

**ILINOIS ELECTION 2002: A HISTORIAN LOOKS AT THE
POLITICS OF THE PERSONAL AND ASKS ‘WHY WASN’T IT
FUN?’**

By

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INTRODUCTION

This paper continues the research presented at last year’s Hawaii International Conference on the Social Sciences.¹ That paper *The Illinois Primary 2002: A Historian Views the Politics of the Personal*, examined four of the Democratic Primary campaigns in the 9th Congressional District of Illinois,² positing:

1. History framed both the issues and political campaigns of the candidates involved.

¹The Illinois Election 2002 took place 3 ½ months ago. The research for this paper came from interviews and personal accounts of what occurred during the campaigns in the 9th Congressional District. The following works were germane to the topic of the paper, covering the following subjects: campaigns, democracy, voter decline, the politics of the personal, political marketing and voter attitudes, political biographies of local officials, and works concerning Cook County politics: Carl Bernstein, Bob Woodward, *All the President’s Men*, New York: Touchstone Press, 1994; Adam Cohen, Elizabeth Taylor, *American Pharaoh: Richard J. Daley: His Battle for Chicago and the Nation*, Boston: Little Brown, 2000; E.J. Dionne, *Why American Hate Politics*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991; Wojciech Czalina, Andrzej Falkowski, “Decision Processes in Perception in the Political Preferences Research: A Comparative Analysis of Poland, France and Germany”, *Journal for Mental Changes*, Lublin: V, #2, 1999, 27-49; Jack C. Doppelt, Ellen Shearer, *NonVoters America’s No-Shows*, Thousand Oaks (CA): Sage Publications, 1999; Edith Efron, *The News Twisters*, New York: Nash Press, 1971; Robert Fisher, *Let the People Decide: Neighborhood Organizing in America*, New York: Twayne Publishers, 1994; J.H. Hatfield *et al*, *Fortunate Son: George W. Bush and the Making of an American President*, New York: Soft Shell Press 2002; Eugene Kennedy, *Himself: The Life and Times of Mayor Daley*, New York: Viking, 1978; Alexander Keyssar, *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States*, New York: Perseus Books, 2000; Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Nations*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999; Harvey C. Mansfield, Delba Winthrop (Eds., Trans., Introduction), Alexis De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000; Stanley Mellon, *Alexis De Tocqueville’s Paris*: Chicago: John Wiley, 1972; Bruce I. Newman, “Politics in an Age of Manufactured Images,” *Journal for Mental Changes*, Lublin: V, #2, 1999, 7-26; Len O’Connor, *Clout: Mayor Daley and His City*, New York: Regnery, 1975; Len O’Connor, *Requiem: The decline and demise of Mayor Daley and his era*. Chicago: Contemporary Books, 1977; Greg Palast, *The Best Democracy Money Can Buy: An Investigative Reporter Exposes the Truth about Globalization, Corporate Cons, and High Finance*, New York: Plume Press, 2003; Milton Rakove, *Don’t make no waves...Don’t Back No Losers*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975; Milton Rakove, *Don’t want nobody nobody sent*, Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1979; Judith-Rae E. Ross, “A Tale of Three Cultures: Thoughts on Doppelt and Shearer’s *Nonvoters America’s No-Shows*”, *Citizens Information Service Newsletter*, Summer, 2000; Judith-Rae E. Ross, “Tallying an Election that Defied Tallying,” Guest Essay: *The Skokie and Barrington Reviews*, Pioneer Press, November 16, 2000, 8; Judith-Rae E. Ross, “The Machine was Alive and Well and Living in Skokie”, Chapter 28, Bruce Newman (ed.) *Handbook of Political Marketing*, Thousand Oaks CA: Sage Publications, 1999; Judith-Rae E. Ross, “Thoughts of a Tired Campaign Chair,” Guest Essay, *The Skokie Review*, Pioneer Press, May 12, 1999; Judith-Rae E. Ross, “Trends not Tallied: Opinions not Polled: A Politician Looks at the Past, and Three Elections Significance for the Future,” *Journal for Mental Changes*, Lublin: V, #2, 1999, 87-117; Mike Royko, *Boss: Richard J. Daley of Chicago*, New York: E.F. Dutton, 1971; Dejan Vercie, “The Politics of Total Communication”, *Journal for Mental Changes*, Lublin: V, #2, 1999, 51-61; Theodore Harold White, *The Making of a President*, 1960 New York: Signet, 1967; Mr. White also discussed presidential campaigns in, *The Making of a President, 1964, 1968 & 1972*.

² Judith-Rae E. Ross, Campaigns included Rod Blagojevich for Illinois Governor; Patrick Hughes for State Representative Illinois 17th Legislative District; Lawrence Suffredin for 13th District Cook County Commissioner; The Coordinating Committee for Congresswoman Janice D. Schakowsky, Illinois 9th Congressional District.

2. The antipathy between adjoining Chicago suburbs Skokie and Evanston in the 1950s was the genesis of the clashes seen in the Democratic Party 2002 primary races in Chicago's near north suburbs.
3. History shaped Skokie's and Evanston's Democratic Party's political organizations.
4. The "politics of the personal," coupled with campaigns focusing on personalities and personal issues, colored the Illinois Primary campaigns in the 9th Congressional District.³
5. The campaigns proved to be a latter-day showdown at the OK corral for Democratic political control of the 9th Congressional District between those candidates supported by Congresswoman Jan Schakowsky and those candidates supported by Cook County Commissioner and Niles Township Committeeman Calvin Sutker.
6. The antipathy between Sutker and Schakowsky resulted in Sutker, losing his primary bid for party relating ad Cook county Commissioner to Lawrence Suffredin, the candidate for that office who was supported by Schakowsky.
7. Candidates supported by Congresswoman Schakowsky, AKA "Team Jan," won.
8. The campaign for Election 2002 began within a week of the primary.
9. Questions remained as to how to take advantage of the victory.

Now fast forward to November 6, 2002, the "morning after" the election. The ballots have been counted; the people have spoken; the Democrats triumphed. Illinois' Democrats took back the governorship, won every state office except State Treasurer, and won control of both houses of the Illinois state legislature. Regardless of what occurred in the rest of America, Illinois Democrats almost completely reversed the 1994 Republican victory.⁴

The extent of the Democrats victory in Illinois makes it likely Illinois Democrats will play a major role in the 2004 presidential race. In fact, they've already started to campaign.⁵

In the Illinois Election 2002 national races for the U.S. Senate and 9th Congressional District, Senator Richard Durbin defeated his opponent, State Representative James Durkin, in a landslide victory. Congresswoman Jan Schakowsky, D 9th District, probably clinched her third term by 8 AM election morning by defeating Republican Nicholas Duric and Libertarian candidate Stephanie vs. "The Machine" Sailor. The Congresswoman returned to the House of Representatives as Chief Deputy Minority Whip.

On the "morning after"⁶ victorious tired politicians and candidates usually quietly rejoice while eating an exceeding fattening breakfast, plan well-earned vacations, or catch up on much needed sleep. The battle's been won; it's a time to savor victory.

³ Ross, The Illinois 2002 Primary: "A Historian Looks at History and the Politics of the Personal," Given at the Hawaii Conference of International Social Sciences, June 12, 2002,

⁴ State Treasurer and Illinois State Republican Chair, Judy Barr Topinka, and State Representative Margaret Beth Coulson positioned themselves as Independents or moderate. Coulson stressed her Pro-Choice and Pro-Environment stands so strongly that she looked like a Democrat in disguise. Barr Topinka is known for her Bonds for tuition program, and moderate stances on women's and environmental issues. Her moderation may have led to her appointment to the Chair of the Illinois Republican Party. In fact, she quipped about her tolerance and her party stance at Governor Blagojevich's inauguration.

⁵ Both Dr. Howard Dean and Senator Joseph Lieberman have begun setting up Illinois campaign staff and offices. Senator Lieberman is actively fundraising in Illinois. Former Schakowsky coordinator Gil Gilman and Blagojevich fundraiser Benita Cohen are phoning over 2500 Illinois Democrats in this regard.

⁶ "The Morning After," a song from the movie, *The Poseidon Adventure*, the tale of survival set in a cruise ship turned upside down by a 90 foot tidal wave, took own a life of its own as a motivational song. I commented that if hadn't been written for this movie it might well have been written by a tired precinct captain the morning after

But Illinois Election 2002 was different. The exhausted euphoria didn't seem to be there in the same measure. It was almost as if the milk was slightly soured. This campaign just wasn't "fun."

This paper explores:

1. Why "fun" is an important measure of campaigns.
2. The reasons why Illinois Election 2002 wasn't "fun."
3. History's continued role in Illinois Election 2002.
4. How the "Politics of the Personal" affected Illinois Election 2002's campaigns.
5. Why the Democrats won in Illinois and lost in most of the rest of the USA.
6. Election 2002's implications for American government and democracy in the future.

What occurred during Illinois Campaign 2002 that left those involved with that slightly sour taste in their mouths? Election 2002 wasn't the first time that apathy or disgust has entered the political arena.

Declining voter participation and disillusionment with the candidates affects political campaigns; both must be countered for campaigns to attract voters.⁷

Dissolution with the political process began during the mid—1960s with Kennedy's assassination and the Viet Nam War. The war proved a quagmire for Presidents Lyndon Baines Johnson and Richard Nixon which resulted in Johnson not running for a second term; Nixon narrowly escaping impeachment and probable conviction for campaign irregularities and malfeasance by becoming the first president to resign from office.

Disillusionments with government policies and campaign practices resulted in fewer voters taking part in elections. It also shifted the emphasis of political campaigns, concentrating increasing on the candidate's personality, personal life and person credo. The Politics of the Personal became the norm in campaigning.

Technology also played a role in the creation of the politics of the personal. With most news items reduced to sound bytes, campaigns became personal.⁸ Thus campaigns concentrated on the Politics of the Personal, rather than detailed discussions of issues.

The presidential debates became theatre. Issues took a back seat to mien. Vice-Presidents Al Gore and Richard M. Nixon may well have lost the elections in 1960 and 2000 because of poor performances during the debates.

The personal campaign styles and the disconnect factor formed a negative backdrop to Election 2002. Negative perceptions of politics and politicians affect political campaigns. Campaigns must first fight negative public perceptions to legitimate themselves before they can win support from a sufficient percentage of voters to elect their candidate(s).

election-day. Ross, "Tallying an Election that Defied Tallying," Guest Essay: *The Skokie and Barrington Reviews*, Pioneer Press, November 16, 2000, 8.

⁷ See Appendix I.

⁸Ross, "Trends Not Tallied, Opinions Not Polled: A Politician Looks at the Past and Three Election's Significance for the Future", *Journal for Mental Changes: Perspectives of Economic Political and Social Integration*, V, #2, Lublin: 1999, 106. (Hereafter cited as Trends).

CAMPAIGNS: THE “FUN” FACTOR: WHY IS IT OVERLOOKED AND WHY IT IS IMPORTANT

Introduction: The Role of Consultants and the Current Views of Campaigns

This section explores why “fun” is important in election campaigns.

There’s not a great body of research on how campaigns function and contend with the negativity at the state and local levels, and its impact on the “fun” factor. Much election campaign literature concentrates on national elections, such as Theodore White’s *The Making of the President*, or Robert Woodward and Bob Bernstein’s *All the President’s Men*.⁹ The remainder shows up on the Op Ed page after the election.¹⁰ Political consultants and professional campaign strategists concentrate on the campaign tactics that make or break campaigns.

Well known and highly regarded consultants, such as David Wilhelm, concentrate on the ways a candidate can successfully position and focus him/her so as to win. Campaign consultant David Axelrod, a former SunTimes political reporter excels in media management and publicity. Every effective campaign consultant also knows the importance of polls and field organizations.

The Strategic Campaign Group and Political Campaign School headed by Robert Creamer. The school employs campaign staffers who manage and coordinate Democratic candidates’ campaigns, often employing the strategy that spelled victory for Congresswoman Schakowsky her stunning upset in the 1998 congressional primary.

Creamer and his consultants concentrates on studying the demographics of the district in contention, polling for issues and voter preferences, deducing the number of votes needed to win, and pinpointing that number and potential volunteers through phone banking. During an election campaign, Creamer’s consultants will build a field organization necessary to produce victory.¹¹

The Strategic Campaign Group also creates seminars in how to successfully campaign and strategize. The Leadership Institute drew over 100 political organizers to a series of seminars.¹²

Particular constituencies that are most likely in the minority train future politicians in the fine art of political campaigning. IWILL, headed by Loretta Durbin trains and supports promising female candidates. The Gay community also trains their leaders in the art of campaigning. Emily’s List raises money for female candidates at the state and national level.¹³

Groups supporting causes, such as Community Action Agencies train their board members in lobbying techniques, and employ professional lobbyists to further their causes at the state and national levels. These agencies support candidates they believe further their cause(s). Some played a decisive role in the 2002 9th Congressional elections.¹⁴

⁹ Carl Bernstein, Bob Woodward, *All the President’s Men*, New York: Touchstone Press, 1994; Theodore Harold White, *The Making of a President*, 1960 New York: Signet, 1967.

¹⁰ Cf. The Tribune’s in depth analysis of Jim Ryan’s defeat, November 12, 2002.

¹¹ This was the formula used to secure Schakowsky’s primary victory March, 1998. It also worked well during Election 2000.

¹² “Leadership 2002” was a seminar for organizers and political leaders that taught success campaign techniques. It also provided networking opportunities. Participants received T-shirts.

¹³ IWILL selects young female participants with potential for state and national political office. Material stressed includes fundraising and media techniques. EMILY’s List raises funds for promising female candidates. The logo stands for “Early Money is Like Yeast.” Chicago’s Gay and Lesbian, the Gay/Lesbian Alliance” community trains activists in campaign techniques, and monitors elected officials’ voting record and stances vis a vis the Gay community. They may well have played a pivotal role in Congressman Glenn Poshard’s defeat in 1999. Poshard’s aide made anti-Gay remarks, resulting in the community’s refused to support Poshard. The Congressman lost by 225,000 votes, a margin easily overcome had the Gay community supported Poshard.

¹⁴ CEDA, the Community Economic Development Association, America’s oldest Community Action Agency, central board members, sitting on CEDA’s Governmental Affairs Committee become registered lobbyists and receive training as such; NOW, Personal PAC, NARAL, the Sierra Club fall into this “cause” group category.

Consultants, political action groups, advocates of causes, and campaign training groups play a positive and critical role in the election campaign process. Yet knowing the “how to” of campaigns doesn’t reveal their flavor, how they overcome perceptions of negativity, or their importance to the future. That remains somewhat of a mystery, especially on the local level. It’s important to understand the flavor of local campaigns: today’s local candidates and office holders are tomorrow’s national leaders.

WHAT MAKES A CAMPAIGN “FUN?” WHY IS FUN IMPORTANT?

“Fun” as a measure of campaign success too often is overlooked. Why measure “fun” when victory is most election campaigns’ goal?

Like the army all campaigns run on their stomachs. The stuff of campaigns--mailings, phoning, walking and watching is political grunt work. What does “fun” have to do with it?

“Fun” is an indicator of the campaign’s morale. A demoralized campaign is far more likely to be a losing campaign, or fail to make a smooth transition from campaign to office.

It’s not difficult to make campaigns fun. “Fun” which result in high campaign morale is easily created by:

1. Employing a campaign manager who makes certain deadlines are met without micromanaging.
2. Employing a publicity director who will not attempt to make over the candidate so drastically that the candidate is uncomfortable.
3. Keeping the candidate accessible to the campaign at all levels on a regular basis.
4. Employing coordinators who work well with, complement, and compliment volunteers.
5. Staff makes it policy to occasionally work along side the volunteers.
6. Feeding all volunteers and employees well.
7. Making all volunteers feel comfortable and important.
8. Never losing sight of the campaign’s vision.
9. Instilling the campaign vision with idealism laced with humor.
10. Thanking volunteers for a job well done, regardless of the result.

Campaigns are a form of war. Being in tune with fellow campaigners goes a long way to ensuring victory by creating the political equivalent of a “crack” fighting unit. Each of the abovementioned points creates fun, reinforcing the camaraderie that becomes crucial as the campaign progresses. “Fun” is the oil that fuels the campaign.

Campaigns with this type of camaraderie often dispel negative images simply because they showcase the grassroots side of politics, drawing in volunteers, involving the community. “Fun” forms a campaign family, and creates volunteers for future campaigns. “Fun” nurtures future politicians, and dispels the negative images surrounding many elections. Campaigns with high “fun quotients” are proof positive that democracy works.

NOW and Personal PAC may have played a crucial role in Representative Margaret Coulson’s election. This will be discussed in a later section of this paper.

For example, during the 1999 Skokie Park District campaign three candidates, Renae Byron, Debbie Alexander and Al Frenzel, banded together to run as a team for the Skokie Park District board. There were three open seats and 6 candidates.

During the course of their campaign they brought people together who hadn't worked together previously, and held somewhat conflicting points of view. These views melded into an exciting platform that pulled more people from all sides of the community and political spectrum to their campaign. The campaign wasn't without nerve-racking moments. But it was always fun. Citizens became neighbors; allies friends.¹⁵

On the Sunday prior to Election Day, packets of election materials were distributed, and I gave Election Day training. The campaign had grown from a sleepy little set of races to a magnet for Skokie residents spanning every race, religious background and age group. The meeting looked like a cross between a Norman Rockwell painting and a United Nations Day celebration. Mr. Smith of Washington fame smiled down from the rafters. Election-Day ended with a landslide victory, and monster victory pizza party, featuring pizza that was both Kosher and Hallal.

Even when the campaign loses, the "fun" spells the difference between a candidate and group disappearing from the political scene or running a successful campaign during the next election.

David Wilhelm suggests that all successful politicians should lose at least once if they're to understand all the dynamics of campaigning and office holding. The candidate may lose the election, but gains insight into himself or herself in the process.¹⁶

Losses strengthen character. Senator Durbin lost three times before winning office; Congresswoman Schakowsky lost her bid to become Cook County Commissioner in 1986. What may well have kept them going was the "fun" during the campaign.¹⁷

The relationships formed and molded during the heat of the campaign translate into the relationships needed to run a smooth running office. If the "fun" factor was high during the campaign, the official's transition to office will more likely run smoothly.

The "fun" factor also forms the foundation for the victorious candidate's staff. Leslie Combs, Congresswoman Schakowsky's Chief of Suburban Operations was the congresswoman's first campaign employee and scheduler. Sol J. Ross, Governor Rod Blagojevich Coordinator of Volunteers, now heads the governor's Liaison Office in Washington D.C.¹⁸

Even in a losing campaign, if the candidate acquits himself/herself well, and doesn't turn surly, the "fun" factor will make it more likely that he or she will be appointed to an office within one of the victor's administration.

Such was the case with Pat Hughes, who lost his bid to become State Representative of the 17th State Legislative District. But his experience, intelligence, kind mien and sense of humor led to his appointment as the General Council in the Illinois Department of Registration. It may well also make it possible for Hughes to be re-elected to

¹⁵ Renae Byron spoke to my DePaul University Focal Point Seminar on Cook County politics, February 1999. At least 5 seminar members joined the campaign. One of the attractions was Byron's insistence on feeding the students. Everyone bonded while eating.

¹⁶ David Wilhelm, Speech to Leadership 2002 Seminar, "What Makes a Successful Candidate & Campaign", January, 2002; Personal Interview c. February 6, 2002.

¹⁷ Diana Hunter, President Emeritus of Skokie Library Board fondly recalls a doomed campaign for Village Trustee in 1964. The candidates lost, but the networking and friendships kept her deeply involved in politics. On the national level, President Bush's associates during the 1992 Governor's race formed the basis for his 2000 campaign and executive staff.

¹⁸ Combs began working for Schakowsky when the Congresswoman's campaign office was in her basement; Ross did volunteer work for Blagojevich in the first phases of the primary campaign. By fall 2001 he was Coordinator of Volunteers, the position he held through the general election. He now runs the Governor's Liaison Office in Washington D.C. Note: Sol J. Ross is also my son.

the Wilmette Village Board...and run another day for state office. Had he not reacted with grace and humor, concomitants of the fun factor, would this have happened?

The “fun” factor doesn’t inevitably spell the difference between victory and defeat, but it raises the chances of victory by creating an energized campaign volunteer and professional staff, and a more buoyant candidate. Although fun is often overlooked when analyzing political campaigns, it’s the unsung indicator of a campaign’s health, and in the case of victory what the future will bring.

SO WHY WASN’T ILLINOIS ELECTION 2002 “FUN,” AND WHO CARES? THE CANDIDATES WON ANYWAY.

Introduction

The reasons the Illinois 2002 General Election campaigns weren’t fun divide into two categories: structural and ideological. The campaign structure drained much of the fun of the Democratic campaigns because:

1. The mixture of individual Democratic candidate campaigns, local Democratic political organizations, and overlapping Democratic coordinated campaigns had diverse purposes and goals which made working together difficult. On occasion, each feared being swept away by the other.
2. Hurt feelings and tensions remained between allied groups who endorsed different candidates during the primary.
3. The former opposing teams found it difficult, and most ultimately failed to reconcile.
4. Volunteers’ ideas weren’t given as much serious consideration as during the primary because of the large numbers of campaign professionals, some working at cross purposes. This often left volunteers feeling undervalued.
5. Basic ignorance of how to conduct daily campaign business resulted in missed opportunities.
6. Botched arrangements resulted in wasted time and increased exasperation.
7. The scope of the campaigns and the lack of personnel resulted in pre-election day stress and battle fatigue.
8. Advocacy groups unfamiliar with 9th Congressional District Issues injected themselves into the campaigns, muddying the waters.

On the ideological side, concerning campaign issues:

1. History became a negative; the sins of the fathers became the children’s campaign issues.
2. Political scandals heightened the negativity, resulting in more invective.
3. Over concentration on campaign strategy drained the idealism and vision out of much of the campaigning. This resulted in making the campaign work feel like drudgery. Issues became too personal; dislikes became intense.
4. The media and the pollsters concentrated on the personal styles, rather than substance.
5. Predictions and polls based on wishes raised stress levels.
6. A wet autumn dampened physical and mental spirits alike, further tiring everyone.

Matters were further complicated by the fact that races that had galvanized “Team Jan” during the primary election were no longer critical. Cook County has a large Democratic Party majority. The Primary Election, not the General, decides who will take office. Urgency and drama were the casualties. Illinois Election 2002 was anti-climatic, sometimes downright boring.¹⁹

County Commissioner candidate Larry Suffredin, State Senator and State Central Committeeman Carol Ronen, and Congresswoman Schakowsky either ran unopposed or faced token opposition.

Only one campaign within “Team Jan’s” ranks showed any sign of being a seriously contested race. Pat Hughes, a likeable Wilmette village Trustee was the Democratic candidate for the seat of the newly created 17th Legislative District. But Hughes barely survived a grueling primary to face a formidable opponent, incumbent Republican Margaret “Beth” Coulson, a likable physical therapist and medical school professor with an independent streak. Representative Coulson also possessed political campaign savvy.²⁰

One race involving part of the 9th Congressional District could not recreate the drama generated by “Team Jan’s” battle against “Team Cal” during the primary election. Local races became the flashpoints in Illinois Primary political campaigns. There was one seriously contested race.

Viable, dynamic campaigns need competition. Otherwise they’re pointless and not much fun. What’s a battle without two opposing sides? The battle was over; the victory won by March 20, 2002. “Fun” dissipated as a result.

Structure: The Down Side of Coalitions: Too Many Feuds: Too Many Cooks!

Campaign disorganization, history and personal politics combined to take the fun out of Illinois Election 2002. Mutual interests don’t guarantee mutual trust, especially when the organizations involved have different, sometimes conflicting, purposes.

Individual candidate’s campaign organizations have one purpose: to elect their candidate. If this can be achieved in concert with other candidates or in alliance with neighboring organizations, so be it. But if that doesn’t appear likely, the individual candidate’s organization will work to ensure the election of its candidate, regardless of the fallout. Former Congressman Abner Mikva owed his election to his personal organization.²¹

¹⁹ Larry Suffredin had such a reclusive Republican opponent that it was rumored they slated him because Mr. J. Adams, the Republican Committeeman of Chicago’s 49th Ward had drawn the proverbial “short straw.” Illinois State Senator Carol Ronen had primary opposition for her office as State Central Committeeman, Skokie real estate agent Vida Rottman. Sutker had recruited Rottman, telling her that Ronen had no support and was a political hack. Further Rottman’s candidacy would provide the voters with an attractive choice. But Rottman had few funds and fewer supporters. Ronen won handily and had no competition in the general election. While she remained a steadfast campaigner for Blagojevich, Ronen’s personal campaign consisted of public appearances and fundraisers. Instead Ronen concentrated her efforts on electing Blagojevich Governor. Nor did Congresswoman Jan Schakowsky have to work strenuously to regain seat in Congress. Two opponents, one Republican, the other Libertarian ran against Schakowsky, but neither had the platform or money to effectively challenge the popular congresswoman. There were two contested State Representative races in the 9 Congressional District. Illinois State Representative Julie Hamos had been redistricted out of Skokie to the lakefront north shore. But Hamos was an incumbent with a fine record and mien well-suited to her newly-drawn district along the lake. Hamos was also able to draw on her former constituents’ support, promising that she would remain in contact with them. Two weeks before the election Hamos told me I could always seek her help. “I see myself as a regional representative,” she said. Hindsight showed the outcome of this campaign never seemed seriously in doubt.

²⁰ Congregation B’nai Emunah, “Meet the Candidates Night,” August c.23, 2002. Trustee Hughes discussed his immigrant background; Coulson stressed her Skokie ties, pro-Israel stance; her background in healthcare; her experience as a legislator.

²¹ Evanston resident Abner Mikva was viewed as an outsider by neighboring Skokie residents. CF. Ross, The Illinois Primary 2002: A Historian Looks at the Politics of the Personal,” Paper given at the Hawaii International

Ward or Township political organizations, on the other hand, have a different purpose. They strive to carry well for all their party's candidates. But these organizations often prioritize their support, working hardest for the candidates who are "favorite sons," most likely to win, provide jobs, and influence at the county, state and national level for their local ward or township party organization.

It's not unusual for ward and township organizations to clash with candidate campaign organizations. The local organizations fear campaign organizations will "roll right over them," as Evanston Township Committeeman Jeanne Cleveland-Bernstein noted; candidate based political campaigns worry that the local organizations will fail to get out the vote, thus doing in their candidate.²²

Congressman Rod Blagojevich's relations with the Democratic Party of Evanston illustrate what happens when political parties and political campaigns collide. Congressman Rod Blagojevich's primary victory also presented problems because it was such a close race--Blagojevich won by just 3 percent. In the primary election, the Democratic Party of Evanston had endorsed his strongest opponent, former Chicago school chief Paul Vallas, in part because Education issues resonate with DPOE members; in part because the Vallas campaign better understood the DPOE endorsement procedure.²³

While the victorious Blagojevich held a unity press conference immediately after the primary and Vallas left Chicago to take a post as Superintendent of the Philadelphia school district, rifts remained.

The dissention between the DPOE and the Blagojevich campaign came out into the open when Cleveland-Bernstein invited Blagojevich to be the recipient of the DPOE's "Yellow Dog Democrat Award." The award is given at the DPOE's dinner; the recipient must attend.

Committeeman Cleveland-Bernstein may well have wished to mend fences by honoring Blagojevich at the DPOE dinner. But Blagojevich was in great demand and having difficulty meeting campaign obligations. The intern, who assisted the scheduler, was given orders not to schedule anything in advance until every event was discussed. She couldn't guarantee Blagojevich's attendance.

Committeewoman Cleveland-Bernstein is plain spoken, a delightful trait among Committeepersons. But she speaks with a soft, firm voice. As deadlines for the dinner neared, Cleveland-Bernstein quietly but firmly told the intern that either Blagojevich must be present at the dinner or the award would have to be offered to another candidate. It all became too much and the nervous intern burst into tears.

The Blagojevich campaign, worried about the intern, requested Committeeman Cleveland-Bernstein to apologize to the intern in writing. Cleveland-Bernstein refused; the Blagojevich campaign refused to guarantee the date. The award was offered to Senator Richard Durbin who gratefully accepted the honor.

In an attempt, perhaps, to mend fences, the Blagojevich campaign asked if it was possible to share the award. Their request was denied because this award traditionally always honored one person. The incident left a sour taste in the DPOE's mouth and stuck in the Blagojevich campaign's craw.²⁴

of the Social Sciences, June 12, 2002, 10-11; Another issue that hurt Mikva was the murder of Sidney Fohrman in 1966. Fohrman owned an automobile dealership; his murderer was unhappy with the interest rates charged. Mikva said the murderer may have had some justification, angering many Skokie residents, one of the factors that resulted in Mikva's initial loss. Mikva created his own organization, narrowly winning the next election. This organization provided the model for the DPOE (Democratic Party of Evanston).

²² Jeanne Cleveland Bernstein, comment made to J-R. Ross, October 2002; See previous note.

²³ Candidates must receive 2/3 or 67% votes from DPOE members to get the party's endorsement. The endorsement ballot asks members to rank their votes. The Vallas supporters only wrote Mr. Vallas' name on the endorsement ballot; Blagojevich's supporters wrote the names of all the candidates.

²⁴ Incident related by Jeanne Cleveland Bernstein and Sol J. Ross, August 2002.

There's no fault here; just conflicting goals and wariness left over from the primary.

* * *

Blagojevich and the Strategic Campaign Group also enjoyed a "less than perfect relationship," which may have led to some personal animosities.

Prior to Census 2000 it appeared that Chicago would lose a Congressional seat.²⁵ It was believed the 9th and the 5th Congressional districts would be combined, thereby eliminating one Member of Congress, either Schakowsky or Blagojevich. Schakowsky and Blagojevich agreed by fall 2000 that Schakowsky would remain in Congress, while Blagojevich would run for Illinois governor.²⁶

Schakowsky and Blagojevich often campaigned together during the primary, and the gubernatorial candidate hired Robert Creamer to deliver Cook County for Blagojevich.

This is where the politics of the personal intersect in a very personal way. Robert Creamer is also Congresswoman Jan Schakowsky's husband. It's a very happy marriage; they love each other dearly. Their interests in politics are also complementary. Schakowsky enjoys public office; Creamer specializes in campaign tactics, the proverbial "back room."²⁷

But Blagojevich lost Cook County to Vallas, almost losing the primary in the process. A campaign housecleaning followed the primary, and Creamer wasn't retained. The Congresswoman wasn't happy with the Blagojevich campaign's decision to dispense with Creamer's services; feelings hurt; nerves frayed.²⁸

* * *

Success depended on all factions of the Democrats working together, including the defeated part of the party, "Team Cal" led by Calvin Sutker. And they had to trust each other because Pat Hughes election depended on a large Democratic vote from Niles Township. Only part of the 6th Ward in Evanston lay in the 17th Legislative District. For Hughes' sake peace between "Team Jan" and "Team Cal" had to be declared.

But Sutker was still reeling from his primary defeat. According to one local elected official, also a member of the Niles Township Regular Democratic organization, Sutker never saw the primary loss coming. Having orchestrated the Caucus Party victory in April 2001 Sutker assumed his political adversaries had been dealt a mortal blow.²⁹

He was wrong. Evanston Committeeman Jeanne Cleveland Bernstein noted that the alliance between CVP stalwarts Richard Witry and I, as Suffredin campaign co-chairs for Niles Township, was or should have been "a nightmare come true" for Sutker. But the official mentioned above noted that Sutker scoffed at Suffredin's threat, terming us the "...losers supporting the loser." Election bets were made.³⁰

Committeeman Sutker had spent too much political capital and clout on the village election. Old favors were traded for votes; pressure was applied. The Primary election had been expensive. It took more out of

²⁵ It was accepted that Chicago had lost population, and this would result in the loss of one Congressional seat. While the Illinois delegation lost a seat, the population decline occurred in south central Illinois. Chicago's population grew.

²⁶ Schakowsky publicly announced her support for Blagojevich at her Labor Day weekend barbeque, September 2000.

²⁷ Sol J. Ross, January 2002.

²⁸ One member of Blagojevich's campaign staff termed some of Creamer's staff as "clown shoes." But it should be noted that Vallas had consultants in community organizations and religious organizations. One of my students confided that every one in her church was working for Vallas. Another community agency employed a PR consultant that recruited Vallas volunteers from the board and staff.

²⁹ Elected official and precinct captain, Niles Township Regular Democratic Organization, comment made February 2003.

³⁰ Source note 26, comment made January 2002. I won the election bet!

Commissioner Sutker than he realized. Larry Suffredin campaigned vigorously throughout the 13th Cook County district, matching Sutker's campaign dollar for dollar, picking up the Chicago Tribune endorsement in the process.³¹

Nevertheless, according to the official quoted above, Commissioner and Committeeman remained "serene" on the eve of the primary. All his plans were in place. Sutker expected to win Niles Township by over 80%; cut Suffredin's pluralities by courting members of the African-American community; achieve large majorities in Chicago's 50th Ward.³²

Victory eluded Sutker. By 9:30 March 19th, Suffredin won by 12%; Sutker was shocked at the strength of the victory, and the joy of the victors.³³

Yet Sutker was the Niles Township Committeeman, and as such had to be to be part of the Democratic campaign policy makers. ³⁴ As Sutker prepared to take his place at the table, Schakowky's Niles Township supporters attempted to reconcile with him; the coordinated campaign Political Director attempted meet with him.

This was easier said than done.

Schakowsky's political director called Sutker repeatedly, complaining that Sutker would not return his phone calls. Using an intermediary to reach the Committeeman proved useless.³⁵ Schakowsky supporters in Niles Township fared no better. Wounds from 1998 and the village election of 2001 were just too fresh. ³⁶In a recent newspaper interview Sutker noted that he wanted to heal the rifts between Democrats in Niles Township. To that end he plans to work to bring the Niles Township Democratic Party together.³⁷ But to date no Niles Township Schakowsky supporter has received a call from Committeeman Calvin R. Sutker to discuss reconciliation.

³¹ Sutker spent c\$750,000 on the village campaign. All members of the organization were urged to display signs and write their precincts letters supporting the incumbents, members of the Caucus party.

³² Sutker had gained votes from Skokie's Indian community by slating Usha Kamaria for a vacant seat on the township board.

³³ Careful campaigning had cut the Sutker plurality in Niles Township to 20%; Evanston's African American community didn't vote enmass for Sutker; Suffredin carried by c 75%; Sutker won the Chicago areas of the district by 26 votes; Suffredin carried New Trier Township by close to 70%. The victory margin was clear by 7:45 PM. Suffredin delayed his announcement until 9:30.

³⁴ While a political position, Committeemen's office is an elected position. Sutker was uncontested during Primary 2002.

³⁵ Conversation between Baxter Swilley, Political Director, the Coordinated Campaign, and Judith-Rae E. Ross, July 2002.

³⁶ Here the story gets personal I'd hoped that Skokie's Mayor, until the election a friend for 30 years, and I could bury the proverbial hatchet. Shortly before last year's conference we met and I asked if we could let bygones by bygones. The Mayor reproached me in tones usually reserved for unfaithful spouses. While we agreed to speak again I knew our friendship was beyond repair. CVP member Debbie Alexander fared little better, attempting to work with the Sutker appointees on the Park Board. Attempting to reconcile with the Mayor proved futile, and he informed me that any relationship I'd had with Sutker was over. But Deputy Committeeman State Representative Louis Lang might prove amenable to reconciliation. He has a reputation for pragmatism, and I always worked well with him. I made an appointment to see him, and the meeting went cordially enough. Lang believed he would be appointed committeeman shortly after the election. He supported organization reforms, including an executive committee, youth programs, and more community outreach. Past differences could be laid to rest. But there was a condition. Lang would make the final decisions on slating and policy. His word would be law; once given no dissent would be tolerated. I listened, said I'd think about it, and left. I had driven about a mile when I heard myself say aloud, "I can't do that." John Dos Passas was right; "you can't go home again." Sutker was expected to retire after the election. But at the end of October he planned to remain Committeeman.

³⁷ Sutker as quoted in Kathy Routliffe, "Sutker Looks Back on Career," The Evanston Review, c. January 20, 2003, 12.

The Niles Township Democratic Organization played a lesser role in Democratic politics going into Illinois Election 2002. The organization had shrunk too roughly, by some estimates, to 10% of its former self. Jackie Tuite, one of Schakowsky's long time campaign aides had to be dispatched to Niles Township to coordinate precinct activities. Nonetheless, Democrats carried 90% of Niles Township precincts.³⁸

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The intra-party dissention played a role in Pat Hughes' defeat, and the only Democrat to lose his race in the 9th CD. His campaign was embattled from the start. Only 119 votes separated him and Michael Ian Bender, Hughes' opponent and a close Sutker ally. Bender refused to accept defeat gracefully; he sued for a recount. It was early August before Bender dropped his suit against Hughes and gave Hughes a *pro forma* endorsement. But one township's committeeman worried aloud about Bender's loyalty, and whether or not Bender was secretly hoping for Hughes' defeat so Bender could run again.³⁹

The Hughes campaign highlighted the problems which occur when campaign organizations with different goals have difficulty combining forces.

“And a child shall lead them?”

The Democratic campaign in the 9th CD consisted of a coalition of separate candidate campaigns, local political organizations, and a coordinating body which oversaw the alliance. The Coordinated Campaign, headed by Schakowsky's Political Director, Baxter Swilley, was charged with having everyone work together, harmoniously. Untying the Gordian knot was easier.

The strategic Campaign Group runs a campaign school for future campaign consultants. The “schoolers,” as they're called were paid roughly \$100 per week, given board with Schakowsky supporters, and received “on the job” training and lectures from some of the most impressive politicians in the campaign craft. Upon graduation they had received “hands on” experience, and impressive recommendations. Generally, they entered the campaign world regarded as seasoned professionals. In addition to the lectures, campaign “schoolers” worked with local community leaders, to develop a volunteer cadre and field organization.⁴⁰ They spend hours on the phone.

The Campaign School helped engineer Schakowsky's 1998 upset primary victory, and have brought about many more victories since. But only six campaign schoolers were hired to bring about this massive victory in Illinois Election 2002.⁴¹ Even the Greek warriors placed 7 against Thebes.

The six “schoolers” were charged with assisting Swilley in creating a 2500 person field organization that would deliver a Democrat landslide in November. Each of the campaign school interns was bright, and eager. But they spent most of the summer on the phones, locating volunteers, nervously attempting to fill their quotas for field organizations, leaving then little time to learn campaign basics or the 9th District territory. They didn't fully understand:

1. How politics and government worked in the 9th Congressional District
2. How to plan and schedule events
3. How to work with and motivate volunteers.

³⁸ Conversation with Jackie Tuite, March 5, 2003; See note 34, 5.

³⁹ Conversation with the Committeeman of New Trier Township, September 2002.

⁴⁰ Former members of the campaign school, such as Joseph Katz work in the Blagojevich administration; Alumni Nick Demetrious is a consultant for women's issues; Jennifer Roniger manages campaigns throughout the U.S. After the election ends she resumes working for Creamer.

⁴¹ It was rumored that funds were running short.

Phone banking took precedence over learning the nuts and bolts material. A strong field organization was an imperative.⁴²

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Pat Hughes' campaign suffered.

Hughes, a practicing Catholic, needed a strong plurality in Skokie, a suburb with a significant Jewish voting population. One member of Hughes steering committee, an Orthodox Jew, researched and typed into a campaign computer a list of the names, addresses and phone numbers of some of Observant/Orthodox Jews in Skokie, Lincolnwood and Chicago's 49th and 50th wards. If Skokie's Observant/Orthodox Jewish population supported Pat Hughes, came out *enmass* and voted for him, Hughes' election would be assured.

Hughes' Skokie steering committee was called to headquarters. One of the campaign "schoolers" announced, "Baxter has this list of 800 Jews and he wants a coffee"⁴³ in essence ordering the volunteers to hop to it.

His attitude didn't sit well with the volunteers, some of whom had been working precincts long before he was born. Volunteers make or break campaigns because they give time, money and blood. Treating them like flunkies is the fastest way to lose them. The young man might as well have kicked them out of the office.

One of Hughes' volunteer fundraisers, Benita Cohen, suggested the Coordinated Campaign/Hughes campaign provide a set of dates so a location could be found. No one had thought of that. Everyone present agreed with Cohen: there could be no planning before the date was cleared.

There were more scheduling factors. The fundraiser had to be scheduled after the end of the six week High Holiday season, close to Election Day, and not on a Friday or Saturday.⁴⁴ For many Orthodox/ Observant Jews, Sunday is a day to catch up on chores and obligations. This left few satisfactory dates; one had to be found, and quickly.

Then the question of a special guest was discussed. "Jan will be there," the young man said. All agreed that everyone loved the Congresswoman, and by all means she *must* be there as a guest of honor, but Schakowsky had served her community so well that everyone already knew her. Perhaps a second guest of honor, another famous person might be asked. That would make the coffee a stellar double bill, attracting Jews of all persuasions and religions.

Admittedly, it was a long shot. But one volunteer knew a close associate of a movie icon, who if asked would make the approach; just clear the date, we'll make it happen, and who knows? This might be the coffee to end all coffees. After this event, even Coulson will campaign and vote for Hughes.⁴⁵

No date cleared; it never happened. Two small coffees were held, attracting approximately 25 avowed Hughes supporters. Several volunteers suggested that working with volunteers requires "please," "thank you," and efficiency. But it was the end of the campaign, and too late for the message to get across.

The Right Hand Didn't Know What the Left Hand Was Doing

The Coordinated Campaign wasn't the only Democratic coalition campaign in the area. Shortly after Illinois Primary 2002, Speaker of the Illinois House, Michael Madigan's Democratic Party of Illinois sent workers to

⁴² Since 1999, I've given several seminars to the "schoolers" on topics ranging from Township government to how to phone bank and work precincts. For each of these much material had to be crammed into a short time. The "schoolers" had a daily quota to meet. This stressed some of them, making it harder to learn their material.

⁴³ Comment made at Hughes' campaign headquarters August 24, 2002.

⁴⁴ The Jewish High Holiday season begins with Selihot, ten days before the Jewish New Year, Rosh Hashanah, ending a month later with Simcha Torah.

⁴⁵ The star in question is a senior citizen, who studies Talmud, is interested in all things Jewish, and does charitable work. Admittedly, it was a long shot. But the venue existed for an approach.

many of the campaigns in the 9th CD, including the campaigns of Pat Hughes and Madigan's daughter Lisa Madigan.

Extra campaign staff with funds to support them is always welcome, and both men knew their jobs. But now there were two coalitions in the 9th CD, both having difficulty coordinating with the other.

Hughes had two DPI/Madigan staffers at his office, in addition to his campaign manager. Agendas collided; the manager on one occasion described herself as merely the scheduler.⁴⁶ Madigan's people sometimes had difficulty understanding that volunteers knew their territories.⁴⁷

All of this resulted in scheduling glitches. I saw this first hand when I received my schedule of campaign Election Day training sessions for election workers from the Coordinated Campaigns Election-Day coordinator. Assuming that all arrangements had been made, I collated my materials and showed up ready to train. But on three occasions no one had published the schedule, and I arrived unexpected. I did my trainings but time and money were wasted.⁴⁸

Single-issue advocate groups also played an unforeseen role, perhaps a decisive role, in the campaign. During the primary, Gloria Steinem and the National Organization of Women (NOW) called a large number of Democratic women in the 9th CD, urging them to take a Republican ballot, "just this once,"⁴⁹ to vote for Lieutenant Governor Corrine Woods, one of three Republican candidates for governor. Leaders of the Coordinated Campaign worried Steinem's calls would drain crucial votes away from Blagojevich, and were viewed as an intrusion and a nuisance. Blagojevich was pro-choice, so what was the point of taking a Republican ballot?

At the conclusion of the Hughes campaign, single issue advocacy groups resurfaced. Both Hughes and his opponent Coulson were pro-choice, and had made their views known. Nonetheless, the weekend prior to election, a Washington DC based group, an offshoot of Personal PAC sent a mailing entitled "the Pro-Choice Ticket." On the mailing was a drawing of a ticket with Coulson's and Schakowsky's names linked. The flyer made appear Schakowsky endorsed Coulson.

The Niles Township Democrats had made some effort to work with Hughes. Sutker had come to Hughes' headquarters; Sutker gave Hughes a book from his personal collection. Hughes was slightly ahead in the polls; Sutker wanted to make friends with the man who just might be representing half of Niles Township.⁵⁰ It was crucial for Sutker to have at least one friend in the legislature.

That flyer was the *coup de grace*—and all of us knew it. Hunter saw the flyer on Friday afternoon, November 1st, too late to send out a mailing. Sutker also realized the flyer's importance, and Irwin Sutker, Cal's younger brother, raced over to Hughes headquarters, presumably to inform the candidate of the great betrayal. Upon seeing I in the parking lot Irwin Sutker began screaming at me that Jan betrayed Pat. Tempers flared; stab-in-the-back accusations were made.⁵¹ Hughes knew neither Schakowsky nor I had anything to do with the flyer. But the whole incident was unpleasant.

Schakowsky spent the weekend before the election calling supporters, disavowing the flyer. But the damage had been done. Pat Hughes lost the election by 420 votes or 2%, approximately one vote per precinct. Too many cooks *had* spoiled the stew.

⁴⁶ Comment made by Laura Hunter, September 2002. Ms. Hunter was exasperated by all the "politics" in the office.

⁴⁷ Most of the volunteer staff made suggestions on how to position Hughes in Skokie. They were politely heard then informed that the situation was well in hand.

⁴⁸ Cf. Madigan Headquarters, October 27, 2002. The House of the White Eagle.

⁴⁹ Gloria Steinem, recorded phone message, March 2002.

⁵⁰ Sutker had few allies in Springfield. The State Senators were all Schakowsky supporters. Representative Lang was an ally, but one with personal ambitions. If Sutker succeeded in forging a bond with Hughes, he might be able to reestablish himself because he gained some leverage.

⁵¹ I followed Sutker into headquarters and spoke personally to Hughes who knew the flyer was the work of a group eager to promote choice, and tout pro-choice female candidates.

HISTORY AND THE POLITICS OF THE PERSONAL: HOW THEY RESULTED IN FUN'S DECLINE DURING THE 2002 CAMPAIGN

"...And the sins of the fathers..."

Election 2002 became so personal and bitter that even the most enthusiastic supporters wished for November 6th. Much of the ugliness showed up in the statewide campaigns, the campaigns given the most media attention.

The campaigns for both Governor and Attorney General would have been unique under any circumstances. If Rod Blagojevich won, Illinois would have her first Democratic governor in 30 years; Lisa Madigan, if successful, would be Illinois' first female Attorney General. But the venom that spewed as Election Day approached made their campaigns both unique... and frightening.

Blagojevich and Madigan had powerful, well known parents. Lisa Madigan, the adopted daughter of Illinois Speaker of the House, Michael Madigan; Blagojevich, the son-in-law of one of the most powerful Aldermen in Chicago, 33rd Ward Alderman Richard Mell. Some voters wondered if either candidate had been named "Jones" or "Smith" would they have been considered for Governor or Attorney General in the first place.

Both Madigan and Mell were respected but feared; neither seen as paragons of virtue. Blagojevich and L. Madigan were portrayed as inexperienced by their Republican opponents. If either were elected they would be dutiful children, not officeholders. Alderman Mell and Speaker Madigan would run Illinois, Republicans threatened.⁵²

The Republicans had their own problems. Governor George Ryan was increasingly implicated in the License for Bribes scandal and misuse of the Secretary of State's office.⁵³ The Republican candidate for governor, James Ryan, served as Attorney General while licenses were sold to the highest bidder, and employees were expected to raise campaign funds if they wished to keep their jobs. He did nothing to stop the practice; the Justice Department conducted the investigation and prosecuted.

James Ryan was also involved in the prosecution of Rolando Cruz for the 1983 murder of Jeanine Nicarico. Cruz was twice found guilty and sentenced to death before it was discovered that the prosecution had knowingly overlooked exculpatory evidence. Both trials were viewed as miscarriages of justice. Governor George Ryan pardoned Cruz shortly before he left office.

James Ryan's name further confused matters, by the campaigns end his campaign signs read, "Jim!" Ryan went so far as asking George Ryan to resign. George Ryan refused, providing no help to James Ryan. During one of the candidate's debates Blagojevich accused Ryan, of standing by and doing nothing, and, therefore being complicit in the crime. Ryan lost his temper. Blagojevich appeared the bully; his lead shrank. Shortly before the

⁵² James Ryan's literature stressed his honesty; Birkett stressed his trial lawyer's experience. Both men's campaign literature stressed their independence from the "Chicago Machine."

⁵³ Governor George Ryan was elected Illinois Secretary of State in 1994. Upon assuming office he named Scott Fawell, his campaign manager, as the head of the Secretary of State's Office. Fawell demanded all employees raise campaign funds for Ryan, either by selling tickets or soliciting campaign donations for services. In addition, the office sold truck drivers' licenses to drivers with no business on the road, the money going to Ryan's campaign war chest. Trucking companies all over America knew their drivers could receive an Illinois license for a bribe. This led to tragedy. Reuben Ramirez, who knew no English and drove a truck charitably termed a wreck, received an Illinois license. In 1996 a piece of his truck fell on the expressway, hitting the van behind it belonging to Reverend Willis and his wife. Six of their children died horribly in the resulting fire. The scandal, "the license for Bribes scandal," revealed the depth of corruption in the Illinois Secretary of State's office. Fawell was recently convicted of racketeering; it's rumored former Governor Ryan will shortly learn a new trade, making wallets at "Club Fed."

election, a poll commissioned by the St. Louis Post Dispatch reported Ryan had pulled ahead.⁵⁴ Democrats feared Blagojevich would lose.⁵⁵

The Attorney General race was even more acrimonious. Joseph Birkett, the Republican candidate for Attorney, was also one of the DuPage County's States Attorneys involved in the prosecution of Rolando Cruz. He portrayed himself as a seasoned criminal lawyer, belittling Madigan's experience. Madigan had relatively little courtroom experience--Birkett scoffed at her experience in the courtroom. He characterized Madigan as a stalking horse for her father, ridiculing her at every turn.

Madigan offered her experience in the Peace Corps and her administrative experience, calling herself, "the people's lawyer." She campaigned with popular former U. S. Senator Paul Simon, who praised her experience. Speaker Madigan was not mentioned at these meetings, and Lisa Madigan pointed out occasions when she voted against her father's wishes while State Representative. The Republicans accused Speaker Madigan of campaign irregularities, to which Lisa Madigan responded by calling for an investigation, angering supporters and foes alike.

While endorsed by the Tribune, Madigan's chances began to look doubtful

Both campaigns revolved around the respective fathers' history, rather than the children's accomplishments. The more this occurred; the bitterer the campaigns became. On occasion I had to remind voters not to judge the candidates by their fathers. This tactic sometimes worked well when I spoke in senior citizens homes.⁵⁶

Another example of the extent of the acrimony: On October 30th I was passing out Madigan flyers at the Howard "L" station, a commuter rail hub, flanked by two standard-bearing campaign aides. I offered a flyer to a young who began screaming "You stupid horrible loser" repeatedly. Madigan's campaign aides were nonplussed, asking me if I was all right; I only mystified. Why get that angry? Why not just walk on?

Then it hit me. My hairstyle is a bit similar to Madigan's. I wear wire-rim glasses; so does she. While Madigan is much shorter than I, she looks taller on TV. Both of us are somewhat angular and wear raincoats. She mistook me for Madigan, and believed she had put Lisa in her place by publicly degrading her. Madigan—who was greeting passengers that morning 20 feet behind me with TV cameras rolling--never heard a word. The young woman felt she struck a blow for Birkett, never knowing she had vented her spleen on me, a DePaul University History teacher, missing Lisa Madigan completely.

Nuts and Bolts and "we happy few"

By the time November 5th drew near, the bitterness of the competing campaigns in the 9th CD, coupled with competing campaign interests placed fun in short supply. Some volunteers and paid staff alike wondered if they would even be remembered after Election Day; others feared losses up and down the ticket. And everyone was tired, sick, and demoralized.

In addition to coordinating a ward with 2 other volunteers,⁵⁷ I was the 9th CD Election Day trainer. This meant I gave training sessions on how to work effectively on Election Day to volunteers. Training consisted of a pastiche of election law, what to wear, duties, and emergency action. I'd done it all in previous elections.

On October 25th, one of the morning radio programs reminded its listeners it was the anniversary of St. Crispin's Day. *Henry V* is my favorite Shakespearian play, and here was a perfect opportunity.

⁵⁴ C. "Ryan Pulls Ahead," The St. Louis Post Dispatch, November 1, 2003, 1. The poll was conducted by Zogby; the Dispatch had endorsed James Ryan.

⁵⁵ Bruce Newman, Professor of Marketing at DePaul University and an international authority on campaigns commented that this exchange was the "turning point" in the campaign, September 20, 2002.

⁵⁶ I represented Governor Blagojevich, visiting nursing homes on his behalf. The residents never failed to ask about Blagojevich's and Madigan's experience, and would they only do the bidding of their respective fathers.

⁵⁷ The 6th Ward in Evanston was the ward in question. I shared responsibility with Benita Cohen and Michael Rothschild.

I had already always included part of the soliloquy. Now I had the perfect conclusion: All trainings ended with a quick then-and-now history lesson, Shakespeare's marvelous soliloquy, and "Ladies and gentlemen, 'give 'em Hell!' " Election Day training isn't the stuff of inspiration or battle cries. I expected some polite applause, but was both gratified and delighted at the cheers and foot stamping that followed each training session.

Why the burst of enthusiasm? The campaigns had been so overcome by the invective and the nuts and bolts arrangements that the vision, necessary for any campaign had slowly dissipated since the primary. For a few minutes, the St. Crispin's Day soliloquy brought it all back, making past drudge work and Election Day duties part of an exciting and important historical undertaking.

All of us planted signs, made certain our volunteers were ready, and got a few hours sleep before the battle... I mean the election.

ELECTION DAY 2002

There's an unwritten rule in the 9th CD that Election Day is wet, windy and cold. No matter how neat every one looks as the day begins everyone looks like a bedraggled mess by the time the polls close at 7 PM. Election Day 2002 was no different.

Tempers were already frayed, and polling place volunteers were in short supply. Miscommunication resulted in shouting matches. I opened a precinct that was undermanned. My records had been mistakenly thrown out, and I was flying 'blind.' A colleague shouted that I had stood her up, and she was "done with me." I turned off my cell phone and kept on working.⁵⁸

In one polling place judges did not allow poll watchers to compare voters' signatures. The States Attorney's office had to be called.⁵⁹

Evanston's firefighters' union placed polling place signs, and when necessary, worked precincts. Their leader complained that one of the ward coordinators was "over the top" by 10 AM because the early morning volunteers didn't show up at one polling place. The leader said it was no problem; the firefighters worked the precinct. By 10:15 all the poll watching volunteers in that ward were in place.⁶⁰

But tempers were still short, mine included. Shortly before noon I voted, then stopped at Pat Hughes headquarters to pick up signs. While at Hughes headquarters I saw a 14 year old volunteer, who works on all campaigns, and takes sole responsibility and credit for every victory.

Most of the time I'm glad he's so interested in politics. But the hours, miscommunications and general nervousness were telling on me as well. The young man asked me, "I'm invited to Blagojevich's party. Are you?" Normally I'd said yes and continued to work. But today was different, I was tired, and it was just noon. I turned to him, saying, "I'm invited to all the parties. But now it's Election Day and I must work." End of conversation.

As a ward coordinator I spent Election Day riding through the ward taking tallies, making certain each polling place had volunteers. A problem occurred at the end of the day when one of the volunteers had to leave early. Another volunteer had to be found...quickly.

Election Day 2002 was supposed to have had a low voter turnout. But nobody informed the voters of this. Polling places in the 6th Ward in Evanston were registering above 300+ voters, tallies usually seen only in presidential

⁵⁸ I had left my records on my desk for a minute as the cleaning began. When I returned they had disappeared; in their eagerness to clean headquarters the cleaning crew had thrown them away. Fortunately, my computer entries remained, and I was able to reconstruct. The miscommunication occurred when I was frantically attempting to find the records.

⁵⁹ Evanston, Ward 6, precinct 3.

⁶⁰ Fire fighter, Jeff McDonnell, November 5, 2002; Ward 6, precinct 1.

elections. None of us knew what to make of this. I was told my numbers were inflated; I replied mine were computer tallies, not estimates.

Furthermore, the voters had made up their minds before entering the polls. They were on a mission. “Passers,” volunteers, who pass out election literature, were either ignored or insulted by the voters heading toward the polling place to do their civic duty. I pulled passers inside to assist the other poll watchers.⁶¹

Election Day ended. At last it was over. I collected copies of the poll voter tallies, and my volunteers with learning disabilities, and headed to the Prairie Moon restaurant where the DPOE party tallying took place.

I arrived late, having collected my student volunteers as well as the tallies, to arrive at a massive victory party. Almost the whole ticket had won. Embraces and shouts of “congratulations” rang through the room.

Committeeman Jeannie Cleveland Bernstein was all smiles, with good reason. The Democratic Party of Evanston was responsible for 10% of Blagojevich’s and Madigan’s margin of victory. Evanston had outpolled Niles Township as well. No one had rolled over the DPOE.

* * *

Unfortunately Pat Hughes had lost by 2 percent. His campaign suffered the most, because of the conflicts and a savvy opponent. Margaret Coulson had effectively promoted her uniqueness as a healthcare provider, her pro-choice stance, and her father’s incarceration in a NAZI concentration camp during World War II. Basically, Coulson ran and won by running as a liberal Jewish in Skokie. Hughes simply projected himself as a nice man, which just wasn’t enough.

After saying good night, I went over to Hughes’ party at the American Legion Hall in Wilmette. It bore witness to the adage, “The saddest words of tongue and pen are the words ‘it might have been.’”⁶²

I stayed for a short time, and then went home. I was too tired to party the night away, and my class meets at 8:30 on Wednesday mornings.

Victory has spoils. I concentrated on planning for Blagojevich’s inauguration and inaugural ball. My son, Sol moved to Washington DC to be an Assistant to the Governor in the governor’s liaison office. The holidays approached.

But elections are the sport of Cook County. Shortly after New Year’s I became involved in Mayor Daley’s election campaign and in the 49th Ward Aldermanic Race for Alderman Joseph Moore.

Both campaigns went well; both were fun for the reasons listed earlier. ⁶³Now Election 2004 beckons.

CONCLUSION

It wasn’t clear after Election 2002 why Illinois Democrats triumphed, especially when they lost nationwide. The unexpectedly large turnout also mystified amateurs and professionals alike. Most of the campaigns were so heated

⁶¹ Robert Seidenberg, c. “*Voter Turnout up in Evanston*,” The Evanston Review, Pioneer Press, November 23, 2002, 8.

⁶² Hughes was surrounded by family, old friends and close supporters.

⁶³ The Daley campaign staff made it a practice of thanking volunteers every time they entered the office. In addition, Chicago’s restaurants donated massive amounts of food. The tag line for this campaign was, “*Es es mein kindt*”; Alderman Moore’s campaign provided hats, gloves and scarves, and socks to anyone who put up candidate signs on Election Day.

and personal that, if conventional wisdom prevailed, they should have suppressed voter turnout, and sent voters into the Republican fold.⁶⁴

The opposite occurred. Why? During Election Day I thought the Republicans had come out *en mass*. The 6th Ward in Evanston was known as a Republican bastion. The high turnout was worrisome.

It turned out that only the 6th precinct, which is more Republican than Peoria, voted Republican, and the judges complained their pluralities were lower than usual.⁶⁵

The remaining 9 precincts reported landslides for the Democratic ticket.

The voters' attitude was also mystifying. They entered the polling place as if on a mission. Passers did no good. What was the Voters' mission? Why the attitude?

It was only after the Governor's Inauguration on January 13, 2003 to place things into perspective. Illinois Democrats won because:

1. The 2000 census and redistricting favored Democrats.
2. Illinois citizens yearned for change in the wake of the License for Bribes scandal.
3. Localized campaign issues: While there was talk of returning the U.S. Congress to Democrat control, campaign issues centered on local matters: Illinois' economy; discount prescription drugs for senior citizens; health insurance; education; child care; employment.
4. Democratic Congressional and Senate candidates on the national level were likable, and had little competition. Voting for Democrats on the state and local level was perceived as helpful to them, resulting in more intergovernmental cooperation.
5. A win in Illinois might bring Durbin and Schakowsky higher office at a later date.⁶⁶
6. The 9th CD has a liberal tradition and history stemming from Judge and Congressman Abner Mikva's campaigns in the late 1960s.
7. Schakowsky's 1998 primary victory and ensuing Congressional victories shifted the power away from the more traditional Democrats and re-energized the Liberal/ Progressive Democrats in the 9th CD.

But one factor not readily measured may explain the victory more than the others listed above.

The "Consarned" Factor saved the Democrats!

Democrat and Republican staff and volunteers were so busy attempting to win for their candidates they overlooked voters' perception as they busily phone banked, planned campaign tactics, and defended turf. In the meantime the voters decided they weren't going to let the chance to have a Democratic majority in all parts of Illinois

⁶⁴ Cf. #58; Jack Doppelt and Lynne Shearer, *NonVoters: America's No-Shows*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1999, cf. 2,11.

⁶⁵ Lawrence Garfield, poll watcher, November 5, 2002. The 6th precinct is located in the Presbyterian Homes and is usually considered a Republican bastion. Comments on declining pluralities reflect the strong Democrat turnout.

⁶⁶ Lynn Sweet, the Sun-Times Washington D. C. Bureau Chief suggested Schakowsky run for the Senate in July 2002. Schakowsky considered running for Senate; there was talk of an announcement. But by September Schakowsky decided to remain in Congress. Had she pursued the Senate seat the primary would have resembled a donnybrook to date at least three people are vying for the Senate seat currently held by Senator Peter Fitzgerald, and the fight for her vacant Congressional seat would have made the Civil War look like a Sunday School picnic.

government slip through their fingers. Most Illinoisans decided that the 1994 Republican revolution was a failure, bringing only unremitting scandal to state government.

The voters entered the polling places, glared at the party workers, and voted their consciences. They brought about the victory; they spoke; they chose.

What of the future? What's to be learned?

Perhaps the following are the lessons of the 2002 Illinois General Election:

1. Don't underestimate 9th District Illinois voters.
2. Sometimes campaigns are saved in spite of themselves.
3. Winning campaigns, like politics, are local.
4. Never let the campaign's goals and visions for the future get buried under the day-to-day hassles.
5. More planning is needed to combine coalition campaigning and individual political campaigns. Most political campaigns focus on the personalities and ideas of the individual candidates. Yet, today, candidates get elected by coalitions. Getting coalitions to work in tandem is the single largest challenge of all campaigns.
6. Pay attention to the local activists. Like the scouts of the old west, they know the territory.
7. Use local activists and volunteers in policy discussions; avoid the temptation to turn them solely into phone bankers and envelope stuffers.
8. Train staff members and interns in the common sense parts of campaigns, and provide detailed briefings on the history and politics of their area.
9. Train campaign professionals and interns to thank their volunteers regularly.
10. Have the candidate visit campaign headquarters on a regular basis.

These points will bring "fun" back into politics, and by extension, government. As more citizens get involved, campaigns will become less of a spectator sport. Confidence will return, and politics' image will revive for the better. Fun is infectious. Even Tocqueville would have been pleased.

There are only small signs, but public involvement appears to be returning. Since 9/11 more students are interested in politics and campaigns. As Jeana LeRoy, one of my students recently noted, "If you don't vote, you don't have a right to complain about the government." LeRoy exemplifies the "consarned" factor at its best.⁶⁷

While the "consarned" factor in Election 2002 emerged because of anger over the conduct of the recent campaigns, it revealed the depth of Illinoisans' confidence in deciding their political fate. If "fun" returns to political campaigns, and the public re-energizes, even in the face of 9/11, the war in Iraq subject and the declining economy, who knows what the future could bring?

For Alexander Hamilton was wrong: the people aren't a "great beast." They're simply "Mad as Hell and not going to take it anymore." Somewhere Thomas Jefferson is smiling. In fact it's rumored he's alive, well and eating pasta at Dave's Italian Kitchen in downtown Evanston.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Jeana LeRoy, comment made March 21, 2003.

⁶⁸ Peter Finch's soliloquy, "Network"; Thomas Jefferson was a gourmet chef, and introduced pasta to the U.S.

APPENDIX I:

HISTORICAL PRECURSORS AND THE DECLINE OF HONORABLE POLITICS

Disgust with the candidates and voter apathy didn't spring up overnight. Like the campaigns of the Illinois 2002 Primary, history shaped the negative view of politics. Before exploring why the Illinois 2002 Election wasn't fun it's necessary to look at its historical backdrop and the factors that created it.

Since the Vietnam War, Americans' confidence in our democracy and government has been severely shaken. A majority of Americans turned against the Vietnam War after the *Tet* offensive in 1968, yet no amount of lobbying or demonstrating appeared to have any effect on President Johnson or the Congress. The demonstrations and riots that took place at the Democratic Convention in 1968 so completely disgusted many Americans that they gave up on the system. In short they "disconnected" from the political process. That was the beginning of a process now known as the "disconnect factor," the voluntary disassociation of many Americans from politics and elections resulting in dwindling voter franchise and disgust with politics.

The war also contributed to increased use of narcotic drugs by middle class Americans. It was during the late 1960s that Timothy Leary advised the generation disillusioned and in danger of being drafted to serve in Vietnam to "turn on, tune in and drop out." Flower Children and the religious cults revealed the extent that some Americans disconnected with American Life, and began "awaiting the Revolution," as noted in the Beatle's song. It was popular to not "trust anyone over 30." Folksinger Phil Ochs sang:

"It's always the old who lead us to the was/
Always the young who fall.
Now look what they've done/
With a saber and a gun.
Tell me is it worth it all?"

The drug problems that are so clearly visible today originated in part with those events.

Nixon's failed attempts to get out of Vietnam, and his fear of defeat in 1972, resulted in the Watergate scandal. The Watergate scandal and President Ford's speedy pardon of Richard Nixon didn't help matters. Many believed The Pardon proved that Richard Nixon was above the law. "Why bother with the system?" many asked.

The media also did not escape criticism. Edith Efron asserted the media were all moderately liberal, justifying this assertion by rating the words commonly written as "liberal or conservative."

My students repeatedly inform me that they believe the public is "controlled" by the media. They also believe that the media (electronic and print) don't give them the full story. Commentators such as Carolyn Kay and Dave and Kathy Glicker view themselves as "underground media."

Disgust with politics led to a decline in Voter participation. Campaign styles added to the voter decline.

Columnist E.J.Dionne jr, in *Why Americans Hate Politics*, hits the topic of political miasma head on. Using the 1988 presidential campaign as his test case, Dionne alleges that Liberalism and Conservatism have failed the voter [10, 345], that campaigns have become too personal, and dirty. Lack of alternatives and in-depth campaigning has rendered the voter apathetic and angry. Dionne advocates a return to more issue-based campaigns, and blames the liberals for not articulating more distinctive programs.

Dionne is echoed in some measure by Alexander Keyssar, *The Right to Vote*. While giving a history of the somewhat tortured spread of the franchise, Keyssar notes that few citizens exercise their voting rights. The majority of officeholders, according to Keyssar, are elected by a minority of the eligible voters. (320-322).

Keyssar raises the intriguing possibility that the recent dwindling number of voters may result from voter contentment—"if it ain't broke don't fix it." But he believes the highly personal nature of elections 'turns off'

most voters, who express their displeasure by sitting home on Election Day. Keyssar and Dionne, thus, are on the same page. (320)

Jack Doppelt and Lynne Shearer made a study of “non voters” in *Non Voters: America’s No Shows*. In addition to taking a survey of registered voters who did not participate in the 1996 presidential election, Doppelt and Shearer published representative interviews of the non-voters polled.

Their survey and interviews revealed that rather than being members of the great unwashed, non-voters parallel voters in education and income. Non-voters span all education and income levels. Doppelt and Shearer classified them into 5 general groups: The Doers, Unplugged, Irritables, Don’t know, Alienated. Professional non-voters, in fact, are often active in non-political community causes (29).

But each non-voter group believes it cannot affect government. The politicians don’t care about them; they’re angry and believe voting is an exercise in futility. In October, 1980 I went to New York on a business trip. I traveled from LaGuardia to Manhattan on airport bus, and during the trip all of us began discussing the presidential election. The driver’s comment illustrates the belief that the citizen is powerless. He said, “Whether Reagan’s president or Carter’s president a year from now I’ll still be behind the wheel of this bus.”

In my review of the Doppelt Shearer Book, “*A Tale of Three Cultures*,” I noted that sustained democracy requires confidence. The citizen must believe her/his vote and input counts if American democracy is to remain viable.

The tie between confidence and participatory American Democracy predates Doppelt and Shearer, as well as my review of their work. During the 1830s one European traveler was so taken with American self-confidence, that after visiting America, he wrote an analysis of American Democracy. *Democracy in America* by Alexis DeTocqueville has become a classic account of what made viable American Democracy tick. Stanley Mellon, Alexis De Tocqueville’s Paris, notes that Tocqueville was enthralled with American’s self-confidence, wishing to explore it in greater detail.

Each of the authors discussed above, with the possible exception of Tocqueville, notes in negative terms the emphasis on individuals rather than issues in political campaigns. Stressing individuals rather than issues is the essence of the politics of the personal, a form of campaigning apparent in most campaigns today. Writing about administrations often translates into writing biographies of their leaders. The best examples of this are the biographies of Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley. In addition the late Milton Rakove defined the Cook County political organization by publishing a selection of interviews with campaign workers in the style of Studs Terkel. “Americans with enquiring minds want to know”—and *like* their political leaders. But the politics of the personal campaign style places personality above ideology. Vice President Al Gore’s and Richard Nixon’s poor debating styles contributed to their defeats in 1960 and 2000.

Much of this personal style of campaigning resulted from modern media technology. Thirty-second sound bites aren’t conducive to issue discussion.

But reducing campaigns to latter-day student council elections reduces their importance, while increasing their personal—often dirty—nature. It trivializes the most important parts of democracy; the selection and election of leaders.

The Illinois Primary 2002 revealed voter disgust in its low turnout. Sad but true: the dirtier the campaign, the less inviting it becomes. The voter shows his/her displeasure by refusing to take part in the campaign, and by sitting at home on Election Day. Thus the pool of voters dwindles.

The negative aspects discussed have crept into and permeated the popular culture modern American image of politics, and there are reasons behind the images. Political scandals have occurred all too frequently in the past 35 years. The license for bribes scandal played a major role in Governor Rod Blagojevich’s election, while reinforcing the perception that all politics is corrupt, and no politician is capable of keeping his/her hands out of the taxpayers’ cookie jar.

Why bother participating when the process is so corrupt? Those citizens that continue to believe in the democratic process are viewed either as hopelessly naïve or corrupt, not fit to sleep with the pigs. Candidates are often asked the equivalent of, “Are you a dork or are you slime?” For example, in spring 1998 I attended a cousin’s bridal shower, but did not know many of the guests. When I introduced myself to two of the guests, and when asked, told them about my work in politics, they immediately excused themselves, saying they needed some water.

It’s a vicious circle that feeds upon itself. Anyone interested in politics fights the image of being a backbiting dishonest sleaze. And political campaigns work overtime to overcome the whispered slanders about politicians and elected officials in their desperate attempt to inject idealism back into the political process. These days the most successful campaigns are those that cast themselves as outsiders fighting the system. Presidents Carter and Clinton positioned themselves as outsiders, and won.

APPENDIX II:

POLITICAL/CAMPAIGN FUN: SOME EXAMPLES

During the 2002 primary the Chicago Tribune endorsed Larry Suffredin for county commissioner in the 13th district. The campaign manager felt the endorsement should be mailed to over 300 voters in the district. The flyers and labels were printed. All that was needed were the stuffers. Enter Gloria Calesi Suffredin, her friend, Sylvie and yours truly, all veteran envelope stuffers. The work began, and we folded and stuffed with great speed. As we worked, others in the office noticed that we were setting an envelope stuffing speed record. I postulated that it would even go faster if we had Paul Robeson’s songs to cheer us on; citing Robeson’s wonderful recording of “*The Song of the Volga Boatman*.” Gloria rejoined that she knew the song in Russian, and began singing away. Sylvie and I joined her. The mailing was ready 10 minutes later, and everyone in the office was laughing. We’re still friends and still laugh about that mailing.

On Election Day 2002 I had six volunteers on the 6th Ward in Evanston who had learning disabilities. Nowhere in the Constitution does it say that election volunteers are required to have triple-digit IQs, and these 6 college students were more than eager to work. They had no way to get to the polls on Election Day, so I loaded them all into my car, and drove them to their respective polling places--all the while going over their Election Day duties.

When we arrived at Ward 6, Precinct 1 the judges worried about them. But Attorney General Lisa Madigan’s poll watchers were more than happy to give the volunteers a helping hand, and everyone worked beautifully together, relishing the experience. At Ward 6, Precinct 8 all the judges were grandparents, and happy there was a young man who wanted to volunteer. They seated him at the judges’ table, cheering him along and helping him when help was needed. That’s camaraderie.

An Example of “fun” in a losing Campaign:

The Community Vision Party, challenged the local incumbents who were members of the Skokie Caucus Party for village office. It was the first substantial challenge to the Caucus party in 35 years. But the CVP was outspent and out-campaigned, garnering roughly 25% of the vote.

But all wasn’t lost. During the campaign the CVP succeeded in getting the Caucus village officials to debate their challengers. The CVP won that debate. The Skokie Review endorsed three members of the CVP ticket.

Loss notwithstanding, the CVP members remained friends, and a force to be reckoned with in Skokie.

APPENDIX III:

THE MADIGAN CAMPAIGN

Lisa Madigan's campaign may well be the exception that proves the rule: Her campaign worked very well with the campaigns in the 9th District. Madigan always arrived on time; never lost her temper; listened to questions. In addition, her poll watchers went out of their way to be helpful to allied campaigns. It was a Madigan attorney who summoned the State's Attorney for irregularities in Ward 6, precinct 3.

There might have been a great deal of bitterness between Madigan and the 9th District Democrats. Madigan's opponent in the primary, former U.S. Assistant Attorney General, John Schmidt lives in Evanston. A former opponent had to be transformed into a worthy candidate and friend...quickly.

Lisa Madigan made a trip to Evanston, facing tough questions from the DPOE Executive committee at the end of June. The tone and implications of some questions, "What do *you* bring to the table?" were insulting. But Madigan kept cool and won the respect of the local party.