

Politics Indiana

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Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, April 3, 2008

Hamilton: Obama creates unity

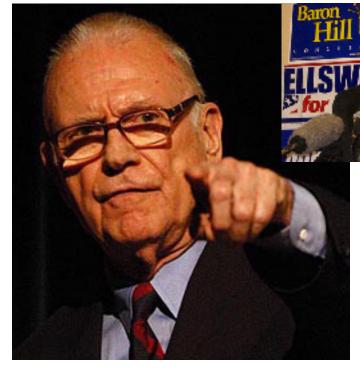
Former congressman's endorsement could shift Southern Indiana

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

NASHVILLE, Ind. - One of the most memorable moments in Howey Politics Indiana's coverage of this state came in August 1994 when then U.S. Rep. Lee Hamilton gave an emotional defense of President Clinton at the Indiana Democratic Editorial Association. In doing so, Hamilton said, "Sometimes when I'm standing at a public meeting, I feel a curtain drop between me and the people I'm talking to. I'm a politician and, therefore, they say, my word cannot be trusted."

Fourteen years later, Hamilton cited Sen. Barack Obama's ability to "reshape the contours of American politics" in announcing his support of

the Illinois senator on Wednesday at the same moment former President Bill Clinton was speaking before 1,000 people at a packed Columbus firehouse. It is a huge endorse-



ment in a state where much of the Democratic establishment is backing Hillary Clinton. Steve Hildebrand of the Obama campaign said that as the Obama forces explored around the state, people kept asking, "Where does Lee stand?" In Southern Indiana, it wasn't

"Congressman Hamilton." it was "Lee," the wise man who

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Gov's race fully enjoined

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS - On Tuesday, the Indiana Democratic gubernatorial primary was fully enjoined when Jill Long Thompson hit the airwaves with 600 gross rating



Jim Schellinger gathers endorsements from Mayor Luecke and Gov. Kernan Wednesday.

points in all instate media markets. It includes a cable buy in the Chicago media market. "We're on the air and the reviews of the spots are good," said Thompson media consultant Chris Sautter. "We're on





"If we see Iraq as a set piece, we are more likely to become fixated on artificial notions of achieving victory or avoiding defeat.'

- U.S. Richard Lugar, in his opening Foreign Relations Committee statement on Iraq



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Former Gov. Joe Kernan speaks of his longtime family ties to Jim Schellinger. (Schellinger Campaign Photo)

message. It is fair to say today that looking back six months ago, few people thought Jill would be on the air for good five weeks out. I think she will be able to protect the lead." Within hours, Jim Schellinger had trotted out three endorsements: former Gov. Joe Kernan, South Bend Mayor Stephen Luecke and Lafayette Mayor Tony Roswarski,

And there was the SurveyUSA Poll (March 29-30, 530 likely, +/-4.3%) that showed Schellinger with a miniscule 41-39 percent lead, though the Thompson campaign questioned its veracity. "The Hotline won't even use their numbers," Sautter said. Schellinger's own pollster, Fred Yang, was quoted in the Hotline advising clients not to use them, though Sautter acknowledged that even SurveyUSA could spot a trend. And the trend is that this race will likely be close. Lost in the din of the presidential race that could stoke turnout to modern highs, with women in Texas and Ohio turning out in the 58-59 percent range, anything can happen. Schellinger campaign manager Tim Jeffers acknowledged the challenges. "Both campaigns are struggling with the same thing: Name ID and learning about the candidates. What we are facing from the presidential race are a lot of distractions."

The Kernan edorsement was key for Schellinger, particularly in Northern Indiana. "I have known the Schellinger family for many years," said Kernan, who served as governor

from 2003 to 2004. "Jim is a great friend and will make a great Governor." South Bend Mayor Steve Luecke joined Kernan in endorsing Schellinger, calling for leadership that will work with local leaders to bring positive change for Indiana. "I'm proud to join Gov. Kernan today in endorsing Jim Schellinger," Luecke said. "Jim is the kind of leader who will reach out to both state and local leadership across Indiana to create actionable solutions that will improve South Bend and our entire state." Schellinger said, "I'm truly humbled to be in my hometown today, receiving support from two tremendous leaders who have given so much to both our state and the city of South Bend. Growing up here, I'd never have imagined this moment, For the past three years, our state has moved in the wrong direction, and I am ready to help pick up Indiana and bring Hoosiers the leadership they deserve."

"It means a lot," Jeffers said.
"Part of what we've been struggling with, despite being out there a year, is it's a big state. He's been to all 92 counties, but to get the endorsement of major city mayors and a former governor gives credibility. We're very excited about it."

The two candidates had their first exchanges over the issues. Thompson urged a suspension of the gas tax and accused Gov. Mitch Daniels of a 17-percent "tax increase." Long Thompson proposed placing a trigger in state law that would automatically suspend the sales tax on the



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portion of sales price exceeding \$2.75 per gallon, saving Hoosier motorists about \$100 million per year. Schellinger responded by saying, "We all agree that the price of gasoline is out of control, but you can't balance the books based on one side of the ledger. For the past three years, we've lived under Washington-style budgeting, where Mitch Daniels claimed he was fiscally responsible even though he balanced the 2005 budget on the backs of schools, homeowners and local governments. His brand of piecemeal problem-solving, which he must have learned from George W. Bush, is what helped get us in this mess to begin with. Instead of merely addressing the surface issue of the sales tax on gasoline, we need to address the overall issue of rising fuel costs and what we can do to lower that burden on Hoosier working families and businesses."

Thompson campaign manager Travis Lowe assailed Schellinger's response. "What's even more disturbing than Mr. Schellinger's general approach to taxes, is his consistent record of dismissing tax relief for Indiana's working families," said Lowe. "As an architect he has regularly lobbied for higher property taxes to pay for the expensive school construction projects he has designed and now he is outright dismissing the idea of helping Hoosiers cope with the high price of fuel and new sales taxes."

Late last week, it looked as if the Democratic race was going to wobble into the gutter. The widely

repeated scenario was that Schellinger hadn't moved the numbers sufficiently during his solitary three weeks on the air. With Thompson joining the air war, Schellinger's ability to move the numbers is compromised ... unless he goes negative. The Schellinger campaign had been fuming about the Trident Air story that has pretty much confined itself to the Fort Wayne media market. The controversy involves an LLC the Schellinger campaign has funneled money from Schellinger's

business partners to provide his air travel. The Schellinger campaign believes the Thompson campaign planted the story in Fort Wayne. It made its way to the Indiana Election Commission, but it doesn't appear as if it will shift the outcome in any sort of dramatic sense. When Thompson came out with an ethics proposal that would end the "pay to play" political donations from firms seeking state contracts, the Schellinger campaign responded by bringing up the 1992 U.S. House banking "scandal" where more than 300 Members had been routinely bouncing checks. They accused Thompson of bouncing 17 checks when she initially claimed there had been a couple. Her campaign

pointed out that the U.S. Justice Department cleared her of any wrong doing, and that she had been confirmed for Under Secretary of Agriculture by a Republican-controlled Senate three years later.

"It was a 16-year-old incident," Sautter said. "It seemed like they completely over-reacted on the ethics proposal." The story got very little play outside of the blogs and the Indianapolis Star. HPI found a 1992 Fort Wayne Journal Gazette photo of then U.S. Rep. Jill Long spreading out 17 bank statements in an effort of full disclosure. The story had little political consequence later that year when she defeated Republican Chuck Pierson by a 62-38 percent margin. The Thompson campaign reminded the media that at last October's HPI Forum, both candidates vowed to refrain from personal attacks.

Sautter characterized JLT's ethics proposal as one that would "really revolutionize Indiana politics." He explained, "Schellinger made his way into politics due to pay for play. It was a legitimate question to ask where he stood." Hours after Schellinger fired the banking salvo, it hired controversial Democratic communications director and Taking Down Words blogger Jennifer Wagner as its communications director. Schellinger called her the "perfect choice." Did Wagner's hiring mean the Schellinger campaign was about to take the gloves off and put on the brass knuckles? "She's very talented and you know as well

as anybody that in any gubernatorial campaign, you have 15 or 20 things to do. We zeroed in on effective communications effort. We're ramping up. With Jen's skills and abilities, we can make some improvements."

Does it mean the attacks will be coming? "We're going to focus on Jim's plans," Jeffers said. He's expected to roll out health care proposals, probably next Tuesday. His government reform plans, where he will attempt to draw a sharp contrast

to Thompson, will come at the end of the month. "We're sensing momentum," Jeffers said. "We've been on TV for three weeks in Indy and South Bend and two weeks everywhere else. We've got some nice endorsements this week: Luecke, Kernan, Roswarski. That's a big boost."

What should we expect next? A WISH-TV poll is in the works, which should give us the first credible independent head-to-head numbers of the cycle (the next Howey-Gauge Poll will be released on April 29). An April 15 debate is scheduled for Fort Wayne via the Indiana Debate Com-



U.S. Rep. Jill Long in a 1992 effort at full disclosure with her U.S. House Bank statements. (Journal-Gazette Photo)

mission and others will be announced.

HPI Horse Race Primary Status: Tossup. *****



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Hamilton, from page 1

served in the 9th CD for 34 years, representing a culturally and politically red Congressional District.

With U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh, former Gov. Joe Kernan, former Lt. Gov. Kathy Davis, House Speaker B. Patrick Bauer, former House Majority Leader John Brademas and

former First Lady Judy O'Bannon backing Hillary Clinton, the Hamilton endorsement couldn't have come at a more crucial time for Obama. A SurveyUSA Poll showed Clinton leading Obama 51-42 percent, though while the Clinton clan has made close to 20 Indiana stops over the past two weeks, at least two polls show her lead eroding in Pennsylvania. Quinnipiac had her leading 50-41 percent while Rasmussen Tracking had her up 47-42 percent.

The Clinton campaign countered with the Brademas endorsement Wednesday. ""I have known Hillary

Clinton for many years and I am confident that she has the intelligence, the integrity, and the experience to jumpstart our struggling economy, create needed Hoosier jobs and put the country back on the right track," Brademas said.. "I look forward to working with the campaign to share Hillary's economic message and help deliver the Hoosier State for her on May 6."

Not to be outdone, Obama responded with Ethel Kennedy, who will travel to South Bend, Fishers and Indianapolis on Friday. "Over these past few years, I've watched Senator Obama inspire Americans from all walks of life to believe in real change and a new sense of hope and possibility," Mrs. Kennedy said. "He's a magnetic force. Barack is so like Bobby, who struggled for the rights of the poor in the Mississippi Delta and Appalachia, traveled to California to stand in solidarity with Cesar Chavez and farm workers, and fought to end another war."

Hamiton said that in a recent speaking tour to Southern Indiana, he was asked by just about everyone he talked to whom he would support. "It was really that trip to Indiana that prompted the timing," Hamilton said. "It did impress me."

At stake could be where Indiana's undecided super delegates - U.S. Reps. Baron Hill, Joe Donnelly, Brad Ellsworth and Andre Carson - end up. As he talked to the Indiana news media Wednesday morning at about the time President Clinton was taking the stage in Columbus, Hamilton said, "I see I have pending calls from several of them on my desk right now. I have not encouraged them. I think they will make up their own minds." Hamilton said the next president will face "about as formidable a foreign

policy agenda as any president in my memory." Hamilton explained, "The beginning point for me is to ask the question, what kind of leadership does the country need at this particular juncture in its history? I think the country is very evenly divided. I think it's very difficult to get things done. We've got enormous challenges both domestic and foreign. It's also an environment in the country that has very sharp partisanship. So I support the election of Sen. Obama for

several reasons. He has the best opportunity to create a sense of national unity and to transcend the divisions in the country. He's a person that strikes me as one who seeks the politics of consensus. I believe the political skill most needed in the country today ... is the ability to bring people together; not to drive them apart."

Hamilton said, "Driving people apart is relatively easy to do; bringing them together is very difficult to do." He said that Obama has a worthy approach to Islamic extremism, echoing similar comments from fellow 9/11

Commissioner Tim Roemer had made to HPI. "Obama has clearly recognized the challenges of radical Islamic extremism, He has put together an agenda of hope and opportunity for that part of the world." He also emphasized Obama's willingness to create a dialog, though not a "starry eyed" one. "I don't know how you solve problems without talking to people," Hamilton said. "Not talking to adversaries - only talking to friends - is a path toward stalemate and we've got some terribly important negotiations on the table we must move forward on." The campaign said that it was talking with Hamilton about possible campaign events for Obama.

Hamilton added of Obama: "He's got the best chance to start fresh, change and inspire the country in his march to a stronger and more perfect union."

As the two presidential campaigns opened more offices around the state, Clinton also picked up some key endorsements. Crown Point Mayor David Uran, Hobart Mayor Brian Snedcor, Whiting Mayor Joe Stahura, Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott and East Chicago Mayor George Pabey all endorsed the New York senator. It seemed to counter the wave of Northwest Indiana legislators and Gary Mayor Rudy Clay who had endorsed Obama.

Obama began making phone calls to the media in advance of his second trip to the state, a town hall at Wayne HS in Fort Wayne at 11 a.m. Friday, and another two or three days coming next week. "I assure you we're are going to be in the Lafayette area," Obama told the Lafayette Journal & Courier over the phone. He had a similar comment to the Times of Northwest Indiana over the weekend.



U.S. Baron Hill with his mentor, Lee Hamilton. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)



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"We are going to be back in Indiana on Friday of this week and will be spending two or three days in Indiana the following week," Obama said. "I confess I don't have my schedule in front of me, but I assure you we are going to be in the Lafayette area. I am looking forward to talking to people about how we can change this country, especially to make it work better for working people. Everywhere I go I'm meeting people who are at risk of losing their homes, maybe their job got shipped overseas, they're having trouble paying bills, they don't have health care, and they don't feel like Washington's listening to them. What I've been emphasizing is the need to restore government and listening to the American people, reducing the influence of special interests and lobbyists, and that's been what I've been doing for 20 years now, and that's the kind of leadership I can bring as president."

This Hoosier presidential sequence began last Friday when Hillary Clinton made a five-city swing through Hammond, Mishawaka, Muncie, Indianapolis and New Albany. But the news emanating from that cycle was that she would stay in the race after U.S. Sen. Patrick Leahy of Vermont called on her to step aside. "There are millions of reasons to continue this race: people in Pennsylvania, Indiana and North Carolina, and all of the contests yet to come," Clinton said. "This is a very close race and clearly I believe strongly that everyone should have their voices heard and their votes counted. I believe a spirited contest is good for the Democratic Party and will strengthen the eventual nominee. We will have a united party behind whomever that nominee is. I look forward to campaigning over the next several months. There are some people who are saying, 'You know, we really ought to end this primary, we just ought to shut it down. The crowd at Mishawaka High School responded by shouting,"No, no!"

Obama wasn't one to press Sen. Clinton. "I think that she should run as long as she wants," Obama told the Journal & Courier. "Her name is on the ballot. She should compete. I think that after the last contest on June 3, I think it's important for us to come together as quickly as possible and select the nominee, because at that point, there will be no contest to be had. I respect Sen. Clinton's tenacity, her willingness to compete. Ultimately, this isn't about Sen. Clinton and myself, it's about, what are we doing to deliver to the American people? I don't buy this notion that we're going to be divided come August at the convention." Obama added, "I understand why people are frustrated about the length of the campaign season, but think about what's happened. States have been able to participate that never participated in the primary in a real way before. I think people have taken an intense interest in this race. That's all good. That's all helpful. And I think it bodes well for our performance."

Hamilton is another who thinks the contested primary going deep into the calendar is good. "Sen. Clinton has every right to stay in her race and should stay in the race," Hamilton said. "I worry much less about the candidates than I do the voters. The important thing is not the candidates here, but the voters to have their say and the opportunity to express themselves. Let the process play itself out. I am quite pleased, frankly, that Indiana - my state - has an opportunity to play an important role. I cannot remember that in times past."

Coming up: The Indiana Debate Commission has extended an invitation to Sens. Clinton and Obama to debate on April 24. Neither campaign has committed. Rocker Dave Matthews will peform a free concert at IU's Assembly Hall at 7 p.m. Sunday on behalf of Obama. ❖

Hoosier House freshman face super dilemma

By MARK SCHOEFF JR.

WASHINGTON -- Three Hoosier Democratic freshmen in Congress face a difficult challenge in the May 6 Indiana primary. They're not taking on tough political opponents. They're making a difficult political choice. For the first time in recent memory, Indiana will play a sig-

nificant role in choosing a presidential nominee. Sens. Hillary Rodham Clinton (New York) and Barack Obama (Illinois) are bringing their slugfest for the Democratic nod to Indiana. A SurveyUSA poll shows Clinton leading by nine points but a Howey-Gauge poll has Obama up by 15.

If the voting in Indiana and

the other remaining primaries doesn't produce a clear winner, the decision on the Democratic standard bearer will come down to super delegates--elected officials and other state party leaders. Clinton may have a slight edge in this category so far, but Obama is gaining momentum.

That puts pressure on Reps. Baron Hill (9th CD),

Brad Ellsworth (8th CD) and Joe Donnelly (2nd CD) to make up their minds. None of them appears ready to do so before the primary.

Earlier this week, Hill was courted by President Clinton in what Hill called a "lengthy conversation" about his wife's candidacy. But even after being lobbied by a politician with extraordinary





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persuasive gifts, Hill remained neutral in the Clinton-Obama tilt. "I like both of them," Hill said in an HPI interview on Monday as he was leaving a Purdue University reception at the Library of Congress. He said he is leery of declaring his support because he's not sure whether the voters of southeast Indiana want him involved in a national race. "I have a district (where) I have to be careful politically whether I endorse anybody," Hill said. "One of the things I've learned is to make sure I stay local."

Donnelly and Ellsworth are taking a similarly cautious approach. Neither made themselves available to HPI, but they issued similar statements on Wednesday. "Ultimately, I will support whomever I think would best serve our country as president," Donnelly said. He listed several factors he will weigh in making his choice: the pledged delegate count, the popular vote and the results statewide as well as in the 2nd CD.

Ellsworth said he is "watching the race closely, as all Americans should" and called 8th CD voters "independent thinkers who will make up their own minds." But then he added an important element to his decision-making process. "I am inclined to support the Democratic candidate the voters choose," he said.

If Obama wins, that could put him at odds with Sen. Evan Bayh. Bayh has been a strong Clinton proponent, working hard for her and spending enormous political capital around the state. Bayh is a super delegate whose preference is not in doubt. Hill, Ellsworth and Donnelly each benefited from Bayh's help in their 2006 campaigns. The senator took them under his wing, in an effort to reinforce his bona fides as a Democratic political power in a red state. If the freshmen three vote against Bayh's presidential candidate, that could reflect poorly on Bayh. It's a blemish Bayh won't want on his record, which he has decades to continue to build. At 52, his presidential prospects remain viable even if Clinton or Obama win and serve two terms. If the presumptive GOP nominee, Sen. John McCain, prevails, Bayh could run for president as early as 2012. Regardless of his national fate, he will continue to control the state Democratic party for the foreseeable future. Do Hill, Ellsworth and Donnelly want to risk crossing him?

All three are pleased that Indiana will have an important role in choosing the Democratic nominee. "I'm convinced that the real winners at the end of this process will be the state of Indiana and the party because of all the energy and enthusiasm the candidates are generating among the electorate," Donnelly said.

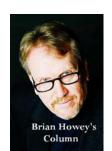
Hill is not concerned that the ongoing Obama-Clinton battle will split the party. "A lot of people are participating in the political process that haven't participated before," Hill said. "Tell me that's not healthy." More Democrats may be headed to the polls in May than ever before. But the ones whose vote will count the most may end up being the freshmen three. *

Memo to Barack and Hillary:

Welcome to Indiana, home of the veeps

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS - To Barack and Hillary, welcome to Indiana, home of the vice presidents! Dan Quayle, Charles Fairbanks, Thomas R. Marshall, Schuyler Colfax, and Thomas Hendricks are the alums. But as the riveting 2008 elec-



tion unfolds and John McCain compiles his list of 20 possibilities, we count four Hoosiers who are making some of the various short lists: Republican U.S. Rep. Mike Pence and Democrats Sen. Evan Bayh, Lee Hamilton and Tim Roemer.

This was supposed to be Evan Bayh's year. When he dropped out of the presidential race in December 2006, the whispers had Bayh possessing a "soft commitment" from Hillary Clinton

as her vice presidential nominee. In September 2007, Bayh's endorsement of the "inevitable" Clinton nomination appeared to be evidence of this arrangement. Here, Bayh was a momentum builder for the former First Lady. But this is a year when conventional wisdom has been turned on its ear ... repeatedly and consistently.

And there's one thing that Hoosiers know by now: that obvious vice presidential timber doesn't always build a ticket. Since 1972, President Nixon's "favorite mayor," Richard G. Lugar, was supposed to be poised for a national ticket. Keith Bulen attempted a coup, rightly believing Vice President Spiro T. Agnew was deeply flawed.

But the nattering nabobs could produce no miracle at Miami Beach that year. In 1980, Lugar again was poised to join Ronald Reagan's ticket. Rex Early writes in his book, "**It's a Mighty Thin Pancake**," that the Indiana delegation was gathered around the "red phone" linked to the Reagan braintrust (while George H.W. Bush sulked in a bar) which was supposed to ring with the news of the Reagan-Lugar ticket, When the phone rang, it was Indianapolis Star columnist Tom Keating ordering two pizzas (no achovies, please).

Hours after that gag, American politics changed in a dramatic way with news of the Reagan-Bush ticket. Eight years later, it was Bush-Quayle, a choice so completely out of left field that even Dan Quayle was caught off guard. The sentiment heard across the Hoosier prairies was vivid: George H.W. Bush picked the wrong Indiana senator! And to think how American history would have changed if the choice had been Lugar.



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On Monday, Washington Post blogger Chris Cillizza elevated Tim Roemer to his Obama veep list, also including Tim Kaine, Bill Richardson and Nancy Sebelius. Cillizza wrote, "A former congressman from the South Bend-based district in Indiana, Roemer could up his chances if he can help deliver the Hoosier State to Obama on May 6. As importantly, Roemer was a member of the high-profile 9/11



Commission and is currently the president of the Center for National Policy, a think tank that looks closely at national security issues."

He had Bayh on his Clinton short list: The protracted primary fight is good news for Bayh's vice presidential chances as he gets an (unexpected) opportunity to show his mettle

on behalf of Clinton in Indiana's May 6 primary. Bayh has a terrific case on paper: two terms as governor and two terms in the Senate from a red state in the Midwest. He's also been one of the most effective and active advocates for Clinton throughout the campaign. Bayh's biggest problem is that vice presidential picks are not always made on paper. His detractors see him as stiff and shallow, a choice that wouldn't create much excitement.

Lou Jacobson of Stateline.org wrote a column for HPI last winter in which he touted former Congressman Hamiton, who at age 76 would be a real stretch. But Jacobson writes that Hamilton is a moderate, has decades of Washington experience, would beef up Obama's "thin resume," is battle-tested by holding the red-tinged 9th CD for 34 years, and that his 9-11 Commission would end GOP "ownership" of that calamity.

Hamiton was asked on Wednesday about joining an Obama cabinet after he endorsed the Illinois senator. "My name has come up in the last five or six Democratic nominees for president," Hamilton said. "It's pretty obvious I haven't any job."

When presumptive GOP nominee John McCain campaigned in Indianapolis last winter, he was asked about Pence being on the ticket. He responded by saying it was too early to focus on the veepstakes. The two of them made international news a year ago at Baghdad's Shorja market. Current speculation centers of Republican governors. But Pence earned some attention when shortly after McCain had the nomination sewed up he urged conservatives to give him a chance and outlined a wish list. If McCain feels he will lose the conservative wing of the party, which seems less likely today than it did a month ago, Pence's name could pop up on short lists.

Both Roemer and Pence appeared at the HPI Forum in October 2006. HPI observed at the time, "When Tim Roemer spoke about 9/11 and Pence on immigration,

they offered two of the most eloquent moments. They differ vastly on many issues (though both are pro-life) and perceptions. But both are fascinating communicators. Do not be surprised if either of these Hoosiers begin making national party ticket short lists in the summer of 2008."

And our take? At this point, with Obama a more likely Democratic nominee than Clinton, we see Roemer as perhaps having the best shot in the always fickle veep-stakes. If the momentum swings back to Clinton, then Bayh resurfaces. But this is no redoubt to cheer on the hometown boys. If we had to place a bet on the veep today, our best guess would be an Obama-Webb ticket (that's Sen. James Webb) and McCain-Romney (there are no obvious GOP female, African-Americans or Hispanics, though 65-year-old, Sen. Kay Baily Hutchison comes closest). •

Race ads have been effective in the past

By CHRIS SAUTTER

WASHINGTON -- - Jim Sasser knows something about negative ads. The former two-term Democratic U.S. senator from Tennessee once had a Fidel Castro look-a-like appear in a negative ad accusing him of getting too



cozy with the Cuban dictator. Sasser was elected three times, defeating incumbent Bill Brock in 1976 and losing to Bill Frist in the Republican wave of 1994. All of his campaigns featured tough negative ads in a state known for its roughand-tumble campaigns. Over a drink at my local Chinese restaurant while waiting for take-out orders, Sasser told me of his concern about the impact of the Jeremiah Wright controversy on Barack Obama's chances in the November gen-

eral election. "There will be Swift Boat ads like no one has seen before," Sasser predicted.

Sasser's remark made me think about the impact of negative ads using race in prior campaigns as I prepared for a class I was teaching at Indiana University's School of Journalism. Why not screen some of these spots for the class? So I went about digging through some classics of political advertising. Race baiting in American politics is as old as the Republic. But when the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 guaranteed equal rights to Americans of all color, explicit racist speech gave way to code words. In 1964, George Wallace ran in several Democratic primary contests on a platform of "State's Rights," which was a polite way of saying each state should



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be able to decide whether to continue racial segregation in their schools and in public accommodations. Richard Nixon successfully used phrases like "law and order" in 1968 to appeal to white fears about urban crime and civil disorder.

President Reagan was fond of telling campaign audiences stories about welfare mothers driving Cadillacs. With the rise of television advertising in politics, it was inevitable that such appeals would appear as imagery in campaign ads. Oddly, one of the first political ads to specifically use race was developed by President Lyndon Johnson's campaign in 1964 to depict Republican Barry Goldwater as too extreme on racial issues. The explosive spot, which never aired, showed footage of a KKK cross

burning while the narrator quoted the head of the Alabama Klan embracing Goldwater as one of their own. After the controversy over the "Daisy" ad, which suggested that Goldwater might lead the country into nuclear war, the Johnson team wisely kept the Klan spot on the shelf.

One of the most effective political ads using race was the Willie Horton ad developed by supporters of George H.W. Bush in 1988. The ad is credited with

defining Democrat Michael Dukakis as being too liberal for mainstream America. In fact, when Bush campaign manager Lee Atwater read an opposition research report on Dukakis, he vowed to make Willie Horton the most famous person in America. The ad began simply enough: "Dukakis and Bush on crime. Bush supports the death penalty for 1st degree murders." Then the ad takes a quick turn: "Dukakis not only opposes the death penalty for 1st degree murders, he allowed 1st degree murderers to have weekend passes from prison." The ad goes on to describe how Horton murdered and raped while out on a Dukakis weekend furlough. The cheaply produced spot shows a series of grainy black and white stills of a sinister looking Willie Horton, who was black. Dukakis was never able to escape the out-of-touch liberal label, which the ad put on him.

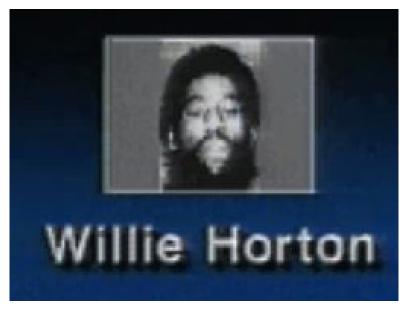
An even more explicit use of race appeared in an ad produced by Sen. Jesse Helms in his 1990 re-election campaign against Harvey Gantt. Helms had a well-deserved reputation for hardball politics and race baiting. The spot which many observers believe helped Helms come from behind to defeat Gantt, who is black, showed the arms and

hands of a white man opening and then crumpling a rejection letter. The voice-over is heard saying, "You needed that job, and you were the best-qualified. But they had to give it to a minority because of a racial quota. Is that really fair? Harvey Gantt says it is."

An ad, which helped Harold Washington become Chicago's first black mayor, used the ugly side of racial politics to appeal to the better instincts of white liberal voters. The spot opened with a series of well-recognized historic photos—the beatings of civil rights workers in the South, the assassinations of John Kennedy and Martin Luther King, and the killings of students at Kent State. The

narrator says "There are

moments in our country's history in which all Americans are thoroughly and profoundly ashamed. One of those moments may be happening now, here in Chicago." The spot moves into contemporary footage of angry whites screaming at candidate Harold Washington as he campaigns in a Chicago neighborhood. The narrator continues, "When you vote on Tuesday, make sure it is a vote you can be proud of." Washington narrowly defeated Republican Bernard Epton in a city which is overwhelmingly



Democratic.

A controversial ad in using racial and sexual stereotypes is credited with helping Republican Bob Corker defeat Harold Ford in 2006 in Jim Sasser's home state. The spot features a series of mock man-on-the-street interviews talking sarcastically about Ford and his stands on issues like taxes and national security. Then it cuts to an attractive white blond woman, bare-shouldered, who claims she met Ford at a "Playboy party." The spot closes with the woman winking and saying "Harold, call me." Many observers felt the spot played upon old Southern racial fears.

While it is clear that political ads using race to appeal to the fears of white voters have worked, there is also some evidence that such advertising loses its appeal when exposed. Barack Obama has based his entire campaign on the premise that Americans are ready to move beyond the racial divisions of the past 50 years. Sen. Sasser's prediction that there will be tough Swift Boat-like ads aired against Obama is undoubtedly accurate. Whether Americans decide to cast votes they can be proud of remains to be seen. ❖



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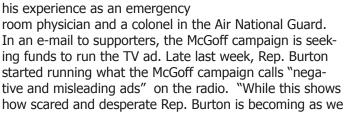
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2008 Congressional

Congressional District 5: Republican:

U.S. Rep. Dan Burton, Dr. John McGoff, Clayton Alfred. Democrat: Chester Kelsey, Mary Etta Ruley, Kenny Stall. Geography: Media Market: Indianapolis, Fort Wayne, South Bend. People: Urban/rural 73/27%; median income \$40,381; Poverty 9.5%; Race 84% white, 8% black; 5 Hispanic; Blue/white collar: 34/50%. 2006 Republican Primary Result: Burton 61,150, Alfred 6,869, Wakley 4,822.

2006 General Result: Burton (R) 133,118, Carr (D) 64,362, Sharlow (L) 7,431, Miller (I) 18. **2008** Forecast: McGoff unveiled his first TV ad, stressing "integrity, leadership, experience." It tout



move closer to the May 6 election, we want to make sure vou are armed with the correct information to combat what the other side is saying," said campaign manager Trevor Foughty. The ad called McGoff a "career politician." McGoff notes that he successfully ran for Marion County coroner in 1996 and 2000 and secretary of state in 2002. It notes that since 1966, Burton has spent 42 years in office. "Yet he wants to imply that John is a career politician?" Foughty asked. Burton Claim #2: While coroner, John's budget went up 200%. Foughty writes, "The first year John was in office, the coroner's budget was \$1.1 million; the last year, it was \$1.9 million. That is an increase, but only 73%, a far cry from 200%. John's budget went up for various reasons that were beyond his control. First, in 2002, the coroner's office was forced to move out of the Marion County Jail because they were running out of space. John was forced by the county to find new

space for an office and the new overhead was reflected in his budget, rather than out of the sheriff's budget. Second, in 2004, the auditor's office decided to move PERF, health-care, disability and employer social security payments for county employees from the auditor's budget to each county agency's budget. This resulted in every other county agency's budget increasing, while the auditor's decreased. At best it was a shell game, and did nothing to increase taxes. Finally, it is important to note that John became the first coroner in the history of the state to actually generate revenue for the office, offsetting many of these budget increases at no expense to the taxpayer. He did this by negotiating a contract with the State Department of Health to investigate natural causes deaths for the state. Primary status: Leans Burton

Congressional District 7: Democrats:

U.S. Rep. Andre Carson, State Rep. Carolene Mays, State Rep. David Orentlicher, Dr. Woodrow Meyers, Joseph Stockett III, Frances Nelson Williams, Larry Ledford, Pierre Pullins. **Republican:** State Rep. Jon Elrod, Cat Ping, Lawrence Shouse **2008 Outlook:** The ads for Democratic congressional hopeful Carolene Mays, which are expected to debut today on radio, feature a glowing endorsement from the Rev. Jeffrey Johnson (Indianapolis

Star). That's the same Johnson whose church held the funeral of U.S. Rep. Julia Carson, D-Indianapolis. Her grandson is now the 7th District incumbent. Johnson's support for Mays, a state representative for Indianapolis, is only one of many signs that black clergy once unified behind Julia Carson may be pulled in many directions as the May 6 primary draws closer. Not only is the field divided among three well-known black candidates, but one of them, Andre Carson, is a Muslim, further complicating the picture for some. With a little more than five weeks left until the primary, more ministers than usual remain uncommitted. And all of the candidates in the Democratic primary, including a fourth prominent contender, state Rep. David Orentlicher, D-Indianapolis, are working to secure their endorsements. "Generally, you are able to



State Rep. Carolene Mays is seeking support in 7th CD churches. (Mays Campaign Photo)



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determine long before this stage in the campaign where many of the black churches are coming down," said Rozelle Boyd, a former City-County Council member and longtime leader among black Democrats. "But that has not been the case in this situation." Leading up to his special-election victory March 11, Carson and his surrogates visited 36 black churches. Since the special election, Mays has so far focused on black churches almost exclusively, hitting as many as four a week. Former state health commissioner Woody Myers has aimed for two a week. Mays, Carson, Myers and Orentlicher are expected to continue their church stops across the district for the next five Sundays. Mays will introduce her neighborhood plan at a Community Rally, Thursday April 3, 2008 beginning at 1:30 p.m. at Save the Youth, 1704 Trumbull St. (near 38th and Orchard Ave.). The Myers for Congress Campaign is pleased to announce the launch of its campaign blog. Available at http://www. myers2008.org/blog, the blog will serve as a forum for citizens and activists to discuss Dr. Woody Myers's candidacy for Congress in Indiana's 7th District. The blog launch comes two days after the campaign began running radio ads in Indianapolis. Audio of the ad entitled "Mess" is available on our blog. Orentlicher will unveil his "green jobs" proposal on Earth Day (April 22). "These steps will improve the health of our planet, the health of our children, and the health of our economy. For too long, our government in Washington has dragged its feet when it comes to addressing the threat of global warming and the rising costs of gas and other energy supplies. We need to step up and lead the rest of the world in protecting our environment and ensuring that our economy can continue to grow and meet our future needs," Orentlicher stated. Primary Status: Leans Carson

9TH CD: Democrat: U.S. Rep. Baron Hill, Gretchen Clearwater, John Bottorff, Lendall Terry. Republican: Mike Sodrel. Libertarian: Eric Schansberg. 2008 Forecast: Sodrel announced that he is naming Columbus native Aaron Hankins as Chairman of his Pro-Life Advisory Committee. "I'm please to have Aaron join our team and look forward to working with him to advance the Pro-Life agenda," said Sodrel. Hankins said, "Hoosiers deeply believe in the sanctity of Life and want leaders who will advance the cause for Life. Pro-Life leadership is more than casting votes in Congress. Life is the most important moral issue facing our nation today and leadership must make and take this case to the people. This Pro-Life advisory board shows Mike Sodrel's commitment to doing just that and I look forward to working hard with the Sodrel campaign to ensure that the 9th District is the strongest Pro-Life district in America." General Status: LEANS HILL

2008 Indiana Statewides

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Republican:

Secretary of State Todd Rokita, Indiana Election Commissioner Chairman Tom Wheeler, Deputy Attorney General Greg Zoeller. **Democrat:** Linda Pence. **2008 Convention Outlook:** Zoeller is going forward, meeting with 8th CD Republicans over the weekend. **Status:** TOSSUP

2008 Indiana Legislature

SD19 Caucus: Travis Holdman of Wells County has been elected to the state senate seat left vacant by the death of Sen. David Ford. (Bluffton News-Banner) Holdman won with a 43 to 29 vote over his closest challenger on a fourth ballot at the Republican caucus held Saturday morning at Bluffton High School. The other three candidates were Tamra Boucher of Wells County, Nan Nidlinger



Travis Holdman was elected to the Indiana Senate, replacing the late Sen. David Ford. (Blutfton News-Banner Photo)

of Adams County and Mike Scott of Grant County, who was the runnerup in the final ballot. A total of 72 precinct committee members from Adams, Wells, Blackford, Grant and Allen counties took part in the voting, meaning a candidate needed majority of 37 votes to win. No winner emerged from the initial ballot. Holdman had 31 votes, Scott had 19, Nidlinger had 21, and Boucher had one. On the second ballot, Again no winner emerged. Holdman received 32 votes, Scott tallied 20, Nidlinger 19, and Boucher one. Boucher was then dropped from the ballot and the caucus voted a third time. Still, no winner emerged. Holdman received 34 votes, Scott 21, and Nidlinger 17.

Nidlinger was dropped from the ballot, and a fourth vote was cast. Finally, on this vote, Holdman emerged victorious with a 43 to 29 majority. Holdman said he had no acceptance speech prepared. He simply thanked the caucus and quoted Proverbs 15:22: "Plans fail for lack of counsel, but with advisors they succeed." He planned to seek as much counsel as possible when making decisions. .*



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It's not the jobs, it's the money, stupid

By MORTON J. MARCUS

INDIANAPOLIS -"It's jobs, jobs, jobs," presidential and gubernatorial candidates shouted last week in Indiana. And the crowds responded in the affirmative, urging the candidates to promise more jobs for more Hoosiers. OK; jobs are good, but good-paying jobs are better. What Indiana needs are more jobs that pay well. Since the 1980s,



the state has claimed that it is interested only in jobs that pay above the average for the area in which they are located.

When challenged by the fact that the jobs being acclaimed do not always meet that standard, the bureaucrat du jour says that we need jobs for people at all levels in the economic pyramid. Don't get involved in this nonsense. The gues-

tion is, "Will the average wage rise as a result of the new jobs?" New jobs can have a wage level below the average, but as long as they replace lower paying jobs, the average will rise.

Example: if the average is \$15 and the new job pays \$10, but replaces a job paying \$5, the average will rise. It is not necessary to bring in jobs paying more than \$15 to raise the average. What we need to do is drive out the lower paying jobs. The average worker in Indiana in 2007 made about \$51,900. While that's a heap of bucks, it is about 15% below the national average of \$60,800. Worse yet, we are on a path that is moving up only gradually compared to the steeper slope for the nation. Earnings per employed person in the U.S. grew by an annual average of 3.8% over the past three years while in Indiana that increase was only 2.7%.

When the personal income numbers came out last week, showing another poor performance by Indiana, some, seeking any straw, said, "It's because our population isn't growing as fast as the nation, so naturally our total personal income would be slower than the national growth rate as well." Yes, population in Indiana is growing less rapidly than in the nation (0.67% per year vs. 0.95%, 2004 to 2007), but it is our slow rate of growth in personal income (4.6% vs. 6.2%) that is of more concern.

Put differently, in 2004, Indiana had 2.12% of the nation's population with 1.92% of the personal income. In

just three years we slipped to 2.10% of the population (not much of a drop) but only 1.83% of the personal income. Our problem is income, not population. Raise the income and we might well see population grow more rapidly. In which sectors is Indiana adding income faster than is the nation? There were five of them from 2004 to 2007: Federal civilian employment, private educational services, forestry, farming and non-durable goods manufacturing. However, there are 19 sectors where Indiana lagged the nation. They are too numerous to mention here. Oh, but is that too short a period of time?

Let's go back to 1990 to 2007. Now there are nine sectors doing better in Indiana than in the nation: we add five to the previous five (durable goods manufacturing, administrative and waste services, health care and social assistance, arts-entertainment-recreation (gaming), and other services. But we subtract federal civilian employment to give us nine sectors growing faster in Indiana and 15 failing to meet the national average rate of expansion. Even if we printed all the detail here, it would not help our eager economic developers. Too many factors are at work to pluck answers out of a data set. All that we can derive from data are slashes on the tree bark pointing the way along a faint trail. ❖

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

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Rich James, Post-Tribune: As Northwest Indiana awaits the arrival of Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton, there is prime time news on the campaign trail for both Republicans and Democrats. If you had your TV tuned to a news channel -- that excludes Fox -- you likely saw a pretty depressing sight Tuesday. The Republican Party trotted out Nancy Reagan on the arm of GOP presidential candidate John McCain. Well, I guess when you are almost 87 -- as is the case with Nancy -- it is more of a shuffle than a trot. There she was, hanging on to McCain as she stood outside her California home, telling anyone who cared that she was endorsing McCain for president. I don't know if I felt more sorry

for Nancy, McCain or the Republican Party. Here we had the 87-year-old widow of Ronald Reagan -- the last thing the GOP has felt good about -- endorsing a 71-year-old man for president. And all the while, the people of America are clamoring for change. I think McCain is a decent man, but if the GOP has any chance for a rebirth, it better realize that Reagan is no longer with us. And while he was the great communicator, he wasn't a very good president. Heck, Reagan was out of office when Mikhail Gorbachev decided to tear down that wall. •

Sylvia Smith, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette: Reps. Mike Pence and Dan Burton have taken a chastity pledge - they won't ask for any earmarks in the 2009 budget - and some folks in their districts are wondering how to cope with the vow. While the business community in Muncie, Anderson and the Indianapolis 'burbs might agree in theory with abstinence when it comes to the congressional budget addons called earmarks, they are seething privately. It's not as if the money Pence's and Burton's pet projects would have gotten will be dollars taxpayers won't have to spend. In fact, it just means there will be more money spread around in other districts. Let me repeat that: If a couple of dozen members of Congress forswear earmarks for 2009, the pool of earmark money will not shrink. It just will be divvied up among a smaller number of lawmakers. As a result, Ball State University probably will be the only major university in the state that does not get money through the earmarking process. This year it received \$1.2 million for a research project requested by Pence, Sen. Richard Lugar and Rep. Pete Visclosky. Will that – or some other project – get money this year? It's possible, but do you really think any project will get a green light if the congressman who represents the university opposes it? This year, the earmarking system accounted for \$199 million for Hoosier projects; \$6.9 million of that went to Pence's district, and roughly the same amount went to Burton's. If the numbers remain the same for the 2009 budget, the nearly \$14 million Pence and Burton won't get will be allocated to other lawmakers - some in Indiana, some not - based on a political pecking

order. *

Indiana

Jack Colwell, South Bend Tribune: Instead of gaining a strong voice early in the presidential primaries, Michigan and Florida suffered political laryngitis as they

moved up their primaries. They still are unable to say anything about selection of a Democratic nominee. But Indiana, which usually votes too late to have any voice in picking nominees, could speak decisively on May 6 in determining whether Barack Obama or Hillary Clinton will be the Democratic nominee. The extensive campaigning already in Indiana, even with the important Pennsylvania primary vote coming first, shows that both

contenders regard Indiana as a battleground state. Former President Bill Clinton set the bar high. "Nobody believes she (Hillary) can win in Indiana because it borders on Illinois," he told a Fort Wayne crowd. "If you show them they're wrong, she'll be the nominee and she'll be the president." The scenario presented by the former president is this: His wife would win big in Pennsylvania, win in Indiana and follow up with momentum-driven wins he then would expect in West Virginia (May 13) and Kentucky (May 20). While most of the few remaining states holding primaries are regarded as leaning pretty much one way or the other, Indiana is viewed as a battleground where either candidate could win. •

Gary Gerard, Warsaw Times-Union: Just when I thought Hillary couldn't do anything that would shock or surprise me, along comes the delusional account of the Bosnian tarmac incident. Honestly, what was she thinking? For those who may be unaware, Hillary, while on the campaign trail last week, was talking about her vast foreign policy experience. She noted that once, while landing in Bosnia, she came under sniper fire and had to run - head down - to a car waiting on the tarmac. Well, it turns out that a CBS News crew happened to be filming the event and no such thing happened. The film shows a smiling Hillary, Chelsea and the usual entourage exiting the plane and being greeted by a group of friendly people. One of the people turned out to be an elementary school-aged girl who read a poem to Hillary while the group stood on the tarmac. When confronted with the discrepancy, Hillary first said she misspoke. Later, she said she was sleep-deprived. Hillary can say whatever she wants - and she will - but I have a tough time understanding how sleep-deprived you would have to be to tell a whopper like that. Seems to me a person would remember in no small detail whether or not they came under sniper fire. "Hey, remember that time we landed in Bosnia? Were there snipers shooting at us or was there a little girl reading poetry? Darn if I can remember." Yeah, Hillary's sleep-deprived all right. She's also truth-deprived, character-deprived and integrity-deprived. .



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Bayh suggests Clinton-Obama ticket

WASHINGTON - If Hillary Rodham Clinton is the Democratic nominee, an "obvious answer" to

help repair any rifts in the party is to offer the No. 2 spot to Barack Obama, Sen. Evan Bayh said Wednesday



(Smith, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). "I think she needs to first reach out to him directly and possibly ask him to be her running mate if that seems appropriate at the time. That seems the most obvious step," Bayh said at a breakfast discussion with surrogates from each of the three presidential candidates. "He's obviously a tremendous person, a gifted individual." Clinton and Obama are fighting for the nomination, with neither candidate likely to arrive at the convention in August with enough delegates to win. They and their campaigns have been lobbing sometimes-tough criticism at each other, questioning the other candidate's truth-telling, experience and reliability. Bayh was asked how Clinton could repair the intraparty anger if she wins the nomination. Bayh's name is tossed around on a likely short list for Clinton's running mate. But Clinton has hinted that she would consider Obama, who is leading in pledged delegates and the popular vote. Bavh said if Clinton is nominated, she would have to reach out to Obama's most fervent supporters, especially young people, and assure them she "could be an effective change agent, too." He said Clinton's message would have to be: You may not have gotten your first choice, but you can still have a president who speaks for you, who is your champion. Bayh said the enthusiasm generated by the Democratic race isn't all on Obama's

side. Clinton "had 11,000 volunteers call up and offer to volunteer on her campaign (in Indiana) before she set foot in our state," he said. "The fact that she's now getting outspent 4- or 5-to-1 and is still hanging in there and competing very well and winning some of these states, I think speaks to her strength," he said.

Okeson became ill on Sunday before death

FORT WAYNE - Fort Wayne attorney John Okeson died in a Fort Wayne hospital Tuesday evening after becoming ill Sunday night. Okeson was in his forties (WPTA-TV). He served as Indiana's Clerk of the Supreme and Appellate Courts in the 90's. He was the first Allen County resident to be elected to statewide office in about 25 years. He became ill Sunday evening with what was described as 'flu-like syptoms'. Reportedly, he was to be transported to an Ann Arbor hospital for treatment but was too ill to travel. So a specialist was brought to Fort Wayne to attend to Okeson. Gov. Mitch Daniels said "John Okeson taught and improved everyone around him, no one more so than me. His wisdom, calmness under pressure, and the trust and good will he enjoyed on both sides of the aisle were things I'll always remember. But most of all, he was a father. All the 12- and 14hour days he finished by driving north just to be with his kids in the morning - that's what I'll remember most." Allen County Republican Party Chairman Steve Shine said, "This is just shocking. A man so full of vigor, so full of promise. A great leader of the community and of the Republican Party, words cannot express the sorrow and loss that I feel on this unexpected passing of John Okeson." The highlyregarded Okeson was sought-after to run for Mayor in 1999, 2003 and 2007, but chose no to. He was mentioned as a possible candidate for Indiana Attorney General, once incumbent Steve Carter had announced in March that

he would not seek re-election.

Valparaiso U. honored Obama pastor

VALPARAISO - The Rev.
Jeremiah Wright Jr., Democratic
presidential candidate U.S. Sen.
Barack Obama's controversial minister,
received an honorary doctorate degree
from Valparaiso University in 2002
(Post-Tribune). Wright has come under
fire recently for incendiary remarks in
a sermon about the Sept. 11 attack
that some have called anti-semitic.
Some people also interpreted his
speech as saying the country deserved
the attack. Obama is a member of
Wright's church, Trinity United Church
of Christ in Chicago.

Daniels honors Bill, Gloria Gaither

INDIANAPOLIS - Gospel legends Bill and Gloria Gaither were awarded the state's highest honor on Wednesday, as Gov. Mitch Daniels presented them with the Sachem Award during a ceremony in the Great Hall of the Indiana State Museum (Anderson Herald-Bulletin). A crowd of more than 100 watched the ceremony for the local celebrities. The Sachem Award, bestowed just once a year, was first conceived in 1970 by Gov. Edgar Whitcomb. Over the years, the honor was forgotten, until 2005, when Daniels revived the award, presenting it to John Wooden, legendary UCLA basketball coach. The award is meant to recognize "excellence in the pursuit of life's work," Daniels said before the crowd. He added that the honor was not meant to recognize accomplishment alone, but also virtue and morality. "For us, the things you did in life are not as important as the way you led your life." Daniels encouraged Hoosiers to appreciate the rare gifts given by the Gaithers. "Shout with joy, as I have so many times, at the wonders of their gift to Indiana."