

League of Women Voters of Minnesota Records

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For immediate release [9 647

League of Women Voters of Minn. Brs. Harold Mash 8. 7, Nox 136 Excelsior, Minn. 171-8315

Flection Laws: an evaluation of election laws, was the new subject for a 1966-66 program of study and action recommended by the state Board of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota to the national Board in preparation for the League's biennial national Convention in Pitteburgh, April 20-2h. Local Leagues throughout the country along with the other state Leagues will also be submitting their suggestions in this second-round of program making precedure.

Well over 900 state and local leagues sent in first-round recommendations.

Massed on these, the national Board, last January, proposed an agenda

including one new Program subject -- Equality of Opportunity:

evaluation of U.S. policies and programs to provide for all citizens

equality of opportunity for education and employment.

In addition the national Board also recommended that for the next two years Leagues continue to study and take action on foreign economic policy, the United Sations, and water resources conservation and development and, when appropriate, continue to take action in support of self government for the District of Columbia, against constitutional limitations on tax rates, and against limitation of presidential treaty-making powers.

Testimony presented to the Environmental Preservation Subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee
Thursday, February 11, 1971
By Mrs. Rodney Loper, Lobbyist
League of Women Voters of Minnesota

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota endorses the concept of citizen participation in the enforcement of pollution laws which is the purpose of House Files 283 and 284. We will not comment at this time on the difference between these bills and the bill to be introduced soon by Senators Borden and Conzemius.

League members have long supported greater citizen participation and enthusiastically support measures that effectively bring the government closer to the people. These bills which permit citizens standing in court are most certainly examples of bringing government to the people.

We are also quite concerned about the unenforceability of many laws. Good and just governmental procedures must include equal and broad enforcement of existing statutes and regulations. Insofar as these bills aid the citizen in enforcing laws which for various reasons haven't been enforced by existing agencies the Minnesota League of Women Voters supports them.

1973 ELECTION LAW CHANGES

Prepared by
Arlen Erdahl
Secretary of State

- 3 Provides for the election of legislators on a partisan CHAPTER ballot. Effective April 19, 1973. Establishes ballot position for candidates on the white ballot. Appropriates \$75,000 to reimburse county auditors for printing the white ballot. (HF2) Regulates political activities of state employees. CHAPTER 45 Permits state employees to be candidates for and to serve in the state legislature. (HF 65) Forbids denial of access to multiple unit dwellings CHAPTER 93 for the purpose of campaigning. (HF 307) Substitutes Secretary of State for Attorney General 215 CHAPTER as chairman of the Minnesota Voting Machine Commission. (HF 1624) Providing for the joint nomination and election of the 318 CHAPTER governor and lieutenant governor. (HF 1666) Authorizes political party organization to be along legislative district lines as well as county lines. CHAPTER 358 (SF 1724) Provides that candidates for mayor and city council CHAPTER 387 in cities of the first class be placed on a "Partisan City Election Ballot." (SF 736) Includes judge of county court in language relating to CHAPTER 569 nomination and election of other judges. Provides that candidates for judge of county court file with auditor in single county districts and with secretary of state in multi-county districts. (SF 1374) Specifies that special county election expenses shall CHAPTER 571 be paid by the respective counties. (SF 1436) Defines "county auditor" to mean that officer, or in CHAPTER 576 counties that do not have a county auditor, it means the principal county officer charged with election
- CHAPTER 637 Allows election judges to begin counting absentee ballot after the last mail delivery on election day. Forbids releasing any vote results until all count results are available. (HF 954)

duties. (HF 1592)

- Establishes permanent system of voter registration by 676 CHAPTER county. Makes the county auditor the chief registar in each county. Provides for voter registration by postcard. Allows election judges to conduct registration on election day. Requires county auditors to make duplicate registration lists available to any registered voter. Names the secretary of state as commissioner of registration. Secretary of state required to issue rules and regulations implementing this act by October 1, 1973. Provides that any voter whose registration has been denied or challenged may appeal to the secretary of state. Provides funds for the secretary of state to reimburse county auditors for certain expenses resulting from this act. (SF 1246)
- CHAPTER 677 Permits eligible voter to acknowledge absentee ballots. (SF 485)
- CHAPTER 694 Provides that polling places shall be made accessible to physically disabled persons whenever practicable. (SF 485)
- CHAPTER 699 Provides for the administration of absentee ballots by the municipalities. (SF 813)
- CHAPTER 763 Includes compartments in language relating to voting booths where electronic voting systems are in use. (HF 2111)

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League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 555 Wabasha, St. Paul, Minnesota 55102 April, 1973

TIME FOR ACTION

To: Local League Presidents, Legislative Action Chairmen, Election Laws Chairmen, and Subscribers to Capitol Letter

From: Barbara Steinkamp, Election Laws Chairman

April 5, 1973

Re: H.F. 1275 companion S.F. 1625: Amends School Election Laws and

adds several new sections

League Background:

A 1971 League study of school election procedures resulted in agreement that present school election laws are less than adequate. League supports extension of election laws to cover school district elections, including mandatory voter registration. Specific improvements were suggested as follows:

- * uniform and specific rules for conducting elections
- * application of the Fair Campaign Practices Act

* standard polling hours

- * simplified absentee voting procuedures
- * standards for qualifications and training of election judges
- * rules governing rotation of names on the ballot and the handling of tie votes

Legislative Action 1973 Session

House

H.F. 1275, Chief Author Joe Niehaus, other authors - Harry Peterson, Adolph Kvam, Verne Long, Victor Schulz - was heard by the General Legislation and Veteran Affairs Committee on March 26. The bill provides for rotation of names on the ballot, permits hand delivery of absentee ballots, permits the presence of challengers at polling places, and prohibits campaigning within 100 feet of polls on election day.

The bill is now on general orders. Preliminary action by the full

House could be within the next 2 weeks.

Senate

S.F. 1625, Chief Author Robert Dunn, other authors - Joseph O'Neill and Jerald Anderson - is identical to H.F. 1275. It has been referred to the Senate Committee on Education and nopefully will be heard soon.

Evaluation of the Bills

Our goal is to have one law apply uniformly to all elections so that voters will not be confused. The provision in this bill for delivery of absentee ballots by the voter by hand to election officials differs from the Minnesota Election Laws 207.08, 207.10, and 207.11 providing that absentee ballots be mailed, and delivered by the post office to precinct election officials on election day. To achieve greater uniformity in procedures in school and other elections, the bill could be amended to remove the requirement that applications for absentee ballots be by registered mail. Chief House Author Michaus had indicated he would consider an amendment removing this requirement.

Other provisions in the bills follow closely present general election laws.

The rotation procedure is the same as now required under the general election law for non-partisan elections. The new sections providing for challengers at the polls and prohibiting campaigning within 100 feet of polling places are almost the same as in the general election law. An exception resulted from an amendment approved by the General Legislation Committee which allows a "person" to act as a challenger rather than a "voter" as in the general election law. The committee members wanted persons under 18 to be allowed to act as challengers.

What To Do

- 1. Send official League letters to all your legislators now.
- 2. Alert League members and other citizens to contact their legislators now.

Explain your support for the bills. Include examples of election experiences in your school district, which show the need for change. It is important to stress the desirability of simplifying election procedures whenever possible. If your legislator is an author, do thank him for his support.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

July 27, 1973

Ms. Jeanne K. Malchon, Chairman Election Systems Project League of Women Voters - United States 1730 M Street N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Ms. Malchon:

We enclose a copy of our recent letter to Congressman Bill Frenzel, Minnesota, 3rd District, "for your information". Congressman Frenzel is a member of a House committee now considering federal voter registration permitting postcard registration.

We have been asked by our own members as well as by the political parties and other interested citizens what the national League efforts are in regard to this proposal. Our members cite the Voting Rights bylaw and the findings of the recent Elections Systems Project in which we participated. We recall questions on the issue raised in May at National Council with the response that the national Board had not yet determined its course of action vis a vis postcard voter registration legislation; reading the June National Board Report which arrived this week, we find no reference to proposed action under this bylaw.

As indicated in our correspondence with our Congressman, the LWV of Minnesota supported similar legislation, successfully, in the 1973 portion of our current legislative session under a long-time state Election Laws position.

Please advise us of your interpretation of the proposed federal legislation; is national action on this issue forthcoming?

Sincerely,

Mary Ann McCoy, President League of Women Voters of Minnesota

MM/hh Copies: Janski, Ebbott, Waldo, Borg, Office

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

July 27, 1973

The Honorable William Frenzel U.S. House of Representatives Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Bill,

We recognize that issues involved in the voter registration legislation pending before your committee are similar to those faced by the Minnesota Legislature in regard to allowing voters to register by mail on a postcard registration form.

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota supports this concept, and we point out that the new voter registration law in Minnesota may open the process of registration to more people and help achieve goals of broadening the electorate.

We understand that one facet of the proposed federal legislation would provide reimbursement of local expenses in providing this new capability for registering voters. We would hope that such funds might enable local officials to undertake the necessary record keeping required. This factor is an area in the new Minnesota law which may be in need of further funding.

In a recent national survey of administration of election laws, League - conducted research uncovered that among several obstacles to voting, variations in registration procedures ranked high. Possibility for uniformly opening the registration process by means of a federal law allowing postcard registration is at hand. We should appreciate having your thoughts on the issue and your assessment of chances for passage.

Very sincerely,

Mary Ann McCoy, President League of Women Voters of Minnesota

MM/hh

Copies: Same as to Malchon plus Ruth Cain (DFL)



TELEPHONE 224-5445

Copies to Shirley W, LE, HBY mm.

ELECTION ISSUES

Control of elections by political machines Chicago-style is encouraged by these DFL-authored and passed laws.

- Destroyed rotation of names on the ballot for all legislative candidates. Instead every candidate of the majority party will be given the advantageous position at the top and all Independents will be at the bottom.
- 2. Confused the issues and voters by putting legislative candidates with the national candidates rather than following the governor and other statewide candidates and with the local races. National issues will obscure local and state issues and decide elections on an irrational basis.
- 3. Invited voting fraud by allowing the voter to register on election day. A person who wants to help steal an election can vote as many times as he has fake ID cards or as many times as he can find a person in each precinct to vouch for him. If the name he uses is not his own, there is no possible way to find this criminal and prosecute him. There is also no way to prove how an individual voted even though he voted illegally, and the stolen election cannot be reversed.
- 4. Deleted the birth date and whether male or female from the card signed by the voter in registering. All voting officials who testified either before the Legislature or before the hearings of the Secretary of State spoke in opposition to this measure.

The law requires purging voter registration files from the death notices, but this is impossible now if the voter has moved since he was last registered. There is also no way of determining whether he ever was registered. In addition, this invites Chicago-type "voting of tombstones." Here, again, if the person is not using his own name, there is no way to find him and prosecute or to reverse an election.

5. Included in the bill titled "Campaign Ethics" an invitation for an unlimited number of special interest groups to spend an unlimited amount of money to influence election results. This is done by permitting organizations or individuals to spend 10 percent of what the candidate's committee limit of expenditure is. It would be possible to have several hundred special organizations, such as the Associated Milk Producers, spend \$60,000 on the governor's campaign, and spend \$1,500 on each of 50 or more Senate campaigns plus \$750 on each of 135 House elections. This means that there are no real spending limits. Even more critical is the fact that if some of these individuals or special interest groups distribute deceptive literature, it will already be planned so that the candidate that they want to help cannot be held responsible for it.

- 6. Legally encouraged union officers to spend up to \$50 of the membership dues from each of their members to help elect those candidates that the union leaders themselves want. This is at odds and contrary to the federal law on federal elections but is now specifically authorized in Minnesota.
- 7. Encouraged the previously prohibited election day campaigning by authorizing transportation to the polls of potential voters. Many amendments were offered to close the invitation to fraud here by the Republican legislators but these were voted down on party-line basis. The law will encourage every party and every candidate to use a massive calling campaign to get people to the polls who are neither interested nor informed and where they would then cast a directed ballot. It would also facilitate busing of people from one precinct location to another so that elections will be won by the least principled instead of the most principled candidates.
- 8. Discriminated against Independent candidates for statewide offices or the Legislature by keeping them out of the primary.

Instead of narrowing the field down to the two strongest candidates, we can now expect to have one candidate from each party who has the strongest party support plus an unlimited number of Independent candidates. This can be misused and can result in electing a minority candidate when previously we always had a candidate selected by the majority of the voters. It can also defeat the candidate that most voters would have preferred having by confusing the voter with a large number of other candidates filing by petition to obscure the real issues of the campaign.

9. Adopted party designation on a highly selective, very partisan basis. The only elective positions that are partisan are the statewide offices, the legislature, and the mayor and city council in cities of the first class. Many feel that there is no partisan difference in municipal races where matters such as garbage pickup and the domed stadium decide elections, but this was made partisan in those three cities of the first class where the DFL is in total control. Results of elections since then demonstrate that we are in real danger of destroying the two-party system in Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth, which are the only cities of the first class.

All of the above election law changes operate to perpetuate the DFL-machine control in Minnesota. Not only is the two-party system in real jeopardy but people's confidence in the democratic process is also at an all-time low. We must change these laws if that confidence is to be restored.

Sincerely,

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 555 Wabasha, St. Paul, Minnesota 55102

Statement submitted to the Secretary of State
at the public hearing on the Proposed Rules
of the Secretary of State for Voter Registration
by Mary Ann McCoy, President
League of Women Voters of Minnesota
September 5, 1973, 9:30 a.m., Veterans Affairs Building

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Many goals of citizens seeking to be effective in practice of democracy may be realized through the administration of Minnesota's new voter registration? The new law designates the secretary of state commissioner and central izes authority for conduct of elections in this office. The new law charges the commissioner with adopting rules and regulations to implement the provisions of the law before October 1, 1973. In addition, the new law names the county auditor as the chief registrar of voters and the chief custodian of registration records in each county. In these basic provisions for administration of election laws, the new law provides the opportunity for page more uniform application of Minnesota's election laws.

The League of Women Voters is pleased to have this opportunity to comment and the upon the proposed rules for voter registration. We support the extension of the voter registration to ensure order and regularity in voting procedures throughout the state. Of the several methods available for extending registration, the legislature enacted provisions for establishing county-wide voter registration lists. Our studies of the administration of election systems both in our own state and as part of a national study indicate that voter registration procedures may themselves become an obstacle to voting. Provisions nationed in Minnesota's new law extend the possibilities for registering all ters and for maintaining current lists of voters which are available to the public for political and law enforcement uses.

We commend the secretary of state upon the realistic manner in which he has dealt with the several aspects of the new law. We find the definition of the county auditor's duties clear and the registration file data concise. However, the law itself requests the commissioner to prescribe procedures for transporting the duplicate registration files to the election judges for use on election day so the signatures of voters may be compared with the signatures on the duplicate registration file. The proposed rules do not cover this and we would hope that perhaps additional regulations will be promulgated to ensure uniformity in this procedure.

In the matter of the registration cards, we find the information requested and instructions to voters clear and helpful. Rule 18 on page 8 deals with printing and distribution of these cards. In section a, we point out that interpretation of the word "reasonable" in reference to the number of cards that the auditor shall give any person or group who requests them is subject to less than uniform application as it may be interpreted from county to county. This is another instance where the commissioner may be able to further define this rule to ensure uniformity.

Concerns have been expressed about how the county auditor will deal with registration cards mailed in by persons who may not have supplied all the quired information. Rule 34 on page 8 defines the duties of the auditor attempting to notify the voter. In the event that the auditor is unable to reach the person prior to election day, the applicant is to be allowed to vote only after completing a registration card correctly. We question whether this rule makes adequate provision for preparing persons who register by mail for the eventuality that if their registration proves faulty or defective

they may need to supply the required on-election-day proof of residence as defined in Rule 49, page 9. Perhaps a note in the instructions to voters included with the registration card could state that if they do not receive mailed confirmation of their registration within a specified time, they contact the county auditor or come to the polls prepared to supply proof of residence.

In the matter of election day registration we recognize that the Minnesota law breaks new ground in setting up procedures for administering this provision. The proposed rules seems to be clear and to follow legislative intent. We point out a possible problem in accepting a "valid drivers license" as the "document approved by the commissioner as proper identification": a drivers license remains valid for Minnesota Department of Public Safety purposes up to 30 days following a change of address or name; by this new law persons may register with only 20 days residence. Therefore a license valid for purposes of automobile driving might be of little help in proving residence of 20 days in a voting precinct. The 30 day change of address limit also applies to the non-qualification certificate which may be used in lieu of a drivers license. We point this out as a possible "on the spot" problem for the election judges assigned to register such voters.

We recall that testimony prior to passage of this new law stated that the penalty for giving false information to procure a registration be clearly stated on materials given to voters. We note that such material is written into the registration card; we suggest that a similar statement be written into the oath card printed by the county auditor which is to be used by a registered voter in proving residence of a person seeking to register on election day.

In the oath prescribed in Section 49, page 10, we suggest that the words "is a resident of this precinct" be deleted and that words from the oath the voter is required to swear be substituted, as follows: "possesses the qualifications of an eligible voter." This wording is comparable to the statement signed by pre-election day registrants and would appear less subject to variations in interpretation than the phrase "resident of this precinct" - unless "resident" is defined in the statement -how long? permanent? etc.

To ensure that persons registering on election day are rully aware of the qualifications of an eligible voter, we suggest that the election judge administering the oath be required to acquaint the person with those requirements. The "Instructions for Voter Registration" proposed in these rules and defining eligible voters could be used. The declaration included in the oath; "I swear that I am aware of and possess the qualifications of an eligible voter" thus becomes more meaningful.

Provision is made in the new law for the commissioner to provide uniform regulations governing the maintenance of voter registration records on electronic or automatic data processing systems so that the records of counties using the systems are compatible with a uniform system of electronic data maintenance. The law further specifies that the commissioner shall supervise the development and use of the system to insure that it conforms to applicable provisions of law and regulations. As a consumer of elections and voter registration information, we herald this provision of the new law. We note that regulations for electronic or automatic data processing systems of county registration records are not part of these proposed rules; we hope that regulations will be forthcoming to implement this. The present systems do not provide for uniform records; we feel that the rules proposed for obtaining copies of precinct lists will be better enforced with establishment of automatic data processing requested in the new law.

When uniform, complete interchangeable state-wide records of registered voters are initiated and maintained, these records can become a protection against aud. The League seeks this goal of state-wide voter registration and hopes that the state legislature will provide funds to make this possible.

We offer a suggestion that the penalty for use of precinct lists for purposes not related to elections, political activities or law enforcement be specificially stated in the request form to be signed by the voter applying to obtain such a list (consistent with including the penalty for false registration or false oath in the statements to be signed by other persons under rules stated above).

Finally, in regard to the proposed rules, we feel that the provisions for reporting by the auditors to the commissioner will be helpful to all concerned about the fair administration of Minnesota's election laws as we observe and evaluate this new law.

In conclusion, we point out for public information that the new voter registration law repealed the mandatory requirement that cities have pre-registration of voters when the population reaches 10,000 and for certain communities within 15 miles of cities of the first class. All communities which require pre-registration of voters at the time this new law becomes effective are covered by the pre-registration provisions of the new law; all other communities may by local ordinance or resolution adopt pre-registration of voters but this new law does not require them to adopt pre-registration. We suggest that in coming years, the commissioner remind all communities nearing 10,000 population to consider the advantages of instituting pre-registration voters by local ordinance as a means of administering the bulk of voter registration before election day.

The League of Women Voters looks forward to assisting voters by informing them about provisions of the new law. We are available to cooperate with the commissioner, county auditors, schools, and the media in this goal—a part of our continuing voters service activities now into their second half century of service to Minnesota. We feel confident that this legislation will help meet the goal of ever increasing numbers of citizens becoming more informed participants in the voting process.

League of Women Voters Education Fund 1730 M Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

Recommendations from
Conference on Making the Election Process Work
Columbia, S.C. ---- September 25 - 26, 1973

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- 1. The possibility (1) of setting up a task force to investigate and report on possible alternatives to current voter registration laws and procedures, and (2) of carrying out a study to determine whether declaring election day a holiday has an effect on voter turnout, should be explored.
- 2. Registration and election laws and procedures should be as simple as possible and should not result in the kinds of difficulties and obstacles that, in fact, keep qualified citizens from exercising their franchise. To accomplish this it may be necessary in many communities to keep registration offices and polling places open longer, provide for mobile registration, more deputy registrars, more voting machines or voting booths, and to redraw precinct lines to avoid overtaxing voting facilities in one precinct and under usage in another. Citizen groups should initiate and continue to support necessary changes in administrative procedures (and, if necessary, in registration and election laws) to bring about these improvements.
- 3. Implementation and enforcement of election laws within a state should be uniform. At both local and state levels a single governing body should be responsible for both registration and polling place operations. Their members and poll workers should be representative of the various groups within the community.
- 4. Training of local election officials and registration and poll workers should be mandatory and uniform throughout a state, with the state responsible for financing the training. The employment only of trained workers should be the goal of election officials.
- 5. Registration and poll workers should be paid at a rate that will upgrade the job in the eyes of the community and make it worthwhile for citizens to seek the employment. Workers should be paid while attending training sessions.

Additional Information About the Conference

Conference participants came from Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina:

- 10 state election officials
- 16 local election officials
 - 6 representatives from Republican, Democratic, Independent, and United Citizens parties
- 5 state legislators
- 58 representatives of organizations *

Convenor of the Conference was: the League of Women Voters Education Fund in cooperation with the presidents of the Leagues of Women Voters of Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina and the election officials of these four states.

^{*}American Association of University Women; A.F.L. - C.I.O.; Business and Professional Women's Clubs; Common Cause; State Extension Homemakers Association; State Federation of Negro Women's Clubs; League of Women Voters (state and local); N.A.A.C.P.; P.T.A.; State Education Association; Voter Education Project; and Women's Political Caucus.

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 555 Wabasha, St. Paul, Minnesota 55102

Testimony given to the Committee on Local Government, Minnesota Senate, by Louisa Holmberg, Coordinator, League of Women Voters of Minnesota, re: S.F. 2136, on Tuesday, October 9, 1973, Room 112, 8:00 a.m., State Capitol

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota has been involved in promoting this legislation, S.F. 2136, because of our concern over the denial of voting rights of many citizens as a result of redistricting in certain situations. In practical terms, the problem with which we are concerned is that when redistricting of a County Board is accomplished so that only one commissioner remains in a district, a new commissioner election is not required, even when the boundaries of the district are drastically altered and a substantial number of his constituents are changed. An incumbent is protected against being required to run for reelection at the expense of the voting rights of his new constituents. They are represented by someone whom they did not elect and are not allowed to vote on their new commissioner until his term expires.

The League welcomes and supports the amendment to S.F. 2136 proposed by the Association of Minnesota Counties, with the deletion of one phrase which we cannot accept, because of the above-described denial of voting rights. That phrase is contained on page four, lines 18 and 19, "or in districts having only one resident commissioner after a redistricting." The remainder of the amendment has the effect of making redistricting more predictable and regular. The procedures improve opportunities for citizen input, making the system more responsive.

While we would consider the amendment to be a great improvement over the statute as it now stands, it fails to remedy our original objection to the statute. It would continue an inequity the League of Women Voters of Minnesota cannot condone. If, however, the aforementioned language is deleted, the League can support this amendment.

TESTIMONY BEFORE THE HOUSE METROPOLITAN AND URBAN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

By Charlotte Dietz, Action Committee 10 a.m. Room 51, State Office Bldg.

February 21, 1974

My Name is Charlotte Dietz. I live in Minnetonka, Minnesota and I represent the League of Women Voters of Minnesota.

The League is concerned that there be regular equal reapportionment and that citizens have the right to vote for the representatives who will govern them. We have read the provisions of House Bill 2961 and it proposes to make major changes in the reapportionment of Hennepin County Commissioner Districts. Following the 1970 census, Hennepin County was redistricted. We would like to draw to your attention that a Hennepin County Internal and Intergovernmental Study Committee was appointed in the fall of 1973 by the Hennepin County Commissioner Board. We are concerned that this proposed legislation would by-pass this committee and enact legislation which would make major changes in the number of commissioner districts before the study committee has had the opportunity to complete its research and to make recommendations regarding the structure of Hennepin County Government.

It is our understanding that the Hennepin County Internal and Intergovernmental Study Committee will be able to make a detailed report in the fall of 1974 with the subsequent possibility that the recommendations which might result from this study could be incorporated into one reorganization bill.



memorandum

League of Women Voters Education Fund

THIS IS GOING ON DPM

TO:

State and Local League Presidents

FROM:

Nan Waterman, Chairman, Research and Projects

DATE:

May, 1974

Copies of Projects: The Extra Dimension were available for delegates at Convention. Because all presidents and DPM subscribers were not delegates we are sending all of you copies, even though there may be some duplication. We promised Leagues periodic reports on our projects and that is what Projects: The Extra Dimension is. We hope you will enjoy reading it.

Enclosed: Projects: The Extra Dimension







ROMBE The Extra Dimension

A Wrapup of Local Metro and Election Systems Project

Research and Projects Department, LWVEF Nan F. Waterman, Chairwoman Christine Urban, Staff Coordinator

April 1974

Sally Hastings leaped from her chair and began dialing. "Harriett?...Sally. Say, I've been reading Super City/Home Town U.S.A.--you know, the book we just got telling the results of that Metro Survey some of the Leagues did for the LWVEF last year? Well, I was reading how frustrated some people get with government and how so many citizens feel they get the runaround from city hall. It reminded me of the horrible time I had last week trying to find out about this sewer moratorium. I was referred to five different agencies. I spent all day on the phone and I'm still not sure I found the right agency or that the man knew what we was talking about. It's incredible."

"Well, my point is--maybe it's time for the League to tackle some of these problems--"
"What do you mean--'tackle some of these problems' "interrupted Harriett "I've been tackling

"What do you mean--'tackle some of these problems'," interrupted Harriett. "I've been tackling problems since the day I joined this organization. Besides, what specific problem do you have in mind? How do you want to handle it--do you want a new program item? You know we can't take action until we reach consensus. How much will it cost? You know our money is tied up with that Voters Service brochure."

Sally hesitated. "No, I don't want any more program. Can't we do something more immediate, like a short term project--hold a conference--or something? I haven't really thought about the topic, yet but there are some things about our government that should be changed -- now! It's hard to get a handle on one specific thing, but--"

¹That's right. The results of the Metro Survey will be published this summer. For details, read on.

Addendum to Projects: The Extra Dimension

Correction:

page 10, paragraph 4: Foundations usually give funds to tax-deductible entities (501C 3's, i.e., an education fund) but exceptions can be made for non-deductible 501C 4's such as the League.

The purpose of this publication is to describe specific projects funded through LWVEF grants from the Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation and from this experience give some general information on the project process. Address requests for further information about:

- ...the projects described in this report to the Research and Projects Department.
- ...contributions and grants given to the LHVEF from local sources and earmarked for a local project, to the State and Local Grants Department.
- ...tips on foundations and additional guidelines for writing proposals, to the Development Department.

If you, like Sally Hastings, are interested in a short term special activity read on. The Research and Projects Department sponsored eleven local or regional projects in the past year--nine in conjunction with the Metropolitan Project and two as on expanding the electorate; the ideas generated part of the Election Systems Project. Highlights of these experiments are presented below.

Reading about these locally-designed innovative ways of coping with community issues might set mental wheels in motion--about how to tackle that wily regional agency executive director, how to overcome voting snafus, how to make citizens aware of what government does, how and why. Most important (especially to League presidents, treasurers and fundraisers) will be estimates of project costs and tips on how to get the money from the community or foundations.

Metro and ESP have been in the news for a couple of years now, but just to refresh the memory....

The Metropolitan Project, funded by the Carnegie Corporation, focuses on governing metropolitan areas. In particular, it looks at the reform concept of setting up a two-tier, regional-local gov- our nation and world might be like in the 21st ernmental structure which would facilitate citizen involvement. The Metro Committee asked Leagues and ILOs in 27 urban areas to take part. To kick off the project, representatives of these Leagues and ILOs convened in Chicago in February 1972 to learn more about "regionalism", "decentralization" and "citizen participation" and how they could be put together in a "two-tier" governing system. The words of the experts--Alan Campbell of Syracuse University; Barbara Mikulski, member of the Baltimore City Council; Ted Kolderie of the Minneapolis-St.Paul area Citizens League; and others--were condensed into "Shaping the Metropolis¹.

Thoroughly briefed and questionnaires in hand, members of the 27 Leagues and ILOs went to work finding out what changes, if any, cities and counture goals and how they might be reached. ties in their areas had taken to meet regional and neighborhood needs. They also sought opinions from officials and citizens about how well the area was governed and what improvements could be made. All the information has been put together in Super City/Home Town U.S.A., a 250-page book scheduled for publication by Praeger this summer. (A paperback copy will be mailed to each League and more can be purchased for \$1.95 or in hard back for about \$13.00. Each project coordinator will also receive a complimentary copy.) Meanwhile, nine of the 27 Leagues and ILOs initiated experimental follow-up projects in their communities; expenses were underwritten by the Carnegie grant. Stories of these projects follow.

The Election Systems Project, funded by the Ford Foundation, focused on contemporary problems with suffrage, namely the way laws pertaining to registering and voting are administered. Voters' hassles in exercising the franchise were documented

in 1971-1972 by League researchers working in about 260 communities and compiled in "Administrative Obstacles to Voting"2. How to eliminate these obstructions was discussed at a conference were put down in "Removing Administrative Obstacles to Voting" 3. "Making It Work: A Guide to Training Election Workers" 4 and "Election Check-Up: Monitoring Registration and Voting"5 are follow-ups of the survey findings, one written in the belief that many administrative barriers to voting would not exist if election officials were more aware of the burdens some administrative procedures place on voters; the other based on the belief that monitoring registrations and elections can point out shortcomings or assure that good practices continue to be followed.

The Research and Projects Department also oversees the 21st Century Project, whose purpose is to focus on the future--its problems, prospects, and what might be done now to influence events later. This thought-provoking undertaking began in San Juan when some great thinkers from various disciplines and professions freely discussed what Century. The thoughts of Harry Ashmore (president, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions), Mark Battle (community organizer), Lester Brown (author of World Without Borders), Charles Hamilton (coauthor of Black Power), Glenn Leggett (Grinnell College president), Ralph Lewis (Harvard Business Review editor), Lawrence Cohen (St. Paul mayor), and Lucy Wilson Benson (League of Women Voters president) can be read in "Play the Futures Game"6.

The San Juan roundtable was just the beginning. Local Leagues throughout the country are planning their own "futures" conferences using innovative techniques and discussion materials. Not all these conferences focus on the world or on politics--many deal with the League itself, its fu-

FOCUS: IMPROVING URBAN COMMUNITIES AND UPGRADING

Metro and ESP began with nationwide surveys -- to find the facts, to identify shortcomings and strengths, to experiment with research techniques. Once collected, it was time to apply the information, to begin remedial action uniquely suited to a community's problems, politics, people, and attitudes. Both projects asked some local Leagues and ILOs to undertake this task.

In the Metropolitan Project, a grant program was set up to fund local projects. All 27 Leagues and ILOs which did the leg work during the survey were eligible to design programs for promoting more effective, responsive government and submit

2Pub. no. 206, 60¢, 36pp.

3Pub. no. 151, 30¢, 12pp. 4Pub. no. 271, 35¢, 15pp.

Pub. no. 270, 35¢, 34pp.

6pub. no.,457, 60¢, 35pp.

Twelve Leagues or ILOs did, and after some hard thinking the Committee approved nine. The next paragraphs tell about these projects.

their proposal to the Metro Project Committee.

Metro Survey. Modeled on the national one, the project's goals were to identify regional and neighborhood governmental agencies and attitudes toward them in California, to find out how cities, launched a four-phase "civics" course to acquaint counties and regional agencies in the state are organized and administered, and to get a performance rating on local governments from officials and citizens.

The project was conceived by the Leagues of Women Voters of the Bay Area, who, while conducting the national Metro Survey, felt the time was right for a study of urban government in California. By coincidence, the governor thought so, too; about the same time, he instructed the Council on Inter- marily junior high school social studies teachers. governmental Relations to examine the structure and operations of the state's local governments.

The Bay Area Leagues enlisted the support of the Los Angeles County League (also a participant in the Metro Survey) to flesh out the project. Their idea was endorsed at the 1973 California League convention. Under the general supervision of the Bay Area Leagues, the statewide survey began. Members of the Bay Area and Los Angeles County Leagues meticulously drafted survey questions with some help from the Survey Research Center at Berkeley and the Institute of Intergovernmental Studies; members of the Los Gatos-Saratoga League pretested it: when the rough spots had been smoothed, it was sent to Leagues throughout the state, whose members interviewed hundreds of offi- narrated slide presentation (which became "Do You cials and citizens. When the survey was over, 85% of California's local Leagues had participated, completing 615 questionnaires. A computer was commissioned to digest the information and a League member skilled at deciphering printouts, along with an artist skilled at depicting numerical data in pictures, were employed to put the facts together in a six-page fold-out publication. It will be in the mail soon (as of this writing, the target date is late April) to state legislators. interest groups, local government officials, members of citizen organizations and others who want The "Do You Know Your Bay Area?" portion of the

Holly O'Konski, president of the Bay Area Leagues which made sure the project proceeded according to plan, says she and others working on it already see the results -- more respect for the League among public officials, more contacts with community organizations, greater camaraderie among California Leagues. But, if they could do it again, Mrs. O'Konski reports, they would encourage interviewees to give more complete answers to opinion questions in order to attain greater understanding of the reasons behind the responses. As it was, interviewees were asked to respond in pre-set categories to most opinion questions. For example, to the question, "How well do you feel your county government is

functioning?" respondents were to select from "very well", "fairly well", etc. The pigeonhole response technique was essential to quick, easy computer tabulation; next time, it might be supplemented by more lengthy explanations. Overall, Leagues throughout California took part in a mini- the California Leagues taking part in the survey

> The Leagues of Women Voters of the Bay Area students, teachers, and citizens with areawide government agencies in their nine-county region. The need for the project became apparent when League members collecting data for the Metro Survey observed that many citizens were unaware of the multitude of regional agencies, let alone their functions, structure and how they interrelate (or fail to do so). The League set about producing educational materials, then putting them into the hands of those who would use them: pri-

> First, it published "Know Your Bay Area". The colorful 8% x 11 booklet introduces junior high students and adults, too, to government agencies and services through clever drawings, charts, graphs, and maps, as well as words. Next, it produced a 15-minute videotape (also on film), "Do You Know Your Bay Area?", as part of a half-hour television show viewed on public broadcasting station KOED. The League had not intended to be on television; its original goal was to produce the film only. When financial backers could not be found, the League turned to KQED, hoping the station would shoot the film for its innovative Open Channel Series. KOED liked the idea. It granted the League 30 minutes of air time--15 minutes for a Know Your Bay Area?") and the rest for a Leaguemoderated discussion of regional issues.

Members of the Bay Area Leagues did most of the preparation for the film and the show--researched and wrote the script, collected slides, made final decisions about the content. KQED assigned a producer to help with technicalities, and covered some expenses. The show was videotaped and aired a week later.

program and the booklet were among the "texts" featured at the two weekend seminars the League conducted for junior high school social studies teachers in the nine-county area (citizens were also invited to enroll). The course was offered through the University of California Extension Service, so those attending received college credit and a reduced enrollment fee because the seminar was subsidized by the Bay Area Leagues' Metro Project Funds. The workshops--one in Berkeley, the other in South Bay--prepped about 80 instructors on Bay Area government and how it could be taught. State legislators, officials of regional agencies, county supervisors and city mayors were speakers and panelists.

Workshop students were highly complimentary.

Wrote one, "My knowledge of Bay Area agencies and say it does too much. structures was nothing. I sensed conflict of issues and jurisdictions. The two days have made me realize...that I must get out of my electronics lab and away from the math books and take some part in local government." By other measures, too, local official policymaking structure (the 31the workshops were successful. Many teachers who attended are now preparing units on Bay Area government, including use of the League film. The Palo Alto school district plans to buy 1200 copies of "Know Your Bay Area"; other school districts may use it, too. Proceeds from the sales go to local Leagues which, aided by a promotion kit assembled by the Bay Area Leagues, try to inas well as schools. To date, sales have been brisk; Leagues have earned nearly \$1000. Incidentally, the timing of the booklet, film, and workshops dovetailed nicely with the school budget process. "Know Your Bay Area" was available and the seminars were conducted just prior to school budget time, giving instructors excellent opportunities to try to set aside funds for the materials.

The film is being seen by hundreds of area citizens. In addition to its first showing on KOED. three CATV stations aired it; Leagues have shown it and schools have rented it. The Bay Area Leagues may use it to instruct their own members, not about government, but in how to produce and moderate TV shows, hoping local Leagues will then be encouraged to prepare programs for cable TV stations.

One success often paves the way for others. For example, the Association of Bay Area Governments (ABAG), the council of governments for the region, silently observed the teachers' workshops, decided they fulfilled a need, then voted to create an \$8000 grant program to fund similar citizen participation and education experiments designed by regional citizen organizations. The ABAG has let the Bay Area Leagues know it would probably subsi- seminar were published by the Atlanta area dize future teachers' workshops. Professors who helped with various phases of the project have already volunteered for future League activities.

The five Leagues in the Atlanta area convened a one-day citizens' seminar on regional government, in particular on the Atlanta Regional Commission (ARC). The comprehensive regional planning and development commission with jurisdiction over seven counties was created by the Georgia legislature in 1971, combining the council of governments and three regional functional planning agencies. During its first two years, ARC concentrated on setting up shop. Local governments and citizens, ARC's constituents, did not interfere or generate crises. Now, the grace period is ending; citizens worry that their views aren't being considered despite their inclusion on the governing board and advisory councils; city mayors and councilmen, along with their counterparts in the counties, fear their powers are being usurped even though they, too, serve on the governing board. Some say ARC doesn't do enough; others say

The Atlanta area Leagues thought it appropriate for a candid citizen-commission discussion about ARC's powers, programs and its unique citizenmember governing board consists of 16 city or county officials and 15 citizens; all are appointed). The Leagues asked ARC commissioners and staff to tell approximately 200 citizens from neighborhood organizations, civic clubs and environmental groups what the Commission does and how through slide presentations, case studies of decision making and panel discussions. Hard questions terest citizen organizations, government agencies, were asked about the value of citizen involvement. commission responses to citizens' ideas and other facets of citizen participation. Consider this one put to Tobe Johnson, citizen member of ARC's governing board and director of Afro-American Studies at the Atlanta University Center: Is the citizen knowledgeable enough and does he have a broad enough viewpoint to serve usefully? How does and can ARC direct citizens to be most useful and helpful? Here are excerpts from his

> "It is clear to me that 210 million people can't run the U.S. government. It is also quite clear to me that 286,000 people can't run the government of Atlanta. On the other hand, it seems to me that 18 or 19 people find it difficult, in fact, to speak for this city. How do you balance these things?... In the final analysis the people charged with the responsibility [the mayor, councilmen, commissioners] have to make the decision, but it should be an informed decision, based on active, even conflictual, interplay with citizens. Furthermore, there must be adequate information provided citizens as they attempt to deal with problems. There must be some degree of staff services."

Dr. Johnson's remarks and other highlights of the Leagues in "What's Under the Umbrella?"1

Did the conference make a difference? Carol Willeke, conference chairwoman, relates that the next day, ARC's executive director and several staff met with an environmentalist organization which had soundly criticized the commission during the conference. Some differences were ironed out. Furthermore, the meeting gave ARC commissioners ideas on restructuring the citizen advisory councils.

The conference made a difference to the five Leagues, too. They are not joined through an ILO and each takes an individual approach to covering meetings of areawide agencies and dealing with regional issues. True, the Leagues jointly sponsor many activities, such as the seminar, but coordination could be more frequent and comprehensive.

I If you'd like a copy write to the League of Women Voters of Atlanta-Fulton County, 1182 West Peachtree St., NW, #209, Atlanta, Georgia 30309.

After working together on this project, the Leagues formed a metro-wide land use committee and set up a communication system to keep abreast of the activities of ARC's citizen advisory councils.

The Council of Metropolitan Area Leagues (CMAL) of the Minneapolis-St.Paul area also sponsored a conference on regional government, but for public officials instead of citizens.

The Minneapolis-St. Paul complex has had a form of regional government since the Metropolitan Council was created by the Minnesota legislature in 1967. The council is governed by citizen members appointed by the governor from equal population districts. Unlike many multi-functional regional agencies, it has enforcement powers, albeit limited ones.

Not everyone likes the council or thinks it is necessary. As Ann Thomas, conference chairwoman and CMAL chairwoman, put it, the pioneering work on the agency has been done. "Now the whole thing is laid open for anyone who wants to tear it apart, or become paranoid, and this was what we could see happening." Negative attitudes held by many city and county officials and media personnel are due to misunderstanding and misinformation. it has been said.

The CMAL arranged a one-day seminar, "Innovations in Government", and invited city and county officials, state legislators, council members and members of the media--some who support the council and others who don't -- to idyllic Spring Hill Conference Center, overlooking Long Lake, so they could hash things over. Mrs. Thomas set the tone for constructive discussion, then a former mayor of Wayzata had his say: "I am extremely disappointed...the Metro Council is not working...' ty's Center of Urban and Regional Affairs present- qy, The Future. ed his view: "How do we go about managing the metropolitan community? I think it is from such an examination that it becomes clear what the role of the Metro Council must be in this matrix of ex- organizations. "I'd like to point out the value isting, functioning, thriving local governments." Afternoon workshops provided more exchange of gripes, opinions, information. Concerns were articulated, defending arguments were made, solutions were suggested. The day ended with speeches by former Minneapolis mayor Arthur Naftalin ("I'm an unmitigated, unreconstructed, all-out supporter of the metropolitan approach to problems.") and Nan Waterman, LWVEF vice-chairwoman and Metro Project chairwoman ("Citizens are the touchstone of a democracy. We may attend seminars about the perfect system of government, but that system won't work unless it meets the crucial test of acceptance by the people.".

The myriad thoughts and opinions, condensed into booklet form, were distributed to conference delegates and the general public. As for its impact on those who attended, Mrs. Thomas was pleased. "It was the first time some local officials had

ever met with a Metropolitan Council member. Some minds were changed."

Lack of newspaper coverage, despite the involvement of newsmen in the seminar, was a disappointment. "Most of the press in the Twin Cities area were on the side of improving metro government-or at least keeping it alive," continues Mrs. Thomas. "They did not cover the conference in the papers because some of them were already editorially committed to the same purpose and to them discussion of regional government wasn't 'news'. We got the best coverage from the suburban chain of newspapers, where opposition to the Metro Council is the greatest."

The conference was a success--those who came wanted the CMAL to sponsor another one. With this urging, the Council of Metropolitan Area Leagues asked the Minnesota Humanities Commission for financial help, received a gaant, using some unspent money from the first seminar and a dollar value on volunteer time as matching funds. Arrangements began immediately for a second innovations in government conference, this one on Regionalism and the Individual. It will zero in on land use decisions and their impact on individual's lives. City and county officials, personally invited by League members, and the LWV members who are movers and shakers in their communities will attend.

The CMAL is now working on a third project, also partially funded by the Minnesota Humanities Commission. Called "Metro 2000", it will focus on regionalism and the arts, with the Junior League, the AAUW, the Women's Political Caucus, Friends of the Institute and other organizations co-sponsoring the six-week symposium. The Project does not sound like the typical undertaking but the titles of the individual weekly sessions reveal After he spoke the director of Minnesota Universi- LWV input: Law and the Citizen, Land Use and Ener-

> Mrs. Thomas believes the CMAL is stronger because of the projects, especially those involving other of a coalition," she states. "I think our CMAL has become more visible, at least in the legislative process and in the community, than we'd ever have a chance of being if we had done these projects alone." The CMAL's ability to relate its activities to the arts and humanities will probably generate new sources of funds, too. (See p.10)

The League of Women Voters of Nashville was concerned about land use decisions. Responsibility for developing plans, for zoning, for deciding where facilities will be built is fragmented; authority of government agencies overlaps in some areas, is lacking in others. Amid the confusion, citizens are left in the dark, not really informed about who makes decisions nor cognizant of the impact on an individual's life.

The local project developed by the Nashville League was intent on making the public more aware.

derbilt's Urban Observatory, and two inner-city citizens groups brought together planners, developers, homeowners and central city residents to find out how land use decisions are made. Background material, "Land Use, Zoning and Citizen Participation" was developed by the League. The booklet has also been distributed at city council hearings on a proposed new zoning ordinance. So popular was the publication all copies were distributed; it's being reprinted and will be used at League-sponsored neighborhood workshops on land use this fall.

The Metropolitan Council, League of Women Voters of St. Louis and St. Louis County, when conducting the Metro Survey, discovered one reason citizens are frustrated with government: they can't figure out who does what; there is no coherent, comprehensive source of information. The League's goal: compile a "Guide to Governmental Services", Next, the Leagues turned to producing the show. a documentary ombudsman for the public.

As the project began the League happened across the St. Louis County Municipal League, which was embarking on a similar undertaking. They linked up; the Municipal League paid for a professionally developed questionnaire; the League of Women Voters took it to city, county and regional governments for information. Only facts (When does your municipality's fiscal year begin? Has your municipality adopted a building code?) were sought, on services ranging from general government operations to refuse collection to community health.

Gathering the information has taught League members many lessons about being given the runaround, reports Becky Enoch, project chairwoman. Months have been spent trying to set the facts straight because leaders of some of the county's 94 municipalities refused to cooperate. Some jurisdictions wouldn't even tell how many firemen they have. Painstakingly, devoted Leaguers are putting the pieces together in a 250-page handbook. When it's finished, citizens can turn to one section, say parks and recreation, and get the full story on all facilities available from regional, county and city agencies.

The Metropolitan Council will print 2000 copies and give them to libraries, government agencies (so each will know what others do), schools, and, of course, the general public.

In the Hartford area, several Leagues jointly pre- ment agencies which, in large measure, shape it. pared a 90-minute Town Meeting by T.V. to focus attention of the region's citizens, who incidentally reside in 27 political jurisdictions, on the necessity for regional cooperation. It will be shown April 23 on Hartford's NBC affiliate dur- been said about the need to reorder priorities; ing prime evening hours. The Leagues selected mass transit as the issue to highlight as a demon- to be done locally to make sure city tax dollars stration of how decisions on areawide services are made--or left unattended. It was a good choice: transportation affects city dweller and suburbanite; Hartford's citizens are still

A community workshop sponsored by the League. Van- recovering from last year's four-month bus strike: next year, the state subsidy to the Hartford area private transit company expires, raising the spectre of a permanent cutoff of mass transit service.

> In the spirit of a true town meeting, the Leagues turned to the community for advice on planning the televised forum. Months before the program they invited representatives of citizen organizations to a roundtable discussion of the issues-alternatives to the car, mass transit and the environment, who should pay for regional transportation and so forth. Ideas from this meeting, coupled with those generated during a second roundtable, co-sponsored with the Chamber of Commerce, for 40 leading businesses (which employ half of the Hartford area's work force and a large percentage of public transportation users), will be featured on the show.

> They decided to kick off the 90 minutes with a documentary starring the Hartford region and its people, followed by 60 minutes of conversation among experts on how to develop a satisfactory mass transit facility. A League member with media experience was employed to give technical help and be a liaison to the TV station.

As elsewhere in the nation, turning on the television set after dinner is a habit with people in the Hartford area. Even so, the Leagues wanted to alert citizens of the "special" scheduled for April 23. They told reporters, broadcasters and others working for media about the program and the issues it would address at a party co-hosted by the president of the Hartford area bus company. The next day, stories appeared in the papers and invitations started coming to have League members appear on talk shows and radio interviews. The Leagues contacted TV viewers directly, not just to urge them to tune in but to give them a chance to be part of the town meeting by answering six questions about the quality of mass transit and how it could be improved. Responses were to be sent to the Leagues. About 200,000 copies of the flyer-questionnaire were given out through banks, libraries, and businesses; state employees found a copy enclosed with one of their paychecks. It was also printed in newspapers.

The results will be the basis of a community conference to be convened by the Leagues in May. At this meeting, citizens will talk about the future of mass transit -- and how to deal with the govern-

The Indianapolis League experimented with increasing citizen participation where it pays off--in adopting the city budget. Nationally, much has many Indianapolis residents believe there's work buy services citizens want. In conjunction with the League they hope to pave the way for citizen groups from all sections of the city-county to take a more active role in budget decisions.

city campaign to spread the word about the crucial importance of the money allocation process. The League put together "You and the Budget", containing a budget calendar and the organization breakdown of city council committees (each with responsibility for overseeing budgets of different services). Nearly 20,000 copies were distributed to organizations; at churches, shopping centers, libraries; to the mayor and council members; to anyone who asked. Newspapers, radio and television stations were contacted, leading to wide coverage of the budget process and the League project -- and to so many invitations for League appearances on talk shows and panels that several had to be turned down.

In Phase Two, citizens were invited to a conference on the ins and outs of the budget process. The project was aimed at grass roots organizations throughout the city-county, and just to be sure they were all included, the League employed a community organizer. Her purpose: locate citizen organizations and encourage them to send a representative to the seminar. That was not an easy task. Over 175 organizations were identified from the mayor's office; each was sent a letter describing the project, those interested were asked to return an enclosed card. About 13 responses came in. Then the community organizer went to work. She zeroed in on key organizations among the 175, and called or visited each one. Interestingly, she found inner-city organizations more receptive than suburban groups which usually do not meet during the summer, or are concerned primarily with crisis situations. Betty Williams, a project co-chairwoman, had an additional explanation: "Suburban groups felt the establishment was working for them and there wasn't a need for involvement." Not so with inner-city residents. According to the project's other co-chairwoman, Fifi Norton, the sophisticated, well-organized, experienced inner-city groups felt the more they knew about the process the better off they would be. Still some were cynical, and questioned the lasting value to them.

The community organizer was successful in generating interest, but as the seminar date neared, she realized representatives of the organizations would come only if she persistently reminded them. Mailings did not do the job. Phone calls and personal visits were a must. In the end, 25 neighborhood citizen organizations and 30 civic groups were represented, sending a total of about 100 delegates.

Meanwhile, others involved in the project developed workshop resource materials -- practical quides for participating in budgeting, such as a public official's advice on how to take part effectively, a diagram of the flow of budget requests, the budget timetable, how to get budget action when you need it, revenue sources the city can tap, and others. The workshop itself was pragmatic. City officials -- the comptroller, the deputy mayors -- clued citizens on the budget

Phase One of the project was essentially a publi- format--how to read the complicated document and what to look for, the council's responsibilities, budget policy decisions for 1974; finally delegates heard from various citizen organizations on how they work to influence budget decisions.

> At the end of the day, conferees were fully prepared to monitor upcoming budget hearings. League members attended all the hearings and some organizations involved in the project did, too, but overall, the citizen groups appeared only at the hearings featuring services they wanted or needed. The recreation and parks hearing was packed; one on general administration was not. The project chairwomen acknowledged that at this time 'There seemed no interest by citizens in following the entire process or seeing the budget in total. The process is discouraging to most people."

> Still, the League believes a sound beginning has been made--the public is aware of the budget schedule and of its significance. Inner-city groups seem better coordinated now than before they participated and a much closer working relationship has grown up between them and the League. The League developed good rapport with members of the city administration, but were less successful with the 29-member council.

The Indianapolis Metro Project will continue for another fiscal year. Emphasis will remain on media coverage and promotion of citizen awareness; "You and the Budget" will be reprinted; other citizen organizations will be contacted. A few changes might be made. The project might start with a conference instead of holding it as Phase Two. The League also wants to deal with the council, whose members are reluctant to take the overview of the budget and who will not acknowledge the mayor's priorities. The League will probably arrange a conference for councilmen focused on financing and budgeting, with information on investing city funds and similar technical subjects as well as the need for community participation.

The Cincinnati Area League also focused on budget making. Its goal: develop a permanent, simple system for citizens to express their priorities during budget time. The Metro Survey led to the follow-up project; League researchers heard the same sentiments from numerous neighborhood organizations -- they wanted some way to influence money decisions. Once the survey was over, the Cincinnati Area League set about devising a plan for securing citizen involvement.

Crucial decisions are made by the executive branch, which prepares a recommended budget for the city council, the League believed, so the project focused on influencing the city manager and through him, city departments. It is the manager and department heads who, while preparing recommendations, evaluate past programs and establish overall objectives and priorities for the future.

The League asked 55 neighborhood organizations from all parts of the city to join the project. It employed a project director (a League member) to oversee day-to-day operations. Seventy persons attended the first project meeting when the city manager and members of his staff explained the city budget process. Afterwards, they were asked to list the services and improvements their neigh- sophisticated and well-organized. Now the League borhoods needed, using a simple form prepared by the League; they also were asked opinions about present services, whether they should be continued at the present level, cut back, or increased.

Twenty neighborhood groups followed through, submitting their priorities to the city manager in time for a second project meeting. Again, the man- proach?" The League probably won't take any ager met with neighborhood organization representatives who were told that they had already influenced the budget process more than at any time in recent Cincinnati history. The city manager was enghusiastic: by hearing from the neighborhoods so early in the money allocation process, he could compare citizen needs with requests from city departments.

The next step was to summarize all neighborhood requests and send them to the appropriate city departments, then came a third meeting when the city manager reported on the status of the neighborhood priorities. Finally, the manager's recommended basic budget was given to the neighborhood organizations. It and the budget for capital improvements and "service betterments" were sent to the city council, along with a letter from the city manager saying:

"A total of 22 operating service betterments cost- ging election practices--a steering committee ing \$1,633,200 and 45 capital service betterments costing \$10,858,150 are recommended. For the first time, the recommendations of the administra- elections, a training session for monitors was tion are being made to council with extensive cit- planned. Even though the project was well-organizen participation... In short, the recommendations...of the Metro Project have a high impact on the recommended service betterments. [This project has] proven to be extremely valuable to the point of necessity. The Office of Management Services has been directed to develop techniques for institutionalizing citizen participation in the budget process."

Attempts to influence the process did not cease when the budget left the manager's hands. After all, the city council makes the final decision, so the League made sure members of the finance committee had copies of the neighborhood priorities. Some of the participating organizations monitored the budget hearings.

Procedures for "institutionalizing" citizen input have already been announced. Next year, the city will send the priority and evaluation forms to neighborhood organizations. They will be collected and analyzed by seven liaison officers working out of the city manager's office. These officers will be the go-between, striving for compromises between neighborhood groups and city departments.

The primary goal of the project has been achieved. Success was made easier by a new city manager who

was committed to citizen participation, who saw it was one way to evaluate the services of city departments, and who wanted to change to a program-oriented budget, and by the existence of neighborhood organizations which were experienced. has another worry. Perhaps the project was too successful. Nancy Forbriger, project director, elaborates: "We're a little afraid to turn it over to them [city officials] completely because we rely on their good faith and fine words, but we lose control. Are they really going to do it as well, with the real concern and personal apchances. Plans are already progressing for monitoring the budget making process--especially the role of the liaison officers--during the next

The Election Systems Project also sponsored some pilot follow-up activities.

The League of Women Voters of the Pittsburgh Area enlisted the support of other organizations (NOW, Women in the Urban Crisis, National Council of Negro Women, Concerned Taxpayers of Allegheny County, YWCA, Welfare Rights Organization, Carlow College, and others) to monitor registration and voting practices. They used the ESP booklet "Election Check-Up" as a guide.

The project began about six weeks before the 1973 general election when three registration stations were monitored, and plans were laid for watchdogwith members of all cooperating organizations was named, a meeting was held with the director of ized, Pittsburgh Area League president Lenore Rubinstein cautions that Leagues undertaking a monitoring project be on the alert for unanticipated tangles, such as the one she and her workers encountered when trying to obtain court permission for monitors to work outside their own precincts. The court refused the League request, the League did not accept the court's alternative and finally, the two sides reached a compromise about a week before the election. If she could do it again, says Mrs. Rubinstein, she would try to settle issues raised by the courts early, before recruiting monitors. "It was very awkward having to tell people they could not monitor because they did not live in one of the municipalities we were covering," she writes.

She and others who were involved rank the project as a success. Nearly 100 volunteers took part and no one missed their election day assignment--well, almost. One monitor did not report to her post because when she went to cast her own vote, the director of elections recruited her as an election official to substitute for the regular officials who had not shown up. The project uncovered some potential obstacles to voting--such as malfunctioning voting machines not being repaired promptly--which were not serious in this election

when voter turnout was low, but could be in a hotly contested election.

The ESP sponsored a regional conference for the people who make and enforce voting laws, and representatives of citizens organizations concerned with how those laws are implemented. State legislators, state and local election officials, and citizen representatives from South Carolina, North Carolina, Alabama, and Georgia gathered in Columbia, South Carolina, for two days of speeches, workshops, and exchange of ideas. The theme was articulated clearly by Ben Fortson, Jr., the Georgia Secretary of State:

"Elections are not for those who conduct them or for the candidates. They are for the people."

Delegates considered ways voting could be made easier for the public--perhaps relaxing registration laws and procedures, for example--while retaining necessary safeguards. Troublesome issues such as funding elections and training qualified poll workers were dealt with. Discussions were lively and problems were willingly admitted, probably because the election officials saw the meeting as a constructive measure, not a subterfuge to call them to task for malfunctions in the system. At the end, Nan Waterman, LWVEF vice-chairwoman, cautioned both citizens and public officials:

"Those of us on the private side do feel relative- or other individuals who will be responsible for ly free to operate on the basis of what 'ought to be' because we don't have to work through the dayto-day implementation of policy and be involved in the plain, nitty gritty, nuts and bolts of get- hard work. What potential sponsor could turn down ting a job done...We don't always face up to poli- these credentials? cal realities...

"On the other hand, I heard some fairly stiff resistance from election officials...to really working to open up the process. I think some election officials fall into the trap of letting the process itself become the end...they lose sight of the fact that they are there, and the process is there, to serve the citizen."

Delegates went home with a series of recommendations they collectively had produced on improving the voting system.

Reaction to the conference from the media and conferees was favorable. The State, the major Columbia newspaper, praised the Leagues and the meeting:

"The prime accomplishment of the meeting did not lie in providing a platform for oratory, good as it was on occasion. Rather, the lasting benefits most likely to stem from the conference are those which flowed from the free exchange of ideas between election officials, poll workers, party representatives, and civic-minded citizens. ...it was the pick-and-shovel work of discussion groups which holds the real promise for improving the conduct of elections..."

INTERESTED IN A PROJECT?

Maybe your League would like to undertake a special project like one of these. Projects present some great ways to accomplish many goals, like focusing attention on a critical community issue, documenting the opinions and attitudes of officials and citizens, sharing information with other citizen organizations about how to influence city hall.

A good project starts with a good proposal. This step may be slower than you'd like and a little agonizing, but once completed you'll have a clear concept of the project; you'll be able to explain it to anyone, including foundations.

What's in a proposal?

Project goals. State them clearly, concisely.

Justification of the project. Here's the place to generalize and theorize; to put specific goals in a broader context.

Qualifications of the League. Be definite about why the League should undertake the project. Think hard about the skills required and ways to demonstrate that the League has them; then spell them out as you would on an employment resume. Consider including vita of the chairwoman, project director, community organizer, survey expert, writer, seminar organizer, publicity chairwoman key assignments. For good measure, include some respected characteristics of the League: its nonpartisan status and its members' penchant for

Plan of action. No room for lofty prose here-detail tasks, timetables, and project duration. For a project as comprehensive as those in Indianapolis or Cincinnati, two years is best, allowing one year to set wheels in motion and another to reap the results. Longer projects risk a dropout of workers and a general loss of interest. Other projects may be of short duration--one year, six months--whatever it takes to get the job done.

Budget. Make it realistic, don't undersell but don't price it out of the funding market. Be sure to include salary for staff, at least a part-timer. Coordinators of Metro Projects which had staff said paid professional assistance is a must. Those who didn't, wished they had employed someone.

Long-range effect. Foundations want to make good investments; they don't like to see money "wasted" on projects which fail to have some lasting impact. Nor do League members like to feel that two years or even a few months of concerted effort have failed to generate a few changes. Consider some spin-offs from the project, and write them

Two sample project proposals can be found in the Appendixes.

EXPERIENCE TEACHES THAT....

With the sound project proposal in hand, move ahead in finding financial support and willing workers. True, it's far easier to tell someone to undertake these tasks than to carry tham out, but some advice from Leagues which sponsored Metro Projects may help. Fundraising is a true test of a League's ingenuity. Here are ideas on who to ask and how.

The Minneapolis-St.Paul Council of Metropolitan Area Leagues discovered a key to obtaining funds: be relevant (an "in" phrase today). That means, relate what the League wants to do, to what commissions, foundations, individuals want done. As previously mentioned, the CMAL is involved in two projects funded by the Minnesota Humanities Commission: Ann Thomas, CMAL chairwoman, attributes the grants to the ability of the League to state its purpose in terms the Commission could accept, namely to relate its projects to humanities and the arts. In Mrs. Thomas' words, "We had to relate what we were doing to the humanities and it was rather interesting to see how much homework we had to do on this subject." She continued, "Our private but stated purpose is promoting proper use of the land, but we arranged our proposal so it deals with the aesthetics of the situation." She reports that many foundations in the Minneapolis-St.Paul area are tuned into the arts; the grants from the Humanities Commission hopefully will open funding opportunities from some of these foundations.

Some Leagues in Ohio have related successfully, also obtaining Humanities Commission funds for conferences on election practices. Incidentally, every state now has a Humanities Commission and most large cities do, too; all are linked to the National Endowment for the Humanities. The Minnesota Humanities Commission publishes quidelines for grant applications; the Commission in your state may do the same.

Foundations come to mind immediately as sources of money, and, although they cannot give funds to Leagues without losing their tax-exempt status, the money can be given to the LWVEF or to a state or local League education fund and earmarked for the local project. (To learn more about this procedure, write to the LWVEF office.) Mrs. Thomas has some advice about foundations: "You shouldn't be afraid of these people. You don't have to write a proposal right away; you can even go talk to them to find out what their philosophy is and how they feel." But before going, it helps to do some research. Foundation News, published bimonthly by the Council on Foundations (888 Seventh Avenue, New York 10019), lists amounts and purposes of recent foundation grants as well as pertinent articles. The March/April 1974 issue contained "Guidelines on Grant Making", written by a foundation executive, and "Criteria Grantors Use in Assessing Proposals". The publication may be available at the public library or a local university development office. If not, ask some organizations in the community which depend on

foundation support if they subscribe, and try to borrow a copy. The secretary of state of your state may also furnish a list of all foundations incorporated or registered in the state. Through these publications and with a little more leg work, some foundations with a low public profile but lots of money might be discovered. Don't overlook any potential source--civic-minded individuals, contributors to political parties, businesses, unions, associations, even government. The Association of Bay Area Governments, as mentioned, has set up a grant program for citizen organizations.

Once the funds have been secured, or even before, start lining up workers. This, too, requires ingenuity since many League members are already busy on other assignments. One solution: employ some staff to supplement the efforts of the members.

Staff isn't a luxury; it's essential. "You need somebody who is going to be on top of it constantly," advises Mrs. Williams of the Indianapolis project. Her colleague Mrs. Norton continues, "The League can supervise, can make policy, but League program in our case is so heavy that the members just cannot bear the full burden of an additional project. Also, many projects pick up during the summer [that's when the budget hearings had to be monitored in Indianapolis], just when many League members are vacationing or tending children."

What kind of talent should be retained? It depends on the skills demanded by the project and the preference of the League. Many metro-type projects, for example, will require a community organizer, someone willing to spend weeknights and weekends meeting with neighborhood organizations. Several Leagues hired women to write, tabulate, illustrate, telephone, publicize, type and to do other jobs on the Metro Projects. They intend to have staff for future projects, too. Other projects will require other talents the League does not feel qualified to tackle or simply wants to assign to a staff member.

The Payoff

Are projects worth the effort? "Yes" was the response of the women who worked on the 11 local follow-up programs. They've all witnessed changes in attitudes by citizens and officials, changes in laws and administrative procedures; opening of communication lines which have been clogged for years; they've learned more about their communities and the political process; and the League's credibility has been enhanced.

Recently, the women who had supervised the Metro Survey and were chairing local Metro Projects in four communities (Indianapolis, Minneapolis, Cincinnati, and Atlanta) talked about the changes.

From Indianapolis: "This project got us into contact with other groups; it made us credible so we

could work with them on legal services. It built a bridge that could be used for other things."

"I think the city council is very aware of us and we make them a little nervous; they're going to knuckle under as long as they see us sitting there...During the budget hearings they were very aware that there were citizens in the audience-and we've been criticized, too, because the citizens didn't have as much to say as council members thought they would."

From Atlanta: "I think definitely ARC sat up and took notice of the League. Within two or three days of this conference we had a call from ARC to come in and talk about the regional development plan. I think it has also had a positive effect on other groups in the area. Just the other day, the transportation coalition filed suit against ARC in terms of their citizen participation plan. That's not directly related to the League's conference, but I think the meeting focused attention on the issue."

"I think the whole emphasis of the Metro Survey and Project have been in line with the feeling that's developing in Atlanta...neighborhood groups are very important.... The emphasis toward listening to neighborhood groups, to citizens, was really a very important issue in the city council races in the fall."

From Minneapolis: "What the Metro Project did for add the extra dimension. our League was to make us more viable and more

visible to the Metropolitan Council and to the community people who participated; it made them aware of the possibility of communication that never existed before. After the conference the Metro Council went out to the community to hold their meetings and public hearings."

"The Metro Survey that we took in our area has given us more credibility when the League says, 'People think this.' Others ask, 'Well, how do you know people think this?' We say, 'It's right down here; we've interviewed them.'"

From Cincinnati: "As a result of the Metro Survey we began a citizen participation effort to contact neighborhoods. We worked with the neighborhoods and members of the city council to initiate a registry of neighborhood organizations at city hall, which the neighborhood groups are now supposed to maintain...So the League had made contacts with the neighborhoods and we had also been dealing with city council committees so that when we started work on [the local metro] project, we had already opened the doors."

As for the impact of Cincinnati's Metro Project, "We really handed an election to our council members...You should have seen the publicity--when they were running last year--about what they were going to do for the neighborhoods."

For these Leagues -- and for yours -- a project could

For further information write the Research and Projects Department, LWVEF, 1730 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. All publications are available from the LWVEF. When ordering, please include publication number.

SAMPLE Application for a Grant to the XYZ Foundation from the League of Women Voters of .

The League of Women Voters of ______ proposes a project to increase public understanding of the city budget process and to develop a permanent mechanism for individual citizens and neighborhood groups to express their funding priorities to the executive and the city council. The League believes that sound responsible budgetmaking, open to public scrutiny, will improve the quality of budget decisions and generate greater confidence in local government. The project will attempt to make citizens aware that budget decisions have a tremendous impact on their daily lives, and will inform them about the process of allocating public funds. It will then endeavor to open the system to citizens.

<u>Phase One</u> of the project will be a public education effort to develop strong community interest in the the budget process and promote understanding of how the process actually works. These goals will be accomplished by:

- 1) a training conference for leaders of community organizations giving practical information about the budget process. City officials will be invited to speak about the budget format and how to interpret the budget; how budget policy is made by the administration; how the council handles the budget, and finally, how other community organizations have worked to influence budget decisions. The workshop will encourage free discussion and will give community organization leaders opportunities to question city policymakers.
- 2) development of educational materials to use as resources for the conference, and for general promotion of the project. Practical working papers will be developed for use during the conference. In addition, a brochure will be produced and widely distributed to the general public, describing the budget process.

Phase Two will focus on developing and implementing methods for citizens to have input into the development of the budget by the administration. A series of meetings will be arranged where leaders of citizen organizations attending the workshop can meet with the mayor, city manager and other key administrative personnel to work out a mutually acceptable method for citizens to express their service needs and preferences. These neighborhood priorities will be incorporated in the recommended budget.

Phase Three will be monitoring the city council budget hearings and informing the council of citizens' priorities. During Phases Three and Four, participating organizations will be informed of the project's progress through a newsletter.

Phase Four will be an assessment by community leaders of how well the citizen participation technique worked, with suggestions for improvement. These suggestions will be presented to city officials and implemented during the second year of the project.

Phase Five will be a second year of citizen participation in the budget process, employing the techniques and procedures established during Phases One through Four. An on-going assessment of the project will be made throughout the year so improvements can be developed and citizen input into budget—making can become a permanent part of the process.

Timetable1

January-March: planning of project; preparation of education materials and conference

April: training conference

May-June: meetings with city officials to develop and put into operation procedures for citizen input July: submission of budget to city council

July-August: monitor city council hearings

September: Council adopts budget

September-October: assessment of project and development of improved citizen participation techniques; presentation of techniques to mayor and city manager, and discussions about implementing them.

December-January: notify organizations to begin polling communities about budget priorities

January-October: repeat the activities of the first year

^1In drawing up this timetable it was assumed the budget process--from initial request by department heads to adoption--lasts 12 months. Actual scheduling and timing of a project depends on the scheduling of the budgeting process in each community. In deciding when to initiate the project it's best to find out when the administration submits the budget to the city council and work back from that date.

Admin	istration of Project		
2.3-22.43.1		0,000	
		2,500	
	Social Security, Unemployment Tax, etc.	800	
	Committee & Volunteer Expenses	7.7.7	
	(parking, babysitting, etc.)	500	
	Office Expenses	000	
		1,200	
	(remay phones postage, stationery, every	13200	15,000
Phase	One		13,000
riusc	Training Conference		
	Facilities (meeting room, box lunch, visuals, etc)	300	
	Materials for distribution (printing & purchasing)		
	Public Education		800
			800
	Brochure (printing, artwork, distribution)	500	
	Radio & TV spots & programs	1 000	
	(consultants, visuals, etc.)	The state of the s	1 500
Dhase	To a second control of the second control of		1,500
Phase		100	
	Meeting Expenses	100	
	Monthly Newsletters (paper, postage)	300	Manu Arester to buy or
e rolling to	- Comment of the Comm		400
Phase	Three		
	Monthly Newsletter (under Phase Two)	255	
	personal collector and partition to extend the		
Phase	Four		HOLLING TORK
			\$17,700

Phase Five--Approximately same as above. Printing of a report should be provided for.

Qualifications of the League

The League approaches this project with 50 years of experience in striving for citizen participation in government. In its efforts to improve the quality of government by urging the participation of an alert, informed citizenry, the League has established contacts with citizens from all sections of the city and with widely divergent interests. It has established rapport with elected and appointed city officials.

As a non-partisan organization, the League can provide a neutral forum, bringing together citizens and public officials with differing political ideologies. Furthermore, it can draw on the experiences of other Leagues throughout the nation which have undertaken similar projects through information provided by the League of Women Voters Education Fund.

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100	League	2101
a alles	address	

¹ Each League will have unique qualifications for undertaking the project and specific illustrations of those qualifications will differ. Still, some common attributes can be stressed: the League's non-partisanship, credibility, ability to put together coalitions, expertise in arranging conferences. These can be supported by concrete examples written into the proposal.

APPENDIX II

SAMPLE Application for a Grant to the XYZ Foundation from the Leagues of Women Voters of and and a

The Leagues of Women Voters of ______, and _______ propose a two-day conference to promote improvement in registration and polling place practices. The Leagues believe that voting is a basic right in a democracy, and that the exercise of that right should be made as easy as possible without jeopardizing the integrity of elections. The conference would bring together 100 delegates: citizens representing organizations with widely divergent interests, but with a common interest in election procedures, and public officials from the state and local levels who make and enforce election laws. The intent would be to promote common understanding of problems, sensitizing election officials and state legislators to the frustrations experienced by voters and giving citizens insights on the difficulties of public officials in safeguarding elections; to discuss specific problems such as funding registration and polling place operations, and the need for trained, qualified registration and polling place workers; and, to develop recommendations for overcoming the problems.

The conference is a logical extension of the work of the League of Women Voters Education Fund to improve the election system so eligible voters can participate without encountering procedural and other obstacles. In 1971, a nationwide survey conducted by Leagues in 250 communities revealed that millions of Americans of every economic and social background are disenfranchised by the way election laws are administered. Enclosed is a report of the findings, Administrative Obstacles to Voting.

Timetable 2

June: initial planning, and selection of conference site³

confirmation of conference date, formulation of tentative agenda, selection of speakers

August: send invitations to speakers and delegates

draft and print program

September: hold conference

Budget

July:

Direct Expenses:

Transportation for planning committee and conference delegates

Conference lunch and/or dinner Speakers' honorarium and travel

Printing of agendas

Copies for each delegate of Administrative Obstacles to Voting, Election Check-Up,

Making It Work, suitable state or local publications and other kit materials

Printing of final report or recommendations

Typing, postage, telephone, rental of conference site

Qualifications of the League 4

The League of Women Voters has had over 50 years of experience in striving to increase and improve citizen participation in government. One of the goals of our organization is to ensure that eligible voters are not denied the opportunity to vote because of administrative complications. In our efforts to improve elections, we can rely on experiences of Leagues in 260 communities and several states who have witnessed the problems and on materials especially designed by the League of Women Voters Education Fund as guides to remedial action, such as Removing Administrative Obstacles to Voting, Election

As a non-partisan organization, the League can provide a neutral forum, bringing together citizens and public officials to discuss impediments to voting and to recommend improvements.

	signed	
	title	
-	League	
	address	

You may want to add appropriate Voters Service material developed by the state League or your local League.

APPENDIX III

SAMPLE Program for a Conference on the Election System

Tuesday	
10:30 a.m11:30 a.m.	Conference Registration
12:00 noon-1:30 p.m.	Luncheon
	Welcome: by Governor of Host State
	Why We Are Here: League of Women Voters
	Remarks: The Secretary of State from one of the participating
	states
1:30 p.m2:30 p.m.	MAKING THE ELECTION PROCESS WORK
STORE MAY TO BE AND A MORNEY	Panel Presentations
	1. Problems Encountered by Citizens in Registering and Voting
	2. Selection and Training of Election Workers
	3. Funding Reigstration and Polling Place Operations
2:30 p.m4:30 p.m.	Task group meetings to identify problems raised by panelists, dis-
Total Paris State Paris	cuss possible answers, and develop recommendations for conference
	participants to react to in next morning's plenary session
6:30 p.m8:30 p.m.	Dinner and Speaker
assault passes passes passes	ermor and spounds
Wednesday	
9:30 a.m11:30 a.m.	Plenary Session: Conference Reactions to Task Group

Closing Remarks: "What's Next?"

Recommendations

Luncheon and Speaker

12:00 noon-1:30 p.m.

 $^{^1\}mathrm{This}$ proposal can be adapted for a single state conference or for a conference of representatives from several counties and/or cities. A multi-jurisdictional grouping is preferred to a single city or county because election officials—and citizens—are receptive to ideas and comments of their peers, the experiences discussed are more varied and discussions will not appear to be focused on a single personality.

²This timing is arbitrary; Leagues could choose to hold this conference any time during the year. A September conference date, falling in the pre-election period, would allow conferees time-and the opportunity--to try out new ideas while they are still fresh in their minds.

³See Appendix III for Sample Conference Program.

⁴Each League will have unique qualifications for undertaking the project and specific illustrations of those qualifications will differ. Still, some common attributes can be stressed: the League's non-partisanship, credibility, expertise in arranging conferences. These can be supported by concrete examples written into the proposal.

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LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

Memo to: Senator George Perpich

From: Janet Yonehiro, Chairperson

State Election Laws Committee

Re: SF 2658

February 27, 1974

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota supports the concepts that are in your bill SF 2658 concerning school elections.

The League of Women Voters in 1972 studied Minnesota school election laws and reached agreement on improvements. We support extension of election laws to cover school district elections, including uniform mandatory voter registration. Your bill would greatly correct the problems we see in school board elections.

We look forward to working with you in preparation for enactment of this bill.



Borg

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

Memo to: Senator Stephen Keefe

From: Janet Yonehiro, Chairperson

State Election Laws Committee

Re: SF 2936

February 27, 1974

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota supports the concept of your bill SF 2936 requiring employers to post that employees may be absent from work without penalty in order to vote.

The League of Women Voters believes that every citizen has the right to vote. This bill increases the opportunity for a person to vote.



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

Memo to: Members of the House of Representatives

From: Mary Ann McCoy, President, League of Women Voters of Minnesota

voters of winnesota

Re: S.F. 2136 - County Commissioner Redistricting;
- deletion of the amendment which requires no
new election if a boundary change involves less
than 10% of the average population of all
districts in the county.

March 13, 1974

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota has been concerned with the inequity contained in Minnesota Statute 375.02, governing the redistricting of county boards. Under current interpretation, if redistricting can be accomplished so that an incumbent remains in each new district, regardless of the extremity of the boundary changes, no commissioner is required to run for election in his new district.

S.F. 2136 provides the needed legislation to guarantee all citizens within each county the right to vote for those who will govern them. The provision in Section 1, subd. 4, i.e. 10% of the average population within a district, would still leave some citizens without their right to vote. Furthermore, it does not accomplish the equal distribution of voting power which is the basis of the one-person, one-vote principle.

We ask for your support of S.F. 2136 with the deletion of the amendment.



LWVMN

Routing Slip

As soon as you have read the attached material, please initial, date and forward it to the others checked on the form. After all have read, please return to the office for appropriate disposition. Thank you.

Route to:	Initial	Date
✓ McCoy	Imm	8/25
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Congress of the United States House of Representatives

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of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 92d CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 120

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, JULY 25, 1974

No. 111

House of Representatives

ELECTION BILL NEEDS IMPROVEMENT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. Frenzel) is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. FRENZEL. Mr. Speaker, my supplemental views in the committee report contain a much more detailed, elaborate analysis of the committee bill, H.R. 16090. This summary reduces my views to a simpler form. Since these dissenting views parallel my supplemental views, members can refer to them for a more detailed explanation.

For more than a year the American people have waited in vain for a positive response from the House on election reform. Subcommittee hearings were not begun until September 1973. Finally, last March the House Administration Committee began to work seriously on this matter. Since March 26, the committee has met more than 20 times in careful consideration of its election bill and over 95 amendments.

The committee has made a sincere, honest effort to reform the present system. Nevertheless, its bill is flawed by several major deficiencies. Its proposal elements are these:

CONGRESSIONAL DOMINATION

There is public consensus that administration and enforcement of election laws be stronger and more independent, but the committee bill has three major provisions that will make administration enforcement less effective and independent.

First. It establishes a Board of Supervisory Officers which would place four congressional appointees and three employees of Congress in charge of the administration and enforcement of election law. The present conflict of interest situation whereby employees of Congress administer and report violations of laws that directly affect their employers is not eliminated. Members of Congress will still be policing their own selections. The full-time Board Members, two of whom are patronage employees of the Congress and one of whom works for a legislative agency, will surely dominate the Board.

There are no built-in safeguards to assure that violations by Members of Congress will actually be reported to the Justice Department. Moreover, the committee bill requires the Board to operate in secrecy.

Even with the most conscientious, diligent Board, public skepticism is certain to run high, and there will be widespread doubt about the zeal and fairness of the Board's administration and enforcement efforts. The creation of this Supervisory Board does little to reduce the crisis of confidence in Congress

Second. It grants these seven people the power to interpret the law and grant presumed immunity from prosecution by

issuing advisory opinions.

Third. It gives two committees of Congress veto power over the rules and regulations promulgated to administer and implement campaign finance legislation, thereby giving these two committees the power to control all regulations drawn under this law.

Under this bill, clearly, the Congress has tightened its strangle-hold on enforcement and supervision of its own elections. Not only is the fox in charge of the chicken coop, he is living in the farm house and managing the farm. If Congress response to Watergate is to increase its control over Federal elections. then it will be hard to blame the public for becoming even more cynical and alienated.

ADMINISTRATION AND ENFORCEMENT

First. Any candidate who fails to file will be disqualified from running for the office in the next election. This provision is clearly unconstitutional, because of the Supreme Court decision in the Powell against McCormack case.

Second. By abolishing the elections clearinghouse in the General Accounting Office, the bill eliminates the only good thing the Federal Government does to help the State and local governments run their election administration systems.

Third. The committee did wisely decide to increase the menetary penalties for violation of election law.

Fourth Instead of weakening the present administration and enforcement pro-visions, the committee could have strengthened them by establishing an independent Federal Elections Commis-

. Because of its independence, the Commission would be able to restore public confidence, eliminate the present conflicts of interest and reverse the long history of nonenforcement of election law. It should also reduce the amount of bureaucracy needed to administer the present law, increase coordination between administrators and enforcers of the law, and assure the expeditious enforcement of campaign finance law.

With Representative DANTE FASCELL, I intend to offer an amendment that will establish an independent Federal Elections Commission. Our Commission is designed to protect the rights of Members of Congress and other candidates, as well as the rights of the general public. Safeguards are provided which do not exist under the process. exist under the present law to prevent the filing of false complaints and unfair prosecutions of candidates.

Fifth. The committee did pass a good provision that would strengthen enforcement: a requirement that the super-visory officers publish lists of those who

do not file reports.

C. DISCLOSURE: LOOPHOLES

The bill renders ineffective the full and complete disclosure requirements by making certain exceptions to the definition of contribution and expenditure in the 1971 disclosure provisions and contribution and expenditure limitation sections:

First. Real and personal property, including food and beverages used on an individual's premises of up to \$500; Second. Unreimbursed travel expenses

of up to \$500, and Third. Slatecards, sample ballots and involving newspaper advertisements three or more candidates.

These provisions will have several negative, potentially disastrous effects:

Presently defined contributions and expenditures will be exempted from those definitions. Full and complete disclosure of contributions and expenditures will no longer be required;

Enforcement of both disclosure pro-visions and of contribution and expenditure limitations may be much more dif-

These exemptions may be used as loopholes by special interests and wealthy individuals to circumvent limitation and to channel funds, goods and services into Federal campaigns from hidder sources; and

These loopholes make ambiguous the prehibitions on contributions by cor-porations, labor unions and foreign na-

In reality, there is no need for these loopholes. The present law, and the bill provide remedies for the concerns tha produced these loopholes.

The bill improves disclosure by requiring all candidates to establish a centra or principal campaign committee. This provision will centralize both accountability and responsibility and make it easier to monitor a candidate's campaign.

CONTRIBUTION LIMITATIONS

Contribution limitations are the best way to limit the power that wealthy individuals and special interests gain through campaign contributions.

First. The committee bill sets low limits—\$1,000 per person per election and \$5,000 per political committee per election. But, due to the loopholes, a skillful contributor can give more than this amount, and so can a special interest committee. The loopholes should be closed so that the effective limitation is

closer to \$2,000 or \$3,000.

Second. The bill wisely limits the aggregate amount an individual can contribute in 1 year to all candidates and

committees up to \$25,000.

Third. Special interest groups have \$17 million available for the 1974 congressional elections, almost twice as much as they spent in all of 1972. Given the potential for abuse, the committee did not go far enough in limiting the role of special interest committees. The limit on how much a political committee can give should be reduced to \$3,000, \$2,500 or even \$1,000. Special interest groups should be prohibited from proliferating their committees to circumvent the limitations, and should be required to identify each contribution as to the original donor and intended recipient.

EXPENDITURE LIMITATIONS

The committee bill sets expenditure limitations at \$75,000 for a House race, \$20 million for the President—\$10 million for the nomination—and \$75,000 or 5 cents times the population of the State, whichever is greater, for the Senate.

While the committee's limits are really somewhat higher due to the loopholes in the definition of expenditure, they are still far too low and have a proincumbent bias. The adoption of expenditure loopholes was the committee's tacit agreement that the expense limit of \$75,000 is

A recent study at Harvard recommended that expenditure limitations be 50 cents per voter-approximately \$150 .-000 for a House race. The study argues that the purpose of a political campaign is not just to elect the candidate, but also to inform the candidates, educate the electorate and encourage wider political participation. A survey of 1972 campaign managers found that they felt they had not adequately carried out the broad goals of education and involvement, even though most of them had spent more than 25 cents per voter. The Harvard study contends:

If campaigns are to fulfill any of the functions listed above . . . the present level of spending is much too low, if anything.

Tight spending limits also substantially favor incumbents. Present proposals, the Harvard study continues:

Are far too low to achieve any conceivable purpose other than to maintain incumbents

In 1972, incumbents won well over 95 percent of the time, and the 12 chal-lengers who did beat incumbents averaged \$125,000 apiece in their campaigns. The year 1974 is supposed to be of the challenger. So far this year incumbents have won 80 of 82 races in the House.

PUBLIC FINANCING

The bill provides for public financing for Presidential nominating conventions and for Presidential elections. That is a negative feature, except in the sense that it provides no congressional public financing. The many sound and persuasive arguments against using taxpayer's money to bankroll elections need not be repeated here.

MISCELLANEOUS

First. The committee bill prohibits contributions by foreign nationals, contributions in the name of another and cash contributions in excess of \$100. The bill also prohibits honorariums in excess of \$1,000 per speech or appearance or \$10,-000 in the aggregate per calendar year. All of these are good provisions.

Second. The bill also preempts State laws, a welcome change that will insure that election laws are uniform, and that candidates for Federal office do not bear the burden of complying with different

sets of laws.

Third. The committee bill would greatly weaken the role of the political parties in the electoral process. Political parties are the most broadly based groups in the political process and have a great potential for revitalizing our society. Strengthening the role of the parties in the political process may be as important a reform as changing the present system of campaign financing. Instead of reducing the parties' role, reform of our private system of campaign financing should increase their role by exempting parties from contribution limitations. If this is not an acceptable alternative, then parties should be able to make extra expenditures on behalf of candidates.

SUMMARY

After a late start, the committee has worked diligently to produce a workable elections bill. Despite its shortcomings, particularly its lack of an independent Federal Elections Commission, and its disclosure loopholes, it should be promptly brought to the floor where I hope it can be improved. Members have many amendments to offer to the committee bill. Open, fully democratic proceedings on the floor are the way to obtain the best bill possible.

The people have waited long enough a straight-forward response to Watergate. The sooner this bill is passed, put into conference and enacted, the better off everyone will be.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

July 9, 1974

The Honorable Arlen Erdahl Secretary of State State Capitol St. Paul, MN 55155

Dear Secretary Erdahl:

Our discussions last week in your office may assume even historic proportions when standardization in election precinct coding and reporting procedures is achieved. We hope this may take place before this fall's elections.

Concern about distribution of information on election law changes, voter registration procedures, and election day practices by judges of election can lead to new cooperation among groups in our state who seek to increase confidence in participation in the election process.

Therefore, I am looking forward to meeting with you again soon to go over plans for outlining a course of instruction for local judges of election as an assistance to county auditors in their training of these judges. As we stated in our conference with you and the others last week, the League of Women Voters will be pleased to consult with you in preparing training materials as well as to assist in state and/or regional training meetings of county and municipal election officials.

Sincerely,

Mary Ann McCoy, State President League of Women Voters of Minnesota

MM/hh

Copies: Bob Coursen, Minneapolis TRIBUNE; Mary Waldo; Helene Borg; Shirley Westmoreland



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

July 9, 1974

Bob Coursen Minneapolis Tribune 425 Portland Avenue Minneapolis, Minnesota 55415

Dear Bob:

This letter went out this week to Secretary Erdahl as initial follow-up to our July 3rd meeting.

Please keep in touch with us about David Nelson's and your progress with the computer coding/report forms project.

Family business/travel plans take me away from Minnesota July 15 to 31st and after these momentous events, I half expect to see a change in the state's "horizons" when we cross the border on return!

Good luck - and many thanks for your leadership and encouragement.

Cordially,

Mary Ann McCoy

MM:jm



Sent on League letterhead to the Commission.

Written testimony presented to Minnesota State Ethics Commission,
(by the League of Women Voters of Minnesota)

Room 74, State Office Bldg., St. Paul, Minnesota 55155

prior to 4:30 p.m. on July 22, 1974

As an organization concerned with effective citizen participation in the democratic process, the League of Women Voters of Minnesota has been supporting reform of the state's campaign financing legislation since 1961. The League lobbied for the passage of the State Ethics Act of 1974 which created this Ethics Commission and has a continuing interest in the actions taken by the Commission to enforce the campaign financing provisions of the law.

We commend the members of the Ethics Commission for the excellent job they have done in the Rules and Regulations, Chapter One: EC1-EC39. The rules clearly set forth the intent of the law for individuals and groups participating in election campaigns and thoroughly define the responsibilities of the candidate and political committees.

One of the strongest points of these rules is their provision for full disclosure of campaign contributions and expenditures at timely intervals as set forth by the law. We hope these reports will be made easily accessible to the public so that the voters can scrutinize the reports to satisfy their right to know where a candidate's money is coming from and for what purpose it is being used.

The League's concern now is that the public be made aware of the provisions of the law and the procedure for filing complaints if a violation is suspected. We hope to be able to work with other groups in a public awareness campaign of this nature.

The Minnesota campaign financing and ethics law is a pacesetter for other states and for our federal government. The Ethics Commission will be playing a key role in the effectiveness of this law and has made an excellent beginning in the adoption of rules EC1-EC39. Full public disclosure and fair and prompt disposition of complaints should go far toward restoring confidence in the political process.

M E

TO:

Helene Borg

(Copy to Shirley Westmoreland)

FROM:

state office

SUBJECT

Response Sheet on Elections

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

PHONE: 224-5445

DATE

7-23-74

Attached is a copy(and letter to Sen. Steve Keefe) of the RESPONSE SHEET ON ELECTIONS. We note, however, that page 2 with questions #5, 6 and 7 is missing. We are asking Shirley if she can bring in a page 2 which we will then xerox for you and for the office file.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

July 2, 1974

The Honorable Steve Keefe Room 328 State Capitol St. Paul, MN 55155

Dear Senator Keefe,

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota is happy to be able to respond to your request for information about election related problems. We have contacted members who have been involved in the election process and have brought together some of their ideas and problems for your response sheets.

We would be most interested in any reports your Subcommittee on Elections might make and in any public hearings or meetings you might call for the purpose of discussing recodification.

If we may be of further service, please feel free to contact

Sincerely,

Sincerely, Mary Ann McCoy

President

Mixibut White or land Shirley Westmoreland Chairman, Election Laws/Voting Rights



RESPONSE SHEET ON ELECTIONS

Your name League of Women Voters of Minnesota
Return to: State Senator Steve Keefe Room 328State Capitol St. Paul, Minnesota 55155
Please indicate and briefly describe whether you have personally experienced or have heard about election-related problems which fall into any of the areas listed below (Attach additional sheets if necessary.):
1. Comprehension of election laws: There is not enough publicity to inform
the voters of voter registration procedures, residency requirements, voting procedures
When election judges have questions on the day of election about election laws, there
needs to be a place to call, possibly a toll free nember at the Secretary of State's
office, to obtain uniform, expert explanations of the laws.
2. Caucuses:
3. Training of election judges: Guidelines from the Secretary of State's
office or county auditor to the clerk training the election judges are not always com-
plete enough. In many places, election judges are not thoroughly trained, are not
required to come to training sessions, or are retained as judges although they are
not really adequate for the job.
4. Filing for office:

Per on the Sirent

8.	Voter registration (on or before election day): The sheer numbers of
реор	le registering on election day are difficult to handle in some areas and greater
numb	ers are anticipated in years of presidential elections. The situation may become
even	more difficult because election judges may not know if a person's address is
actu	ally within the precinct boundaries. Election day registration also opens the (over)
9.	Voting:
10.	Election contests or recounts
ll.	Other problem areas or any additional suggestions for improving tion laws or criticisms of the laws: A statewide central registration
offi	ce should be set up to give notice to municipalities when a person moves within t
stat	e and registers in another municipality.
	s and regulations from the Commissioner of Revenue's office should be sent out
ξ; .	that minor party candidates understand the requirements as to dates and signa-
ture	es for eligibility for campaign, funds from the checkoff.
Corr	rupt campaign practices should be in the gross misdemeanor category.
The	whole elections process should be shorter with filing for office being held in
Aug	ast and primaries held closer to the general election.
Λs:	tate funded newspaper of the public information type with all candidates having
	an would be a good service to the voters to inform them of all aspects of

opens the way for a person to vote twice.

In order to protect their privacy, people should be informed that, even though it may be asked for, they are not required to give their Social Security number or telephone number.

Problems have been encountered when people have two homes - which is their home residence for voting purposes? This also applies to college students registering to vote in the city in which they attend school. No clear statement has been made as to what constitutes intent to reside.

There is some apprehension about the procedure of allowing a person to verify another person's residency in the precinct for registration purposes, especially in the case of a newly verified voter verifying another's residence in the precinct.

11. registering, voting, who the candidates are and their positions on issues. Uniform election dates in odd years for county, city and school board elections would cause greater voter turnout and response.

Election laws should be extended to cover school district elections.

Provision should be made for rotation of names on the ballot for candidates for partisan offices to insure that no advantage is given to any one candidate because of ballot position.

There should be precise instructions to clerks and county auditors about their roles in training election judges. The adversary role of election judges from each party within a precinct should be adhered to to protect the independence of the voter.

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 555 Wabasha, St. Paul, Minnesota 55102 - August, 1974

1974 ELECTION LAW CHANGES Prepared by ARLEN ERDAHL Secretary of State

- CHAPTER 36 States that no resigning member of a city council shall participate in a vote of the council to choose a person to replace the resigning member. HF#1184
- CHAPTER 38 Defines a maximum rate of \$.16 per standard line shall be offered to the legal newspapers of Minnesota to print the constitutional amendments being offered for public consideration. HF#2277
- CHAPTER 41 In nominating petitions in cities of the first class, the candidate must secure 2% or 500 signatures, whichever is greater, of the total number of persons voting in the municipality, ward, or other election district at the last preceding general municipal election. HF#2789
- CHAPTER 48 Candidates and committees on behalf of candidates for election to the U. S. Congress may file copies of the report required by the Federal Government in lieu of those required by the state. HF#1522
- CHAPTER 55 All registration centers shall remain open until 9:00 P.M. on the last registration day and for at least two days-not including Saturdays, Sundays, and legal holidays-immediately preceding the last registration day, and shall also remain open from 10:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. on the Saturday immediately preceding the last registration day. HF#1504
- CHAPTER 120 Established July 1 as the day the Secretary of State must supply the county auditors with election laws. HF#2985
- CHAPTER 169 The official charged with printing the state white ballot shall furnish the tally book with returns for the state white ballot and the state pink ballot. The official charged with printing the state pink ballot shall furnish the envelopes for the state pink ballot and the state white ballot. The Secretary of State shall prescribe the form for the summary statements and the official charged with printing the tally book and returns shall furnish the summary statements for each precinct at the same time and in the same manner as the tally book and returns are furnished. SF#2910.
- CHAPTER 312 Permits the contest of an election, relating to the number of votes, under certain circumstances. SF#735
- CHAPTER 391 Relates to the filing of nominating petitions for elections. Effective day after enactment. SF#2817
- CHAPTER 240 Relates to redistricting of county commissioner districts. Effective 1-1-75. SF #2136
- CHAPTER 250 Permits the transportation of voters to the polls on election day with certain restrictions. HF#818
- CHAPTER 259 Relates to applications for absentee ballots for elections, and the officers to whom applications are made. HF#3276
- CHAPTER 264 Establishing the time the governor may issue his writ calling for a special election when a vacancy occurs in the legislature. HF#3395

- CHAPTER 301 Provides for team voting for the governor and lieutenant governor on voting machines. SF #3408
- CHAPTER 306 Provides that members of the legislature be restored to positions in private employment after legislative sessions. HF#102
- CHAPTER 337 Relates to government and elections in cities without home rule charters (Statutory Cities). HF#2970
- CHAPTER 415 Establishes the constitutional residency requirements for candidates for election. SF #2818
- CHAPTER 434 The clerk shall file a copy of the boundaries of the precincts with the Secretary of State. Any changes in precinct boundaries shall be filed with a map with the corrected precinct boundaries in the Secretary of State's Office.

 HF#2405
- CHAPTER 439 Ballots shall be canvassed in order except that if sufficient judges are available to provide counting teams of four or more judges evenly divided between the political parties for each box, an additional box or boxes may be opened and counted. HF#2848
- CHAPTER 457 Constitutional amendment to permit amendments to be adopted by a vote of 55% of those voting on the question. HF#47
- CHAPTER 470 Establishes an Ethics Commission to govern political financing for candidates for constitutional offices, the legislature, supreme court, and district courts; also to govern lobbying. HF#951
- CHAPTER 509 Prohibits school events after 7:00 p.m. on precinct caucus days. Permits employees to take time off work to attend caucuses. HF#2715

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CHAPTER 583 Requires political subdivisions to transfer names of voters from 1972, where there was no permanent voter registration, to registration cards. Deletes unnecessary information from voter registration cards. SF #3434.



MONITORING OF ELECTIONS PROCESS

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota

To: Local League Presidents and Action Chairmen August 1974 From: Shirley Westmoreland, Election Laws Chairman A - T

During the 1974 session, the League was very active in lobbying for changes in the elections laws and in the requirements for reporting of campaign financing activities. We were joined in our efforts on campaign financing reform by the Joint Religious Legislative Council (JRLC) and Common Cause. The three groups worked successfully together in structuring input into the Ethics in Government law that was passed by the Legislature.

We now need to follow through on these election laws to see that they are understood . and are being followed. We also should become aware of areas where additional legislation might be needed. It is especially important to follow up on the campaign financing law because the public's right to know was the reason for passage. Now we, as the public, must exercise this right. You can help by gathering the information reported by the candidates and making it available to the public.

Enclosed are some tools for monitoring the filing of campaign financing reports which are required by the Ethics in Government Act. You will also be receiving, in a later mailing, information about monitoring the registration and election day voting process. We are planning a statewide "County Auditor Day," November 21, where you will be asked to interview your County Auditor. Your observance of the election process and the filed reports will be of great use at that time. From all of this first-hand observation, we hope that you will share with us the strengths and weaknesses in the present law. From your efforts, we will be ready to propose, support, or oppose changes in these laws during the next legislative session.

Common Cause will also be conducting a monitoring process. Enclosed is a list of Common Cause coordinators. Contact their coordinator in your area and find out who is doing the monitoring in your state legislative district. Coordinate your activities, information, and possibly PR. But it is all right to go ahead on your own. If the candidate and the public know that many groups are interested in making information about the campaign financing process available, it will have more impact.

Remember! -- Nothing must be done that might be construed as support of any candidate or party. Remain strictly nonpartisan. This is Action, and must be treated as such by your League. Accuracy and fairness are essential. We simply want to gather the facts and make them public -- not draw conclusions or judgments or to influence an election.

Warning! -- The process of watching candidates' campaign financing disclosures can be habit forming and may lead to a more open, honest political process due to widespread public concern!

Enclosures: Procedures for Monitoring Campaign Financing Reports

Sample Press Release Summary of the Ethics in Government Act Questionnaire to return to State Office by December 15 List of Leagues responsible for monitoring List of Common Cause Coordinators Sample forms which must be filed by candidates

For additional information: Minnesota Fair Campaign Practices Act, Summary and Annotations, available from the Secretary's of State's office. Contains the complete provisions for both the Fair Campaign Practices Act and the new Ethics in Government Act.

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 555 Wabasha, St. Paul, Minnesota 55102 - August 1974

PROCEDURES FOR MONITORING CAMPAIGN FINANCING REPORTS

Responsible Leagues

Local Leagues which were assigned to prepare candidate questionnaires for each district are the responsible League for this monitoring project (see enclosed list). They should be responsible for gathering the information, correlating it and reporting on it. They should report their findings to other Leagues in their district, sending them a copy of the press releases and copies of their evaluations of the effectiveness of the law. Other Leagues within the district may participate in the monitoring activity and are encouraged to participate in educating their members, the community and the candidates about the law and its provisions.

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Obtaining the Information as body a toward ment of the common but the common but

Candidates, political committees, and political funds must file their reports with the State Ethics Commission and file a copy with the County Auditor. These reports must be available for the public to look at or to copy two days after they are filed. There should be copying facilities available to you at cost. Copies of filed reports are also available at the State Ethics Commission, Room 74, State Office Building, St. Paul. The Ethics Commission will mail copies of reports for 50¢ per page. The cost is 10¢ a page if you do the copying yourself. You may visit their office and copy by hand at no charge.

Procedure: a tragger prioritis a pieque of a public set to brownings col a lock among the actions of the color of the colo

(1) Shortly after the reporting dates (Sept. 5, Oct. 10, Oct. 31, Dec. 5), go to the County Auditor's office (or the State Ethics Commission Office) and make a copy of the Summary Report for each candidate for the Legislature from your district. (If the County Auditor does not have them, find out why not. If it appears that they will not be available, the State League office can assist you by getting the copy from the Ethics Commission Office.) On the back of this copy, you might want to make notes from other parts of the report, such as names, addresses and business connections of large contributors and amount contributed to date, names of other committees and funds which have made expenditures on behalf of the candidate and the amount of these expenditures, any funds that the candidate might have received and transferred to the committee of another candidate. Make copies of any information that might be of public interest about where the candidate is getting his money, and how it is being used.

At the Auditor's office, you may also find reports that were due July 7. These totals will be carried forward to the Sept. 5 reports but for individual contributions and expenditures up through July 1, you will have to look at the earlier report.

Only those candidates that are opposed in the primary election must file reports on Sept. 5. Candidates which will not be on the primary ballot should have registered on July 7 if they had received or spent over \$100 at that time and listed major contributors (over \$50 for legislative candidates). Don't neglect to check the required Oct. 10 final reports for the losers of the primary.

County Auditors are also supposed to receive financial reports from volunteer committees for county officers and county judicial candidates on Oct. 10 and Dec. 5. (You may also find county candidate personal campaign committee reports which are due Sept. 2, Sept. 20, Oct. 28, and Nov. 15.) These campaigns are still under the old Fair Campaign Practices Act. Reports for judicial candidates may also be filed. You might want to look through these reports and make your comments on the Questionnaire Report Form to State League.

(2) (a) Has the candidate received too large amounts from any one source? Contributions from one source, in the aggregate cannot exceed 10% of the allowable amount (\$750

for state representative). Political parties, all branches combined, can contribute 50% of the limit [\$3,750]).

(b) Has the candidate registered a political committee? There must be one if there has been activity on his behalf in the district which might exceed \$100 (such as fundraisers, lawn signs, billboards, newspaper ads).

(c) Have you observed within your district activity on behalf of the candidate which

does not appear to have been reported?

(3) After you have gotten all your information together, contact each of the candidates letting them know that you plan to provide a summary of the information for the press in order to make it readily available to the public. Some candidates may have already made their reports public. Thank them for their efforts to comply with the "spirit" of the law, which is to make the campaign financing process open and honest and accountable to the public. Encourage them to continue to make public disclosure throughout the campaign.

If there is an appearance of noncompliance with the filing requirements under the law, it is essential that this be double-checked with the candidate personally before any publicity is released. Let him know that you are planning to make the information available to the press, since it is public information, and give him a chance to explain or correct the problem. If you have uncovered violations, follow through --- check to see that they are corrected (reports filed, expenditures and contributions listed, contributions over limit returned or sent to State Ethics Fund). Anyone can also file a complaint with the Ethics Commission alleging that the law has been violated. With the law so new and so "sweeping", it is much more important to seek understanding and compliance rather than trying to catch people in mistakes.

Once the information is gathered and all candidates have been informed of your intent to make it public, send a press release to all local newspapers describing your monitoring activities and giving a summary of each candidate's contributions and expenditures. Also include a summary of the law and let people know that the information is available to them. (See sample press release.)

(4) The above steps should be followed for each reporting date. After your monitoring activities have been completed after the Dec. 5 reporting date, don't forget to mail the Monitoring Questionnaire to the State League Office, 555 Wabasha, St. Paul 55102. This is a major purpose for this whole monitoring process, so that an evaluation can be made from your reports as to the strengths and weaknesses of the law and the need for any changes during the 1975-76 legislative session.

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League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 555 Wabasha, St. Paul, Minnesota - August 1974

SAMPLE PRESS RELEASE

The League of Women Vote	rs of	(and Commo	n Cause, if appl	icable)
has found that	_ candidates for the	legislature from	District	have
filed reports of contribution	s and expenditures f	or the period	to	
with the State Ethics Commiss	ion. These reports	were made	(date of fili	ng) in
accordance with the campaign	financing provisions	of the Ethics in	Government Law p	assed
in the 1974 legislative sessi	on.			
The League has been moni	toring the reports,	copies of which ar	e available at t	he
County Auditor's office, for	compliance with the	disclosure require	ments of the law	. The
candidate's principal politic	al committee must re	gister with the Et	nics Commission,	the
enforcement agency for the la	w, when over \$100 ha	s been received or	spent. The law	pro-
vides for candidates for stat	e legislative office	to disclose at per	riodic intervals	sources
of contributions over \$50 and	expenditures over \$	100. Candidates for	or statewide off	ice must
disclose for amounts over \$10	0. Contributions fr	om any individual,	political commi	ttee or
fund are limited to 10% of th	e candidate's total	expenditure limit	(\$600,000 for go	vernor
and lieutenant governor, runn	ing jointly; \$50,000	for Secretary of	State, State Tre	asurer
and State Auditor; \$15,000 fo	r state Senator, and	\$7,500 for state :	representative.)	Politi-
cal parties may contribute up	to 50% of the expend	iture limit. The	Ethics Law also	provides
for registration of lobbyists	, Statements of Econ	omic Interest by p	ublic officials	and
candidates, and establishes a	\$1 check-off from i	ncome tax funds for	c a State Electi	ons
Campaign fund.		3.		
Reports filed showed the	following informati	on:		
(Name), c	andidate for the leg	islative seat in D	istrict	
reported contributions to dat	e of \$	and total expendit	ares to date of	
\$ Major	contributions were \$	from(n	ame) , (a	ddress),
(place of business)	; \$	from (n	ame of political	com-
mittee or fund).				

(Similar format may be followed for all candidates filing.)

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 555 Wabasha, St. Paul, Minnesota 55102 - August 1974

SUMMARY 1974 Ethics in Government Act

Campaign Financing Provisions:

- The candidate must designate a principal campaign committee, which must have a treasurer.
- Associations which raise or spend money to influence elections must establish a political fund and keep that money separate from other funds of the association.
- Political committees and funds must register with the State Ethics Commission when they raise or spend more than \$100 and must periodically report on their contributions and expenditures.
 - The reporting dates in 1974 are:

1. July 7

2. September 5: five days before the primary for candidates in primary races

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3. October 10: final report for losers of primary

- 4: October 31: five days before the general election
 - 5. December 5: 30 days after the election, final reports
- The name, address, and employer (or occupation if self-employed) of each person, political committee, or political fund who has made one or more contribution in excess of \$50 (or aggregate in excess of \$50) must be disclosed (for state legislative candidates, in excess of \$100 for statewide candidates, together with the amount and date of the contribution, and the total amount of contributions within the year of each contributor so disclosed.
 - Disclosure of all transfers to or from the reporting committee must be made.
- Loans in excess of \$100 (or aggregate in excess of \$100) to or from any person must be disclosed together with the full name, address, occupation and place of business of the lenders or endorsers.
- Expenditures in excess of \$100 (or aggregate in excess of \$100) must be disclosed together with the name, address, occupation and principal place of business of each person to whom expenditures have been made -- with the amount, date, and purpose of each expenditure.
- All expenditures made with the consent, expressed or implied, of a candidate must be authorized and are counted against his spending limit.

Governor and Lieutenant Governor running jointly: \$600,000

Attorney General: \$100,000

Secretary of State, Treasurer and Auditor: \$50,000

State Senator: \$15,000

State Representative: \$7,500

- Individuals who spend money genuinely independently of the candidate must place a disclaimer on the campaign materials and must file reports with the commission if they spend over \$100.
- Political parties may contribute to a candidate up to 50% of his spending limit. Other committees, funds, or individuals may contribute up to 10% of a candidate's spending limit. Independent spenders are also limited to 10%.

Other Provisions of the Law:

Establishes a bi-partisan Ethics Commission which has responsibility for administering and enforcing the provisions of the law. The Commission is composed of six members appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of three-fifths of the Senate and House of Representatives.

Learne of Works Voters of Minnegors, 55% Walkars. Ft. Foul. Chargoon 53102 - August 1974

Regulates lobbyists who are defined as one who is paid or designated by another person or association or who spends more than \$250 in a year to influence legislative or administration action (with several specific exemptions). Lobbyists are required to register with the commission and to make periodic reports of the money they spend on lobbying.

Public officials are required to file a statement of their economic interests with the commission and to report any potential conflicts of interest. These are defined as candidates for legislative and constitutional offices, members of the legislature, constitutional officers in the executive branch and their chief administrative deputies, major executive department officials, major legislative staff, members of the Metropolitan Council, Metropolitan Transit Commission, Metropolitan Sewer Board, Metropolitan Airports Commissions and other state boards and commissions which have important rule-making powers.

Public financing is provided by \$1 checkoff from income tax funds. Individuals may allocate \$1 of their taxes either to the candidates of one political party or to all qualifying candidates regardless of party affiliation. The money is allocated proportionately among the various statewide and legislative candidates.

A tax credit of up to \$12.50 for contributions to political parties and candidates is allowed, although the maximum credit for contributions to parties is \$5.00.

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blest some of all transaction to on from the recognition consisting must be made.

- Lagra in expert of \$100 (or agreements in excess of \$100) to or iros any parameter the disclosed together when the full name, address, accounting and place of business of the

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- Individuals who spend money generately and spendently of the candidate must place a

- Political parties may contribute to a candidate mit to 10% of his spending limit. Other committees, funds, or individuals may contribute up to 10% of a candidate's spending

displained on the campaign motorials and must dile responsable the camplesion if they

in excess of 5100 for star-wide capitates, together with the amount and

. Covernor and Lieutenant Sovernor ranging jointly: \$800,000

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CAMPAIGN FINANCING MONITORING

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QUESTIONNAIRE

League of	Women Voters of	On hither and that he	TE STATE OF THE ST	temath set
Monitored	reports for Legislative	District		
Candio	dates		Party	
	The Lorentz Constitution			
				-
Monitored	Reports filed for R	egistration	conomic disclosure (if available)	i en July 7
Septem	mber 5 October 10	(losers of primary)	October 31	December 5 (Final Report)
1. (a) D	id the candidates seem t	o understand and com	ply with the provision	ns of the law?
	at a de Santa por casa)	
	ere candidates cooperati	20152x (1)		- 4 - Sale 7 - 7
m n	oid you observe any violatione than the allowable at a cot reported; ruthorized by the princip	aggregate amount in e reports not filed; ev cal campaign committe	xcess of \$100 that ar ents held and not rep	e and which are orted; ads not
(5)	That action was taken? W	That were the results	2	

4.	(a)	How did your League inform the community about the law?
	(b)	Was there any public reaction to the disclosures?
5.	(a)	Through your monitoring, were you made aware of any changes needed in the law?
	(b)	Are the limits on expenditures and contributions reasonable, allowing a challenge to make a good effort against an incumbent?
	(c)	Did you observe loopholes in the process of reporting? How might they be remidied?
6.	(a)	Were there reports filed at your County Auditor's office for County officials (covered under the old Fair Campaign Practices Act)?
		of the same of the
	(b)	

Return to State League Office by December 15.

QUESTIONNAIRES TO CANDIDATES FOR LEGISLATURE Directions to Local Leagues

In the General Election, November 5, 1974, state representatives will be elected for two-year terms in all legislative districts in Minnesota. (A few senators will be elected for two-year terms to fill unexpired terms.) Some local Leagues are the only League in their district; they send questionnaires to all legislative candidates in their district. Candidate replies may be publicized in a variety of ways within their own community.

Some local Leagues are in districts where several Leagues share a legislator. In these cases, we have assigned Leagues to do parts of the job and distribute to all the other Leagues in their district the information gathered so that each League may publicize this information to its own League members and to the public.

Area Leagues will receive replies from candidates in all districts included in their areas.

"ASSIGNED LEAGUES": Send each candidate assigned to your League three copies of the questionnaire, asking him to return two copies to you by August 5, keeping one copy for his files. Mail questionnaires to candidates immediately. (Filings closed July 16 as you know!)

Send one copy of the candidates replies to the state office by <u>August 12</u>. From the remaining copy of candidates replies send candidate information to each "<u>RECIPIENT LEAGUE</u>" assigned to you by August 12.

It is the responsibility of all Leagues to publicize this candidate information in as many different ways as they can - newspapers, bulletin, mimeographed sheets. Leagues who share a newspaper may wish to cooperate in approaching their newspaper for use of this information before the Primary Election, September 10, and the General Election, November 5.

Note: If any discrepancies appear in the placement of Leagues in the districts, please inform the state office as soon as possible.

ASSIGNED LEAGUE	SENDS QUESTIONNAIRE TO		RECIPIENT LEAGUE
Crookston	House Candidates	, Dist. 2A, B	Crookston
Bemidji Area	House Candidates House Candidates		Bemidji Area Cass Lake
Mid-Mesabi Hibbing	House Candidates	A SECOND AND ADDRESS OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PR	Mid-Mesabi Hibbing
Silver Bay	House Candidates	, Dist. 6B	Silver Bay
Duluth	House Candidates	, Dists. 7,8	Duluth
Moorhead	House Candidates	, Dist. 9A, B	Moorhead
Detroit Lakes	House Candidates	, Dist. 10A	Detroit Lakes
Alexandria	House Candidates	Dist. 11B	Alexandria, Battle Lake
Cloquet	House Candidates	, Dist. 14B	Cloquet
Stevens County Granite Falls	House Candidates House Candidates		Stevens County Stevens County, Granite Falls
St. Cloud Area	House Candidates	, Dist. 17A, B	St. Cloud Area
Buffalo	House Candidates	, Dist. 18B	Buffalo
Anoka	House Candidates	, Dist. 19B	Anoka
Marshall	House Candidates	, Dist. 20B	Marshall
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House Candidates, Dist. 21A

Willmar

Willmar

ASSIGNED LEAGUE	SENDS QUESTIONNAIRE TO	RECIPIENT 2.
Hutchinson	House Candidates, Dist. 22A	Hutchinson
St. Peter	House Candidates, Dist 23B	St. Peter
Northfield	House Candidates, Dist. 24A	Northfield
West Dakota County Red Wing	House Candidates, Dist. 25A House Candidates, Dist. 25B	West Dakota County Red Wing
Rock County	House Candidates, Dist. 26B	Worthington, RRock County
Jackson-Sherburn Fairmont	House Candidates, Dist. 27A House Candidates, Dist. 27B	Jackson-Sherburn Fairmont
New Ulm	House Candidates, Dist. 28B	New Ulm
Mankato Area	House Candidates, Dist. 29A, B	Mankato Area
Wells	House Candidates, Dist. 30A	Wells
Freeborn County Austin	House Candidates, Dist. 31A House Candidates, Dist. 31B	Freeborn County Austin
Owatonna	House Candidates, Dist. 32A	Owatonna
Rochester	House Candidates, Dist. 33A, B	Rochester
Winona	House Candidates, Dist. 34B	Winona
Austin	House Candidates, Dist. 35A	Austin
Chaska	House Candidates, Dist. 36A	Chaska
Richfield	House Candidates, Dist. 37A House Candidates, Dist. 37B	Richfield, Bloomington
Bloomington	House Candidates, Dist. 38A, B	Bloomington
Edina	House Candidates, Dist. 39A House Candidates, Dist. 39B	Edina Edina, Bloomington
Minnetonka-Eden Prairie	House Candidates, Dist. 40A, B	Minnetonka-Eden Prairie
Golden Valley	House Candidates, Dist. 41A	St. Louis Park, Golden Valley
St. Louis Park	House Candidates, Dist. 41B	St. Louis Park
Westonka Excelsior-Deephaven Area	House Candidates, Dist. 42A House Candidates, Dist. 42B	Westonka Wayzata Area, Excelsior- Deephaven Area
Crystal-New Hope	House Candidates, Dist. 43A	Crystal-New Hope, Golden Valley
Robbinsdale	House Candidates, Dist. 43B	Robbinsdale, Golden Valley
Brooklyn Center Crystal-New Hope	House Candidates, Dist. 44A House Candidates, Dist. 44B	Brooklyn Center Crystal-New Hope
Brooklyn Park	House Candidates, Dist. 45B	Brooklyn Park Brooklyn Park, Brooklyn Center
Mounds View Fridley	House Candidates, Dist. 46A House Candidates, Dist. 46B	Mounds View, Fridley Columbia Heights, Minneapolis, Fridley
Blaine	House Candidates, Dist. 47B	Blaine
St. Anthony	House Candidates, Dist. 48A	St. Anthony, New Brighton, Arden Hills, Shoreview

ASSIGNED LEAGUE	SENDS QUESTIONNAIRE TO	RECIPIENT 3. LEAGUE
Roseville	House Candidates, Dist. 48B	Roseville, Shoreview
Shoreview	House Candidates, Dist. 49A	Shoreview, Mounds View, Arden Hills, Roseville
White Bear Lake	House Candidates, Dist. 49B	White Bear Lake
Mahtomedi Area	House Candidates, Dist. 50A	Mahtomedi Area, Woodbury
St. Croix Valley Woodbury	House Candidates, Dist. 51A House Candidates, Dist. 51B	St. Croix Valley Woodbury, Cottage Grove
Northern Dakota County	House Candidates, Dist. 52A, B	Northern Dakota County
West Dakota County	House Candidates, Dist. 53A	West Dakota County, Northern Dakota County
	House Candidates, Dist. 53B	West Dakota County
Minneapolis	House Candidates, Dist. 54A, B House Candidates, Dist. 55A House Candidates, Dist. 55B House Candidates, Dists. 56, 57 House Candidates, Dist. 58A House Candidates, Dist. 58B House Candidates, Dists. 59 thru 61	Minneapolis Minneapolis, Columbia Heights Minneapolis Minneapolis Minneapolis, Edina Minneapolis Minneapolis
Falcon Heights Roseville	House Candidates, Dist. 62A House Candidates, Dist. 62B	Falcon Heights, St. Paul Falcon Heights, St. Paul, Roseville
St. Paul	House Candidates, Dist. 63A, B	St. Paul
Roseville St. Paul	House Candidates, Dist. 64A House Candidates, Dist. 64B	Roseville, St. Paul St. Paul
St. Paul	House Candidates, 65A, B House Candidates, Dist. 66A, B House Candidates, Dist. 67A House Candidates, Dist. 67B	St. Paul St. Paul St. Paul, Northern Dakota County St. Paul

Legislative Districts within Congressional Districts

<u>lst</u> -17	<u>2nd</u> -15	<u>3rd</u> -16	4th -17
25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 2	Kay Grayden #693 Vine Hill Road Excelsior 55331	# # # # # # # # # # # # # # # # # # #	29 99 99 99 99 99 99 99 99 99 99 99 99 9
<u>5th</u> -18	6th -19	7th -16	8th -16
Hinneapolis 19 19 19 19 19 19 19 19 19 19 19 19 19 1	Linnea Hinz Linnar Ave.	Ken Howell 1614 Cedar Street Alexandria 56308	London Road London Road

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 555 Wabasha, St. Paul, Minnesota 55102 - September 1974

MEMO TO: Local Leagues

FROM: Shirley Westmoreland, Election Laws Chairman

RE: Monitoring Election Day Voting Procedures

September 1974

Many changes were made in the Minnesota election laws by the 1973-74 Legislature. The League lobbied vigorously for several of those changes (i.e. party designation, governor and lieutenant governor elected as a team, Ethics in Government Act, more accessible voter registration by postcard, extended registration hours). The next step in our action on election laws is to evaluate these changes and be alert to other changes that might be needed.

Action is expected in the 1975 session to recodify the election laws. A Senate subcommittee chaired by Senator Keefe is presently investigating problem areas in the laws.

The League can assist by taking a look at how well our present laws are serving us. Are they adequate to protect the right to vote of every citizen? Are changes needed? Leagues are already monitoring the campaign financing provisions of the Ethics in Government Act, and we expect the results of that monitoring to be of great value to our lobbyists during the upcoming legislative session.

Information obtained through this monitoring process should also provide useful back-ground information for your interviews on "County Auditor Day," November 21, 1974. Your League may find problems such as inadequate training of election judges which can be helped by better local training programs in future elections. Serious administrative obstacles might be found which may need to be brought to the attention of election officials responsible for administering the election laws.

Attached is an analysis sheet for the purpose of monitoring the elections process in your community. The questions are, necessarily, broad in some instances. However, we hope that you will give us some specific information so that we may have a picture of elections procedures throughout the state.

Please return the analysis sheet to the state League office before November 15. The information received from your efforts in monitoring the election day process and the campaign financing reports, together with the interviews with your county auditor will allow the state Election Laws Committee to base its legislative action on reliable facts.

Procedure

1. Your League will need to decide how extensively you will be able to participate, according to the member interest and time available. Volunteers can pollwatch (see below) in shifts throughout the election day or at limited times. Continuous pollwatching would give a more accurate picture, but you may find it necessary to cover the polling places only at certain hours. Remember -- many Leaguers serve as election judges and can discretely observe the action while they work!

As a supplement to the pollwatchers, your members can "pollwatch" when they cast their own votes. Ask each person to observe events taking place in the polling place and report any irregularities or problems.

- 2. All of your pollwatchers should be familiar with the enclosed <u>Instructions for Election</u>
 <u>Judges 1974</u> (available from Secretary of State's office) and <u>A Digest of Minnesota</u>
 <u>Election Laws</u> (copy sent in August with Campaign Techniques Kit; also available from state
 <u>League office</u>).
- 3. All your watchers should read through the questions on the "Analysis of Registration and Election Day Procedures" in advance. If you are going to ask members or election judges for their observations, they should become familiar with the questions in advance, also. Additional copies of the analysis sheet are available from the state League office for 5¢ each + postage and handling.
- 4. Pollwatchers must have permission to remain in the polling place to observe the

proceedings. A representative of your League should obtain permission as soon as possible from your county auditor's office for your members to observe the election procedure. This should be done in writing, explaining what your League is planning to do and listing each person involved in the project who will be pollwatching. The county auditor will then send back written permission. Pollwatchers are present only for the purpose of observing election procedure and must refrain from conversing with voters or interfering with the elections process in any manner.

Enclosure: Instructions for Election Judges 1974

References

Minnesota Election Laws 1974, available free from Secretary of State's office, complete compilation of election laws.

Digest of Minnesota Election Laws and Minnesota School District Election Laws (with insert), LWVMN, 35¢

Minnesota VOTER, May-June 1974, page 4; Recent Changes in Election Laws Minnesota VOTER, July-August 1973, page 3; 1973 changes in election laws.

Administrative Obstacles to Voting (60¢); Removing Administrative Obstacles to Voting (30¢), reports of the Election Systems Project, available from LWVUS.

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Election Check-up: Monitoring, Registration and Voting, 35¢, LWVUS.

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 555 Wabasha, St. Paul, Minnesota 55102 - September 1974
Pm - T

ANALYSIS OF REGISTRATION AND ELECTION DAY PROCEDURES

LWV	of	November 5, 1974
1.	Did your League register voters before the election? by which me (postcard, registration at auxiliary locations, etc.)	thod?
2.	Was the public made aware through publicity of the extended registration?	tration hours and
	to provide a production of the second contraction with the second contraction of the second cont	ga in the war
3.	Were voters registered on election day?	e e ta
		15 4 40 6514 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
	Were there long lines waiting to register (more than 10 people)?	Part to the
	What time of day?	71 T
4.	Did the election judges proceed according to the prescribed rules the voting and tallying process?	for administering
		on the 1100 m
	Was there an apparent need for additional training?	
	no no del designo podre con come especial del contra de	in the state of th
5.	Were any voters challenged as to their residency in the precinct? challenge resolved?	How was this
		A second to see
6.	During the election day registration process, did persons verify other which might have been questionable (i.e. a voter is registe verified for the person in line behind him, possibly not really k where his true residence is; husbands/wives verifying for each ot	red and in turn nowing the person and

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7.	Did voters receive adequate finstruction as to ballot procedures such as method of marking, folding, how to make write-in votes, what to do in the case of a spoiled ballot, instruction on using voting machines?
	Is instruction in the use of voting machines or punch card voting devices available on a demonstration or practice model?
8.	If voters have questions or need assistance, is bi- or multi-partisan help offered?
9.	Did you observe any of the following:
	intimidation of voters?
	anyone influencing voters?
	right to vote challenged by an official polling place worker?
	Or by other individuals? Explain.
	unauthorized assistance to voters? Describe.
	failure to give assistance to foreign language-speaking, blind, disabled, or illiterate voters?
0.	Was the polling place clearly and visibly marked?
	Was adequate parking available?
	Convenient to public transportation?
	Easily accessible to handicapped persons?

11. Were there long lines of persons waiting to vote? What time of day?

Were there extensive machine breakdowns?

12. Was there any abuse of the law allowing people to be driven to the polls?

Did one individual or group appear to make frequent trips bringing people?

Did your League offer to take people to the polls?

Please return by November 15, 1974 to:

LWVMN 555 Wabasha St. Paul, MN 55102

TIME FOR ACTION

To: All Local Leagues

From: Shirley Westmoreland, Election Laws Chairman

Re: Reporting of Lobbyist's Expenses, Ethics in Government Act

October 22, 1974

Background: A part of the Ethics in Government Act passed by the 1974 Legislature deals with disclosure of lobbyist's expenses for lobbying purposes. Lobbyists must register with the Ethics Commission within five days after commencing lobbying, and must file periodic reports so long as they lobby. One part of the report requires lobbyists to list total expenses in separate categories, including entertainment. Another section of the report calls for a list of each public official by name who is given or paid an honorarium, gift, loan, item or benefit equal in value to \$20 or more by the lobbyist. (The amount is not required to be listed.)

The Ethics Commission, which is responsible for the regulation of the law, is in the process of writing rules and regulations to enforce this portion of the Act. Three members (Rosemary Davis, Elizabeth Ebbott and Irene Scott) believe that entertainment of a public official by a lobbyist comes under their interpretation of "gift, item, or benefit" and that if such entertainment is equal in value to \$20 or more, the public official who is the recipient should be listed by name in the second part of the lobbyist's report.

The other three members of the Commission (David Durenburger, Judge Spencer J. Sokolowski and Stanley Holmquist) disagree with that interpretation. They do not believe that the Legislature intended to include entertainment in the second part of the report.

It takes four votes to approve the rules.

According to a transcript of floor debate on the bill in the House of Representatives, Representative Bill Clifford (District 44B), when he offered the amendment providing for disclosure, stated, "This amendment simply says that a lobbyist when reporting, has to tell the public who he entertains, who he gives money to, who he pays, for what, how much, and the date. ... the purpose is simply to disclose the facts of lobbyist expense in detail for the public." Representative Berg, sponsor of the bill, agreed. The vote was 120-0 in favor of the amendment providing for detailed disclosure.

League Position: The LWVMN has joined with Common Cause of Minnesota and the Joint Religious Legislative Council (JRLC) in support of detailed reporting of all gifts, items or benefits (including entertainment) valued at \$20 or more. We believe the intent of this portion of the law was to disclose to the public where moneys are going. Without such disclosure, the new law will not provide for any greater public scrutiny than there has been in the past. Reporting of such expenses does not imply that undue influence has been exerted.

On November 1, 1974, at 9:30 a.m., Room 15, State Capitol, the Ethics Commission will hold a public hearing on their proposed Lobbyist Rules and Regulations. Common Cause, the JRLC and the LWV will be there to testify in favor of detailed reporting, including entertainment, for all expenses over \$20.

ACTION NEEDED:

-- Write the members of the Ethics Commission individually at Minnesota State Ethics Commission, Room 74, State Office Building, St. Paul, MN 55155 urging them to vote in favor of stricter reporting of entertainment expenses.

- -- If possible, come to the hearing on November 1. The special interests will be there. We need representatives of the public interest present, too.
- -- Contact other concerned groups in your area. Urge them to write the three opposing members of the Commission and to testify at the hearing on November 1 or to submit written testimony before November 14.
- -- Write letters to the editor of your local papers. Make the public aware of what the issue is and what they can do about it.

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memorandum

The League of Women Voters of the United States

This is going on DPM.

November 25, 1974

TO: State and Local League Presidents

FROM: Ruth C. Clusen, President

RE: Section of the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974 (PL 93-443)
Affecting Organizations Who Publicize Candidates' Positions and Voting Records

As many of you know, Congressman Wayne Hays succeeded in having an amendment attached to PL 93-443 which may affect the League. The primary intent of the amendment is to force any organization which publishes the positions or voting records of candidates for <u>federal</u> office on issues where the organization also has a related stand to file financial reports as though the organization were a political committee.

Since the bill sets requirements relating to <u>federal</u> candidates only, no reporting will be required when information is published by Leagues on state, regional or local candidates. The only time such reports would be needed is if state laws or local ordinances require it.

Strictly voters service material about federal candidates is also exempt from the requirement. Leagues must be even more careful than before, however, to keep statements of League positions entirely separated from positions or voting records of federal candidates in voters service material.

The League's attorney is currently seeking an opinion from the Justice Department as to whether or not the publication of PAR, for example, will require us to file with the Federal Election Commission. The LWVUS is fully prepared to file if, indeed, it is required.

M TO: M. McCoy, E. Ebbott, J. Jenkins,

K. Borg, M. Waldo, A. Knutson

FROM: Amundson, N. Atchison, E. Weber

Shirley Westmoreland

SUBJECT Election Laws

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

PHONE: 224-5445

DATE 11-12-74

We have been asked by Senator Steve Keefe's Subcommittee on Elections to respond to a questionnaire on election laws. See attached. We have asked for a short extention mast the Dec. 1 date so that we can include any information we might get from County Auditor Day reports.

Please look at the questions, making your own comments on them. On those where our positions clearly speak, of course, we will do so. In some areas, our position is foggy and we'll need to hash over exactly what our response will be. I certainly need help in interpreting some of them, not having the background study. On still others covered by the questions, we may not have positions but might have some input from our monitoring and county auditor projects — should such info, be included?

A meeting is set for 9:30, Dec. 2, at the office to pull together our ideas for a response. If you won't be able to make it for the meeting, please send me your comments before that time.

RESPONSE SHEET ON ELECTIONS

OUR	JR NAME	
ETU	TURN TO: STATE SENATOR STEVE KEEFE, Room 328State Ca St. Paul, Minnesota 55155	pitol,
	Filing for Office	
•	Should the period during which a candidate can file b If so, how long do you think the time for filing shou week, two weeks, etc.?	ld beone
		
·•	Should there be more time between the time of filing actual election?	and the
3.	Other comments you may wish to make about filing for	public office
	Petition Candidates	
1.		candidates
1.	Do you think the number of signatures which petition must obtain is adequate?	candidates
1.	Do you think the number of signatures which petition must obtain is adequate?	petition? Wou
	Do you think the number of signatures which petition must obtain is adequate? Do you object to filing for legislative offices by report you prefer to just let the candidates file and do as	etition? Wou

4.	Other comments you may wish to make about petition candidates:
\$	
	Primaries
1.	Some people have suggested that election campaigns should be shortened by changing the dates of the filings and the primary election so that they will be closer to the general election. Others have suggested lengthening the time period to permit candidates more time to campaign. What is your opinion on this?
2.	Minnesota does not now require voter registration by party, and the voter may vote in either the DFL or Republican primary. Do you think the law should be changed to require voter registration by party to prevent primary crossovers?
3.	Should there be a requirement that a party's candidate get a certain percentage of the total vote at a primaryfor example, 15 percentto win a place on the general election ballot?
-	
4.	Should independent candidates be included on the primary election ballot?
5.	Other comments you may wish to make regarding primaries:

Ethics Law

	Do you feel that the spending limits for state candidates were too high or too low? Please give specific suggestions for changes in the limits if you were dissatisfied with them.
2.	Do you feel that the financial disclosure requirements for candidates and their committees are comprehensive enough and do you think that these requirements should be extended to candidates for local office?
3.	Did you have trouble understanding the new State Ethics Law requiring disclosure of financing or were you dissatisfied with the forms available for making financial disclosures? If so, do you have any suggestions for changes in the law or for ways to clarify the law to candidates and their committees?
_	
4.	Other comments you may wish to make about the new State Ethics Law

Election Judges, Vote Counts

•	Are you aware of any problems in trying to maintain party balance among election judges?
•	Do you have any suggestions or comments on the training of election judges?
	Are you aware of any instances where an election judge's conduct was reproachable (i.e., advising voter to vote for a particular candidate or for candidates of a particular party; the judge went into the voting booth with the voter while voting occurred; not all voters were treated equally and fairly when they cried to register to vote, etc)?
-	
_	
4.	Do you think the votes were counted accurately and fairly?
5.	Are you satisfied with the provisions for automatic re-counts in legislative races where the winning margin is 100 votes or less
-	

	Election	Day	Registration
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١.	Were you in favor of election day registration?
2.	Are you aware of any problems caused by election-day registration?
3.	Do you think that the voter identification procedures/requirements for election-day registration are adequate, too tough or too easy? If so, would you give specific suggestions on improving these procedures.
4.	Other comments you may wish to make about election-day registration or voter registration in general:
-	L
Acres 1	Party Designation and Ballot Rotation
1.	Do you think that the form of the partisan ballot which listed all DFL candidates first affected the results of the election? Please be specific.
_	
_	

100	
	Other comments you may wish to make about party designation and ballot rotation:
•	Information Sources
1.	Information Sources
1.	Information Sources Should the State sponsor public debates on issues by candidates
2.	Information Sources Should the State sponsor public debates on issues by candidates
	Information Sources Should the State sponsor public debates on issues by candidates If so, for what offices? Should the State provide voter information, in printed form, which includes information on registering and voting and allow candidates to briefly state their qualifications and positions
	Information Sources Should the State sponsor public debates on issues by candidates If so, for what offices? Should the State provide voter information, in printed form, which includes information on registering and voting and allow candidates to briefly state their qualifications and positions
	Information Sources Should the State sponsor public debates on issues by candidates If so, for what offices? Should the State provide voter information, in printed form, which includes information on registering and voting and allow candidates to briefly state their qualifications and positions

	Do you have any suggestions for improving the dissemination of information regarding election laws among candidates, election officials and voters?
	Miscellaneous Topics
1.	Do you know of any problems regarding absentee ballots?
2.	Have you heard of any problems with respect to transporting voters to the poils?
3.	Are you aware of any election-related problems which involve defamtory statements or unfair campaign practices? Please be specific.
4.	Do you think there is adequate prosecution of violators of election laws?

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SPISSON	
7	
•	Should there be mandatory uniform election dates for county, city and school board elections? If so, should these be in off-numbere years or should they coincide with statewide elections in even-numbered years?
2000	
•	This space is available for your comments on any election-related problem area not previously mentioned or for any additional suggestions or criticisms you may have for improving the election laws. If you would rather discuss an election matter in person or over the phone, please leave your phone number (area code
-	

M TO:

Kestmoreland

M SUBJECT Reply to Keefe's committee

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

PHONE: 224-5445

DATE 12-7-74

Sorry - the Strep throat bug got me down for a few days.

Please read and comment on the attached - ligh yesterday. Unless it is major, just let Harriet know so she can get it out as soon as possible.

Harriet - these have been sent to their homes. If one/of them is in the office on Monday, please have them take a minute to read it right them.

Thanks. Shirley

P.S. I am still recovering - so I should be home if you have any questions.

Filing for Office

2. No. The time now allotted between filing and the election is adequate to allow candidates to organize a campaign and make known their positions on the issues.

Petition Candidates

1. The number of signatures required does not seem to be an obstacle to those candidates who wish to run for office and provides some indication that the person is a viable candidate, with at least some base of support.

We would not wish to have the number of signatures too high.

Primaries

1. The LWV believes that the period of time between the filing and the primary and the general election should not be any longer than is presently provided for. The length of time for campaigning appears to be adequate to allow for discussion of the issues and adequate visibility to all candidates. Any legislation for shortening the campaign period should not severely restrict the time so that challengers would not have adquate time to become known.

Ethics Law

- 1. The spending limits for candidates for this election appeared to be realistic and reasonable: high enough to be enforceable and to allow both for discussion of the issues and for visibility of the candidates. Possibly, some inflation-factor provision should be made for increasing the limits in future elections.
- 2. The financial disclosure requirements for candidates were, in most respects, comprehensive enough. We believe they should be extended to candidates for local office, along with provisions for a principle campaign committee and enforcement. elections for these offices

 Since */h/*/* are not presently centrally administered, candidates do not always comply with those disclosure requirements currently in force.
- 3. An office needs to be designated where the public as well as the candidates can seek information on campaign practices laws. There is much confusion about who to call about interpretations of the laws since the Fair Campaign Practices

is not under the Ethics Commission.

4. Disalosure dates were too close to elections to allow for media publication in most races other that statewide. Public interest groups, such as the LWV, had trouble getting the information together and to the press in time for publication before elections - especially where weekly papers are the only news source.

Some restrictions appear to be needed on the transfer of funds from one candidate to another.

More pressure is needed to assure that candidates comply with all filing deadlines Wincluding final reports after primary and general election).

Copies of reports should be required to be at the County Auditor's effice at the same time as they are required to be at the Ethics Commission.

Recodify Fair Campaign Practices Act - clairfy roles of Secretary of State,

Ethics Commission, and

Attorney General.

Election Judges

- 1. Yes Parties don't submit lists in many places. The cleak doesn't always use the lists which are submitted. In most cases, it seems that just finding enough persons to serve as judges is a real problem, and party balance becomes a secondary issue.
- 2. Adequate training in standardized procedures for election judges appears to be one of the most needed election law changes. Training varies from totally inadequate to excellent and complete. The result is varying degrees of compliance with election procedures. Pay in some areas of the state is inadequate.
- 3. A few of the things observed by the Leagues:

 no provisions for write-in candidates and judges refused to make paper available

violation s of EL 362 203.22, sec. 2 - judges related to local officials tallying done under semi-secret \$\sigma \text{circumstances}\$

persons allowed to vote outside of booth - lack of adequate number of voting booths - seemed to be a problem many places - not the judges fault, of course

studentswere sometimes asked for both college ID and a driver's license did not put ballots in box until after voter had been asked to leave the polling place

Other less serious sounding occurrances were reported - just sloppy and or careless administration - but in the interest of protecting every vote, ramifications could be serious.

- 4. Several Leagues reported that because election judges in many instances were poorly trained in tallying, results in a close count could have been questionnable. Uniform vote count procedures with training is needed. A guide for those counting paper ballets as to what constitutes a spoiled ballot is needed.
- 5. Yes.

Election Day Registration

- 1. The LWV neither supported nor opposed election day registration. We did support the 1973 Omnibus Registration Bill because of its provisions for state-wide registration procedures.
- 2. Staffing was inadequate in most cases to handle the numbers who turned out and registered, even in this low voter-turnout election. Lines of people (10 or more) waiting to register were a problem in a few areas during evening rush hours possibly another judge for registering during these hours at a separate table would have helped.

The only real problem was that in some cases, it is hard for an election judge to determine precisely whether or not the address is in the prine precinct.

In one case reported, a fake address verified by another voter was not discovered until after the voters had left the polling place.

- 3. Adequate More publicity is needed about what the requirements are, however.

 There were some instances where judges did not strictly adhere to the required identification -- possibly from lack of training and knowledge.in this area.
- 4. Leagues throughout the state reported widespread use of election day registra tion by voters. If these people would not have registered ahead, and therefore not voted, then the law appears to be a good one in terms of making the voting process easier and more idiaccessible.

Several Leagues reported that large numbers of registration cards were not received at the polling place from the County Auditor's office for some reason. Those persons had to re-register before voting.

PD & Rotation

- 1. We belive it would be difficult to draw such conclusions from this election, because of the peculiar circumstances -- poor voter turn out, voter apathy, lack-luster campaigns.
- 2. No PD at those levels does not appear to add any to identifying a candidate's position on the issues. The possible exception might be the county races in Hennepin and Ramsey where party identification is closely tied to the candidates presently.
- 3. The LWV is concerned with fairness and uniform procedures in our election laws. Therefore, we believe that candidates names for partisan offices should be rotated in the same manner as those for non-partisan.

Info Sources

1. Possibly for statewide offices. Problems might be encountered because of federal legislation requiring equal time to all candidates - media is very frightened of making time available. Because we believe that political campaigns should be characterized by full discussion of the issues, we favor changes in this law which would give bona fide candidates more opportunity to discuss substantive questions. Other ways of aiding in public would be through reduced mailing charges and reduced cost of air time.

- 2. Yes. Such a publication with universal distribution would give each candidate an opportunity for minimal coverage.
- 3. Yes. Quickly obtained, uniform interpretations are needed both during the election day voting period and during the tallying period.
- 4. More emphasis could be put on getting the materials which are published out to the voters, possibly through newspapers.

Misc.

- 1. In some instances the wrong ballots were mailed (for example, wrong ballot for county commissioner) in others, parts of the ballot were missing.
- 2. No. However, see attached copy of newspaper ad.
- 5. We support uniform election procedures through extension of the election laws to cover school district elections, including mandatory voter registration.

6. yes. Off-numbered years. Possibly a shorter-but uniform-tiperiod could be allowed between the filing of the general election on those years.

SUMMARY REPORT ON REGISTRATION BY MAIL IN MARYLAND AND MINNESOTA, 1974

Summary of Study of Mail and Election Day Registration in Maryland and Minnesota (Vienna, Va.: Analytic Systems, Inc., 1975).

In 1974, both Maryland and Minnesota instituted voter registration by mail, a procedure which was examined by Analytic Systems, ${\rm Inc.}^1$ This summary presents highlights of the ASI study.

The 1974 registration innovations in the two states differed. In addition to permitting mail registration, Minnesota also provided for election day registration at the polling place for voters not previously registered who could establish their identity and residence qualifications. Maryland did not permit election day registration. Because the state procedures and election officials' records differed, the state summaries below do not always present the same kind of information.

Maryland

All Maryland counties have long had permanent registration² requiring in-person appearance by the prospective registrant. In 1974, Maryland enacted a law permitting registration by mail in five jurisdictions. (In 1975, the state law was expanded to apply to all counties in Maryland but those which exempted themselves. Only two small counties did so.)

Counties are required, under the new procedure, to make mail registration forms available for voters to complete and mail in to the registration office. The actual forms vary from county to county. The mail registration forms must be available at the registrar's office, by phone request, at certain decentralized locations, and to groups and organizations in the community for distribution. Special distribution efforts are encouraged but not required. Also, voters may still register in person.

A major feature of the Maryland law is that the voter's registration by mail is not completed until he or she receives from the registrar a voter notification form, sent by first-class, non-forwardable mail. This form tells the voter that his/her registration has been accepted. If the voter's registration application is not accepted, the voter must be told why and further information sought if necessary.

In 1974, this mail procedure was used in Baltimore City and Montgomery, Prince George's, Howard and Harford counties, representing a majority of the state's population. All jurisdictions reported success using mail registration. Ninety-three percent of all mail applications received were accepted and added to the registration lists. The percentage of administrative problems with which election officials had to deal as a result of registration by mail was small, as Table I indicates.

The cost per registration by mail in Maryland appeared low compared to the cost per in-person registration in years prior to 1974. (See Table II.) We might bear in mind that these are only estimates and that a more comprehensive cost analysis can be made as the state gains more experience with mail registration.

¹The study was made possible by a grant of funds from the Ford Foundation.

²Permanent registration means registration that is permanent as long as the voter votes periodically, in Maryland every five years, in Minnesota every four years.

Table I

Registration by Mail in Maryland 1974*

Jurisdiction	Voter Reg- istration Applica- tions (VRA) Received	Voter Not- ifications (VN) as % of VRAs	VNs returned by Postal Service as % of VNs sent	VRAs held for further information (%)	VRAs re- jected as % of VRA received	Frivolous Information given on VRAs (%)
Baltimore						
City	35,672	86%	1%	8%	5%	1%
Harford						
County	3,869	98%	**	1%	1%	**
Howard						
County	7,628	94%	**	5%	1%	**
Montgomery						
County	27,157	99%	**	**	1%	**
Prince George's						
County	14,734	98%	**	**	2%	**
Five-Jurisdic-			**			
tion Total	89,060	93%	(.3%)	4%	3%	**

(*From figures supplied to ASI by the Maryland State Administrative Board of Election Laws). (**Under 1%).

 $\begin{tabular}{ll} \hline \textbf{Table II} \\ \hline \textbf{Registration Rate and Cost Per Registration Processed in Maryland} \\ \hline \end{tabular}$

	1970		1972		1974	
	Registrations as % of Vot- ing Age Pop- ulation	Cost per Registration	Registrations as % of VAP	Cost per Registration (\$)	Registra- tions as % of VAP	Cost per Registra- tion
Baltimore City	84.2	-	71.3	1.12	61.3	. 35
Montgomery	71.3	.81	82.7	-	72.9	.44
Prince George's	56.0	-	53.4	1.03	45.5	.51
Harford	63.4	-	61.3	2.46	56.5	.52
Howard	71.4	-	74.2		63.8	NA
Average	69.3	. 81	68.6	\$1.54	60.0	.46

Maryland election officials reported to ASI that mail registration had some important benefits for them:

...The cost per registration was from one-third to one-half of the cost of inperson registration.

...Frivolous applications were virtually non-existent in the four jurisdictions that required the applicant to pay postage. Baltimore, which paid return postage, had only 1% frivolous applications.

...Out of over 89,000 mail registrations processed by Maryland officials, only two instances of fraud were reported to ASI. Both these were discovered before voting actually took place.

...Long negotiations with political parties and other groups about the location of out-of-office registration sites were no longer necessary since forms were readily available.

... The last minute registration rush was reduced.

... The voter notification provision gave election officials an important safeguard against potential fraud.

...Purging of registered voters who moved was made simple by the use of cancellation or transfer portion of the registration form.

... No Maryland jurisdiction reported any significant percentage of voter notification forms being undeliverable. Baltimore reported the highest percentage-only 1%.

...Only four percent of the Maryland VRA forms were held for further information by officials. ASI reports that "virtually all" of these forms were completed and the applicants were registered.

...Legibility of registration forms was reported to be better than under the previous system of registrars completing the forms, even in Baltimore City with a high percentage of low income residents.

Minnesota

Under Minnesota's previous election procedure, any jurisdiction of 10,000 or more peopl had to have a system of permanent, in-person registration. The registrar filled out the form and the applicant signed it. In 1974, Minnesota's new registration law provided for: universal registration in the state, registration by mail, and registration in the polling place on election day. Jurisdictions must make mail registration forms available for the voter to mail to his/her local election official (county auditor). Registration forms may be obtained by phone request, from groups distributing them, or from decentralized registration sites. As in Maryland, Minnesota provides that the voter must be notified by non-forwardable mail that he/she is registered.

The other interesting aspect of the new Minnesota law is election day registration. The prospective voter who has not registered previously goes to his/her polling place on election day. The applicant must show a valid Minnesota driver's license or non-driver identification card. Address must be currently in the precinct. If either of these identification cards is unavailable, the person may register if a qualified registered voter of that precinct swears that he/she knows the voter and knows the person is a resident of the precinct. In either case, the applicant must swear an oath attesting to the truth of the information given. A special election judge is employed in each precinct for this type of registration.

Registration at the polling place on election day proved extremely appealing to voters. In the five jurisdictions studied, election-day registration accounted for an average of 52.1% of all new registrations in 1974.

Registration costs for the five Minnesota jurisdictions were not available for 1970 or 1972, as they were for some Maryland jurisdictions. The figures below include costs for election day registration.

Table III

1974 Registration Rate and Costs Per Registration for Minnesota

Jurisdiction	Registrations as % of Voting Age Population	Costs per Registration (\$)
Minneapolis	82.5	3.00
Austin	86.7	1.30
St. Louis Park	80.2	.87
Moorhead	93.1	2.25
St. Paul	80.9	.58
Average	84.7	\$1.60

Conclusion

The report by ASI includes its recommendations about the registration process. Some of

... Keep the mail registration form as simple as possible.

...Forms should include a detachable portion to be mailed by officials to voter's place of previous registration, if any, to cancel old registration.

...Extensive publicity should accompany any change to mail registration. The media should make available public service time for announcements about the procedure.

as to reach as many potential voters as possible.

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 555 Wabasha, St. Paul, Minnesota 55102 - January 1975

Memo to: Local League Presidents

From: Shirley Westmoreland, Election Laws Chairman

Re: Income Tax Check-Off

January 24, 1975

It's Income Tax Time!

The 1974 Minnesota State Income Tax forms provide space (see Part I, Minnesota State Elections Campaign Fund) for designating \$1.00 (\$2.00 if filing a joint return) for the State Elections Campaign Fund. A similar tax check-off is available on federal tax forms for the Presidential Elections Fund to meet campaign expenses of the 1976 Presidential election (see Line 8 on Form 1040).

The LWV supported the laws which created these public campaign funds; we must act now to call public attention to the check-off.

The taxpayer may designate that the \$1.00 for the State Elections Campaign Fund be paid into the account of a political party or into the general account to finance the election campaigns of statewide and legislative candidates. The money will then be disbursed in an equal amount to each candidate who receives at least 5% of the vote cast for the statewide office for which he was a candidate in the general election (10% minimum for legislative races).

The Federal Presidential Election Fund provides for full financing of Presidential general elections up to a maximum of \$20 million for a candidate of a major political party. Other parties may qualify depending on the number of votes received. Matching public financing for primaries of 50% for the first \$250 of any contribution is provided after a candidate achieves a threshhold of \$5,000 of such contributions in 20 states. National party conventions will be financed up to \$2 million. That figure is also the limit that a convention may spend. No congressional public financing is included.

If the taxpayer checks the "yes" box(es), it will not increase his tax or reduce his refund.

What your League can do:

- 1. Remind your members through your bulletins.
- 2. Public service spot announcements reminding the taxpayers of the check-off will be sent by the state PR chairman to radio stations throughout the state. Listen for them call your local station and ask them to use the announcements.
- 3. Write a letter to the editor of your local paper. Be sure to include some of the arguments for supporting the public funding and making it work.
- 4. Have your units make posters for local libraries and shopping centers.
- 5. Run off mimeographed flyers for local distribution.
- 6. Ask for public service time on your local TV station or cable TV network.

References:

- 1. Documents: Background for National League Program 1974-76; LWVUS Pub. #521
- 2. August-September VOTER; LWVUS

League of Women Voters of the U.S. 1730 M Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

THIS IS GOING ON DPM
March 24, 1975

STATEMENT TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS AND CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

of the

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

by

RUTH C. CLUSEN

PRESIDENT, LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES

on

HR 939 et al, extending for ten years certain provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and making permanent the ban against certain prerequisites to voting.

Mr. Chairman, members of the Committee, I am Ruth Clusen, President of the League of Women Voters of the United States. With me today is Judith Heimann, member of the Board of Directors of LWVUS and chairman of the Representative Government committee. We thank you for this opportunity to present the views of our members regarding the various pieces of voting rights legislation that this subcommittee is considering.

The League of Women Voters of the United States, a nonpartisan citizen organization, has members in all 50 states as well as the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. Ours is an organization whose very existence is based on citizen participation in government—and specifically on expanding and protecting voting rights. In fact, the League was established in 1920 by the women who had finally won the battle for female suffrage. And League members are as committed now as they were in the beginning to making the right to vote a reality for all citizens. I address this subcommittee, therefore, on behalf of a representative, an informed, and a concerned constituency who have perhaps longer and more consistently than any other citizen group studied, analyzed and struggled to overcome the obstacles that keep citizens from full participation in the electoral process.

In a democratic society, no right is more fundamental than the right of every citizen to vote. Indeed, the vote is the very symbol of democracy. It is the first premise of our representative form of government, the major vehicle through which the consent of the governed is offered or withheld, the prime means by which the American people can express and effect their will. The right to vote, therefore, necessarily carries with it the right to make one's way, on an equal footing with every other eligible citizen, through the formal system of regulations and procedures that surround the casting of a ballot. And it also implies that, for the good of all citizens, pruning is still in order-in fact, overdue--when it comes to the high hedges some jurisdictions still keep around the ballot box.

The LWVUS' 1974-76 national program for action, adopted unanimously by our national convention in May, 1974, reiterates the basic tenets under which the League operates. To quote from that statement:

"Citizen participation in government is basic to the democratic process and is therefore the cornerstone of the League's political purpose. The

League acts in the public interest on political issues. We also act to enlarge citizen participation: to open up electoral and other governmental processes, to protect the right of every citizen to vote..."

Under that authorization, I appear today in support of HR 939, extending sections 4 and 5 of the Voting Rights Act for ten years and making permanent the ban on the use of literacy or other tests as prerequisites to registration and voting. We also think the act should be expanded to provide coverage for non-English-speaking minorities, where such minorities make up more than 5% of the voting age population. The method which Congresswoman Jordan has proposed in HR 3247 appears to us to be the most prudent step in that direction. The League must rely on the expertise of this subcommittee, however, to devise language which is effective and yet which also guarantees that a court challenge would not endanger existing essential provisions.

Three weeks ago, you saw excerpts from the King movie which brought back to all of us the physical abuse to which black people were subjected as recently as 1965 when they attempted to register. Too few of us were aware of these practices until a charismatic leader attracted the attention of the nation. While such blatant acts may not be prevalent now, and real progress has been made since passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965, the act has certainly not yet achieved its goal. As Representative Andrew Young said to you last month, only 105 of the 900 covered counties in Georgia have really implemented the original act; and "the more successful you get in registration, the more the subtle subterfuges surface." 1

Our members report attempts, both overt and covert, to circumvent the law. The League of Women Voters of Alabama writes of many kinds of problems, from list-purging to obstructive polling place officials:

"There is no system for automatic re-identification in Alabama and poll books are consequently filled with voters now dead or long since moved away from the state. In 20 of Alabama's 67 counties there are more registered voters than there are residents over the age of 18. Re-identification is bound to come. When it does, large numbers of black voters will undoubtedly be purged from the rolls unless provision is made for notification by registered mail—and this seems unlikely to happen in Alabama. The black voter who usually doesn't see the papers will be the first to suffer, and with our restrictive registration system it will be extremely difficult to re-register these votes...

"Officials are usually poorly trained and sometimes deliberately unhelpful. For example, during the primary of May 1974 in Auburn, one candidate for county commissioner was a black man who had fairly wide support throughout the county. In a predominantly white polling place an Auburn election official told voters as they entered the machine, 'Mr._____ is colored--I knew you would want to know.'"²

A history of economic intimidation of minorities has not ended in spite of passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act or the 1965 Voting Rights Act. That kind of intimidation continues to be applied in the electoral sphere. We need, therefore, the specific protection this Voting Rights Act extension affords minorities as they seek their rightful place on the American political scene. Let me cite some examples of the

¹ Congressman Andrew Young in testimony before the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Civil Rights and Constitutional Rights, February 26, 1975.

 $^{^2}$ Letter from Olivia H. Harrison, Secretary, League of Women Voters of Alabama, February 6, 1975.

kinds of intimidation that still occur, documented in the field reports from Leagues and other sources. One common ploy is to threaten to refuse credit to blacks who seek to exercise the right to register and vote. This is particularly catastrophic for poor rural residents with seasonal incomes who rely on credit at the community grocery store or auto repair shop. Threats of firings aimed at those whose living standard is already marginal at best are powerful deterrents to citizen participation. A threat of eviction is devastating to a black tenant farmer who wishes to register and vote. Verbal abuse, threats of economic reprisals, especially in rural areas of the South, are often enough to hold down minority participation. But if threats do not suffice to discourage the determined, action often follows. Actual firings, actual evictions, actual stoppage of credit give meaning to the threats. I should add here, that while subtle, or even blatant, harassment has its greatest effect on those living on marginal income or hampered by illiteracy, intimidation is not reserved for them alone. We note that threats of loss of employment can also be effective against minority school teachers and school principals. 4

Yet the old and the illiterate are the ones who suffer most: they are the ones who must ask for help at the polls or the registration office. Asking a white and hostile poll worker to help you vote for a black candidate is more than many illiterate blacks can bring themselves to do, nor can they check on whether or not their votes were actually cast for the candidates of their choice. The appointment of black poll workers and poll watchers is still rare in the rural south.

The reasons for extending the act are many: because demonstrable advances have been made; but also because we still have a long way to go.

There is no doubt that the act has had an effect on the ability of minorities to exercise their right to vote. Furthermore, this act has been of great symbolic importance to the nation as a statement of national commitment to equal access of all to the ballot.

- . By 1967, two years after passage of the act, registration of both blacks and whites in covered jurisdictions was up. The increases in registration of blacks were startling, even though large percentage gaps remained. In Mississippi, for example, the percent of eligible blacks registered in 1967 (59.8%) was almost nine times what it had been in March of 1965 (6.7%). These figures are even more persuasive when we see that the increase between 1960 and 1965, before enactment of the act, was only .06%.5
- . In 1967, the gap between registration rates of whites and blacks in covered jurisdictions was still 29%. By 1970, this average registration gap was reduced to 24%, and 1974 figures for the three Southern states that now maintain statewide records by race indicate an average gap of 11 percentage points. Yet many of the most severe problems of non-participation occur in rural areas in the South. Lacking accurate racial data, we can not document that the gap is considerably greater than 11% in all those areas, but on-the-scene observations (see "Mississippi Post-Mortem, The 1971 Elections" by Lester Salamon) give as much substantiation as is possible. Moreover,

³See Lester Salamon, "Mississippi Post-Mortem: The 1971 Elections," New South (Winter 1972), pp. 43-47; Lester Salamon and Stephen Van Evera, "Fear, Apathy and Discrimination: A Test of Three Explanations of Political Participation," American Political Science Review, Vol. 67 (December 1973), pp. 1288-1306.

⁴U.S. Civil Rights Commission, <u>The Voting Rights Act: Ten Years After</u> (1975) Chapter 7.

⁵U.S. Civil Rights Commission, <u>Political Participation</u> (1968)

1972 Bureau of Census figures show that in comparing participation rates in $\underline{\text{non-}}$ metropolitan areas in the North and West as opposed to the South, the gap is still almost twice as great in the South.

. Objections by the Justice Department under section 5 have prohibited practices designed to cancel the impact of increased numbers of black voters. Congressman Young referred in his testimony before this subcommittee to gerrymandering in Atlanta. He noted that a Justice Department objection was essential to force redistricting so that a black congressional candidate could be elected to represent a predominantly black population.

While the LWVUS does not support or oppose candidates, we believe that elected public officials should be responsive to their constituents and accountable for their actions. Where the Voting Rights Act has enforced this accountability and responsiveness, we think the American people get better representation, of whatever color or ethnic group. When public officials don't have to care what significant proportions of the population think, their exercise of power tends to become capricious.

Though real advances have been made under the act, the need for extension, both to ensure further progress and to prevent regression, is well documented. We note, for instance, that in some Mississippi counties with majority black populations there are no black elected county officials, and there was only one black state legislator in Mississippi in 1974. Moreover, the Voter Education Project has found that, of 79,000 elected officials in the South, less than 2% are black. These figures certainly give cause for reflection.

A 1971 survey undertaken in 251 communities by the League of Women Voters Education Fund found that, while over three-fourths of local election officials interviewed saw no flaws in these registration and voting procedures, in these same communities, citizens involved in registration or get-out-the-vote campaigns were pointing to serious problems. Mr. Herman Sillas of California has testified before this subcommittee about obstacles to registration and voting created by official attitudes. Our survey shows that his comments must be heeded.

For minorities in the South or in the Southwest who are poor, rural, uneducated, or undereducated, even small stumbling blocks are often enough to prevent them from registering and voting altogether. And such complications abound:

-- Registration and polling places are inconvenient.

- -- Registration days are often well-kept secrets--unscheduled or poorly advertised.
- -- Registration offices are closed arbitrarily--often just as groups of blacks or Chicanos plan to register.
- --Hours are geared to the convenience of those with leisure--for example, no hours on Saturdays or in the evening.
- --Often, there are no (or too few) minority registrars or polling place workers, an especially important factor when illiterates or non-English-speaking citizens need help.
- -- Registrars make arbitrary demands for identification from blacks seeking to register.
- --Lists are purged for nonvoting, often with inadequate notice, and re-registration is required, when registering in the first place was difficult.

In effect, complex procedures which can frustrate anyone become insurmountable barriers for the poor and uneducated. An illustration occurred just across the river from the Capitol. In Virginia, names are purged after four nonvoting years. In late 1973 the Alexandria registrar decided to stop publishing notification in a local paper and just post the names at City Hall. The majority of Alexandria's blacks were among

⁶U.S. Civil Rights Commission, <u>The Voting Rights Act: Ten Years After</u> (1975), Appendix, p. 51.

those whose names would have been posted, not published. Fortunately this proposal was not carried out, but only because of strenuous objections.

The Alabama League of Women Voters in the letter I have already quoted, adds:
"It is particularly important that the Voting Rights Act stay in effect
for Alabama until the state election code is improved or re-written. As
it stands now, the code is extremely restrictive regarding registration of
voters, absentee registration, absentee voting, and voting procedures.

"The whole system of registration in Alabama is discriminatory. In Lee County, for example, the Board of Registrars meets [to conduct registration] only on the first and third Mondays of each month from 9 to 12 and from 1 to 4 p.m. Occasionally in odd-numbered years extra days are given and the board travels to communities in Lee County for a day or usually a half a day. These visits are advertised in the legal notices of the paper, as required by state law, but unless an organization like the League announces the registration on the radio or by a telephone committee, few people know the registrars are coming. Moreover, the registrars themselves are often reluctant to register blacks. They are usually elderly citizens, appointed by the governor, his secretary of agriculture or the state auditor (each official can appoint one of the three registrars), poorly trained in clerical work, and poorly paid for the work that they do."

Marian Anderson of the LWV of Arizona has reported problems in Arizona counties covered by the Voting Rights Act. In Tuba City, Coconino County, there are two precincts where large numbers of Navajos live. Navajos experienced voting problems in the 1974 election in both precincts. They waited up to four hours to vote because there were not enough bilingual election officials to translate information and instructions into Navajo. Moreover, a separate polling booth for school board candidates was set up in each of these two precincts, so that voters had to use two booths. This time-consuming arrangement was not used in other precincts in Coconino County where fewer Navajos were voting. 7 Even in those states where substantial progress has been made under the act, the pressure it exerts for improvement is still needed. The League of Women Voters of Virginia takes the position that their state still needs to be covered by the Voting Rights Act: the state legislature reluctantly liberalizes restrictive election laws and local administrators interpret existing laws narrowly. To paraphrase the Virginia letter further, election officials cite money problems to justify inaction while spending heavily on legal battles to remove Virginia from coverage of a law designed to guarantee every American's right to vote!8

The President of the League of Women Voters of South Carolina has written us:

"Our Representative Government-Voting Rights Chairman believes we still have a long way to go and without the Voting Rights Act many communities and the legislature will say 'We are okay now - we don't need to do any more.' She recognizes that the act does cause South Carolina problems, but thinks we have made too much progress under it to give it up yet. My own thinking, from a fairly limited vantage point, perhaps, is that on the whole progress has been made in opening up the process. There is still much to be done in making voting easier and more accessible to all citizens, not just to the blacks. Our local and state Leagues are working hard on all fronts.... In my January, 1975 statement before our congressional delegation I made reference to the Voting Rights Act. Senator Thurmond questioned me at the hearing

⁷Telephone call, March 6, 1975.

⁸Letter from Dorothy Nieweg, Co-chairman, Election Laws, League of Women Voters of Virginia, dated January 29, 1975.

about the League's support of this, asking if I didn't think it was unfair to single out the southern states. I agreed that in some ways it was but stated firmly that, while South Carolina had made progress in opening up the system, both he and I and everyone in the chamber that day knew that some towns and counties would only change if forced to."9

The question has been raised in these hearings as to why extension of sections 4 and 5 of the Voting Rights Act is necessary in view of the judicial remedies available under section 3. The League agrees that the remedies under section 3 are important, particularly in those areas not covered under section 4 (a) or where discriminatory practices are not subject to review because they were in force before 1964. But the value of sections 4 and 5 is that they place the burden of proof on the jurisdiction which has allegedly discriminated rather than on the individual or class that has been discriminated against. Case-by-case litigation to guarantee voting rights is a long, hard row to hoe. Voting is a right, not a privilege; and those who might deny it should be the ones to prove their case.

Some have also questioned the incentives for covered jurisdictions to improve their performance. A number of compelling answers come to mind:

- 1. League members are convinced that coverage itself has forced election officials to live up to Constitutional guarantees. Our members are also convinced that if coverage were removed, some jurisdictions would regress.
- 2. Reapportionment will follow the 1980 census. To ensure that minorities not be deprived of representation at all levels of government, oversight must extend through this period of realignment in jurisdictions where abuses have occurred in the past.
- 3. The right to vote is guaranteed under the U.S. Constitution. Yet John Lewis of the Voter Education Project was forced to remark at the annual meeting of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights this January, "It is demeaning for minorities to have to petition the government for the exercise of their basic constitutional rights to vote—especially every 5 or 10 years." As far as we're concerned, the offense to state sensibilities caused by the requirement of pre-clearance for proposed changes in voting procedures is the lesser of two evils, so long as minority voting rights are denied in any way.

The Voting Rights Act has come under criticism as being a "regional" act, legislation that singles out one section of the country and burdens that region with federal regulations concerning the right to vote. However, the Congress worded the 1970 amendment to cover any area that in 1968 had a registration rate or a voter turnout rate of under 50% of the voting age population and maintained a test or device as a prerequisite to registration or voting. This "triggering clause," it should be emphasized, applies to any part of the nation which meets its conditions. Thus the act was designed to apply not to a geographic area but to a particular problem—that of low voter registration and participation, particularly as it occurred among minorities. It so happens that the specific applications of the act have occurred most extensively in the South, because that is where the problem most commonly has existed. But the act does not apply exclusively to the South now, nor did it in its inception. Other areas with the same problem—in the Southwest, for example—have come under coverage of the act.

The presidential voting turnout rates for 1964 and 1968, the current basis for the triggering clause of the Voting Rights Act, show clearly that Southern states have lower rates than the average for the United States and were in 1964 under the 50%

⁹Letter from Barbara W. Moxon, President, League of Women Voters of South Carolina, dated February 7, 1975.

figure prescribed in the act and its amendments. The covered jurisdictions in other sections of the country likewise had a low participation rate AND maintained a test or device for registration or voting.

Low voter participation has many causes, some of which I have already mentioned. The nature of the candidates and the degree of political party identification and activity among voters also affect participation rates. But the Voting Rights Act has dealt with the problem of low voter participation in places which have imposed literacy or other tests as prerequisites for participation. Congress found that such tests do fall most heavily on certain segments of the population—minorities—and unduly hamper the implementation of the Fifteenth Amendment. It seems clear that legislation like the Voting Rights Act can give minorities in covered areas at least minimum protection and minimum encouragement to participate—to feel that the weight of the federal government's commitment to equal rights is behind their efforts to register, to campaign, to vote, to run for office—in short, to exercise those rights which are ours under the Constitution.

One of the problems in determining whether discrimination exists, or progress has been made to eliminate discrimination, is that many state election officials do not keep records of registration and voting rates by race. While field research done by scholars or by citizen organizations active in a particular location can give the necessary figures for certain places, overall estimates are hard to come by. Even the Civil Rights Commission has had difficulty in obtaining up-to-date and reliable statistics. And the Voter Education Project, Inc., while keeping close tabs on registration and voter rates for blacks, can often only offer estimates. Even harder to obtain than registration rate figures are voter turnout figures by race. One scholar studying voting patterns in Mississippi in 1971 concluded that the voter turnout rate for whites was about 70-75%, while the black voter turnout rate was still under 50% of the voting age population, 10 but such research findings for the nation as a whole do not exist.

Although the Bureau of the Census is required by Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to conduct surveys to determine the level of voter registration and voter turnout by race, the bureau has never done this. The surveys which are done by the Census Bureau call for persons interviewed to report whether they are registered and whether they voted. Results are unreliable because of an "overreporting" factor—more people say they registered or voted than is ever actually the case. This lack of records indicates, we believe, the need for some reliable collection of racial data on registration and voting to facilitate the enforcement of the Voting Rights Act.

Many steps could be taken by federal agencies under existing law to assure minority citizens their right to vote. Among those put forth by the Civil Rights Commission, the League endorses:

- . Aggressive action by the Justice Department
 - a) to monitor covered jurisdictions so that pre-clearance occurs and to enforce section 5 provisions to ensure that discriminatory practices are forestalled;
 - b) to request that the Civil Service Commission send examiners and observers into those covered jurisdictions where minority election participation is significantly lower than that of whites;

. Positive action by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to end discrimination in the employment of registration and election workers;

¹⁰ Lester Salamon, "Mississippi Post-Mortem: The 1971 Elections," New South (Winter 1972), pp. 43-47.

. Conduct of accurate surveys by the Bureau of the Census on registration and voting rates by race and ethnicity.

With respect to the action which Congress must take before August 6, 1975, the League supports extension of sections 4 and 5 for ten years, rather than five, because of the reapportionment due after the 1980 census. Furthermore, the real impact of the Section 5 clearance procedure has been felt for only four years: a favorable interpretation by the courts did not come until 1969 (Allen v. State Board of Education 393 U.S. 544) and regulations to implement the section were not issued until 1971.

Inasmuch as we see no reason for setting two standards for registration, one for those who can read and one for those who can't, we also support a permanent ban on literacy tests. There are many ways these days to get enough information to make a thoughtful political judgment; and the ability to read in no way guarantees that a judgment will be thoughtful! On the other hand, we're not endorsing illiteracy as a general good. Illiteracy is not only a political but also a social and economic liability, and—though it is not the function of this subcommittee to do so—the Congress should address this problem.

As for expanding the act to cover non-English-speaking minorities, we are convinced that, regardless of federal court rulings and individual Justice Department opinions, an explicit congressional directive is necessary to place the full force of federal support behind the right to vote of non-English-speaking minorities. We believe Representative Jordan's proposal in HR 3247 is perhaps the wisest direction to move at this time. Congresswoman Jordan would define "test or device" so that failure to provide bilingual registration and election materials would constitute a test where more than 5% of the voting age population are non-English-speaking. It is, however, your responsibility to define how best to provide guarantees for the non-English-speaking while maintaining the continued force of sections 4 and 5.

In conclusion, the primary concern of the League of Women Voters is extension of those sections of the Voting Rights Act which would otherwise expire in August of this year. We also favor an expansion to provide the act's protection for non-English-speaking minorities. Many Americans have waited for too long for the chance to exercise their constitutional right to vote. The League respectfully urges this subcommittee, therefore, to take the necessary action to ensure that the Congress will pass a bill so that it can become law before the August deadline.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

April 21, 1975

Andrea Anglin
Legislative Action Department
League of Women Voters of the United States
1730 M Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Ms. Anglin,

In response to your inquiries about Minnesota's experience with postcard registration, I enclose a copy of our survey of County Auditor interviews after the 1974 General Election -- the first statewide elections under our 1973 law were that and the Primary Election in September, 1974. This is the only information we have in our office on this matter; it is interesting to note that 8 to 10% of the counties in Minnesota do not require pre-registration; there is nothing in our state law that requires them to institute pre-registration. In other words, pre-registration by postcard in Minnesota is now operative in 88 to 90% of the state only.

There are no instances of willful fraud in postcard registration in Minnesota. There is also no way to determine the number of registrations received by mail, since records are not required to be kept by the county auditors (to whom such postcard registrations are sent) that detail the source of the cards received (as to mail, walk in, at a county fair booth, etc.)

On Tuesday, April 8, 1975, Minnesota's Secretary of State, Joan Anderson Growe, testified before a House committee in Washington in favor of the postcard registration legislation. Please contact the House committee for details from her testimony, which is on file with the committee; we do not have a copy in our office and copies are not available to the public.

Now, we in Minnesota need some information from your office. We know that the findings of the elections study conducted by the LWVUS and the National Municipal League, in which some of our Leagues in MN participated and in which I personally participated by conducting the state-level inquiries, all indicated that post card registration, federally, is not the best way to go; testimony by directors of that study in 1973 before Congressional Committees indicated that the study favored door-to-door registration as the best, most accurate, least fraud-ridden, and even most economical way to register more voters. We wrote from Minnesota when our postcard registration bill was up for consideration in our legislature for information about how LWVUS stood on postcard registration (early in 1973) and learned the information cited just above.



You can imagine, therefore, our surprise when we learned in the National Board Report in Jan., 1975, that LWVUS will now be supporting postcard registration federally. To date we have received no background information showing the statistical or philosophical basis for this turnabout on the part of the LWVUS on this critical issue. We feel we need to know the basis for your decision, in some detail, so that we may answer the inquiries from our members and also from Leagues in other states who inquire how our postcard system works in Minnesota.

Specifically, we should like to know whether you have found any anwser to the chief objection raised by opponents of federal postcard registration: how do you propose to deal with registration by mail from rural areas whose only location description is "Rural Route" or "Star Route"? Would these not be very confusing to the Federal Registration Commission, under the proposed bill, which is supposed to determine to which local authority for which precinct this registrant is supposed to be assigned? I would appreciate a prompt reply to this question, as it is one we are being asked by opponents of the system; in Minnesota, registration cards are sent to County Auditors, who have to decide just where that rural route is, and frankly, this can be a very time-consuming job; one county auditor in a rural county said he even has to check the original plat books in some cases. Can you picture the confusion a federal registration commission could have sorting out precincts among the 7,000 counties in the United States? Do you have an answer, now that LWVUS is supporting passage of this legislation? If so, please let me know!

I look forward to your reply with great interest. Minnesota's postcard experience will be necessarily different from other states due to our registration on election day provisions in the law, when the same card is used as is used by mail. Thank you for your consideration of my assorted comments and inquiries.

Cordially yours,

Mary Ann McCoy President

cc: Irene Janski, Organization Chairman
Carol Touissaint, PR Chairman
Mary Waldo, State Election Laws Committee

copies to - Borg - Knutson - McCoy - Office

Memo to Jean Reeves, Election Laws Chairman (Copies to Jenkins, Borg)

From Mary Ann McCoy

Re: OUTLOOK FOR WORK, 1975-1976 plus "whereabouts of Election Laws Files?"

June 17, 1975

First the Whereabouts: I was under the impression (strong) that Shirley Westmoreland brought her files into the office when she had to resign and that Karlyn Fronek has whatever Shirley used to have. I am sorry I know no other news on that. I do know that I turned over to Marion Watson when she became Legislative Action Chairman a very complete file of my Election Laws research and action files, and I think that file never did emerge, even though it was repeatedly sought by Fran Boyden during her tenure as Legislative Action Chairman -- I know how sorely I needed it during the years after Marion left the Board, and indeed it probably accounts for my penchant for making double copies of everything ever since. Let this be a gentle reminder to you, Jean, to keep abundant copies as insurance against what may be epidemic in election laws files: misplacement!

OUTLOOK FOR WORK:

I forecast about eight areas you may wish to consider as you begin to assemble your committee (and you'll surely need one -- to aid in research and to aid in being an "at the capitol" lobby/observing corps, since both the Senate and House committees tend to function differently and need watching and prodding in this area):

- (Note: You will recall the overwhelming lack of member interest in this item; it is seen, I suspect, as a good one to keep on our Program, but not a member study/update reading priority -- surely not one that needs to have unit time scheduled; perhaps you may wish to treat one or another of the items with some kind of workshop to which members and other organizations may come-you may want to include another as one of the Focus program topics; you will surely want to use as much space as our VOTER editor allows you to present updated material on some other ones from the list; you may choose to do a background sheet or two that can go out with a Board Memo mailing, I to a League, and extra copies available to be ordered (at a price!) to be attached to their local bulletins or duplicated on their own.)
- 1. Are you also handling "Voting Rights" from the national Program? "Representative Government"? In other words, if you are handling info. on the Extension of the Federal Voting Rights Act of 1965 (currently passed House, being debated U.S. Senate), you will want to look into how Minnesota will be handling the bilingual elections made mandatory by Title III of the act and which appear to apply to Cass and Beltrami counties due to Indian language population there. Has quite a tie-in with our Indian position, incidentally.
- 2. "Federal postcard registration" is still being debated, and we do have a voteyes stand, LWVUS-wise, but they (LWVUS) need to have some prodding from a state
 like MN which would be greatly affected should the federal law require different
 information from our state postcard system. Members need to know about this -and Congressman Frenzel's public opposition to it has contained some downright
 errors -- Secretary of State Growe has testified in support of parts of the bill,
 pointing out places it needs work. LWVMN could do a neat wrapup on this to help
 our members interpret this to their communities.

- 3. On our state item, we have good support of election judge training, and SF 661 is on the floor now and could see quick action, especially if LWV takes active public rule, when Legislature reconvenes 1/27/76 making training mandatory -- funds to prepare the materials and staff secretary of state's office for this purpose are approved by the current biennial budget for that office, so only the mandatory approval stands in way of making it really effective! Without passage of SF 661, the training will be offered, but no one will be expected to take it! But it will be offered by the secretary of state as part of overall responsibility for elections in state -- a first! LWV could do an interim campaign for SF 661 by simply getting some of the "horror stories" we all know from our experience as judges or poll challengers or returns reporters gathered into a mimeo piece and distributing it to the press, to other organizations, to our own members in a clip-to-their-bulletins piece.
- 4. A bill to make all elections -- schools, too -- held the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November each year is moving through the Legislature; I know we have no position, but I think you could provide information to members on this as a lively issue and as something that does pertain to our position for centralizing authority for conduct of election in the secretary of state -- presently school elections are not part of that authority, but such a law would bring all those elections under the general election law code-- incidentally, we do have a position on that, from our study of school election laws -- you may want to look into this: contact chief author of HF 349, Rep. Paul McCarron of Fridley, for more information.
- 5. Under the centralizing of authority in secretary of state, our members should be updated on the whole concept of authorizing vote recording and vote tallying machines for use in Minnesota. Used to be in the "Voting Machine Commission" purview, but 1975 session abolished that commission and gave sole authority to license and regulate use of voting machines in state to secretary of state! An advisory committee to look into qualifications and rules, etc., can be appointed by secretary of state, but secretary of state remains the final word on who gets to be licensed; LWV could bring this to public notice -- push for appointing such a committee, ask to be on it, etc. Much interest in computerizing voting by other vendors than the monopoly now granted to Votomatic in the state (no other is yet licensed; yet there are about 7 or 8 other vendors, with some very impressive track records for accuracy, speed, etc. -- now in use in other states).
- 6. The campaign financing position can lead us to active monitoring of how the Ethics Commission is really operating, and so can the Organization of State Government item, since it was under that, that we favored combining some of the administrative functions of the Ethics Committee with secretary of state's elections office -- how is it working? What is the mood in regard to corporations giving to nonpartisan voting campaigns like get out the vote and get registered? Ethics Commission says some pretty strict things -- what does our law say? Can it be changed? A bill is in the Legislature to specifically allow corporations to give to such nonpartisan efforts -- and what about union-dues-related-contributions? Our members need to be aware -- through VOTER articles, maybe a Focus program on this?
- 7. Rotation of names on ballot -- we followed this in 1975; it will need watching; presently it appears stalled on rotation of party columns and/or putting one party at top in presidential years and the other at top in state officers-elect (governor) years. Neither speaks to our position of rotation within each office. We need some more recent research on impact of 1st place on vote results in both partisan and nonpartisan races; you may wish to see if you can get some students to do this research as part of a for-credit internship to the LWV! Ask Pat Lucas how the Hamline University interne we authorized really worked out in fact -- I believe we were asked to have him/her for 1 month -- I feel that this is something we might actively pursue in some local League where there is a college --

hmmmmm, Northfield? as an adjunct to our state research, and it could be on a state item like this that sorely <u>needs</u> lots of additional research. This is a kind of development, actually, since we are seeking information -- and again, it is <u>not</u> being prepared for unit discussion and decision, but to background our existing body of information and update it.

8. Our position for mandatory voter registration statewide is in danger by a sleeper put through in the state department's appropriations bill -- allowing any county with no population center (city) of 10,000 population or greater to opt out of the voter registration laws' provisions, by resolution of the county board. 64 of our 87 counties are affected by this. The 1973 voter registration law repealed any provisions for conducting elections without permanent registration, and this 1975 provision does not restore any of the needed laws to speak to these procedures! Furthermore, in any county so opting, when its major city gets to be 10,000 population or more, the whole county goes back on registration again! The initial costs of county-wide registration, permanent, have been incurred: files, cards, staff; to go back now would be a real mess -- maybe the LWV could really point this out to their counties and urge them to go slow on the resolutions until 1976 session which could possibly repeal that opting provision tucked into that other bill without public hearing in the closing days of the 1975 session. That could be a real role for the League and put in a good lick for our long-held position for permanent voter registration, and pre-registration as well! Check our Program for Action book for wording of that part of the item.

End of my sketched thoughts on an OUTLOOK; no priorities are indicated by member comment or Convention direction, so you have a clear track in setting out some choices for the Board -- and for your committee! Good luck!

7 Selene

JUL 28 1975

MIKE MANSFIELD, MONT.
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STUART SYMINGTON, MO.
CLAIBORNE PELL, R.I.
GALE W. MC GEE, WYO.
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PAT M. HOLT, CHIEF OF STAFF ARTHUR M. KUHL, CHIEF CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

July 23, 1975

Ms. Jerry Jenkins
President
League of Women Voters of Minnesota
555 Wabasha
St. Paul, Minnesota 55102

Dear Ms. Jenkins:

Many thanks for your telegram urging my support for S. 1279, the pending bill to extend for 10 years the special provisions of the Voting Rights Act and to extend the protections of the Act to language minorities.

I just wanted to let you know that I am a cosponsor of this vital legislation, and I have been working closely with my Senate colleagues for its passage. Be assured of my continued efforts.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

ELECTION LAWS ENACTED DURING 1975 from Office of Secretary of State

- Chapter 5 Codification of Election Laws This law rearranges many provisions of the election code, specifically Chapters 202, 203 and 204, and many provisions of Chapter 210 as Chapters 202A, 203A and 204A. Chapters 200, 201, 205, 206, 207, 208 and 209 are not recodified by this law. Chapters 202, 203 and 204 and some provisions of Chapter 210 are repealed after their content is placed elsewhere.
- Chapter 20 Town Meetings Requires annual town meetings to convene at 9 a.m. or at (S.F. 248) later time set at previous annual meeting. (Minn. Stat. § 365.54)
- Chapter 61 Examination of Voting Machines The Voting Machine Commission is abolished (H.F. 412) by this law. The Secretary of State examines and reports on new types of machines as to compliance with requirements of law. The Secretary of State is further authorized to adopt regulations relating to standards for examination and use of voting machines. (Minn. Stat. § 206.08)
- Chapter 72 Definition of Qualified Voters for School District Elections Since (S.F. 456) school district elections are not covered by provisions of the Minnesota Election Laws (Minn Stat. § 200.02), enactment of this law defines qualification for such voters. These qualifications are the same as the qualifications for voting in elections covered by Minnesota Election Laws. (Minn. Stat. § 123.32 subd. 1a)
- Chapter 130 Petition in Lieu of Filing Fee This law allows a person to file as a candidate by use of a petition in place of paying a filing fee. For example, a petition must be signed by 500 persons if the person is filing for the office of representative or senator in the legislature or district, county, probate or municipal judge. This petition does not fulfill nominating petition requirements. (Minn. Stat. § 202A.25 subd. 1a)
- Chapter 204 Distribution of Legislative Manual This law provides for sale of some (H.F. 1759) manuals at a price to be set by the Secretary of State with receipts to be deposited in the general fund. (Minn. Stat. § 5.08 subd. 2)

Voter Registration Exemption - Any county with no city of a population of 10,000 or more may by resolution of the county board be exempted from the voter registration provisions of Minn. Stat. § 201.021 to 201.221. (Minn. Stat. § 201.021)

Registration Costs Reimbursement Repealed - Reimbursement to local governments by the state for costs incurred for election judges required for election day registration and to counties for establishing and maintaining voter registration systems is repealed. (Minn. Stat. § 201.34)

- Chapter 271 Ethics Commission Name The Ethics Commission becomes the Ethical (S.F. 336) Practices Board.
- Chapter 274 Town Government Provides for optional forms of town government and for combination of some offices. Provides for transition from one form of government to another.

- Chapter 280 County Board Vacancies Requires elections to fill county board vacancies occurring after Jan. 1, 1975. Also provides that county board seat is vacant if commissioner if absent from county for six consecutive months. Minn. Stat. § 375.10 is repealed.
- Chapter 284 Campaign Practices Laws Laws regulating campaign practices and penalties (S.F. 954) are rearranged. Chapters 210 and 211 become Chapter 210A, and former Chapters 210 and 211 are repealed.
- Chapter 292 Precinct Caucus Requirements Precinct caucuses to be held at 8 p.m. on the day indicated in the present law, the fourth Tuesday in February in every general election year. The county or legislative district chairman is required to give at least six days (previously two weeks) published notice and is required to deliver the information contained in the public notice to the county auditor at least 20 days before the precinct caucus. Requirement of posted notice is repealed. The county auditor is required to make this information available to persons who request it. (Minn Stat. § 202A.14 subds. 1 and 3, 202A.15 subd. 1 and 202A.18 subd. 1)

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA · ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 PHONE: (612) 224-5445

MEMO

TO:

Action Committee Members

FROM:

Pat Lucas

SUBJECT:

Meeting

DATE:

December 30, 1976

REMINDER: Action Committee Meeting - Tuesday, January 4, 1977 9:30 a.m.

State Office

Senator Mel Hanson will speak to the committee regarding election day registration. Please see attached material.

MEL HANSEN

Senator 61st District 4505 28th Avenue South Minneapolis, Minnesota 55406

December 15, 1976

Senate
State of Minnesota

Ms. Jerry Jenkins, President League of Women Voters 2252 Folwell St. Paul, Minnesota 55108

Dear Ms. Jenkins:

Minnesota pioneered election day registration by passing the law in 1973. The initial law was subsequently amended but has been tried now in local elections, a statewide general election, and in a presidential election.

Other states are following our lead, and I have specifically talked to Oregon and Wisconsin on their laws and their experience with it. I have been coordinating research on operations of the election day registration and have met with election judges from three counties and talked to election officials in many communities.

In its present form, election day registration invites election fraud. I believe that loopholes must be closed before isolated cases of violations of the law prohibiting voting more than once or voting in the wrong precinct become epidemic in Minnesota. This also has national implications, because our law will in all probability be copied in many other states if it appears to be working effectively here.

I would appreciate the opportunity of meeting with your board and explaining what I have found so far in the way of changes that need to be made if the law is to operate in the public interest.

Several of these specific proposals are attached to the text of the press conference which we held earlier this week in connection with being unable to get into the St. Paul voting record.

Look forward to continuing to work with the League of Women Voters, as we did on the ballot rotation matter.

Sincerely

Mel Hansen

MH:js

NEWS RELEASE

Sen. Mel Hansen
126 State Office Bldg.
St. Paul, Minnesota 55155

December 8, 1976

The unprecedented refusal by St. Paul's city officials to permit public access to voting records following the general election must be reversed promptly. Any investigation of election law violations must start now if it is to be effective.

As the law is now written the county auditor is not required to check and see whether a person registering elsewhere on election day or shortly before has also voted in the county or municipality where last registered. The St. Paul voting authorities tell us they do not make such a check and this means it must be made by citizens coming in and doing this on a volunteer basis.

The present law MS 201.091, subd. 3, indicates that registered voter lists may be used for political activities or law enforcement. No enforcement of election laws is possible unless the record as to who voted and how that person registered is available.

Investigation by the Washington Post resulted in the resignation of the President of the United States for the first time in our history. It is not impossible that the same kind of in depth investigation will bring a similar abrupt change of public opinion in states where election irregularities or loopholes in new election laws contributed to the emerging one-party monopoly.

Research is now going on many places in Minnesota to find how many people have taken advantage of these loopholes but

St. Paul is the only place where access to voting records is denied by the voting officials. The St. Paul City Attorney's opinion is based on 1973 deletions from the statutes of MS 201.06, subd. 2. This subdivision specifically required that the duplicate registration files be opened to public inspection. It is significant that this deletion was not explained or debated in committee or on the floor and presumably was eliminated through oversight. Chapter 676 of the Laws of 1973 that established election day registration was the vehicle. The bill passed on a party line basis with the Independent-Republicans voting against it but there was no explanation by either staff or the author of the bill taking away any access to voting records.

The St. Paul City Attorney seems to feel that the Privacy
Act now specifically prohibits access to voting records. Here
again this was never contemplated by the legislature and never
discussed as representing that type of policy decision.

The attached list of specific proposals for changes in the election day registration law to close the present loopholes and give election day registration a fair trial is based on the research we have already done on election day registration problems.

CHANGES NEEDED IN THE ELECTION-DAY REGISTRATION TO CLOSE THE OBVIOUS LOOPHOLES

- 1. Restore requirement that the person registering to vote show the date born (deleted in 1975, but necessary if we are to continue to purge the registration files from the death notices as required by statute. It will also discourage the use by a voter of someone else's name or identification and prevent the under 18 from committing a felony).
- 2. Permit only individuals pre registered to vouch for another new registrant (presently an individual registering on election day by merely having someone else vouch that he lives in the district can vouch for an unlimited number of other people).
- 3. Limit the number of people who can be vouched for by any one person to three (this is the same as the number of times an individual voter can help someone else in the voting booth. Only exception is election judges where it requires two election judges, one of each party to help the voter).
- 4. Specify on the voter oath that the name used is the legal name of the voter (M.S. 201.27 specifies that the person can register only under his true name, but the voter registering does not see that portion of the statute when filling out the registration card. We would thus specifically define what the true name is. With the recent changes making it easy for someone to change their legal name, this will pose no real problem for anyone.)
- ** 5. Require that when the county auditor receives a notice that the person has registered in another county or in another state and processes that information after a recent election, the duplicate registration card be checked to find whether the individual also voted in this municipality. (Currently no such check is made in at least either Ramsey or Hennepin County. Admittedly some people may have registered elsewhere and not voted there, but if they registered either on the day of the election or within 60 days prior to that date, the presumption should be that they voted at the row address. If the person has voted in this county, also, it should be the clear legal responsibility of the county auditor to initiate correspondence with the place of last residence to find out whether they voted there also. This is not being done today!)
 - 6. Also require that when the postcard mailed out to an election-day registrant is returned as undeliverable at the address given, a check be made with the place of last residence or past registration to determine whether that person actually lived or voted at the previous address. (If it appears that there is no such person, this information should be given to the county attorney for legal investigation.)

- 7. The sheer volume of election-day registrants is making it difficult, if not impossible, to enforce the law effectively. We should do everything possible to encourage pre registration. This could include limiting election-day registration to those people who have moved to the new address within the past month, or even 20 days. Coupled with this would be the massive "get out and register" campaign that was conducted before we had election-day registration, with registration offices open at least six days a week until 9 o'clock in the evening at numerous convenient locations.
- 8. Limit all election-day registration promotion to before the day of election. Bringing individuals to the polls who have not been interested prior to the day of the election means that we dilute the impact of the vote cast by those who are informed.
- 9. Prohibit "get out the vote" phone calls on election day. These calls are used to provide name identification and voting instructions to people who have not been sufficiently interested to become informed. We now prohibit the distribution of literature and to permit something that is less informative to be substituted downgrades the objective of having informed voters.
- 10. Include on registration cards filled out on election day information on identification used driver's license number (or receipt), non-qualification certificate (or receipt) or name of person vouching. Also provide a blank for initials of election judge accepting (now many voters are not including the required data on place last registered or lived so the card to be mailed there to cancel that registration can't be sent).
- 11. Increase pay for election judges to reflect inflation, their long hours and increased responsibility with the state paying all increased costs resulting from election day registration (many polling places were understaffed and ran out of registration cards and vouching forms. Voter delays ran up to two hours with no vouching cards available in some precincts).

12. Anthonize Election judge registering voter on election day to ask for additional identify, to estellish that name used is correct when person being registered is being vonded for. -2-

St. Paul Pioneer Press-

The Voice of Minnesota

BERNARD H. RIDDER, 1883-1975
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-Editorial Page-

Thurs:, Dec. 16, '76

Flaws in the registration law

Minnesota's Independent-Republicans are nervous about this state's election day registration law. The law was intended to make it as easy as possible for qualified voters to sign up and cast their ballots. The concern is that it might also make it as easy as possible for folks to vote in more than one precinct.

study right now of how election day registration

worked Nov. 2.

Republican interest has centered on Mankato and St. Paul. In Mankato, they're looking at a legislative district that includes the state university. About 25 per cent of the votes there were cast by people who registered on election day and Republicans have



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League of Women Voters of the United States •1730 M Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 Tel. (202) 296-1770

TESTIMONY BEFORE THE HOUSE ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE ON THE UNIVERSAL VOTER REGISTRATION ACT OF 1977 BY RUTH C. CLUSEN, PRESIDENT THE LEAGUE OF MOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES APRIL 6, 1977

Mr. Chairman, I am Ruth C. Clusen, President of the League of Women Voters of the United States, a volunteer citizen education and political organization of 1,350 Leagues with approximately 136,000 members in all 50 states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. One of the basic principles of the League of Women Voters is that every person should be protected in the right to vote. We are committed to encouraging people to vote and to participate in government at all levels. We have a long history of service to voters and of supporting legislation designed to facilitate voting. So it is with great pleasure that I represent the League here today in support of HR 5400, the Universal Voter Registration Act of 1977.

The League would especially like to commend the Administration and the sponsors of the bill for seizing the initiative in presenting the measure early in this new Congress. Election registration reform is needed, and we would add, long overdue in the United States.

The LWVUS has been concerned for quite some time about the low rate of our national voter turnout. This rate has been declining since the 1960 election, and in fact recent rates in the 20th century have never quite equalled those of an earlier era. The 1976 U.S. voter turnout rate, like 1972's, was approximately 55% of the voting age population. Only slightly over half of those eligible to vote actually did so. In contrast, in the 1960 election the rate was 64%. It dropped to 62% in 1964, to 61% in 1968, and to 55% in 1972. I am sure the committee is aware that this record stands in marked contrast to the voter participation rates in other western democracies:

Country	Election Year	Turnout
Denmark ²	1968	39%
Finland ²	1966	85% 80%
France 2	1968	
Germany	1969	37%
Ireland ³	1973	75%
Great Britain ³	1970	71%
Canada ³	1972	74%

Voter turnout percentage is calculated as the number of voters divided by the voting age population.

²That All May Vote: Freedom to Vote Task Force, Democratic National Committee, December 16, 1969, Appendix VIII.

³Richard L. Strout, "The 'Stunning' Drop in U.S. Voters," <u>Christian Science Monitor</u>, April 20, 1973.

Even more important than the contrast with other countries' records is the contrast between our present low turnout rates and the U.S. rates in the 19th century. In 1840 the U.S. voter turnout rate was 80%, in 1848 it was 73%, in 1860 it was 81%, in 1888 it was 79%. It began to drop around 1900, as states began adopting voter registration requirements. By 1908 it was down to 65%, and succeeding elections in this century have never equalled the 1908 turnout rate!

We are not claiming that registration requirements alone have depressed our voter turnout rate. We all know that there are many factors that affect voting participation: Education, socio-economic, status, age, race, degree of party competition, mobility, rural versus urban residence, the voter's perception of candidates and issues, and party identification, to name a few.

What we <u>are</u> saying is that we think the present system of registration in the U.S. is unnecessarily burdensome and does present real barriers to many voters. 5

I refer the members of the committee to a 1972 report of the Election Systems Project of the League of Women Voters Education Fund. The project studied the "numerous administrative obstacles which confront all Americans as they seek to implement their right to vote." Election administration practices were studied in the 50 states and in 251 communities. The community surveys included confidential interviews with election officials and members of a diverse range of voluntary organizations. This study documented the existence of what were termed "administrative obstacles to voting"--institutional procedures which function as barriers and impede the ability of the citizen to use his or her right to vote.

Great variation in registration procedures from place to place was found, with some states and some officials being more willing than others to make the process accessible. As an example of the differences in state procedures, I am submitting with my statement a chart of the 50 state registration procedures compiled by the League of Women Voters Education Fund in 1976° as a voter information service. This compilation is done every two years, and clearly shows the variation in procedures among the 50 states.

Further, based on interviews with local election officials and local organizations which had registered voters, the survey pinpointed an attitudinal characteristic on the part of some election officials. As a group, election officials proved to be much more restrictive in their beliefs about who should vote, how accessible registration should be, how simplified voting procedures should be. Even more telling was the difference in perceptions by officials and citizens about how open their systems actually were. Citizens—the users of the system—were more sensitive to the real administrative obstacles than were election officials who ran the system.

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⁴Figures compiled in 1969 by Professor Walter Dean Burnham in That All May Vote, op cit. See the discussion of the adoption by states of personal registration requirements in Walter Dean Burnham, Critical Elections, (New York, 1970) pp. 79-83. See also, Stanley Kelley, et al., "Registration and Voting," American Political Science Review, Vol. 61 (1967), pp. 359-79.

⁵"Administrative Obstacles to Voting," League of Momen Voters Education Fund, 1972. Also see "A Study of the Registration Process in the United States," survey done by Daniel Yankelovich, Inc., for Student Vote, Inc., 1973, especially p. 62.

⁶"Easy Does It," League of Women Voters Education Fund, 1976.

The Universal Voter Registration Act will mandate the removal of many of these obstacles by establishing in their place, an easy and uniform process for federal elections. Further, we hope state and local jurisdictions will adopt the procedure and implement early registration voter outreach programs. The present election system is a hardship for many: the less motivated, the low income, the elderly, and the less educated—all those for whom a separate trip to register is a burden. For those who do register, it often is at some cost in terms of time and effort.

In 1976, Professors Steven J. Rosenstone and Raymond E. Molfinger of the University of California wrote a paper describing the total probable increase in turnout (10.5%) as a result of the adoption of various registration reforms, such as neighborhood registration, evening and Saturday registration, absentee registration, and closing date of seven days before an election. Of all the reforms, the one that resulted in the greatest probable increase in turnout was moving the registration date closer to an election—a 7-day registration deadline was projected to result in a 4.5% increase.

We believe the system should operate as simply as possible with the least possible bureaucratic "hassle" for the voter. We know that voter interest increases as elections draw near. We strongly endorse the concept of election day registration as a way of putting the government on record that it wants citizens to vote and will take measures to facilitate that basic democratic act.

The criticism has been voiced that the bill would encroach upon the prerogatives of states in the election process. I daresay that this criticism has been voiced every time the federal government has initiated legislation in this area. Congress' track record is long and, the League of Women Voters believes, exemplary. The history of the federal government's involvement in election procedures has been to consistently enlarge the electorate and to protect the franchise. One need only cite'some examples such as the 15th, 19th, 23rd, 24th, and 26th Amendments to the Constitution, and the civil rights legislation of the 1960's, including the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

The record is clear. The federal government has and should take initiatives to protect the right to vote and to encourage its use. The Universal Voter Registration Act of 1977 does just that, by making it easier for people to register and vote.

It is not an untried procedure and it has already proven effective. The system of election day registration has worked in Minnesota since 1974. Minnesota's voter turnout rate rose from 68% in 1972 to 75% in 1976 after the state adopted election day and mail registration. Of 1,978,590 Minnesota voters in 1976, 23% or 454,147 of them registered at the polls on election day. Wisconsin adopted election-day registration for 1976 and had an increase from 62% in 1972 to 65% in 1976. In Wisconsin, 216,000 voters registered on election day, persons who would otherwise presumably not have been able to vote. Maine's turnout increased from 61% in 1972 to 65% in 1976 after election-day registration. These increases are in sharp contrast to the national rate which hovered at 55% in both 1972 and 1976.

Another criticism currently being leveled against the bill is that fraud will increase and in fact be encoruaged by the election-day registration method. The

⁷S.J. Rosenstone and R.E. Wolfinger, "The Effect of Registration Laws on Voter Turnout," prepared for delivery at the 1976 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September, 1976.

League of Women Voters rejects this claim.

Again, the record speaks for itself. No fraud was documented in Wisconsin, Maine, Minnesota or North Dakota (which has never required registration), according to a recent report to the New York Times (April 1, 1977). State election officials in Wisconsin are quoted as saying charges of fraud were investigated and not substantiated. Problems did occur but they were the result of confusion and heavy turnout. The Minnesota League has informed us that as of April 4, 1977, according to the Secretary of State's office in Minnesota, only one or two instances of duplicate registration in the 1976 election have been referred to that office. Further, the Secretary of State knows of no persons reported as voting in more than one precinct.

As a deterrent to fraud, the bill does contain stiff penalties. Also, the measure prescribes that the penalties are to be printed on the face of the oath required of the registrant. The LWVUS is satisfied that these measures will be enough to discourage abuse of the voting right.

Despite press speculation that there are not enough safeguards concerning the type of identification acceptable to register and vote, the League believes that the provision in the bill which requires only one form of identification, to be determined by the state officials with the approval of the FEC, is sufficient. To require more would be to impose an obstacle to voting and would surely lead to possible conflicts with the Voting Rights Act.

There are other aspects of the bill we would like to commend. The use of financial incentives is good politically, but is also necessary practically. We know that there will be costs involved, particularly in the start-up phase, and believe that the federal government should assume the burden of these additional costs. We are especially pleased to see financial incentives for voter outreach which Leagues across the country know is an essential part of informing citizens about how to exercise their franchise. The fact that the bill insists on states using these federal funds to supplement their current activities should help bring the ballot box closer to the people. Additionally, we are pleased by the language which prohibits use of voter lists for commercial purposes, a reinforcement of the principle of the right to privacy.

In short, the LWVUS believes the law proposed in HR 5400/S1072 is workable and will facilitate voting. We, like the members of this committee, wish to see the strongest bill possible sent to the President for signature. Therefore, we would like to suggest some changes which we think will strengthen the bill and make the law, when enacted, easier to administer.

LWVUS RECOMMENDATIONS

Section 4--Establishment and Administration
The League believes that the position of Administrator of Voter Registration needs stronger support than that envisioned in the bill. We are concerned about the seemingly built-in conflict in the present wording of Section 4 between the Administrator and the FEC staff director. Requiring the Administrator to "coordinate with the staff director all administrative and personnel matters relating to the administration" of this Act poses a potential problem--a need for the Administrator to negotiate for whatever staff and material assistance is needed to make the program work.

We suggest that one way of strengthening the Administrator would be to create within the FEC a separate Voter Registration Administration responsible directly to the Commissioners.

Section 4 further states a goal of "minimizing the costs of administration." We are sure any competent administrator would achieve economies in operation of the program, but we think cost-saving should not be made a more important goal than getting voters registered. Perhaps that particular phrase could be stricken or at least modified to reflect primary emphasis on voter registration.

Section 5--Duties and Powers

We do not believe the Administrator should be required [Section 5(a)(3)] to assist the FEC Clearinghouse in its functions—the Clearinghouse functions are spelled out in the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971: to serve as a clearinghouse for information with respect to election administration and to conduct, and make available, studies of election administration. The Clearinghouse has performed these functions since its beginning, and we see no need to mix its functions with those of the Voter Registration Administrator. You may wish to suggest cooperation or information—sharing, but to require the Administrator to assist the Clearinghouse could undermine the voter registration program by fragmenting its efforts. If any assisting is to be done, far better to require the Clearinghouse to assist the Voter Registration Administrator.

Section 6--Voter Registration

In Section 6(b)(1)(A), the committee may want to consider adding the provision that the voter, in executing the oath at the polling place, attests that he or she will vote only once in the election that day. This would further counter any fears of fraud.

Section 7--Financial Assistance

Section 7(a) provides that grants under the program shall be made to "States" which qualify. We think it is imperative that the bill specify that a proportionate share of the money is to be distributed at the local level since, in most states, local jurisdictions bear most of the cost of election administration. This provision would not apply to any states where the states totally fund the administration of elections.

If the program is as successful as we think it will be, election officials will need additional voting machines, ballots and poll workers and will need to modify their record-keeping procedures. The experience in Wisconsin bears this out. There officials were simply not prepared for the numbers of people drawn to the polls under the new procedure.

While the League has no way of knowing exactly what the costs will be to adequately implement this program, we have some reason to believe, through talking with local election officials, that some additional funding might be needed for start-up.

We do not anticipate that such additional start-up costs will greatly increase the cost estimates for the Act. The bill presently estimates that costs will be less than \$50 million every two years. I would like to emphasize that funds for this program are well worth the expenditure when the goal is to encourage the very underpinnings of our democratic system. The proposed sum is not high compared, for example, with approximately \$200 million expended by federal candidates seeking office in 1976.

As the money is used to administer the program, an obvious need will be to train the poll officials. We are of the strong opinion that either the Act itself or the legislative record should reflect that some portion of the monies paid must be used for training of the personnel who will register voters at the polls. We know from experience in Wisconsin and Minnesota that proper and special training of polling place registrars will help prevent potential problems. Our Leagues have had some experience in assisting with training of polling place workers. We would be glad to work with the committee and the Commission in any way possible on this point, or any other.

In conclusion, the League of Women Voters of the United States hopes that you will incorporate our suggested amendments. We urge prompt passage of this bill so that it will be enacted in time to be implemented for the 1978 General Election. We pledge our full cooperation in this effort.

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 555 Wabasha, St. Paul, Minnesota 55102

Testimony Submitted to the Subcommittee on Elections

of the House Committee on General Legislation and Veterans Affairs
by Jerry Jenkins, President of LWV of Minnesota

January 27, 1977, noon, State Office Building, St. Paul, Minn.

The League of Women Voters continues to support removing obstacles to voting and providing information to voters before elections. Many of the election laws we have supported in the past have been implemented but we are here today to urge that the following improvements be instituted:

- mandatory training of election officials to ensure uniform election procedures,
- 2. uniform statewide mandatory voter registration,
- a uniform election day for school elections under the same rules as other elections.

Our organization has worked closely with the Secretary of State's office-most recently in the VOTE '76 campaign--and look forward to continuing to
work to achieve more active and informed participation in the election process
under a centralized administrative system. We support creative and innovative
efforts to get people to pre-register, become informed and to vote.

Looking to the future we are aware of the role of technocracy in our society and believe that as changes come the Secretary of State's office should carry the responsibility to pre-test to assure adherence to law.



This is going on DPM SPOTMASTER ALERT: For latest developments on League issues call Spotmaster (202) 296-0218 from 1 p.m. on Fridays to 3 p.m. on Mondays (EST).

June 9, 1977

TO: State and Local League Presidents

FROM: Ruth Clusen, President; Ruth Hinerfeld, Action Chairman; Judith Heimann,

Government Chairman

RE: Universal Voter Registration Act of 1977

Status

The Universal Voter Registration Act (HR 5400/S 1072) is tentatively scheduled for floor action in the House the last week in June. The legislation has cleared both House and Senate Committees. The Senate is awaiting House action before moving the bill to the floor.

As you know, the LWVUS has been working very hard for the Universal Voter Registration Act (U.V.R.). Testimony was presented in both houses of Congress -- the Presidents of the LWV Wisconsin and LWV Pennsylvania joined the LWVUS in testimony before the Senate Committee. Delegates to National Council in May visited the offices of their Senators and Representatives to tell them of League support for the bill.

The legislation now appears to be in trouble. When hearings began in the House, it looked as if the bill would receive favorable and swift action by the Committee and on the floor. Although originally the bill had comfortable bipartisan support, during the House hearings the Republicans on the Committee began voicing opposition -- centering mainly on the question of fraud, but also bringing up administrative problems with the legislation. Fear of fraud is the primary stated reason for most Republican legislators' opposition to U.V.R., but many believe that the real reason in many cases is the fear that the Democratic party will gain more new voters than the Republican party. Ronald Reagan voiced this fear openly when he said that passage of the U.V.R. will "...make the Republican party as extinct as the Dodo bird."

At the House hearings, several groups opposed the legislation because of supposed increased opportunities for fraud under the Act, and some election officials voiced opposition. During the Senate hearings the existence of an unofficial and, as it turned out, inaccurate Justice Department internal memo citing opportunities for fraud became known. Since the memo surfaced, it has been refuted by Attorney General Bell. Apparently, the author of the memo had not even read the bill, and furthermore, the memo was couched more in terms of current practices of fraud rather than specifically what would happen under the proposed bill.

Opposition by election officials is primarily concerned with the administrative problems they face in implementing the Act. This opposition is somewhat expected -- election officials often resist opening-up election procedures, as the League found in its 1972 election systems project, "Obstacles to Voting," because it complicates procedures.

What to do

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While there may be enough votes for passage in the House right now, the margin is slim. The higher the House vote, the easier it will be to overcome filibuster attempts in

the Senate. It is crucial that members of Congress hear from Leagues and League members on the bills -- your support will lend a needed voice of reason, especially for those MC's who are currently undecided. In fact, broad League support now could spell the difference between passage and failure, both

in the House and in the Senate. Leagues should write their Representatives and Senators now urging passage of HR 5400/S 1072. As the League testimony states -- copies of which you already have -- "We believe the [election] system should operate as simply as possible with the least possible bureaucratic 'hassle' for the voter. We know that voter interest increases as elections draw near. We strongly endorse the concept of election day registration as a way of putting the government on record that it wants its citizens to vote and will take measures to facilitate that basic democratic act."

The Legislation

The League had several suggestions for ways to strengthen the bill against possibilities of fraud and to ease the administration of the Act (See the April R/H No. 95-I-3). Most League amendments were incorporated into the legislation by the Senate and House Committees. Several Republican amendments (some of which the League supported) were also adopted by the Committees. As amended, the bills now provide for:

random post-election audits of on-site registrants
 higher start-up funding for U.V.R. implementation

* separate processing of on-site registrants and pre-registered voters in polling places

° a mandatory and comprehensive affidavit procedure for election day registrants ° distribution of most (90%) U.V.R. funding to the localities which administer

orestriction on the number of election day registrants an individual can vouch for and the individual doing the vouching must be a pre-registered voter

° civil enforcement and investigation authority for the Federal Elections Commission (FEC).

Under the affidavit system adopted, each on-site registrant will have to supply his or her name, address and place of birth; swear that he or she is an American citizen; and swear to having not voted previously in the election taking place.

The bill does not mandate election-day registration for state and local elections. States are encouraged to adopt it, however, and incentive money is provided to make adoption attractive. The bill does mandate it for federal elections. So that states may pass conforming legislation, both the Senate and the House bills exempt from 1978 compliance states which do not have general legislative sessions convening by March 31, 1978.

A fact not often mentioned in editorials appearing throughout the country is that the legislation, while providing for registration on election day, will also boost preelection day registration and voter ourtreach projects. Significant monies are in the bill for those states which institute voter outreach and pre-registration projects.

League position

In discussing the concept of Universal Voter Registration, the national board carefully considered the problems jurisdictions with patterns of fraud will have under the program. The LWVUS is fully cognizant of special problems in certain areas around the country -- Chicago, Philadelphia, New York and Louisiana are the most publicized. In these areas, fraud is perpetrated primarily by election officials.

There is obviously ample opportunity for this kind of fraud now, and a case could be made that under the U.V.R. bill opportunity will be as good, if not better. This is primarily because opportunity to check voter lists prior to voting will be diminished. However, it must be pointed out that very few jurisdictions do in fact audit voter lists for duplication now.

Fraud by voters without the collusion of election officials would be difficult, however. An affidavit is required (see above) and proof of identification is required. Most importantly, the penalties to be printed on the face of the affidavit are so great (\$10,000 and five years for the first offense; up to \$25,000 and ten years for the second offense) that surely they will be a strong deterrent to fraud on the part

In deciding to support the U.V.R., the national board started with the belief that the vast majority of voters and election officials in this country are honest; patterns of fraud are indeed the exception and not the rule. We believe that increased access to the vote across the country far outweighs the problems of fraud a few jurisdictions will continue to face under the bill. The anti-fraud amendments to the bill, taken together with the provisions protecting against fraud in the bill as introduced, are sufficient to assure us that, short of having no elections at all, fraudulent use of the election system will be discouraged.

The League has a long history of service to voters and of supporting legislation designed to facilitate voting. The League believes that this legislation can be successfully administered. While the national board is aware of the increased duties on the FEC and state and local election officials, we point out that elections are after test that this act will cause inconvenience of election officials. People who prowill remove inconvenience for those who find it difficult to vote under the present voter Registration Act moves us toward greater participation by all those qualified -- and just those who have made their way through the present system.



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LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

June 24, 1977

The Honorable James Oberstar 323 Cannon Office Building Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Oberstar:

As I am sure you are aware, the League of Women Voters has a long history of service to voters and of supporting legislation designed to facilitate voting. The League of Women Voters of Minnesota strongly urges you to support HR 5400, the Universal Voter Registration Act of 1977.

The League believes that this legislation can be successfully administered. We are aware of the increased duties on the FEC and on state and local election officials; however, it should be noted that elections are for the people, not for the convenience of election officials. People who protest that this act will cause inconvenience really have it backwards. The legislation will remove inconvenience for those who find it difficult to vote under the present system. Good planning and training will avoid problems.

The issue of the likelihood of fraud has been raised by some people. The League of Women Voters of Minnesota is fully aware of the problems that exist in some areas of the country. However, in these areas the fraud is perpetrated primarily by election officials. Fraud by voters without the collusion of election officials would be difficult. An affidavit is required and proof of identification. Restrictions on the number of election day registrants an individual can vouch for and the fact that the individual doing the vouching must be a pre-registered voter are also included in this bill.

Most importantly, the penalties to be printed on the face of the affidavit are so great that surely they will be a strong deterrent to fraud on the part of the voter.

In short, HR 5400, the Universal Voter Registration Act, moves us toward greater participation by all those qualified, not just those who have made their way through the present system. The League of Women Voters of Minnesota sincerely hopes that you will support the passage of this bill.

Sincerely yours,

Helene Borg, President League of Women Voters of Minnesota

B:M

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GEORGE L. BERG. JR. ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

Congress of the United States House of Representatives Washington, D.C. 20515

June 28, 1977

Mrs. Helene Borg President League of Women Voters of Minnesota 555 Wabasha St. Paul, Minnesota 55102

Dear Mrs. Borg:

Thank you for your letter of June 24th on behalf of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota urging that I support H.R. 5400, the Universal Voter Registration bill.

I was very pleased to have the benefit of your thinking on voter registration, and I regret that our views differ on this I have opposed election day registration measures in the past because I believed that they were far too susceptible to fraud. In addition, I believe that election administration is basically a responsibility of the states and ought to be dealt with at that level (as it has been in Minnesota). I must admit, incidentally, that I do not see how it is that great a burden upon a responsible citizen to expect him to take 15 minutes to register to vote at some point prior to election day. Studies by political scientists have shown repeatedly that it is simple disinterest, rather than legal barriers which are primarily responsible for the failure of citizens to vote.

I am also enclosing a news release I issued several months ago in which my comments are addressed to this issue. Although our views might differ on this particular issue, I hope you will not hesitate to express the League's views on other legislative matters. Please be assured that your comments are always welcome and valued.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Tom Hagedorn

Member of Congress

1330 Longworth House Office Building (202) 225-6631

ROBERT E. HESS

DISTRICT OFFICE:
ROOM 544

FEDERAL BUILDING AND U.S. COURT HOUSE
316 N. ROBERT STREET
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(612) 725-7869

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

June 28, 1977

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS

JUN 3 9 1977

Ms. Helene Borg League of Women Voters 555 Wabasha Saint Paul, Minnesota 55102

Dear Ms. Borg:

Thank you for your recent letter expressing concern over the proposed Universal Voter Registration Act of 1977 and other election reforms currently proposed by the President and under consideration by Congress.

Minnesota, as I am sure you are aware, has already approved and implemented election-day registration and has experienced no increase in fraud. As a matter of fact, election-day registration has increased voter participation in Minnesota substantially. Additionally, many rural areas of Minnesota and elsewhere have never maintained a permanent registration system and, in essence, voters register anew each time they vote.

The bias against urban regions where formal registration is required is evident. Furthermore, the requirement for post-registration is, I believe, an unnecessary procedure that can be effectively modified. Discrepancies do exist today, but they are not obvious because of the level at which we monitor voting activities.

I sincerely believe that voter fraud will not be increased if the Universal Voter Registration Act is implemented. The Minnesota example can attest to this.

Warm regards,

Sincerely.

Bruce F. Vento

Member of Congress

BFV/cw

ALBERT H. QUIE 1ST DISTRICT, MINNESOTA

COMMITTEES: **EDUCATION AND LABOR** STANDARDS OF OFFICIAL CONDUCT

WASHINGTON OFFICE: 2185 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING 202-225-2271

Congress of the United States House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

June 29, 1977

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520 FEDERAL BUILDING FORT SNELLING ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55111 612-725-3680

Helene Borg, President League of Women Voters of Minnesota 555 Wabasha St. Paul, Minnesota 55102

Dear Helene:

I appreciated receiving your follow-up letter after our meeting in May. I, too, enjoyed meeting with you and Jean on H.R. 5400.

As I indicated, it seems to me that anything we can do to encourage people to exercise the franchise, while curbing the possibilities of fraud, ought to be encouraged. If H.R. 5400 can be fairly implemented, I certainly will support it; if not, I would expect, then, to oppose it.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

ALBERT H. OUIE Member of Congress

AHQ:rrm

DONALD M. FRASER

2268 House Office Building 202-225-4755

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166 FEDERAL COURTS BUILDING
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612-725-2081

Congress of the United States House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

July 8, 1977

SUBCOMMITTEE:
CHAIRMAN, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

COMMITTEE

BUDGET COMMITTEE

Ms. Helene Borg, President League of Women Voters of Minnesota 555 Wabasha St. Paul, MN 55102

Dear Ms. Borg:

I want to thank you for your comments about the Universal Voter Registration Act.

The finalized bill approved by the Committee on House Administration has rigid anti-fraud and enforcement provisions. An amendment to make election day registration at the polls optional by states is expected to be offered when the bill reaches the House floor for a vote.

Voter participation in federal elections has shown a steady decline, from 64% in 1960 to 53% in the 1976 presidential election. Evidence suggests that this trend can be attributed partially to administrative barriers which make it difficult to register to vote in most states.

In Minnesota, we have found election day voter registration an effective and workable step toward opening up the electoral process for full participation by all our citizens. Minnesota ranked first among the states in 1976 voter turnout. Moreover, over 450,000 of our people registered at the polls last November 2 and not a single case of fraud has been substantiated.

I appreciate having your viewpoint on the issue.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Donald M. Fraser

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ARLAN STANGELAND 7TH DISTRICT, MINNESOTA

COMMITTEES:

GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS PUBLIC WORKS AND TRANSPORTATION

Congress of the United States House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515 July 11, 1977

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> M-F BUILDING 403 CENTER AVENUE MOORHEAD, MINNESOTA 56560 (218) 233-8631

Mrs. Helene Borg, President League of Women Voters of Minnesota 555 Wabasha St. Paul, Minnesota 55102

Dear Mrs. Borg:

Thank you for your recent letter following our discussion regarding the Universal Voter Registration Act. My views are still similar to those which I expressed to you at that time, but I do appreciate your writing.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Arlan Stangeland Member of Congress MEMORANDUM FROM:

Joan Anderson Growe

te diduran Brewe Secretary of State

July, 1977

SHBJECT:

Laws of Significance to Election Officials Enacted During the 1977 Session of the Minnesota Legislature

Chapter 32 (H.F. 21)

Amending M.S. 204A.54, subd.1
Certificates of election to members of the state legislature are to be delivered to either the Chief Clerk of the House or the Secretary of the Senate, whichever The certificates will then be delivis appropriate. ered to the members by the legislature after they take the oath of office. Filing officers will no longer send the certificate of election to the elected candidates for the state legislature. An elected candidate may obtain a copy of the certificate from the clerk or secretary without charge. Effective August 1, 1977.

Chapter 42 [H.F. 489]

Amending M.S. 3.22An affidavit showing the legality of the newspaper and stating the constitutional amendments have been published must be filed with the secretary of state before January 1 of the next year in order for a newspaper publisher to receive publication fees. Effective August 1, 1977.

Chapter 88 (S.F. 1208)

Amending M.S. 204A.09, by adding subd.3
Polling places are to be made accessible to and usable by elderly and handicapped persons by complying with the following standards; (a) doors, entrances and exits are to be a minimum of 31 inches in width; (b) curbs adjacent to the main entrance shall have curb cuts or temporary ramps; (c) stairs necessary to entrance shall have a temporary handrail and ramp; (d) in the polling place, no barrier shall impede the path of the physically handicapped to the voting booth. The governing body may select a site not meeting the standards only if no available site within the precinct can be made accessible. Effective August 1, 1977.

Amending M.S. 204A.34, subd.2
This law, as further amended by Minnesota Laws 1977,
Ch. 308, subd.5, provides that in precincts using paper
ballots two judges, not of the same political party,
may assist a disabled voter at his vehicle in registering and voting if the voter is unable to enter the polling place. No longer must the voter be able to reach the door of the polling place.

M.S. 204A.11, subd. 4 is repealed It required polling places to be accessible to physically disabled persons whenever applicable.

Chapter 91 (S.F. 51)

Amending M.S. 204A.17, subd.5 Township treasurers may serve as election judges if the township has only one precinct.



Chapter 91 (continued)

Amending M.S. 204A by adding M.S. 204A.365
No school board, county board of commissioners, governing board or council of a municipality may conduct a meeting between 6:00 p.m. and 8:00 p.m. on the day that an election is being held within the boundaries of the respective subdivision. No state university, community college, public elementary or secondary school may schedule an event, except regularly scheduled classes, between 6:00 p.m. and 8:00 p.m. on the day an election is held in any political subdivision in which the institution is located.

Amending M. S. 204A.41

Judges shall determine the number of ballots distributed by adding together the number of absentee ballot return envelopes and either signed voter's certificates or the number of names on the election register.

Amending M.S. 206.19 Election judges attending training sessions in voting machine precincts are to be paid at least \$1.

Amending M.S. 206.03, 206.075, 206.23
The secretary of state replaces the attorney general as the officer with rule making authority and as the filing officer for procedures for use of voting machines.

Amending M.S. 207.11
In municipalities where voter registration is required absentee ballot envelopes are not to be marked "received" unless the voter is registered in the precinct or has included a properly completed voter registration card in the return envelope.

Amending M.S. 207.19
The request form for military ballots is amended to require 20 days residency in the state rather than 30. Effective May 19, 1977.

Chapter 96 (H.F. 300)

Amending M.S. 201.096, subd.6 Eliminates the requirement that voter registration centers remain open additional hours prior to the preelection day cutoff. Effective August 1, 1977.

Chapter 133 (S.F. 335) Amending M.S. 204A.17, subd.1, 207.02
Permits judges of election serving in precincts other than their own to vote absentee. Requires political parties to submit lists of qualified voters in each precinct of the county or legislative district to the county auditor 65 days before any partisan election. Judges of election need not be residents of the precinct in which they serve if an insufficient number of judges are eligible in the precinct. Judges must be residents of the municipality in which they serve. Effective August 1, 1977.

Chapter 140 (S. F. 737) Amending M.S. 3.088

Appointed local government officials and employees are entitled to leaves of absence and reinstatement to their jobs if they are elected to full-time city or county office. The section previously applied only to legislators. The official or employee must request reinstatement within 30 days after expiration of his or her term and not later than 10 years after grant of a leave. Effective August 1, 1977.

Chapter 149 (S.F. 916) Amending M.S. 204.06
Permits municipalities annexing unincorporated land in the same county to include the annexed land in the adjacent precinct. Requires the municipal clerk to notify each registered voter in the annexed area at least 30 days prior to the date of the next election, of the change. Requires precinct map available for inspection at office of clerk. Requires precinct maps in each polling place.

Repeals M.S. 204.06, subd.2, which required map available for inspection in office of clerk and maps in polling places. Requirements are picked up in new language. Effective May 20, 1977.

Chapter 204 (S.F. 860) Amending M.S. 487.01, subd.5
The law changes the lines of county court districts in St.Louis County and permits three judges instead of two in the Pine-Chisago-Isanti county court.
Effective August 1, 1977.

Chapter 308 (S.F.266) Amending M.S. 204A.13, subd.2
The secretary of state may transmit to county auditors detailed written instructions on election laws relating to the conduct of elections, conduct of voter registration and voting procedures.

Amending M.S. 204A.13 by adding subdivisions 5 and 6
The secretary of state shall conduct conferences for county auditors prior to each statewide primary election to give instructions on the administration of election laws and the training of local election officials and judges. The secretary of state may formulate a training program for election judges regarding the conduct of their statutory duties.

Amending M.S. 204A.14, subd.1 County auditors shall conduct a training program for local election officials before each statewide primary election as to election procedures.

Amending M.S. 204A by adding M.S. 204A.175
Requires each county auditor to train all election
judges in the county. County auditor may delegate this
responsibility to a municipal election official for
training of judges in any municipality.
Effective August 1, 1977.

Chapter 346 [H.F. 1223] Amending M.S. 10A.20, subd.10
The Minnesota Ethical Practices Board may act on a request for an exemption from campaign reporting requirements without a contested case proceeding if no objection is received after notice. If the board denies the exemption, the applicant shall be granted a contested case proceeding upon request. Effective July 1, 1977.

Chapter 395 (H.F. 789) Amending 201.061 subd.3
Requiring that the oath the witness signs that he personally knows the voter registering on election day is a resident of the precinct be attached to the registration until the address is verified by the county auditor.

Amending 201.061 subd.6
Requires the county auditor to supply a map or precinct finder of the precinct so the judges can determine if the voter is registering in the proper precinct.

Chapter 395 (continued)

Amending M.S. 201.071
Changing the voter registration card as follows:
(a) the term "(do not use P.O. Box)" is removed from the street or route no. address line
(b) the word "optional" is removed from the telephone number line

(c) "most recent prior residence" is removed(d) date of birth is inserted and made optional

(e) "most recent prior registration" is removed and replaced with "last registration if any".

Prior residence is no longer necessary for a registration to be complete. A county auditor dues not notify the auditor of the voter's last residence that the voter has registered in his county.

Amending M.S. 201.091, subd.2
Voter registration lists are no longer required 60 days before each primary and 25 days before each general election. Within 90 days after each general the county auditor shall have a current voter registration list. The list is to be currently updated and a final corrected list available 15 days before each primary. Corrested lists may be in the form of additions and deletions to the previous list.

Amending M.S.201.091, by adding subd. 2b
Subject to reasonable rules and regulations, the duplicate voter registration file shall be open for public inspection. No inspection shall be permitted that will disarrange the file. No person may use information obtained from the duplicate registration file or a list of registered voters for purposes unrelated to elections, political activities or law enforcement.

Amending 201.14 Clerk of district court to notify the county auditor of name changes of persons living in the county rather than municipality.

Amending M.S.201 by adding M.S. 201.161
When a person requests a change of driver's license name or address, the Minnesota Department of Public Safety shall send the person a voter registration card and instructions for completion. Clerks or agents of the department shall also make the registration materials available. Cards are to be supplied by the secretary of state.

Amending M.S.204A.37, subd.1
Adding to the persons who may remain in the polling place persons who come to the polling place for the purpose of attesting to the residence of a voter about to register.

Amending M.S. 207.03 Applications for absentee ballots may be accepted if received by mail providing they contain the information required in the statute. They need not be on any particular form. If a person applies in person for an absentee ballot and will register by enclosing a voter registration card with the return envelope, the application shall not be accepted until he or she provides the proof of residency required for election day registrants. An eligible voter may apply for an absentee ballot on election day if he or she becomes a resident or patient on the day before election in a health care facility or hospital located in the municipality to which the voter The voter may request an application from the applies. municipal clerk by telephone not later than 5 p.m. on the day before election day, or from the judges designated to deliver ballots.

Chapter 395 (continued)

Amending M.S. 207, by adding M.S. 207.31
Requiring each municipal clerk to designate two election judges, not of the same political party, to deliver absentee ballots to any eligible voter who is a resident or patient in a health care facility or hospital in the municipality to which application has been submitted. The judges shall travel together in the same vehicle, and they shall be present when an applicant completes the voter's certificate and casts his or her absentee ballot. Assistance may be provided to the voter according to M.S. 204A.34. The judges shall deposit the return envelopes in a sealed container and deliver them to the clerk the same day they are cast. The judges shall deliver the ballots during the 10 days preceeding the election unless the voter became a resident or patient the day before the election and applies for ballots on election day. Effective July 1, 1977.

422 Cannon Office Building Washington, D.C. 20515 (202) 225-6631

FOR RELEASE: July 19, 1977

Washington--Congressman Bruce Vento (D-Minn.) has sent a letter to all members of Congress urging passage of the Universal Voter Registration Act of 1977.

Vento was an author of the Minnesota Election Day Voter Registration Act while assistant majority leader of the Minnesota House of Representatives.

Following is the full text of Congressman Vento's letter to the other 434 Congressmen:

"It's a long way to Hallowe'en but all sorts of ogres and hobgoblins are being conjured up in midsummer by opponents of HR 5400, the Universal Voter Registration Act of 1977.

"Many voter errors are being pointed to, for example, in Minnesota where election day registration has worked successfully. Secretary of State Joan Anderson Growe rejects the charges and says, 'Many Minnesota journalists and unsuccessful candidates and their lawyers have looked closely at the state and local elections that have occurred since 1973. But the media has uncovered no stories, and the candidates have found no fraud.'

"Further, 'In Minnesota, we have been able to identify many causes of error in election day registrations. Poor training of election judges by the local election administrators, lack of adequate information to the voters, and lack of adequate precinct location information for the judges, often due to insufficient funding, are major reasons for error in the administration of the election day voter registration law,' Secretary of State Growe declared.

"It should be pointed out that under the current practice of voter registration, involving as it does thousands of officials with uneven skills and training, many errors are continuously being disclosed. HR 5400, when enacted, will, incidentally, provide the money and the encouragement for upgrading the quality of registration officials.

"In closing, I would like to point out that with the help of Minnesota's Election Day Registration Law (according to the National Republican Congressional Committee) the state led the nation in the 1976 elections with 72.7% of the state's voting age population actually voting.

"While we are proud of Minnesota's achievement, we believe the rest of the nation ought to reverse the national trend of decreasing voting participation. We think that enactment of HR 5400 into law is the first important step toward encouraging this most essential involvement in our democracy."

BRUCE F. VENTO - Member of Congress

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

IN

MINNESOTA: 1977

VOTER REGISTRATION

CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES

ABSENTEE VOTING

JOAN ANDERSON GROWE SECRETARY OF STATE

from Minnesota Statutes, 1976, Chapter 201, 207, 210A; Laws of Minnesota, 1977, Chapter 395, and Rules of the Secretary of State for Voter Registration July, 1977





VOTER REGISTRATION

Who may register to vote?

Anyone who will be eligible to vote at the next election may preregister up to 20 days prior to the election or by providing authorized proof of residence at the polling place on election day.

You are qualified to register if:
--You will be 18 years of age by the date of the next election;

-- You are a citizen of the United States;

--You have resided in Minnesota for 20 days.

May I give out voter registration cards?

Anyone may make voter registration cards available to the public. The county auditor or municipal clerk is required to make them available to persons who wish to distribute them. Persons giving out cards should make it clear to the voter that the instructions should be read carefully and that the card must be completely filled out. Cards returned which are insufficiently completed cannot be accepted as valid registrations by the voter registration office.

Is proof of residency necessary on election day?

YES. Minnesota Laws and the Secretary of State have determined that there are five ways a voter may prove residency on election day. A voter wishing to register on election day must submit one of the following as proof of residency:

(a) a valid Minnesota driver's license showing the applicant's current

address in the precinct; or a receipt therefor

(b) a Minnesota Identification Card; or a receipt therefor

(c) the oath of another voter, registered in the precinct, who knows the applicant is a resident of the precinct (d) a mailed Notice of Ineffective Registration

(e) a valid registration in the same precinct at a different address.

Must voters re-register?

NO. Voters who have voted at least once in the last four years and who have not changed name or address are currently registered and need not re-register.

For any additional questions on voter registration, please consult Minnesota Statutes, Chapter 201, and Rules of the Secretary of State for Voter Registration.

CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES

Must campaign material be identified?

YES. Minnesota Statutes 210A.03 requires that the name of the candidate, the name and address of the author and the name and address of any other person or committee causing the material to be published or distributed must appear on the face of the material.

When may I campaign?

You may campaign at any time. Campaigning on election day is restricted to personal or telephone solicitation at a distance greater than 100 feet from the polling place. No campaigning may be done in the transportation of voters. Persons wishing to campaign on election day should check closely with Minnesota Statutes, Ch. 210A, and subsequent opinions of the Attorney General. No person may cause any campaign material tending to influence the election to be mailed or distributed on the day of the election. No campaign broadcasts on radio or television are permitted on election day.

May voters be transported to the polls?

YES. When voters are being transported to the polls, the vehicle should not have any campaign literature in it which might influence the election. It is unlawful for anyone transporting a voter to ask, induce or persuade any voter to vote for or against any candidate or proposal being voted upon at the election. Candidates may not transport anyone other than a member of their household to the polling place.

What may be distributed to voters?

Campaign literature, voter registration cards and other literature encouraging voters to participate in the election may be circulated other than on election day. Any other item which is a thing of value, given to a voter in order to induce the voter to support a candidate or issue, or to refrain from voting, is a violation of the Fair Campaign Practices Act.

Candidates or other persons with additional questions concerning campaign conduct should consult Minnesota Statutes Chapter 210A (Fair Campaign Practices Act-FCPA). A summary of the FCPA is published and distributed by the Secretary of State.

ABSENTEE VOTING

Who may apply for an absentee ballot?

Anyone who will be unable to vote in person at their precinct polling place because of: (a) absence from the precinct

(b) illness

(c) physical disability

(d) religious discipline or observance of a religious holiday.

When should I apply?

Application may be made to the county auditor-or in most cases to the municipal clerk-as early as 45 days and no less than 1 day prior to the election. Persons in health care facilities or hospitals, in the municipality of their residence, admitted on the day prior to the election, may apply with the municipal clerk by phone before 5:00 p.m. on the day prior to the election, or on the day of the election with the judges delivering the ballots.

Where do I apply?

Applications may be made to the county auditor or, in most cases, the municipal clerk.

In what form should the application be?

The county auditor and municipal clerk have application forms. It is not necessary, however, that the application be made on the form provided. It is necessary that the application contain the following information: (a) county of residence

(b) address of voter

(c) reason for application (see p.2)

(d) address to which ballots are to be mailed

(e) date

(f) signature of voter.

Must persons applying for absentee ballots be previously registered to vote?

NO. Persons who are not registered and apply for absentee ballots will be permitted to register on election day by enclosing a completed voter registration card inside the "return envelope". Do not place the card inside the "ballot envelope". Voters not previously registered who apply for the absentee ballots in person at the municipal clerk's or county auditor's office will be required to provide the same proof of residency as other election day registrants. Persons applying by mail who are not registered should request a voter registration card at the same time they apply for an absentee ballot.

How can residents of health care facilities and hospitals apply to vote absentee?

Each municipal clerk is required to appoint two judges, not of the same political party, to travel together to deliver ballots to patients who have applied for absentee ballots and who are in a health care facility or hospital.

Persons who become patients of health care facilities or hospitals, in the municipality of their residence, admitted on the day prior to the election, may apply with the municipal clerk by phone before 5:00 p.m. on the day prior to the election, or on the day of the election with the judges delivering the ballots. When application is made, the judges appointed by the municipal clerk shall deliver the ballots to the voter on the day of the election.

The two judges of election appointed by the municipal clerk shall deliver absentee ballots during the ten days prior to the election to residents of hospitals and health care facilities. On election day, the judges shall deliver absentee ballots to applicants who have become residents of health care facilities or hospitals on the day before the election.

Mailing of absentee ballots to and from health care facilities and hospitals is no longer required. The provision for delivery of ballots to and from the health care facilities and hospitals during the 10-day period before an election is substituted. On election day the judges shall deliver absentee ballots to applicants who have become residents of health care facilities or hospitals the day prior to the election.

Persons having additional questions concerning absentee voting procedures should consult Minnesota Statutes, Chapter 207, and Laws of Minnesota 1977, Chapter 395.

Please contact the Office of Secretary of State, Election Division, 180 State Office Building, St. Paul, MN 55155 (6+2) 296-2805 with any additional questions.

Municipal CLERK ALERT:

Training Plan for Voting Machine Precincts First Use Electronic Voting Systems

July, 1977

Training Plan

Clerks in municipalities using voting machines (lever type voting machines/electronic voting systems) are reminded of the provisions of Minnesota Statutes 206.19 and 206.195, and Rule 3103 of the Rules of the Secretary of State for Use of Voting Machines about training of election judges. M.S. 206.19 (p.149-150) Minnesota Election Laws 1976* describes specific training for Lever-Type Voting Machines: Rule 3103 describes some specific procedures for electronic voting systems in addition to procedures for all kinds of voting machines. The official in charge of the election for the municipality must file the plan and content for the training of election judges with the Secretary of State. This plan must be delivered to the Secretary of State at least 60 days before the election.

Any municipalities using voting machines--either lever-type or punch card-in elections this fall should file their training plans very soon.

For your information, here are the provisions of the rule regarding this training. The rule is part of the Rules of the Secretary of State for Certification and Experimental and General Use of Voting Machines which became effective September 12, 1976. The training shall include but need not be limited to the following procedures:

- A. pre-election checkout at the polling place;
- B. information and supplies that are to be displayed in the polling place;
- C. explanation of the duties of judges including but not limited to:
- 1. encouraging the voter to practice the method of voting by use of the demonstration model of the voting machine;
- 2. explaining use of any apparatus necessary to use with the voting machine, such as stylus, marking device, insertion of ballot card;
 - 3. explaining the ballot label and its relation to the ballot card;
- 4. if a primary election, explaining that a voter may vote in the election of only one party and indicate how that choice may be made;
 - 5. if a general election, indicating the method for write-in votes;
- 6. indicating how the voter can check his ballot before leaving the voting booth;
- 7. informing the voter of the proper method of completing the ballot, including use of ballot envelope;
- D. activities involved in closing the polls, preparing the ballots for tabulation, and transporting of ballots to the counting center;
- E. provision for individualized training for any persons who will serve as judges in the case of emergency when a trained judge is unable to serve.

(continued on next page)

*two copies per precinct of this lawbook were distributed to County Auditors by the Secretary of State, July 1, 1976.

OTER INFORMATION



merita.

For reference, please consult the Minnesota Election Judges Guide for Lever-type Voting Machines or the Election Judges Guide for Electronic Voting System Precincts published by the Secretary of State, August, 1976. Three copies per precinct of the guide, appropriate to your municipality's voting system, were distributed to County Auditors by the Secretary of State in August, 1976.

IMPORTANT NOTE: Training for Election Day Registration Procedures

Please consult pages 6-9 of the Election Judges Guide for step-bystep information on the election judges responsibilities when registering voters on election day.

In making your training plans, please continue to include reference to election day voter registration procedures, in addition to the procedures required by Statute and Rule.

First Use of Electronic Voting System

If your municipality is initiating use of an electronic voting system at 1977 fall elections, you are reminded to follow the procedures in M.S.206.185, Subd.3 (d), which include submitting to the Secretary of State 60 days before the first election a plan for complying with the Statutes and Rules.

If you have questions about these procedures, the content or the plan, please call the Election Division, Office of Secretary of State (612) 296-2805.



JOAN ANDERSON GROWE

MARK WINKLER Deputy Secretory of State

State of Minnesota

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

St. Paul 55155

July 29, 1977

180 STATE OFFICE BUILDING Corporation Division: 612 296-2803 UCC Division 612 296-2434 Election Division 612 296-2805 Office of the Secretary: 612 296-3766 Office of Deputy Secy. 612 296-2309

Secretary of State Election News for County Auditors (SSENCA)

LEGISLATION UPDATE

The Senate Elections Committee has scheduled a hearing for August 15, at 10:00 a.m. in Room 112, State Capitol to consider S.F. 350, the Uniform Municipal Election Day bill, and S.F. 744, a bill amending sections of Chapter 204A relating to election judges, ballots, summary statements and canvasses. The August 16 Senate elections committee meeting we noted in our last SSENCA has been cancelled.

The House Committee on General Legislation and Veterans Affairs will meet during mini-sessions this fall at 2:00 p.m. in Room 57, State Office Building on September 14, October 12, November 16, and December 14. We shall let you know of any election matters to be dealt with as soon as the agendas are made available.

Weekly Wrap-Up: The Minnesota House of Representative publishes a summary of legislative business every week during the session and now has available a final issue, Weekly Wrap-Up, 1977 Legislative Session. For a copy, write Jean Steiner, Information Officer, House Information Office, Room 8, State Capitol, St. Paul, MN 55155 or call (612) 296-2146. This issue contains a form with which you may request committee meeting schedules for the interim.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS 1977

We are enclosing a fact sheet, <u>Municipal Elections 1977</u>, which includes the administration of some of the 1977 laws which are in effect for elections this fall. We are also mailing copies to each of the 126 municipalities holding elections this fall. Please feel free to duplicate the fact sheet for anyone who is seeking information about these procedures.

Cities holding elections may need extra numbers of voter registration cards before the 20-day cutoff prior to each election, primary and general, so you may wish to check your supply of cards now.

ELECTION JUDGES MAY SERVE OUTSIDE THEIR PRECINCTS

You will recall that Chapter 133, 1977 Laws, allows a governing board to appoint residents of its municipality to serve as election judges

(over)

in precincts other than their own. This option may be helpful when a municipality seeks to balance experienced judges with those who may be serving for a first time. The new law allows such judges to vote by absentee ballot (see summary of 1977 laws enclosed with the July 15, 1977, SSENCA).

CHANGES IN PRECINCT BOUNDARIES/STREET DESIGNATIONS?

Auditor Delores Hauge (Houston County) told us of her plan to send notices to registered voters whose residences are placed in new precincts by boundary changes after the November 2, 1976 election. The notice will tell them the new precinct number and the location of the polling place.

Voters do not need to re-register when such changes are made. The Auditor makes the changes in the "office use only" corner of the original and duplicate registration cards.

The statute requires that the new precinct boundaries and voting place locations be posted/published prior to the next election in cities which are affected by the changes. Although the mailed notice Auditor Hauge is sending is not required by law, it is certainly a good way to help avoid confusion on election day.

PREMIERE!

Auditor Milt Owens (Blue Earth County) is hosting the inauguaral of our 1977-1978 series of regional conferences for local election officials. The meeting is set for 9:30 - 11:30 a.m. on Friday, August 19th, in the auditorium of the BENCO Building, southwest of Mankato. Counties in the area include, in addition to his own: Brown, Faribault, Le Sueur, Nicollet, Martin, Waseca, and Watonwan. We shall be asking these auditors to pass along our invitation to city and township clerks, election judges, candidates, and other interested citizens.

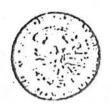
Reminder: You, your staff members, and your local elections people are all welcome at any of our regional meetings whether or not your particular county is listed!

DRIVERS RE-REGISTER

We sent the enclosed news release to all papers in Minnesota this week-you may wish to contact editors in your county with some local statistics
about the use people are making of the 1977 law requiring drivers license
centers to encourage voters to re-register when changing legal name or
residence on drivers licenses. We'll be pleased to add your county's
statistics to our files, so send us a copy, too. Then we can pass
it along to the legislature--with thanks from all of us for this new
aid to voter registration.

COPIES AVAILABLE

Statutory distribution of the Minnesota Legislative Manual 1975-1976 to schools, colleges, libraries, state departments, and legislators and their staffs has been underway since its publication in February, 1976. Commencing July 1, 1977, copies are available for public distribution without charge. If you or other officials in your county wish to have a copy, please stop in or write to our office, and we shall be pleased to share this resource with you -- on a first come, first served basis. Copies of the paperback Minnesota Legislative Manual 1974-1975: Special Education Edition are also available now without charge, and you may order these from our office, too.



WARK WINKLER

JOAN ANDERSON GROWE Secretary of Store

State of Minnesota office of the secretary of state St. Haul 55155

July 1, 1977

TED STATE OFFICE RUILDING
Corporation Division 612 296 2803
UCC Division 612 296 2434
Election Division 612 296 2605
Office of the Secretary 612 296 3206
Office of Deputy Secy. 612 296 2309

Secretary of State ELECTION NEWS for County Auditors (SSENCA)

CAUCUS ALERT

We welcome aid in reminding your county board and the city councils, township boards, school boards, and state colleges in your county who are planning activities now for 1978 to observe the Minnesota law prohibiting their scheduling of activities after 7:00 p.m. on February 28, Minnesota's precinct caucus day. The attached news release was sent to daily and weekly newspapers this week as part of our 1978 election information program.

REPORTS

Eighty-one counties reported election expenses on their 1976 annual reports. They provided the following breakdown:

Thanks to your help in supplying information about voter registration expenses, we were able to send a report requested by the Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C.

SPECIAL ELECTIONS: COUNTY COMMISSIONER

The Election Division has been pleased to assist several counties in planning for the special elections now required to fill vacancies in the office of county commissioner. Be sure to let us know whenever such a special election is necessary in your county, and we'll be ready to help you, too.

ELECTION CALENDARS

Municipalities planning election calendars are reminded that a 1977 law repealed the previous requirement that they keep voter registration offices open for additional hours prior to the close of voter registration twenty days before the election. If there are questions about the new law, please call our office.

1977 REGIONAL MEETINGS

In the June 17th issue of SSENCA we reported our intentions to hold enother series of meetings throughout the state with election officials and voters.

-continue-

"AN ECUAL OFFICETUNITY EMPLOYER"

Our thanks again, to all the county auditors who assisted this office in 1975 and 1976 by hosting our regional meetings for local election officials. In fact, we have observed that the several locations were so centrally located that we hope to invite ourselves back again in 1977 and 1978!

1976 Regional Meetings Held in:

Thief River Falls (Pennington)
Bemidji (Beltrami)
Moorhead (Clay)
Grand Rapids (Itasca)
Duluth (St. Louis)
Wadena (Wadena)
Little Falls (Morrison)
Cambridge (Isanti)
Austin (Mower)

Ortonville (Big Stone)
Litchfield (Meeker)
Hastings (Dakota)
Marshall (Lyon)
Faribault (Rice)
Mankato (Blue Earth)
Rochester (Olmsted)
Winona (Winona)

We are beginning to plan the 1977 meetings. They are to be held in September and October. We would very much appreciate your letting us know now if there are some dates in these months which are already filled. You'll be hearing from us soon about proposed dates and times.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
June 28, 1977

For information: Margaret Westin (612) 296-2201

SECRETARY OF STATE ISSUES CAUCUS ALERT

Secretary of State Joan Anderson Growe reminds all school boards, state colleges, and municipalities who are planning activities now for 1978, to observe the Minnesota law prohibiting their scheduling of activities after 7:00 p.m. on February 28, Minnesota's precinct caucus day.

Precinct caucuses of the three political parties recognized by Minnesota law; American, Democratic-Farmer-Labor, and Independent-Republican parties; will be held at 8:00 p.m. on Tuesday, February 28, 1978.

"More citizens have been attending the precinct caucuses of their political parties in recent years," Growe observes. "I feel that this law encourages participation, and I hope that this reminder will help local officials avoid possible scheduling conflicts.

"An important provision of the law allows employees time off from work to attend their precinct caucuses", Growe adds.

Caucus business includes selection of officers and delegates to district and/or county and state conventions. Also on the agenda is discussion of issues and candidates for partisan office for state primary and general elections in 1978.

"We hope that other groups in Minnesota will voluntarily follow the lead of their school, county, and township boards, city councils, and state colleges in omitting February 28, 1978 from their calendar of meetings", Growe declares.

"As this state's chief election official, I urge all community leaders to free the evening of February 23 so that Minnesotans may continue their good record of grass-roots political involvement", Growe concludes.

Mary Ann McCoy (612) 296-2805

DRIVERS LICENSE CENTERS DISTRIBUTE VOTER REGISTRATION CARDS

Secretary of State Joan Anderson Growe announces that hundreds of Minnesotans have already made use of a law requiring drivers license centers to encourage voters to re-register when changing address or legal name on drivers licenses.

"Our office now supplies voter registration cards to drivers license centers all over the state," Growe declares.

Early reports from county auditors indicate that this new aid to voters has met with enthusiastic response. In Hennepin county alone, 583 voters completed the voter registration cards during the first ten working days after the 1977 law became effective July 1st.

Minnesota election law requires that voters must re-register when they change residence or change their legal name.

"This advance registration at drivers license centers will help voters who have changed name or address and who must wait in line to re-register on election day," Growe observes.

Drivers must apply for a new license within 30 days after they move to a new address or change their legal name. To register to vote with a new name or at a new address, voters fill out the voter registration card now available at the drivers license center and mail it to their county auditor. Voters may register in person or by mail any time up to 20 days before an election.

Additional information about new election laws is available from county auditors and the Election Division, Office of the Secretary of State, 180 State Office Building, St. Paul, 55155, telephone (612) 296-2805.



JOAN ANDERSON GROWE Secretary of State

MARK WINKLER Deputy Secretary of State

State of Minnesota

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

St. Haul 55155September 28, 1977

180 STATE OFFICE BUILDING Corporation Division: 612/296-2803
UCC Division: 612/296-2803
Election Division: 612/296-2805
Office of the Secretary: 612/296-3266
Office of Deputy Secy.: 612/296-3309

MEMORANDUM TO: Aelene Borg, President. League of Women Voter of Minnesota Mary Waldo, Citizen Information/ Voters Service Chair, League of Women Voters of Minnesota Erica Buffington, Government Co-Chair, League of Women Voters of Minnesota Pamela Berkwitz, Action Chair, League of Women Voters of Minnesota

FROM: Joan Anderson Growe, Secretary of State

League of Women Voters of Minnesota Hurvey of Election SUBJECT:

Judges Project

It is a pleasure to learn that delegates at your State Convention in June, 1977, recommended that a survey of Election Judges in Minnesota be conducted by members of your organization.

Training for citizens who serve as judges of election has been a priority in our office. The Minnesota Legislature enacted in 1977 a law requiring that such training be provided by the Secretary of State and county auditors.

In preparation for these tasks, I invite you to meet with me and with members of my staff on Thursday, October 6, at 2:00 p.m. in my office (180 State Office Building, St. Paul) to discuss these matters of importance to all of us.

Please extend my invitation, too, to a local League President, citizen information/voters service chair, and action chair to join us at our meeting, so that we may have their insight, also.

I recall the benefits my staff and I received from the information your organization compiled two years ago in a similar survey project involving county auditors. We look forward to the results of this current project with confidence gained from knowledge of the thoroughness and impartiality which characterizes League of Women Voters activities.

As a member of the League of Women Voters, I am pleased to "second" the action of the 1977 State Convention and wish you every success.



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

To: Members of the Minnesota State Senate

From: Helene Borg, President

Re: Filling United States Senate Vacancies

Date: January 23, 1978

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota opposes the amended Senate version of H.F. 1500 regarding United States Senate vacancies.

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota is concerned that the Senate version as it now stands could deny the citizens of Minnesota their right to be represented by a person elected to the office for as long as 15 months. It also gives incumbent advantage to an appointee who serves for a long period of time. This is contrary to League support of representative government.

While it may be true that fewer citizens vote in a special election, we believe the status of a United States Senate position is great enough to allow for adequate citizen education within a reasonable time period. The present Senate version of the bill extends this time period unreasonably.

We urge you to take immediate action on a bill which would allow for a special election to fill United States Senate vacancies within a reasonable time period.



news release

For more information contact:

Karen Anderson (612) 935-2445

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota released a statement today opposing the Minnesota Senate's version of the bill regarding United States Senate vacancies (House File 1500).

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota is concerned that in the Senate version, as it now stands, the citizens of Minnesota could be denied for as long as fifteen months their right to elected representation. It also gives incumbent advantage to an appointee who serves for a long period of time. This is contrary to the League position supporting representative government.

While it may be true that fewer citizens vote in a special election, the League believes that the status of a United States Senate position is great enough to encourage citizen interest and participation in a special senate vacancy election. A reasonable amount of time should be allowed for citizen education before the election is held. However, the present Senate version of the bill extends this time to an unreasonable length, to the detriment of representative government.

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota continues to support action on a bill which would allow for a special election to fill United States Senate vacancies. It believes, however, that the present time frame of the amended Minnesota Senate bill is too great and would abridge the citizen's right to be represented by an elected Senator.



action

TIME FOR ACTION
CONTACT YOUR SENATOR

To: Local League Board members

From: Karen Anderson, Government Co-chair

Re: Filling U.S. Senate Vacancies

Date: January 20, 1978

BACKGROUND

LWVMN testified in favor of a special election to fill Senate vacancies in April, 1977. Since that time the Minnesota House has passed a bill calling for a special election within 12 to 14 weeks of a U.S. Senate vacancy. The Senate Elections Committee gave interim approval to a similar bill calling for a special election within 12 to 26 weeks of a vacancy.

On January 19, 1978, the Senate Elections Committee passed a strike-everything amendment, which will soon go to the Senate floor. This amendment provides that all special elections for U.S. Senate vacancies be held in November in conjunction with other elections, provided that the vacancy occurs at least 10 weeks before the normal primary election. The Governor would be able to make an interim appointment.

SUGGESTED ACTION

We urge you to contact your Minnesota Senator as quickly as possible and state League's opposition to the amended Senate version of the bill to fill U.S. Senate vacancies.

LWVMN is concerned that the Senate version as it now stands could deny the citizens of Minnesota their right to be represented by a person elected to the office for as long as 15 months. It also gives incumbent advantage to an appointee who serves for a long period of time. This is contrary to League support of representative government.

While it may be true that fewer citizens vote in a special election, we believe the status of a U.S. Senate position is great enough to allow for adequate citizen education within a reasonable time period. The present Senate version of the bill extends this time period unreasonably.

555 WABASHA · ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 PHONE: (612) 224-5445

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA TO: Buffington, Waldo, Borg and Berkwitz

FROM: Pat Lucas

SUBJECT: Rules - Absentee Ballot

DATE: 5/23/78

MEMO

Attached is a copy of proposed rules re: proof of residence on absentee ballots.

These rules will be in effect in 20 days.

Mary Ann McCoy talked to Harriett about them and she thought that LWV should comment on them.

If you have any questions or want more information you can call Steve Lendroff at the Secretary of States office. 296-2805

State Ligater 5/22/18

PROPOSED RULES

Sec. Stat. 4001

Office of the Secretary of State Election Division

Minnesota Identification Card or receipt therefore: Number

Proposed Temporary Rule Governing Content of Voter's Certificate on Back of Absentee Ballot Return Envelope

Notice is hereby given that a proposed temporary rule, Sec. Stat. 4001, is promulgated by the Office of the Secretary of State pursuant to Minn. Stat. § 15.0412, subd. 5 (1976), as amended by Laws of 1977, ch. 443, subd. 2. Statutory authority to adopt the proposed temporary rule is contained in Laws of 1978, ch. 714, subd. 29.

The proposed temporary rule of the secretary of state governing the content of the voter's vertificate on the back of the absentee ballot return envelope, if adopted, would require that persons registering to vote and voting by absentee ballot provide proof of residence as required of election day registrants.

All interested or affected persons have the opportunity to participate for 20 days following publication of this proposed temporary rule by submitting written comments to Steven Lindroth, Election Division, Office of the Secretary of State, Room 180 State Office Building, St. Paul, MN 55155.

May 5, 1978

Page 2098

Temporary Rule as Proposed

Joan Anderson Growe Secretary of State

(CITE 2 S.R. 2098)

VOTE	R'S CERTIFICATE	
County of		
State of		
I do swear that I am a citizen of the United States; the precinct indicated by my address in my application; that election date; that at said time I will be a qualified vote	t I do not intend to abandon my residence in sa	
(signed)		
(Voter)		
01 " 1 1 1 10 11	day of	
A.D, and I hereby certify then in my presence and in the presence of no other perballots and enclosed and sealed the same in the ballot ballots and that at his request I marked the ballots for him candidate or measure; that if the affiant registered to vote provided one of the following proofs of residence:	erson, and in such manner that I could not see envelope; or that he was physically incapacit m; that the affiant was not solicited or advised b	his vote, marked such tated from marking his by me for or against any

STATE REGISTER, MONDAY, MAY 22, 1978

PROPOSED RULES	
(Voters Certificate, cont.)	Sec. Stat. 4001
A current registration indicating a previous address w	vithin the same precinct.
A notice mailed by the county auditor indicating an i	insufficiently completed voter registration card.
A student's valid address on one of the following:	
(a) a student identification card;	Number
(b) a student fee statement;	Number
(c) or, a student registration card.	Number
A preregistered voter of the present willing to term	y to the residency of the voter wishing to register.
(Attesting witness)	y to the residency of the voter wishing to register.
	y to the residency of the voter wishing to register.
	y to the residency of the voter wishing to register.
(Attesting witness)	voter or address of residence from which the witness voted if he reside
(Attesting witness) (Official title or address where witness is registered v	

KEY: RULES SECTION — Underlining indicates additions to proposed rule language. Strike outs indicate deletions from proposed rule language. PROPOSED RULES SECTION — Underlining indicates additions to existing rule language. Strike outs indicate deletions from existing rule language. If a proposed rule is totally new, it is designated "all new material."



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 PHONE: (612) 224-5445

MEMO

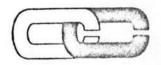
TO: Helene + Vam

FROM: Kasen

SUBJECT: reapportenment

DATE: 12/21/28

attached is info. from Common Cause requestry our help & support, I intend to roturn it to them Jan. 2, after action common, with first 2 blanks checked. OK?



common cause/minnesota

555 Wabasha Street, Room 307 St. Paul, Minnesota 55102 612) 227-9139

PRESIDENT Jerry Franck

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Ellen Sampson

December 12, 1978

Ms Karen Anderson League of Women Voters 555 Wabasha Street St. Paul. Minnesota 55102

Dear Ms. Anderson:

We have written to you in recent months to request your support in our efforts to work for passage by the legislature of an amendment to the Minnesota Constitution removing the power to reapportion from the legislature and giving it instead to a bipartisan commission.

A bill calling for the creation of such a commission will be introduced into the House and Senate early in 1979 by Representative Michael Sieben and Senator Bill Luther who, we hope, will be joined by cosponsors of both parties. Governor Elect Quie has expressed interest in the commission as has Secretary of State Joan Growe.

The bill will be divided into two parts, a constitutional amendment and an act. The amendment will

- Create a bipartisan reapportionment commission to reapportion the state and will remove that power from the legislature.
- 2) Describe the commission as consisting of four legislators (party leaders in Senate and House), two gubernatorial appointees, two appointees of executives of other parties receiving at least 20% of the vote in the last election and five members appointed by majority vote of the other members.
- Provide anti-gerrymandering standards to guide the commission.
- 4) Set up a procedure whereby the State Supreme Court has original jurisdiction over any legal appeals of the Commission's report.

p.2 December 12, 1978

The act will provide specific details about the commission, will outline a timetable and will provide for staffing and funding.

We plan to have a press conference when the bill is introduced and we would like very much to have as many organizations as possible issue statements of support for the creation of a reapportionment commission by that time.

We understand your organization may not wish to lobby actively for the bill. A statement of support need not commit you to providing time, money or staff to the lobbying efforts. Such a statement would merely enable us to illustrate a wide base of support for the reapportionment commission.

Please fill out the form enclosed with this letter and return it to us in the enclosed envelope by December 31, 1978. Please feel free to call me if you have comments or questions.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Ellen Sampson

Ellen Sampson, Executive Director Common Cause/Minnesota

ES/mw

Enc.

Orga	nization	Date
Addr	ess	Phone
Cont	act Person	
	We will support legislation to create a apportionment commission.	bipartisan re-
- di	We are interested in becoming actively i effort to create the commission includin lobbying.	
	We are undecided and would like more inf	ormation.
	We will not support this legislation.	



REAPPORTIONMENT COMMISSION AMENDMENT

Selected Local League Presidents From: Karen Anderson, Government Chair

H.F. 38 - M. Sieben

Reapportionment Commission Amendment

Date: May 11, 1979

The House Committee on General Legislation and Veteran Affairs approved H.F. 38 on Friday, May 11, and passed it on to the House Appropriations Committee.

We need to let the members of the Appropriations Committee know that League members support the bill.

H.F. 38 is still near original form in the House. It proposes a constitutional amendment providing for reapportionment of legislative and congressional districts by a 13-member reapportionment commission rather than by the Legislature itself.

Additional background information is contained in this year's editions of Capitol Letter as well as the November-December, 1978, MN VOTER.

Enclosed, for your information, is a copy of the most current LWVMN testimony on the bill.

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS (36)

- x Norton, Chairman _ St. Paul
- x Voss, Vice Chairman Anoka
- * Anderson, D. Stevens County
- x Anderson, G.- Granite Falls
- * Anderson, R. No Local League
- x Berkelman Duluth
- x Corbid No Local League
- * Dean Minneapolis
- * Den Ouden No Local League
- * Erickson Rock County, Worthington
- * Forsythe Edina
- * Haukoos Freeborn County
- x Hokanson Richfield
- * Johnson, D. -Willmar
- x Kahn Minneapolis
- x Kempe W. Dakota County, N. Dakota Cty* Welker No Local League
- * Laidig St. Croix Valley, Woodbury * Wieser Houston County
- x McCarron Fridley, Blaine, Mounds Viewx Wynia Falcon Heights, St. Paul

- * Mehrkens- Red Wing
- x Metzen Northern Dakota County
- x Munger Duluth
- * Nelsen B.- No Local League
- x Osthoff St. Paul, Roseville
- * Piepho Mankato
- * Reif White Bear Lake
- x Pice Minneapolis
- x Sieben, M. Author of the Bill
- * Stadum No Local League
- x Swanson ALREADY CONTACTED, DON'T
- * Valan Wilkin County
- x Waldorf St. Paul
- * Weaver- Anoka
- x Welch- No Local League



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

Statement presented to the
Rules Committee of the House of Representatives
by Joyce Lake, Lobbyist
League of Women Voters of Minnesota

April 4, 1979

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota urges you to vote in favor of House File 38, the proposed amendment to the Minnesota Constitution providing for a bipartisan reapportionment commission.

Regular and equitable reapportionment of the Minnesota Legislature has been a continuing concern of our members for several decades. We have supported both legislative and constitutional methods to achieve this goal. Historically, reapportionment attempts by the Legislature have resulted in lengthy delays, confusion and great expense to Minnesota citizens.

We believe that the reapportionment commission proposed by HF 38 is the best way to provide for equitable, efficient and economical reapportionment because of the following:

- it provides strict standards to ensure districts based on equal population;
- (2) it provides for accountability and openness of the commission to the public;
- (3) it provides for multi-partisan membership, important in recognizing the political nature of apportionment;
- (4) it provides for safeguards against gerrymandering.

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota urges you to react favorably to this particular proposal to ensure prompt, orderly and fair reapportionment of congressional and legislative districts.

One person-one vote and the 1980 census

- 1. Reapportionment The Reapportionment Act of 1929 (since amended) requires that the 435 seats in the U.S. House of Representatives be reapportioned every ten years, on the basis of the census of population conducted in years ending in 0. Sometime in the first week of January 1981 the President will present to the House the new allocation for each state. No matter how small its population, each state will have at least one representative. The remaining 385 seats will be allotted to come as close as possible to equalizing the number of people represented by each member of the House.
- 2. New congressional districts The reapportionment authority (usually the state legislature) in each state must draw new lines for U.S. congressional districts that reflect intrastate shifts in population. Court decisions have mandated this redistricting to bring districts as close as possible to the one personone vote ideal.
- 3. New districts for state legislatures The reapportionment authority must also make both houses of the state legislature conform to the one person-one vote ruling. They may accomplish this either through drawing new district lines or reapportioning the number of representatives among the districts.

Most states tie the reapportionment of their legislatures to the federal decennial census, although some use special state population counts. States may have either multi-member or single-member districts; however, court-ordered reapportionment plans are restricted in the use of multi-member districts.

4. Further applications The one person-one vote principle increasingly has been applied to all units of governmentcounties, city wards, school boards, sanitation districts.

and compact, equal-population districts that respect political boundaries. These standards do not have precise definitions, but Colorado, which adopted what is generally considered to be a model reapportionment amendment in 1974, requires single-member Senate and House districts with: each district in each house having a population as nearly equal as may be required by the Constitution of the United States, but in no event shall there be more than five percent deviation between the most populous and the least populous district in each house. . . . Each district shall be as compact in area as possible and the aggregate linear distance of all district boundaries shall be as short as possible. . . . (Each district must consist of contiguous precincts). . . . (and) communities of interest, including ethnic, cultural, economic, trade area, geographic and demographic factors, shall be preserved within a single district wherever possible.

The independent commission

As this proposal is generally described—most notably by Common Cause-an independent, bipartisan commission made up of people who are not public officials would replace state legislators as reapportionment authorities in the states. Currently, 15 states use commissions either as the primary reapportionment authority, or as back up to other bodies.

Supporters of the commission idea point out the inherent conflict of interest in giving state legislators the authority to draw state legislative district lines, and they observe that similar conflicts could exist when state legislators draw congressional district lines. For example, some state legislators might draw district lines that could favor their own candidacy for Congress. Others might see a personal advantage in drawing district lines so that an unbeatable congressional candidate would run on the same ballot. Proponents of the commission concept also argue that it would save legislative time and lessen reliance on the courts because there would be a strong presumption of fairness in a plan developed by a bipartisan

Some people, skeptical about the commission approach, believe that strict antigerrymandering guidelines make commissions unnecessary, however. Other opponents argue that reapportionment

authority should be kept in the hands of public officials who are accountable to their constituents through the election process. They brand as "elitist" the attempt to give this authority to blueribbon commissioners. They also question the ability of a commission to be any more bipartisan than the state legislature on an issue as basic to the survival of political parties as reapportionment.

Mandated dates for implementing a reapportionment plan

Most state constitutions require only that the state legislature reapportion itself after the federal census (and some do not require any reapportionment). The U.S. Supreme Court does require reapportionment, but has not made a definitive statement of the date by which this must be accomplished. Supporters of legislation or state constitutional amendments setting dates for the implementation of a reapportionment plan would tie it to the availability of data from the U.S. decennial census.

Improvements planned for the 1980 census and for the way the Census Bureau will be able to supply population data to the states should help the states complete their reapportionments more quickly than they have done in the past. Under the provisions of a 1975 law, the bureau is required to report state population counts to the governor of each state and to the reapportionment body by April 1, 1981. Also as required by law, each state can now have the Bureau of the Census calculate population statistics for almost any geographic location within a state.

Computer districting

Many observers thought, at first, that computers could turn the reapportionment process into a straightforward exercise in math and logic. A growing number of states do rely on computers for statistical analysis and mapping. And a properly programmed computer can produce a number of alternative reapportionment plans that comply with the constraints of geographically contiguous and compact, equal-population districts that respect political boundaries. The computer however is capable of producing plans that conform to these constraints but are, in fact, sophisticated gerrymanders. As a result, over the years, the computer has come to be regarded as only one of the tools in the redistricting process. The final choice of plan has remained in the hands of the people who constitute the reapportionment authority.

The states were barely through the thicket of the 1970 census before they began planning the 1980 cycle. Reapportionment in the eighties promises to be as full of thorns as it was in the past. No clear and easy path to fair and effective representation has yet been uncovered, although ideas about how to do a better job keep cropping up. What is clear is that what was a sometime issue in American politics less than 20 years ago has become a constant

Sources

Readers interested in pursuing the complex issues of reapportionment that are discussed here only briefly may consult the

Common Cause, Toward a System of "Fair and Effective Representation." November 1977. Available from Common Cause, 2030 M Street, NW, Washington DC 20036, \$2.00. A survey of existing state apportionment methods and judicial decisions. Also describes the Common Cause proposals to change the apportion-

Dixon, Robert G., Jr., Democratic Representation: Reapportionment in Law and Politics, New York, Oxford University Press, 1968. A comprehensive textbook study of the issues involved in

Council of State Governments, Reapportionment in the Seventies, Lexington, Kentucky, The Council of State Governments, 1973, \$3.00. Summarizes reapportionment activities and examines is-

Researched and written by Sheri Lanoff, department head. LWVEF Government/Voters Service Department.

REAPPORTIONMENT: Issues for the Eighties

Justice Felix Frankfurter characterized reapportionment in 1946. Although times have changed, the process of reassigning a number of legislative seats result of these population changes is a threat to to a unit of government (reapportionment) and re-minority representation. A survey conducted by the drawing lines for legislative districts (redistricting) is just as political a thicket now as it was then.

The reason for all this political heat? What is at stake is clout in the 50 state legislatures and the U.S. House of Representatives. Whoever controls the drawing of boundaries for legislative districts determines who is represented in the legislatures. And the areas. characteristics of those representatives' voicesurban, suburban or rural, minority or nonminoritywill shape debate on the floor of the legislature and the outcomes of the legislative process until the next reapportionment.

Political parties place so much importance on reapportionment that they began planning their strategy for the eighties in the mid-seventies. The object of that strategy is to win majorities in the state legislatures, which usually have responsibility to reapportion both congressional and state legislative districts. Republicans, who held majorities in both houses in only five state legislatures after the 1976 election and were concerned over the potential disaster in reapportionment struggles after the 1980 census, made the election of Republican state legislators a high priority for 1978 elections. That strategy paid off. After the 1978 elections. Republicans controlled both legislative chambers in 12 states. The 1980 election offers the final opportunity for the parties to get set for the reapportionment process that will begin in 1981 when population data is available from the 1980 federal census.

Reapportionment: new numbers for some

U.S. Bureau of the Census population projections show that the 1980 census will supply plenty of fuel for continued infighting. Unless current trends in migration are reversed, seven states will gain and six states will lose representation in the U.S. House of Representatives. There are, after all, only 435 seats; what one state gains, another must lose. Sunbelt and western states will be the gainers: Florida and Texas stand to add two seats each; Arizona, California, Oregon, Tennessee and Utah, one each. The major losers will be from the snowbelt and eastern states: New York will probably lose three seats; Ohio, two; Illinois, Michigan, South Dakota and Pennsylvania,

Redistricting: new boundaries

Whether or not its quota of congressional seats changes, almost every state will be required to draw new lines for congressional and state legislative dis-

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"The political thicket." That's the way Supreme Court tricts that reflect intra-state population shifts. In the past ten years suburban communities have boomed while center-city districts have lost residents. One Congressional Black Caucus indicated that every district represented by a black member of Congress lost population between 1970 and 1976. In the 1980 redistricting, it is possible that black voting strength will be diluted as redistricters are forced to combine black neighborhoods with adjacent suburban white

Continuing issues

In the U.S. Supreme Court decision in Reynolds v. Sims (see box: "Looking Backward"), Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote that the aim of legislative apportionment is "fair and effective representation." But the courts have offered no clear guidelines-other than equal population—on how to reach that goal. The reapportionment experiences of the states after the 1970 census demonstrated that it is no easy matter to pursue "fair and effective representation," and the post-1980 shakeup will surely produce its share of struggles. Outlined below are the most persistent of the problems in reapportionment and some of the frequently suggested solutions.

The problems

The equal-population gerrymander

In 1812, the Massachusetts legislature carved a legislative district out of Essex County that looked, after painter Gilbert Stuart added wings and claws to it, very much like a salamander. Not really a salamander, observed Editor Benjamin Russell, but a "gerrymander," named after Massachusetts Governor Elbridge Gerry, whose Democratic party would benefit from the oddly shaped district. The term has stuck: any excessive manipulation of a legislative district to benefit a particular incumbent or party is known as "gerrymandering."

When court decisions in the 1960s prescribed strict mathematical limits for population variance between legislative districts, optimists thought that the end of the gerrymandered district was finally at hand. The 1970s gerrymandered district does indeed stay within the range of population variance allowed by the courts, but its borders are nonetheless drawn to serve purposes other than fair and effective repre-

Gerrymanders serve a number of political and partisan purposes. Majority parties sometimes gerrymander to preserve or increase their control of a legislature or a congressional delegation. Sometimes the major parties do a little horsetrading and agree to gerrymander so as to preserve the seats of incumbents in both parties. The leadership of a party may gerrymander to jeopardize or eliminate the seat of a maverick within its own party. Or those in control

League of Women Voters Education Fund 1730 M Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

H

of redistricting can dilute geographic or racial representation even while maintaining the equal population standard required by the courts.

Gerrymandering can endanger the whole political process. When used to limit the expression of minority points of view, it diminishes effective representation. When used to create safe seats, it minimizes political competition, which in turn, creates voter apathy. Another effect of the safe seat: most observers agree that politicians who are shoo-ins year after year often grow unresponsive to their constituents.

The affirmative gerrymander

Recent court decisions indicate that it may be permissible to allow factors other than equal population to be considered in reapportionment plans. For example, the U.S. Supreme Court let stand a 1973 Connecticut reapportionment that in effect gerrymandered districts for the state legislature so that they would reflect the proportion of Republican and Democratic districts in the state. The Court found the "benevolent, bipartisan gerrymandering" evident in the Connecticut plan to be an acceptable practice.

Not long after the Connecticut case, another U.S. Supreme Court decision in *United Jewish Organizations of Williamsburg v. Carey* said that in some instances (in this case, the state legislature's obligation under the remedial requirements of the Voting Rights Act), states could give priority to racial or ethnic factors in drawing boundaries for legislative districts. A group of Hasidic Jews in Kings County brought the suit against the 1972 New York state reapportionment plan in which, they argued, they were assigned to state legislative districts solely on the basis of race for the purpose of creating districts with a required percentage of minority voters. The Supreme Court upheld the plan, stating that racial quotas were a means of insuring that nonwhite voting power was not adversely affected in redistricting.

Critics of the affirmative gerrymander, while agreeing that an equal population standard falls short of guaranteeing "fair and effective representation," point out that the approach used in Connecticut plan might have the effect of freezing the political status quo until the next reapportionment. They also observe that drawing district lines to create districts with nonwhite voting majorities does not assure that representatives elected by these districts will be nonwhite.

Continuing presence of the courts

Every reason for the constant court involvement in reapportionment decisions of the 1970s continues into the 1980s. During the seventies, under court order, one or both houses in 18 states were required to reapportion, and seven states redrew congressional district lines. In numerous other states, the courts were asked to review a variety of reapportionment plans to judge whether they conformed to judicial guidelines.

The subject of most lawsuits has been the range of population deviation between legislative districts established under a particular state's proposed plan. In *Kirkpatrick* v. *Preisler*, a Missouri case, the U.S. Supreme Court required a good-faith effort to set the population of each congressional district "as nearly equal as practicable." The Court did not set a maximum or minimum range of variation, however, and, as a result, almost every redistricting plan is open to question as to whether or not it is "as nearly equal as practicable."

Courts also asserted jurisdiction in reapportionment cases when those with reapportionment responsibility failed to act. In the early seventies, for example, the Republican governor of California and the Democratic-dominated state legislature dueled to a standstill over the proposed plan for congressional redistricting. After the governor vetoed the state legislature's plan, the California Supreme Court intervened to prevent the at-large election of California's 42 U.S. representatives in the 1972 election. The court required the state to use the plan drawn up by the state legislature for the 1972 elections (even though the governor had vetoed it). When the governor and state legislature again failed to come up with a plan acceptable to both for the 1974 congressional elections, the court appointed three special masters who used computers to

Looking backward

Before 1962

Reapportionment is a young issue in national politics. Until the 1962 Supreme Court ruling in *Baker v. Carr*, decisions on how to draw lines for congressional and state legislative districts were left to the states. Even the few rules that Congress had enacted over the years were never enforced, and most were dropped by the early 1900s.

Despite population shifts and changes, it was a rare state legislature that reapportioned itself at regular intervals. At the time of the *Baker* decision in 1962, ten states were using district boundaries drawn before 1930—some of them long before. Vermont had last reapportioned its state legislature in 1793, Delaware in 1897. Congressional districting was also infrequent. In 1946, Illinois, the worst example, had not redrawn its congressional district lines since 1901. Connecticut had not drawn new lines since 1911. Louisiana since 1912.

Even when states did reapportion their legislatures, state constitutions often required that they do so on a basis other than population. Some New England states traditionally apportioned their lower houses by granting a town one representative, regardless of its population. Many states gave representation in at least one house to counties or other local government units. According to the *Book of the States* for 1962-63, population was the criterion for apportionment in only 20 of the states' upper houses and 17 of the lower houses.

As a result, the most common characteristic of state legislatures and congressional districts was malapportionment—unequal representation for citizens. In 1946 the population disparity between the largest and smallest congressional district in Illinois was 914,053 to 112,116. There were similar wide spreads in congressional districts in other states: Ohio, 698,650 to 163,561; Maryland, 534,568 to 195,427; Texas, 528,961 to 230,010.

Malapportionment in state legislatures was even more dramatic. A 1960 National Municipal League survey found that, in every house of every state legislature, the largest district contained more than twice as many people as the smallest district. For example, the disparity was 424 to 1 in the Connecticut House, 99 to 1 in the Georgia House, 223 to 1 in the Nevada Senate and 1,414 to 1 in the Rhode Island Senate. Typically, rural districts were overrepresented and urban districts were underrepresented in the state legislatures. In California, for instance, the population of the smallest state senate district was 14,294; the largest senate district, made up of all of Los Angeles County, had 6,038,771 inhabitants.

Court intervention

The courts stepped into the political thicket in 1962 after skirting the issue of standards for equitable representation for over 50

years. The U.S. Supreme Court's reluctance to intervene in reapportionment cases is seen in the 1946 case of *Colegrove* v. *Green*, in which Colegrove argued that the disparity in population between congressional districts in Illinois was so great that it violated his rights under the 14th Amendment guarantee of equal protection under the law. He lost his case in a 4-3 decision. Justice Frankfurter expressed the Court's majority view that "the issue of reapportionment is of a peculiarly political nature and therefore not meet for judicial interpretation. . . . The remedy for unfairness in districting is to secure state legislatures that will apportion properly, or to invoke the ample powers of Congress."

Sixteen years later, much had changed. First, in its decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, the 1954 school desegregation case, the U.S. Supreme Court recognized that an individual citizen has the right to sue for equal protection of the laws. In addition, population shifts from urban to rural areas made the malapportionment of the state legislatures difficult to ignore. The Court became convinced that its intervention was necessary to provide a remedy, and between 1962 and 1964 it handed down three decisions that form the basis of all reapportionment and redistricting today.

In Baker v. Carr the Court decided that the federal judiciary had the power to review the apportionment of state legislatures. In Tennessee, where Baker arose, the state legislature had not been reapportioned since 1901, although its state constitution required it to do so every 10 years. In 1961, the state's four metropolitan counties accounted for 42 percent of the state's population yet elected only 20 percent of the members in the lower house and 18 percent in the upper. Several remedies used in other states were closed to Tennesseeans. The state court refused to intervene on the grounds that legislative reapportionment was not within its jurisdiction. And the initiative or referendum mechanisms, used by citizens of some states in similar circumstances to force state legislatures to reapportion, were not part of Tennessee law. Urban interests brought their case before the federal courts, charging that the state had violated the 14th Amendment, and carried the day in the Supreme Court.

In 1964, Wesberry v. Sanders brought the concept of "one person-one vote" to public consciousness and extended the Court's jurisdiction to congressional districts. The exact language used by the Court was: "as nearly as is practicable, one man's vote in a congressional election is to be worth as much as

Less than four months later, in Reynolds v. Sims, the Court applied the same population standard to state legislatures, requiring that "the seats in both houses of a bicameral state legislature must be apportioned on a population basis."

The reaction

The Reynolds decision generated widespread and heated opposition to court intervention in reapportionment cases. The

states accepted federal court jurisdiction over representation in the U.S. House of Representatives, but opponents in some states were unwilling to accept federal courts' dictation of apportionment formulas for state legislatures. They used "the federal analogy" also, to argue, that just as representation in the upper house of the federal government is based on a factor other than population, representation in one house of the state legislature could also be based on factors other than population. Those opposed to the *Reynolds* decision found a charismatic leader in Senator Everett M. Dirksen (R-IL), who proposed an amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The "Dirksen amendment" would have allowed one house of each state legislature to be apportioned on factors other than population.

Between 1965 and 1970, the pro-Dirksen amendment forces pushed for its approval first in the Congress and when that failed, in the state legislatures. Introduced in the Senate in 1965 and 1966, the amendment never garnered the two-thirds vote necessary for its passage. The Dirksen forces then turned to the state legislatures, hoping that they could get the necessary two-thirds to call for a constitutional convention or that the threat of such a call to convention would force Congress to act favorably on the amendment.

The proamendment interests mounted an intense, grassroots lobbying campaign to make the public aware of the amendment. Who supported the amendment? Mainly those from the conservative side of the political spectrum: rural-based groups, whose strength would be diminished if representation in the legislatures were based on population only . . . some organizations representing elected state officials, such as the Council of State Governments . . . major business voices, including the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce. The equally vociferous antiamendment lobby argued that population was the only standard on which to base representation in the states. Much of the opposition to the Dirksen amendment came from urban and minority groups and supporters of the one person-one vote principle, such as the League of Women Voters, the American Civil Liberties Union and the AFL-CIO.

By early 1967, 32 states of the required 34 had submitted petitions to Congress requesting a convention on reapportionment. As the probability of a constitutional convention increased, many people began to question the *process*—as distinguished from the *issue* of reapportionment. (See LWVEF pub. #125, Constitutional Amendment by Convention: An Untried Alternative.) In 1969, the high-water mark for the campaign, one more state petitioned for a convention on reapportionment (and one state adopted a resolution rescinding its previous application). Support for the amendment diminished thereafter, especially after the 1970s reapportionments resulted in state legislatures that more accurately reflected the urban and minority characteristics of the states' populations.

develop a plan acceptable to the court.

Single/multi-member districts

Much controversy has centered on the practice, used in 25 state legislatures, of assigning more than one representative to run at-large in a single district.

To place this controversy in context, it is necessary to understand the mathematics of various forms of representation. Elections in the United States are usually win/lose propositions: the candidate who wins a plurality of votes is declared the winner. Therefore, the percentage of seats that a party wins in a legislative body is not directly proportional to the percentage of votes it has won in a legislative election. A party could conceivably draw 49 percent of a state's votes yet fail to win a single seat in the state legislature.

The most frequent objection to multi-member districts grows out

of the shortcomings of winner-take-all elections. Opponents of multi-member districts see them as further lessening the chances for partisan and ethnic minorities to be represented in the legislature. In a large district, the election of multiple representatives allows pockets of minor-party or ethnic-minority strength to be swallowed up by the majority. Opponents also argue that multimember districts produce larger population deviations than single-member districts. An additional argument is that candidates in large, populous districts bear the costs of reaching far more voters than candidates for the same legislature running in singlemember districts. Proponents of the multi-member method, on the other hand, contend that their use allows long-time political jurisdictions to continue to be represented as a single unit. A further point in favor of multi-member districts is that members who must represent a broad constituency can be less parochial in their views on issues.

The courts, while not ruling out multi-member districts as unconstitutional, have directed court-ordered reapportionment plans to avoid their use.

Suggested solutions

In the years since the 1962 landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Baker v. Carr* (see box: "Looking Backward") many changes in the reapportionment process have been suggested to improve the probability of fair and effective representation.

The most frequently suggested topics of congressional and state legislative proposals for change in the reapportionment process are discussed below.

Antigerrymandering guidelines

Opponents of the gerrymander believe its use can be limited through laws that set strict standards for geographically contiguous



League of Women Voters of the United States 1730 M Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 Tel. (202) 296-1770

memorandum

April 1979 This is going on DPM

TO: State and Local League Presidents and ILOs

FROM: Ann Savage, Government Chair

RE: Reapportionment: Issues for the 80's

We are pleased to send you the LWVEF publication Reapportionment: Issues for the 80's just as you are beginning (or have already started) to plan reapportionment and redistricting activities to go into full swing after the 1980 federal census. The publays out current problems in both assigning numbers of legislators to districts and drawing legislative district lines and discusses suggested solutions to these problems. It also looks back over the last two decades to update the reader on reapportionment history.

The pub clearly sets out the importance of the reapportionment process: "Whoever controls the drawing of boundaries for legislative districts determines who is represented in the legislatures. And the characteristics of those representatives voices...minority, non-minority, urban, suburban, rural... will shape the debate on the floor of the legislature and the outcome of the legislative process until the next reapportionment."

The LWVUS position on apportionment (as affirmed by the '78 convention) calls for apportionment of both houses of the state legislature substantially on population—freely translated into the one-person-one-vote principle. Since the announcement of that position in 1966, state and local Leagues have worked for the establishment of the one-person-one-vote principle for all elected government bodies.

Reapportionment: Issues for the 80's can serve as a basic tool in planning your reapportionment and redistricting activities. We suggest its use could be further enhanced if used together with other materials that provide specifics for your state and locality. Many of you have already begun to do this and we have seen the excellent and comprehensive materials you have sent to the national office. Please continue to send us any material you prepare on these issues so that we may be up-to-date and can share examples of your work with interested inquirers from both inside and outside the League.

Reapportionment: Issues for the 80's LWVEF #340, 30¢ each. Bulk prices available.