



## League of Women Voters of Minnesota Records

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*Wash. Tribune 2/29/60*  
**POLITICAL ROUNDUP**

# Three Groups in State Begin Ethics Studies

By **JOHN C. McDONALD**

**Minneapolis Tribune  
Staff Writer**

Three separate activities were under way last week in Minnesota with a view to inquiring further into the feasibility of legislative supervision of ethics in government.



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ETHICS IN GOVERNMENT STUDIED

by

John C. McDonald, Mpls. Tribune Staff Writer

(Originally printed in Minneapolis Tribune, March, 1958, reprinted by permission)

National attention has been focused recently on the influence exerted by lawmakers and government officials upon regulatory agencies like the federal communications commission, the civil aeronautics board and others in Washington.

In Minnesota last September Governor Orville L. Freeman named a nonpartisan committee to study ethical and moral standards in state government.

This committee on ethics in government of which Dr. Charles J. Turck, president of Macalester college, is chairman, is looking into election campaign finances and conduct, lobbying practices and conflicts of interest -- the last being situations in which citizens may feel a public official acted more in self interest than in the public interest.

"We are seeking to prepare a code that will serve as a guide for the highest type of public service in legislative and administrative posts," says Turck.

"We are endeavoring to understand the highly complicated factors that affect the performance of public duty, and we hope that the proposed code will be of some practical value."

Freeman, in announcing creation of the ethics committee, believed to be the first of its kind in state government, said:

"I believe we should have legislation which would prohibit lawyer-legislators from representing private clients before any state agency whose actions might be directly or indirectly influenced by the fact that they are members of the legislature."

Freeman himself is an attorney. His name remains on the door of the Minneapolis law firm with which he says he severed all financial connections when he became governor.

Members of the ethics committee, besides Dr. Turck, are Dr. William Anderson, political science professor emeritus, University of Minnesota; Mrs. David Aronson, former president of the Minnesota Congress of Parents and Teachers; William E. Carlson, Ramsey county commissioner and former legislator; William Fallon, lawyer and former mayor of St. Paul; Floyd Flom, University of Minnesota political scientist; Judge William Gunn of Hennepin county district court, a former counsel and legislative lobbyist for the Minnesota State Federation of Labor; Eric Hoyer, former mayor of Minneapolis; Mrs. Stanley Kane, reapportionment chairman of the Minnesota League of Women Voters; Rabbi W. Gunther Plaut of Mount Zion temple, St. Paul; Father James P. Shannon, president of St. Thomas college, St. Paul, and Dr. Reuben Youngdahl, pastor of Mount Olivet Lutheran church, Minneapolis.

A writer for a national magazine watched the Minnesota legislature in action in early 1957 and remarked, "You don't need lobbyists here; this legislature has its own built-in lobby system."

The visitor was referring to a Minnesota fact of life which finds the biennial, 90-day lawmaking body peopled here and there with members who promote or oppose certain bills because their private interests may be affected.



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Miles Lord  
Attorney General  
State of Minnesota  
St. Paul

February 9, 1960

Mrs. Kenneth Sigford  
1987 Beacon  
St. Paul 13, Minnesota

Dear Mrs. Sigford:


I have read with interest your compilation of materials relating to ethics in government. Your review of the problem and the laws and regulations governing the subject is indeed admirable and I do not think there is much that I need add, nor that I could suggest to enhance or improve your report.

Serious consideration of this important subject will, I know, result in improvement of our governmental processes.

If this office can be of any assistance to the League in furthering this effort, do not hesitate to call upon us.

Very truly yours

MILES LORD  
Attorney General

  
By: Sydney Berde  
Special Assistant  
Attorney General

SB:dk

DONALD FRASER  
SENATOR 29TH DISTRICT  
813 7TH ST. S. E.  
MINNEAPOLIS 14, MINNESOTA



State of Minnesota  
SENATE

COMMITTEES  
CITIES OF THE FIRST CLASS  
JUDICIARY  
LOCAL GOVERNMENT  
TAXES AND TAX LAWS  
TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS

Re: Draft on Ethics in Gov't

This draft is excellent! It is well written and presents a comprehensive summary of the history, concepts, and legislative results on the ethics and lobbyist bills. I have only the following additional comments:

a. The reader comes to the end of each section- and no summary or conclusion appears. Perhaps this is deliberate, but the question "Where do we go from here" is left unanswered.

b. I made a few typographical corrections plus one or two minor wording notations- these are marked along the margin.

c. At the bottom of page 12, the ~~described~~ description of the revised language in the Senate ethics bill seems a little brutal- perhaps it is justified. However, the setting for the Senate redraft was to find a reasonable way past the obvious antagonism of the Senate Civil Administration committee. One of the areas in which the largest barrage of questions occurred dealt with the problem of what constituted a personal or private interest. "Did a druggist have to make a formal disclosure in the record when he voted against the 'pill bill' (which would have enlarged the scope of grocery store sales of packaged drugs of various sorts)?" "Did a legislator have to disclose formally if he voted against a vote in the gas tax (since this would save him money when driving his car)?" "How about the lawyers pushing through the increased salary bills for judges?" "How about the farmer voting on agricultural bills which would directly affect him?"

Although it was possible to argue that these did not constitute "personal" or "private" interests requiring disclosure, it seemed wise to the authors to try to delineate the difference more precisely. Thus the revision.

DONALD FRASER  
SENATOR 29TH DISTRICT  
813 7TH ST. S. E.  
MINNEAPOLIS 14, MINNESOTA



State of Minnesota  
SENATE

COMMITTEES  
CITIES OF THE FIRST CLASS  
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TAXES AND TAX LAWS  
TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS

comments- 2

The problems to be met by disclosure turned on the right of constituents and fellow legislators to be aware of possible biases or motivations affecting the legislator's vote, debate, or efforts to induce other legislators in the halls. When a matter affects a legislator's district, this obvious bias or interest is already a matter of public information. Likewise when matters affect a person's occupation- it is presumed that voters and fellow legislators are already aware of this fact.

Note also that here we are dealing with criminal conduct- and the need for more precise definition is probably essential if the courts are going to be able to enforce this type of provision.

It may be argued that the revised language was not as tightly drawn as it should have been, but it represented the type of exceptions to the need for formal disclosure which we ~~have~~ had been forced to argue would not be intended to be prohibited by the original draft of the bill.

So much for that.....

I am very impressed by the work and talent which has gone into this treatise!

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 15th & Washington S.E., Minneapolis 14, Minn.  
February 26, 1960 022660CL

MEMO TO: State Item Chairman

FROM: Mrs. Kenneth Sigford, Ethics in Government Chairman

RE: Ethics in Government Materials

Here is the basic League material. We hope you find it stimulating and useful. We want to remind you of two other sources of information which are available to you from the state office.

1. The Report of the Governor's Committee on Ethics in Government.

The original printing of that report has been exhausted. We have had it reprinted and you may purchase it for 25¢ a copy.

2. The Ethics in Government series of articles by John McDonald which originally appeared in the Minneapolis Tribune in 1958. As you perhaps recall these articles reported specific examples of conflicts of interest in our own legislature. We feel that these articles may be the illustrative cases of the problem we have set forth in "Ethics and the Public Servant." Because the articles will be highly interesting as well as useful to you in the Ethics study, we asked the paper if copies of them were available. When we were told they were not, we asked, and received, permission to reproduce them for our members. We have mimeographed them and you may have them for 15¢.

Please return consensus questionnaire to the state office by June 15. Extra copies of these questionnaires are available, without charge, if you want to order them for your units.

May 10, 1960

GOVERNOR'S SUB\_COMMITTEE ON CAMPAIGN PRACTICES (of Governor's Committee on Ethics)

Rabbi Gunther W. Plaut, 1300 Summit Ave., St. Paul, Minnesota 5

Senator Lew W. Larson, Mableton, Minnesota

Senator Donald Fraser, 1010 Midland Bank Bldg., Mpls, Minnesota 1

Senator Stanley W. Holmquist, Grove City, Minnesota

Honorable Archie L. Gingold, Judge Municipal Court, City Hall and Court House, St. Paul 2

Mr. Harold E. Wood, West First National Bank Bldg., St. Paul 1

Dr. William Anderson, 111 Melbourne, S.E., Mpls. 14, Minn.

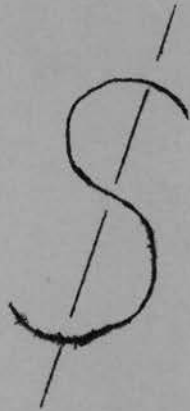
Mr. William Carlson, Mutual Service Insurance Com., 145 University Ave., St. Paul 3

Mrs. Boyd Thomes, 40 Barton S.E., Mpls. 14, Minn.

~~Rep Robert Latz, Midland Bank Bldg., Mpls. 1~~

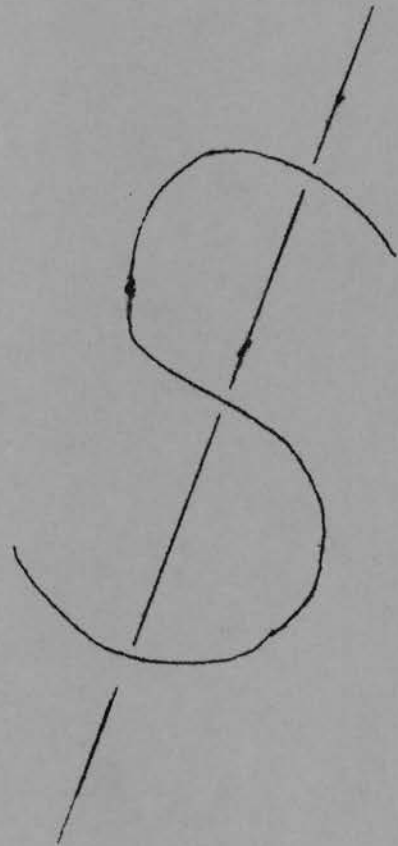
*Sent memo re May 24 city Sub Com - Campaign Club - 12-2 PM -*

*return to State  
Office  
[1960]*



# MONEY IN ELECTIONS

A STUDY OF CORRUPT PRACTICES



## MONEY IN ELECTIONS -- CORRUPT PRACTICE LAWS

"Corrupt Practice Laws" is a term used to describe that body of law regulating the use of money in elections, preventing the improper influencing of voters, and controlling political advertisements and literature. Besides prohibiting bribery, this group of laws aims to regulate behavior not usually regarded as corrupt. Since we will be dealing primarily with the use and abuse of money, perhaps a better title would be Money in Elections or Control of Campaign Financing.

### Why is the League of Women Voters studying the Corrupt Practice Laws?

During 1959-61 the League of Women Voters of Minnesota will support improvements in Minnesota election laws and in the related area of ethics in government, and will promote party designation. The first resource publication to implement this program was "Ethics and the Public Servant" (February 1960) which dealt with the areas of conflicts of interest and lobby regulation. This present publication will examine the overlapping areas of ethics and election laws by dealing with corrupt practices and unfair campaign practices. The source of campaign funds can have a real bearing on the ultimate behavior of an elected official.

In approaching this problem, we will discuss how campaigns are run and the use as well as source of money in elections. We will then see what attempts have been made to control the possible dangers, analyze how effective these controls are, and present possible improvements. It is then up to you, the League member, to decide what changes, if any, the League of Women Voters should try to have adopted for Minnesota.

### How Campaigns are Organized

A person running for public office must of necessity first attempt to make his name known to many people, and he must also attempt to convince these people that he can do the best job of representing them. To do this, he must spend money. How much he spends depends on how much he has, what position he is running for, and the nature of the district.

If it is a local office with a small constituency, the candidate may be well enough known so that very little publicity is needed, and he can handle the campaign by himself. In most cases, however, outside help is necessary. This can come from the major political parties at their various levels -- local, county, state, or national -- or it can come from committees associated with the political parties. The parties, while interested in aiding individual candidates, are also seeking support for their party as a whole, their principles and platforms, and their entire slate. Support can also come to the candidate from special interest groups which feel he will best represent their interests.

Of major importance to the candidate's campaign is the volunteer committee. The "volunteer committee" covers a variety of groups, organized for a variety of purposes. It can be strictly individuals wanting to help a candidate or working for an issue without the candidate's knowledge or approval (such as the Volunteers for Stevenson prior to the 1960 Democratic convention). It can be individuals with much closer ties to the candidate, even organized by the candidate himself, who, however, work independently of the candidate or the party. It can also be a label used to circumvent the dollar limitations placed by law on candidates and parties.

In Minnesota the volunteer committee or political committee is loosely controlled by law. Although one general report is required after an election, in practice this provision is seldom met. While leadership must be identified on campaign literature and in advertising, there is no idea of membership. The important thing to remember about the volunteer committee is that the candidate is not legally responsible.

### The Use of Money

Truly staggering amounts of money are spent in campaigning. It is estimated that there are from 500,000 to 800,000 elected positions in the United States. Many of these require primary, as well as general, election expenditures. In all of the 1956 campaigns, some \$200,000,000 was spent, with the estimate for 1960 at \$250,000,000. Today it is common for a U.S. Senator's campaign to cost more than his total salary for his six year term of office (\$135,000). The late Senator Robert Taft from Ohio placed the cost of his 1950 campaign at \$512,300.

A few examples of campaign costs in Minnesota are:

One half hour state-wide TV program	\$ 3,500
One full page ad in three metropolitan newspapers	5,500
One state-wide mailing to voters	25,000
Senatorial campaign, minimum	100,000
Gubernatorial campaign, minimum	75,000

(The above figures are taken from a finance drive pamphlet published by one of the major parties in Minnesota for the 1960 campaign.)

Prime time TV rates, one station -- 1 minute	\$ 420
1 hour	1,650
Prime time radio rates, one station - 1 minute	25
1 hour	175
Newspaper ad, 1/3 page with pictures	about 800

Fairly large sums of money (20-40%)\* are spent on such mundane considerations as headquarters' rent, secretarial and office help, office supplies and other overhead items. However, much of this may be donated. The great bulk of the money (50%)\* goes for publicity in its various forms. A large item (20-30%)\* in the local party budget is "election day expense." This goes for hiring of election day workers, watchers, challengers, canvassers, etc. These are legitimate expenses, that presumably pay for services, not votes. However, it is possible for bribery to enter with this type of expense.

Planning a realistic and useful budget for a campaign is exceedingly difficult. Mr. Norton-Taylor, writing in the May 1956 issue of Fortune calls political campaigns deplorably unbusinesslike, extravagant and a more or less unvouchered waste of good money. The monetary commitments must be made far in advance of the finance drive. Hiring meeting halls, ordering printed matter, buttons, hiring personnel, arranging for TV time must all be done well in advance. These arrangements must be made before there is any certainty that the money will be coming in. To add to the problem, cash in advance is almost invariably demanded of political parties and candidates because of their well-known problems of finance.

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\* Overacker, Louise, Money in Elections, MacMillan, New York, 1932

Testimony of Senator Butler's campaign manager relative to his successful campaign in Maryland in 1950 is worth quoting:\*

"If a check came in, instead of sending it to Mr. Mundy (campaign treasurer) and Mr. Mundy depositing it, and then we would have to draw it back to pay somebody, instead of doing that if...(creditors)...came in..., I don't know who they were, they were ad infinitum, and if they insisted that if they did not have some money they would not mail things that were ready to be mailed, or we would not get things to be given to the workers, or we would go off the air, I would give them checks as a partial payment to keep them off my neck, frankly."

In the heat of the battle, especially the last few days before the election, those running the campaign aren't always too interested in bothering with details.

#### Where Does the Money Come From?

The major sources of money are:

1. The candidate and his personal friends.
2. Governmental employees and office seekers. (Cabinet members and heads of governmental agencies are expected to support the party which put them in office. However, the lower level government job holders are now protected by law from the type of levy which used to be imposed on them by the party in power.)
3. Special interests (this is the major source of support).
  - a. Wealthy individuals.

In Federal campaigns it is estimated that 90% of the money comes from less than 1% of the population. The wealthy individuals are of great importance to both parties; however this source is declining. In 1936 the various DuPonts contributed \$620,000 to the Republicans, \$74,000 in 1952. These men's motives are faith in the party's principles, rewards in the form of prestige jobs, familiarity with the executive, or simply casting their bread upon the water hoping it will return with contracts. "Whatever their motive, their giving poses a problem for a democratic country. A man has to be a very humble person indeed to fork over tens of thousands of dollars to a political group and not acquire at least a little feeling of possessiveness."

- b. Labor unions.

On the Federal level, unions are not allowed to make political contributions; however, through "educational" programs and voluntary member contributions to COPE (Committee on Political Education) unions are a major source of funds to the Democratic party. In Minnesota, where no laws govern their contributions, money from membership dues is used in the support of candidates.

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\* Hearings before Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections, 82nd Congress, 1951.

c. Corporations.

Although corporations are not allowed to use their funds for political purposes at the Federal level or in Minnesota, corporation money is used. One board chairman said, "a lot of corporation presidents just reach in the till and get \$25,000 to contribute to political campaigns, just as labor unions do."\*

4. Gamblers, lawbreakers, the underworld.

It is hard to estimate the amount of money coming from this source. These funds are usually a factor just in local elections. In 1955, \$50,000 was offered by independent numbers operators to a mayoralty candidate in Chicago. The candidate was asked, if elected, to drive out the syndicate which controlled the numbers racket, thus giving the independent operators a chance.

5. The public.

The parties do attempt mass solicitation. The majority of people, however, have yet to be shown that campaign contributions are a worthwhile investment. If the parties could count on adequate, year round financing from the people, it would greatly alleviate the pressure on them from the special interests. It would eliminate the always possible danger that our national parties, badly in debt, might be "for sale" to anyone paying off this debt. The individual citizen would develop a sense of responsibility for his party if he supported it, even with a modest contribution.

Some of the more useful attempts at broad support are:

- a. Fund raising dinners. The Democratic party sponsors bean feeds. The Republicans have been very successful in using closed circuit TV to put on dinners simultaneously in several cities. The 1956 "Salute to Eisenhower" dinners netted \$4,500,000.
- b. Both parties, to gain year round support, attempt various sustaining membership plans. The DFL party in Minnesota gives a subscription to the party's national magazine and one ticket to a \$25 a plate Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner for a monthly membership of \$2.50 or more.
- c. Sparked by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's programs to interest business employees in political action, several corporations have taken an active part in asking their employees to contribute to the party of their choice. The employees are able to keep their choice secret, and the money goes directly to the party. The Ford Motor Company has been successfully sponsoring such a drive for two years.

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\* Norton-Taylor, "How to Give Money to Politicians," Fortune, May 1956

- d. In Alexandria, Minnesota, in May 1956, a bipartisan mass solicitation drive was held. One thousand voters were approached by teams representing the two parties. Of those contacted, 76% contributed. Interestingly only 20 people (2%) specified that their contribution be given to a specific party. The results of this experiment have been widely discussed, but other similar campaigns have not been tried.

While broadening the base of party support is an excellent goal and certainly deserves our support, the small contribution is an inefficient means of raising money. Senator Douglas of Illinois, in his book Ethics in Government, points out that it costs about 50 cents to process (receive, enter and acknowledge) a contribution. A contribution of a dollar results in only 50 cents to the party or candidate. It does give them 50 cents that they didn't have, and, more important, it has made the contributor a far more interested and involved citizen.

This then is the pattern of campaigns -- haphazard organization, touch-and-go financing, tremendous needs for money with never enough available. There is opportunity for improper pressure to be applied. Since we as citizens fail to take the leading role in supporting our party, do we have any right to control or censure those who do?

#### Reason for Control Laws

The laws are based on the assumption that the voter should have the assurance that the man he elects will serve the majority interest, not just the interest of those who financed his campaign. Large campaign donations from special interests do not necessarily mean that there is undue influence. Too, the special interests, if they prevail, are often sincerely convinced that their point of view is in the majority interest (labor unions and business interests claim that "what is best for us is best for the country"). Many people do feel, and the laws reflect this concern, that the people have the right to know where the money comes from. The assumption is that if a citizen knows where this money comes from, it will be taken into consideration when he casts his vote. (There is the opposite view that financial support of a candidate or party is a personal thing, should be respected, and kept secret, with safeguards similar to those which protect the ballot.)

Democracy gives the rule to the majority, but it also implies the obligation that the majority be well informed, making its decisions on the issues involved. Buying votes, and carrying on irresponsible, false or slanderous campaigns negates this premise of selection by responsible, well informed voters. Election regulation is concerned with seeing that the use of money is not abused in these areas.

Money is no criteria of fitness to hold office. Legal attempts are made to insure a fair hearing to all and to place the poorer candidate on a more equitable footing with his wealthy opponent.

So, briefly, the three areas of attempted control are:

1. Where the money comes from.
2. Where the money goes.
3. Equalizing all candidates' chances.

### Historical Survey of the Problems and Attempts at Control

Throughout history all republics and democracies, from Athens to the present, have sooner or later had the problem of controlling money in elections. In Athens around 400 B.C., bribery in elections was punishable by death. A different solution was used in Venice in the 14th century. "To prevent the fatal consequences of such immoral and unchristian practices in popular elections," leaders were chosen by lot. By the 17th century in England, candidates for Parliament were not only promising to serve without pay, but they were offering to pay the voters for the privilege as well.

In this country, before 1880, due to ineffective police protection and lax election laws, there was no need to pay for votes. Falsifying returns, stuffing ballot boxes, force, intimidation, won elections without that expense. By the 1880's, stuffing ballot boxes became harder; this led to the mass hiring of floaters and repeaters. Stringent registration laws came in the 90's, with the resulting practice of buying individual votes (in Adams County, Ohio, 1910, 26% of the voters were convicted of selling their votes). With the advent of the secret ballot, politicians could no longer be sure they were getting their money's worth, so they turned from direct bribery to "treating" (providing free liquor, cigars, free meals and entertainment) and to hiring election day "watchers." Of course, providing such massive good will required large campaign funds (a mayoralty race in New York City around this time cost a combined total of \$3.00 per vote cast).

Two major forces were at work which soon led to legal attempts at controlling money in elections. One was the investigations which showed the large amounts some corporations were spending in elections, and the other was the wave of reform set off by the British law of 1883.

This British law was a drastic attempt to regulate money in elections. Although the act has been changed and updated since 1883, its basic philosophy and methods have been in effect since then. It is truly the mother of American laws on the subject since various parts have been used in our state and Federal laws.

British law. The approach of this law is to have clearly fixed candidate responsibility, full public disclosure and stiff, workable penalties. Only the candidate can spend money on his behalf. Political parties and special interest groups can campaign for issues, but not for a candidate. However, they can donate to the candidate, who must report it and include it in his total. The candidate is required to file complete reports, and these reports must also be published in two newspapers in his constituency. His total expenditures are limited. This limit is based on a fixed amount, plus so much per elector, with the allowance greater in rural areas than urban. In an attempt to equalize the candidates' chances, the government pays for one mailing by every candidate to each voter.

State law history. The English law led to a lot of discussion in this country and to the passage of several state laws. By 1905, just 22 years after the British law was enacted, 14 states had campaign expense laws and five more had passed such laws only to repeal them later. In 1883 the first law prohibiting solicitations of contributions from state employees was passed in New York. Publicity of campaign expenditures was added in 1890. Minnesota, in 1895, for the first time defined legitimate expenses by law. This law also outlawed bribery and placed limits on candidate expenditures. These were based on \$250 for the first 5,000 votes, plus \$2.00 for every additional 100 votes up to 25,000, plus \$1.00 per 100 votes up to 50,000, plus 50¢ per 100 votes for all votes over 50,000. In 1912 the Minnesota law was changed. The present dollar limits were set (see page 16).

By 1897 states were outlawing corporation contributions. An interesting early state law was passed in Colorado in 1909. In an attempt to equalize the chances of candidates, they tried financing campaigns from state monies. Each party got 25¢ per vote cast for that party in the last election for governor. No other money could be spent. The state supreme court declared the law unconstitutional. Although the idea has reappeared from time to time since 1907, when Theodore Roosevelt first suggested it, down to the late Senator Richard Neuberger of Oregon, this was the only time it has been tried as law in the United States.

### Federal Laws and their History

The first problem in campaign financing to be handled by Federal legislation was the solicitation of funds from employees. In the 1860's, 70's and early 80's, the campaign money came largely from Federal workers. (In an 1878 election, \$80,000 of \$106,000 collected for one campaign came from appointed employees, assessed at 1 to 3% of their salary.) Acts of 1867 and 1876, culminating in the Civil Service Act of 1883, were attempts to prevent this solicitation and to stop the abuses of raising money from this source.

An interesting sidelight is the Enforcement Act passed in 1870. This was primarily to protect Negro voters and to counter fraudulent and corrupt practices in elections. It outlawed false registration, bribery, illegal voting procedures, etc. In 1894 the act was almost entirely repealed. Not until 1918 was bribery again Federally illegal.

After restrictions were made on soliciting funds from government employees, a new source of funds was widely used. These funds were raised from the emerging industrial corporation giants. In the late 1890's and early 1900's this source became dominant, especially in the Republican party. Mark Hanna, manager of McKinley's 1896 campaign, levied systematic assessments of corporations. The issues of free silver and high protective tariffs brought in large industrial donations. Between 1896 and 1904, Standard Oil Company gave \$550,000 to the Republican party. In the 1904 campaign, Theodore Roosevelt disclaimed corporation backing, only to be embarrassed after election by disclosure of large contributions from this source. In 1907 Congress passed the Tillman Act which prohibited contributions from corporations and National Banks.

Sentiment was also building up for public disclosure of campaign funds in a movement led by Perry Belmont. In the election of 1908, Taft and Bryan both voluntarily put themselves under the New York law of making public, receipts and expenditures. The Federal government had its first disclosure act in 1910. This provided for all interstate political committees to report contributions and expenditures, to identify the source of donations of \$100 or greater, and the destination of all expenditures of \$10 or more. This reporting was to be done after the election. In 1911 the act was extended to cover primaries, to require reports from House candidates, to limit candidate expenditure (making the limit that imposed by the state if it were less than the Federally allowed limit), and to require reports before as well as after election. In 1913 the selection of Senators passed to popular election by the 17th Amendment. This posed the question as to whether financing in Senatorial primaries could be controlled by Federal law.

Michigan, in 1918, saw an expensive primary between Newberry and Henry Ford for the Senate. The Michigan law limited primary expenditures to \$1,875, which would have been binding if the 1911 law applied to Senatorial primaries. Newberry had spent at least \$195,000 (81¢ per vote). This case went to the Supreme Court in 1921. In a split decision, Newberry won and the ruling cast a doubt as to whether Federal law could control primaries. As for Newberry, he was seated but condemned for excessive expenditure. In 1922 he resigned.

The 1923 investigations of the Teapot Dome Scandal brought to light another financing problem. After the 1920 election, the Republican party had been deeply in debt. This debt had been assumed by Sinclair, who was later shown to be involved in the scandal concerning the leasing of oil lands held by the Navy. This investigation led to demands for continuous publicity of party finances, a feature incorporated into the 1925 Corrupt Practices Act. Parties are now required to file reports four times every non-election year, and six times in an election year. However, the problem of party deficits has not been solved, and it leaves the possibility that a group could take over a national party simply by assuming its debts.

The Corrupt Practices Act of 1925, in the main, consolidated the scattered laws that had been passed. However, besides requiring continuous national party filings, it did drop the regulation of primary financing. This act is still the major law controlling Federal campaign financing.

An example of extravagant spending occurred in 1928 in the Pennsylvania primary. Candidate Pepper, backed by the Mellon family money, spent an estimated \$1,800,000 and lost. Vare, the successful candidate, spent \$785,000 (58¢ per vote). However, his campaign was investigated by the Senate and under the constitutional powers giving Congress the right to pass on its own membership, the Senate refused to seat him. Vare was rejected because he had spent too much, although no Federal law had been broken. That same year the Senate also refused to seat Smith from Illinois who had spent 44¢ per vote in his primary. Again, it was because of excessive expenditure, and also because the major portion of his funds had come from private utility interests. This constitutional right of legislatures to pass on the qualifications of their own members, (also a feature in state governments) has meant that several times a successful candidate has been seated although he had clearly broken the laws governing campaigns. This makes the enforcement of any law difficult because the courts cannot have the final voice.

Following the outlawing of corporation contributions in 1907, the major money source became wealthy individuals. People whose money had come from banking, manufacturing and public utilities provided over half of the large donations in both parties in 1928. These large contributions of \$5,000 to \$50,000 provided 53% of the Democratic and 46% of the Republican total. After the 1928 election, the Democratic party was heavily in debt. To help pay this, three men, Alfred E. Smith's friends, each gave more than \$250,000. Each individual gave more than Standard Oil had given in any one campaign in the early 1900's. There had been growing interest in trying to broaden the contribution base. Since 1912, efforts were made to educate the voter into supporting his party. Hays, the Republican National Chairman in 1920, had organized a nationwide finance drive similar to the successful Liberty Bond drives; however, it didn't raise much money.

The 1930's were a struggle to overcome the depression, and also found the national parties seeking new sources of money. With the New Deal policies, plus the effects of the depression, wealthy contributors dried up as a source of funds, especially to the Democratic party. In 1936, to raise money, the Democrats published a book of pictures and speeches from their 1936 convention.

Advertising was sold to companies to finance the book, and copies were sold at \$2.50, \$5.00 and \$100. The book brought \$250,000 to the party and cries of outrage from the Republicans. Their charge was that, by law, corporations could not contribute to political funds and yet business advertising had paid for the book. The Republicans also charged that corporations were coerced into buying the \$100 books on threat of governmental investigation.

At this time the Democrats started the Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinners, raising \$315,000, and through other drives, made concerted efforts to increase the number of small contributors. In 1936 the labor unions emerged as a major source of funds for the Democrats, giving a reported amount of \$770,000. The attempts of the government to relieve the effects of the depression brought relief payments, and with these payments came charges of using these funds to gain votes. In 1939 the Hatch Act was passed primarily to curb the use of relief funds for political purposes and to prohibit active political participation by Federal employees. The following year, 1940, this act was extended to include state and local employees paid in whole or in part from Federal funds. It also prohibited political parties from selling things to raise money, which marked the end of the sale of convention books. As a political maneuver, partly aimed at killing the bill and done without any hearings on the subject, the Hatch Act was amended at the last minute to limit individual contributions to any one candidate or any one political committee to \$5,000. Interstate political committees were limited to \$3,000,000.

The effect of these two features of the Hatch Act has been to obscure the already difficult problem of trying to obtain publicity about the extent and source of political funds. Up until this time, there had been increased centralization and responsibility of party funds centered in the national committees. Now, with the limit, party funds were scattered to the state committees, "independent" committees and committees for specific purposes. In the 1940 election, more than 130 independent committees were formed. Both national parties kept under the \$3,000,000 limit, but the total spent, as reported by a Congressional investigating committee, was over \$20,000,000.

The limit on individual contributions was intended to lessen the influence of wealthy, special interests. Actually the law has in no way hampered this. In the 1940 election, various members of the Pew and DuPont families gave \$370,000 to national Republican groups. In 1944, Lamont DuPont alone gave more than \$39,000 to 12 different committees. (The limit is \$5,000 to one group, but since a gift tax must be paid on donations over \$3,000, this has become the usual ceiling on any one contribution.)

As organized labor's role in financing campaigns increased, criticism of it increased, until in 1943, over President Roosevelt's veto, labor unions were prohibited from contributing. In 1947 in the Taft-Hartley Act, this prohibition was extended to cover primary elections and political conventions, as well as campaign expenditures. Again the law in no way has stopped these contributions, which have been steadily rising. The loophole is that the law prohibits any contribution "in connection with" any primary or general election. This has been interpreted to mean that funds can be legally used in non-election years or in election years as part of a continuing "advertisement" or "educational" program, and that unions have the right to inform their own members.

Since 1947, there have been no changes in the law.

### Analyzing the Laws

As we have seen, the development of the corrupt practices legislation has been based on the assumption that uncontrolled and undisclosed money in elections will lead to corruption. Money helps in an election (in some cases excessive money has defeated its own purpose, but in the main, especially in minor contests, the greater the amount of money spent, the greater the number of votes). It is impossible to equalize the position of all candidates. Various advantages accrue from incumbency, ownership of a newspaper, an attractive wife, and many other sources.

The Federal government and all the states, except Nevada, have some statutes, but they are often so ill-constructed as to open them to the suspicion that they are meant merely as a sop to an ignorant electorate. These laws also create a bad situation in that the gullible think that the total campaign amount is limited (which it isn't) and the skeptical, seeing so much money spent in what seems to be a violation of the law, brand all regulation as a farce.

As an aid in analyzing these laws and various proposals for change, let us consider the major problem areas and see what solutions are being offered. Returning to the three concerns of where money comes from, where it goes, and equalizing the candidates' chances, these break down into the following nine specific problems:

Before the source and use of money can be known, there must be records and responsibility for the campaign. These records, to be useful, must be subject to public disclosure. To control where the money comes from, undesirable contributions are regulated and attempts are made to broaden the base of political support. To control where the money goes, types of expenditures are regulated. Primarily to equalize the candidates' chances, total expenditures are limited (however, this limit seems to be based partly on the assumption that very large campaign funds are of themselves wrong). Other attempts have been made at encouraging less wealthy candidates. Enforcement concerns all of these problems. There is the additional nebulous problem of campaigning by "non-political" groups.

A word about the information to follow included under these nine headings. The Federal law is briefly reviewed. There is much support for changing this law and during the 86th session of Congress, a bill was passed by the Senate (S2436) but not by the House. Since this bill may form the basis for future legislation, we include its provisions in the comparisons of state and federal laws. The summary of state laws is based on a 1955 review of state statutes of 48 states. The Minnesota law is reviewed. The proposed changes are those that have been considered by the Election Laws Commission, an interim legislative commission which has been reviewing and tentatively revising those portions of the election laws that were not considered in the 1959 session. These tentative revisions will still be subject to final commission approval and legislative hearings, debate, probable change and consideration in 1961. So, while the ultimate laws may not reflect these suggested changes, they are of great interest to use in following the course of the corrupt practice laws.

- I. Establishing responsibility for the campaign. This is the major problem, for you cannot make a candidate responsible for what he does not know about, yet if you do not make him responsible, the door is wide open for abuse of any law. In this area of law, the courts have taken the narrow view in limiting candidate responsibility, otherwise, he could be the victim of unscrupulous opponents who could spend money "for him," exceeding his limit or otherwise causing him to break the law.

- A. Federal Law. These laws do not attempt to control or limit campaigning for President and Vice-President. They do affect candidates for the U.S. Congress, political committees operating in two or more states, and branches of national political parties, excepting organized state and local ones. Except for prohibiting expenditures by corporations and labor unions, these laws apply only to general elections, not primaries or conventions. Candidates and parties covered by the law are to have treasurers, keep records and make reports. Interstate political literature must have on its face the name of the sponsoring person or group as well as the names of the group's officers.

S2436. No expenditures could be made without the authorization of the treasurer. Political funds would be kept in a separate bank account. Political committees would send a copy of their reports to the candidate on whose behalf they have been working. Interstate literature would also include the address of the sponsor.

B. Other state laws.

1. 7 states centralize responsibility for all funds and for filing statements with a campaign manager.
2. 2 states (Florida and New Jersey) require that all funds be handled through one bank account.
3. New Jersey requires the candidate to assume responsibility for all committees working in his behalf, however he can dissociate himself from a committee if he wishes. In practice, at the beginning of a campaign, he issues a blanket denial of any committees working in his behalf and thus is not held responsible.
4. Florida requires that every political party, committee or organization sponsoring a candidate, as well as the candidate himself, must have a treasurer and spend only through this treasurer. The Florida court has ruled this system to be a legal restriction on the freedom of a citizen in supporting the candidate of his preference.

In over half the states, political advertising must be so labeled.

C. Minnesota Law.

The candidate is to spend money only under his personal direction or through personal campaign committees whose authority to act has been filed with the filing officer. He is to authorize, in writing, the amount the personal campaign committee is to spend, and the committee is not to exceed this total. The candidate is to file with the filing officer, the names and addresses of each member of this committee.<sup>(1)</sup> However, the State Supreme Court has ruled "a candidate may be charged only with expenditures which he has directly authorized and that knowledge and approval of a committee's expenditures is insufficient to charge the candidate with its disbursements."<sup>\*</sup>

- (1) He may, in writing to the filing officer, remove any member at any time.

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\* Mariette vs Murray 185 Minn. 620, 242 N.W. 331 (1932)

Campaign literature is to include on its face, the name and address of the author, the candidate on whose behalf it was published, and the committee or person causing it to be published. Newspaper advertising must carry the same information, plus the information at the top that it is paid advertising and the rate, usually "Paid at regular advertising rates." If a candidate or a member of a political committee has a financial interest in a newspaper, he must file a statement of his interest with the county auditor before publishing anything which tends to influence voting other than paid advertisements.

Tentative Revisions. Individual political contributions would be channeled through a political committee of some sort so there would be a control on how the money is spent. Identifying the source of political advertisements is to be extended to radio and TV. The provision requiring the filing of interest in a newspaper would be removed.

## II. Handling of Public Disclosure

### 1. Requiring filing

- A. Federal Law. The reporting requirements apply only to general elections. Candidates for U.S. Senator file reports with the Secretary of the Senate; candidates for U.S. Representative and political committees coming under the act report to the Clerk of the House.

S2436. This would have required reports covering primaries and nominating conventions as well.

B. Other States.

41 states require some form of filed statement. In 9 states the candidate only files, in 32 states, the candidate and the party committee file.

C. Minnesota Law.

The candidate, his personal committee and party legislative committee file reports with the candidate's filing officer or county auditor. The state and congressional committees report to the Secretary of State. Other party committees file with the county auditor of the county in which the committee has its headquarters.

### 2. Reports filed in time for publicity to be effective.

- A. Federal Law. The candidates report once before and once after the election. The national political parties file four times a year (quarterly) with two extra reports required prior to a general election.

S2436. Would have required the reporting by candidates and committees to be done within the state where the candidate is running, as well as in Washington, D.C. The political committees and parties would file twice a year, with extra reports before and after primaries and general elections. The filed reports were to have been available for inspection within 24 hours of receipt, and the reports could be mechanically reproduced.

B. Other states.

17 states require statements filed before the election, filing frequency varying from every week to every 20 days.

C. Minnesota Law.

The candidates, parties and their committees report two weeks before and 10 days after the primary and general election. Other committees report 30 days after the election. Municipal candidates and their committees of first class cities report once a month, plus the Saturday before the election.

Tentative revision. The candidate and party reporting would be reduced from four to three times (omitting the report prior to the primary), the municipal candidate and committee reporting from 7 to 4 times.

3. Insuring publicity.

Only a couple of ideas have been tried. Two states (Maine and New Hampshire) require the statements to be published in newspapers. Two states (Oregon and Montana) require that the party's and candidate's books be kept open at all times for inspection by the opposition.

4. To fully identify the contributor.

A. Federal Law. The parties report contributions over \$100 by identifying name and address of contributor. The candidate reports contributions by name only.

B. Other states. In only four states is the address of the contributor, as well as the name and amount, required.

C. Minnesota Law. The candidates and committees identify all contributions by name only. Other committees report only the total receipts and expenditures.

5. To make the reports uniform and meaningful.

A. Federal Law. The law doesn't prescribe any forms.

S2436 would have required showing transfer of funds and pro-rating expenditures among candidates when more than one is supported by a committee.

B. Other states. 17 states provide the forms.

- C. Minnesota Law. By law, the forms are to be prepared by the Secretary of State and are to be given, along with an easily understood digest of the laws, to every committee secretary and candidate upon filing nomination papers.

### III. Limiting contributions considered undesirable.

- A. Federal Law. National banks, corporations and labor unions cannot make political contributions to national parties nor spend money for political purposes for nominating conventions, primaries or general elections. Individuals cannot contribute more than \$5,000 in one year to one candidate or party. Parties cannot sell things to raise money. Federal employees and governmental employees who are paid in part from Federal funds, cannot be solicited for political contributions.

S2436. Would have limited individual contributions to \$10,000 in one year to either candidates or parties.

B. Other states.

35 states prohibit corporation contributions

5 states prohibit labor union contributions

7 states limit the amount that an individual may contribute, ranging from \$50 to \$5,000

2 states (Florida and New Jersey) require returning contributions made in the last five days before the election

Iowa forbids the use of campaign contributions from non-residents.

Florida forbids contributions from those operating public utilities, holding liquor licenses, or holding dog or horse racing permits.

- C. Minnesota Law. Corporations cannot make political contributions nor spend money for political purposes from their corporate funds. Neither can they donate their employees' services.

Tentative revision. No changes were suggested although there was discussion of forbidding contributions from labor unions.

### IV. Broadening the base of party financial support.

Very little has been done or attempted by legislation. Noteworthy, however, is the Minnesota law which allows deductions on the state income tax return of political contributions up to \$100. This law was passed in 1955, the first of its kind. Similar laws have since been passed in California and are pending in several other states.

### V. Controlling types of expenditures.

- A. Federal Law. Outlaws bribery, buying of votes, and making promises in return for votes.

B. Other states

25 states itemize legitimate expenditures

17 states itemize illegitimate expenditures

The states almost unanimously outlaw bribery. About half the states forbid candidate promises in return for votes and favors. About half the states restrict the transport of voters to the polls. Most states require the listing of unpaid debts. Florida forbids the authorization of expenditures unless the cash is on hand.

- C. Minnesota Law. The law itemizes legitimate expenditures for the candidate and political committee -- personal travel, postage, telephone, telegraph, headquarter expense, clerical assistance, organizers' salaries, renting halls for speeches, paying speakers and musicians, radio broadcasting, printing and distributing pamphlets, cards, posters, badges, sample ballots, etc., copying the election register, canvassing voters, challengers at the polls, filing fees, contributions to party committees and newspaper advertising. Volunteer committees are not considered bound by these restrictions.

Payment is not allowed for personal services on election day except for challengers; voters cannot be transported to the polls; bribery and "treating" are outlawed. Bills have to be presented for payment within 10 days after the election (reports are also to be filed 10 days after). Candidates and the public cannot wager on the outcome of the election. Candidates and committees are protected from solicitations by churches, charities and clubs during a campaign.

Tentative revision. The allowable expenditure list would be made more flexible and allowance would be made for the use of television.

VI. Limiting total expenditures.

- A. Federal Law. Congressional candidates must abide by their state law limit if it is a lesser amount, or in no case to exceed \$25,000 for Senator and \$5,000 for Representative in a general election. However, not included in this limit are personal expenses, traveling, printing and distributing letters, posters, etc. In fact, these items do not even have to be reported. National parties and committees cannot exceed \$3,000,000 per year.

S2436. The new limits would have been \$50,000 for Senator and \$12,500 for Representative or based on so much per votes cast or voters registered in the last election, whichever were highest. The limits would allow the candidate to exceed his state's limits if they were the lesser amount. The exempted expenses would be retained. The parties, presidential and vice presidential candidates would be allowed 20¢ per vote cast for all candidates in the highest of the last three presidential elections (about \$12,500,000 based on the 1956 vote). Candidates seeking the presidential or vice presidential nominations may spend half of this amount.

B. Other states.

33 states limit expenditures -- 11 limit the candidate alone, 22 limit the candidate and others working on his behalf.

B. Other states

The limits are of three kinds:

1. A set amount ranging (for governor) from \$2,000 in Idaho to \$50,000 in Alabama and New Jersey.
2. Various arrangements based on so much per number of registered voters or those voting in the last election.
3. A percentage of the yearly salary of the office sought ranging from 10% to 100%.

27 of the 33 states limit both primaries and general elections.

17 of the 33 states allow exceptions to the limit which in many instances makes the limit meaningless.

5 states separately limit party expenditures with a range of \$10,000 in Minnesota to \$35,000 per year in New Hampshire.

The problem of non-monetary contributions in general has not been faced in those states which limit expenditures, although some states require reporting the value of goods and services rendered.

15 states do not limit expenditures. Of these, 7 have removed the limits since 1942.

- C. Minnesota Law. The fixed total expenditures allowed were written into law in 1912 and have remained unchanged since then. The limits for candidates apply to both the primary and general election combined, and are:

Governor	\$7,000	Presidential elector-at-large	\$500
Other state officers	3,500	Presidential elector for a	
State Senator	800	Congressional district	100
State Representative	600	Other candidates	1/3 yearly salary
		If no salary	100

The state central committees of the political parties are limited to \$10,000 in any election.

Tentative revision. Although there is some feeling that the limits might just as well be removed completely since there is no expenditure limit on volunteer committees, the Election Laws Commission has not suggested removing them, because it felt there should still be limits to promote more responsible elections. The Commission did propose changing the limits by adding to them an additional percentage based on the number of votes cast in the previous election. The limits on parties would be removed.

Dr. Theodore Mitau, chairman of the political science department at Macalester College, suggests as a minimum liberalization of limits:

Governor	\$50,000	State Representative	\$ 5,000
Other state officers	25,000	Party	100,000
State Senator	8,000		

VII. Public encouragement of less affluent candidates. Very little has been tried. One approach has been for the state to publish a voter pamphlet. In it, the candidates, parties and special interests can buy advertising at a reasonable rate. The state prints and distributes the pamphlet to all voters. This is being used in Oregon, Montana and North Dakota. Minnesota offers indirect aid to candidates by allowing them to deduct their expenses from their state income tax return.

Federally, there has recently been a change in the law requiring equal time for all candidates on radio and television. As a result, this year the communication networks and individual stations are providing free, unsponsored time to the major candidates.

VIII. Enforcement. Authorities agree that almost all state and Federal corrupt practice legislation is essentially unenforceable. Three methods of enforcement are used.

1. Publicity

It is intended that the public's voting reaction to the disclosures is the major control in enforcing the regulating of sources and outlays of money. Although penalties are available in cases of flagrant abuse, such cases are difficult to prove. Publicity, to be effective, requires enforcement safeguards to insure prompt and accurate reporting. The agency receiving the reports must be able and willing to require compliance with the laws, and to call effectively upon law enforcement officers to prosecute violations. Provisions are needed to insure that the reports are investigated (such as a mandatory audit). If the filed reports are meaningful, the opposition and press would assuredly give them publicity.

2. Criminal proceedings

Most of the laws depend upon ordinary criminal procedure for enforcement. This is extremely cumbersome, difficult to prove, subject to politics, and affected by public reaction. Should a county attorney be asked to prosecute some one from his own party? If the candidate filed showing he exceeded the limit and yet was elected, should the broken law or the public endorsement have precedence?

The Minnesota law provides that the candidate who doesn't report after the primary, may have his name removed from the general election ballot. This provision has been interpreted by an Attorney General's opinion\* that although what is filed may show that a candidate exceeded the legal expense limit, his name is not to be removed as long as he did file. The candidate who is defeated in the primary is guilty of a misdemeanor if he does not file his final report 10 days after the voting. However, neither of these provisions -- removing a name from the general election ballot nor charging a defeated primary candidate with a misdemeanor for not filing -- seems to have been applied in recent history, and violations are common.

By statute, the procedure is that the officer with whom the candidate's statement is filed (Secretary of State, or county auditor, depending on the office) must notify both the candidate and the county attorney of failure to comply. If compliance is not forthcoming within 10 days, the county attorney is required to inquire into the facts of the violation.

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\* 28-B-2, Sept. 29, 1948

If he finds "reasonable grounds" for instituting prosecution, he must present the charge to the county grand jury. In most instances, conviction is a misdemeanor and forfeiture of office, except for legislators. With legislators, the court transmits the findings to the presiding officer of the body involved. Since the U.S. Congress and the Minnesota legislature both, by constitutional provision, are the sole authority to rule on their membership, the court's findings may or may not be heeded.

Another interesting aspect of enforcement, is that the Minnesota law specifically states that if it appears that the offenses complained of were trivial or unimportant, or arose from accidental miscalculation, and did not arise from want of good faith, the court shall not deprive him or his nomination or office.

### 3. Election contests

Enforcement is also provided by election contests before the district court by the defeated candidate or by voters, based on violation of the laws. If violation is proved, nomination or election is annulled, and another election must be held. The defeated candidate, even if he wins an election contest, does not get the position. Since the defeated candidate has really little to gain and may be labeled a poor sport, and since the private citizen is unwilling to incur the expense or the publicity of an election contest, they are rarely used.

## IX. Campaigning by "non-political" groups on behalf of their special interest

This problem area covers all groups like farm, manufacturing, labor, educational and civic organizations. It concerns the dividing line between what are "educational" and what are "political" expenditures. The rulings of the Federal Internal Revenue Service, of necessity, do draw a line. Except in the few instances like Florida and the British law where no publicity or endorsement of the candidate may be made unless through his treasurer, there have been no effective attempts to regulate this area of financing.

### How Good is the Minnesota Law?

At first reading, the present Minnesota law seems to provide for effective control of campaigns. However, due to interpretation of the law and the very nature of campaigns, in actual practice the control isn't very great. Under the law, the candidate is responsible for his campaign and his personal campaign committees. Very detailed reports are to be filed by the candidate, his committees, the parties, and the party committees before and after the primary and general election. Other political committees are to file total receipts and disbursements within 30 days after both elections. If these provisions were complied with, it would give the public a great deal of information about the financing of campaigns.

Today, in practice in Minnesota, defeated candidates rarely file and the winners file only to meet the letter of the law. (If they do not file after the primary, their name may be removed from the general election ballot. If they do not file after the general election, it is a gross misdemeanor to take office or to issue a certificate of election.) However, the winners do not always file and are not penalized. In practice the volunteer committee seldom complies with the law but it is questionable whether reports submitted 30 days after an election have much meaning except as they might affect a subsequent campaign.

Municipal candidates and committees are to report monthly with the last report on the last Saturday before the election (seven reports in all). In practice, a few will file after the election, if they have won. The rest ignore the law entirely. The political parties are limited to \$10,000 for each campaign. This limit has little meaning because party year-round, administrative, "educational" expenses are not restricted. Just what are "campaign expenses" for a political party? These fine points do not appear to limit the party's spending in any way.

### Model Law

These then are the problems and some of the attempts at solutions. In an attempt to provide a law which solves most of the problems, the National Municipal League has published a model law. This is primarily the same as the Florida law, the principle being that by insuring recording and publicity of all contributions and expenditures while allowing for unlimited expenditures, the public, or at least the opposition, becomes informed. The law then becomes self-policing.

The law covers primaries and elections in Congressional, state, county and large city contests. Included under the law is every political party with its geographical sub-division plus every committee or organization sponsoring a candidate as well as every candidate. Everyone included under the law must have a treasurer through whom all funds must be channeled. Within 24 hours the treasurer must deposit all receipts in a special banking account on a prescribed form listing name, address and amount. These deposits are made in triplicate, the treasurer keeping one copy, one staying with the bank, and one being sent by the bank to the Secretary of State. All expense vouchers must be signed by the treasurer who cannot authorize expenditures unless there are funds available. Advertisements must be signed "Paid for by ---," name and address of authorized treasurer. Newspapers cannot accept advertising unless it comes from an authorized treasurer.

The treasurer of the committee reports to the Secretary of State all money contributed (name, address and amount), all expenditures and all transfers of funds, once a month, starting as soon as the candidate announces or qualifies. The candidate's treasurer files the same report every week to the Secretary of State and also to the County Clerk if it is a local office. A complete report is filed 15 days after the election. (In practice, in Florida 95% of the money was accounted for in the reports filed before the election.) The Secretary of State publishes the reports; a summary is published in all newspapers of general circulation in the candidate's district. The reports are kept for four years.

Corporations and labor unions may solicit and forward contributions, but they may not contribute from corporate funds or dues raised for other purposes. There is no limit on any individual's contributions, but they must be made in his name. To enforce this, all contributors of over \$25 are to sign slips stating that it is their money. These slips are filed with the Secretary of State. All money received during the last five days (after the last filed report before the election) is returned.

Allowable expenditures are listed. One hundred dollars is allowed for incidental, unvouchered expenditures. To enforce the law, the Secretary of State refers all delinquents to the State Attorney General who notifies them. The Attorney General then prosecutes all candidates who fail to file.

### Conclusion

As we have seen, the problems are many. There are no sure fire, easy solutions. While controls may be necessary, it is also necessary not to hamper needlessly the parties and the candidates. While the people have the right to legislate control on the source of funds, the parties and the candidates have a legitimate and real need for funds. Legislation must respect this need. While the people have the right to demand records and knowledge of transactions, the nature of American political campaigns is not that of an orderly business office. The procedure is hectic, the workers are usually volunteers, untrained and uninterested in keeping complicated records. Political campaigns have a uniqueness all their own. The laws dealing with them must take this into consideration.

Campaign financing has been called one of democracy's great unsolved problems.

### UNFAIR CAMPAIGN PRACTICES

#### Why is the League Interested in Unfair Campaign Practices?

Closely associated with any study of campaigns, is the grey realm of questionable tactics designed to defeat the opposition without being reached by the law. Such devices as smears, personal attacks, emotional appeals to prejudice, rumor, innuendo, stooge filings and misleading sample ballots are classified as unfair campaign practices. These tactics are impossible to control by law, so this topic has only minor connection with our study of Minnesota Election Laws. However, this is of importance in any consideration of ethics in government. The public needs to be concerned because these tactics really are attempts to cheat the voter of his right to make an honest choice.

#### What is the Problem?

Thoreau once said, "Politics is, as it were, the gizzard of society, full of grit and gravel...Not only individuals but states have thus a confirmed dyspepsia, which expresses itself, you can imagine by what sort of eloquence."

Debate as an essential element of a democratic society comes most vividly into public view during political campaigns. The heat of a campaign is at the same time the point at which protagonists in the debate find it most difficult to be objective. Too much is at stake. Success in the field of politics most often depends on depicting one's self and one's party as the way to salvation. The opposition as the sure way to destruction. Many of these statements are not taken seriously by the opposition or by the public. It's just politics. There is an old bromide in politics, "If your opponent calls you a liar, do not deny it — just call him a thief." Or as one politician calls it, "indulging in a little bucolic mud-slinging."

Such political realities make the campaign atmosphere a fertile field for character assassination, slander, smear and the outpourings of professional bigots and hate groups. It is hard for the voter to tell what is true or false. Smear campaigns (smear is defined as "a blot or stain on one's reputation or an effort to sully or besmirch a reputation") may be carried on in a variety of ways.

Blatant, self-evident slander is rare these days. Dirty campaign tactics nearly always seek to wear a respectable face. The favorite methods of smear campaigning are:

1. Name calling - vilifying the candidate.
2. Whispering campaigns that the candidate is immoral, dishonest or disloyal.
3. Outright lies - slander, if spoken; libel, if published.
4. Real or imagined indiscretions or past sins in the life of a candidate's family. A candidate is suspect or guilty by association.
5. Not proving the candidate guilty of anything, simply creating suspicion.
6. Quoting the candidate's record or statements out of context.
7. Altering photographs.
8. Appeals to racial or religious prejudice against the candidate or his family.

The vehicle of a smear is often campaign literature without any identification of the real source of the material. Rumors and whispering campaigns are used, but this type of campaign can be conveyed by the more legitimate means of speeches, news releases, radio and TV spot announcements and newspaper advertisements. Another characteristic is that the smear is usually a last minute charge coming too late for the candidate to respond.

To get further information about these tactics, the Fair Campaign Practices Committee, studied the 1956 campaign. They found that most smears were local in origin and effect, generally on a neighborhood or city scale. They originated mostly from over-zealous individuals or already existing hate groups, only a few came from the candidates or parties. In one third of the cases, the tactic backfired and actually helped elect the man it was intended to defeat. In the 1958 campaigns, 55% of the smears backfired.

Another shady campaign practice is a person filing who has a politically "good" name but has no intent of being a serious contender. Related to this is the surreptitious backing of phony candidates to draw strength from the opposition. These schemes are rare in presidential campaigns, but not at all infrequent in state and local ones.

#### What can be done?

Some attempts to control these practices are made through the laws.

1. Identifying campaign literature and advertisements. The Federal law was passed in 1944. It requires the name of the person responsible to be printed. The Minnesota law requires the name and address of the candidate, the person authorizing its publication and the author. Even when the law is complied with, identifying the source doesn't always provide the voter with much information. Just who or what is "Rank and File Research Committee" or "Mothers of Pennsylvania" -- examples of the type of groups publishing smear literature.
2. Libel and slander laws do give a person recourse against false and misleading personal attacks. These laws are not often enforced when political campaigns are involved. If a candidate goes to court, litigation takes time and money, rarely results in more than a token victory, long after election day.

3. Minnesota has the additional laws that false statements cannot be made regarding any candidate or position, and that there cannot be improper coercing of voters.
4. Some countries and states forbid the publication of new charges in a campaign after a certain date. This is an attempt to eliminate the last minute smears that do not allow the candidate time to refute the charge.
5. The revision of part of the Minnesota Election Laws in 1959 raised the filing fees. This has given some relief from "stooge" filings.

The law can never be the final answer in controlling unscrupulous campaigns. What are "false" statements in a political campaign? How can the law be written that would really show the source of smear literature? What about the hate groups that are willing to identify themselves? Do not these groups have the same right to freedom of speech as all other groups? How could a whispering campaign be controlled? If derogatory, but true, facts were publicized about a candidate's family, what recourse could there be?

The laws could tighten identification of source of campaign literature, and they could tighten the candidate's responsibility over his campaign and campaign committees (Corrupt Practice Laws). The law cannot be the whole answer.

Public awareness and public rejection is the only workable answer. This country has taken tremendous strides in raising the caliber of its campaigns. Lincoln was subjected to some of the worst villification ever heaped on an American politician. "That obscene ape from Illinois" was a common epithet. No one would tolerate such behavior today.

Smear and slander in their more subtle forms are still with us. The campaign of 1950 was one of the dirtiest in recent memory. Out of Senate investigations following the campaign came the recommendation that a national, non-partisan, continuing committee of distinguished private citizens could do more to create a moral climate in which unfair campaign practices would be unacceptable to the voters than could legislation. In 1954, after two more virulent campaigns, the Fair Campaign Practices Committee was formed under the chairmanship of Anna Lord Strauss, former president of the League of Women Voters of the United States. Charles P. Taft, son of the late President, became chairman in 1956. Miss Strauss is now an active member of the executive committee.

The Fair Campaign Practices Committee has adopted a code of campaign conduct (see Appendix) which it asks all major candidates to publicly pledge they will uphold. In 1958 the code was a factor in more than 85% of all Congressional and gubernatorial campaigns. In Minnesota, in 1960, the code has not been publicly subscribed to by all candidates.

As the campaign progresses, tactics in violation of the code are publicized by the committee. (On the state level, the "committee" is one representative of each of the major parties who is in a position to know of unfair practices. They report violations to the national committee.) Also active and effective in exposing appeals to prejudice during the campaign is the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

From reports of the Anti-Defamation League, this 1960 election is bringing forth tremendous quantities of prejudiced, anti-Catholic literature. One unusual feature is that while this type of bigotted material usually originates from established hate groups, this year most of it is coming from individuals, mailing it from their own homes.

The Fair Campaign Practices Committee, starting in 1956, has done post-election studies of the amount and kind of unfair campaign practices. The Anti-Defamation League for many years has waged a year-round campaign against all types of racial and religious prejudice. (They have published an interesting booklet "Prejudice and Politics," available from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Minneapolis, Minnesota, for 35¢, tracing the history of prejudice in politics in the United States.) It is hoped that by making the facts known, the public will be alerted and treat such practices accordingly.

In the last analysis, it really depends on the voter; the critical listener who asks for evidence, is skeptical about unsupported assertions, and realizes that name-calling, smears, appeals to bigotry, and emotionalism have no place in American campaigns.

## APPENDIX

The following code is distributed by the Fair Campaign Practices Committee. The practice of the Committee is to call on all Congressional and gubernatorial candidates to pledge publicly that they will uphold this Code of Fair Campaign Practices as they seek election.

## CODE OF FAIR CAMPAIGN PRACTICES

There are basic principles of decency, honesty and fair play which every candidate for public office in the United States has a moral obligation to observe and uphold, in order that, after vigorously contested but fairly conducted campaigns, our citizens may exercise their constitutional right to a free and untrammelled choice and the will of the people may be fully and clearly expressed on the issues before the country.

## THEREFORE:

I shall conduct my campaign in the best American tradition, discussing the issues as I see them, presenting my record and policies with sincerity and frankness, and criticizing without fear or favor the record and policies of my opponent and his party which merit such criticism.

I shall defend and uphold the right of every qualified American voter to full and equal participation in the electoral process.

I shall condemn the use of personal vilification, character defamation, whispering campaigns, libel, slander, or scurrilous attacks on any candidate or his personal or family life.

I shall condemn the use of campaign material of any sort which misrepresents, distorts, or otherwise falsifies the facts regarding any candidate, as well as the use of malicious or unfounded accusations against any candidate which aim at creating or exploiting doubts, without justification, as to his loyalty and patriotism.

I shall condemn any appeal to prejudice based on race, creed, or national origin.

I shall condemn any dishonest or unethical practice which tends to corrupt or undermine our American system of free elections or which hampers or prevents the full and free expression of the will of the voters.

I shall immediately and publicly repudiate support deriving from any individual or group which resorts, on behalf of my candidacy or in opposition to that of my opponent, to the methods and tactics which I condemn.

I, the undersigned, candidate for election to public office in the United States of America, hereby endorse, subscribe to, and solemnly pledge myself to conduct my campaign in accordance with the above principles and practices, so help me God.

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Date

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Signature

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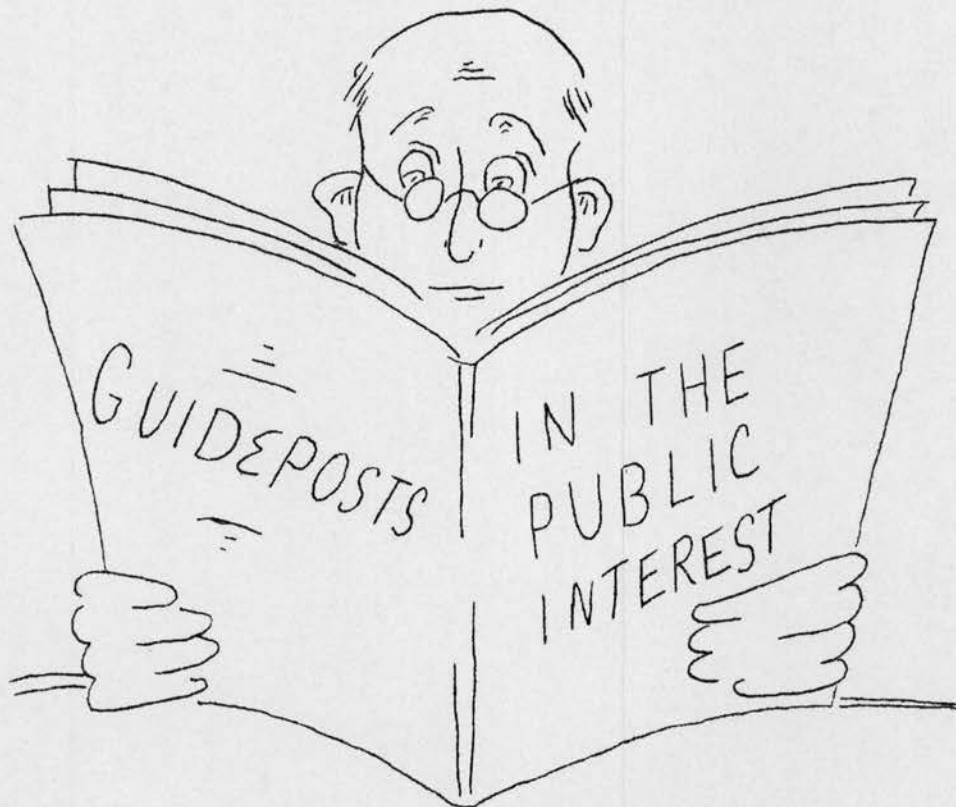
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# ETHICS *and* THE PUBLIC SERVANT

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MINNESOTA GOVERNMENT

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# ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT

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## INTRODUCTION

Various reasons have been advanced for what most Americans consider unethical standards of public service. Sometimes it is said that the morality of public officials reflects -- with some distortion -- the morality of the American public. Some writers wonder whether there has been a breakdown of personal morals resulting in the disappearance of integrity from public service.

Public  
attitudes

The attitude of many persons toward a candidate is skepticism and cynicism about the integrity of a man who would choose to run for public office. Instead of looking with gratitude and admiration at the man who seeks a life of public service, such persons often intimate he has entered an arena which isn't quite respectable.

Other writers point to a double standard which permits us to accept in business certain practices which in public service would be cause for dismissal. Paradoxically, we expect patriotism and unselfish public service for little monetary gain at the same time that we equate success with material acquisition.

"Even the simplest requirements may not be simple when they contradict prevailing standards and prevailing organization in the society of which government is only part. It is easy to say that they should not seek a profit in their work, that employees should not steal, that they should not betray or profit from confidential information. But these standards will not be easy to meet unless the job pays enough to live on...unless both the general community and superior officers will reward and protect the impartial performance of office.\*

Actually, however in historical perspective, ethical conduct in government has progressed steadily upward. Political practice was long dominated by the Machiavellian philosophy of The Prince which maintained that the possession of power is the supreme goal of political and personal striving. This concept is unacceptable in our society, which regards a public office as a trust bestowed for the good of the whole, not for the benefit of the individual or private group.

Historical  
record

Even as recently as the 19th century, considerably lower standards of political ethics prevailed. Spoils system administration, bribery, fraudulent balloting, and bossism existed in a degree which we would not tolerate. Such venality has all but disappeared as a problem today. However, we should like every public servant to dissociate himself scrupulously from any situation suggesting an element of improper gain. We want his decisions made strictly on the merits of the case, which might be difficult if a strong personal or financial interest were involved. We do not like favoritism destroying the equality of citizens in a democracy.

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\* Philip Monypenny, "Ethics as a Means of Social Control," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, January, 1955.

If, as we suspect, corruption in government is a substantive evil (rather than one procedural or inherent in the system), must we not conclude that the people are demanding, and receiving, increasingly higher standards of morality from their public officials? Why then are we concerned about ethics in government? The answer is not that people are becoming less moral and therefore require more regulation -- it is that government has become so all-pervasive. The need for codes, legislation, guideposts stems from the increasing complexity of government; growth in size magnifies otherwise simple problems. Paul Douglas contends that the "action" agencies of government (i.e., those that regulate licenses, rates, subsidies) are more likely to harbor some corruption than the so-called "service" agencies (post office). This is because the decisions made by the action agencies frequently make or lose large amounts of money for individuals or business.\*

What are the problem areas of ethics in government? They are situations in which private interests interfere with the public good. In government morals, law, conscience and personal honor mingle. The League of Women Voters will be concerned with lobby regulation, conflicts of interest, corrupt practices, and campaign practices. These areas are linked because each is concerned with attempts to influence the actions and policies of legislators and officeholders. Attempts to influence a lawmaker begin when he begins to run for office. The sources and amount of money he receives may affect consciously or unconsciously his decisions after he is elected. The result of the high cost of campaigning has been stated vehemently by at least one lawmaker.

What  
are  
problems?

"Every person in American public life is trapped by a system which has encouraged the dominance of money in elections, which has permitted or even required public office to be placed on the auction block like a jewelry bauble -- to be carried off by the highest bidder... Is morality divisible? Does it make sense to assume that public officials will be motivated in their actions by insignificant personal gifts but not by the past or future campaign treasuries upon which their power depends?"#

Once the candidate is elected and before he even reaches the capitol, he becomes the target of lobbyists and petitioners seeking specific legislative goals. And at the same time he is subjected to these outside pressures, he is motivated by his own personal interests. It would be naive to think that anyone could completely dissociate himself from his financial or professional background or from the whole subconscious bias resulting from past or present affiliations.

If, therefore ethical regulation is needed in government, it is as much to guide the conscientious public servant as to deter the unscrupulous. Regulations which prohibit certain acts do not necessarily infer wrong action in the past, but possible danger in the future.

Why is  
regulation  
needed?

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\* Paul Douglas, Ethics in Government. Harvard University Press, 1952.

# Richard Neuberger, speech to Congress, "Are We Swatting Flies or Draining the Swamp?" June 24, 1958.

Four general avenues of change have been suggested to promote higher ethical standards in government.

Ways of  
approach-  
ing  
problem

1. More democratic financing of campaign expenses.
2. Codes of ethics, either voluntary or legislative, for appointive and elective officials.
3. Greater publicity of incomes and finances of public officials.
4. Stricter and more frequent audits of accounts.

What has the League of Women Voters of Minnesota to do with all this? Our aim is to promote political responsibility through active and informed participation in government. This means taking an active part in the party of our choice, keeping informed on the issues, knowing the candidates, and voting. But we cannot always vote wisely for a candidate or fairly judge his record in office without more knowledge of his associations and his loyalties. Government is responsive to public will in an inverse ratio to the amount of unethical conduct which it tolerates.

Why is  
LWV  
concerned?

(Our study now is to be confined to the conflicts of interest and lobby regulation aspects of ethics. Corrupt practices and campaign practices, while they are extensively intertwined with these first two, are more properly a part of election laws and will be dealt with in a separate League study to be ready later this year.)

## II. CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

Most of us find our lives continuously fraught with conflicting interests. It would be unrealistic to think that we could legislate away, or regulate away, all of the conflicts of interest which beset a public servant. We should not be worried about an official's broad, publicly known, bloc interests -- farm, political party, labor, education. What we are concerned about are the private, often unknown, interests which may affect his outlook or action on legislation, possibly to the public detriment. We are concerned lest his independent judgment be impaired by gifts, incompatible employment, large campaign contributions, or undisclosed financial connections.

Proper  
area of  
regulation

While we must see that our legislators aim their efforts at the welfare of all the people in the performance of their duties, we must also remember that ours is a part-time legislature and that these men must make a living. If attempts to regulate them are too stringent, either good people will be excluded from public service or the rules will go unenforced.

"Certainly government should not be deprived of the services of all but princes and paupers. The business of government cannot and should not be separated from the day-to-day lives of the people who conduct it. The problem is to separate the unavoidable conflicts of interest from the venal and the doubtful; to chart the shadowlands of conduct where men of good will may have difficulty in deciding whether a course is proper or improper."\*

We should also remember, however, that no one is required to accept public office, and when he does, he must be willing to accept only the rewards which rightly pertain to it. He must not use that office for personal advantage incompatible with the common good.

In recent years municipalities, various states, and the federal government have felt the need for guides along the path marked "public welfare" that winds through the maze of private interests. Committees to study the problem have been appointed in Congress, New York State, New Jersey, Ohio, New Mexico, Texas, Minnesota, New York City, Honolulu, Minneapolis, Cleveland, Los Angeles, and Arlington County, Virginia. Recommendations of these committees have had varying success in being adopted.

Recent  
trends

The federal government has conflicts of interest legislation and a code of ethics applying only to the administrative branch. Ohio, New York, Minnesota, and Texas have administrative codes. Cleveland's code is simply an agreement between the public and the local government as to their mutual obligations. The Code of Ethics adopted by New York City in 1959 is the only one thus far that includes the legislator (councilman) along with the appointed officeholder. Of the other studies, some have not yet been completed, some have not been acted upon.

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\* Thomas E. Dewey, Annual Message to State Legislature. January 6, 1954.

Most committee reports recommended specific provisions for a code. Why is a code necessary, and what does it provide? a. A code may serve as a guide to the well-intentioned in areas of ethical doubt. b. Hopefully, it can be a deterrent to the ill-intentioned. c. It may stimulate public interest in high standards of official conduct. d. It can focus attention on the corruptor as well as the corrupted.

What do codes do?

If a code is to serve these purposes, it must be practical, understandable, and specific. If too restrictive, it could defeat its purpose by discouraging entrance into public service and could ruin the morale of those already serving. If it is too general, it will be nothing more than an expression of hope.

The following is a compilation of the main categories covered in codes of ethics. Of course, not all provisions are in every code. In some codes the categories may be combined under one heading.

Main categories in codes of ethics

1. Conflicts of interest

An official must not have a financial or other interest, direct or indirect, which is in conflict with the proper discharge of his official duties. This is a basic statement of principle found in all codes. The rest of any given code amplifies and clarifies this principle.

2. Financial disclosure by legislator

Legislators are required to make annual disclosure of their financial interests and holdings, of all their sources and amounts of income, speaking fees, travel fees, reimbursements for expenditures, gifts of over \$100, etc. This is done on official records and may or may not be made available to the public.

3. Interest disclosure by legislators

When a bill is being discussed in committee or on the floor, legislators are required to disclose any interest, personal, private or financial, which they may have in the legislation. They may or may not be required to refrain from voting. (This on the spot disclosure is sometimes considered more effective than blanket financial disclosure at the beginning of the session. Perhaps both types are desirable.)

4. Disclosure by other officer or employee of interest in legislation

A non-legislative official must make a public disclosure on the official record of any personal interest he may have in a matter, before he participates in discussion or gives an official opinion to a committee.

5. Use of influence to secure special privilege

No public official shall use his position to secure special privilege for himself or others.

6. Source of compensation

There may be no source of income, other than the state, in connection with services rendered as a legislator or other official.

7. Gifts or favors

No valuable service, loan, thing, or promise may be accepted from anyone known to be interested, in any way, in matters concerning the official.

8. Investments in conflict with official duties

No investments may be held or acquired which would conflict with official duties.

9. Incompatible employment or professional activity

An official may not engage in employment or services for private interests when they are incompatible with the proper discharge of official duties.

10. Future employment

No public official may solicit, negotiate for, or promise to accept employment by anyone with whom he (or his agency) is engaged on behalf of the state.

11. Disclosure of confidential information

Confidential information should not be used to advance the financial or other private interest of the public official or anyone else.

12. Representing private interests before state agencies

An official is prohibited from the practice of dual agency whether or not he receives a salary for his public service. It is permissible for him to appear without compensation in behalf of constituents or in the performance of public or civic obligations.

13. Representing private interests before courts

An official may not represent private interests against the state in any action in which the state, or a state agency, is a party. For example, a public official may not represent a private individual in a condemnation proceeding.

Usually separate from the code of ethics is a provision concerning the appearance of a former official before the agency which had employed him. It states that he may not represent a private interest against the state in any matter for which he was responsible, or in which he participated while in the service of the state.

The adoption of a code of ethics may be by resolution (as done by both houses of Congress, July, 1958, for U.S. Government employees and officeholders); by executive order (in Minnesota by Governor Orville Freeman, January, 1959, and in Ohio by Governor Michael DiSalle); by statute or ordinance (New York State, New York City, Texas, White Plains, New York); or by wide agreement to its provisions by both the public and by government officials (Cleveland).

Legal  
status  
of codes

In some codes there are no sanctions whatever, other than public opinion; these are termed "voluntary codes." Sanctions, while present in others, may be weak and therefore not effectively enforced. Some codes provide for censure (by the appropriate administrative body or house of the legislature) or dismissal if the code is violated. Putting the whole code of ethics under criminal sanctions probably would not be desirable, since the criminal code requires such explicit delineation of misbehavior as to limit seriously the broad scope desirable in a code. Sanctions

The New York City Code establishes a five-man Advisory Board of Ethics (three from the public), appointed for four year terms, to give advisory opinions and hear complaints. The recent executive order establishing a Code of Ethics for Minnesota administrative officials also includes an Advisory Committee on Government Ethics. (See Appendix I.) Examples

The New Jersey Report on Conflict of Interest recommended a permanent Commission on Ethical Standards to receive complaints and deliver advisory opinions for the executive agencies, and a standing Committee on Ethics and Guidance in each house of the legislature to deal with general standards of conduct and relevant problems.

The provisions of the Minnesota Ethics in Government Report are not outlined here because the report is readily available and because its recommendations were the basis of bills proposed in the 1959 Legislature, summarized elsewhere in this study.

The federal government is protected by a series of six conflict of interest laws within the criminal code dating back to the late 1800's. The two basic concepts underlying them are: government employees must always be impartial in their official duties and actions; and no employee, past or present, is entitled to any advantage over private persons in the conduct of business with government. A government employee who has a direct or indirect financial interest in any business may not act as an agent of the U.S. for transacting business with that company. He is barred from accepting compensation for services before any government department on any matter in which the U.S. has an interest. He may not act as agent for any claim against the government. He may not receive any nongovernment salary paid "in connection with" his federal job. Former government employees may not prosecute claims against the U.S. for two years after leaving government employment. Federal government

Congress is criticized by persons in the government service and by its own members for applying strict ethical standards to the administrative branch, without having any such standards for itself. In June, 1958, Senator Richard Neuberger of Oregon, with Senator Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania, proposed the Federal Ethical Standards Act which, simply, would extend to Congress the same provisions that it found appropriate for officials in the executive branch. The proposal was referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee and has never been reported out.

Thoughtful persons see no simple solution to many of the problems presented by conflicting of interests. Of course we can agree that cases involving venality, outright bribery, belong in a black area. They are clearly wrong. We can understand why a rural legislator will have particular concern with rural problems, an urban legislator, with urban questions. Their bias is obvious; it cannot be eliminated; it is a white area. The gray areas between, where the issue is not clear-cut, present the difficulty. It is those areas with which we must wrestle in our discussion of this question. Difficulty of delineating code

# CHRONOLOGY OF CONFLICTS OF INTEREST BILLS IN THE 1959 LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Identical bills concerning conflicts of interest on the part of the legislature, legislative employees, state employees, and members of the executive branch were introduced for the first time in 1959 in the Minnesota State Legislature. These bills were an outgrowth of the work of the Governor's Committee on Ethics in Government. The committee drew up a Code of Public Service Ethics and Conflicts of Interest and recommended that the legislature enact laws based upon the code, with appropriate sanctions. A bill, including many sections of the code, was drafted and introduced by Liberal members of the House and Senate. The Conservative caucuses were invited to participate as co-sponsors of the bill, but refused.

In the Senate, the bill was referred to the Civil Administration Committee headed by Senator Gordon Rosenmeier, and after one hearing, was returned to the authors for redrafting. The bill was reorganized, its language sharpened, a few sections revised, and a few added by its authors. However, the redrafted bill was never acted upon by the Civil Administration Committee.

Course of  
the bills  
in the  
Senate  
and the  
House

In the House, the bill was referred to the Committee on Judiciary headed by Representative Lawrence Yetka. After three days of hearings, it was sent to a five-man subcommittee of lawyers, headed by Rep. George Wangenstein, for "language sharpening." The subcommittee spent a week on the bill and reported it back to pass, as amended. It was then re-referred to the Committee on Appropriations, reported back to pass by that committee, and subsequently passed by the House.

Both the original bill and the revised versions proposed to provide a code of ethics for legislators, legislative employees, state officials, and state employees. The Senate bill stated that "a need exists to define and regulate the conduct of public officials and employees to eliminate conflicts of interest so as to improve standards of public service..." To accomplish this, six standards were set up for both legislative and executive branches and their employees, four standards for administrative and executive personell, and one for legislators alone; these covered 11 of our categories (p. 5-6). (categories 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,11, & 12)

General  
purpose  
of bills

The House bill as passed set forth a code to deal with:

"...conflicts of such a complex nature and close distinction that it would be unwise and unjust to prohibit them with penal sanctions which would have the effect of limiting public service to the very wealthy or the very poor. For such matters a code of ethics is desirable to set forth for the guidance of state officials the general standard of conduct reasonably expected of them."

Nine standards of varying application were enumerated covering seven of the categories. (categories 1,2,5,6,8,9 & 11)

One major prohibition in the original and Senate bills concerned the acceptance from any source except the state of employment, and of retainers, gifts, rewards, or gratuities which appear to be for the direct or indirect support or opposition of legislation (categories 6,7,9). The House bill likewise prohibited outside employment, conflicting financial and investment interests, and incompatible business activity (categories 6,8,9) including sale of goods and services to a business firm coming under state regulation. No mention is made in the House bill of rewards, etc., which might lead to influence on legislation.

Financial  
prohibi-  
tions

The other major prohibition in the original bill dealt with representation of private interests by legislators or other state officials before state agencies, the legislature, or legislative committees and commissions. The bill prohibited such activity, "otherwise than in the proper discharge of his official duties..." (category 12). The revised Senate bill included the above provision and made it even more explicit by carefully defining all terms. The prohibitions, notably, did not cover the courts (category 13). The House bill as amended and passed did not deal with these activities of legislators and/or state officials and employees. However, both Senate and House bills contained a provision prohibiting ex-officials or ex-employees of state agencies from representing a business before the agency for two years after leaving state service.

Appearance  
before  
state  
agencies

Other prohibitions in the original bill and the redrafted Senate bill concerned the use of influence to secure special privilege (category 5), and the use and disclosure of confidential information to further personal interests (category 11). The House bill as passed also dealt with these activities. Within its code of ethics, for example, special privilege was prohibited in this way: "No officer or employee of a state agency, member of the legislature, or legislative employee should use or attempt to use his official position to secure unwarranted or unreasonable governmental privileges or exemptions for himself or others."

Special  
privilege

The original bill and the revised Senate bill required two kinds of disclosure. The first, labeled confidential, required officials of the executive branch to file complete financial statements with the public examiner. In addition, legislators and other public servants who were closely connected with a private business coming under state regulation as an officer, agent, attorney or owner of substantial interest, or who were attorneys or officers of political subdivisions of the state, were required to file a sworn statement with the public examiner disclosing the connection, to be kept confidential until a conflict arose. (categories 2 & 8)

Disclosure  
of  
interest

Public, or on the spot disclosure (category 3) was required of any legislator with a personal or private interest in a bill or who was a paid representative of anyone having such an interest. The information was made public by being recorded in the journal of the appropriate assembly or minutes of the committee. The senate added two blanket exemptions which could provide a legislator with an out:

"...a legislator shall not be deemed to have a personal or private interest in a matter (1) arising out of and affecting generally his principal occupation, calling, district, or community, or (2) which may occasion to him a pecuniary loss or benefit which is common to a general class of persons of which he is publicly identified as a member."

An ingenious combination of our categories 2,3, and 8 was included in the House bill as passed. A state official, holding a financial interest of ten thousand dollars or more in an activity regulated by a state agency, which holding creates a substantial conflict of interest, must file a statement to that effect with the secretary of state, and the statement is open to public inspection. This is the only reference to disclosure of financial interests found in the House bill.

The original bill as well as the redrafted Senate bill provided for both civil and criminal penalties for violations. A three-man Commission on Ethical Standards was to be established, appointed by the governor. It was to receive and consider complaints, investigate them, render advisory opinions, etc. Upon finding a violation, the commission could issue a cease and desist order. Failure to comply with the order left the commission free to request the attorney general to institute a civil action for a mandatory injunction requiring compliance. Upon request of the commission, the attorney general could institute criminal action; violations of the act constituted a misdemeanor. In the redrafted Senate bill, power to appoint the commission was shifted to the House, Senate and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Duties were essentially the same as in the original bill.

Penalties  
and  
enforce-  
ment  
machinery

Penalties for violations were not stipulated in the revised House bill. Instead, a permanent Joint Committee of the Legislature was established to guide legislators and legislative employees in interpreting and applying the code. Opinions of the committee were to be solicited in writing by the person involved and held in confidence unless designated otherwise by that person. The Executive Council of the State of Minnesota was given similar jurisdiction for the purpose of guiding officers and employees of state agencies.

## III. LOBBY REGULATION

We all know what lobbying is -- or do we?

Is it the definition used by the courts: direct contact made with legislators for the purpose of influencing the passage or defeat of pending legislation? Or is it every influence brought to bear upon legislators, from campaign contributions, to the formation of public opinion in the community, to direct contact?

What is lobbying?

Lobbying is not new in our country. As an activity it is as old as the American system of representative government. As a term, according to H. L. Mencken, "lobby-agent" was first used in 1829 to describe seekers of special privilege at Albany, New York. Newspaper men shortened it to lobbyist and by 1832 it was a word in common usage in Washington. In those days it was a term of opprobrium. Is it still?

History

Our constitutions established representation on the basis of people and territory. There is no economic or interest representation. When the constitutions were enacted the government was much simpler and dealt with a narrower range of subjects. The geographical distribution of citizens coincided more closely with their legislative needs and interests. Now, state as well as national legislation touches many phases of everyone's life. There is no longer one common interest of constituents for a legislator to represent. He must try to represent many interest groups within his district. No legislator can be expected to understand thoroughly all the bills upon which he must act. Many concern unfamiliar topics or technical subjects with which he may have little or no experience. Here the lobbyist -- the "functional representative" -- fulfills a real need. The numerous interested lobbyists, many of whom are specialists, can provide the legislator with facts and arguments on both sides of almost every issue.

Organized lobbying, as we know it today, was first engaged in by three major groups: business, labor, farmers. Today everyone could identify with at least one lobby. Try yourself on this partial list of lobbying organizations registered in Washington.

Aircraft Industries Assn of America, Inc.	American Cancer Society
American Paper & Pulp Association	American Dental Assoc.
American Retail Federation	American Hotel Assoc.
American Farm Bureau Federation	American Legion
U.S. Savings & Loan League	American Medical Assoc.
American Federation of Labor	American Jewish Congress
American Library Assoc.	National WCTU
League of Women Voters	National Canners Assoc.
Housewives United	Wine Institute
National Assoc. of Manufacturers	Alaska Salmon Industry
Ohio Chamber of Commerce	American Cattlemen's Assoc.
Natl. Assoc. of Real Estate Boards	Taxpayers, U.S.A.
Iowa Associated Businessmen, Inc.	
Natl. Committee for Strengthening Congress	
Natl. Committee to Limit Federal Tax Powers	

The right to lobby is a right guaranteed by the federal constitution. The First Amendment prevents Congress from interfering with the right of the people to petition the government for redress of grievances. Legislation to regulate the activities of lobbyists must not abridge that freedom.

Lobbying is not a shameful use of the right to petition, but the ways it is sometimes done raise important questions of democratic procedure. The right to petition carries with it an obligation not to use methods which are deceitful or corrupt.

"Lobbying may become a menace when opportunities and resources to influence the Government and the public are not open on somewhat equal terms to all sides of a controversial issue. Under such conditions a public emotionally aroused by a well-organized and a well-financed pressure group may force legislative and administrative action contrary to the public interest."\*

Many techniques are used to persuade the legislator. Most are legitimate; a few corrupt. The simplest method is to present pertinent information, verbally or in writing, to the appropriate legislator or committee. This may include facts, interpretations of the bill itself, expected results, and rebuttal arguments to opposing views. The lobbyist may then try to show wide agreement and public support for his point of view. If there is an organization supporting the lobbyist, letters, phone calls and telegrams may be called for at the proper time. Printed material, articles in periodicals, radio and television programs, books, special courses, advertisements, bulk mailings and local action groups all aid the lobbyist in his efforts to guide the thinking of the general public and indirectly to influence the legislator.

Lobby  
techniques

The legislator himself may be approached with gifts, wined and dined, offered favored treatment, given large contributions for campaign purposes, and even threatened with defeat at the polls if he fails to respond suitably. Yet, although the "social lobby" flourishes, there is a new look in lobby techniques, which emphasizes appeals to judgment rather than personal advantage.

Unacceptable lobby techniques, which seemed often to be those aimed at action contrary to the public good, resulted in demands for lobby regulation. The need for regulation of lobbying activities became more evident as the practice of lobbying increased. Industrial development and expansion and its direct relationship to legislation led to abuses. There were Congressmen in the 1850's who set a regular scale of prices in money or land for which their votes could be bought by lobbyists. Sporadic investigations of lobbying began about that time. In 1854, Samuel Colt's efforts to secure extension of the patents he held came under scrutiny. The Pacific mail steamship subsidy was closely examined in 1872. Other major scandals were the New York insurance investigation in 1905, the tariff lobby and the National Association of Manufacturers in 1913, the tariff lobby again in 1929, and the munitions lobby in 1935.†

Beginnings  
of  
investigation

\* Dr. Belle Zeller, Professor of Political Science at Brooklyn College before U.S. Senate Committee evaluating Federal Lobbying Act. Quoted in N.Y. Times Magazine Section, February 19, 1956.

† Karl Schriftgeisser, The Lobbyists. 1951. Little Brown Co.

The 1880's saw a great increase and change in lobby activity in Washington. Along with refinement of methods came the organization or minority groups who could now make their voices heard locally, where the vote was cast, and gain friends in Congress.

After the NAM investigation in 1913, the first federal bill on lobbying was introduced. It would have required registration with the Clerk of the House of all agents and lobbyists operating in Washington on behalf of an individual, association or corporation. It died in the Senate.

First bill  
introduced

In the next 33 years, before lobby control legislation was finally enacted, many powerful lobbies grew and wielded influence. One, the Prohibitionists, was the first minority to mobilize and use grass-roots public opinion. Another was the American Legion after World War I, which lobbied strongly in behalf of ex-soldiers. The electric power utilities formed the National Electric Light Association which used every medium to convince the public it should fight government regulation and public ownership of utilities.

Sentiment favoring a lobby regulation act grew until, in 1946, the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act was included in the Legislative Reorganization Act. The Committee Report (Joint Committee on Reorganization of Congress, 1945) said:

First  
federal  
law

"We fully recognize the right of any citizen to petition the government for the redress of grievances or freely to express opinions to individual members of Congress or to committees on legislation or on current political issues. However, mass means of communication and the art of public relations have so increased the pressures on Congress as to distort and confuse the normal expressions of public opinion. A pure and representative expression of public sentiment is welcome and helpful in considering legislation, but professionally inspired efforts to put pressure upon Congress cannot be conducive to well considered legislation."

The Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act "does not regulate lobbying in any way, but merely requires public disclosure of lobbying activities and the identity of those who finance efforts to influence legislation," stated the House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities. It is based on the premise that disclosure will compel lobbyists to engage only in those activities which can withstand the glare of publicity. The salient features of the federal act are these:\*

1. Every person who receives any form of compensation for attempting to influence the passage or defeat of legislation by Congress must register with the Clerk of the House and the Secretary of the Senate before he begins operations.
2. In doing this, he must disclose by whom he is employed, in whose interest he works, how much and by whom he is paid.

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\* Ogg and Ray. Outline to American Government. 1948 ed.

3. Every three months, he must report in detail and under oath all money received and how it was spent.
4. Every person soliciting or receiving contributions to any organization or fund for lobbying purposes must keep an exact account of all contributions, name and address of contributors, expenditures made, and to whom the money was paid.
5. Full and detailed reports covering these matters must be filed yearly and the files are open for two years.

Violators are liable to a fine of \$5,000 and/or imprisonment and are barred from further lobbying activities for three years. The act applies to lobbying by every interest on every subject. By definition, persons are excluded who merely appear before Congressional committees. Also excluded are activities by any public official in his official capacity; and news or editorial comment published by any newspaper or other regularly issued periodical.

Three important defects of the federal act have been pointed out repeatedly. First, the act states that the principal purpose of the person must be lobbying. Many organizations feel they are not required to register because their principal purpose is not to influence legislation. Second, the information required is not complete enough and the publicity purpose of the act is not being fulfilled. Third, there are no enforcement provisions.

Defects in  
federal act

As it stands, the federal law is vague and ambiguous, though it has been interpreted by the courts much more narrowly than might appear at first reading. It needs revision and clarification of terminology, filing requirements, and coverage. Some experts also suggest that responsibility for administration of the act be centralized in a specific agency equipped to file, tabulate, and analyze the registrations and financial reports. In addition, submission of full information about an organization's membership, internal structure, and methods of policy determination would present a clearer picture of the lobbyist and his backers.

State recognition of the problem caused by lobbying came long before federal action. Georgia made lobbying a constitutional crime in 1877. In 1890 Massachusetts became the first state to require registration of lobbyists and the filing of expense accounts. Wisconsin's first regulatory law was passed in 1899 and made stronger in 1905 at the request of Governor Robert LaFollette. These were the early models on which other states based their lobby laws. In many states the impetus for such legislation was scandal and subsequent investigation.

State  
lobby  
laws

The evolution of lobbying from a term of reproach to a procedure with an accepted place in the democratic system is reflected in the legislation that deals with it. The earliest legislation aimed at curbing bribery and conflict of interest. Next attempts dealt with corrupt practices, dishonest concealment and other methods of exerting improper influence.

Of 41 states having regulations dealing with lobbying nine are limited to prohibitions of improper practices. Except for bribery sections in some of their constitutions, nine states (Arkansas, Delaware, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, Pennsylvania, Washington, Wyoming and Hawaii) have no regulations at all. The remaining 32 require registration, either as a rule of the legislature or as a statute. Of these, 20 also provide for periodic reports of receipts and expenditures. Payments contingent upon passage or defeat of legislation are prohibited in 25 states. Penalties for violation of lobby regulation laws are mostly limited to fines (from \$25 to \$10,000) and/or imprisonment (10 days to "not over 20 years"), with nine states additionally barring the penalized lobbyist from such activity for three years. (There is serious question about the constitutionality of such debarment under the First Amendment guaranteeing freedom of speech.) The attorney general is usually designated prosecutor in cases of violation.

Generally speaking, almost all these state laws apply only to persons who receive compensation and communicate directly with legislators, (and sometimes to the governor in the case of approval or veto of a bill). The New York State Joint Legislative Committee studying legislative practices in 1946 recognized that extensive lobbying is done at state capitols by persons who do not fall under this requirement. It recommended that "all representatives of groups interested in legislation, except counsel or agents of localities (municipalities) or public agencies should be required to register with the secretary of state regardless of whether or not they are compensated for legislative appearances." A very few states also require the registration of a lobbyist's employer.

The laws of several states contain some interesting provisions. Texas requires (as of January 1, 1959) that not only the paid lobbyist must register and file expense statements, but also must the unpaid lobbyist who spends more than \$50 a session -- even if he is acting on his own behalf!

Texas

Illinois (as of January 1, 1959) requires registration by an employer of a person who is engaged to promote or oppose "any legislation affecting the interests of any individual, association or corporation as distinct from those of the whole people of the state." (The LWV of Illinois did not feel required to register since they were representing the interests of the whole state.) Even a state official must register when appearing in behalf of a governmental unit. No filing of expenses is required, but a recent photograph must accompany registration. All the information, with pictures, is then published in a bi-weekly bulletin (during the legislative session) and distributed widely.

Illinois

California's law\* is based largely on the federal act and suffers from some of the same shortcomings, but is still one of the more progressive state laws. Like so many others, it is directed at the lobbyist and virtually ignores the forces behind him. California places specific obligations on the lobbyist, who is called a legislative advocate. Some of them are these: he must register; he cannot put a legislator under obligation; he must not misrepresent facts concerning legislation, or claim control of votes; he cannot engineer introduction of bills to support or kill others; he is required to keep his financial statement for two years. Violation means suspension of registration. Enforcement is vested in committees in both houses, which issue certificates of registration after proof of good moral character.

California

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\* It is not the law recommended by Governor Earl Warren in 1949 which is reported in the Minnesota Ethics in Government Report.

registration. Enforcement is vested in committees in both houses, which issue certificates of registration after proof of good moral character.

In 1955 Wisconsin passed what is regarded as the best lobby registration law now in existence updating pioneer legislation in the field. (It is reported in detail in the Minnesota Ethics in Government Report.) Anyone may appear before legislative committees, write for newspapers, make public addresses to persons other than legislators, and deliver written briefs to legislators without having to obtain a license. Beyond these areas, licensing is required.

Wisconsin

The hired lobbyist files his and his employer's name and business address, and the subjects of legislation to which his employment relates; all is reported weekly to the legislature. Additional subjects must be filed as the legislation comes up, with a statement or brief filed five days before delivery to the legislature. All but personal living expenses are filed monthly by the lobbyist and his employer. Several types of unprofessional conduct are prohibited, aimed at preventing log-rolling, curbing executive favor, and stopping other excesses. Penalties under the Wisconsin law are stiff, including disbarment, and apply to both lobbyists and employers.

The effectiveness of state lobby regulatory laws is difficult to judge. Many have inadequate or no enforcement provisions. Publicity of lobbyists' activities is the main device used. Many state laws designate no agency with the facilities either to administer the act or to publicize the information received. Mere registration and filing of information without provision for analyzing and publishing data defeat the purpose of public disclosure of the activities of pressure groups and lobbyists.

How effective are lobby laws?

The acceptable practice seems to be that a lobbyist can spend as much money as he likes to advance his views on legislation, but it should be possible to have a realistic and complete picture of how much is spent, the manner in which the money was acquired and from whom. The interests behind the lobbyists will then emerge more clearly.

Whether regulation is by a constitutional provision, a statute, or a legislative rule, it must permit the useful functions of lobbying to continue. William Miller of Princeton, in a report on lobbying prepared for the New Jersey Constitutional Convention, suggested that a well organized legislative council or research service could perform many of the functions that are now filled by lobbyists and could do so in an unbiased manner. It could furnish technical information to legislators, guide the legislature as to situations that given proposals will have to meet, and help sift proposals through the mesh of conflicting views and interests. (Texas has a Legislative Council, Wisconsin has a Legislative Research Library, and Minnesota has a Legislative Research Committee.)

The final paragraphs from "Political Interests Groups as Policy Shapers" in the September 1958 Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science sum up the problem.

"By focusing on the processes of government in operation rather than on the substance of policies, the effect of political interest groups on the public interest can be more objectively evaluated. The question, then, is not whether a public policy is undesirable, piecemeal, less rational, a partial solution, or lacking in comprehensive planning. Rather, the question is whether the process of formulating policy has been perverted by pressure-group activity.

"From this point of view, an evaluation of pressure groups must consider procedure rather than the policy which results. Are the media of communications available to all groups? Are there effective mechanisms for the articulation of political demands? Do unorganized interests have the opportunity to organize? Does money, power or prestige give undue advantage to certain groups? Is the procedure employed direct or obscure? Can responsibility be fixed? Do the groups actually represent the members for whom they claim to speak? Can the members of the group maintain accountability? On questions like these does the final appraisal of the role of pressure groups in a democracy turn."

#### CHRONOLOGY OF LEGISLATION ON THE REGULATION OF LOBBYISTS IN THE 1959 LEGISLATIVE SESSION

The 1959 Legislature did not enact legislation regulating lobbyists appearing before the Minnesota Legislature and/or the administrative branch of the government.

Identical bills, drafted along the lines suggested by the Governor's Committee on Ethics in Government, were introduced in both the House and the Senate. The bill was amended and passed in the House; it failed to get out of committee in the Senate.

The Senate did pass a permanent rule - Rule 80 - requiring lobbyists to register with the Secretary of the Senate, to list their employer or employers, and to list the subjects of legislation to which their employment related. No specific penalties were provided. Charges of violation were to be heard by the Senate committee involved, which could make recommendations to the full Senate. The Senate could prohibit a violator from appearing before any Senate committee in his professional or representative capacity. A person barred would remain so until reinstated by the Senate. (During the 1957 Legislative Session, the House passed a bill similar to Rule 80, requiring lobbyists to register with the Secretary of State. It also died in committee in the Senate!)

The original lobbyists registration bill introduced in the 1959 Legislature would have disclosed the following kinds of public information:

1. Name, address, etc., of legislative agent and his principals (that is, employer or employers).
2. Legislation with which he was concerned.
3. Nature of the activities on behalf of such legislation.
4. Amount of money contributed by the principals to support, oppose, or influence legislation.
5. Expenditures made by lobbyists on legislation involved.
6. A description and identification of any publications disseminated by either the lobbyist or employers during the preceding legislative session.
7. Terms under which the lobbyist was to work (that is, period of time of employment, nature of duties, whether payment was to be based on the success of the lobby, etc.).

Criminal penalties of differing degrees, depending on the violations, were also specified.

In the form in which the bill passed the House, the penalties for violations were lessened considerably from the original. In addition, contributions of \$100 or more to legislators' campaigns were to be disclosed. Also public officials seeking to influence legislation were required to register and comply with the act.

## APPENDIX I. CODE OF ETHICS FOR MINNESOTA ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICIALS

The Governor's Executive Order No. 1, issued in 1959, sought to establish standards for employees in the executive and administrative branches of the state government. Its purpose was to "enforce integrity in the conduct of such public affairs as are by law committed to the chief executive officer of this state and deeming such course to be in the public interest." It hoped to eliminate conflicts of interest, improve standards of public service, and strengthen the faith of the people in their state government.

The order includes all state agencies and every department and board; it excludes the regents of the University, the legislature and its employees, and all cities, villages, school boards and other municipal bodies.

Standards of conduct are set up in some detail. No employee may have any interest that will conflict with his duties. He may not use his position to secure special privileges for himself or others. He shall not receive any compensation, gift or reward from any source except the state for any matter related to his duties. He may not accept other employment that will impair his independence of judgment. He may not be an agent or attorney for the prosecution of any claim against the state. He may not disclose confidential information. Each agency head and any subordinate he may require shall file a complete statement of any gifts received from other than the state or his family in excess of one hundred dollars.

The order sets up an advisory committee to help carry out its principles and to strengthen ethical conduct in public office. The committee consists of three members, one chosen from the Practice of Law Committee of the State Bar Association, one from the faculty of the law school of the University of Minnesota, and one from the Civil Service Board. The committee hears complaints about a breach of the code and makes recommendations to the proper agency. It also advises any state agency on rules concerning conflicts of interest between private and official duties and makes recommendations for revisions in the Code of Ethics.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS AS USED IN THIS STUDY

Ethics - a system of moral principles and practices.

Ethics in government	)	the ideals and principles manifested by individuals
Political ethics	(	in government and politics. We can judge a person's
Public service ethics	)	political ethics only by what he says and does.

Code - a system of principles or rules relating to one subject. In this study the term code of ethics refers to code of governmental ethics.

Canons of legal ethics - code of ethics for attorneys.

Unethical - not conforming to professional standards of conduct.

Public officials - any person in government service whether elected, appointed, or employed.

State agency - any state bureau, department, division, commission, board, not including court.

Conflicts of interest - a situation where the private interest of a public official conflicts with the public interest.

Lobbyist - a person who for compensation undertakes to promote or oppose the passage of legislation by the legislature or its approval or veto by the governor.

Legislative agent or legislative advocate - lobbyist.

Lobby regulation - any effort to control the activities of lobbyists.

Venal - capable of being bought.

Compensation - anything of value.

Disclosure - the revealing of financial interests by public officials which might affect the discharge of public duty.

Sanctions - coercive force which makes ethics regulation effective.

Dual agency - a situation in which a public official represents a private interest in action against the state.

## REFERENCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

These are materials which were used in the preparation of this study. Access to many was very difficult. Those starred will probably be available in libraries and are worth perusal by those particularly interested in the subject.

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(Excellent study and recommendations)

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\*Ethics in Government, by Senator Paul H. Douglas, Harvard University Press, 1952

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Minnesota Code of Public Service Ethics, January, 1959

Look, September 2, 1958, p. 15. "Must We Always have a Mess in Washington?"

Newsweek, July 21, 1958, p. 18. Off the Dusty Shelf (U.S. Code of Ethics)

New York Times Magazine, July 27, 1958, p. 9. "When Influence is Good and Bad"  
by Senator Richard L. Neuberger

\*Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, January, 1955  
Whole issue on Ethical Standards and Professional Conduct

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Introduction to American Government: The National Government by Frederic A. Ogg and P. Orman Ray, 9th ed., 1948

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New York Times Magazine, Febr. 19, 1956, p. 11. "To Keep the Lobbyist Within Bounds," by Senator John F. Kennedy. Excellent study of value of lobbies and of lobbying practices at federal level. Evaluates needs for regulation and the federal act.

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Short, simple and concise on lobbying and federal regulation

Cosmopolitan, May, 1958, p. 35. "Rumors, Gossip and Lobbies"  
Light and entertaining. More than just lobbying activities

\*Congressional Digest, May, 1953.

Entire issue devoted to origin, provisions and suggested revisions of federal act.

\*Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, September, 1958

Whole issue on Unofficial Government: Pressure Groups and Lobbies.  
Well worth time to study

\*Texas Legislative Council, Lobby Regulation, December, 1956, No. 54-7

Very good study of lobbying and regulations. Can be procured for \$1.00, sent to the council at Capitol Station, Austin, Texas



FEB 3 1960

STATE OF MINNESOTA  
EXECUTIVE OFFICE  
SAINT PAUL 1

ORVILLE L. FREEMAN  
GOVERNOR

February 2, 1960

Mrs. O. H. Anderson, President  
League of Women Voters of Minnesota  
15th & Washington Avenue S. E.  
Minneapolis 14, Minnesota

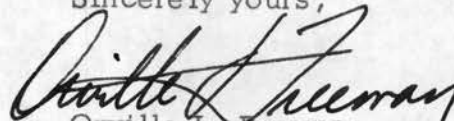
Dear Mrs. Anderson:

I regret the delay in responding to your request that I appoint a "committee of legislators, party representatives and members of state-wide organizations with a concern for state government" to consider further the problems of ethics in government. I know that Mrs. Jacobson on my staff has discussed this matter with several League Members, and that Rabbi Gunther Plaut has also discussed with some of you the question of the personnel on such a committee.

I am, of course, very happy to comply with your request. I have been delayed primarily by the effort to select members of the state legislature to serve on such a committee. I believe it is important to have both political parties represented, and we have thus far met with some difficulty in achieving this goal. I have assumed that it would be best to announce this committee at the time its membership would be announced.

I would appreciate any suggestions you can give me with regard to membership on this committee. I know you will provide very effective participants from the League of Women Voters, -- but I would also appreciate suggestions of names of legislators whose participation would be energetically directed toward improving ethics in government.

Sincerely yours,

  
Orville L. Freeman  
GOVERNOR

Dear Governor Freeman:

Thank you for your willingness to appoint a new committee to consider further the problems of tethics in government. I have several specific suggestions, both as to organizations and individuals-especially legislators, wh, we believe, will direct their energies toward tyis problem.

It seems to me that the following organizations could contribute to the membership of such a committee::

Minnesota Bar Association  
A.F.L.\*C.I.O  
Council of Jewish Women  
Chambers of Commerce

From the Parties, may we suggest the following names:

Senate:

Lew Larson  
Paul Thuet  
Stanley Holmquist  
Donald Fraser

House

Rodney Searle  
Clarence Langley  
C.Donald Peterson  
George Wangenstein  
George Angstman  
Roger Noreen

I believe that these names are a good selection of Conservatives, Liberals-as well as lawyers and non-lawyers.

From our own membership, Mrs. George Seltzer and Mrs. Kenneth Sigford have indicated a willingness to serve. They are both actively concerned with our state program and pur ethics in government study.



FEB 19 1960

STATE OF MINNESOTA  
EXECUTIVE OFFICE  
SAINT PAUL 1

ORVILLE L. FREEMAN  
GOVERNOR

February 18, 1960

Mrs. O. H. Anderson, President  
League of Women Voters of Minnesota  
15th & Washington Avenues S. E.  
Minneapolis 14, Minnesota

Dear Mrs. Anderson:

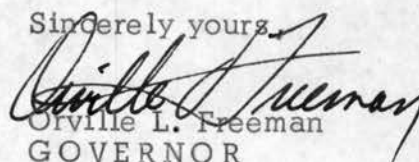
Thank you for your suggestions and assistance in the matter of an enlarged and reactivated committee to consider Ethics in Government.

I have given much further thought and consideration to this matter, and have talked to several people about the composition of this committee. I have concluded that the facts of life and politics during this election year are such that this committee will have a better chance for success if I delegate the responsibility of selecting its membership to someone who is not tied to either political party or involved in a political campaign.

I am, therefore, asking Rabbi W. Gunther Plaut, who served so effectively as chairman of the original committee, to serve as chairman of a reactivated and enlarged committee, and to select additional members. As you will note from my letter to Rabbi Plaut, a copy of which I enclose, I am making only general suggestions as to its composition. The idea of a reactivated committee implies that the members of the original committee will be invited to serve. I am further suggesting that interested organizations, among which I have specifically mentioned the Minnesota League of Women Voters and the Bar Association, be represented and that members of the Legislature and of both political parties be included. I should like, also, to pass on to Rabbi Plaut the specific suggestions made in your letter to me, and I think that he will perhaps wish to discuss the matter further with you.

I deeply appreciate your interest in this problem, as in many others relating to good government, and count on your continued participation to help to further the success of our efforts toward higher standards of ethics in government.

Sincerely yours,

  
Orville L. Freeman  
GOVERNOR

cc: Rabbi W. Gunther Plaut

February 18, 1960

Rabbi W. Gunther Plaut  
Mount Zion Temple  
1300 Summit Avenue  
St. Paul 5, Minnesota

Dear Rabbi Plaut:

There has been widespread recognition of the valuable contribution that was made by the Governor's Committee on Ethics in Government and the excellent report it submitted early last year. A new interest has been aroused in a most important problem. Those who are seriously concerned believe that the challenge presented by that study and report must be met, and that further study should be undertaken to consider what steps would now be most effective in achieving the highest standards of ethics and integrity in government. I have been especially encouraged by the active interest that is being taken in this problem by the Minnesota League of Women Voters, by the Minnesota Bar Association, and by several members of the Minnesota Legislature.

I believe that such further study should be undertaken. I also believe it of utmost importance that it be conducted on a non-partisan and bi-partisan basis, one that unfortunately becomes increasingly difficult during an election year. And, therefore, I am requesting you to undertake a difficult and taxing responsibility, but one in which I know you are deeply interested and for which you are exceptionally well qualified.

I am asking you, as Chairman of the Governor's Committee on Ethics in Government that made the original report, to continue as chairman of a reactivated and enlarged committee, and to accept the responsibility of selecting additional members of the Committee from among all interested organizations, both political parties, and members of the Minnesota Legislature.

I think that bi-partisan cooperation is essential to the success of any effort toward greater integrity in government, and I believe that if you, as a non-partisan chairman, will select the members to be added to the committee, in the light of balanced representation and sincere interest, there will be a firm basis for cooperation on the part of members of both parties.

In asking you to undertake this difficult and important responsibility I want to express again my deep appreciation for the valuable contribution already made by the Governor's Committee on Ethics in Government and for your effective leadership. I sincerely hope you will be able to accept.

Sincerely yours,

Orville L. Freeman  
GOVERNOR

# THE COUNCIL OF STATE GOVERNMENTS

1313 EAST SIXTIETH STREET, CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

June 27, 1960

Mrs. Thomas Young  
League of Women Voters of Minnesota  
# 6 Lilly Pond Road  
North Oaks  
St. Paul 10, Minnesota

Dear Mrs. Young:

This is in reply to your recent letter inquiring about the report entitled Corrupt Practices Legislation in the 48 States, by S. S. Minault, and about information on "volunteer" committees for campaign finance and codes of fair campaign practices in the states.

We are sorry to say that the report by S. S. Minault is out of print, and thus we cannot send a copy to you. Since the material in this report is considerably out of date, it might not be of much use to you anyway.

By "codes of fair campaign practices," we assume you refer to campaign finance. We are sending you loan copies of the following material which contain state by state summaries regarding regulation of campaign finance:

State Statutes Regulating Political Contributions by Labor Unions, Corporations, and Others, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, 1958.

Use of Labor Union Dues for Partisan Political Purposes, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, 1958.

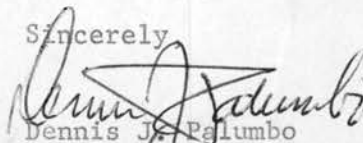
State Laws Regarding Campaign Expenditures for Nomination and Election of Senators and Representatives in Congress, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, 1956.

Purity of Elections Laws, First Progress Report of the Assembly Interim Committee on Elections, California, 1952.

Regulation of Campaign Finance, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley, 1955.

Since these are our file copies, we would appreciate their return as soon as they have served your purposes. If we can be of any further assistance, please do not hesitate to write.

Sincerely,

  
Dennis J. Palumbo  
Research Associate

DJP:mkb  
Encs.

5. amount spent on such activities;
6. who contributes the money; and
7. how he is paid, whether on a contingent fee or not.

Whether regulation of lobbying is achieved by statute, constitutional provision or by legislative rule, it must allow the useful functions of lobbying to continue, and at the same time give a realistic, complete picture of what is being done so that the interests behind the lobbyists will emerge clearly.

## ETHICS IN GOVERNMENT - Current Agenda

What We Studied: Ethics in government, and the problems attendant upon certain lacks thereof, dawned on the conscience of the citizenry of Minnesota with publication in December, 1958, of a report by the Governor's Committee on Ethics in Government. There followed in the newspapers, among the people, and in the 1959 legislative session, a discussion of the questions of conflicts of interests (with particular reference to a part-time legislature) and the need for and methods of regulating lobbying. One of the results of this newly awakened interest was that the LW placed a study of ethics on its current program for 1959-61.

League Position: Consensus returns in June 1960 showed virtually unanimous League support for legislative action in the fields of conflicts of interest and lobby regulation. League members would look favorably upon a bill which would (1) require public officials to disclose private interests in pending legislation, (2) require public officials to disclose sources and amounts of income connected with official duties, and (3) prohibit legislators from practicing before state agencies. League members would like to see lobby control legislation passed which would require disclosure of who the lobbyist is, who finances him, and the nature of the activities in which he engages.

Legislative Action: The 1959 Legislature did not legislate on ethics, although bills were introduced. A bill reflecting recommendations of the Governor's Committee passed the House but not the Senate. The Senate strengthened its own Rules relative to lobbying.

What Next? Areas for Leaguers to watch in the 1961 session will be most particularly conflicts of interests and regulation of lobbying.

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 15th & Washington S.E.  
 Minneapolis 14, Minnesota  
 September 1960

091060D-24

What It's About and the Arguments. Problems of ethics in government arise when private interests interfere with the public good, i.e., when a public official uses his public office for personal aggrandizement. Four general avenues of change have been suggested to improve ethical standards in government:

1. More democratic financing of campaigns;
2. Codes of ethics, voluntary or legislative, for appointive and elective officials;
3. Greater publicity of incomes and finances of public officials;;and
4. Stricter and more frequent audits of accounts.

Too strict methods of regulating officials will only result in driving good people away from public service. On the other hand, we should remember that no one is required to accept public office and if he chooses to do so, he must be willing to accept only the rewards which rightly pertain to that office.

#### A. Conflicts of Interests.

The problem areas are virtually the same for the policymaker and for other officials. They are these:

1. accepting income other than the established salary for official duties;
2. investments in conflict with official duties;
3. use of official position to secure special privilege;
4. use of influence to secure special privilege;
5. soliciting future employment while carrying out official duties.

One area differs between kinds of officials: employment or professional activity, on part of policymaker, which is incompatible with his public position and which may be concealed from the public; for other officials, it might be outside professional activity for a fee in conflict with official duties.

Possible solutions take two general forms, and differ between kinds of officials.

Disclosure. 1. The policymaker would make blanket annual disclosure on the public record of income related to official duties. Other officials would make complete annual financial disclosure. 2. The policymaker would reveal any personal or private interest in bills being debated in committee or on legislative floor. Other officials would make such disclosure when giving official testimony before committees.

Prohibition. The policymaker would be prohibited from practicing before state agencies for compensation. Prohibition for other officials would be for a period after leaving office and would be against representing private interest versus the state.

#### B. Regulation of Lobbying Activities.

Lobbying is an exercise of the constitutionally guaranteed right to petition our government for redress of grievances. It is desirable so long as that right is exercised via techniques designed to persuade the legislator with facts and information. In fact, legislators must rely on outsiders for much of the information needed to make decisions since adequate research facilities are not available to them. Lobbyists perform an important fact-finding function.

Lobbying becomes suspect when it aims at action contrary to the public good, and when its appeal is to personal advantage rather than judgment. Unacceptable techniques and the social lobby (gifts, excessive wining and dining, huge campaign contributions, free vacations) lead to demands for regulation of the lobby function.

The national government and over 80% of states have such regulations. Disclosure is the principal means of control. In most laws a lobbyist is required to file these facts in a stated public office.

1. his name and address;
2. his employer;
3. the kinds of legislation he seeks to influence;
4. activities engaged in to promote legislation;

# Ethics Consensus

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 15th & Washington S.E., Minneapolis 14, Minn.  
110959CCC

## LOCAL LEAGUES

Afton-Lakeland	
Alexandria	
Anoka	✓ (3)
Arden Hills	
Austin	✓
Battle Lake	
Bemidji	1
Bloomington	✓
Brainerd	8
Brooklyn Center	1
Buffalo	1
Cass Lake	1
Columbia Heights	
Crystal	10
Deephaven	1
Duluth	1
Edina	1
Excelsior	1
Falcon Heights	3
Fergus Falls	
Golden Valley	1
Granite Falls	
Hibbing	
Hopkins	
Jackson	
Mahtomedi	2
*Maplewood	1 and 11
McLeod-Hutchinson	1
Minneapolis	5 5
Minnetonka Village	1
Moorhead	✓
Mound	1
#Moundsview	
New Richland	1
New Ulm	
North St. Paul	1
Olivia	
Owatonna	1
Red Wing	1
Richfield	✓
Robbinsdale	1
Rochester	8
Roseville	1
St. Anthony Village	3
St. Cloud	✓
St. Louis Park	
St. Paul	11
*Shoreview	
*Silver Bay	1
South St. Paul	1
Virginia	
Wayzata	1
Wells	✓
West St. Paul	4
White Bear Lake	7
Worthington	

\*Provisional

#Pre-Provisional

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation. Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant. Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information. Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service. Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

2. Lobby Regulation

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?

1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist. Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

2. Name of his employer Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

4. Nature of activities in which he engages. Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. (It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities.) Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
League of Women Voters

Return by June 15

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 15th and Washington S. E. Minneapolis 14, Minnesota  
February 1960

# Tally Sheet

JUN 16 1960

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 15th & Washington S.E., Minneapolis 14, Minn.  
February 1960

022760D

## CONSENSUS QUESTIONS for "ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

### 1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes ☒ No ☐

*only if financial gain or loss to self or relatives*  
On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information. Yes ☒ No ☐

*what is proper?*  
Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service.

*minority against what is meaning of responsibility  
for danger of excluding good men*  
Yes ☐ No ☒

### 2. Lobby Regulation

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?

1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Name of his employer. Yes ☒ No ☐

3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. Yes ☒ No ☐

4. Nature of activities in which he engages. Yes ☒ No ☐

5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities.) Yes ☒ No ☐

6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes ☒ No ☐

RETURN BY JUNE 15

*Afternoon Unit, Anoka*  
League of Women Voters

*approx. 13 members present*

JUN 16 1960

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 15th & Washington S.E., Minneapolis 14, Minn.  
February 1960

022760D

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

8 members present

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes 6 No 2 <sup>not voting</sup>

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes 4 No 1 <sup>3 not voting</sup>

On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation. Yes 5 No 3 <sup>not voting</sup>

Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes 6 No 2 <sup>not voting</sup>

Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant. Yes 7 No 1 <sup>not voting</sup>

Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information. Yes 8 No 0

Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes 6 No 1 <sup>not voting</sup>

Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service. Yes 3 No 1 <sup>4 not voting</sup>

2. Lobby Regulation

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes 8 No 0

B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?

1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist. Yes 8 No 0

2. Name of his employer. Yes 8 No 0

3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. Yes 8 No 0

4. Nature of activities in which he engages. Yes 8 No 0

5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities.) Yes 8 No 0

6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes 8 No 0

RETURN BY JUNE 15

Evening Unit Anoka.  
League of Women Voters

Ruth Scott, Chairman

JUN 16 1960

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 15th & Washington S.E., Minneapolis 14, Minn.  
February 1960

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CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes 9 No    

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes 9 No    

*Question brought up about enforcing this.*  
On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation. Yes 9 No    

Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes 9 No    

Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant. Yes 9 No    

Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information. Yes 9 No    

Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes 9 No    

Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service.

*One person felt that this is unnecessary, because this with legislators do not cease or diminish after 2 years.*  
Yes 8 No 1

2. Lobby Regulation

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes 9 No    

B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?

1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist. Yes 9 No    

2. Name of his employer. Yes 9 No    

3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. Yes 9 No    

4. Nature of activities in which he engages. Yes 9 No    

5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities.) Yes 9 No    

6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes 9 No    

RETURN BY JUNE 15

*Conn Rapids*  
League of Women Voters

*9 members present*

*Mrs. Rundquist*

*- Take to the May meeting -*

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 15th & Washington S.E., Minneapolis 14, Minn.  
February 1960

022760D

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

JUN 16 1960

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes ☒ No ☐

On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation. Yes ☒ No ☐

? Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes ☒ No ☒

? Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant. Yes ☒ No ☒

*add* Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Lobby Regulation

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?

1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Name of his employer. Yes ☒ No ☐

3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. Yes ☒ No ☐

4. Nature of activities in which he engages. Yes ☒ No ☐

5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities.) Yes ☒ No ☐

? 6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes ☒ No ☒

RETURN BY JUNE 15

*Clouston*  
League of Women Voters

*over*

The 10 units were unanimous in agreeing both "Conflicts of Interest" & "Lobby Regulation" ~~both~~ are areas in which legislative action is desirable.

The questions marked both yes & no are the only ones that were questionable at all. In the main they were not disagreeing but didn't understand the question well enough for opinions.

Submitted by - -

Mrs K K Mc Millan

Sorry we're late -- the Chairman on this subject went on vacation & I didn't get the material from our units until yesterday.

Unit 5 meeting 12 members present

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 15th & Washington S.E., Minneapolis 14, Minn.  
February 1960

022760D

League

Bemidji

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS

for

"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable?

Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes ☒ No ☐

On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation.

Yes ☐ No ☒

Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency.

Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant.

Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information.

Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties.

Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service.

Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Lobby Regulation

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable?

Yes ☐ No ☐

B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?

1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist.

Yes ☐ No ☐

2. Name of his employer.

Yes ☐ No ☐

3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned.

Yes ☐ No ☐

4. Nature of activities in which he engages.

Yes ☐ No ☐

5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities.)

Yes ☐ No ☐

6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.).

Yes ☐ No ☐

RETURN BY JUNE 15

League of Women Voters

1 kept  
Confidential  
otherwise  
no

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

JUL 11 1960

Results of the Bloomington, Minn. LWV June unit meetings on Ethics in Government are as follows:

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable?

A definite YES

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

1. Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50.

A substantial majority of Bloomington League members felt legislation needed in this area....however, some felt parts of this question too specific. Complete financial disclosure of a part-time legislator may be an invasion of man's privacy, it was felt.

Two other suggestions from units included:

- a. Not in favor of criminal sanctions. Legislation should provide for agency to process and publicize disclosure, then let voters act.
- b. Disclose source of financial gifts (etc) but not amount.

2. On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation.

Substantial majority - YES Small minority felt there should be only a statement at the opening, also, some felt both an opening statement and on the spot disclosure important. One unit would like to see statement made before filing, instead of on the spot.

3. Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency.

YES

4. Prohibition against public official representing private interest the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant.

YES (one unit felt it seemed much too broad a prohibition. They wanted more guidance on this).

5. Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information.

YES

6. Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties.

YES, but some thought question hard to define.

7. Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service.

No consensus on this one. About one-half of the units felt this necessary, the other units questioned the 2 year time limit (how it was determined) There was some confusion on the question, and some felt a legislator out of office should not be subject to this regulation.

## 2 Lobby regulation

- A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? YES  
B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?

1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist. YES
2. Name of his employer. YES
3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. YES
4. Nature of activities in which he engages. YES
5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities. YES

6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc)

YES, but small minority felt this an invasion of personal business.

#

## Leaguers

Here are a few suggestions from Bloomington ~~leaguers~~, regarding this study.

1. Too much to cover in one meeting.
2. Too much time spent on discussion questions. Should have spent most of evening discussing consensus questions.
3. Or, discussion questions. should have been more closely related to consensus questions.
4. Consensus questions too specific. Should have asked "do you want legislation" "What would you like to see included in legislation?" and let us do the rest..
5. Should not be asked for consensus after only one meeting.
6. Needed more information on methods for enforcement...and should take consensus following more info. in this area.

Sorry this is late...just finished our meetings last week...I might add there was a lot of interest in this topic, and some real good meetings.

*Lobbie Mystrom*  
Ethics in Govt. chairman

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes ☒ No ☐

On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Lobby Regulation

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?

1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Name of his employer. Yes ☒ No ☐

3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. Yes ☒ No ☐

4. Nature of activities in which he engages. Yes ☒ No ☐

5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities.) Yes ☒ No ☐

6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes ☒ No ☐

RETURN BY JUNE 15

Brainard  
League of Women Voters

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes ☒ No ☐

On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service. Yes ☐ No ☐  
(not clear)

2. Lobby Regulation

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?

1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Name of his employer. Yes ☒ No ☐

3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. Yes ☒ No ☐

4. Nature of activities in which he engages. Yes ☒ No ☐

5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities.) Yes ☒ No ☐

6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes ☒ No ☐

RETURN BY JUNE 15

Brainerd League of Women Voters  
League of Women Voters

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes ☐ No ☒

On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service. Yes ☐ No ☒

2. Lobby Regulation

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?

1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Name of his employer. Yes ☒ No ☐

3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. Yes ☒ No ☐

4. Nature of activities in which he engages. Yes ☒ No ☐

5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities.) Yes ☒ No ☐

6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes ☐ No ☒

RETURN BY JUNE 15

Brainard, Minn.  
League of Women Voters

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes ☐ No ☐

On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information. Yes ☐ No ☐ *to what extent?*

Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service. Yes ☐ No ☐ *this would have to be modified*

2. Lobby Regulation

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?

1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Name of his employer. Yes ☒ No ☐

3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. Yes ☒ No ☐

4. Nature of activities in which he engages. Yes ☒ No ☐

5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities.) Yes ☒ No ☐

6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes ☒ No ☐

RETURN BY JUNE 15

*Brauner*  
League of Women Voters

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes ☒ No ☐

On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information. *Too general* Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service. Yes ☐ No ☒ 2

2. Lobby Regulation

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?

1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Name of his employer. Yes ☒ No ☐

3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. Yes ☒ No ☐

4. Nature of activities in which he engages. Yes ☒ No ☐

5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities.) Yes ☒ No ☐

6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes ☒ No ☐

RETURN BY JUNE 15

*Brainerd*  
League of Women Voters

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes ☐ No ☐ ?

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Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information. *Too broad.* Yes ☐ No ☐

Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service. *Should have idea of specific cases* Yes ☐ No ☐

2. Lobby Regulation

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B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?

1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist. Yes ☒ No ☐

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RETURN BY JUNE 15

*Brainerd*  
League of Women Voters

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

1. Conflicts of Interest

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RETURN BY JUNE 15

Brainerd  
League of Women Voters

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

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Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service. *vague* Yes ☐ No ☐

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6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes ☒ No ☐

RETURN BY JUNE 15

*Brainerd*  
League of Women Voters

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

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6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes ☒ No ☐

RETURN BY JUNE 15

Brooklyn Center  
League of Women Voters

comments on back

There was general agreement in supporting  
all of the points, but quite a bit of discussion on  
some specific questions.

Under Conflicts of Interest, the chief concern  
seemed to be that public financial disclosures might  
prevent some people from running for office - it  
seems preferable to have such information remain  
confidential unless needed for prosecution. There  
was also some doubt as to the advisability of an  
annual report.

Under Lobby Regulation, question #4  
seemed too vague - we were not sure what  
to discuss in our handbook at all. There were  
two related ones - "Business gifts" and  
"Gifts no more than nominal value" - both for discussion.

This committee was asked only  
for minor  
changes in the handbook. I personally feel we  
should not be involved in such minor changes  
— but I am not sure. I am not sure.  
Thank you for your excellent material!

Very truly,  
John P. Morgan  
Chairman

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes ☒ No ☐

On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation. *It's a bit ambiguous!* Yes ☐ No ☐

Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant. Yes ☐ No ☒

Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service. Yes ☒ No ☐

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3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. Yes ☒ No ☐

4. Nature of activities in which he engages. Yes ☒ No ☐

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6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes ☒ No ☐

RETURN BY JUNE 15

*Buffalo*  
League of Women Voters

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS

JUN 6 1960

022760D

for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes ☐ No ☐ *Could not agree on this one*

On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant. Yes ☐ No ☐

Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service. Yes ☐ No ☐

2. Lobby Regulation

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B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?

1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Name of his employer. Yes ☒ No ☐

3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. Yes ☒ No ☐

4. Nature of activities in which he engages. Yes ☒ No ☐

5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities.) Yes ☒ No ☐

6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes ☒ No ☐

RETURN BY JUNE 15

Cass Lake, Minn.  
League of Women Voters

MAY 4 1960

Crystal Minn  
May 3, 1960

a brief summation, by  
topic Chairman, of "E This  
in Government"

Lois M. Iverson

the material for this topic  
was very good, but I wish  
we could have it earlier  
so we could get it to the  
membership befor the topic,  
so they could become familiar  
with it and thus generate  
more interest.

I also believe these  
consensus questions are geared  
for yes answers and that  
if they were more controversial  
they would induce better discussion

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes ☐ No ☒

On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant. Yes ☒ No ☐

*too vague*  
Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Lobby Regulation

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?

1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Name of his employer. Yes ☒ No ☐

3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. Yes ☒ No ☐

4. Nature of activities in which he engages. Yes ☒ No ☐

5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities.) Yes ☐ No ☒

6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes ☒ No ☐

RETURN BY JUNE 15

*Lois M. Overson (unit one)*  
League of Women Voters  
*Topic Chairman*

*unanimous agreement was reached by the members attending the unit 4 meeting*

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 15th & Washington S.E., Minneapolis 14, Minn.  
February 1960

022760D

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

1. Conflicts of Interest

- A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐ 6
- B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?
- Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes ☒ No ☐ 6
- On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation. Yes ☒ No ☐ 6
- Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes ☒ No ☐ 6
- Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant. Yes ☒ No ☐ 6
- Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information. Yes ☒ No ☐ 6
- Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes ☒ No ☐ 6
- Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service. Yes ☒ No ☐ 6

2. Lobby Regulation

- A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐ 6
- B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?
1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist. Yes ☒ No ☐ 6
2. Name of his employer. Yes ☒ No ☐ 6
3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. Yes ☒ No ☐ 6
4. Nature of activities in which he engages. Yes ☒ No ☐ 6
5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities.) Yes ☒ No ☐ 6
6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes ☒ No ☐ 6

RETURN BY JUNE 15

*Crystal - Unit 4*  
League of Women Voters

*individual opinion unit 3*

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 15th & Washington S.E., Minneapolis 14, Minn.  
February 1960 022760D

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes ☒ No ☐

On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes ☒ No ☐

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4. Nature of activities in which he engages. Yes ☒ No ☐

5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities.) *also, who hired public relations firm.* Yes ☒ No ☐

6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes ☒ No ☐

RETURN BY JUNE 15,

*Crystal-Bette Voigt*  
League of Women Voters *unit topic*  
*Chairman*

*These Questions are geared to Yes answers,*

*individual opinion unit 3*

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 15th & Washington S.E., Minneapolis 14, Minn.  
February 1960

022760D

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
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RETURN BY JUNE 15

*Crystal - Unit 3*  
League of Women Voters

*individual opinion unit 3*

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 15th & Washington S.E., Minneapolis 14, Minn.  
February 1960

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CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

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RETURN BY JUNE 15

*Crystal*  
League of Women Voters

*individual opinion unit 3*

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 15th & Washington S.E., Minneapolis 14, Minn.  
February 1960

022760D

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

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*Crystal*  
League of Women Voters

*individual opinion unit 3*

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 15th & Washington S.E., Minneapolis 14, Minn.  
February 1960

022760D

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

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2. Name of his employer. Yes ☒ No ☐

3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. Yes ☒ No ☐

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RETURN BY JUNE 15

*Crystal*  
League of Women Voters

*individual opinion unit 3*

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 15th & Washington S.E., Minneapolis 14, Minn.  
February 1960

022760D

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes ☒ No ☐

On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Lobby Regulation

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?

1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Name of his employer. Yes ☒ No ☐

3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. Yes ☒ No ☐

4. Nature of activities in which he engages. Yes ☒ No ☐

5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities.) Yes ☒ No ☐

6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes ☒ No ☐

RETURN BY JUNE 15

*CRYSTAL*

League of Women Voters

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes ☐ No ☒

On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Lobby Regulation

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?

1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Name of his employer. Yes ☒ No ☐

3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. Yes ☒ No ☐

4. Nature of activities in which he engages. Yes ☒ No ☐

5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities.) Yes ☒ No ☐

6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes ☒ No ☐

RETURN BY JUNE 15

*Crystal League*  
League of Women Voters

*individual opinion unit 3*

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 15th & Washington S.E., Minneapolis 14, Minn.  
February 1960 022760D

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes ☒ No ☐

On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information. Yes ☐ No ☒

Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Lobby Regulation

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?

1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Name of his employer. Yes ☒ No ☐

3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. Yes ☒ No ☐

4. Nature of activities in which he engages. Yes ☒ No ☐

5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities.) Yes ☒ No ☐

6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes ☒ No ☐

RETURN BY JUNE 15

*Crystal*  
League of Women Voters

JUN 2 1960

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 15th & Washington S.E., Minneapolis 14, Minn.  
February 1960

022760D

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

1 Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes ☒ No ☐ *see other side*

2 On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation. Yes ☒ No ☐ *see other side*

3 Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information. *not sure what meant* Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service. Yes ☐ No ☒ *opinion denied*

2. Lobby Regulation

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?

1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Name of his employer. Yes ☒ No ☐

3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. Yes ☒ No ☐

4. Nature of activities in which he engages. Yes ☒ No ☐

5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities.) Yes ☒ No ☐

6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes ☒ No ☐

RETURN BY JUNE 15

*Deephaven*  
League of Women Voters

Our members had reservations on these two questions and have made the following changes as suggestions  $\pm$  1. Financial disclosure not including financial holdings or speaking fees and raise gifts to \$100. 2. Include only speaking fees & gifts over \$50.

The question on - on the spot disclosure - suggestions by most members was to change this to read - on the spot disclosure of interest if source of principal income <sup>and</sup> or 5% of profits of a company.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF DULUTH  
514 LYCEUM BUILDING  
DULUTH 2, MINNESOTA

May 24, 1960

To: Mrs. Kenneth Sigford  
First Vice President, LWV of Minnesota  
Ethics in Government Chairman

From: Mrs. Robert M. Kanter  
President, LWV of Duluth

Subject: Consensus Report on Ethics in Government

Our study on Ethics in Government brought a lively response from all 15 units. All units agreed that this was a field for legislative action, which was the principal question asked. There was agreement that the suggested provisions covering lobbying be included in such legislation. However, the units did not reach substantial agreement on the specific items to be included under Conflict of Interest.

The motion passed by the Board today reads as follows: The Duluth League feels that there is a need for legislative action; we agree that the specific items of the lobbying section should be included in such legislation; we did not reach substantial agreement on the specific items under Conflict of Interest.

You will also be interested to know that Mr. McDonald was very well received by our luncheon meeting today. We had 74 at the luncheon, including a few guests and very few contributors who had been invited; in addition, about 15 to 20 members came in to hear his talk. We met in the Spaulding ballroom (expecting a larger attendance) so we had the use of the microphone. There were a number of interesting questions afterwards, and the press and television coverage was good. One station taped part of his remarks and will use it with his picture on tonight's news report.

*Homney Kanter*



Affiliated with the  
League of Women Voters of the U. S.

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

JUN 17 1960

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes 12 No    

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

- 1 Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes 10 No      
*(suggested private filing)*  
*one unit reported no to first line - disclosure, salaries, etc. -*  
*yes to second line speaking fees, etc.*
- 2 On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation. Yes 11 No      
*majority but divided*
- 3 Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes 10 No      
*2 question this -*
- 4 Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant. Yes 10 No 2
- 5 Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information. Yes 9 No 2  
*indefinite*
- 6 Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes 10 No 1  
*indefinite*
- 7 Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service. Yes 10 No      
*(I said yes - if practical, five)*  
*2 undecided*

2. Lobby Regulation

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes 12 No    

B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?

1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist. Yes 12 No
2. Name of his employer. Yes 12 No
3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. Yes 11 No 1
4. Nature of activities in which he engages. Yes 10 No 1  
*(sup question ambiguous)*
5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities.) Yes 10 No      
*2 no decision*
6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes 11 No      
*1 no decision*

RETURN BY JUNE 15

Jane Stenson  
Edina  
League of Women Voters

We had a consolidation of two units; another unit had the person giving topic take ill - & didn't think to call me as has been suggested earlier this year, so didn't study topic - This will be emphasized next year - & call on board or other units for help - another unit (as I old timers at that) said they didn't feel they knew enough about their topic to make any decisions. This is one of two who didn't have the state person at the workshop & the the chairmen did attend, she did not give the topic - This brings me the that - "live & learn" - & for our suggestion book we are instituting this year - I will make a point of following up such units & perhaps attending their (over)

meeting so I can help them out - The other unit who didn't attend had a new girl give the topic & I gave her extra help & information, but didn't think the old "pros" would need it, nor did they ask for it.

Many of the units felt this was a difficult questionnaire to answer, but I feel this has a great deal to do with the complexity of the subject, to digest at once. Almost every unit had two meetings on this, - not those two not reporting tho. There was a great deal in the paper about city ethics & their contents, & had the girls been on their toes, they'd have had some idea of other ethics bill - At an extra board meeting we decided to ask each telephone committee chairman to remind the members of the topic of the next meeting also, so they can be thinking of it - along with the announcement at the previous meeting. Hope it helps newspaper reading.

Everyone agreed on the need of legislation on ethics, & all said they were lively meetings - so much so that it took time from covering it all. They spoke of reviewing & continuing the topic with the complete finances & methods next fall.

Joan Stinson.

Unit # 2  
League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 15th & Washington S.E., Minneapolis 14, Minn.  
February 1960 022760D

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes ☒ No ☐

On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Lobby Regulation

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?

1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Name of his employer. Yes ☒ No ☐

3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. Yes ☒ No ☐

4. Nature of activities in which he engages. *too general* Yes ☐ No ☐  
*Do you mean organizations, etc.?*

5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities.) Yes ☒ No ☐

6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes ☒ No ☐

RETURN BY JUNE 15

*Unit 2 Edina League*  
League of Women Voters

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes ☒ No ☐

On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Lobby Regulation

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?

1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Name of his employer. Yes ☒ No ☐

3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. Yes ☒ No ☐

4. Nature of activities in which he engages. Yes ☒ No ☐

5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities.) Yes ☒ No ☐

6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes ☒ No ☐

RETURN BY JUNE 15

Unit # 3 - Clara League of Women Voters  
League of Women Voters

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes ☒ No ☐

On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes ☐ No ☒ 20

Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant. Yes ☐ No ☒

Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Lobby Regulation

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?

1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Name of his employer. Yes ☒ No ☐

3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. Yes ☒ No ☐

4. Nature of activities in which he engages. Yes ☒ No ☐

5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities.) Yes ☒ No ☐

6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes ☒ No ☐

Unit  
# 6

14 percent 3 person - voters -

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 15th & Washington S.E., Minneapolis 14, Minn.  
February 1960

022760D

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

*(If filed privately -)*  
Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes ☒ No ☐

On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes ☐ No ☐

Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant. Yes ☐ No ☒

Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes ☐ No ☐

Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Lobby Regulation

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?

1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Name of his employer. Yes ☒ No ☐

3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. Yes ☒ No ☐

4. Nature of activities in which he engages. Yes ☐ No ☒

5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities.) Yes ☐ No ☐

6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes ☐ No ☐

RETURN BY JUNE 15

League of Women Voters

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes ☒ No ☐

On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information. Yes ☐ No ☒

*should be taken for granted - other laws cover this -*  
Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Lobby Regulation

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?

1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Name of his employer. Yes ☒ No ☐

3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. Yes ☒ No ☐

4. Nature of activities in which he engages. Yes ☒ No ☐

5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities.) Yes ☒ No ☐

6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes ☒ No ☐

RETURN BY JUNE 15

*Joan Stevenson*  
League of Women Voters

Unit #12  
League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 15th & Washington S.E., Minneapolis 14, Minn.  
February 1960

022760D

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes ☒ No ☐

On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service. Yes ☐ No ☐  
*None if practical*

2. Lobby Regulation

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?

1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Name of his employer. Yes ☒ No ☐

3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. Yes ☒ No ☐

4. Nature of activities in which he engages. Yes ☒ No ☐

5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities.) Yes ☒ No ☐

6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes ☒ No ☐

RETURN BY JUNE 15

*Patricia L. Wash (State)*  
League of Women Voters Unit XII

Unit # 13  
League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 15th & Washington S.E., Minneapolis 14, Minn.  
February 1960 022760D

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes ☒ No ☐

On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Lobby Regulation

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?

1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Name of his employer. Yes ☒ No ☐

3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. Yes ☒ No ☐

4. Nature of activities in which he engages. Yes ☒ No ☐

5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities.) Yes ☒ No ☐

6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes ☒ No ☐

RETURN BY JUNE 15

League of Women Voters

To Jane Stenson

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes X No   

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes X No   

On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation. Yes X No   

Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes X No   

Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant. Yes X No   

Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information. Yes X No   

Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes X No   

Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service. Yes    No   

*undecided*

2. Lobby Regulation

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes X No   

B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?

1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist. Yes X No   

2. Name of his employer. Yes X No   

3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. Yes X No   

4. Nature of activities in which he engages. Yes X No   

5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities.) Yes X No   

6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes X No   

RETURN BY JUNE 15

*Unit 15 - Edina*  
League of Women Voters

Unit #16  
League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 15th & Washington S.E., Minneapolis 14, Minn.  
February 1960

022760D

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS  
for  
"ETHICS AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT"

1. Conflicts of Interest

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation is the answer, which of the following would you like to see included?

Financial disclosure of sources and amounts of income, financial holdings, speaking fees, reimbursement for expense, gifts exceeding \$50. Yes ☒ No ☐

On the spot disclosure of interest in legislation. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against any public official representing private interest before state agency. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against public official representing private interest against the state in any action in which the state (or state agency) is the complainant. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against disclosure of confidential information. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition against private employment of public official where activity would be incompatible with proper discharge of public duties. Yes ☒ No ☐

Prohibition for two years against former official representing private interest against state in any matter for which he was responsible during state service. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Lobby Regulation

A. Is this an area in which legislative action is desirable? Yes ☒ No ☐

B. If legislation were enacted and you had a choice, which of the following would you like to see disclosed?

1. Name, address, etc. of lobbyist. Yes ☒ No ☐

2. Name of his employer. Yes ☒ No ☐

3. Nature of legislation with which he is concerned. Yes ☒ No ☐

4. Nature of activities in which he engages. Yes ☒ No ☐

5. Amount of money contributed to his lobbying action and by whom. It should be pointed out that if a lobbyist is hired by a public relations firm, registering simply the name of his employer does not indicate who is really financing his activities.) Yes ☒ No ☐

6. Terms of his employment (length of time of employment, is payment made on a contingency basis, etc.). Yes ☒ No ☐

RETURN BY JUNE 15

Alice D. Madsen  
League of Women Voters