



HJR-3 Finale: Long & winding rogue



Sen. Delph tweeted, President Long guided the process, and the 2nd sentence fell into the dustbin

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**
and **MATTHEW BUTLER**

INDIANAPOLIS – In the world of political power and decorum, Exhibit A in the Hoosier context would be the Indiana Senate.

Since late 2006 after the stunning primary defeat of Senate President Pro Tem Robert D. Garton, the reins have been held by the tall, stately David Long, who spent that summer piecing a coalition of female, conservatives and caucus moderates to assume power. It was a literal change of the guard, as the graying power barons fell in primaries, to age and the only sure element of life beyond taxes.

It has never been an easy endeavor. When the Fort Wayne Republican assumed power, it came under the most forceful and dynamic governor in a generation. And



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It's time for some goals

By **CRAIG DUNN**

KOKOMO – I have the honor of sitting on a community bank board. It amazes me how our bank has grown in size and profitability over the last 11 years since its inception. One of the ways that we have grown profit-



ably is a reasoned and well-thought-out use of specific measurable goals.

Our bank uses key measurements of net interest margins, return on assets, employees per deposit levels, allocations for loan loss, profit growth, deposit growth and troubled loan percentages to gauge where we stand, where we want to go and how to know when we are successful.



“We may not get to 7 million, but if we get to 5 or 6 million, that’s a hell of a start.”

- Vice President Joe Biden, speaking about enrollment in Obamacare



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Our employees from the top down are evaluated and compensated on their ability to help us reach our common goals. Our stock owners have been well-rewarded for this use of goals to guide us in our day-to-day tasks.

It dawns on me that this should be a technique that could be implemented by our own state government to move us forward.

I would like to ask Gov. Mike Pence, Speaker Brian Bosma and Senate Pro Tempore David Long, "What are your specific long-term goals for the State of Indiana and its citizens and does the current direction of our government reflect your goals?"

This is not a trick question. Virtually every business owner in the United States, if not the world, starts with the basic determination of goals for their business. Most management experts will tell you that the goals must be specific and measurable. You can't have a goal such as "To make Indiana a better place to work and live." That goal is way too ethereal and difficult to define.

Make no mistake about it, I believe that the average government official, either Republican and Democrat, in Indiana has the best interests of the people at heart. I also believe that our government wanders into left field because of a lack of focus. Therefore, here is a sampling of the goals that I believe might be appropriate for Indiana State Government to adopt:

- Reduce Indiana's unemployment rate to 4%. This would be a good starting point. With a December 2013 unemployment rate of 6.9%, 4% might seem like an impossible task, but in April 1999, Indiana unemployment was at 2.6%. Reducing unemployment to 4% alleviates many of our state's financial woes.

- Increase real median household income in Indiana to \$51,371 by 2018. At the end of 2012,

Indiana trailed the national average by nearly \$4,500, with a real median household income of \$46,974. Once again, a goal to increase our household incomes to \$51, 371 is not impossible, considering that in 2007 the Indiana real median income was \$52, 543.

- Decrease persons living with income below the poverty level to 11.8%. Indiana has seen its number of people living below the poverty level rise from 11.8% in 2008 to 15.2% presently. Worse yet, in 2008 we ranked 26th among the states.

- Decrease our infant mortality rate to 6.14%. Indiana ranked fifth from the bottom in 2010 with 7.62 infant deaths per 1,000 live births. This statistic is a shame on our state. A reduction to 6.14% will only get us to the national average.

- Increase the percentage of Indiana citizens with bachelor's



- degrees to 31.5%. Indiana's current percentage of citizens with a bachelor's degree is 22.9%, which places us 41st among the 50 states. Moving our rate to 31.5% only gets us to a 10th-place ranking. We would have to move our percentage of graduates to 38.1% to be number one. Of course, this statistic is an indicator of both a lower graduation rate of our citizens and of brain drain.

These are just a few of the measurements that our government officials could implement for the long-term betterment of our state. I am sure that there are many other comparative statistics that we might

use to improve the lives of average Hoosiers. I would like to see where we stack up with the competition on an annual basis in high school graduation rates, standardized test scores, prison population, teenage pregnancy, dollars spent on those with disabilities, government debt, government regulations, and the list goes on and on.

The best way for our state to meet our new goals would be for every single elected official to sign off on a pledge to work toward these goals. An elected official not working on an agreed upon goal should be called upon to explain objections to the goal. The public should know how their government officials stack up on the key issues.

It would be nice if senators and representatives, before they file a piece of legislation, would explain how

the legislation would help us reach our common goal. This might well prevent introduction of legislation that benefits few and works to the detriment of long-term success.

A good example of this might be HJR3. I would like supporters of this legislation to explain how it helps us improve our economy, jobs, education, health or quality of life. Without this explanation, I'm at a loss to understand why we have wasted so much time and energy fooling with it. There are so many other areas that demand our governmental attention. ❖

Dunn is chairman of the Howard County Republican Party.

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deep in the back benches, a restive and growing crew of conservatives itched for power. With the ascension of the most conservative governor in modern times, Mike Pence, the conservative caucus had to internalize their quest to complete what they believed would be the true rightward leadership trifecta that would stamp its brand on Indiana policy and politics.

We are all left to wonder what thoughts coursed through the mind of President Long at 10 a.m. Monday, when State Sen. Mike Delph approached a podium far below the Statehouse rotunda.

Delph stood with Curt Smith of the Indiana Family Institute (pictured, right), making a futile case for restoring the second sentence of HJR-3, the lightning rod on the most controversial and conspicuous piece of social legislation since 1988's lottery referendum. In its totality, HJR-3 was a holy grail for the right, and with the super majorities and Pence's imprimatur, almost a foregone conclusion.

The words Delph uttered would be an anathema to the long standing Senate decorum. After a riotous weekend of Tweeting - the 140 character bursts of information, bombast and propaganda that had become the back bench mode of thought conveyance - Delph took on the president. "He who controls the process controls the outcome," Delph charged, insinuating that Long had sabo-



tagged HJR-3 by routing it from Senate Judiciary, where Delph claims there were votes to restore the second sentence, which would have prohibited civil unions, to Rules where the process would firmly be in Long's control.

The second sentence had brought the amendment in the House Judiciary to a standstill, survived a party line vote in House Elections after Speaker Brian Bosma moved it there, with some support just so the full House could consider. It lost on the House floor with 23 Republicans defecting. And in Senate Rules, amendments were prohibited. Ultimately Delph and other social conservative Republicans could only sit and watch HJR-3 pass the Senate with only the first sentence intact. Majority support for the second had vanished.

"It was always assumed in advance it would occur" in 2014, said Delph of the vote most believed would occur this November. Now the earliest it can be considered by Hoosier voters will be in November 2016 and, well, that gets complicated.

Delph had to know there weren't the two-thirds votes necessary to get HJR-3 back to second reading. Monday morning was about

exacting consequences as the Carmel Republican lashed out at Long and other Senate leaders.

Hours later, Long would matter-of-factly brush back the criticism, saying after Monday's vote, "Why would we send something to the voters that's constitutionally questionable? It's the right thing to do to send it to another vote before the General Assembly. If it passes again, it will be put before the voters in 2016."

Liabilities and druthers

It had been a six-month period of leadership

processing HJR-3. Speaker Bosma had acknowledged to HPI last July that the second sentence was a problem, and said at the time that if he had "had my druthers," it would be excised. But in Bosma's moment of truth, he backed and voted for the second sentence, even as the full House rejected.

Long had kept his cards close to the vest on the second sentence. He and Bosma conflicted on what it actually meant. Both are lawyers and politicians. The lawyer in them had to make a determination on how it would play out in the courtroom. The politician in them had to deal with the fallout as well as the court of public opinion.

But there was little doubt that the Senate president wanted the voters to decide. The dilemma he faced was when? Would he follow Bosma's route and foist a deeply flawed and confusing amendment on the voters, igniting what could have been a potential \$15 million media campaign and circus this fall with claws, grainy photos and B-roll aimed at the second sentence with the consequence a potential GOP disaster? Or would he exercise his Senate "druthers" and do it right, even if it collided with Gov. Pence's 2016 reelection bid?

Here's what Long knew deep down in his political soul: Public opinion had been shifting against the constitutional marriage amendment in a series of independent media polls over the past decade. In a 2005 Indianapolis Star/WTHR-TV Poll, 56% supported the amendment. In 2007, it fell to 49%. In October 2012, a Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll found 48% support. And in a Howey Politics Indiana Poll in April 2013, 50% favored the amendment (Speaker Bosma acknowledged HPI polling mirrored House Republican Campaign Committee surveys on the topic). Finally, a WISH-TV/Ball State Bowen Center Poll last December found 57.5% opposed the constitutional amendment and 38% supportive.

Those numbers were based solely on an up and down vote on the marriage amendment. The Chesapeake Beach polling of legislative Republicans released in January revealed a classic dilemma. Long and Bosma would accentuate the fact that 80% of Hoosiers wanted to vote on the matter. But 54% opposed the second sentence concerning civil unions. And that was without a dime being spent by Indiana Freedom to explain this bit of intolerance that was to be enshrined in the document created to ensure the rights of all Hoosiers.

Long said the second sentence had not only sparked a wide disagreement on its legal impact, but had become a political liability. "I think HJR-3 in its original form could have crashed and burned this fall on the second sentence," Long said. "I think the whole discussion would have been on that and not about what we're really talking about, which is about traditional marriage and whether it should be in the constitution or not."

Long is correct.

The second sentence was akin to waving the red flag at a bull. Or daring LeBron James to hit a trey at the buzzer. An Indiana Freedom TV ad campaign this fall

would have zeroed in on the intolerance of the second sentence. Supporters of the second sentence ranging from Rep. Eric Turner, to Speaker Bosma, to super attorney Jim Bopp Jr., and Long himself could not definitively agree what it was for, what it would do, why it was included, and its impact on the social, legal, employment and political playing fields.

More than two years ago, observers from this writer to Democrats in the General Assembly and editorial page editors had flagged the second sentence as unnecessary and mean-spirited, colliding with the basic trait of Hoosier fairness. An array of legal experts debated with no resolution on what it would do in the courts. From the HPI analytical perspective, it had the potential for a Mourdockian ticket drag for the Grand Old Party.

The wrong side of history

On Monday, it became a platform for expressed indignation and conspiracy.

Beyond the second sentence dilemma, HJR-3 and the second clause had vast historical implications. Or as Democrat Sen. Greg Taylor explained, "You can vote for this. You can vote for it again. But I guarantee you, someday our kids will vote to take it back out."

So the notion of "let's get it on the ballot this

year before it has no chance" was disingenuous. Essentially, proponents of the marriage amendment wanted this General Assembly to tie the hands of future assemblies on the question of whether to allow state-sanctioned civil unions and domestic partnerships.

State Rep. Dan Leonard, R-Huntington, framed it most aptly during a late January interview with



Gov. Pence with undecided Reps. Leonard and McNamara outside of the House Chambers on Tuesday. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

Indiana Talks. "We have to put the right question on the ballot," said Leonard. "Many people I talk to are very much in favor of the first sentence. But when they talk about the second sentence, they say, 'We don't like that. We don't want that in there.' But you can't split it. The only way to take it out is to start the process over. I am quite willing to put the correct question on the ballot in 2016.

"Many of the people don't believe it would pass in 2016," Leonard continued. "Why would we want to put it in the Constitution today in 2014 if it would not pass in 2016? We would be binding future generations to something they would not want to do."

Ultimately, that was the most telling question. In best case scenarios, constitutional amendments would

pass with clear, resolute majorities, as the lottery did in 1988 and tax caps had two decades later.

And the reason is, that train is leaving the station.

Just hours after the Senate passed HJR-3 by a 32-17 vote, Public Policy Polling released a survey from Louisiana which showed only 28% backed gay marriage. But on the question of civil unions, 54% favored and 43% opposed. PPP explained in a memorandum: "Nevertheless you can still see signs that acceptance will come eventually . . ."

Not only did we see a shift in the House from 70 votes to 57 between 2011 and 2013 on HJR-3 with just the first sentence, but it went from 40 to 10 in 2011 to 32-17 on Monday. This is a reflection on how things are changing on the ground, well beyond Bloomington and Broad Ripple and into places like Attica, Hartford City, Mount Vernon and now the two super majority packed legislation chambers. And it came without big swells of media money influencing the vote. What happened in the House and Senate became an intimate conversation between senators and representatives, and their constituents. And their constituents were reconsidering.

The Delph spectacle; Long response

The most searing image and sound of the upper chamber chapter of HJR-3 came on a mostly deserted Senate floor in the aftermath of Monday's vote. With the exception of Senate staffers Jeff Papa and Lindsay Jancek and a dozen or so members of the press corps, there stood President Long. For several intriguing minutes, he defended his conservative credentials.

"I would challenge anyone to find a more conservative, low-tax, pro-growth, pro-jobs, pro-education state in the nation since myself and our caucus have been leading the Republican Senate Majority," Long calmly explained. "Anyone who suggests there hasn't been solid strong conservative leadership and that we haven't been good stewards of this state is mistaken and misspeaking. I'm not suggesting any of my members have said it but others have said it out there. I want to be clear: I would



Senate President Long confers on the Senate floor prior to Monday's vote on HJR-3 (HPI Photo by Matthew Butler)

challenge anyone to say and show we haven't been strong leaders on all issues that are conservative and important to our state and a leader, really, for a lot of other places in the state. Our Washington representatives in Congress routinely say how proud they are of the way our state is managed and run as a good solid conservative state and they wish Washington was as well.

"This isn't Washington and we do respect each other here. I am proud of the way the Senate conducts its business. There was a suggestion that perhaps something was sabotaged out there with regard to HJR-3. I have supported the marriage amendment every time it has come to a vote in the Senate. I had the first committee hearing back in 2004. I was asked to conduct it because Sen. Garton felt I could handle it, manage it, and we had a respectful discussion then."

"I believe in traditional marriage," Long stated. "I personally had a difference of opinion with some on whether the second sentence was necessary. I felt it was damaging to

the discussion about traditional marriage and it would be harmful to it and I spoke my mind. But our caucus made the decision, ultimately, not to call down any amendments on HJR-3. Our caucus, as is our way, as is our process. I'm proud of my caucus, all members. We have differences of opinion; we live within those differences. We manage to be able to lead as we have done the last eight years. I'm proud of that.

"We're conservative and proud of it. We make no bones about it."

Just hours before, Delph had stated, "He who controls the process controls the outcome." He blasted Long for moving HJR-3 out of Judiciary where Delph claimed there were enough votes to restore the second sentence. "This clearly shows he was not interested in moving this to voters," Delph charged.

In essence, Delph created a scenario where Long had to explain the process that was established under his predecessor.

"HJR-3 came over to the Senate. Obviously it had a bumpy ride over there (in the House)," Long said. "I never did assign it to Judiciary, I assigned it to Rules." Leading up to the legislation crossing over to the Senate, Long had said he would assign it to Judiciary "where it had always been" as he said earlier.

It prompts this question: What if HJR-3 had started in the more conservative Indiana Senate, as many

had expected? Would it have excised the second sentence? Would Long have had to expend far more political capital to achieve what had been his own deeply shielded reservations about the second clause?

Long explained of Senate Rules, "It is made up of all the Senate leaders, seven committee chairs. I felt it was the more appropriate place. It has nearly a fourth of the Senate. We had our hearing. We gave the opportunity for all sides to speak their minds. Every person who signed up to speak, spoke on both sides. It was very respectful. It was appreciated by all sides. So I'm proud of how Rules Committee handled it and how the Senate managed their committee hearing. Then it went to the floor and our caucus discussed it like we always do. I want to say this very carefully on what caucus does on tough bills."

A lesson in Senate protocol

Long then gave the press corps, perhaps, a once-in-a-generation lesson on Senate protocol.

"We have three basic rules in our caucus," Long began. "Our conversations are respectful so we can have free open-line discussions of the issues from all sides, on all perspectives. We'll take a vote on how our caucus will handle that bill and we honor that vote

"And that we never, ever talk about what happens in caucus, which protects everyone to speak freely; so the water isn't poisoned in our caucus for fear of someone saying something," Long said softly, but with an understated degree of force. "It allows for them to freely speak their minds and it allows them to talk about their constituents and things they would otherwise not speak publicly about.

"It is our golden rule."

Thus, Delph violated the golden rule with what he would describe under the rotunda as the "tweet heard 'round the world," revealing that HJR-3 did not have enough votes in the caucus.

Press reports indicated that after the HJR-3 failed to bring up second reading amendments, Long quietly admonished Delph for that tweet.

"Last week, on Thursday, after I was finished, after session and I came back to speak to all of you and I was asked about that," Long said. "I was reserved in my comments. I did not point anyone out. I did not throw anyone under the bus. I was not disrespectful about



Sen. Scott Schneider (left) talks to an angry Sen. Delph on the Senate floor before the final 32-17 HJR-3 vote on Monday. (HPI Photo by Matthew Butler)

anyone in any way. I tried to manage my caucus and that was not the normal protocol and that we would deal with it later. Now since that time there has been a great deal of controversy and one of our senators has spoken out."

The most vivid contrast

Delph tweeted; President Long spoke in full sentences.

Delph created a social media sensation when he began tweeting Friday, lashing out at Long and Senate leadership, the news media and churches in his own district. In the 20 years of publishing HPI,

we had never seen an elected official lash out at churches and the clergy. It was stunning.

By Saturday, informed and reliable sources tell HPI, Delph was threatening to leave the caucus, something he denied. Delph backed down on that threat, but did not attend the Tuesday caucus. Long said that any discipline and reinstatement would be decided by the caucus.

"Sen. Delph will have to talk to all of us about that and we'll have a discussion. He has not been kicked out. It was Sen. Delph's decision," Long said Monday, before finally saying, "I'm tired of talking about Sen. Delph today but I don't say that disrespectfully, only that I've said enough about that."

Leadership challenge?

Then came the leadership challenge topic. Was Long worried? "You know you never know," Long said. "I serve at the will of my caucus members, but we're close and I feel pretty good where I stand with my members of the caucus. But everyone is always free to file such a challenge."

On this front, Long will always have the restive conservatives. But not only do these conservatives lack the numbers for a palace coup, there is no consensus on who would be the successor. There might be as many as five or six who look in the mirror and see a future President Pro Tem.

After a series of eloquent speeches from Reps. Kevin Mahan and Turner, and the probing questions from Reps. Wendy McNamara, Ed DeLaney and Dan Leonard, the process was reduced to a series of 140 character tweets from Sen. Delph that defined his anger, and raised far more questions than providing the proper nuanced per-

spectives a debate like this requires and had been repeatedly exhibited with grace and dignity by dozens of other House and Senate conservatives.

Delph was coy, cute, precocious, indignant and it augmented his reputation as a grandstander. It did nothing to bolster his reputation and standing beyond the furthest reaches of the evangelical right wing. In terms of his legacy, it was a circus disaster.

Political impacts

Many observers believe that HJR-3 will die on the vine.

As the polling arc demonstrates, the issue is trending away from its original support. Most legal observers and Sen. Long believe the U.S. Supreme Court will take up the case, probably before the 2016 elections. Those politicians like Sen. Delph, who whip out a pocket version of the U.S. Constitution, pass over the 14th Amendment, which guarantees "equal protection under the law" for all U.S. citizens in all states.

The Supremes may make this all moot.

If it doesn't, Gov. Mike Pence will have to make a decision on whether he runs for reelection with HJR-3 on the ballot. If he does, he will have to defend it. And it begs the question of whether the Indiana Family Institute and Advance American be the driving force behind it, now that the second sentence is gone.

HJR-3, in its much more concise and easy to understand form, will bring out the GOP base, which Pence can already expect. The concern for his reelect is what it does to the independent voters who will decide who the next governor will be. And whether it galvanizes the Democratic base to oppose.

The actions of this General Assembly over the second sentence should not be confused with any substantive support for gay marriage in Indiana. But it will spark a political reaction where critics will define it as intolerant and hostile to business which in another environment would be inclined to write campaign checks to Pence.

While it won't ignite the kind of \$50 million national campaign that consumed the 2012 U.S. Senate race (reducing the gubernatorial race to a sideshow that almost produced a historic upset), it has the potential of opening a parallel narrative with an array of potential unintended consequences.

For a governor who won with only 49% of the vote, and who will have to backtrack on the notion of staying positive when it comes to campaign advertising, HJR-3 brings a dangerous complexity to the 2016 cycle.

There will be a number of X-factors: Who will Pence's Democratic opponent be? Who will the two parties nominate for president?

Gov. Pence and legislative Republican leaders - and our prediction is that Long will still be at the helm of the Senate - will have until March or April 2016 to weigh the risks of a constitutional amendment on their political futures. ❖



HJR-3 as a lens for Statehouse politics

By MATTHEW BUTLER

INDIANAPOLIS – As a political reporter, the 2014 Session was my first experience with the Indiana General Assembly. Admittedly, I have had trouble placing all 150 names with their corresponding faces. I probably could not have picked a more interesting time, to be honest. Though not over, it's been quite the learning experience for this novice and I've identified some key takeaways and observations.

First, when it comes to very controversial measures, I learned that every step in the legislative process is an opportunity for proponents and opponents to frame their message. Though it's debatable how persuasive these efforts are, as HJR-3 was considered this snowy winter, each step had the feeling of a showdown.

Needless to say, it was all very exciting. Questions remain, however.

Touted as a coalition of thousands of churches, where were the armies of congregants at the Statehouse on behalf of Eric Miller's Advance America, especially if you augment that with the supporters of Curt Smith's Indiana Family Institute and Micah Clark's American Family Association of Indiana? During all of the HJR-3's House proceedings—two committee hearings, second reading, and third reading—Freedom Indiana supporters were out in force and almost entirely alone as they filled the gallery and hallway outside the chamber.

Only once the Senate Rules Committee hearing rolled around was there anything like a noticeable pro-HJR-3 presence. That, however, was made up not of Miller et al's traditional powerbase, rural and townfolk, but rather African-American ministers and laymen from the state's large urban areas. It was puzzling to say the least. A busload of homeschooling mothers couldn't have



made the drive at least once? I was not present for the right-to-work demonstrations and walkout, but to this Statehouse rookie, in terms of political stage setting and theater, Freedom Indiana won by a mile. It served as a constant backdrop to media coverage, from tweeting to television news cameras, and was completely unavoidable for legislators.

Second, if you're going to fly in "experts" from Washington, D.C., to testify at hearings and hold press conferences on something like HJR-3, which invariably invokes conflicting ideas of what Hoosier identity is all about, it's probably imperative they be very, very impressive speakers. For one side, this was certainly not the case. And, on Wednesday, a national marriage group hinted at legal action to force HJR-3 on the ballot this November citing "promises" Hoosier legislative leaders presumably made to them. Again, it's bad optics.

A third lesson from this session has been how effective (and ineffective) impassioned oratory can be. Rep. Greg Battles' Election Committee statements against HJR-3, even though he voted for it in 2011, were twofold: Why in legal terms are we doing this and why do we think it's worth putting our state through such a divisive, under-the-national-spotlight referendum? It signaled that almost all Hoosier Democrats were now against HJR-3. In the end, out of 44 Democratic lawmakers, only one voted for it.

The two most memorable speeches this session came from two Republicans diametrically opposed to the HJR-3's controversial second sentence. During second Reading Rep. Kevin Mahan spoke for removing it entirely, citing the deluge of constituent feedback he was receiving, many of it from ministers and churchgoers he knew from his district. Mahan's was the most emphatic speech of the evening—perhaps of the entire HJR-3 saga—but it was controlled and measured; it was a complete success. The fairness at issue in Mahan's speech strongly suggests that Indiana, its Republican Party included, is moving toward recognizing that civil unions would simply reflect contemporary life.

Another example of impassioned comments and statements was that of Sen. Mike Delph. Taking to Twitter for a roughly four-day marathon, Delph began by leaking caucus decisions before the second reading of HJR-3 and then quickly began taking aim at specific churches in his district, the media, American culture, and, most memorable from the tirade, swiping at Republican leadership as "liberal to moderate."

This all came to a head when the Assistant



Sen. Delph takes questions from the news media under the Statehouse rotunda on Monday. (HPI Photo by Matthew Butler)

Majority Floor Leader Mike Delph called a Monday morning press conference. Before the entire press corps and news cameras, Delph accused Senate Leader David Long of deliberately preventing HJR-3 from reaching the ballot this November. The supposed kicker to all of this was that Delph, who was not even a sponsor of HJR-3, announced he would vote against HJR-3 if he would be unable to reopen second reading and restore the second sentence later that day. It was certainly emphatic and impassioned, but it was far from controlled or measured; flailing, desperate, and egocentric are adjectives that come to mind. Even more anticlimactic was the fact Delph didn't say a word as he had promised once HJR-3 came to the floor. The "Rotunda Spectacle" ultimately made for an irritated media that won't forget it was somewhat used and (one assumes) an irate Sen. Long.

It should be no surprise that HJR-3 sparked emotional responses at the Statehouse, but what was a surprise to this newcomer was the degree to which almost everyone on both sides of the aisle comported themselves with civility. It speaks well for Hoosier sensibilities that we have such a deliberate and careful process in which to amend our constitution and that we treat each other, as the saying goes, so hospitably. It reminded me of what pulled me back to my native state after years of living in Britain. ❖

Butler covers the Indiana General Assembly for Howey Politics, and is a contributor to the HPI Daily Wire. He is a graduate of Purdue and Cambridge universities.

GOP Committee to consider rule change

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - Republican Convention delegate candidates are receiving an email from Whitley County Republican Chairman Matt Boyd suggesting that a rules change is in the works.

The email from Boyd sent Tuesday comes under the header "Hoosier Gun Owners PAC" and it is addressed to "Fellow 2nd Amendment Supporter."



Indiana Republican Chairman Tim Berry told HPI that the rule change would require the third place finisher on the first ballot of the treasurers race to drop out. That essentially reduces the floor fight among Marion Mayor Wayne

Seybold, Don Bates Jr., and Kelly Mitchell to two ballots.

Berry called it an "age old rule" that at least two ballots be conducted before a candidate is dropped. Berry said that he conducted three caucuses for Indiana House seats this fall and winter and "each caucus suspended the rules" to drop the lowest candidate after the first ballot. In two of those caucuses, a candidate won outright on the first ballot.

Sources say that instead of 92 voting machines, the plan is to use 50, and it will take up to 90 minutes to reprogram all of the machines. During the 2002 secretary of state convention, about 300 delegates left after the first ballot even though the race among Todd Rokita, Richard Mourdock, Mike Delph and John McGoff was undecided. Another couple of hundred left after the second ballot.

"What we're trying to do is improve the efficiency of the convention," Berry explained.

Boyd saw a conspiracy.

"Previous delegates said that those running the convention played games that prevented the voices of the delegates from being heard," Boyd said. "We told you this year would be different. And it will be, but only with your help. Unfortunately, the Republican State Committee is considering changing the convention rules just 15 weeks before the convention. Don't allow them to change the rules so close to our convention."

The Indiana Republican Central Committee could not make the rule change during Wednesday's meeting because the change did not get to members with the required 10 day notice. The committee is expected to meet on March 5, a schedule Berry confirmed on Wednesday.

Boyd's Hoosier Gun Owners PAC has only a handful of donors, sources tell HPI, including his predecessor, State Sen. Jim Banks. Speculation is that Hoosier Gun Owners is opposing Seybold, who as mayor supported Michael Bloomberg's gun control group.

Pence to interview treasurer candidates

Informed and reliable sources are telling HPI that Gov. Mike Pence is preparing to "interview" the three treasurer candidates, using the same questions he used while vetting state auditor candidates. This raises the specter that Pence will make an endorsement.

Gubernatorial endorsements in GOP statewide races can be risky. Gov. Mitch Daniels endorsed Valparaiso Mayor Jon Costas over Greg Zoeller for attorney general, and Costas lost. Several party chairs said that Supt. Tony Bennett's loss in 2012 came about because a number of chairs were still mad about the 2008 convention.

And there's the story about the 1976 convention when Gov. Doc Bowen did not make an outright endorsement in a statewide race. But on the Friday night before the convention, Doc stood in front of his preferred candidate's hospitality suite, greeting delegates. The message was quite clear and his candidate won the nomination the following day.

Madison Co. delegate candidates bumped

Twenty-eight Republicans seeking election to be a delegate to the party's state convention later this year have been removed from the May primary ballot (de la Bastide, Anderson Herald-Bulletin). Russ Willis, chairman of the Madison County Republican Party, filed the challenges with the Madison County Election Board. Willis said he filed the challenges because of incomplete applications, people voted in the Democratic Primary in the last election or the addresses were wrong. "We exceeded the number of delegates in some of the districts," he said. "It could have eliminated some people who properly filed." During an Election Board meeting Tuesday the board voted unanimously to uphold the challenge. Those removed from the ballot as potential delegates to the Republican Party State Convention were Elwood Mayor Ron Arnold; his wife, Jennifer; Elwood Police Chief Phil Caldwell; and James Robertson, Elwood Street Department superintendent. Arnold and his wife were removed for incomplete declarations of candidacies; Caldwell and Robertson were removed for an incomplete application and voting Democrat in 2012. Darlene Likens, Madison County clerk and a member of the Election Board, said some people didn't indicate if they were running for a district delegate seat or at large. Of the 28 people removed from the ballot, 23 were residents of Elwood. "In some cases the address didn't match what was on the voter registration record or the card was returned as the person not residing at the address," she said. Likens said those removed from the ballot can be appointed as a delegate by Willis.

Rep. Morris has 2 opponents

Democrat Fred Haigh has also filed to run for the 84th House District seat (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). Haigh's name was not immediately updated on a secretary of state listing Feb. 7 following the noon filing deadline.

He has been an educator in public and private schools, a financial planner and adjunct faculty member at Manchester University and Ball State University. "I am passionate about our community and the future of education in Indiana," Haigh said. "Throughout my career, I have seen Fort Wayne grow and have been an advocate for the revitalization of our downtown. But I strongly believe that the 84th House District has not been represented fairly, wisely, or with an open mind. We need a new representative who will focus on area jobs, economic growth, and middle-class values, not someone who is focused on distracting social issues." He is unopposed on the Democratic primary ballot. On the GOP side, incumbent Rep. Bob Morris, R-Fort Wayne, faces challenger Michael Barranda.

GOP names 2014 staff

Indiana Republicans have named Rachel Jacobs as executive director. She had been political director. Prior to working at the Indiana Republican Party, Jacobs served as a campaign manager, a communications director and an RNC staffer. She will oversee state party operations, with a focus on the 2014 elections.

Dan Dumezich of Lake County was appointed treasurer by Chairman Tim Berry. Dumezich, a former state representative, replaces Peter Deputy who resigned at the end of January. He brings a long political resume and fundraising prowess to the State Committee.

Joe Elsener and Stephanie Beckley have been promoted to field director and strategy director respectively. Through targeted outreach, training and improvements to our voter database, they will enhance the efficiency and impact of the Republican Party's Get Out The Vote efforts. In 2012, Elsener ran one of the Indiana GOP's most successful Victory Offices and has since been serving as the chairman's assistant. Beckley is an experienced field staffer who has worked in Ohio and Illinois politics. She began her service to the Indiana GOP as a volunteer and has been the data coordinator since early 2013.

Jodi Lohrman, chairwoman of the Clay County Republican Party, was recently hired to serve as the executive assistant. She is stepping down from her position on the State Committee to fill this role. She will continue to work with members of the State Committee and fellow county chairs to communicate essential information from the state party and assist in organizing the 2014 state convention. Chairman Tim Berry said of the new positions: "These are the first of many additions to our 2014 team."

Short announces for Indy mayor

Washington Township Trustee Frank Short said Tuesday he wants to be the Democratic nominee for mayor in 2015 (Tuohy, Indianapolis Star). "I'm in it," Short said. "It's my intention to seek the office of mayor." On Feb. 11, Short filed papers with the Marion County clerk that allows him to form an exploratory committee and raise campaign funds. He said he expected to need at least \$4 million to

compete, the same amount Democrat Melina Kennedy raised before she was defeated by Republican Mayor Greg Ballard in the 2011 race. Short, 60, is the first candidate to



form an exploratory committee for mayor in 2015. Short, who owns the lobbying firm Short Strategy Group Inc., said as mayor he would focus on "crime, jobs and education." "If we want to stay a world-class city, these are the issues were need to work on, and work together on," Short said. "I have a proven record of being able to work with Democrats and Republicans." Short served on the city council from 1991 to 2003.

Other Democrats considering the race include State Rep. Ed DeLaney, City Councilman Vop Osili and IPS Board Member Sam Odle.

Ballard undecided on 3rd term

The campaign machinery is in idle, right now, as far as the average Marion County voter is concerned (WISH-TV). Indianapolis Democrats wonder who their candidate will be when the next race for mayor gets in gear. U.S. Attorney Joe Hogsett took himself out of the race a while ago. This week, the Republican incumbent, Greg Ballard, told 24-Hour News 8 voters should not make assumptions about his next campaign. "It is certainly not a given," he said. "Not at all." Ballard said being mayor is "a physically hard job." So, deciding on whether to seek a third term will be a personal decision for him and his wife, Winnie. He said he "hesitates" to say he will have a campaign announcement this summer. Even so, he is raising money. Almost \$700,000, according to the latest campaign documents. Ballard said he is also getting a lot of encouragement. "People from both sides of the aisle are pushing me pretty hard to run, again." Ballard added, "lots of people are pushing because they like the direction of the city and they want it to keep going." Friday afternoon, Joel Miller, the chairman of Marion County's Democrats, told 24-Hour News 8 he is confident Ballard is running. He said a politician who's not running doesn't raise money. Miller also said he hopes the mayor does run again because, as he put it, Democrats have "a very good chance of beating" Ballard.

Coats fundraisers set

U.S. Sen. Dan Coats has scheduled a series of six political fundraisers around the state, informed and reliable GOP sources tell HPI. Coats raised \$230,688 in 2013, expended \$159,533 and had \$506,797 cash on hand. Coats is up for reelection in 2016. ❖

President Daniels ushers in change at Purdue University

By MAUREEN HAYDEN
CNHI Statehouse Bureau

WEST LAFAYETTE -- Mitch Daniels still occasionally gets called "governor" in deference to the eight years he spent as Indiana's chief executive. Thirteen months after leaving office, the old title is the exception to his honorific as Purdue University's high-profile "President Daniels."

The ambitious agenda set by Daniels – including a tuition freeze that broke 36 years of price increases – has captured the kind of national attention he once earned as the state's outspoken conservative governor. Daniels now enters his second year at the helm of Purdue with an expanded set of priorities but a continued commitment to cost cutting.

"For a land-grant university like Purdue, affordability is especially important," said Daniels, who earned the nickname "The Blade" as head of the Office of Management and Budget for President George W. Bush. "We were put here to open the gates of higher education to people of all income levels."

Daniels is no stranger to national attention; at one time he was a potential Republican candidate for the White House. But in recent months he's been appearing in the news sections of Bloomberg, Politico and the Wall Street Journal touting higher education reform.

Last summer he was presented as a national "thought leader" at an NBC-sponsored education summit where he talked about college access as a remedy to income inequality. In January, the Chronicle for Higher Education described him as "perhaps the most high-profile nontraditional college leader" in the nation.

"You know me," Daniels said during a recent interview in his Purdue office. "I'm restless until I know we've got something big to move on."



In his first year leading Indiana's second-largest university, with more than 38,700 students, Daniels made big moves to rein in what he sees as the runaway costs of higher education. He instituted a two-year tuition freeze, which he now wants to extend into a third year, while calling for \$40 million in university-wide spending cuts.

He also emphasized his focus on holding the university accountable to students who shoulder heavy debt and face uncertain job prospects, by pressing the faculty and staff to come up with performance-based metrics on which they can be graded.

He did so while often repeating the phrase, "College costs too much and delivers too little."

Daniels also enters his second year having quieted some of his critics.

When Purdue trustees named him to head the 145-year-old institution known best for its engineering, agriculture and veterinary schools, faculty leaders questioned picking a politician with a law degree as a university president. And they sharply criticized his record as a governor who reduced education spending and cut the state workforce by 7,000 employees.

"We couldn't be on more different planets politically," said David Williams, chairman of the faculty's University Senate. "But I've come to believe he's the right man at the right time in the right place."

Williams said he hopes that Daniels – once a top executive for the pharmaceutical giant Eli Lilly and Co. – uses his business acumen and political expertise to help Purdue thrive as more colleges and universities show serious signs of stress.

He said he now appreciates why the Purdue president keeps asking what he calls the "pajamas test question." That is: With the advent of inexpensive and credible online learning, why would anyone want to leave the comfort of home to attend a costly traditional college? "I've come to see him as a change agent," Williams said of the 64-year-old Daniels. "It's been good to have somebody like him. He's forcing us to ask questions that we've long

avoided asking ourselves.”

Still, Daniels can't completely shake off his legacy as governor.

Last July, he drew fire when The Associated Press published emails revealing that, as governor in 2010, Daniels suggested banning from schools the book, "A People's History of the United States," written by the liberal historian Howard Zinn. In response, some Purdue professors and students staged a protest reading of the book after accusing Daniels of disrespecting the core tenets of academic freedom. As an added poke, they announced the creation of a Howard Zinn Memorial Scholarship.

Daniels noted at the time that he'd expressed an opinion that Zinn's book should not be taught in public schools, which he said doesn't undermine his commitment to academic freedom at Purdue.

Daniels has been beset by other controversies, as well.

Earlier this year, he again upset critics when he declined to take an official stand as Purdue president on the debate over the proposed amendment to the state constitution that would ban gay marriage – a proposal he supported as governor. The presidents of Indiana University, Wabash College, DePauw University and Butler University have all been vocal opponents.

And last month, after a tragic campus shooting that left a 21-year-old student dead and another student charged with murder, some faculty members criticized him for failing to push for more gun control laws as governor. Daniels said he won't let controversy distract from his mission of being "fully focused on Purdue." In the aftermath of the shooting, he asked faculty and staff to weigh in on campus security measures.

"We've all got a lot to learn here," he said. "I don't know what the right answer is. We'll try to find out."

Meanwhile, he remains focused on the 10-point plan he crafted during his first year as president. The "Purdue Moves" plan calls for more private investment in research at a time of dwindling federal dollars. It pushes faculty to embrace technology in the classroom to catch up with tech-savvy students.

And it commits the university to a new account-

ability metric designed to measure Purdue's impact on graduates' careers and quality of life. That new metric is called the Gallup-Purdue Index. It's the result of a partnership Daniels forged with the Gallup polling organization. Through it, researchers will collect data over the next several years from thousands of college graduates from Purdue and elsewhere. Beyond measuring what alumni earn, it will ask graduates about their well-being and workplace engagement to see how a college education impacts later happiness in life.

Daniels won support for the index from the Indianapolis-based Lumina Foundation, the nation's largest private foundation dedicated to increasing college completion. Lumina president Jamie Merisotis said the Index reflects Daniels' willingness – not always welcomed by his peers – to upset the higher education apple cart.

"He dove into his new job without hesitation," Merisotis said, of Daniels' willingness to acknowledge that universities are under increasing pressure to deliver much more for their students. "He's really grappling (with changes in higher education) in the best possible way." In an open letter to the Purdue community explaining his priorities, Daniels warned that the university cannot rest on its laurels: "(H)istory is littered with extinct institutions, businesses, or entire industries that dallied in arrogant denial as the bases of their past success were undermined and washed away."

The identity of "Governor Daniels" is also fast fading to the increased presence of "Purdue Mitch" on Twitter. His friendly, Purdue-centric tweets boost the Boilermakers and feature photos of him regularly dining with students in their residence halls. They've attracted more than 10,500 Twitter followers.

As for getting called "governor:" "It doesn't happen much anymore," he said. "I think people see me working on Purdue and on higher education. Whatever memory they may have of me as governor is fading away." ❖

Maureen Hayden covers the Statehouse for the CNHI newspapers in Indiana. She can be reached at maureen.hayden@indianamedia-group.com. Follow her on Twitter @Maureen-Hayden



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Hemp bill advances in Senate unanimously

By MAUREEN HAYDEN
CNHI Statehouse Bureau

INDIANAPOLIS – Gregg Baumbaugh has 4,000 pounds of cannabis sitting in his automobile parts manufacturing plant. It wasn't illegal for him to import it, but it's against the law for Indiana farmers to grow the variety of cannabis he buys in bulk.

Baumbaugh wants to see that changed. The "weed" he uses to make the insides of interior doors and armrests at his Elkhart County facility doesn't have enough of the psychoactive ingredient THC to give anyone a marijuana mind-altering high.

"If somebody smokes the stuff we import, the only thing they're going to get is a nasty headache," said Baumbaugh, CEO of FlexForm.

Last month, Baumbaugh testified in favor of legislation that could open the door in Indiana to the farming and production of pot's less potent cousin, hemp, a multipurpose crop that can be used in the production of textiles, foods, plastics, building materials and medicines.

To the surprise of the bill's co-sponsor, Sen. Carlin Yoder, R-Middlebury, the legislation passed out of the conservative, Republican-controlled Senate with unanimous support and is headed for the House. Similar legislation in past years, entangled with efforts to legalize marijuana, never got out of committee.

"Nobody was expecting it was going to be a unanimous vote," said Yoder, who admitted he was a reluctant supporter of the bill until Baumbaugh, whose plant is in Yoder's district, enlightened him.

Baumbaugh spends almost \$1 million a year importing hemp and other natural fibers that provide the lightweight, biodegradable material that his automobile manufacturing customers, including Mercedes-Benz and Volkswagen, want used in their car interiors. The low weight of the material helps increase the car's fuel efficiency.

"I could save a lot of money if I could buy it locally from farmers who were allowed to grow it," Baumbaugh said. "It's easy to grow. That's why they call it a 'weed' – you can grow it anywhere."

Yoder concurred: "The more research I do, the more ridiculous it seems that we're not growing hemp." Marijuana and hemp are different varieties of the same

species of plant, Cannabis Sativa, which is why it's not a legal cash crop in Indiana. It used to be: The federal government encouraged the state's farmers to grow industrial hemp rope during World War II.

But the Controlled Substances Act of 1970 lumped industrial hemp with marijuana and outlawed production of both, despite their chemical differences.

According to the Hemp Industries Association, manufacturers like Baumbaugh are allowed to import industrial hemp from countries that certify their product has a low level of THC – less than three-tenths of one percent. That's a small fraction of the THC content of marijuana, which runs 14-30 percent.

Senate Bill 357, which Yoder co-sponsored with Sen. Richard Young, D-Milltown, is a first step toward pulling marijuana and hemp apart.

It would clear the way for universities to conduct research to identify seeds to be certified by the state to grow hemp – a critical step in culling the similar-looking marijuana and hemp plants.

The bill would put the Indiana state chemist and seed commissioner at Purdue University in charge of overseeing hemp production, in cooperation with the Indiana State Police. It also creates a licensing procedure for Indiana farmers interested in growing hemp.

None of it has meaning, though, unless the federal government clears the way. That could happen soon: The new federal farm bill, signed by President Obama this month, allows state agriculture departments and universities to grow hemp for agricultural research purposes. But it applies only to the 10 states that have legalized industrial hemp farming, as the Indiana legislation is attempting to do.

Lauren Stansbury of the Hemp Industries Association, said the new federal farm bill provides a needed first step toward encouraging states to engage in industrial hemp production.

"So often, hemp gets caught up in the politics of marijuana," she said. "But we're seeing more states recognize the agricultural value of hemp."

Yoder says it helps to have farmers and manufacturers behind the bill. Retired Indiana Farm Bureau lobbyist Bob Kraft testified for the bill when it was in the Senate, lending the legislation more credence.

Baumbaugh was glad to see him there. "I was afraid it was just going to me and a bunch of potheads," he said. "I thought if that happens, we won't have a snowball's chance in hell of seeing this thing get passed." ❖

Maureen Hayden covers the Statehouse for the CNHI newspapers in Indiana. She can be reached at maureen.hayden@indianamedia.com.



Industrial hemp has long history in U.S.

By **BOB KRAFT**

CARMEL - A few years ago I became convinced that industrial hemp was inappropriately banned because of its reprobate cousin marijuana and that its legalization represented a growth opportunity for Indiana agriculture. Since my retirement from Indiana Farm Bureau in October, I have assumed a greater level of involvement in the effort to legalize industrial hemp's production in Indiana.



What is industrial hemp? The bill currently being considered by the legislature (SB 357) defines industrial hemp as a variety of the cannabis sativa plant that contains less than 0.3% tetrahydrocannabinol (THC) concentration. THC is the chemical that induces the drug effect of marijuana where its concentration levels generally range between 5% and 20%, although higher concentrations occasionally occur. According to Dr. Paul Mahlberg,

professor emeritus of biology at IU and a leading authority on the subject, industrial hemp is a fiber-producing agricultural non-drug crop that is grown in more than 30 countries throughout the world. In the United States, the Drug Enforcement Agency classifies it as drug plant and prohibits its cultivation.

Industrial hemp is visually distinguishable from marijuana because of the purposes for which it is grown. Industrial hemp, grown for its long, strong and light fibers, is a single stalk often reaching a height of six feet or more. Marijuana plants are shorter and bushier with numerous branches with flower clusters where THC is accumulated. The plants will cross pollinate but when they do, the hybrid's ability to produce THC is dramatically reduced.

Hemp fibers are long, strong and light, making them ideal for a number of industrial applications. Until it was outlawed in the 1930s, hemp was used for rope, sail and tent canvas, writing paper, clothing and other purposes. Hemp seeds can be crushed into an oil which is used for cosmetics and perhaps have some medicinal applications.

Testimony at the Senate Agriculture Committee hearing on SB 357 cited anecdotal evidence that a cannabinoid (not THC) refined from industrial hemp has proven effective in seizure management for victims of Dravet Syndrome, a form of juvenile epilepsy. The committee also heard testimony from Gregg Baumbaugh, CEO of FlexForm Technologies, an Elkhart manufacturer of natural fiber composites used for auto parts, who told the committee that it is not against the law to use hemp as a raw material in the United States, it is only against the law to

grow it. Accordingly, his company spends about \$1 million a year on foreign sourced hemp.

Legislation dealing with hemp dates to the earliest days of European colonization of North America. In the first decades of the 1600s, Jamestown, Virginia, Massachusetts and Connecticut all had laws on their books requiring farmers in those colonies to dedicate part of their land to growing hemp. In the 1700s many of the colonies actually granted a subsidy or bounty to encourage the cultivation of hemp and the domestic manufacture of canvas and cordage.

George Washington and Thomas Jefferson grew hemp. Jefferson used hemp paper for the first several drafts of the Declaration of Independence, although the signed document is on parchment.

Given the many uses of hemp and the fact that it does not contain a significant quantity of the psychoactive THC, one wonders why its production is prohibited in the United States. It is apparently the result of a combination of factors which converged in the Marijuana Tax Act of 1937. At that time, the outlawing of substances was considered to be the exclusive prerogative of the states because it was not a right reserved to Congress.

The primary forces behind the marijuana tax were Harry J. Anslinger, head of the Treasury Department's Federal Bureau of Narcotics, and publisher William Randolph Hearst. When the ambitious Anslinger took over the new agency in 1930 he realized that he needed to address more than opiates and cocaine to interest the public in him and his agency. He eventually targeted the more widely used marijuana, using race, violence and sex as the basis of his attack against marijuana.

Hearst knew a headline grabber when he saw one and immediately picked up on Anslinger's crusade and addressed his own interests in the process. At that time, the Hearst empire included large tracts of forest that provided wood pulp for the newsprint used by his papers. Hemp has the advantage of growing faster and producing more paper per acre than trees. Fearing hemp-based paper could give his competitors an advantage, Hearst intentionally muddled the distinction between marijuana and industrial hemp. The sensationalism created by Anslinger and Hearst eventually led to the passage of the tax act.

Since then, the legal production of any cannabis plant – including industrial hemp – in the United States requires a license from the Bureau of Narcotics and its successors, including the current Drug Enforcement Agency[[RK1](#)]. Except for a few years during World War II, when hemp was needed for the production of rope for the military, there have been virtually no production licenses granted.

The attitude of the federal government about hemp appears to be changing. While the bureaucrats at the DEA have not softened their position, Congress has opened the possibility of legalizing the production of industrial hemp. There have been several bills to that end introduced in Congress and the recently signed farm bill

contains a provision specifically allowing it to be grown by research universities and state departments of agriculture.

The eventual decriminalization of industrial hemp at the federal level appears to be inevitable. The question facing the Indiana legislature is whether Indiana should be positioning its farmers to take advantage of a new opportunity when it becomes available, or should we continue to

ban the production of a beneficial and potentially profitable crop because of out-of-date misconceptions and prejudices. ❖

Kraft was head of public affairs for the Indiana Farm Bureau until he retired last October.

President Pence? Could it be?

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – President Mike Pence. Could it be? If so, when?

Some Republican heavy hitters suggest that Indiana's governor should be considered as a worthy prospect for the 2016 Republican presidential nomination. This may come as a surprise to some Hoosiers, including many skeptical Republican state legislators, who view their governor's performance as underwhelming, or at least not ready for presidential prime time.



Chances are strong that Pence will seek re-election as governor in 2016, not the presidency. His fundraising is aimed at a second term as governor rather than a presidential bid. Still, that hasn't kept Republicans at the national level from naming Pence as a prospect. On the "Today Show" on Jan. 24, Mitt Romney said: "This is a time for Chris Christie, Mike Huckabee,

Jeb Bush, Mike Pence, John Kasich – a long list - Marco Rubio." Pence makes the lists of prospects from the Washington Post to the conservative blogs.

Bill Crystal, editor of The Weekly Standard, an influential voice with conservatives, keeps mentioning Pence on national TV, describing him as "a strong candidate" and listing Pence as one of only two governors he sees emerging as top prospects. (Crystal mentioned Pence and Gov. Scott Walker of Wisconsin but not New Jersey Gov. Christie, who would be far too moderate for Crystal.)

When Howey Politics Indiana quoted a Pence senior adviser as saying accurately that fundraising reports would show concentration on re-election, Pence skipped around confirming his intent, resulting in a Washington Post headline: "Don't count Mike Pence out of the 2016 race just yet."

Well, of course he doesn't want to be counted out, even if he isn't scheduling trips to Iowa and New Hampshire. Even if 2016 isn't his year. Pence wants to be president. He was a prospect in 2008. As an Indiana congressman, first elected in 2000, he had become a favorite

of conservatives concerned about both social and fiscal issues. He was elected chairman of the House Republican Caucus, third highest GOP leadership position, in 2008.

He was the choice of many influential conservatives for the presidential nomination in 2012 – including Chris Chocola of the Club for Growth, former House Majority leader Dick Armey of FreedomWorks and Brent Bozell of the conservative Media Research Center. In a straw poll at the Value Voters Summit Pence won for both president and vice president.

But Pence decided to run for governor instead. National political analysts surmised that Pence decided that a member of the House was unlikely to win the presidency, that he needed executive experience as governor for a better chance. And it had appeared that then-Gov. Mitch Daniels would run for the presidential nomination in 2012, diminishing prospects for any other Hoosier.

Pence was expected to win the governor race in a landslide, enhancing future presidential credentials. Instead, he had a close race, in large measure the fault of Richard Mourdock, the Republican nominee for the Senate, who self-destructed with gaffs and controversy and was a drag on the entire Republican ticket. Pence also ran only positive TV ads, a reasonable strategy if you're winning big. But voters didn't remember the bland "roadmap" ads.

Pence has had difficulty getting some of his tax-cutting proposals through the Republican-controlled legislature. but that won't hurt him with national conservatives. It's what he proposes, stands for and fights for that counts.

Despite being on all those lists, there seems little chance that Pence will be the 2016 Republican presidential nominee, especially with him concentrating on another term as governor before any White House quest.

But when you look at some of the prospects now mentioned, Pence is far from the lower end of the list. I mean, Donald Trump, Herman Cain, Sarah Palin? And, depending on what develops, he could look better than onetime front-runner Christie, too.

Russ Pulliam, long-time editorial page analyst for the Indianapolis Star, contends that Pence "looks like a potential candidate for vice president in 2016." Could he balance a ticket? With a moderate? With a nominee from another part of the country? And could Pence say "no" to possibly being a step away from the presidency? ❖

Colwell is a columnist for the South Bend Tribune.

Marriage & divorce Hoosier style

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS - Two good things happened last week: First, we survived another commercial blitz for Valentine's Day. Second, fear of the public's good sense caused the Indiana General Assembly to abandon its latest anti-gay crusade. Now we can consider marriage and divorce, two important activities often neglected in economic analysis.



read.

The data we have are not necessarily clear. In Indiana, for 2009, the U.S. Bureau of the Census reports 49,212 males and 49,484 females married. On the surface, this suggests some slight degree of bigamy or lesbian relationships. But fear not. The disparity arises from how the data are collected. The American Community Survey is used and the sample taken is pumped up to full population size. The sampling variability is reported in Appendix 3, which no one bothers to read.

We'll compromise and say there were 49,300 marriages of the legal sort in Indiana. The ACS also reports approximately 27,700 divorces in the state. These numbers lead to the mistaken statement heard so often that most Americans believe its truth: More than half of all marriages end in divorce.

NO! That is wrong and promoted by those who would have you believe that marriage itself is on the rocks in Indiana and the U.S. The U.S. National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS) reports 52,900 marriages in Indiana for 2009. That's only seven percent higher than our ACS marriage estimate and probably more accurate since it is based on recorded marriage certificates sent in by each state.

However, as far as the world knows, there were an unknown number of Hoosier divorces in 2009. Indiana is one of five states that does not report divorces to the federal government. Why? To the best of my knowledge, Indiana maintains no public count of divorces. There are county court records, but no summary statistics.

Thus, we'll assume, for simplicity, each year we have 50,000 marriages and half as many divorces in the state. What is the divorce rate?

Fifty percent?

NO.

Each year, in this example, 25,000 couples are added to the still-married pile. The annual number of divorces should be compared to the number of married couples in the state. Thus, if Indiana had 1.2 million husband-wife households in 2009, 25,000 divorces would

be a divorce rate of two percent.

Marriage between two adults will reduce the number of households (unless they have been living with their parents or other roommates). While "two may live as cheaply as one," experience has proven there will be substantial material accumulation and expansion of living space.

Divorce will increase the number of households, at least temporarily. Once again there tends to be some material accumulation and an increase in living space, constrained, as ever, by income.

Marriage and divorce are important economic events. As with births and deaths, they stimulate economic activity. Perhaps someday, some enlightened public servant will encourage legislation to record and report divorces in Indiana. It might be as important as alcohol at the State Fair. ❖

Mr. Marcus is an economist, writer, and speaker who may be reached at mortonjmarcus@yahoo.com.



An inauspicious start for Chairman Demulc

By **RICH JAMES**

MERRILLVILLE – Every time the Lake County Republican precinct organization elects a new chairman, there is renewed hope that the party finally will make



gains. Such was the case when county Councilman Dan Dernulc was elected chairman a year or so ago. One would have to say he has had an inauspicious start.

For instance, let's take the 1st Congressional District where Democratic Rep. Peter Visclosky, is seeking a 16th term. While local Republicans love to criticize Visclosky for being too liberal, they once again have failed to file a viable candidate against him. Visclosky in the fall will again face perennial candidate Mark Leyva, who chairs the Tea Party in Lake County. Leyva never has come close to beating Visclosky and has virtually no chance again this year.

While the Republican Party has personnel who would make good candidates against Visclosky, and be able to wage a viable campaign on the issues, the party again won't make a showing in the area's congressional race.

Republicans often complain about Democrats on the county level playing the musical chairs game that is prompted by term limits. But the GOP doesn't appear

ready to do anything about it.

For instance, the Republicans have failed to file candidates for the county offices of clerk, treasurer and auditor. Making matters worse for the Republicans is that there is no Democratic incumbent in the auditor or treasurer offices.

And the Republicans are missing out on the chance to criticize current auditor Peggy Katona for running for treasurer and current treasurer John Petalas for running for auditor. The term limitations have forced Katona and Petalas into the musical chairs game the Republicans say they so despise.

With no Republican candidates in three county administrative offices, it will be even tougher for Republican county auditor Jolie Covaciu to win a full term. Covaciu was picked in a precinct caucus last year to replace the late Hank Adams as auditor. Adams in 2010 was the first Republican elected to countywide office in Lake County in

more than six decades when he defeated Democrat Carol Ann Seaton, who had a host of legal and ethical problems.

Karl Rove was the keynote speaker at the Lake County Lincoln Day dinner a week or so ago. I'm not sure why Rove wasted his time coming to speak to an inept Republican organization, except that he got paid for his time.

So, the bottom line is that a Republican organization without a platform and too few candidates spent its money on Rove rather than building the party.

Kind of putting the cart before the horse. ❖

Rich James has been writing about state and local government and politics for more than 30 years. He is a columnist for The Times of Northwest Indiana.

Senate Ed sends pre-k to summer study

INDIANAPOLIS – The Senate Education Committee quashed a pilot preschool program Wednesday, sending the issue of pre-kindergarten and early learning to a summer study committee (Kelly, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette).

From a practical standpoint, the change doesn't have much effect because the bill would have created the framework of a state program, but there was never any funding attached. At best, the five-county program would have begun in fall 2015. That could still happen under the study committee, with the legislature passing the program next year when it also crafts a new two-year state budget. But politically, it was a severe blow to Gov. Mike Pence's legislative agenda. He was pushing the preschool bill hard, even showing up to testify on its behalf last week. "Gov. Pence believes every child deserves to start school ready to learn, and he believes now is the time for a voluntary pre-K program to help Indiana's low-income kids," spokeswoman Kara Brooks said. "The governor looks forward to continuing to work with members of the General Assembly to advance this important initiative."

AMENDMENT DILUTES WELFARE DRUG TEST BILL: Lawmakers dramatically scaled back a move Wednesday to test welfare recipients for drug use (Kelly, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). House Bill 1351 now would affect only Hoosiers with a misdemeanor drug conviction in the past

10 years. They would be tested for drugs when they apply for Temporary Assistance for Needy Families and annually while on the program. Those with felony drug convictions are already ineligible for the program. It passed the Senate Health and Provider Services Committee by a 6-3 vote. Sen. Michael Young, R-Indianapolis, brought the amendment, which largely gutted the bill. In its original form, everyone on the program would take a written assessment test meant to gauge the likelihood of using illegal drugs.

RENTAL PROPERTY INSPECTION BILL STRENGTHENED: City officials from across Indiana are decrying a bill that curbs rental-property inspection programs, but Indianapolis is taking a different tack (Indianapolis Business Journal). After more restrictive legislation was enacted on a temporary basis last year, a group of city-county councilors, city officials and Rep. Justin Moed, D-Indianapolis, worked with bill author Rep. Jud McMillin, R-Brookville, to ensure that cities could set up landlord registries. That's a priority for the city's Department of Code Enforcement and neighborhoods. "Right now, it's the wild west in Indianapolis," Moed said. "We don't know who these folks are. We don't have a registry. We don't have any guidelines for landlords. We certainly don't have any inspection programs." House Bill 1403 stipulates that professionally managed rental properties can't be subject to inspection programs. It would allow landlords to conduct their own inspections, as long as they use "qualified" personnel. It would also allow landlords to pass inspection fees to their tenants. ❖



James Fallows, The Atlantic: The point that resonated with me is that the main variables had almost nothing to do with what we usually discuss at the national level, from tax rates to regulatory breaks. Instead they were overwhelmingly about the features we've heard time and again from mayors, chambers of commerce, newspaper editors (yes, they still exist and are informative), and school superintendents. These are: whether a city is an attractive place to live, whether young people want to move there, whether they will find other people like them there, whether they will want to stay there as they start families. People think of Parks and Recreation (for the record, I am a fan) as a putdown of flyover life. But according to this study, it's closer than much Beltway talk to what matters about our future. The study's executive-summary portion was: • Entrepreneurs at fast-growing firms usually decide where to live based on personal connections and quality of life factors many years before they start their firms. • These founders value a pool of talented employees more than any other business-related resource that cities can offer. • Access to customers and suppliers is the second most valuable business-related resource that cities can provide, according to these entrepreneurs. • The founders in our study rarely cite low tax rates or business-friendly regulations as reasons for starting a business in a specific city. ❖



Marc Chase, NWI Times: Sometimes failure creates the perfect opportunity to get back to one's roots — to discard the distractions of ill-advised ventures. A constitutional gay marriage ban failed Thursday to clear the Indiana Senate hurdle necessary to be placed on Hoosiers' November ballots. The failure opens a window for conservatives to get back to what they do best: keeping their hands off. It was a political football — a distraction from more pressing state needs — this attempt to chisel morals into our state's constitution. And it was excessive. Indiana law already defines marriage as between one man and one woman. Indiana Republicans — with whom I agree on so many fiscal issues — really got it wrong when they sought to spike the football by seeking a constitutional ban via voter referendum. Let's not mince words here. Attempts to ban gay marriage are largely based in religious beliefs. I respect and honor all who take their religious convictions seriously — who strive to live what they preach via the Old or New Testaments, the Torah or any other religious doctrines that seek the best for mankind. This includes respect for those who — by their own doctrines' teachings — believe gay marriage is wrong. Teach your children these lessons. Hold them dear. But don't force them on someone else. The most conservative of our forefathers realized this country could find one of its greatest strengths by keeping one moral power from unduly infringing upon or oppressing another. The forefathers chose to keep church separate from state, in part for this very reason. An attempt to

carve such values — even if held by the majority — into our state's most important government pact smacks of one moral side attempting to compromise another. ❖

Rich James, NWI Times: "Honest to Goodness Indiana" is the state's new pitch for travel and tourism? You've got to be kidding. Say it ain't so, Joe. This is the 21st century, and the state still thinks it's the 1800s. I haven't been this embarrassed since the 1980s when the state theme of Wander Indiana was emblazoned on Hoosier license plates. People kept asking, "Where the heck is Wander, Indiana?" People looked, but no one ever found it. So now Indiana has forsaken "Restart Your Engines" for "Honest to Goodness Indiana." "This announcement begins a new era for Indiana's travel, tourism and hospitality industry, said Mark Newman, executive director of the Indiana Office of Tourism Development. A new era and a bad one at that. And we paid \$100,000 for someone to come up with that hokey phrase. In the dictionary, "honest to goodness" is listed as an adjective and means "plain, simple and exactly what they appear to be." Excuse me. I'm a lifelong Hoosier and the last thing I want to be is plain and simple and someone to be taken for granted. ❖

Dan Thomasson, Evansville Courier & Press: The United Auto Workers' failed invasion of the South has all the earmarks of the old "if it ain't broke don't fix it" philosophy. The hourly workers at Volkswagen's Chattanooga, Tenn., plant surprised UAW leaders in an election they thought was in the bag and the first step to organizing foreign auto plants throughout the South. They had based their optimism on the fact VW said it would not oppose the plan and that workers would be seduced by the establishment of a joint management/worker council that would have serious input into operations. What the UAW apparently missed somehow was the longstanding animosity toward unions in that part of the country where independence is a cherished concept. Unions thrive when working conditions are inadequate. The industrial revolution that saw the creation of America's might in heavy industry was replete with examples of the maltreatment and exploitation of the American work force. As the automobile became the driving force in the American economy, the United Auto Workers under the Reuther brothers fought valiantly to increase the share of the benefits for those doing the work. Management on the other hand bought labor peace year after year by granting concessions it knew had a disastrous potential. Why? Because the companies could both sell all their cars and at the same time pass along to the consumer a healthy increase each year to cover the burgeoning costs. The Golden Auto would just continue laying its wonderful eggs forever. Except when it couldn't any longer because suddenly the Japanese and others were making a better goose. ❖

Pro marriage group eyes suit

INDIANAPOLIS - A national pro-marriage group is considering whether to take legal action to force HJR-3 on the Indiana ballot in November 2014 (WRTV). The measure came to a halt on Monday, when the Senate did not return the bill its original status, in which it would impact civil unions. The National Organization for Marriage tells RTV6 that they met with the House Speaker Brian Bosma on last Wednesday. "We are building a coalition of the willing and looking for legislators who are willing to join in this task," said Chris Plante, regional director of NOM. "We understand it will be heavy lifting, but if we all work together, we believe we have the law on our side. And we believe HJR-3 should go to the people in November 2014 as was promised by legislature on multiple occasions," said Plante. Freedom Indiana has been the leading group opposing HJR-3. "The fact is people don't want this issue taken to a constitutional amendment. They don't think it should be done with this issue of same-sex relationships and legal recognition. To me it reeks of desperation," said Freedom Indiana spokeswoman Megan Robertson. "I think they will be unsuccessful."

Assembly Hall deemed safe

BLOOMINGTON - After inspecting ceiling platings on Indiana University's Assembly Hall, engineers say the ceiling is safe and the rest of the scheduled basketball games be played in the arena (Indiana Public Media). A piece of metal plating fell from the ceiling of Assembly Hall yesterday and damaged several seats.



IU Athletic Director Fred Glass says engineers reviewed the overall structure of the roof and are confident this was a targeted and unique event. "As snow melted it slid in and created a super load in that area, they speculate that it was probably the biggest load that the roof has borne. All that pressure went to where that plate was and essentially popped it off," Glass says. The roof is held up by cables and is designed to flex with the weight it holds. Engineers inspected the other three corners today (Wednesday). They said three other plates were loose but would not have fallen.

Draft of new ed standards posted

INDIANAPOLIS - A draft of new Indiana academic standards is now available on the Indiana Department of Education's website for public review (Evansville Courier & Press). The draft, released late Wednesday, lists standards for math and English and language arts instruction for Hoosier classrooms. It's the product of a multi-panel review process launched by state education officials after Indiana lawmakers "paused" the implementation of a set of national academic standards, known as Common Core, last year. Republican legislative leaders and Indiana Gov. Mike Pence have called for the creation of academic standards specific to the state of Indiana. Legislation going through the Indiana General Assembly would make official the state's departure from Common Core, though the process to write new academic standards is already occurring. The Indiana State Board of Education is expected to take a final vote on the standards in April. The Common Core standards began as a state-led movement, and Indiana became one of 45 states to adopt the standards in 2010, under then Republican State Supt. Tony Bennett and former Indiana Gov. Mitch Daniels.

Email system bites Gov. Walker

MADISON, Wis. - Even as Gov. Scott Walker of Wisconsin looks ahead to 2016 and a possible presidential bid, his political past as Milwaukee County executive has come back to haunt him (New York Times). A release of 27,000 emails and hundreds of court documents on Wednesday portrays Mr. Walker, a Republican, as having presided over an office where aides used personal computers and email to conceal that they were mixing government and campaign business.

Biden says ACA numbers will lag

WASHINGTON - Vice President Biden on Wednesday said it is possible the healthcare exchanges would fall short of an initial estimate of 7 million enrollments by the end of March (The Hill). Biden, during a stop at a coffee shop in Minneapolis, said it would be "a hell of a start" if 5 million to 6 million people signed up by the deadline. "We may not get to 7 million, but if we get to 5 or 6 million that's a hell of a start," Biden said. In a brief conversation with four women who either signed up for healthcare through the exchanges or acted as navigators for others, Biden said he had been a significant consumer of healthcare during his lifetime, citing a serious car accident and a brain aneurism. "All I kept thinking about was, 'Thank God I had all this insurance,'" he said. The Congressional Budget Office initially predicted that 7 million people would likely sign up for healthcare through the newly created exchanges by the deadline on March 31. The administration initially touted that number as a benchmark as well. However, after the botched rollout of the federal website, the main portal to buy health insurance on the exchange, the administration moved away from that number.