CAPITOL CONFIDENTIAL



A review of the votes and proposals of the Michigan Legislature — Vol. 3 No. 5 — September/October 2009

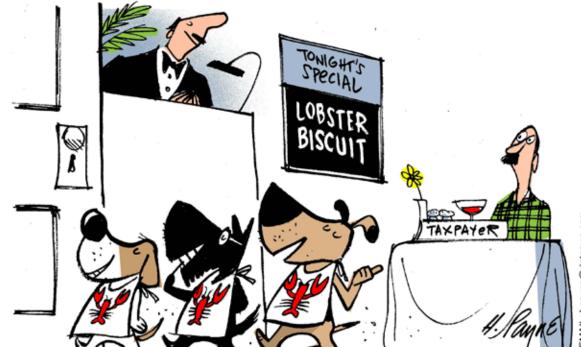
MUSEUM FOR MULES, LOBSTER FOR DOGS

BY KENNETH M. BRAUN

A \$188,000 appropriation for the Lobster Institute at the University of Maine checked in at number five on Time Magazine's "Top Ten Outrageous Earmarks" list for 2008. U.S. Senators John McCain, R-Arizona, and Russ Feingold, D-Wisconsin, made special mention of the Institute's contribution toward the creation of a "lobster dog biscuit" in a joint press release denouncing the practice of congressional earmarks. Citizens Against Government Waste also chimed in that U.S. taxpayers should not be forced to subsidize the "Lobster Institute for Better Dog Food."

Yet when given the chance to strike this spending from the federal budget, every single U.S. Representative from Michigan voted to save it.

See "Lobster," Page 4



"(BURP) HE'LL TAKE THE CHECK."

EMAIL: hpayne@detnews.com





IT'S FOR THE CHILDREN "Borrow-and-spend" not just a

BY JACK MCHUGH

Politicians love to spend other people's money. After term limits, perhaps their most hated institution may be a balanced budget requirement. In Michigan's Constitution, it's Article 5, Section 18:

Washington problem

"Proposed expenditures from any fund shall not exceed the estimated revenue thereof."

The Constitution also puts restrictions on borrowing for long-term capital investments like roads, sewers and bridges. Article 9, section 15 states, "The state may borrow money for specific purposes . . . by acts of the legislature adopted by a vote of two-thirds . . . and approved by a majority of the electors . . ."

Our political class may not be so good at solving real problems, but its members can be very creative at finding ways to evade restrictions on their ability to spend.

One example occurred in 2007 (www.michiganvotes. org/2007-HB-4851). Around \$90 million left over from past borrowing ("bond sales") had accumulated in an entity called the "Michigan Higher Education

See "Borrow and Spend," Page 6

ADVICE FROM THE NANNY STATE

BY MICHAEL D. JAHR AND HANNAH K. MEAD



In a fast-paced world, life can be daunting. Fortunately, the state of Michigan has online advice for almost everything, from shopping to gardening and eating to driving. Sure, some of it may be obvious, nitpicky or bizarre, but just remember: The state knows what's best for you.

For instance, state government is concerned about your health. It offers shrewd advice on meal

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If you are reading this newspaper for the first time, thank you for taking the time to look over this publication from the Mackinac Center for Public Policy. We selected you for this mailing because you have shown an interest in the public policy issues that we discuss. Inside, you will find a review and analysis of important state legislative policy issues that do not always receive attention from the general media. Every two months, we send this publication to make it easier for you to keep tabs on your elected representatives in Lansing.

Subscriptions are FREE, but to remain on our mailing list you must let us know by sending your name and home address. Enclosed is a postage-paid business reply envelope to make this easier — just fill in your name and address and send it in! Even easier still — just put the same information in an e-mail and send it to MiCapCon@Mackinac.org.

When you write to us, please feel free to include the names and addresses of family and friends who you think will enjoy Michigan Capitol Confidential as much as you do.

Additionally, you can help us keep Michigan Capitol Confidential coming to households just like yours by joining the Mackinac Center for Public Policy. The Center is dedicated to providing a free-market perspective on public policy issues that impact the Michigan economy. We provide that perspective through timely policy studies, commentaries, interaction with media and policymakers, and events for targeted audiences throughout the state. Our issues are economic in focus, but as diverse as taxation; government budgeting; science, environment and technology policy; labor policy; privatization; property rights; and general economic education.

The Mackinac Center's mission is to educate Michigan residents on the value of entrepreneurship, family, community, private initiative and independence from government. We believe, as our country's Founders did, that liberty and sound policy can never be taken for granted. Their preservation requires vigilance during each generation from both us and citizens like you.

If you share this goal, we would welcome your generous contribution to the Mackinac Center in any amount. Even a \$40 donation is a tremendous help. The Mackinac Center is a 501(c)(3) educational institute, and your donation is deductible on your federal income taxes.

Thank you for any help you may be able to give us — and don't forget to let us know if you want to continue your FREE subscription to Michigan Capitol Confidential!

Kenneth M. Braun, Senior Managing Editor, MICHIGAN CAPITOL CONFIDENTIAL

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ad liberties

POLITICAL ANATOMY 101 *The Difference Between Mouth and Spine*

BY JOSEPH G. LEHMAN

[Editor's Note: "ad liberties" is a new regular column from the president of the Mackinac Center for Public Policy, publisher of Michigan Capitol Confidential.]



Confidence in government breeds complacency in politics. When people think government

is handling things tolerably well, they see no reason to pay much attention to politics. When confidence sinks from low to lower, grass-roots political energy spikes upward. That's why people are now leaping off the sidelines and into TEA parties and raucous town hall meetings to protest sky-high taxes, exploding deficits and the government's attempt to take over health care. Smart politicians can seize this opportunity by exercising an oft-neglected part of the political anatomy: the spine.

The mouth is the part of the political body — if I may extend the metaphor — that promises things people want to hear without saying much about things people don't want to hear. The mouth promises only pleasure without reminding constituents there may be tradeoffs. "A chicken in every pot!" "Read my lips: No new taxes!" "Peace in our time!" The mouth says what itching ears want to hear, but may be vague about how the promises will be kept.

The spine has a different role. It disciplines the mouth. The spine and the mouth working together tell constituents both the promise and the price. And the spine makes sure the politician keeps the promise.

When people are politically complacent, politicians can get away with vague promises emanating from the mouth alone. When constituents are highly politically engaged, they want more than platitudes and promises. They won't give the benefit of the doubt. They have to hear precisely how the politician intends to follow through, because their confidence in government is so low.

"I will lower your taxes" is no longer enough. Neither is "I won't raise your taxes." People want to know exactly what programs will be cut and by how much.

"I won't cut essential services" is no longer enough. People want to know which particular taxes will rise, by what amount, or what nonimaginary source of money will fund the government.

I was trying to explain this in a good-natured way recently to a Michigan gubernatorial candidate who had asked the Mackinac Center for policy ideas. He pointed out the practical political danger for a candidate who "over-shares" how much his promises might cost. I could see what he meant: Walter Mondale promised to raise taxes and lost in a landslide to Ronald Reagan in 1984.

But this is not 1984; it's more like 1994. Confidence in government that year was very low for many reasons, including a health care debate. Newt Gingrich seized the opportunity by tapping into political discontent with more than platitudes. He explained precisely how he would follow through on his promises with a 10-point Contract With America. Enough people appreciated Gingrich's spine to help him sweep Republicans to historic victories in the House, Senate and state legislatures.

Spine has a way of appealing across the political spectrum. On Aug. 30, the Detroit Free Press, usually not a fan of most Republicans or limited government, praised Senate Majority Leader Mike Bishop, a Republican, for his proposed budget, which is balanced and would raise no taxes. Editorial Page Editor Stephen Henderson said the proposed cuts made him "a little gut sick," but lauded Bishop for producing "the only fiscally responsible option out there" at that time.

Henderson compared Bishop's effort to that of the governor, and wrote of Gov. Granholm, "I've seen mollusks whose spines weren't as gooey." Ouch.

House Speaker Andy Dillon, a Democrat, rose in the estimation of many when his mouth and spine promised a way to save hundreds of millions of dollars a year in benefits costs by combining teachers' insurance with that of other state workers. His price: angering leading Michigan Education Association allies who derive millions of dollars from MESSA, their third-party affiliate that sells health insurance plans to school districts. The Mackinac Center's analysis of Dillon's idea concludes it's a step in the right direction.

In 1987, President Reagan had to fight his own state department to say at the Brandenburg Gate, "Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!" instead of some promise like, "One day all Germany will be united and free!" One reason the wall fell two years later was that everyone from Moscow to Berlin knew Reagan was speaking from the spine, not just the mouth.

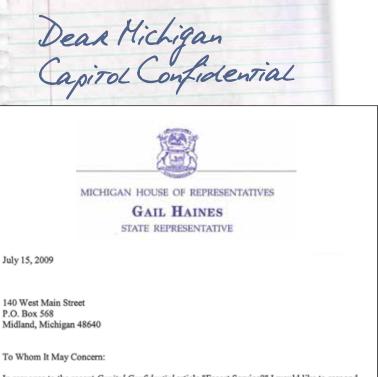
Office-seeking friends may chide me, but I have to say I

don't see a Newt Gingrich out there on the electoral scene yet. No one seems to know how to tap into the tremendous energy surging through the grass roots right now. And none of Michigan's gubernatorial candidates has yet achieved a breakthrough moment, although any of them is capable of it. Opportunity is ripe, and it is early in the campaign.

Michigan today is a state of political skeptics. I can't shake my conviction that the one who first proposes a bold stroke and clearly articulates not just the promise but the price as well will earn enduring affection from readers of Capitol Confidential as well as other lovers of liberty and limited government. The grass roots are looking for someone to love. The first candidate who shows a lot of spine will have first dibs at the dance.

Link the promise to the price. The mouth and the spine. That's powerful politics.

Joseph G. Lehman is president of the Mackinac Center for Public Policy.



In response to the recent *Capitol Confidential* article "Escort Service?" I would like to respond by saying that Co-sponsoring HR 4229, providing a funeral escort for legislators, was a mistake. I have withdrawn my support of this legislation and will vote against it if given the opportunity. Initial support of this bill was misguided. I hope the remainder of my voting record demonstrates the fiscal conservative that I am.

Thank you, Juil Hurres

Gail Haines State Representative 43rd District

LOBSTER

from Page One

McCain and Feingold define earmarks as "wasteful spending on pet projects that members of Congress may try to sneak into legislation," and "an abuse of taxpayer money" that "we can't afford as we work to get our economy back on track." U.S. Sen. Tom Coburn, R-Oklahoma, asserts that earmarks are the "gateway drug on the road to spending addiction," because they allow lawmakers access to the gargantuan federal piggy bank, thus providing a powerful financial incentive for politicians to place parochial spending interests ahead of the general taxpayer's welfare. Coburn believes the result is a Congress that continually votes to approve much larger budgets than they might otherwise support, with the byproduct of a runaway federal debt. In voicing these concerns, he echoed Thomas Jefferson, who warned that giving members of Congress the power to appropriate for local spending interests would create "a scene of scramble among the members" for the money and that this would mostly be won by those who were the "meanest."

"I was told that I was taken off the Judiciary Committee because of 'bad behavior,'" Flake told the Christian Science Monitor. "I guess to be a team player you only challenge Democratic earmarks. I don't think that's right."

Like Coburn, who led the fight to kill funding for the infamous "Bridge to Nowhere" in Alaska, Congressman Jeff Flake, R-Arizona, and his allies in the U.S. House of Representatives regularly attempt to break the spending addiction by offering amendments to strip out the one for the Lobster Institute. Eighty-seven members of the U.S. House, including Flake, voted to cancel the Lobster Institute's federal earmark, but 328 members voted to keep it. Flake, the most frequent sponsor of these amendments, usually comes up on the losing side of these votes, and members of the Michigan congressional delegation often vote against him — and with the majority to protect the pork.

individual earmarks, such as

In a press release announcing the product launch of a doggie treat made with lobster, the Lobster Institute describes itself as "an industry-driven organization focusing on research, technical assistance, communications, and educational outreach." The release begins by announcing that "Your dog can now be a lobster connoisseur," and then notes that bringing to market a "nutritious and flavorful lobsterbased pet treat" is the result of a two-year collaboration between the Lobster Institute and its partners in the private sector.

"Our product development work here at the Lobster Institute is geared toward creating a more efficient and profitable use of the lobster resource," said Dr. Bob Bayer, executive director of the Lobster Institute. "Working with Saltwater Marketing and now Blue Seal Feeds, we were able to get this product out of the lab and into the commercial market."

In addition to the Lobster Institute's federal funding, Flake and his allies in Congress also targeted for destruction two more of Time Magazine's 10 most outrageous earmarks.

Time's second most outrageous was a \$1.9 million appropriation for the Charles B. Rangel Center for Public Service at City College of New York. The earmark was inserted by none other than Congressman Charles B. Rangel, D-New York, the chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, which is where federal tax laws are drafted. According to Time, the project's total price tag is \$30 million, and it has been dubbed the "Monument to Me" by its critics. The magazine notes that a more junior member of Congress questioned Rangel about the propriety of members using taxpayer dollars to sponsor projects bearing their own names. "I would have a problem if you did it," Rangel replied, "because I don't think that you've been around long enough."

Only 108 members voted to cut federal taxpayer subsidies for the Rangel Center. Five Michigan Republicans and four Democrats were among the 316 who voted to save the earmark.

Time's number seven most outrageous earmark for 2008 was a \$50,000 appropriation to help establish the National Mule and Packers Museum in Bishop, Calif. Time says that Bishop is the "mule capital of the world" and sponsors a "Mule Days" celebration each year that draws "30,000 people, and 700 mules." Flake's amendment to cut the funding received only 69 votes, against 352 to continue the spending. Nearly every member of the Michigan Congressional delegation voted in favor of protecting funding for the museum. The lone Michigan member voting to kill the earmark was former Congressman Tim Walberg, R-Tipton.

An attempt by Flake to kill another, more expensive museum earmark fared only slightly better. His proposal to erase a \$1.18 million taxpayer subsidy for the Kansas Regional Prisons Museum in Leavenworth, Kan., failed when only 112 votes were cast in favor of cutting it. Four Michigan Republicans and six Democrats were among the 317 votes cast in favor of protecting the earmark.

There was one noteworthy success: Flake and company chopped down federal funding for the Perfect Christmas Tree Project in North Carolina. A proposed \$129,000 appropriation for the consortium of artisans who produce Christmas crafts and decorations died when 249 members voted to remove it.



Rep. Jeff Flake, R-Arizona

Three Michigan Republicans and three Democrats were among the 174 votes to save funding for the Perfect Christmas Tree Project.

Flake's crusade to kill earmarks - which dates back to 2004, when he began spotlighting an "Egregious Earmark of the Week" — may have come with a personal cost. After the Republicans lost control of the House following the 2006 election, many committee assignments had to be pared back to make room for the Democrats assuming the majority of the posts. Flake's primary committee assignment was the House Judiciary Committee, where his seniority exceeded other Republicans on the panel and should have placed him beyond reach.

However, the Republican Steering Committee voted to remove Flake anyway. Syndicated columnist Robert Novak speculated afterward that the reason was that the GOP Steering Committee was "dominated by Appropriations members who resent[ed] Flake's vigorous campaign against earmarks."

"I was told that I was taken off the Judiciary Committee because of 'bad behavior," Flake told the Christian Science Monitor. "I guess to be a team player you only challenge Democratic earmarks. I don't think that's right."

The votes of Michigan's congressional delegation on the five earmark amendments noted in this article are on Pages 4 and 5. Please note that these votes took place only in the United States House of Representatives and thus were not presented to Michigan's two U.S. Senators. Additionally, two members no longer serve in Congress: Joe Knollenberg and Tim Walberg. ■

Kenneth M. Braun is the senior managing editor of Michigan Capitol Confidential. He may be reached at braun@mackinac.org.

U.S. Representatives from Michigan who voted to DELETE THE EARMARK for the **"Lobster Institute"**:

None from Michigan

U.S. Representatives from Michigan who voted to SAVE THE EARMARK for the **"Lobster Institute"**:

David Camp, R-Midland Carolyn Cheeks-Kilpatrick, D-Detroit John Conyers, D-Detroit John Dingell, D-Dearborn Vern Ehlers, R-Grand Rapids Pete Hoekstra, R-Holland Dale Kildee, D-Flint Joe Knollenberg, R-Bloomfield Twp.***

Sander Levin, D-Southfield Thad McCotter, R-Livonia Candice Miller, R-Harrison Township Mike Rogers, R-Brighton Bart Stupak, D-Menominee Fred Upton, R-St. Joseph Tim Walberg, R-Tipton***

Legislators who DID NOT VOTE:

None from Michigan

2007 U.S. House Roll Call 735 on HR 3093 http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2007/roll735.xml

***Note: Asterisks in the vote tallies denote those who no longer serve in the Michigan Congressional delegation.



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BORROW AND SPEND

from Page One

Student Loan Authority," which subsidizes and guarantees college loans. A bill was passed transferring this to the general fund to pay for current spending in excess of expected revenues that is, to avoid spending cuts.

If asked, most of the 137 lawmakers who approved that "fund raid" would say something like this: Because the source of the funds was unspent money from earlier borrowing for a specific purpose, and since "refinanced" at lower interest rates, somehow using it to pay for regular spending didn't count. False: The state's balance sheet took a \$90 million hit, and future state college loan subsidies will have to be paid for in some other way — like with new borrowing.

That kind of ad-hoc raid on specialized funds isn't uncommon, but in 2005 our politicians discovered a mother lode when they created a way to borrow against future revenue from the 1998 tobacco lawsuit master settlement agreement (www.michiganvotes.org/2005-HB-5048). The settlement awarded Michigan nearly \$300 million in annual "damages" through 2025. States can spend this any way they choose, and here it mostly goes to Medicaid and non-need-based college scholarships.

So isn't borrowing against tobacco lawsuit revenue covered by the same restrictions as other long-term debt — a two-thirds vote in the House and Senate, followed by a vote of the people? Not under Public Act 226 of 2005, the law that created the "21st Century Jobs Fund" business subsidy program (which also violated a 154-year-old Constitutional prohibition on the state owning private companies state pension funds excepted — but that's another article: www.mackinac.org/7371).

Here's how they pulled it off: That 2005 law began with

the tobacco settlement revenue stream is actually an asset that can be sold or "securitized" by borrowing against it. But ignore that bond broker behind the curtain, it's really just an asset sale, like unloading surplus state cars or airplanes, so no messy supermajority or popular vote is required.

a magic wand — a legislative

"finding and declaration" that

With that device in place, the Legislature extracted \$400 million from future taxpayers. That's the present value: With interest included over the next 20 years, the debt service amounts to \$800 million — \$40 million each year that won't be available to pay for other state spending. What will replace that money? Either fewer government services or higher taxes and fees.

But wait, there's more! Actually that's just the beginning, because once the door was opened to borrow against future tobacco lawsuit revenues, it stayed open. The "21st Century Jobs Fund" was at least rationalized with a supremely misguided "economic development" argument; the next installment, in June 2007, was pure Washington-style "borrowand-spend."

The measure authorized \$415 million in new borrowing to close the gap between how much legislators wanted to spend and how much tax revenue they expected to collect (www.michiganvotes.org/2007-HB-4850). This new debt burden added insult to the injury of a \$1.4 billion tax increase that passed four months later as the next (temporary) "solution" to this state's (ongoing) overspending problem — a.k.a. "the deficit crisis."

But that's not all. The next trip to this loan window happened just last year, when 37 senators and 86 House members voted to borrow another \$60 million for a subsidy to tourism businesses in the form of state advertising, called "Pure Michigan" and related campaigns (www.michiganvotes.org/2008-SB-1224).

No doubt most of those 123 legislators who said "charge it" can hold forth at length on how valuable that program is. The same applies to the 137 who approved \$400 million in debt for other business subsidies in 2005, and the 133 who used the credit card to avoid \$415 million worth of spending reforms in 2007 long enough to pass a major tax increase.

Here's what they can't do: Make a moral case for robbing tomorrow's taxpayers to pay for spending that benefits today's politicians and select special interests.

Don't expect the borrow-andspend to stop, either. Right now, legislation is before the House Tax Policy Committee that could be used to authorize another \$250 million dip into your children and grandchildren's pockets, this time for electric car subsidies (www.michiganvotes .org/2009-HB-4719).

But don't worry — it's from the children.

The MichiganVotes.org vote tally for the aforementioned "borrow-and-spend" votes are located to the right. Each of these votes took place during the 2007-2008 session of the Michigan Legislature, and some of the lawmakers listed are no longer in office. Some of those no longer serving have moved on to other elected offices or are announced candidates for the same. Official Web sites and campaign Web sites that could be located for these politicians are provided in the box at the bottom of Page 7. ■

Jack McHugh is senior legislative analyst at the Mackinac Center for Public Policy and the editor of MichiganVotes.org. The author may be contacted at mchugh@ mackinac.org.

Check Michigan otes.org

"It's From the Children": Lawmakers who voted in 2007 to RAID \$90 MILLION from the Michigan Higher Education Student Loan Authority:

0		1				
SENATE REPUBLICA	NS (21)					
Allen (R) Birkholz (R) Bishop (R) Brown (R) Cassis (R) Cropsey (R)	Garcia (R) George (R) Gilbert (R) Hardiman (R) Jansen (R) Jelinek (R)	Kahn (R) Kuipers (R) McManus (R) Pappageorge (R) Patterson (R) Richardville (R)	Sanborn (R) Stamas (R) Van Woerkom (R)			
SENATE DEMOCRAT	S (15)					
Anderson (D) Barcia (D) Basham (D) Brater (D)	Cherry (D) Clark-Coleman (D) Gleason (D)	Hunter (D) Jacobs (D) Olshove (D) Prusi (D)	Schauer (D) Scott (D) Switalski (D) Whitmer (D)			
HOUSE REPUBLICAN	IS (40)					
Acciavatti (R) Ball (R) Booher (R) Brandenburg (R) Calley (R) Casperson (R) Caswell (R) Caul (R) DeRoche (R) Elsenheimer (R)	Emmons (R) Gaffney (R) Hansen (R) Hildenbrand (R) Horn (R) Huizenga (R) Jones, Rick (R) Knollenberg (R) LaJoy (R) Law, David (R)	Marleau (R) Moolenaar (R) Moore (R) Moss (R) Nofs (R) Opsommer (R) Palsrok (R) Pastor (R) Pearce (R) Proos (R)	Robertson (R) Rocca (R) Schuitmaker (R) Shaffer (R) Sheen (R) Stahl (R) Stakoe (R) Steil (R) Walker (R) Ward (R)			
HOUSE DEMOCRATS	(57)					
Accavitti (D) Angerer (D) Bauer (D) Bieda (D) Brown, Terry (D) Byrnes (D) Byrum, Barb (D) Cheeks (D) Clack (D) Clemente (D) Condino (D) Constan (D) Corriveau (D) Coulouris (D)	Dean (D) Dillon (D) Donigan (D) Ebli (D) Espinoza (D) Farrah (D) Gillard (D) Gonzales (D) Griffin (D) Hammel (D) Hammon (D) Hood (D) Hopgood (D) Jackson (D) Johnson (D)	Jones, Robert (D) Lahti (D) Law, Kathleen (D) LeBlanc (D) Leland (D) Lemmons (D) Lindberg (D) Mayes (D) McDowell (D) Meadows (D) Meisner (D) Melton (D) Miller (D) Polidori (D) Sak (D)	Scott, B (D) Sheltrown (D) Simpson (D) Smith, Alma (D) Smith, Virgil (D) Spade (D) Tobocman (D) Vagnozzi (D) Valentine (D) Warren (D) Wojno (D) Young (D)			
Lawmakers who voted AGAINST raiding \$90 million from the student loan authority:						
SENATE REPUBLICANS (NONE)SENATE DEMOCRATS (NONE)HOUSE REPUBLICANS (9)Agema (R)Hoogendyk (R)Agema (R)Hune (R)Garfield (R)Hune (R)Green (R)Meekhof (R)Pavlov (R)						
HOUSE DEMOCRATS (NONE)						
Legislators who DID NOT VOTE:						
Rep. Amos (R)	Rep. Nitz (R	,	Clarke (D)			

This is a vote from the 2007-2008 session of the Michigan Legislature. Some lawmakers are no longer members in the current session.

Rep. Wenke (R)

Rep. Cushingberry (D)

2007 Senate Roll Call 193 on HB 4851 2007 House Roll Call 227 on HB 4851

Sen. Thomas (D)

Check Michigan votes.org

"It's From the Children": Lawmakers who voted in 2007 to BORROW \$400 MILLION FROM THE FUTURE to pay for current spending:

SENATE REPUBLICANS (9)

Allen (R)	Bishop (R)	Jelinek (R)	McManus (R)	Van Woerkom (R)		
Birkholz (R)	Brown (R)	Kuipers (R)	Stamas (R)			
SENATE DEMOCRATS (14						
Anderson (D)	Cherry (D)	Gleason (D)	Olshove (D)	Thomas (D)		
Barcia (D) Basham (D)	Clark-Coleman (D) Clarke (D)	Hunter (D) Jacobs (D)	Prusi (D) Switalski (D)	Whitmer (D)		
	()	Jacobs (D)	Switalski (D)			
HOUSE REPUBLICANS (3	Emmons (R)	La lov (P)	Nofs (R)	Stahl (R)		
Acciavatti (R) Ball (R)	Gaffney (R)	LaJoy (R) Law, David (R)	Opsommer (R)	Stakoe (R)		
Booher (R)	Green (R)	Meltzer (R)	Pearce (R)	Steil (R)		
Calley (R)	Hansen (R)	Moolenaar (R)	Proos (R)			
Casperson (R)	Horn (R)	Moore (R)	Robertson (R)			
Caswell (R)	Huizenga (R)	Moss (R)	Rocca (R)			
Caul (R)	Jones, Rick (R)	Nitz (R)	Shaffer (R)			
HOUSE DEMOCRATS (47)						
Accavitti (D)	Constan (D)	Griffin (D)	LeBlanc (D)	Simpson (D)		
Angerer (D)	Corriveau (D)	Hammel (D)	Leland (D)	Smith, Virgil (D)		
Bauer (D)	Coulouris (D)	Hammon (D)	Lemmons (D)	Spade (D)		
Bieda (D) Brown (D)	Cushingberry (D) Dean (D)	Hood (D) Hopgood (D)	Mayes (D) McDowell (D)	Tobocman (D) Valentine (D)		
Byrum (D)	Donigan (D)	Jackson (D)	Meisner (D)	Wojno (D)		
Cheeks (D)	Ebli (D)	Johnson (D)	Melton (D)	Young (D)		
Clack (D)	Espinoza (D)	Jones, Robert (D)	Polidori (D)	. o d g (2)		
Clemente (D)	Farrah (D)	Lahti (D)	Sak (D)			
Condino (D)	Gonzales (D)	Law, Kathleen (D)	Sheltrown (D)			
Lawmakers who vo	Lawmakers who voted AGAINST borrowing \$400 million from the future:					
SENATE REPUBLICANS (11)	0				
Cassis (R)	Gilbert (R)	Kahn (R)	Richardville (R)			
Cropsey (R)	Hardiman (R)	Pappageorge (R)	Sanborn (R)			
George (R)	Jansen (R)	Patterson (R)				
SENATE DEMOCRATS (3)						
Brater (D)	Schauer (D)	Scott (D)				
HOUSE REPUBLICANS (2	0)					
Agema (R)	Garfield (R)	Knollenberg (R)	Palsrok (R)	Sheen (R)		
Amos (R)	Hildenbrand (R)	Marleau (R)	Pastor (R)	Walker (R)		
Brandenburg (R)	Hoogendyk (R)	Meekhof (R)	Pavlov (R)	Ward (R)		
Elsenheimer (R)	Hune (R)	Palmer (R)	Schuitmaker (R)	Wenke (R)		
HOUSE DEMOCRATS (9)						
Bennett (D)	Gillard (D)	Miller (D)	Smith, Alma (D)	Warren (D)		
Byrnes (D)	Lindberg (D)	Scott (D)	Vagnozzi (D)			
Legislators who DID NOT VOTE:						
Rep. DeRoche (R)	Rep. Dillon (D)	Rep. Meac	dows (D) Ser	n. Garcia (R)		
This is a vote from the 2007-2008 session of the Michigan Legislature.						
Some lawmakers are no longer members in the current session. 2007 Senate Roll Call 169 on HB 4850 2007 House Roll Call 199 on HB 4850						
L			20071100			

Available Web sites for politicians who cast a vote regarding this issue but are no longer serving in the Legislature:

Former state Rep. Judy Emmons, R-Sheridan, is running for Secretary of State: www.judyemmons.com.
Former state Rep. Joe Hune, R-Fowlerville, is running for state Senate: www.joehune.com.
Former state Rep. Bill Huizenga, R-Zeeland, is running for Congress: www.huizengaforcongress.com.
Former state Rep. Andy Meisner, D-Ferndale, is the Oakland County Treasurer: www.oakgov.com/treasurer/.
Former state Rep. John Moolenaar, R-Midland, is running for state Senate: www.moolenaarforsenate.com.
Former state Rep. Mike Nofs, R-Battle Creek, is running for state Senate: www.mikenofs.com.
Former state Sen. Mark Schauer, D-Battle Creek, is now a member of Congress: www.schauer.house.gov.
Former state Rep. Howard Walker, R-Traverse City, is running for state Senate: www.howardwalker37.com.

Check Michigan votes.org

"It's From the Children": Lawmakers who voted in 2007 to BORROW \$60 MILLION FROM THE FUTURE to pay for "Pure Michigan" advertising:

SENATE REPUBLICA Allen (R) Birkholz (R) Bishop (R) Brown (R) Cassis (R) Cropsey (R) SENATE DEMOCRAT	Garcia (R) George (R) Gilbert (R) Hardiman (R) Jansen (R) Jelinek (R)	Kahn (R) Kuipers (R) McManus (R) Pappageorge (R) Patterson (R) Richardville (R)	Sanborn (R) Stamas (R) Van Woerkom (R)			
Anderson (D) Barcia (D) Basham (D) Brater (D) Cherry (D)	Clark-Coleman (D) Clarke (D) Gleason (D) Hunter (D) Jacobs (D)	Thomas (D) Whitmer (D)				
HOUSE REPUBLICAN Acciavatti (R) Booher (R) Casperson (R) Caul (R) Elsenheimer (R) Emmons (R) Gaffney (R) Hansen (R)	IS (31) Hildenbrand (R) Horn (R) Huizenga (R) Hune (R) Jones, Rick (R) LaJoy (R) Law, David (R) Meltzer (R)	Moolenaar (R) Moore (R) Nitz (R) Nofs (R) Opsommer (R) Palsrok (R) Pavlov (R) Proos (R)	Robertson (R) Rocca (R) Schuitmaker (R) Shaffer (R) Stakoe (R) Walker (R) Ward (R)			
HOUSE DEMOCRATS Accavitti (D) Angerer (D) Bauer (D) Brown (D) Byrnes (D) Byrum (D) Cheeks (D) Clack (D) Clemente (D) Condino (D) Constan (D) Corriveau (D) Coulouris (D)	5 (55) Dean (D) Dillon (D) Donigan (D) Ebli (D) Farrah (D) Gillard (D) Gonzales (D) Griffin (D) Hammel (D) Hammon (D) Hood (D) Jackson (D) Johnson (D)	Jones, Robert (D) Lahti (D) Law, Kathleen (D) LeBlanc (D) Leland (D) Lemmons (D) Lindberg (D) Mayes (D) McDowell (D) Meadows (D) Meisner (D) Melton (D) Miller (D) Polidori (D)	Sak (D) Scott, B. Cook (D) Sheltrown (D) Simpson (D) Smith, Alma (D) Smith, Virgil (D) Spade (D) Tobocman (D) Vagnozzi (D) Valentine (D) Warren (D) Wojno (D) Young (D)			
Lawmakers who voted AGAINST borrowing \$60 million from the future to pay for "Pure Michigan":						
SENATE REPUBLICA SENATE DEMOCRAT HOUSE REPUBLICAN Agema (R) Amos (R) Ball (R) Brandenburg (R) Calley (R) Caswell (R)	S (NONE) IS (21) DeRoche (R) Garfield (R) Green (R) Hoogendyk (R) Knollenberg (R) Marleau (R)	Meekhof (R) Moss (R) Palmer (R) Pastor (R) Pearce (R) Sheen (R)	Stahl (R) Steil (R) Wenke (R)			
HOUSE DEMOCRATS (NONE) Legislators who DID NOT VOTE:						
Rep. Doug Bennett (D) Rep. George Cushingberry (D)						
This is a vote from the 2007-2008 session of the Michigan Legislature. Some lawmakers are no longer members in the current session.						
2008 Senate Roll Call 238 on SB 1224 2008 House Roll Call 285 on SB 1224						

NANNY STATE

from Page One

choices: Don't eat the guts, heads or bones of fish (Michigan Family Fish Consumption Guide). If you are trying to reduce your sugar intake, consume less sugar (Sweet Relief!). While state officials are rarely the model of restraint, they want you to practice self-denial: Eat dried fruit instead of candy, and eat unbuttered bread (Sweet Relief!).

Turn grocery shopping into a workout by doing laps around the store (Dr. Wisdom's Tip of the Day). Michigan's surgeon general provides a free online exercise journal to help you stay motivated, and exhorts you to clap your hands if you're happy and you know it (Dr. Wisdom). Confusingly, you are urged to "Indulge every so often and don't feel guilty," but also to "set goals and stick to them" (Living Healthy and Loving It).

Prevent the spread of germs by washing your hands (Living Healthy and Loving It), and coughing safely — there's even an instructional video on how to correctly cough into your sleeves (Stay Healthy This Flu Season!). Have you spilled mercury on your pet? Wash the unfortunate creature with shampoo containing selenium sulfide (Mercury Spills and Your Pet).

Some simple measures can help keep you and your family safe. Never leave small children alone in the bathtub (Safety First!) or unattended in a vehicle (Hot Weather and Vehicles can be a Deadly Combination for Kids). Do not respond to spam e-mails (Spam Reduction). Take your vehicle to a mechanic instead of trying to fix it yourself (Auto Repair Rights & Tips). If you are attacked, stay calm and continually evaluate your options as the assault progresses (Crime Prevention Tips).

Do not clench your teeth (Living Healthy and Loving It). Instead, "dance to the radio" and "take deep cleansing breaths throughout the day" (Living Healthy and Loving It). To

maintain a beautiful yard, keep it watered and fertilized (Spring Gardening Tips for Bedding Plants) - but use less water and fertilizer to help the environment (Clean Air Lawn Care).

Michigan Web sites also provide countless pages of helpful tips on raising young ones. For instance, children occasionally spill when they eat (Child and Adult Care Food Program), and they have trouble sitting still for long periods of time (Why Play in Kindergarten?). To make meals more entertaining or educational, "Talk about how potatoes grow. Pass around a whole potato and have the children sing, to the tune of 'Mary Had a Little Lamb,' I'm a potato, brown and round, brown and round, brown and round ..." (Child and Adult Care Food Program). Speaking of education, your child just might have trouble at school if he or she can't speak English, so the state offers parents of non-English speakers some advice - in English (What Do I Do if My Child Does Not Speak English?).

A great way to save fuel is to carpool. However, be sure to create a pick-up and drop-off schedule, instead of randomly driving around town ... These are just some of the countless tips that state government has taken the time and expense to compile and publish.

It's also important to remember your offspring. When you take your child in the car, "Place something that you'll need at your next stop — such as a purse, a lunch, gym bag or briefcase on the floor of the backseat where the child is sitting. This simple act could help prevent you from accidentally forgetting a child" (Hot Weather and Vehicles).

While state government chronically overspends, it offers prolific advice on economizing at home. To cut utility bills, use your air conditioning sparingly. Close

WHAP WHAM



"SIT UP! SLOW DOWN! DON'T BUTTER YOUR BREAD! EAT LESS SUGAR! STOP CLENCHING YOUR TEETH ... "

your curtains during the day, and use dehumidifiers and fans (Beat the Heat and \$ave). "If you must use air conditioning, set the room thermostat as high as possible. Believe it or not 78 degrees is often considered a comfortable indoor temperature." (Beat the Heat and \$ave).

To conserve fuel, limit your vehicular excursions by running multiple errands at a time (20 Tips for Energy Efficient Driving). As much as you may enjoy a pointlessly long and jarring commute, officials recommend using a road that is the most direct and in the best shape (Energy Efficient Driving). If you do encounter a rough road, slow down (Tire Tips Fact Sheet). Drive below the speed limit, and keep your windows rolled up to reduce drag ("Energy Efficient Driving"). Also, to ensure you get the most for your money, track and calculate the mileage you get from each station's fuel (Consumer Tips for Buying Gasoline).

A great way to save fuel is to carpool. However, be sure to create a pick-up and drop-off schedule, instead of randomly driving around town (Carpooling Tips).

Loose-fitting, lightweight clothing is apparently the best attire for hot weather (Extreme Heat Preparedness Tips). You should also "avoid strenuous work during the warmest part of the day" (Extreme Heat Preparedness Tips). If the power goes out on a cold day, wear a hat or try making a fire in the fireplace (Surviving Electrical Power Outages).

These are just some of the countless tips that state government has taken the time and expense to compile and

publish. With the state facing a nearly \$2 billion budget overspending crisis, be assured that core government functions like these — and hundreds of others - continue unabated. Now stop clenching your teeth.

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THE MOBWN

THE MOST DANGEROUS VOICE IN THE HOUSE?

Rep. Tom McMillin, R-Rochester Hills, was singled out as a man to be silenced on Sept. 2. The freshman lawmaker rose to protest a bill granting a \$100 million tax break for an advanced battery manufacturing facility that would go into the old Ford Wixom plant. McMillin wanted to use a recently released Mackinac Center study to tell the members of the House that the state was giving away far too much in exchange for the 300 jobs that the project would supposedly create, but Majority Floor Leader Kathy Angerer, D-Dundee, would not allow him to do so.

According to the MIRS Capitol Capsule newsletter, House Minority Leader Kevin Elsenheimer, R-Kewadin, confronted Angerer about shutting down McMillin (www.mirsnews.com — subscription required). Eventually, the Democrats relented — but still wouldn't allow McMillin to address the chamber. Instead, Republicans were permitted to select another member to protest the matter for McMillin. The job fell to another freshman, Rep. Justin Amash, R-Kentwood, who "proceeded to dump on the tax credit, complaining that small businesses didn't want tax credits, they wanted across-the-board business tax cuts," according to MIRS.

"We've had an issue throughout the year," Elsenheimer told MIRS afterward. "We've had difficulty getting our voice heard ... every member is entitled to have his day on the floor."

This was not the first time McMillin had challenged tax breaks for a select few. On June 10, he had attempted to attach an amendment to a bill that would have given targeted tax breaks to businesses selected for special treatment by the state government economic planners at the Michigan Economic Development Corp. McMillin's amendment would have required the Office of the Auditor General to give a closer look at the data that the MEDC was giving to lawmakers.

This was McMillin's fourth attempt this year to force greater oversight of the MEDC, and this time he claimed to have collected the 22 signatures supposedly necessary under House rules to force a recorded roll-call vote on his amendment. But the signatures were ignored and the McMillin amendment was gaveled down on a "voice vote" — a parliamentary procedure that the party in power uses to avoid taking a real vote on a proposal. Often, as in this case, it is done when they don't want their members taking tough official stands on controversial matters.

The reluctance to give McMillin his votes is possibly a reaction to one vote that he did win earlier in the year. On March 12, he successfully persuaded a majority of his colleagues to approve an amendment to another special economic development tax break. McMillin's tactic on this day was to change the wording of the bill so that the tax break applied to all businesses, rather than just those approved by state government bureaucrats, very similar to the "across-the-board tax cuts" that Amash would speak of during the Sept. 2. dispute.

The victory was short-lived. According to MIRS, "even before the applause from the GOP side had died down, a motion to substitute a version of the bill without the McMillin amendment was adopted by a voice vote."

Frustration regarding this treatment boiled to the surface on June 26, right before the House adjourned for its summer break. That day, MIRS published a long story quoting "capitol observers" who were "grumbling" that the Republican minority in the Michigan House was being "shutdown during the legislative process" — perhaps being "steamrolled" more than any minority party in either chamber of the state Legislature had been in more than three or four decades.

"There is a persistent problem when it comes to recognizing members' rights to be heard on their amendments and at times record roll-call votes on their amendments," Elsenheimer told MIRS, in a statement that applied more to McMillin than any other lawmaker under the Capitol dome.

TAXED ENOUGH ALREADY...

Genesee County voters went to the polls on Aug. 4 to decide the fate of a ballot proposal that would increase county property taxes by \$100 million over 10 years to fund Hurley Medical Center, a nonprofit hospital owned and governed by the city of Flint. According to The Flint Journal, Friends of Hurley, a ballot committee organized in favor of the tax hike, raised nearly \$500,000 to advocate for a "yes" vote. The Committee Against Tax Increases, a group created by activists from the Genesee Taxed Enough Already (TEA) Party, was the only organized opposition and reportedly raised less than \$5,000. Despite the 100-1 funding disadvantage, the TEA Party celebrated a razorthin 50.71 percent victory after 62,727 ballots were tabulated.

The Journal reported that more than half of the campaign cash spent by Friends of Hurley went to Byrum & Fisk Advocacy, an East Lansing public affairs firm used by many Lansing politicians. Friends of Hurley communicated their message through mass direct mailings and television advertising. With no money for mass mailings, television spots or professional political operatives, the Genesee TEA Party focused its limited resources on personal voter contact through door-to-door canvassing. This may have been a key to its success because — according to Cathy Tyler, one of the anti-tax activists interviewed by the Journal — many residents were unaware that a tax vote would be taking place.

The Genesee County Board of Commissioners voted 7-2 on May 26 to place the tax hike on the ballot. The millage would have increased property taxes for all county residents to benefit a hospital owned and governed by the city of Flint. Although regularly scheduled municipal elections in Flint coincided with the Aug. 4 date, only one other community in Genesee County had anything else scheduled for the ballot that day. Additionally, because Flint owns the hospital, some residents not residing within that city were under the mistaken impression that the tax hike and vote did not apply to them.

A clerk from one township in Genesee County told The Journal that many voters there would likely miss the vote because of this confusion. Her prediction was borne out. In contrast to the 221,598 Genesee County residents who voted in the November 2008 general election — representing more than 63 percent of those eligible — less than 63,000 participated in the Hurley millage.

Having bested the tax-hike supporters by only 887 votes, knocking on the doors of those non-Flint voters and getting them to the polls appears to have made a big difference for the TEA Party. Though a "yes" vote prevailed in every single precinct within Flint, the "no" votes carried the overwhelming majority of precincts outside of it. Gwen Jensen of Fenton told The Journal that she spent every day of the final month of the campaign distributing anti-millage literature. Her work appears to have paid off: The proposal was rejected by 78 percent of Fenton and Fenton Township, giving the "no" side a 2,276 vote cushion from those two communities alone.

"We changed the votes of people, because we informed them," TEA Party head Mike Gardner told The Journal on election night. ■

The Lowdown is written by Kenneth M. Braun, senior managing editor of Michigan Capitol Confidential. He may be reached at braun@mackinac.org

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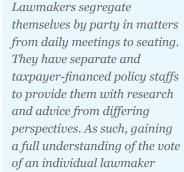
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requires knowing his or her

partisan affiliation.

WHY WE GIVE PARTY

The Legislature is managed

as a partisan institution.

AFFILIATIONS:



view interactive legislative district maps, please point your web browser to www.mackinac.org/9313.

If you do not have Internet access, then you may obtain copies of legislative district maps by calling 989-631-0900 or by sending a written request to us at: Mackinac Center for Public Policy, c/o MiCapCon District Maps 140 West Main Street, Midland, MI 48640

Members of the Michigan House and Senate are the second highestpaid state legislators in the United States, behind California.

Base member annual pay: \$79,650

Additional annual expense allowance: \$12,000

Supplements are paid to the following 12 legislative officers:

- Speaker of the House: \$27,000
- Majority leader in the Senate: \$26,000 Minority leaders in both House and Senate: \$22,000
- Majority floor leaders in both House and Senate: \$12,000
- Minority floor leaders in both House and Senate: \$10,000
- Chair of Appropriations Committee in both House and Senate: \$7,000
- House speaker pro tempore and Senate president pro tempore: \$5,513

In more than 30 states, the position of state legislator is a part-time job with a salary of \$30,000 or less. Texas — the second most populous state and second largest geographically — pays lawmakers \$7,200 per year.

Some pay much less: New Hampshire legislators are paid a salary of \$200 for a two-year term of office; Alabama pays \$10 per day; and New Mexico offers no salary at all — just expenses. ■

CAPITOL CONFIDENTIAL

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STATE OF CALL



SENATE BILL 775 Impose carbon dioxide sequestration fees and provide liability waivers

Introduced by state Sen. Wayne Kuipers, *R*-Holland

The bill would establish regulations and impose fees of \$1 per ton on operators of underground carbon dioxide sequestration facilities, and provide immunity from civil or criminal prosecution after 10 years if the operator has followed all the rules and the facility maintains its integrity. Ownership of the underground reservoir (and subsequent liability) would then transfer to the state. The bill would also empower local governments to use eminent domain to take privately owned land to create such a facility. Sequestration is the injection of CO_2 into wells deep in the ground, and is a technique being investigated to use mainly in conjunction with coal-burning power plants to mitigate the possibility of global warming caused by the release of CO₂ into the atmosphere.

SENATE BILL 776 Use juror compensation fund money for other state spending

Introduced by state Sen. Alan Cropsey, *R-DeWitt*

The bill proposes to use \$2.5 million in certain court and other fees supposedly dedicated to a state "juror compensation reimbursement fund," and which have accumulated in that fund, to pay for other state spending in fiscal year 2009-2010, so as to avoid budget cuts.

Michiganvotes.org

A sampling of proposed state laws, as described on MichiganVotes.org

HOUSE BILL 4182 Transfer "21st Century Jobs Fund" money to general fund Introduced by state Rep. Fred Durhal Jr.,

D-Detroit The bill proposes to transfer \$20 million from

the "21st Century Jobs Fund" to the state general fund in fiscal year 2009.

SENATE BILL 620 Earmark certain sales tax revenue to tourism industry promotion

Introduced by state Sen. Jason Allen, R-Traverse City

The bill proposes to earmark a portion of the state-use tax collected from the sale of tourism-related goods and services to promotional subsidies for the tourism industry.

HOUSE BILL 5266 Mandate number and standard of toilets on construction projects

Introduced by state Rep. Mark Meadows, D-East Lansing

The bill proposes to require the general contractor on any construction (or improvement) project in the state of any size to ensure that there is no less than one "toilet facility" meeting certain standards specified in the bill for every 10 employees, and to prohibit a building permit from being issued unless evidence is produced that this requirement has been or will be met. Road builders would be exempt.

SENATE BILL 552 Increase pensions for Adrian Training School employees

Introduced by state Sen. Cameron Brown, R-Fawn River Twp.

The bill proposes to give senior employees at the Adrian Training School juvenile justice facility an enhanced pension benefit. The facility is to be closed under a December 2008 executive order budget cut. Under the bill, rather than getting laid off, employees whose age and years of employment equals 70 (such as a 50 year old with just 20 years on the job) could begin receiving a full pension immediately, and those whose age and years on the job equals 75 would get a 16.7 percent increase in the cash portion of their post-retirement benefits.

HOUSE BILL 4853

Increase wage sex discrimination penalty Introduced by state Rep. Sarah Roberts, D-St. Clair Shores

The bill proposes to authorize penalties of between \$5,000 and \$25,000 depending on the number of employees for an employer who pays different wages to men and women who are "similarly employed." The bill also removes from the law a provision stating that, "No female shall be assigned any task disproportionate to her strength, nor shall she be employed in any place detrimental to her morals, her health or her potential capacity for motherhood."