

## SELF-LIMITER VICTORY

### Sanford Wins Gubernatorial Primary

Former congressman Rep. Mark Sanford, of South Carolina, decisively won his state's Republican gubernatorial primary on June 25. Sanford had represented South Carolina's 1st congressional district for three terms before voluntarily stepping down from office, to keep the term limits pledge he made in his first campaign.

"Former congressman Mark Sanford overcame a late start to decisively win the Republican nomination for governor Tuesday, upsetting early favorite Lt. Gov. Bob Peeler and

emerging as the new face of the South Carolina GOP," reported *The Charleston Post and Courier*. "Peeler, as the highest-ranking Republican in state government, had for years been building a machine to become the party's challenger to Democratic Gov. Jim Hodges. Sanford, meanwhile, was one of the last of the seven Republicans candidates to enter the race, just 18 months ago.

"With a voter turnout similar to the primary vote two weeks ago, Sanford beat Peeler

by a hefty 60 to 40 percent. The race was declared over less than two hours after the polls closed at 7 p.m."

The U.S. Term Limits Foundation has praised Sanford for keeping his term limits promise to voters. "With public confidence in their law-makers at an all-time low, it's good to know that some still regard their word as their bond," said U.S. Term Limits Senior Fellow Paul Jacob after Sanford announced that he planned to stick to his pledge.

For more information on Mark Sanford and his campaign, visit his web site: [www.SanfordForGovernor.com](http://www.SanfordForGovernor.com). ■



**Former South Carolina Rep. Mark Sanford** voluntarily limited his time in office to three terms.

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## BALLOT WATCH

### Term Limits Referendum Qualifies in Palm Beach, Florida

The Palm Beach Term Limits Committee — a group of activists in Palm Beach County, Florida — has succeeded in placing a referendum on the November ballot that would limit county commissioners to eight consecutive years in office.

The referendum was officially placed on the ballot on July 9, reported the *Palm Beach Post*, after the Supervisor of Elections had certified

the necessary number of valid signatures the previous month, on June 20.

Palm Beach has a long history of support for term limits. In 1992, a referendum on statewide term limits passed in Palm Beach by 74.1 percent. Also, a February survey of Florida voters, conducted by Basswood Research, showed that fully 78 percent support term limits as an issue. ■



## MESSAGE FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

# Career Politicians Never Did Like Term Limits

Prior to achieving majority control of the Congress in 1994, many congressional Republicans jumped on the term-limits bandwagon. Newt Gingrich *et al.* even

went so far as to feature the issue in their "Contract With America."

But this was not a bandwagon built by Republicans. By 1994, the modern term limits movement had already caught fire in states where citizens were able to directly vote on the issue. Currently, 17 states — the majority of states where citizens can exercise the right of initiative and referendum — have term limits on their state legislatures. Seeing their chance to edge out the Democrats and grab control of the Congress for the first time in 60 years, Republicans latched onto a popular issue. But party leaders like Newt Gingrich, Dick Armey and Henry Hyde never really were big fans of the issue, personally.

Fast-forward to 2002. Many of the Republican congressmen who had once upon a time mumbled something about how much they cherished the prospect of term limits are now deciding that remaining in power *ad infinitum* isn't such a bad idea after all. This is not surprising, however. Larger than the parties of the Republicans and the Democrats is the Party of the Incumbent, or the Party of the Career Politician.

Opposed to the career politician is the citizen legislator — the representative who believes in term limits and lives by them, who may be found in un-term-limited state legislatures around the country and even in the U.S. Congress. Matt Salmon of Arizona, Mark Sanford of South Carolina,

Tom Coburn of Oklahoma and Bob Riley of Alabama are just a few examples. They prove that cynical politics-as-usual is not the only option for those who would serve this country.

Granting that many lawmakers are wishy-washy at best when it comes to term limits, does it follow that the public is also flip-flopping on the issue? Career politicians apparently think so.

But what about the rank and file of the public, who benefit the most from the reinvigorated democracy engendered by term limits? In term-limited states where voters have been polled recently — including Florida, California, Idaho and Arizona — voters continue to support term limits by majorities ranging from 60 to 78 percent.

What the people want with respect to term limits is irrelevant to politicians, except as a hurdle to jump. In California, a devious attempt to water down term limits just got clobbered at the

ballot box. In Idaho, legislators were able to repeal term limits only by stubbornly ignoring the will of the people that politicians are ostensibly obliged to respect.

Politicians of every party will keep on trying to undo term limits. But the fact is that term limits do multiply opportunities for citizens to participate in their government — participate as voters, and as representatives. Term limits shake up the status quo and render our democracy more democratic.

That's why ordinary citizens want term limits. And why career politicians don't . . . and never did. ■

**Voters continue to support term limits by majorities ranging from 60 to 78 percent.**

## NO UNCERTAIN TERMS

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## **MICHIGAN SHAKEUP**

# Term Limits to Revamp Michigan Government

The laborious efforts of the nationwide term limits movement will pay off in Michigan later this year, when the Michigan government is revamped — term limits will force the governor, secretary of state, and almost three-fourths of the Senate out of office.

In 1992, Michigan voters approved a constitutional amendment that imposed term limits on elected officials. This law limits House members to three two-year terms, senators to two four-year terms, and the governor, lieutenant governor, attorney general, and secretary of state to two four-year terms.

In 1998, the House felt the first effects of this law when 64 of its 110 representatives were ousted from office. However, this is the first year that the Senate is vulnerable to the 1992 amendment. With 27 of 38 senators prohibited from seeking reelection this year, the effects of term limits are anything but trivial.

Governor John Engler, elected in 1990, is also unable to seek reelection this year. There has not been an open seat for governor in the state of Michigan for the past 20 years. Secretary of State Candice Miller will not seek reelection either, thanks to term limits, which makes 2002 the first open seat for secretary of state in 32 years.

Michigan voter support for term limits on legislators and other elected officials remains strong. In a survey conducted in February by Basswood Research, 71.5 percent of Michigan residents said they favor the imposition of term limits

on the Michigan legislature, 64.5 percent said that term limits have had a positive effect on state government, and 73.8 percent said they would vote again to impose the same limits on legislators that were imposed by the 1992 initiative that originally added term limits to the Michigan constitution. Even Chuck Perricone, former Speaker of the Michigan House, and the first Speaker to serve under term limits, supports the 1992 amendment.

Despite the continued support of term limits by Michigan voters, critics of term limits are never satisfied. However, any potential effort to weaken or remove term limits will not start in earnest until 2003 or 2004, said Kevin Kelley, a Michigan State Medical Society executive who leads a group hoping to lengthen Michigan's term limits, as reported by the *Detroit News*.

It seems unlikely, however, that voters will change their minds. Also in the February survey cited earlier, 70.3 percent of Michigan voters echoed their support for the state's current eight-year term limits, while only 23.8 percent suggested they favored 12-year limits instead. A parallel effort to lengthen limits to 12 years instead of eight failed in 2000, as did an effort to completely abolish term limits.

"Everything I can observe outside of Lansing is that citizens solidly support [term limits]," said Patrick Anderson, a Lansing economic consultant who helped write the term limits amendment. "People still want to limit how long their representatives can sit in the same seat." ■

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## **HIGH-TECH GERRYMANDERING**

# House Incumbents Turn to Technology

In California, the use of computer software is making it increasingly easier for incumbents to win reelection. With the new census data now available, it is easier than ever to re-map districts with predictable partisan preferences.

"Beginning 10 years ago, sophisticated computer-software packages have allowed partisan map-makers to match new census data with their own files on neighborhoods' voting histories — down to the level of individual

blocks," reported the *Wall Street Journal* on June 19. This has allowed the new districts to be tailored around the political preferences of the incumbent seeking reelection.

Redistricting has shaken up the status quo in the past, but this new high-tech process only reinforces the power and reelection prospects of incumbents.

"Out of 435 House districts, political handicapper Charlie Cook rates only 11 as 'toss-up' contests that either side could just as easily win," reported the

*Wall Street Journal*. "At this time 10 years ago, he rated four times as many that way."

Carefully-drawn district lines have demonstrated that incumbent representatives don't need to target the same voters in their reelection efforts as do more widely-elected politicians of the same party.

"For instance, Hispanic voters represent a key target for President Bush for his 2004 re-election hopes," the

*continued on page 4*

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## COMPROMISING POSITION

# GOP Senators Compromise on Committee Term Limits

Republican senators gave themselves a break in late June when they voted to loosen term limit restrictions on committee leaders. These limits, imposed by a vague rule adopted at the beginning of the 105th Congress in January 1997, spawned general confusion among GOP senators.

The rule states, "a senator shall serve no more than six years as chair and six years as ranking member of any standing committee." A number of Senate Republicans maintain that this rule allows senators to serve six years as ranking member and then another six years as chairman, if the Republicans take control of the Senate.

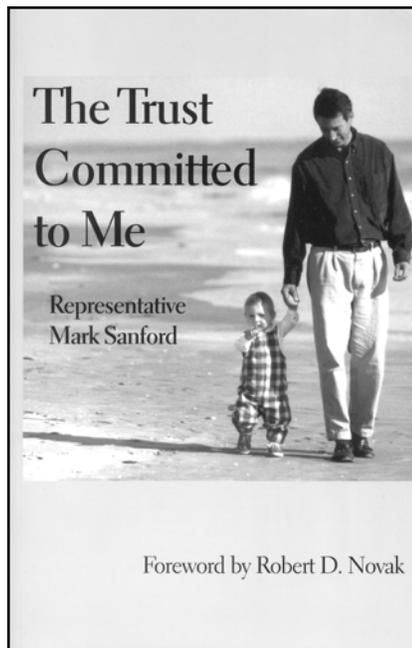
Others argue that the rule intended to set a hard six-year committee term limit regardless of whether or not the Republicans recover the majority.

Of the four proposals up for consideration, the caucus

voted 32-14 to adopt a measure submitted by Sen. Robert Bennett (R-UT). This proposal permits a senator to serve six years as ranking member and six years as chairman with the stipulation that a senator who has already served as chairman is no longer eligible to serve as ranking member. This assures that any time spent as ranking member will not eat into time that a senator may serve as chairman if the Republicans resume control of the Senate in November.

Bennett's proposal was a compromise between a proposal submitted by Sen. Arlen Specter (R-PA), who insisted that the controversial rule intended to establish a hard six-year limit on high-ranking committee members whether they serve as ranking member or chairman, and

*continued on page 8*



## A Testament to Principle

An excerpt from Rep. Mark Sanford's book:  
*The Trust Committed to Me*

“My lack of Washington experience was matched by my equally robust lack of political connections and fundraising abilities. My only asset was a desire to shake up a Congress that had abandoned its constitutional moorings.

We all need to hop into the fight. To do otherwise leaves the political class in place, and undermines a system of government that Thomas Jefferson described as resting on the active participation of its citizens.”

**Order Rep. Sanford's illuminating book today!**

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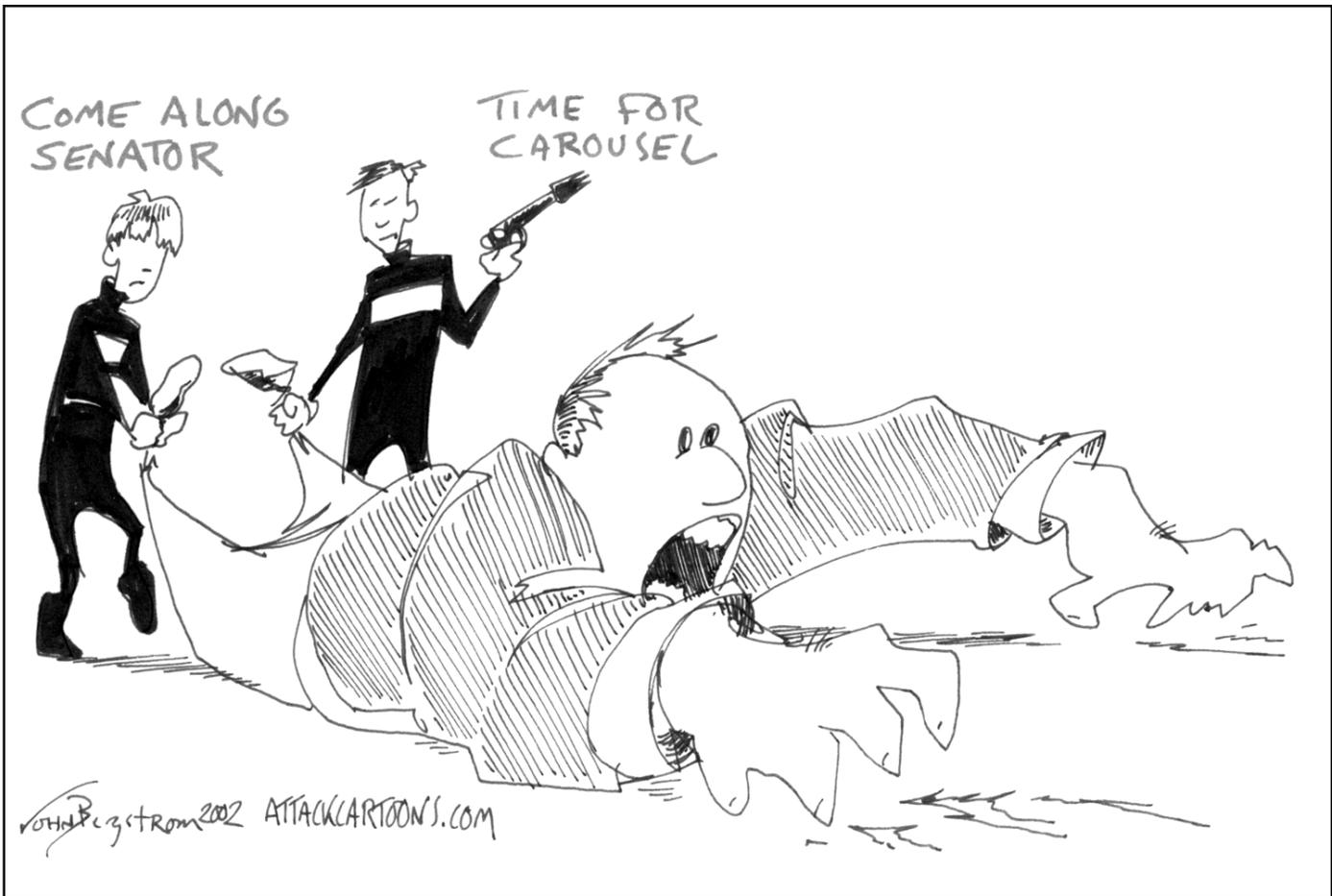
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*"High-Tech Gerrymandering," cont. from page 3*  
*Wall Street Journal* noted. "But when Republican House candidates scored poorly in a recent national poll of Hispanics, one top GOP strategist shrugged off the result as inconsequential. The reason: The way district lines

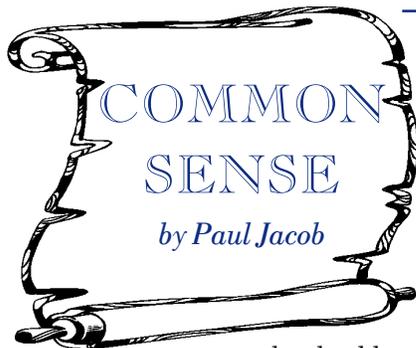
are drawn, there are very few districts where Republican House candidates must attract Hispanic votes to win."

We will no doubt continue to see incumbents utilizing every means at their disposal to redraw districts in ways that will allow them to keep a grip on their

power. When political office becomes a career instead of a public service, legislators have an incentive to protect their political turf. This new form of high-tech gerrymandering only underscores the importance of term limits in restoring political competition. ■



## THE WEEKLY RADIO COMMENTARY OF THE U.S. TERM LIMITS FOUNDATION



### Porky Says No

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It's always good when someone who should never have taken even a second helping — let alone a third or a fourth or a fifth or sixth — at least has the grace to decline the seventh helping. Restraint has to start somewhere.

That's what the Senate exercised recently when they approved fast-track trade authority for the President.

"Fast-track" authority means the Congress has to vote yes or no, up or down on any trade agreement the President reaches with another country. Fast-track would, hopefully, prevent new trade agreements from being overpowered by pork.

Yet even the fast-track legislation itself was at risk of being pork-plastered. Some senators tried to add an amendment to give pension and health care benefits to retired steelworkers. That would have added a \$180 million bill for the taxpayers. Another senator wanted to fund low-interest loans for unem-

ployed workers. Others had other agendas.

Our career politicians are very alert political entrepreneurs. Always on the lookout to pay off the special interests with another pound of pork.

The bill survived the oink-fest, but the same kind of thing will happen again and again. Unless the career politicians, going against their own gluttonous tendencies, do something to stop it. One thing they could do is pass a new rule that requires all amendments to be directly related to the legislation being considered. In other words, no more sneaky extra helpings of pork at the taxpayer's expense.

If they're afraid to vote on the anti-pork rule openly, they could always tack it on to some unrelated piece of legislation. ■

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## THEY SAID IT

### Reinvigorating the Legislature

“ This is the year that Lansing will see the full effect of term limits enacted in 1992. The process began in earnest in 1998, when 64 of the 110 [Michigan] House members were barred from running again. This year, 27 of the 38 state senators will get the boot — bringing the average experience level in that body to a grand total of one year.”

—*The Detroit News*  
June 26, 2002

### Protection Machine

“ Although many states over the years have set limits on the number of terms their governors could serve, that practice rarely applied to legislators — in part, because no one could imagine a sane person lusting for long tenure on such a modest mission. As local, state and federal government began to gobble larger shares of the national wealth and associated freedoms, careerism took hold among the public servants. The average tenure of U.S. House members has exploded to 13.2 years, and the American political system has transformed itself into an incumbent-protection machine.”

—*Hartford Courant*  
June 9, 2002

### Real-World Experience More Valuable

“ [T]he critics' claim that the committee and legislative processes take many years to master is less an indictment of inexperienced legislators than of the legislative process. The bottom line is that the workings of our legislatures are far more complex than is necessary. Arguably, many of the already term-limited states are better off without some of this vaunted experience. Remember that legislatures aren't the only place to gain useful experience. The private-sector experience that many newcomers bring to term-limited legislative committees may prove more valuable for the general welfare.”

—*Fox News*  
June 17, 2002

### Tick-Tock, Tick-Tock

“ Term limit time clocks are ticking on Oklahoma's legislators and a number of them are trying to out-race pending deadlines by seeking other political offices in this statewide election year. The real impact of term limits won't occur until the 2004 elections. At that time, nearly one-third of incumbent Senate members will be ineligible to seek re-election. That will be the single largest turnover in the Senate in modern history. Of those 15 members, five are Republicans and 10 are Democrats. Most of them will have served much longer than the 12-year limit that took effect in 1992.”

—*Journal Record* (Oklahoma City, OK)  
June 10, 2002

### Open Race Free-For-All

“ There's a gay legislator, lawyers, businessmen, a bishop, a filmmaker, a jazz musician, a seaman, a one-time mayor and even two neighbors.”

It's a free-for-all for the Providence mayoral seat now that popular incumbent and twice convicted felon, Vincent 'Buddy' Cianci Jr., decided to not seek re-election to an office he's held off and on through four decades.

In all, 19 candidates pounced on the chance to sign up for the race. They have two weeks to each amass 500 signatures to get their names on the ballot.”

—*Associated Press*  
July 1, 2002



**Paul Jacob**  
U.S. Term Limits  
Senior Fellow

## Which of These is Most Outrageous?

The longer politicians stay in office, the more likely they are to abuse their power and betray the voters. Here are three recent examples of career politicians in action, from the best of Paul Jacob's Common Sense radio commentaries. **What do you think? Which of these is the most outrageous?** Send us email at [newsletter@termlimits.org](mailto:newsletter@termlimits.org) or send us postal mail to the return address on this newsletter. We'll print some of your responses in an upcoming issue of *No Uncertain Terms*.

### On Our Nickel

It's a free country. So, you have the right to support an initiative or oppose an initiative if you want to. And so does Governor Bob Taft of Ohio.

We ought to do our campaigning on our own nickel, though, and on our own time. But a new Institute for Policy Studies report by Daniel Forbes says that Ohio Governor Taft, and other officials, have been opposing an Ohio initiative using the taxpayers' nickel and on taxpayers' time.

Apparently that's not illegal. But, legal or not — it's just plain wrong. *Forbes* reports that Taft's effort has sopped up "hundreds of staff hours of state-paid time. Last fall, Ohio's First Lady, cabinet officials, and senior staffers in the Governor's office attended weekly strategy sessions on the public's dime. State funds paid for out of town trips and overnight lodging, and the administration even proposed to divert U.S. Department of Justice crime-fighting grants to fund their nascent campaign's eventual polling, focus groups and advertising."

Yikes. We can't have fair elections when our tax dollars are used to promote one side of an initiative campaign. This particular Ohio initiative mandates drug treatment programs instead of incarceration for persons convicted of first- or second-time possession of drugs. Apparently some public officials think the war on drugs justifies abusing their public position to use the tax money of their opponents against them.

All this is just plain wrong, and it's time our laws made that clear. ■

### Rich Man Poor Man

Is he a billionaire or a pauper? A beggar or just a thief?

"David Rockefeller" is a name associated with enormous wealth. About \$2.5 billion of it, in fact. But Rockefeller is also a farmer — or, rather, he owns a couple farms in upstate New York. And he gets farm subsidies. Between 1996 and 2001 he collected almost \$500,000 in subsidies from the federal government.

Huh? Why on earth is our government giving even ten cents in subsidies to this guy?

Well, it's not a hard sell to people working on the farms. One of Rockefeller's farm managers says, "I don't care who owns the land. If our government thinks we should have subsidies for our crops, then we should get them."

Sounds like he's saying that if government gives you money, that proves all by itself that you should be getting the money. Which also means that the taxpayer who earned the money doesn't deserve the money. At least, not unless he gets it back in the form of a farm subsidy. Or something.

Why are taxpayers giving Rockefeller a half-million dollars? For the same reason we're handing out cash to billionaire Charles Schwab, billionaire Ted Turner, Scottie Pippen, Sam Donaldson, Bob Dole, and sundry current members of Congress.

The handouts are based not on need but on acreage. And who owns the most acres? People with money. Corporations. It isn't right. But as long as career politicians continue to benefit from dishing out corporate welfare, you and I are going to keep footing the bill for it. ■

### Hat in Hand

Here is my advice to all former Presidents of the United States who want to put together a presidential library: Get private funding. Don't make any government pay for it. Don't make any taxpayers pay for it, I should say.

Three-point-six million dollars, that's how much the William J. Clinton Presidential Foundation was trying to grab from Arkansas taxpayers.

Will Clinton and his trustees have any trouble raising the funds on their own? No, of course not. The friends of Bill have an endless supply of cash which they have always been willing to contribute whenever asked.

But there is probably no ex-President who could not obtain voluntary funding for a presidential library. People are interested in ex-Presidents. Plenty of donors are happy to be a part of preserving history. So why did the Clinton Presidential Foundation seek public funding? Because, like State Farm and like a mountain, it was There.

Arkansas has a program called Advantage Arkansas which offers tax rebates and refunds to businesses as an incentive to keep them in Arkansas and attract new businesses to Arkansas. The Clinton Presidential Foundation is a non-profit, not a business, but what the heck? Give it a shot and see if they'll dole out the dough, must have been the reasoning.

Fortunately for Arkansas taxpayers, the state government determined that funding of the library would have exceeded the bounds of the program.

Let me extend my advice to everybody, not just to ex-Presidents. If you don't need handouts, don't apply for them. Keep your hands out of other people's pockets. ■

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## **INTEGRITY IN OFFICE**

# Swimming Against the Current

Former Representative Matt Salmon didn't stay in Congress for long — just long enough to make a difference. During Salmon's 1994 campaign in Arizona's 1st Congressional District, he signed a term limits pledge promising to serve only three terms in Congress. He was elected and served three terms, then kept his word by stepping down from office. Now Salmon is focusing on his Arizona gubernatorial campaign, which he kicked off in September at the University of Arizona, surrounded by family and supporters.

Salmon is a strong believer in term limits and even spoke in favor of them in January — the same day Governor Hull trashed them before the legislature during her State of the State address.

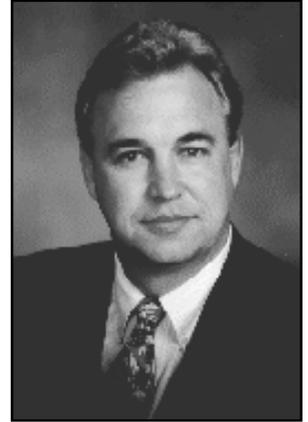
"Studies from the Goldwater Institute and Cato Institute have shown that term limits help control the growth of government spending, and they bring fresh ideas to government," said Salmon. "It is the height of conceit to claim that only a career politician can understand the legislative process. I will work to honor the will of Arizona's voters and keep term limits in place."

Salmon recently joined U.S. Term Limits Executive Di-

rector Stacie Rumenap and Arizona's Speaker of the House Jim Weirs at a press conference in Phoenix, where they launched a campaign to block an effort by career legislators to undo Arizona's voter-approved term limits law. Their campaign was successful and the 1992 law remains in effect.

"Matt Salmon came to Washington to get things done, and he made good on that promise," said Rumenap. "By pledging to serve only six years in office, Matt stood up for Arizona values instead of caving into special interests. We commend him on keeping his term limits commitment."

For more information on Matt Salmon and his campaign, visit his website: [www.SalmonForGovenor.com](http://www.SalmonForGovenor.com). ■



**Former Rep. Matt Salmon** kept his term limits pledge by stepping down from office after three terms. He is currently running for governor of Arizona.

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*"Compromising Position," cont. from page 4*  
a proposal submitted by Sen. Chuck Grassley (R-IA), who proposed an amendment that would have allowed senators to serve six years as ranking member and six years as chairman

for a total of 12 years. Sen. Gordon Smith (R-OR) sponsored an amendment that would have completely abolished term limits.

This issue has been the focus of heated debate within the GOP. Not

surprisingly, senior senators were more likely than newcomers to favor less restrictive term limits or the complete abolition of term limits. Senators voted by secret ballot during a closed meeting of the party conference. ■

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