written by Conrad’s staff, aimed at electing Conrad governor in 1976 and to later damage Bayh. It outlined an enemies list and various illegal and unethical methods that would be used to wrest control of the party. Conrad supporters, convinced the “master plan” was a phony and written by Gordon St. Angelo, who Ziegner admired, rallied to Conrad’s support and won re-nomination for him as Secretary of State in 1974.

On the ticket with Bayh and just after the Watergate revelations and Nixon’s resignation, Conrad was re-elected. That re-election was used as the basis for a successful campaign in the new direct primary to win the gubernatorial nomination in 1976. Election night, however, saw Gerald Ford winning Indiana as the first state in his column and Conrad lost badly. Hartke was overwhelmingly defeated by the same man Bayh had defeated in 1974, Indianapolis Mayor Richard Lugar.

As Democratic Chairman, Trisler was seen as a failure and called on a new personal relationship with Lilly executive St. Angelo for sustenance. Organized labor, reeling from the 1976 debacle and led by Dallas Sells, Regional Director of the United Auto Workers (UAW) and staunch Bayh ally, began publicly attacking Trisler’s competence.

The Trisler-Sells battle became a personal vendetta by each and the UAW vowed to stay out of the Democratic Party as long as Trisler was its chief. They were also angered at Conrad, who could have replaced Trisler after winning the gubernatorial nomination. Not wanting to anger party loyalists, Conrad kept him on and went down to a tremendous defeat.

In the meantime, Trisler maintained a good relationship with Bayh and with me, for now I had moved into a position in the office as head of the Indiana Department, responsible as Bayh's political director and in charge of constituent services. I knew Trisler's limitations and after Carter became President, thought we should find him a good federal job and ourselves a new state chairman. The Democratic Congressional delegation unanimously agreed and I became Trisler's principle intermediary in this effort. Other developments soon interfered.

Since 1976, the man who had wanted to become state chairman was Don Michael, Cass County Democratic Chairman. Michael had joined our staff as a part-time field coordinator and knew he couldn't seek the chairmanship as a federal employee and probably couldn't win without our help. His close friends, moreover, incessantly pushed him to run and pressured us to help. This pressure stayed on through 1977 and forced me to answer every rumor Trisler heard and worried about.

Our position was somewhat new and very clear. Birch Bayh was now the sole statewide-elected Democrat and many of the members of the state committee (district chair people) were new and Bayh loyalists as well. Having been burned in 1970, however, Bayh was reticent about allowing a battle and subsequent split in the already weak Democratic Party. The best possible situation would be a job for Bill Trisler with Bayh in the best position to fill the chairman's vacancy. Besides, for Michael to take on Trisler prior to the 1978 statutory reorganization would require 15 votes in the state committee instead of the 12 needed in a normal reorganization. Twelve would be hard if a battle shaped up, but 15 would be impossible.

The other factor that was affecting all of this was John Hillenbrand. The president of Hillenbrand Industries in Batesville, Indiana and chairman of the Indiana Natural Resources Commission, Hillenbrand started moving into the 1980 Governor's race late in 1977. As a

business type, Hillenbrand knew his only chance for vital labor support would be with Bayh on the ticket and since he headed a government commission in a Republican Administration (Bowen), he must seek to be the Democratic organization's candidate in order to establish his Democratic credentials. He wisely decided to wine and dine Trisler and other Party leaders at his Batesville estate.

In December 1977, Bayh met with Trisler at the latter's request and was told he'd know by February whether or not he'd be running Hillenbrand's campaign or would need a federal job. I later learned that Hillenbrand had no such intention and was merely using Trisler as his dupe in order to become the organization's candidate.

In February 1978, Trisler called us to say he was asked by Hillenbrand to run for reelection in the May reorganization. This would allow Hillenbrand to merge his own substantial resources with those of the Democratic State Committee. Bayh told Trisler he didn't want a chairman committed to a gubernatorial race two years before the 1980 primary, but was now left with fewer alternatives. There would be no vacancy, Don Michael was itching to run, and either we could help, sit on the sidelines, or find someone else to run. Michael's liabilities were three; he was close to Larry Conrad, who many Democrats feared would run again and could probably win the primary but not the general election; he was close to Dallas Sells and his operative, Don Yeagley, at the UAW. Many Democrats from non-union counties react strongly against organized labor and would likely see Michael as the tool of labor to get rid of Trisler and control the party. Also, Don Michael was not the greatest public speaker in the world – but certainly better than Trisler.

As we approached the annual Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner on March 18, 1978, the principle fundraiser of statewide Democrats, we were forced to decide. Senator Bayh and I knew

Don was a good organization man and would certainly be an improvement; he wanted the job badly, would work hard and not be out front for a gubernatorial candidate – regardless of what many believed. He had a falling out with Conrad and was a true Bayh loyalist.

I urged the Senator to talk with Don at the J-J Dinner and let him run. After the dinner, which was a disaster and only further enraged Bayh about Trisler's incompetence and poor image, the Senator, Don, Diane Meyer and I met together in a car in the parking lot of the airport Hilton. Don received Bayh's permission to run, as long as he left our payroll. We offered to help quietly, reasoning that if Bayh wasn't known to be involved, he would be in a better position to help unite the party after reorganization. We also made it clear to Don that we were in this for keeps. We wanted the State Party to be more professional and intended to play a large role in choosing a qualified, professional executive director.

Michael announced he was running several days later and afterwards, I met with him to map out a strategy. It looked too easy at first and we feared the battle would take on dimensions greater than a simple Michael-Trisler contest. We knew Gordon St. Angelo would get in again and knew he played dirty. He couldn't afford to lose his ties to the Party and was believed to receive substantial financial benefits linked to his ties with Trisler.

Another factor became crucial, however. John Hillenbrand began talking about the race as a test of his own strength. We knew, and he later confirmed, that he would rather have an ineffectual ally in the office than an effective neutral. His line, however, was the same as the others. Michael was a tool of the UAW and pro-Conrad, which meant anti-Hillenbrand. The battle heated up. It would be in four stages.

The primary on May 2 was the first stage. It was on this day that precinct committeemen were elected and the strength of various county chairmen would be demonstrated. The following

Saturday, May 6, the counties would each choose their chairmen and vice chairmen (always one male and one female) and we knew there would be several new ones from our 92 counties. Our challenge would be to assess, district by district, who the new members of the state committee would be, ultimately determined by the county reorganizations. The next step was to figure out how to win 12 of them to our side and keep them there in the face of expected hard-ball politics and intimidations from St. Angelo, Trisler and Hillenbrand. We couldn't afford to let Michael be seen as anti-Hillenbrand because he, Hillenbrand, had done an effective job of gaining support in the county organizations across the state. It was also rare for Democrats to assume there was finally a candidate who wouldn't be outspent by the Republicans. Hillenbrand was very wealthy.

Michael's campaign was run by Stan Nice, Kosciusko County Chairman and employee of Democratic Congressman Floyd Fithian. I served as the point man, sort of a command central for all of the activities in the contest as well as advisor to Birch Bayh as to his own role. A district by district analysis is necessary to establish a comprehensive picture of the campaign effort leading to district elections on May 10 and the state committee vote on May 13. As I write this section, I am on a plane heading to Indianapolis on the morning of May 13, 1-1/2 hours away from the state committee vote.

The 1<sup>st</sup> Congressional District sits wholly within Lake County, the most northwestern of Indiana's 92 counties. It is my home and the center of the strongest Democratic machine in the state. Its politics have been dominated by strong Democratic leaders for years due to its unique nature. An ethnic, industrialized community with strong racial divisions, it grew up as a machine-oriented party alongside Chicago's Democratic machine only a few miles away. As a Chicago suburb, it is isolated from Indiana news and politics and is often referred to as the State of Lake. When Birch Bayh first won statewide in 1962 by less than 11,000 votes, he carried a



margin of 60,000 out of Lake County. The machine had been broken slightly by changes of leadership and a history of corruption, but had remained strongly Democratic. The 1<sup>st</sup> District Congressman, Adam Benjamin, won re-nomination on May 2 by 65,000 to 6,500 for his opponent. The Republican votes in the primary totaled only 2,500 votes, underscoring the county's Democratic dominance.

The organization is dominated by three Democratic Mayors. Bob Pastrick, the Mayor of East Chicago, and close friend of Bayh's and mine, was the county chairman. Richard Gordon Hatcher, the first black mayor of a major American city, was in firm control of the Gary political organization and had made several moves that were reciprocated, to improve his relations with Bayh during 1977-8. Hammond Mayor Ed Raskosky was the weakest of the three but also in control of his city's political organization. We felt the First District could most easily be delivered by Bayh because of a unique relationship involving heavy federal involvement in the area's future. Bayh called on Lake County Chairman Pastrick and First District Chairman Hatcher and received early commitments to support Don Michael.

As Democratic Chairman of Cass County, Don was a member of both the Second and Fifth Congressional Districts. The county was split with half in each district due to legislative gerrymandering and he had early commitments from Second District Chairpersons Gene Kopczak and Shirley Gidley. Floyd Fithian was the Second District Democratic Congressman. In the Fifth, there would be a new Vice Chair, but the Chairman, Bun Gallahan, agreed to run for re-election only if Don would take on Trisler. Our task was to hold onto those districts through their own reorganizations and anticipate last-ditch efforts that might be made to beat Don on his home ground.

The Third District, represented by House Majority Whip John Brademas in the Congress, had been a party of hacks. The leaders of each of its three counties were typical pols who had never been noted for sound organizational skill. Their District Chairpersons, Ideal Baldoni and Isabelle Price, were part of the old-line Democratic factions that would never wish to rock the boat. Baldoni and Price were seen as hopeless objects for appeal unless beaten on their own turf. Some changes of county chairman-ships had happened or were imminent but little chance was given for a vote in the Third.

In the Fourth District, the nine counties in northeast Indiana, the Chairman and Vice Chairman were initially seen as questionable. John Whiteleather, the Whitley County Chair and 4<sup>th</sup> District chairman, county prosecutor and a shrewd, charismatic man, was someone we felt we could deal directly with and trust. We were wrong. The Vice Chair, Barb Weber, was a better prospect. She and her husband Cal, who had only recently died, were supporters and friends of Birch Bayh's since his first campaign. Barb was committed to a change of state chairman and gave Don a commitment early. Whiteleather agreed to discuss the matter with Bayh but was technically uncommitted. This left us in the first through fifth districts with seven probable votes. We only needed five more if this was true.

In the Sixth District, six counties south and west of Indianapolis, there were some interesting developments. Chairman John Anderson had spent the previous two years in Florida and would be a Trisler supporter. Jeannette Myers, the Vice Chair, was a good friend of ours and an employee of Democratic Congressman Dave Evans. Jeannette was the one doing all the Party work in the sixth and had been working closely with me on a number of matters over the prior months. As soon as I got word that she was running for the chairmanship of the sixth, we

went to work. Mary Scifres of the Indianapolis staff was close to Jeannette and the two of us worked to get her. A possible two votes there would make nine.

The Seventh District is western Indiana and encompasses 16 mostly rural counties. It's Bayh's home district and the Chairman, Kenny Miller, and Vice, Patty Evans, were both possibilities. While Kenny had long been a nemesis of Trisler, Patty was the State Vice Chair and loyal to Trisler. She had, however, been treated like a token woman on the State Committee and never fully brought into statewide party activities. I felt we could get her with the possibility of a secret ballot. That would make eleven votes – one short and four districts yet to count.

The Eighth District, southwestern Indiana, didn't look very good. The Chairman, State Legislative House Minority Leader Mike Phillips, was close to Trisler and I couldn't imagine him leaving the fold. His Vice, Geneva Braun, would definitely vote with him. However, Phillips was reputed to be interested in the governor's race himself and may wish to have someone at the State Committee who wasn't working for another candidate.

The Ninth District was Trisler's home district in southeastern Indiana. Sam Locke and Susan Bower were the Chairpersons and couldn't be expected to oppose Bill Trisler. The Tenth, however, was different.

Bayh's field coordinator in the Tenth, eastern Indiana, was Charlie Howell – also the District Chairman. Here we made a mistake. In January 1978 Charlie called me to see if we would object if he resigned as 10<sup>th</sup> District Chairman. I didn't anticipate a reorganization battle at that time so gave approval to anything he felt he wanted to do. Had he stayed, he would be re-elected and we'd have two votes, along with his Vice Mabeth Grant. They resigned. Jim Hall was the new Chairman and a new project to work on. We had to talk with him but knew he was close to State Treasurer Jack New, a Conrad adversary. His Vice would be selected on May 10,

since Mabeth wanted to leave when Charlie did. Hall was a long-time friend of Indianapolis Bayh staffer Ann Latscha and we began thinking about ways to get him.

The Eleventh District is within Marion County and the Chairpersons would be chosen by Marion County Chairman Knute Dobkins and the Vice, Mary Berry. If we were to get a commitment from the Eleventh, Senator Bayh must personally see Knute. Two votes would be the ballgame.

Therefore, as April moved on, we were faced with some critical choices as to Birch Bayh's personal involvement. Based on my own calculations, I felt it crucial for us to talk directly with Knute Dobkins and potentially helpful to see John Whiteleather and Jim Hall of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> Districts, respectively. I also had conversations with a former staffer and good friend, State Senator Louie Mahern, who wanted to be helpful.

Louie told me that he had quietly introduced a bill in the Senate, now law, which would help Knute retain the Chairmanship. It was a shortening of the period that precinct committeemen vacancies must be filed in each county which, because it was relatively unknown, would provide a sitting Chairman with an advantage by filling the vacancies himself on time. Also, I had talked with friends of the Marion County Finance Council who were going to independently force Knute to oppose Trisler or cut off his funds.

So as we prepared Birch Bayh's Indiana trip of April 20-24, we provided time for him to see Dobkins, Hall and Whiteleather. It was a trip that included a visit by Attorney General Griffin Bell to the Indiana Bar Association luncheon and the annual Birch Bayh High School Government Leadership Conference. For the latter, we brought to Indianapolis Ambassador Andrew Young, CBS reporter and author Daniel Schorr, ACTION Director Sam Brown and

Community Service Administration head Graciela Olivarez. Also on the trip were Democratic dinners in Tipton, Randolph and Marshall Counties.

On April 22, we had our talk with Jim Hall. We had indications of where he would stand two weeks earlier when, after an overnight trip to Indiana and a conversation with Diane Meyer and me, Senator Bayh had placed a call to State Treasurer Jack New. New, another gubernatorial aspirant was Hall's mentor and said he wanted a change of state chairmanship but was concerned about Michael's closeness to Larry Conrad and the UAW. Hall ended up with the same concerns and was not persuaded of Michael's objectivity or our position. While he remained uncommitted, we felt he would vote for Trisler.

On Sunday, April 23, the Senator and I had breakfast at the Airport Holiday Inn with Knute Dobkins. Knute's main concern, which Louie had warned us of and of which we gave our assurances, was that the State Party should not meddle in Marion County politics. He also wanted help with a friend's job pursuit. It was a good conversation and ended up with Knute's assurances of his support in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Districts, of which Marion County was a part, and with his choices for District Chairman and Vice in the 11<sup>th</sup>. "When the votes are counted, I'll be there with you, Birch." We then proceeded to Columbia City in Whitley County to see John Whiteleather.

We trusted John and felt he would both protect the confidentiality of the meeting and let us know where he stood. He did neither. Our guts told us he wouldn't be with us so the Senator would have to contact his Vice, Barb Weber, an old friend, directly.

On Monday morning, the Senator left for Washington and I returned to Indianapolis. I immediately arranged to have lunch with Sixth District Vice Jeannette Myers and to offer our help in her race for the Sixth District Chairmanship. At lunch she was assured that Marion

County votes would be with her which, combining her own vote count in the District, would insure her election. She then committed her vote for Don Michael and told me her Vice would be someone who would definitely vote with her, probably Glenn Broyles of Hendricks County.

On Wednesday, April 26, I returned to Washington and proceeded to finalize arrangements for a visit, two days later, of Indiana's delegation of the Federation of Democratic Women, led by State Vice Chairman Patty Evans. We had to get her on board and soon. The day of the reception came and it was a smash success. After a picture on the Senate steps with Birch and his wife Marvella, we held a reception for the 100 women to which Senators Ted Kennedy, Howard Metzenbaum, Robert Byrd, John Sparkman and Transportation Secretary Brock Adams came. The women were delighted and I spent the entire afternoon with Patty. Taking her privately to the Senator's office, he explained to her what his role was and why and how much he needed her. We then drove her to the White House to meet the other women and arranged for the Senator and her to meet at her hotel the next day, after he made an overnight trip to Pittsburgh.

I spent the weekend with my girlfriend in Delaware at the beach and received a much needed rest from the activity and tension. I felt that I was learning fast and having my eyes opened up to Machiavellian politics, knowing that the other side would use tactics to win the contest that we wouldn't use. If we couldn't play the game straight – honestly and above board – I didn't want to play at all.

Sunday night, April 30, we got home and I had a message to call the Senator. He told me he had a long talk with Patty when she told him about the shabby treatment she had received at the State Committee and that she was the token woman. He told her about the expanded role he envisioned for women and that Don was willing to promise her the Vice Chairmanship once

again. Unfortunately, he had run into Bill Trisler's wife Pat on his way into the hotel and Billy called Patty Evans within minutes of her conversation with Bayh. The result of Trisler's call was further movement by Patty to our side.

The Senator felt strongly that I should get together with Patty and Don soon to set guidelines for the future involvement of women in the party and to discuss frankly what her role would be. On Monday morning I arranged to have dinner in Indianapolis on Wednesday night, the day after the primary, with Patty.

One occurrence a year earlier was working on our behalf. The State Committee, finding itself in financial straights, took Patty off the payroll. When it was announced, Stan Nice, representing the Second District at the time, objected and wanted to know if Jim McHargue, Trisler's press secretary, was also off the payroll. He wasn't. We were able to let Patty know exactly what McHargue's background was.

In 1974, during the intense Bayh-Lugar contest, McHargue had secretly authored a series of ads in the Terre Haute newspapers. They were personal attacks called "Bi-Partisans Against Bayh" and hurt us in Terre Haute. Birch Bayh was personally outraged by them and especially, three years later, when I learned that the author was Trisler's press secretary. He was the type of political prostitute who wouldn't hesitate to hurt us again and Patty had been removed from the payroll while he was not. She said the news made her want to vomit.

Prior to my dinner with Patty, the Senator gave me a hand-written list of topics to discuss labeled "Bob – Strategy for victory. B2" It said:

Don M – talk to Patty Evans-

1. Face to Face w/ Bob
2. Prepare plan & budget for maximum women's program development

## Goals & targets

3. Want her & other women a part of decision making

Ken M (Miller) – Talk to Patty Evans

1. Each will support the other
2. Each will nominate the other
3. Each will support Don

Bob should be there

Emphasize plan for women

Budget & expenses (travel)

Names of other women (top)

- Future jobs

The primary came and went with no real upsets that would alter our plans or the players in those plans. On Wednesday, I left on a 4:30 flight, arriving in Indianapolis at 6:00 PM. Our dinner went from 7:45 to 12:15 AM and I felt we had Patty solidly with us and put myself at her disposal to answer the rumors she would hear over the next week and a half.

After the dinner, I had an hour phone conversation with Phil Crone, a good friend and UAW chief in the Third District. He told me there were to be some county resignations the next morning and wanted to know if we'd object to their involvement in supporting new people who would either vote to change district chairpersons or extract from them at least one vote for Don on May 13. I gave that approval, took notes of the conversation and went to bed for a short sleep before flying to DC at 7:00 AM.

Upon my return to the office, I was summoned to the Senate Intelligence Committee to debrief the Senator on the dinner. He was chairing hearings on the proposed intelligence



guidelines dealing with the press. The witnesses were Phillip Geyelin of the Washington Post and Mike Wallace of CBS. Sen. Bayh saw me enter the hearing room, motioned me toward the anteroom behind the dais and left the hearing to join me there. We discussed Patty Evans and the 7<sup>th</sup> District. Then he placed a call to Ed Stapleton, only to learn that Ed would definitely not run for re-election as Vigo County Chairman.

My strategy was rapidly turning to the contest in the Seventh District, where Kenny Miller and Patty were being opposed by the Trisler forces. Trisler got Greasy Willis of Sullivan County and JoAnn Luther of Clay County to run – not because they were for him but because they didn't like Kenny. I had originally tipped Patty on to this and she confirmed, then confronted Trisler. He had promised she would stay on as State Vice but she knew that if she was beaten as Seventh District Vice Chair, that wouldn't be the case. I was also able to tell her that her job as State Vice was offered to the 6<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> Districts as well. Trisler denied all of this to her and she knew her loyalty to him was no longer mutual and that we were to be trusted, not Bill Trisler.

We began to contact chairmen and vice chairs in Kenny's and Patty's behalf and continued to do so until May 10, when the District reorganizations were held. There was another angle to be considered in the Seventh, however. Greasy Willis and one of his supporters, Greene County Chairman Hube Lynch, were CETA directors in their counties. We learned that Hube had been violating the law by using CETA employees to fill precinct vacancies and considered asking an intermediary, Judge Joe Anderson of Terre Haute, to hint to them that they couldn't afford to make Senator Bayh angry. This never actually took place but came very close to happening.

During that period between my dinner with Patty and the district races, we tried to persuade the Vigo County Chairman, Ed Stapleton, to stay on, which would make it difficult for the insurgents to mount a successful challenge to Kenny. Ed wouldn't run for re-election because of his own race for County Assessor, but offered to travel the district on Kenny's behalf. Terre Haute Mayor Bill Brighton had picked another county chairman and was spearheading Kenny's challengers out of his closeness to Trisler and his own questionable ties to the State Committee. The sketchy reputation of Brighton worked to Kenny's advantage and prevented some county chairmen from supporting anything Brighton was a part of. Also during this period, Kenny's brother-in-law died and he was not of a mood to fight hard for his own survival. We were in the mood to fight hard and did.

At one point Kenny wavered in his commitment to run but a fortuitous chain of events worked to our advantage. The Putnam County Chairman, a farmer about my age named Tom Buis, had been in discussions with us about joining our staff as an Agricultural Assistant. We had pretty much agreed to it when Kenny called me and gave me the impression that his support for Don was shaky. He said he might have to fend off a challenge from this young upstart Chair, Tom Buis, and was concerned about it. I asked Kenny if he would firmly commit to Don if I hired Buis on the federal payroll and prevented him from running for District Chair. Kenny asked me if we'd really do that for him and I said we would, if he gave his commitment to us. He didn't need to know what had actually been happening and I got his promise.

So after the primary our count remained pretty much the same. Two votes each would be for us in the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> with one in the 4<sup>th</sup>. Our task was to avoid upsets in any of those District races on May 10<sup>th</sup> and hold onto our vote through May 13<sup>th</sup>.

The effort in the 1<sup>st</sup> was minimal, with conversations only between Bayh and Pastrick and Bayh and Hatcher. The 2<sup>nd</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> were solid. The 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> were looking good. Renewed efforts began in the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup>.

Judge John Montgomery was a good friend of Idey Baldoni and wanted to talk to Bayh about the pending federal judgeship. Bayh in turn called on Montgomery to persuade Baldoni to bring one vote for Michael on May 13. Congressman Brademas would do the same prior to that date.

In the 4<sup>th</sup>, I got a call from Stan Nice saying that Barb Weber didn't want to run for County Vice again, a situation that would make it difficult for her to be District Vice. Bayh called her and explained, at some length, that we needed her. I followed up the call the next day and she gave me her commitment to stay on and vote for Don.

The 10<sup>th</sup> was in question because no one could be sure who the Vice would be. We determined, and later confirmed, that it would go to Blackford County Vice Beverly Everhart. She was close to County Chairman Larry Dee and State Senator Wayne Townsend, both Trisler haters, but she wouldn't commit, prior to actually getting the District Vice's slot. Townsend, a long time friend and ally of Bayh was the father of one of my co-workers, Jay Townsend. He and Jay remained in constant communication about the lobbying of Bev. I called Larry Dee, who suggested a call directly to Bev. I made that call, which angered Dee because he had only been called by an "office boy." The egos involved are sometimes amazing. The end result was that Townsend and Dee had a falling out over Bev, who committed her vote to Jim Hall's choice. Despite Hall's personal friendship with Ann Latscha and her hatred of Gordon St. Angelo, Hall committed to Trisler. No votes came from the 10<sup>th</sup>.

There was a further opportunity in the 4<sup>th</sup> we couldn't ignore. Even though we felt Whiteleather was a lost cause and Weber was with us, Whiteleather had said he'd vote the way his own County Chairmen wanted. So, expecting a poll of his District, we worked it with local staff man Leigh Smith and assured ourselves of at least a 9-9 tie vote on May 10.

Finding ourselves on the morning of May 4 feeling that things were going our way, I looked forward to a meeting we would have that day with John Hillenbrand. Prior to the meeting, however, I got a call from Jeannette Myers. She had heard that Trisler was telling her county chairmen that if he wasn't elected he would be Hillenbrand's campaign manager and would make sure their counties got nothing from Governor Hillenbrand. With this knowledge, I prepared for a meeting that included the Senator, P.A. Mack, John Hillenbrand and Fred Garver, the most successful lobbyist around the Indiana Legislature and an old friend of Bayh's, but firmly in the Hillenbrand camp. The meeting was really quite amazing.

Hillenbrand freely admitted that Trisler was incompetent and that he would replace him with someone better later on – after Bill won. He felt he was forced into supporting Bill because the UAW was out to get him through Don Michael. Bayh tried to persuade him otherwise but it was clear that the real reasons were to show strength and organizational support for Hillenbrand. Trisler was a dupe, being used for this flexing of Hillenbrand muscle and was clearly expendable. Bayh and Hillenbrand made a bet on the race – a bushel of corn against a briefcase – the farm boy against the business executive who manufactures briefcases, along with caskets and other things. When they were leaving I said, "John, he likes black briefcases." He replied, "Bobby, you've already lost it. It's over. There's no way you can win." He left and my resolve was stiffened, as was Birch Bayh's.

Friday the 5<sup>th</sup> followed with no immediate crises. I got word that there would be no opposition to Dobkins in Marion County, which was good, and everyone in the state seemed to be preparing for the county reorganizations on Saturday. In Lake County, Bob Pastrick toyed with the idea of stepping down from the chairmanship; he let me know he was running and in good shape. Trisler was pulling out the stops. He was running former Cass County Chairman John Burrous against Don Michael in his own county. He had also scouted around the second district to find a candidate to upset district chair Gene Kopczak. None of this would work.

I spent the entire weekend at the office and at home near the phone, with the exception of a Bullets play-off game against Philadelphia, which the Bullets won. A great many phone calls came in and I was able to monitor the county races. In Marion County, all the offices were unanimously re-elected and I learned that a meeting was arranged with Dobkins, Trisler, St. Angelo and State Auditor candidate Precious "Pat" Byrd. Telling Birch Bayh, he called Knute ahead of time to reassure him and urge him to "hang in there." After going to bed late Saturday night, I got a call from Ann Latscha and Claude Magnuson with a full report on Knute Dobkins' meeting. Gordon St. Angelo did most of the talking. It was held in Trisler's apartment building and was evidence of St. Angelo's direct violation of his contract as a Lilly Foundation employee.

Essentially, they wanted Knute to refuse the District Chairmanship to Claude Magnuson. They said he was too close to labor and to Birch Bayh. Bayh had had his hand slapped in the 1970 reorganization and would again. Trisler had the votes to win already but they wanted to know who the 11<sup>th</sup> District people would be. Knute told them he had to talk to the present Chairman Jim Cunningham first. They offered the 6<sup>th</sup> District Vice appointment to Marion County, for Knute to choose, as well as the appointment for secretary of the State Committee. That would mean three votes on the State Committee for Marion County, but they didn't know

Knute had given his word to Birch Bayh. They wanted one of their allies, Tom Moynahan, to have the Marion County proxy for voting in the 5<sup>th</sup> District and remarked that they had a plan. The plan was for John Hillenbrand for governor in 1980 with Bayh off the ticket and included “back room” type arrangements through 1982. They knew about Darrell Smith (Boone County) and his meeting where Stuart Grauel, of Conrad’s staff, threatened him with firing if he voted wrong in his district meetings. This was prompted by a call from me the day before but probably wasn’t handled well.

Further discussion mentioned that Hillenbrand could provide more and better jobs for patronage seekers than Birch Bayh. They also blamed Bayh for firing Trisler assistant and St. Angelo ally, Betty O’Connor. She confirmed that with a call earlier to Knute. This was outrageous because the day Trisler fired her for insubordination and questionable book keeping, he called me and then Birch Bayh, nearly in tears because Gordon had reamed him out for it.

Knute left the meeting and reported back to Ann and Claude. He thought it strange he would get such a hard sell if the game had already been won and was amazed to see Trisler and St. Angelo together because he had heard the former bad-mouth the latter. Knute also made uncomplimentary references to Gordon’s style of operation and amoral reputation. Claude told me he felt Knute was solid and that he, Claude, would be appointed 11<sup>th</sup> District Chair by Knute as promised.

In Lake County, Pastrick was re-elected with 420 of the 760 votes and his Vice, Dottie Gillham, was beaten by Hatcher’s choice, State Senator Katie Hall. Hamilton County, in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Districts, had the election of Clayton Nix, a Conrad ally, as Chairman and Linda Hatch as Vice. This was important because Hatch was the daughter of Judy Burton, former State Vice Chair, strong Bayh ally, and the mother-in-law of Larry Cummings, my predecessor in the Bayh

office. I would work on both to secure Linda's vote for Kenny Miller in the 7<sup>th</sup> and Bun Gallahan in the 5<sup>th</sup>. In the 6<sup>th</sup>, Trisler tried to beat one of his own allies who he didn't feel he could completely trust, Jim Staples. Staples was re-elected and jumped over to Jeannette Myer's side. The existing District Chair, John Anderson, lost support in his own Shelby County and the 6<sup>th</sup> was secure for us. Even with Trisler-ally Allan Rachles as a proxy from Boone County, Jeannette was in.

The Vigo County chairmanship change to Leonard Conrad, who would not support Kenny Miller in the 7<sup>th</sup>, upset many of our friends. They were be viewed as "young Turks" and initially wanted to put an ad in the paper urging Kenny's re-election as support for Birch Bayh. This was not done.

The 4<sup>th</sup> District, where we hoped a favorable poll would give us Whiteleather's vote, had a few relevant changes. Adams County changed chairs, but Gordon St. Angelo got its commitment from the old Chairman, Jay DeVoss.

Monday and Tuesday, the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> of May, was a period of scrambling to secure commitments and hand holding over the phone with Patty Evans. We had the former Vigo Chairman, Ed Stapleton, working the district with Joe Anderson, and our Indiana staff called each vote in the 7<sup>th</sup> to reaffirm my count that would keep Kenny and Patty in office. Birch Bayh called Jo Ann Luther to persuade her not to run against Patty and had no luck. We both talked to Greasy Willis to let him know why we were doing what we were and that it wasn't personal. I got much tougher than the Senator in my talk and Greasy assured me he wanted to do nothing to hurt Bayh.

I reached Bob Pastrick to make sure the proxies from Lake County in the 2<sup>nd</sup> District would be for Kopczak and Gidley and was told the 1<sup>st</sup> District would remain with Hatcher and

Jane Seed. Back in the 7<sup>th</sup>, former Congressional candidate Elden Tipton got a call from me because he was upset with Kenny. He believed Kenny was a contributor to Rep. John Myers (R-IN) and wanted Kenny beaten so Myers could be beaten as well. I assured him we wanted Myers beaten in the Congressional race, the rumors weren't true, and that we had to support Kenny. He was mad but said he was staying out of it.

Birch Bayh called Hatcher to firm up his support and I got word that Pastrick would bring down Jane Seed's proxy. This was good, because if Hatcher betrayed us, it would only be with a single vote and not two. Bayh also called Jim Koons, Noble County Chairman in the 4<sup>th</sup>, to help us with the poll of his district and I worked with Nancy Papas of the Indiana State Teachers Association to lobby in the 4<sup>th</sup>, where they had clout.

The most upsetting event of the week was Monday night, about midnight. Mary Scifres called to ask me to call Jeannette Myers. Jeannette had been approached by Marion County Prosecutor Jim Kelley, who was negotiating for the 6<sup>th</sup> District Vice appointment. I assured her Kelley spoke only for himself and she should deal only with Knute. I also told her that she definitely had two votes from Knute. About 12:30 AM, the phone rang and it was Fulton County Chairman and good friend Allen Stephen. I had tried to reach Allen earlier to make sure he'd support Bun in the 5<sup>th</sup> for us, even though they were enemies, and also wanted to discuss hiring him as one of our field coordinators. Allen was drunk and insisting that he was running for District Chairman and would beat Bun. He had less than 48 hours and I implored him not to do it. I was really upset and called Don Michael and Judy Burton the next morning. The Senator also talked to Judy. Thankfully they settled Allen down, preventing a three-way race in the 5<sup>th</sup> and got him to agree to nominate Bun and we agreed to help him get the job on our staff. The deal with Bun was to make Linda Hatch, Judy's daughter, the Vice Chair.



This deal was not finalized until Tuesday night. I had also been working on the 2<sup>nd</sup> that night just in case. Having talked with Laporte Mayor Dennis Smith and Laporte County Chairman Bob Bennwart, I was assured that the two districts they voted in (2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup>) would go as expected. Gene and Shirley would have their support in the 2<sup>nd</sup> but Idey Baldoni and Isabelle Price would get their support in the 3<sup>rd</sup>. Brademas agreed to call Idey to urge at least a split vote on Saturday.

On Wednesday morning, the day of District Reorganizations, a last-minute crisis arose. A challenge was mounted by the new Jasper County Chairman, Alex Hanewicz, in the 2<sup>nd</sup>. I made quick calls to White and Benton Counties to secure them and Keith Abbott in Congressman Fithian's office covered the rest. Stan Nice was invaluable on the scene and the lobbying went up to the last minute.

For three days, from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup>, a series of articles were written on the race in the *Indianapolis News*. Political reporter Ed Ziegner wrote them with Gordon St. Angelo in his office, we learned, and they all harped on the same thing. It was a campaign engineered by the UAW, Bayh, Conrad and Fithian. To read them, it sounded sinister and looked far less hopeful than we knew it was. Meanwhile, Knute was good to his word and appointed Claude Magnuson and Anna Parnell to the 11<sup>th</sup>, sending friendly proxies to the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup>, including our own staffer, Joe Smith.

Wednesday was a tense day. The whole staff anxiously awaited results in the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup>. The first call came in. Kenny and Patty won in the 7<sup>th</sup>, 19-13. Then we got word in the 5<sup>th</sup>. Bun and Linda won 10-8 in a secret ballot. This was mind-blowing because a single county difference would have defeated him and, possibly, our whole program. The next call told us that Jeannette Myers and Glenn Broyles were unanimously elected in the 6<sup>th</sup>. John Anderson

dropped out, knowing how to count for himself, and the Boone County proxy, Allan Rachles, didn't even show up. Bill Sears, our staff guy in the 9<sup>th</sup> called to let us know that Sam Locke and Susan Bower were elected but Sam made a statement to the group that Trisler would get his vote but didn't have enough to be re-elected and that he (Sam) would work with the new Chairman, Don Michael. This was good news, but possibly better yet was the election of Susan Bower. She had been opposed by Sam and Trisler, yet won anyway. While she still, out of loyalty to Bill Trisler in his home district (the 9<sup>th</sup>), pledged herself to Bill, there would be the possibility that if the Trisler forces changed to another candidate on Saturday, she would be with us. This remained a possibility throughout and was discussed with Susan by Patty Evans, with whom she would stay overnight Friday night.

Learning that all the contested elections went our way, including the 2<sup>nd</sup> District, which came in slowly after putting down a short-lived challenge, Birch Bayh called Hatcher for 1<sup>st</sup> District insurance. Hatcher re-stated his commitment and said he'd be there on Saturday and support an open ballot, which we now wanted.

Thursday morning I got a call from Patty Evans. She told me Rex Keller died of a heart attack Wednesday night. Only 58 years old, he was close to Kenny Miller and served as parliamentarian during Wednesday's vote. He had been subjected to a great deal of pressure also and succumbed only a matter of hours after the vote. Patty also had breakfast with Bill Trisler to tell him she wouldn't support him. Bill was on the brink of losing control, she said, and apologized for trying to beat her in the 7<sup>th</sup>. He would also try to lobby Jeannette Myers again that day to no avail. But on Thursday, the Trisler allies really brought out the hard balls.

First, through Hillenbrand's (and ours) friend, Fred Garver, who lobbies for the state utilities, an offer was made to Claude Magnuson. He would get all the legal work for the utilities

if he voted for Trisler or with a third, as yet unknown, candidate. Second, Kenny Miller got a call from his friend (and ours), Clint Green, to persuade him. Distraught over Rex Keller's death, the re-election battle, and his brother-in-law's death earlier, Kenny told him what to do with Bill Trisler. Third, we learned that State Senator Bob Fair, President Pro Tem of the Indiana Senate and our friend, had called Mayor Hatcher for Trisler.

Going to work on this news, Birch Bayh called Fred Garver to tell him what he thought of his activities. He then tried to reach Bob Fair, who was in Kentucky at a Kentucky Bar Association Convention. We didn't reach him on Thursday. Then we learned that Indianapolis banker and Democratic contributor, Don Tanselle, had called Indianapolis attorney Buddy Yosha, who is close to Claude Magnuson, on Bill's behalf. We then learned that Ralph Wilfong, a major domo at Indiana race tracks and friend of Linda Hatch, had visited her on Bill's behalf. None of these efforts worked and I then learned that Diane Meyer's boyfriend, Herb Simon, had threatened Wilfong with the withdrawal of a major business deal because of his efforts. I was quickly learning how seriously this business was to so many people. Big money had been able to get its say over Democratic politics through Trisler. They couldn't afford to lose him. We really were the "good guys."

At Patty's request, I called Conrad's office to make sure Boone County Chairman Darrell Smith wasn't fired. Even though he had lied to us, it didn't hurt us so we could afford to be magnanimous. Even though it may not have really been magnanimous, it wouldn't have been our kind of politics to seek retribution.

Thursday night was quiet but Friday, the last day, wasn't. While discussing the Arab jet sales in the Senator's office up to the time he was to leave for Front Royal to spend a long weekend with the family, we were interrupted by urgent phone calls.

We heard from Bob Fair, who said he hadn't taken sides, but did promise merely to find out how Hatcher was voting. We heard from Prosecutor Jim Kelley, who had been called by Gordon St. Angelo, offering the state vice chairmanship to Marion County since they didn't have Patty's vote for sure. (They didn't at all). St. Angelo was nervous about calling Kelley and led Kelley to believe we had it won. The Senator called Bob Pastrick to learn that St. Angelo had called Hatcher. Pastrick also agreed to vote the 1<sup>st</sup> District vice proxy himself. This was both good news and bad. The latter part was good but we knew Gary was awaiting a major Lilly Foundation grant and that St. Angelo was rumored to have information that could be legally damaging to Hatcher.

I was very nervous about Hatcher. Bayh called him again after Pastrick got back to us with a second call telling us what Hatcher was offered by St. Angelo. It included an appointment to the State Toll Road Commission and a legislative act that would change the mayoral succession law in case Hatcher went to the White House to join the Carter Administration. Lastly, St. Angelo said, he had 10 votes in his pocket and Hatcher could hand-pick the new State Chairman, whomever he wanted. Hatcher didn't tell Bayh any of this but assured him there was no problem with his vote. This final assurance came after we dealt off to him the only chip we had left.

We knew that Hatcher didn't like Bill Trisler and thought him to be insensitive on the racial question. He was also worried about Trisler's choices for the upcoming mini-convention and had had problems with him in the 1976 delegate selection procedures. Bayh played on these points and assured him that if Don Michael wasn't different, he wouldn't be supporting him. We then suggested a Hatcher ally, State Senator Katie Hall, for the Secretary's job on the State Committee. This made a lot of sense and I ran it past Don and Patty first. She was black, a

woman, Lake County Vice Chairman, a teacher, a legislator and close to Hatcher. We'd have a black on the Committee and a two-man, two-woman make-up. This would improve the Party's image and assure us of a successful vote the next morning.

Then a call came in from Stan Nice. He had talked to Barb Weber in the 4<sup>th</sup> and she had been enduring tremendous pressure from her Chairman, John Whiteleather. Stan was in tears, as was Barb, and I told him to offer her a ride to Indianapolis that night but at all costs, keep her from riding with Whiteleather. Birch Bayh agreed to call her that night.

The rest of the afternoon was spent finalizing proxy procedures, last-minute checks on the Party's rules for reorganization and my plans for the trip to Indianapolis the next morning. The Senator left for Front Royal, agreeing to check with me that evening for final phone calls. Before he left, I told him I felt good and the only way we could lose was if we had two liars in our group. Neither of us believed we did. I went home to listen to the Bullets on the radio and to pack for a weekend trip to Indiana. That afternoon, Ed Ziegner wrote in the paper that the race looked like an 11-11 tie. I knew we would win but was still on pins and needles.

That night I got a call from Stan Nice telling me they were all in Indianapolis and it looked good. Barb Weber sounded more reassuring, he said, and they would meet me at the Hyatt Regency, where we intended to have all of our 13 votes present so they could see each other in the flesh and know they were in control. Originally, I had been nervous about that meeting but had set it up anyway at the Senator's insistence. My concern was if something prevented two or more of our people from getting there on time, the others might be shaken.

The Senator called at half-time of the ball game and told me he had spoken to Barb Weber and she was fine. He had also spoken to Knute Dobkins' wife, B.J., to reiterate his

invitation to them to join him at the Indianapolis 500 race in two weeks. He felt confident and said he'd call the group at the Hyatt at 10:30 then call me after the vote to get the results. The last call I got was from Claude Magnuson, asking me to name the State Party Treasurer, a post promised to Marion County. His friend, Buddy Yosha, was asked to take it by mayoral aspirant Judge Mike Dugan. I felt, because Buddy was unknown by the others in the state and had various business dealings that could cause last-minute side issues, it shouldn't be him but should be Claude himself. Claude agreed to be named Treasurer and it was left up to me to finalize that in the morning.

I flew at 8 AM to Indianapolis to be met at the airport by Diane Meyer and Mary Scifres. On my lapel was a button used by Washington Redskins fans to support quarterback Billy Kilmer saying, "I like Billy." This cracked them up and we drove to the Hyatt, arriving at 10:30.

The first person I ran into was Don Michael. He was high as a kite and said all of our people were in the room except for Barb Weber, who was firmly with us and driving down with her son. Even without her, that was a 12 vote majority. I walked in and many in the room applauded, to my amazement. Saying hello to each one and his or her spouse, I sat down with Bob Pastrick and Gary's Deputy Mayor, Jim Holland. Hatcher didn't show after all. Each person had on a button saying, "We have a new Don – Michael." I provided a subtle clue to Holland that we had another vote (Barb Weber) that wasn't there, just in case he felt at liberty to deal away the visible majority and then I proceeded to talk with Claude. He asked me to make a call to Buddy Yosha with my decision on the Treasurer's job, which I later did, and I made a suggestion to him.

At my prompting, Claude made a short speech. He said he was committed to Don, yet knew the tactics the other side was using. He suggested that in a secret ballot, everyone should

be willing to show their ballot to at least one other person in the room, to provide psychological assurances to all. This was agreed to and the 12 voters, plus Diane and prosecutor Kelley walked in the rain to the State Committee for the 11 o'clock vote.

Then we waited. It was me, Stan, Don, his pilot Jim Culp, Dick Malcolm and Mary and Viviana Gifford of our staff, plus the wives and husbands of the rest. A girl from Hyatt management brought us a phone message. Birch Bayh had called and the desk clerk didn't send it through. The phone rang, I answered, and Jim Kelley asked for Don. We then heard Don say, "That's great, I'll be right over." He turned to us and said Bill had stepped down and asked that Don be there personally to see himself unanimously elected. He then turned to me, clasped my hand and said, "Thanks, friend!"

We were elated and proceeded to the Essex House for drinks and a party. All of our people came over to celebrate, as well as most of the Indiana Bayh staff. I called some of the Washington staff and awaited Senator Bayh's call. We were told that Willis Zagrovich of the AFL-CIO had stopped Pastrick before the vote to try and sway him and Trisler had cornered Jim Holland. But the scene of the 12 people with buttons on arriving together was the final blow. There was a great deal of mutual backslapping and on several occasions I was credited with putting it all together. I was euphoric and couldn't believe we had won. We had played cleanly and honestly. They hadn't.

Birch Bayh called and I gave him the news. He was ecstatic and spoke to Don, Patty and Stan. He then suggested I meet with Trisler to make sure he knew it wasn't anything personal and that we still wanted to help him with a federal job – an offer made six months ago. Then, in came John Whiteleather, Jim Hall and Mike Phillips, who had all been on the other side. They

offered Don their help and I told Whiteleather how disappointed I was in him. I felt they left with greater respect for Birch Bayh and his staff.

After the party, I went to the Hilton to relax and spend the night. Most of the time was spent on the phone telling our friends, staff and my family what happened. The only new information learned was during my call to Joe Anderson. It seems that he was in a bar a few nights earlier with Mike Kearns and their wives when Mike Phillips' secretary, Jackie, came in. She yelled at them that they were losers and that they should leave the Party alone and let Trisler and Bill Brighton (Terre Haute Mayor) run it. She got violent and ripped off Linda Kearns' blouse and burned her with a cigarette. I found this unbelievable but was very gratified that that whole crew was now out of the Party leadership.

I called Trisler and arranged to have dinner with him the next evening. We did and he was surprised by our willingness to help him. I thought he might cry. He wasn't bitter, he said, but sounded like it. The bitterness, however, was more against his allies and John Hillenbrand, who hadn't done enough or who had done the wrong things to help him.

I came back to Washington Monday morning and was treated like a conquering hero. Birch Bayh had made a "Welcome Back Champ" poster which had many humorous messages written on it by him and the staff. But it was now over and we could turn towards working with the Party to improve the chances of Democrats in Indiana. That had been our goal throughout and we looked to a new day in Indiana politics.