



League of Women Voters of Minnesota Records

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G. Wilson

"THE LEAGUE IS IN THE LOBBY"

III. Legislative Facts of Life

p.1

When you speak of the facts of life, there is a feeling that you are about to reveal the truth, and that the truth is going to be a shock, but that it is a necessary thing to do, for the good of all concerned.

I don't know whether that is the case here today, or not. It depends on how many of you have spent time at the Capitol. I can only say that my first legislative session at the Capitol was a series of shocks to me, some of them pleasant, some distressing, some amusing. But it was terrifically interesting, and I'll try to tell you a little about it, hoping it will interest you enough so that you will want to expose yourself to the same experience, either in person, or by letter and reading and interviewing your legislator when he is home. I do think it is important for you to know the "facts of life of our legislature", for when you do you will be disturbed about some of the practices and conditions, you will be much more appreciative of the sacrifice and service many of our legislators are making, you will be more conscious of your own power and responsibility to help the legislature function well for Minnesota.

My first impression of the Lobby

First impression was of the elegance and grandeur and spaciousness.

marble columns, wide stairways, tremendous dome, with painted murals stone benches, balcony around center so you could see from first floor to high domed ceiling, capitol itself is in high hill, and is reached by many steps, notice gold dome, and statues on front of building,

Second impression was of informality of the people in the Lobby

we met many of the legislators, they were jolly, friendly, extroverts, glad of an audience, so many old men, some legislators, and some on payroll of session, as door men etc., always there were blind men in the lobby, sitting patiently on the benches every day, shoe shine stand in lobby, around corner the lunch counter, where everyone, legislators, senators, lobbyists, staff people, stood elbows on counter, eating quick lunches (wiener and saurkraut sandwiches) Who were all these people. We would ask our friends, and later found that the old men (door men) were wonderful sources of information. Postoffice was around corner, found a friend there as postmistress, and she would pick up bit of information for us, Only 2 women in whole legislature, both first termers. We found the office where we could go to get bills, guide books, and could look up in files just exactly what happened to our bills the session before. Tiny yellow guide book, with all Senators, Repres., State offices, office numbers, home addresses, committee assignments very valuable to have, also from this office. Found little old man at a desk under the stairway in the dark, with single bulb light over the old fashioned roll top desk, who knew exactly where every bill was each day. He was grouchy about telling us, but knew the answers. We lunched in the cafeteria in the basement, and enjoyed seeing the important people around us, standing in line, at the small tables, tried to find out who everyone was. We noticed that the menus certainly had men in mind, heavy on meat, potatoes, pie.

My first impression of the House and Senate

First impression here, of course, was the elegance, formality and fine quality of the furnishings, fine woods, murals, columns, gilt decorations, high platform, on which officers of the house stand high above their colleagues.

Hierarchy ↓

Second impression was that the protocol, the habits of speaking and addressing each other and the chair, were in harmony with the furnishings of the rooms. Almost a victorian set of manners.

"I recognize the Gentleman from Koochiching"

"Will the gentleman yield?"

"My honorable colleague..."

I couldn't help but think that the manners that are proper in a legislative chamber were developed in the days when the state was smaller in population and problems, and the men had more leisure to conduct business, and get it done easily in the 90 day session.

The furnishings, too, were more suitable in the past (if the past was less complex in its problems) than in these years. Each legislator has a desk, with one drawer, I think, and a waste basket at hand. That is the only headquarters he has in the capitol, no place for files, for library, unless he is a committee chairman. Imagine being able to keep up with his work, without material at hand to help him, with all the bills he has to consider.

Although the rules of behavior observed by the legislators make for almost a pompous atmosphere, there are amusing contrasts. Its common practise for legislators to read newspapers while debate and business is going on, to get up and walk out during a speech, to wander over to another legislator's desk and talk to him during the session, and often there are many empty seats in the chamber. On the other hand, the visitor to the sessions must obey quite strict rules of behavior. In the galleries, they are not to talk, to lean on the rails, to read newspapers, to take notes, to record votes of committee of the whole, I have been told, and in committee hearings, visitors are frowned on and criticized who record the vote of the members of the committee. When a visitor is granted the privilege of sitting on the floor during a session, he must not talk to any legislator, or take any notes at all. But when a group of visitors come to the gallery, the legislator from their district asks permission to introduce them publicly to his fellows, and he makes a little speech of flattery.

Much of this behavior of the legislator can be well explained, of course. Most of the study and hard work goes on in committees, and the legislator's appearance of disinterest or inattention on the floor is not necessarily a true picture. When we visited the committee hearings, we gained a great appreciation for the work and time that many legislators put in to their jobs

First Day of the Session

The first day of the session is very exciting, because at this time the Speaker of the House is chosen. The vote on the speaker, whether it be for the conservative or for the liberal nominee, reveals the group which each legislator is going to caucus with during the coming session. The lobbyist wants to get a copy of the Journal for that day, so that he can make a C or L notation by each Legislators name. Some affiliations are known ahead of time, but with 40 new members (as there were in the House in 1951) and with some members switching sides, there is always an element of suspense.

The preliminary work that precedes the first day is very important and busy. Each new member, and each questionable member, is sought out by the two caucuses, to seek his membership in their groups.

The majority group is able to offer great inducements. Committee appointments, help with favorite bills, patronage (1008s hired for session), committee chairmanships, and offices for chairmen, majority of members on committees, rules that favor the majority group. (for ex. appointing conference committees to harmonize differences between 2 bills), power to kill by delay, tabling etc. of bills, (all 9 members of rules committee are from majority group) Indian headdress, delayed because Mr. Sletvold is a grandfather, because its a holiday, because opponents of bill wanted 'one more chance' to speak) can delay consideration of unwanted bills by dragging out one hearing too long (ex. FEPC purposely prolonged in Labor Committee, that of 60 bills referred to it, only 2 were reported on)

Majority group has members in the caucus from minority group, or rather the Conservatives, last session, had a number of liberals in their caucus. Why? Thought they might as well take the advantages of non-party designation, as well as the drawbacks. Since they didn't have to state their party, in fact couldn't, to get elected, they chose to join the caucus that could give them the advantages cited above.

If vote should ever be more evenly divided, between 2 groups in legislature there would be a mighty scramble.. Which side to join? Think of all the figuring ahead of time? Would probably force people to link themselves with others according to principles, rather than according to opportunism. Would probably bring better clash of ideas, better legisl.

Character of two groups is influenced probably by fact that conservatives have always been in power in House except for 2 sessions, and with no exceptions in the Senate.

Discipline, is much greater in the Conservative Group (cuz have more power) any disagreements they have is on the inside

leaders carry much more of burden, more followers of strong leaders Discipline, is more lax in liberal group

very vocal, as many ideas as people (cuz have no power?)

also always frustrated, so more belligerent and desperate

Is Legislature really non-partisan? (Minnesota & Nebraska only ones of 48)

Yes, in that they don't declare party on ballot

So, voter doesn't know their party, candidate gets votes from both sides of political fence.....voter gets no help by party labels on the LONG ballot.....yes, in that candidates for legislature don't advertise their support of party platforms....yes, in that voter does not know who to vote for to put the party platform into law, the party platform which executive officers have to run on.

No, in that they really do belong to a party, have benefit of party support in election, especially after primary, have benefit of party organization after they get to the legislature (see above) may or may not take part in writing platform, but then have no obligation to support it

Is your legislator really an independent? No. Individualism is greatly admired, especially in Minn. with its large independent vote, but truth is that individuals never get laws passed. It takes a majority of those voting, and a law has a long row to go before it gets voted on as a law, lots of hazards along the way.

He does not vote independently, on important issues, may waver on unimportant votes (Ex. French, FEPC --- Majority, Constitution)

This will allow him to select a voting record to prove he's a friend to all.

Introduction of Bill

First reading of bill is not exciting. If your ears aren't sharp, you won't even hear it. Its important to hear it, because it is given a number this first day, and assigned to the committee. If you don't hear, you can ask the little man under the stair, or get Journal next day and look it up.

The committee to which it is assigned is important. Authors can request a friendly committee, more prestige the author has, more apt to be heeded. Members ask to be assigned to certain committees, and these requests may be granted. 1 strike ag. bill is chm. is unfriendly.

Lobbyist now goes into action. He gets list of committee members, and finds who is the chairman, and where and when the committee meets. He asks chairman or his secretary when this bill will be heard. Then he assigns lobbyists to contact every member on that committee before the first hearing. Those on the committee who are "Our Bill's". (see bulletin bd.)

"Friends"- he contacts, and asks advice and offers help, material, footwork

"On-the Fence"- he finds out their position, if he doesn't know it from League questionnaire, and tries to change his indifference to support for bill, giving him the answers which particularly he needs, not throwing the book at him,

"Foes"- he tries to change his mind, or soften his opposition, yet keep him as a friend, because on some other matter he may be on our side. File very useful.

At same time, Legislative chairman can let local Leagues know how they can help. Those from town of committee member can start writing him now, one by one, not all in a lump.

Brace Yourself for First Committee Hearing - Labor Com.

Atmosphere -- Two committee rooms are thrown together, by opening folding doors, so that many people, perhaps 50, can come into hearing, surrounding table at which sits committee, and spreading out into next room. No effort is made to make hearing audible to audience, aimed only at committee around table.

What preceded this hearing - Committee of citizens worked with legislators, authors and friends of bill, to write bill acceptable to proponents. Many hearings to iron out rough spots. Also friends of bill consulted with authors on best way of presenting evidence.

Committee decided that proponents should be heard first, then opponents, then rebuttal and vote. So at first session we heard:

Geo. Jensen, Maico Co., chairman Minn. Council FEPC

Amos Deinard, lawyer, Mpls. Comm. FEPC

Abbott Washburn, General Mills, Mpls. FEPC, Radio Free Europe, now Eisen.

Bradshaw Mintener, Pillsbury's (68 added saying power - Macapi)

Leaders Social Agencies, Minority organizations

LWW written statement

excellent testimony, giving positive arguments for FEPC, with experience of other states and cities, with emphasis on democracy in action, weapon to combat communism here and abroad, and experience to combat fears of opponents. Important, able spokesmen, proud to be associated.

Opponents - Arguments presented under the management of Otto Christenson, executive ~~secretary~~ / vice-president of Minn. Employers Association.

Duluth Employers ~~Assoc.~~ Industrial Council -Chas. Bruns

Minn. State Cannery Assoc. -Kraus, Ortonville

Minn. Lumberman's Association -Elmer

Restaurant Assoc. - M.J.Ocken

Lake City Chbr. Commerce -Dick Mills

Seeger Refrig. Com. St. Paul -Frank B. Taylor

Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Co.

Railroads - Mike Galvin

Chbr. of Commerce, Duluth

NW County Elevators Association. -Lloyd Case

arguments:

"40 states turned such a bill down"

"only 14,000 Negroes in Minn., why so excited"

"should be able to go to church of choice"

"Mpls. ordinance - only 10% of 139 cases needed conciliation"

"some jobs require discrimination"

"business men want some freedom"

"Catholics should sell to Catholics, Lutherans to Lutherans, etc."

"southern women wouldn't want colored doctor, at Mayo's"

"publicity by commission would do great harm to business"

"frustrated persons clog up commissions with complaints"

"no punishment for false complaint"

"seniority - white girl won't be safe with colored supervisor"

"don't give a darn what communists think"

"Drishmen don't have benefit of FEPC"

"Couldn't ask if applicant had served in Russian army"

"or does he believe in God"

"against too much govt control, foreign countries feel sorry for us with these restrictions, and no freedoms"

"no discrimination, therefore wasteful expense"

"can't legislate virtue" voluntary plans best education better

"create a problem by talking about it" "bill would increase problem"

"subject hiring and firing to politics"

"can't house different minorities together peacefully"

"industrial might needed in war effort, this would deter it"

"ten commandments, love thy neighbor -that means free enterprise"

"theory only, won't work - education best"

"unnecessary added restriction to business, in addition to freight rts."

"is good business to employ minorities, but ag. law"

Rebuttal

Wire from Birdseye - NYFEP never curtailed growth

Minn. Employers Association, 11,065, not polled

Minn. Hotel Assoc. not polled

If business men would help to write acts, instead of always fighting social legislation, would have better laws

"Subject to arrest" burden of proof on complainant

Why a state law? local problem

Only 139 cases, reason is that when law is on books, most obey

Vote

Moved to pass, did by small majority...next step Civil Admin.Com.

hearings were dragged out, delayed one week by holiday, delayed vote because arguments took so long.

hard to record this vote, only by standing and writing, and hearing very well, committee doesn't like this.

expressed our appreciation to those who voted for us.

Civil Administration Committee

This committee is supposed to pass on all bills that have a new commission to administer the law. It was agreed ahead of time that nothing would be done in this hearing except what concerned the comm. except that Mr. Moore of Duluth was to have a chance to add his one amendment, about temporary period of employment, exempting this time from supervision by the commission. But it was too much of a temptation, and attempts were made to alter the contents of the bill. Not successful, though, so was recommended to pass.

Finance or Appropriations Committee

This was the most formidable committee of all. Large committee, dsit around a T shaped table. Chairman Allen has recording equipment in front of him so that all that testify speak for posterity. Proponents spoke for proper appropriation. Opponents said they wanted more time to speak against, so instead of voting this day, they were told to come next week. I believe there was another day, too. Asked League to make a statement. Spoke very briefly, and then Mr. Martinson asked if he could ask a question. I quaked in fear that he would ask something I couldn't answer. But his question was, "Mrs. Wilson, do you have a League in Ortonville" (his home town, and then there was general laughter, at the implication...why then should he pay attention to me? You can see how important that the letters to legislators should come from the home towns

Then the bill was attacked again...Some tried to cut out educational features (Duxbury)...some said no demand in rural areas (Twent, Clark) business people in country don't want it (Kinzer) lets indefinitely postpone action - then house could not vote on it - eliminate all appropriations, then house could decided amount (Martinson) against financing a gestapo (Wegner, supposedly friend) make applicable to all employers (Clark) Finally passed with bill with appropriation cut in half, with no recommendation....Those that voted favorably, 17-4, did so only because they thought this committee should not be the executioner.

Special Orders

Mr. Peterson asked this, defeated...Asked again few days later, granted This was a premonition of defeat, of course.
Bill now printed and available (?)

Emergencies During Session

Senator Russell's speech to Congress, reproduced on large sheet, distrib.
Otto Christenson's letter on Security Risk

Letter from St. Paul Structural Steel - FEPC would hinder production, therefore standard of living, go down - then communism - vote against
Difficult and expensive to answer, with small staff, takes postage, takes time, can we put in postboxes without stamps, yes and no.

Opposition has money to print material (we mimeograph)

Opposition has money for postage and secretaries to individually address letters

We were asked by friends in legislature to give them ammunition to answer these points, they need our help in fighting for the bill

What we have - members throughout state working in public interest. Letter from constituent most valuable. Our letter writers are informed.

Floor Debate in the House

Its like a great drama, or a great competition. You find yourself picking your heroes, your villains, you try to fit the rest into a category. You feel like rooting, and booing, its so exciting. But you restrain yourself. Your now supposed to even clap, or show any sign of enthusiasm from the gallery. And if you are so lucky as to sit on the floor during the debate, you sit very quiet and try to keep a poker face, not whisper, or take a note...Its takes almost more control than you have. You have to sit back and watch the authors carry the ball. If they do well, you're pleased. If they fumble, you wish you could get in there and fight in their place. But this is their show, and good or bad, the fight depends on them. If you have helpful information that you think would help one of them in the debate, you can leave the gallery, write a note to the legislator and send it in by a page. We were asked to track down the budget for the appropriations for the FEP Com, twice, altho the legislator had been given the information before.

When the session began, the authors said they thought the debate would go well, they knew of no plot to be hatched. But what a plot did develop. It was a well planned attempt to cripple the bill, by amending it many times, thus making it either unworkable or unacceptable to the Senate. They could win either way...if it passed, it would be a spineless bill. If it were killed because of its flabbiness by the Senate, they would like that, too.

Forbes, Worthington, tried to limit to cities of 50,000, (lost)
 Duxbury, Caledonia, tried to include domestics, employers of fewer than 8, religious & fraternal organ. (adopted)
 Duxbury, struck educational features (lost)
 Duxbury, commission can't issue complaint (adopted)
 Forbes, include cripples, blind, etc. (lost)
 Moore, can't ask questions of religion (adopted)

The talk in favor of these amendments was pious, holier than thou, we are the ones who don't discriminate, you society women talk good but you want to be able to discriminate against your servants, its city legislation, the bad, discriminating people in cities maybe need the law, but we in small towns aren't that way...we have no discrimination, of all things, why should religious organizations discriminate,and on and on it went

The talk against was to the point that the amendment makers were trying to defeat bill by amending it to death.

Vote? Duxbury and Forbes, after all these amendments, voted against bill.

Senate killed it in Judiciary committee, after several maneuvers... some friends of bill absent at vital vote, somebody had a grandchild, delayed debate for him to return, Indian headdress ceremony, for what, I forget,

Summary of Legislative Session and How LWV Can Help (or any citizen)

1545 bills introd. in Senate
1751 bills introd. in House
752 became law

No file, no office, no library
for others than com. chm.
Must so many bills be introd.
(Wisconsin rule)

214 of 752 bills are legislation for
city, county, towns

Special legislation, for local-
ities, since Minn. has so little
home rule, clutters calendar
is undemocratic to have few leg-
islators decide for a city

Silent treatment - many bills never
acted on at all, see p.48 Coop.Rept.

Registration of lobbyists, tax RW.
mineral tax, migratory workers,
why ignored? lobbies?

Votes not always significant
ex. French on FEPC

We can publicize votes, even in commit

Labor Committee reported only
2 of the 60 bills referred to it.

Why are labor bills referred to
committee with farmer chairman?
a known enemy of labor?

Tax committee only 72 of 127 bills
referred to it.

Very powerful committee, conserva-
tive majority, can kill bills
by not reporting to House for vot
New legislators have to learn ropes
in one session and be up for re-
election before next session.

Of 131 members of house
40 were new
32 business men
44 farmers (largest group) 33%
15 lawyers
2 women

Farmers overrepresented?
Women underrepresented?

Of 67 members of Senate
21 were new
15 were business men
10 farmers
22 lawyers

LWV has power:

not special, but public, interest
members write from all over state
more powerful than any printed
literature

Many lawyers more interested in clients
than in public interest, are exceptions
when they get part of income from
legis, and most of it from RR., liquor
interests, grocery associat., etc.
it is hard for them to be completely
objective.

1000's of bills make legislators
in need of facts to make up
minds - they need us for this,
they really need lobbyists info
friends of our bills need our
facts to carry the fight.
they quote LWV dissenters to us.
never question grass roots
support of Minn. Employers, etc.
it is only effective public
interest pressure group
we are needed, to counteract
the special interests, those
others will be there, shutting
our eyes will not make them
go away, and it is not fair
for legislators to be exposed
solely to special pressure,
worthy as much of that pressure
is. LWV helps them to keep
perspective of public good!

State Senator Opposes 'Independent Legislators'

Senator L. Dickinson speaking before a regional meeting of the League of Women Voters at the Club LaGuyal Tuesday strongly endorsed party designation of state legislators but stated he was "lukewarm" on constitutional revision and indicated the same attitude toward FEPC when he said "We in the North may not be able to see FEPC as those in the South do." And then asked "Can you legislate class?"



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Dear Mari:

This won't be a formal report on the Suburban League Conference at Columbia Heights on Thursday, but rather a few jottings on what happened and what was said and done that I think might be of interest to you.

In the first place, Senator Archie Miller, the luncheon speaker, came, I believe, with a strong notion that most League members do not know what they are talking about. It seems he talked to a League group once, and when they said they were for Constitutional Revision and he pinned them down for their reasons they were not able to give any. I do think we managed to get the idea across to him that that was not always the case. In the second place, the atmosphere was very informal and friendly, and I think he enjoyed himself (in fact he stayed so long that we couldn't have a formal afternoon session but we didn't feel too badly about that because we had reached the quiz part and he gave them a better drill on "if they say this, you say that" than we could have, possibly!)

I sat next to Mr. Miller at lunch, and used the opportunity to question him about a number of things, such as exactly how the railroad lobby feels about Constitutional changes and why, up to and including a few questions about the liquor price legislation which brought some rather interesting information about how the liquor lobby works. It seems they never have their men do the testifying for a bill they are interested in; instead they have a few apparently disinterested citizens-businessmen, (and so forth) testify about why the particular bill in question would be bad from a business standpoint or whatever. Never do they have anyone come right out and say a bill would be bad for the liquor industry. This is getting influential people to carry the ball for you with a vengeance--we discussed that as a possibility for the League, and it certainly seems to be a technique we could use to advantage in many cases.

Senator Miller was so extremely frank in his comments to me that I asked him to depart from his "prepared speech" to give the same sort of down-to-earth comments to the entire group. He looked a little startled, but that is approximately what he did. Mrs. Keyes, who came off second-best in an exchange with him on constitutional revision, called me afterwards to say that she thought he was a poor choice for speaker because he must have upset and disillusioned the young members who were there, but I think that was a quite unnecessary worry, and I think she came around to agree that sometimes we learn more, and are more challenged ~~by~~ when we don't all agree too closely. Certainly Mr. Miller didn't go out of his way to agree with us but when he found that we were willing and anxious to pursue those points of difference I think he decided that some League members did know something, after all!

He talked first about the organization of the Legislature, and sort of droned on, but then he made the remark that when the League had gotten behind the fireworks bill it had really gone to work---well of course we stopped him at that point and corrected that idea and so many people got into the discussion at that point that he never did have a chance to go back to his original presentation. From that time on it was one question hot on the heels of another, and sometimes he was doing the asking and sometimes we were. The girls from Mound were wonderful and finally one of them suggested that he be sent a book on Constitutional Revision at which he retorted that he didn't need a book, that he had at home a darn good speech he used to give on that subject until he learned better, and then they called back "Have it printed and sign your name and we will distribute it for you" at which he said "Now I think you are trying to put one over on me" and everyone laughed and then came another question.

Senator Miller did say, quite seriously, that he feels our program is too long; that after we have sold a legislator on one item and he thinks we sound pretty smart about it all, then we come back with another item to which this same man is unalterably opposed, and so he decided he'll be against both bills. It sounds juvenile, but that is what he said!. He admitted that the men over there who take the legislators out for cocktails and steak dinners are apt to get sympathetic treatment when they have a bill come up later on; he seemed to feel, however, that the League could accomplish just as much by being friendly and getting to know the legislators as individuals before they go to them about certain pieces of legislation; he said he thinks it would be well for each lobbyist to go to the legislators she is going to be working with (or on) later, and just visit with them a little about how the session is going, etc.....that they are only human beings after all, and that if you have sold yourself to them as a friendly sort of person they will be inclined to want to do what you want them to if it is at all possible. I think Senator Miller was probably thinking of his own personal experiences-- someone told me that the girls out in his district work on him unmercifully sometimes!

He said Mrs. Ladd is very good at this sort of friendly approach business.. If a legislator says to her that he needs a little information about something and could she possible help him out, she turns up in a day or so with all the dope on a sheet of paper and they know she is careful and accurate and they appreciate that and when she comes around on an education bill they really try to do what she wants.

Miss Burton was excellent. She brought in just enough of the light touch to keep everyone interested and alert, and certainly does have a thorough knowledge of the whole situation over there..

There were 41 registrations, and they were well-distributed over the area that was included in the conference. I think only St. Cloud was absent. The Columbia Heights Field House was a nice place for the meeting, and the luncheon was good. Arrangements were handled nicely, and the atmosphere was most cordial. Senator Miller said as he finally left at 3 o'clock "I never had a more enjoyable time", and I think some of the rest of us felt the same way! And everyone was most enthusiastic about the material--felt that we had never had it so good and that every member should have "Lobby by Letter". I agree.

(Here's to more and better conferences--this one I feel was one of the best League things I've ever been in one)

Doris McN

Dore

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

84 SOUTH TENTH STREET, ROOM 406

MINNEAPOLIS 3, MINNESOTA

Atlantic 0941

August 25, 1952

To: Local League Presidents
From: Mrs. Kenneth K. McMillan, President
Re: Area Conferences on STATE LEGISLATION

"THE LEAGUE IS IN THE LOBBY"

Last year when the State Board (at your request) discussed what phase of League work should be covered by the Area Conferences this fall, it was felt that our program and our members would derive the greatest benefit by conferences on state legislation and state program items.

The purpose of the Conferences this year is to help the Local Leagues understand and assume their responsibilities toward putting our State program items across during a Legislative year.

The plan and the method: these conferences will be open to all members of all Local Leagues. We urge the attendance of not only your Board members but all interested League people. These conferences will provide ample opportunity for discussing the local League's role during a Legislative year and for understanding the role of the State League, thus enabling us to mobilize our strength and work as a whole unit.

The Area Conferences will last a full day. As suggested in the enclosed Outline, your local Senator will talk on "Legislative Procedures" at the luncheon.

Two League members who have had Legislative experience will be there to ~~conduct the meeting and discuss with members the items in the outline.~~

There will be a registration fee of 35¢. This is necessary to help defray the cost of material which includes an extremely useful and interesting kit called "Lobby by Letter". This kit is a must for every League member because it is designed to simplify and clarify the problem of writing letters to our Legislators.

Enclosed with this letter you will find a Schedule for Area Conferences. Later you will receive a memo with time, meeting place, cost of luncheon, and the name to whom reservations should be sent.

I know that this will be one of the most stimulating and informative conferences we have ever held. I strongly urge every member to attend so that we could truly say, this Legislative year of 1953, that...

"THE LEAGUE IS IN THE LOBBY"

OUTLINE for AREA CONFERENCES on STATE LEGISLATION

"THE LEAGUE IS IN THE LOBBY"

- I. Purpose Fulfilled! (morning session, 10 A.M. to 12 noon)
- A. Role of State League in Legislative Year
 - 1. Action in promotion of political responsibility
 - 2. Action is climax of study period
 - B. Review of Past Accomplishments
 - 1. Housing
 - 2. Civil Service etc. (see State Platform)
- Discussion Period
- II. This is Your Job!
- A. Localize Responsibilities
 - B. Pre-election
 - 1. Why a local Legislative Chairman ?
 - 2. Candidates Questionnaires
 - 3. Legislative Chairman's Cooperation with Voters Service, Publicity, Resource Chairman
- Discussion Period
- C. Post-election
 - 1. Meetings with elected legislators
 - 2. Files on Legislators
 - 3. Files on League Members (in larger Leagues)
 - 4. Files of Other Organizations' Legislative Programs
- Discussion Period
- D. During the Session, We Lobby By:
 - 1. Letter (Presentation of Kit)
 - 2. In person
 - 3. Tours
 - 4. Letter to Editor
 - 5. By influencing others to lobby
 - 6. Feed to Legislative Newsletter
 - 7. Calls for Action
 - a. Staggered Action
 - b. Telephone Committee
- Discussion Period
- LUNCHEON, 12 noon to 1:30 P.M. Guest Speaker, Local Senator
Subject, "Legislative Procedures"
Questions answered by Senator
- III. Legislative Facts of Life (afternoon session, 1:30 to 3:30 P.M.)
- Discussion Period
- IV. Your Program Quiz Show
- A. Constitutional Convention
 - B. Fair Employment Practices
 - C. Party Designation
 - D. Veterans' Preference
- Discussion Period

70 Host League -

Dear Mrs. Wallinder, Lh Pres. of

Dalhousie
As you see by the letter ~~from Mrs. McMillan to you~~, dated ~~September~~
August 25, 1952, there are big plans in the making for all of us in
a few weeks.

We have asked your League to be ~~the~~ Hostess Group for your Area
Conference on State Legislation. We hope this is convenient for you
to arrange. If there are insoluble difficulties in the way, let us
know and we will try to arrange a substitute plan.

These are the things we are asking you to do:

1. Will you arrange a place of meeting for approximately ~~50~~ *50 or more*
people (depending on the kind of turnout you would expect
from your area) for the hours of 10 A.M. to 4 P.M. on
_____, September _____?
2. Will you arrange a simple lunch plan, the attendants of
course paying their own cost? (Use as little of your precious
woman power as possible on this chore) What will the cost be?
3. Will you let us know by September 8th what plans you have made
so that we may let your neighbor Leagues know?
- ~~4. We will ask your neighbor Leagues to let you know how many to
expect by three days before the conference.~~
to
- ~~5. Will you tell us with whom the reservations should be made sent?~~
- ~~6. Will you arrange for somebody from your League to take the money
for the luncheon?~~
- ~~7. Will you arrange for somebody from your League to collect the
registration fee of 35¢ from all who attend the conference? also provide name cards?
(This entitles each person to an Outline and a Lobby by Letter Kit)~~
- ~~8. Will you ask someone from your League to act as recorder for your conference?
The State Board wants a copy of the proceedings, especially any new questions
that are asked.~~
- ~~We will ask your neighbor Leagues to let you know how many to
expect by three days before the conference.~~
8. And last, perhaps most important, will you invite as guest speaker
at the luncheon, your Senator, to speak on "Legislative Procedures"?
Attached is a ~~sample copy of~~ sample of a letter to be sent to him by
the League who is host to the conference.

← We will ask your neighbor Leagues to let you know how many to expect by
three days before the conference.

Sincerely,

Mrs. K.K. Mc

on auburn

League of Women Voters of Minnesota
84 So. 10th St., Room 406
Minneapolis 3, Minnesota

August 25, 1952

INSTRUCTION SHEET
for
LEAGUE LEADERS FOR AREA CONFERENCES ON STATE LEGISLATION

"The League is in the Lobby"

1. Local League takes care of registration (35¢) which entitles each person attending the Conference to an Outline and a Lobby by Letter Kit. Local League also takes care of charge for luncheon.
2. Local League will appoint a recorder for your conference. The State Board wants a copy of the proceedings, especially any new questions that are asked.
3. Distribute the Outline, but do not give out the Lobby by Letter Kit until the end of the day, since it contains the answers to the Quiz.
4. Urge free and lots of discussion on each item. Encourage additional purchases of the Kit, since we want every League member throughout the State to have one.
5. Save all good questions to be asked of the Senator at luncheon discussion. Record his answers. An example of what you might want to ask are: when an issue arises, and you have one opinion and your constituents another; what is your responsibility in voting? and along this same line, do you feel that by and large the state or local interests should be first served on controversial matters? See that League members ask the questions of the Senator.

6. Materials for Leader:

Materials for the Group:

State Platform
State Program
Information on Area Leagues
 name local president
 name local legislative chairman
 number of members in each League
Leader's Outline
90 Days of Lawmaking
Proposed Plan for Legislative Action
 (March 11, 1952)
Sheet of information from Legislators

Short Outlines
Lobby by Letter Kits
If They Say - Tell Them
Roll Calls
Quiz Sheets

7. There will be a dinner meeting and training session for Leaders of the Area Conferences on State Legislation at:

Y.W.C.A. --- Wednesday, September 17, 6:30 --- in Tray and Talk Room

Pick up your tray of food from the Cafeteria and carry it to room off lobby.

League of Women Voters of Minnesota
84 So. 10th St., Room 406
Minneapolis 3, Minnesota

August 25, 1952

QUIZ SHEETS
for
AREA CONFERENCES ON STATE LEGISLATION

"The League is in the Lobby"

Give three reasons why the League of Women Voters supports each of the following:

I. CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

II. FAIR EMPLOYMENT LEGISLATION

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

III. PARTY DESIGNATION

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

IV. REVISION OF VETERANS' PREFERENCE

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

League of Women Voters of Minnesota
84 South Tenth Street, Room 406
Minneapolis 3, Minnesota

August 25, 1952

LEADER'S OUTLINE
for
AREA CONFERENCES ON STATE LEGISLATION

"The League is in the Lobby"

I. Purpose Fulfilled (morning session)

A. Role of State League in a Legislative Year

This will be a ten minute introduction to the conference by the leader handling the morning session. You may wish to start out with this little story which went the rounds at the National Convention in Cincinnati:
"A gentleman, very much under the influence of alcohol wandered into a Quaker Meeting House and seated himself next to a Friend. After sitting quietly for some time he said, 'When do we go into action around here?' The Friend drew himself up and said, 'Sir, we go into action when the service is over!'" With this opening, you can touch upon the action phase of the League program. You will want to clarify League purpose, making sure that it is understood that Action is the promotion of political responsibility. Bring out action as the climax of study, that their service is over, the time to act is now!

B. Review of Past Accomplishments

Touch on some past League accomplishments such as Civil Service Law. You might want to mention that the League was given full credit for the passage of the merit system act, and that we have the pen in the State Office with which Governor Stassen signed the bill. (See Platform for other items)

II. This is Your Job

A. Localize Responsibilities

You can point out that each League is responsible for arousing its own community in the interest of League program items. Each is responsible for seeing that its legislators understand League program items. Your job is to localize League legislative action. The State Legislative Committee is only what the local Leagues make it.

B. Pre-election

1. Last fall we suggested that each League appoint a Legislative Chairman. If this hasn't been done, it is hoped that someone can be found for the job in each local League for this year. These are the reasons: each League will then have a committee responsible for mobilizing membership and community to carry out Calls for Action, for working with Voters Service and Public Relations on interviews with legislators and keeping membership informed on results and legislative processes, for getting constant and staggered action with regard to letter writing, and for taking charge of awakening interest in and organizing tours to the legislature during the session, for keeping information about your League flowing to the Legislative Newsletter, and activating telephone committees in order to reach members and influential people in the community when action is needed.

2. Stress the fact that the Legislative Committee should cooperate with Voters Service and the Resource people, also Public Relations, in bringing to the League membership and the general public the qualifications of candidates and the results of our questionnaires. Try to get them published in a local paper, or if possible, have the local League put out a communication to their members, on questionnaire results. These committees, if all working together, can accomplish many purposes in one project.

C. Post-election

1. After election, it would help considerably if a meeting is held with elected representatives. (Don't neglect the State Senator just because he doesn't come up for election this year) This may be done just a short time before the legislative session. If they were reelected, know their past voting record on League items. Don't forget to thank them for past support. If they do not favor some of our program items, you still promote goodwill and understanding in talking to these people and letting them know how you want them to represent you. Give them a copy of the League program and platform. This sort of thing, when done locally, can be much more effective than when done on a state-wide basis. It also gives the local Leagues a chance to get help and cooperation from their representatives on local matters. Minneapolis has a very successful luncheon meeting. This might be feasible for some of the larger Leagues, or several Leagues in the same district could go together on a project such as this. This sort of thing can also be done by mail. Send along a letter signed by the local president and board members, including the State program and platform.

2. Files on legislators. We have felt that a card file on legislators would be most helpful to our lobbyists. This is what we had in mind: a card to be sent in duplicate to each local League asking for the following information concerning your legislator -- questions on his district (is labor strong? business or farm groups strong?), his organizations affiliations, his political party affiliation, his opposition, his supporters during election, etc. One card would be kept by the local League, one in the State Office. This information is always available locally at election time, and would aid our lobbyists to work for our program more wisely and effectively.

3. We have suggested that in the larger Leagues a file be kept on members. This should be set up according to legislative district. It would greatly facilitate individual Calls to Action.

4. Don't overlook the Legislative programs of other organizations. Some of them are closely tied to ours. A file kept with information about their programs and key individuals to contact locally and at the Capitol will be invaluable. This should be a duplicate file and will be of use both locally and to the State League.

D. During the Session, We All Lobby By:

1. Letter -- At this point comes the presentation of the Kit, Lobby by Letter. Explain its use and promote the idea that it should be in the possession of every League member in the State. Point out that letter writing is our most important lobbying device, since most of our members do not get to the Capitol. Do not distribute Kit until the end of the day since it contains Quiz Answers.

2. Person -- See your legislator when he is at home, come to the Capitol on our planned tours. Make a special effort to know your legislator.

Note to Twin City and Surrounding Area Leagues -- Our 'in person' Lobbying, as always, will be done by Resource people from these Areas. Knowledge of the subject matter is important. No Lobbying committee can be too big. Start now thinking about being a Lobbyist for the League. We will hold training sessions to help you before the Session opens.

3. Tours -- This year will see a definite program for "Come and See Tours". They will consist of visiting House and Senate sessions, committee hearings, interviews with legislators and lunch with your local representatives. They will be set on specific days, you will have a tour guide. This is the educational part of our legislative program and a must for all League members. The Legislative chairman in each League will be responsible for making reservations for the tours at the State Office, and for seeing that her League gets to the Capitol sometime during the session.

4. Letters to the Editor -- If your paper has a mail bag column, a letter to the Editor is invaluable because it reaches many people at once.

5. Influencing others to act -- Don't forget that your job is to influence others to act. Help them to understand the need for action and for making themselves heard. Present your neighbors with a copy of Lobby by Letter, to help get action on our program. Bring them along on a Capitol Tour.

6. Legislative Newsletter -- After the session starts, you will be kept informed by a newsletter, telling how our program is progressing. We will be interested in what the local Leagues are doing to promote action.

7. Calls for Action -- When a Call for Action is sent out, a single answer from the local League is never sufficient. There must be many letters from individuals coming in. We are suggesting that telephone committees be set up, so that all members can quickly be reached and requested to act. These committees can also be used for getting staggered action on an item. Once a bill has been introduced, a few letters every week will carry a terrific amount of force, and a gentle reminder by telephone to start action on an item will be most helpful. Your telephone committees will be invaluable.

III. Legislative Facts of Life (afternoon session)

This should be a short talk on lobbying as you see it from the Leader's own personal viewpoint. We want League members to understand exactly what we are up against when we go to lobby. Make them see you in comparison with paid lobbyists. Let them know how dependent you are upon their letters and their action back home. Draw on your own experiences with special interest groups and public interest groups. This is the place on the Area Conference Program for giving the League members first hand information on what goes on at the Legislature. Present the roll call. Tell the members how the legislators voted on League items during the last session.

IV. Program Quiz

Make this the 'fun' part of your Conference with lots of audience participation. Pass out the Quiz Sheets and give them about 6 minutes to write down reasons why we support Constitutional Convention. After the time is up, tell them to keep their Quiz Sheets, but you pose the opposition's reasons and let them give you the answers from what they have written on their Quiz Sheets. Do this with each item separately.

End of session

League of Women Voters of Minnesota
84 So. Tenth St., Room 406
Minneapolis 3, Minnesota

August 25, 1952

SCHEDULE FOR AREA CONFERENCES ON LEGISLATION

Conference	Date	Place *
1	<i>Thur.</i> Tuesday, September 23 <i>18</i>	Duluth
11	Tuesday, September 23	Brainerd
111	Tuesday, September 23	Alexandria
1V	Tuesday, September 23	Austin
V	Tuesday, September 23	Olivia
VI	Wednesday, September 24	Mankato
VII	Tuesday, September 23	Grove City
VIII	Tuesday, September 23	Minneapolis
IX	Thursday, September 25	Minneapolis
X	Thursday, September 25	St. Paul

1 (20)
Duluth 17
Hibbing 1
Two Harbors no
Young
Lupkin

11 (38)
Brainerd ✓
Bemidji ✓
Cass Lake no
Park Rapids no
McMellon
Dorvaland

111 (18)
Alexandria 13
Battle Lake 5
Fergus Falls no
Richardson
Devorak

1V (55)
Austin
Kasson
Owatonna
Red Wing no?
Rochester
Wabasha no

Woolburn
Hargraves

V (30)
Olivia
Granite Falls
Tracy no
Worthington
Eduncan
Lupkin

VI (15)
Mankato *Woolburn*
Jackson *Lupkin*
New Prague
New Richland
New Ulm
Waseca

VII (30) *Seham*
Grove City *Young*
Atwater
Hutchinson 3

VIII
Minneapolis
St. Paul

total
attendance
except
292

IX (36)
McNamara
Burton
Anoka ✓
Buffalo ✓
Circle Pines ✓
Columbia Heights ✓
Excelsior ✓
Golden Valley ✓
Knollwood Park ✓
Minnetonka ✓
Mound ✓
St. Cloud
Keen

X (50)
Afton Lakeland
Mahtomedi ✓
Northfield
North St. Paul
South St. Paul ✓
White Bear Lake ✓

Stahler
Duncan

31474
attended

* Information on the exact place of meeting will be sent you as soon as that has been arranged (about September 10th).

Mari Donahue — report on legislative
Conferences

"generally felt by leaders that
much was accomplished in
promoting our action program
+ in making leagues aware of
their responsibilities. That in
some places attendance left
something to be desired - but
was balanced in other place
by a very good turnout.

All in all, action in our
program after the session
starts will tell the tale."

File Copy

OUTLINE FOR AREA CONFERENCES on STATE LEGISLATION

"The League is in the Lobby"

I. Purpose Fulfilled ! (10:30 - 12:00 noon). Discussion leader: Mrs. Basil Young, Secretary of State Board.

A. Role of State League in Legislative Year

1. Action in promotion of political responsibility. Aim - to strike at the enemy within, which is apathy. League has been disseminating knowledge and forming opinion, with emphasis on political responsibility. Now is the time for action.

B. Past Accomplishments

1. Child Welfare
2. Status of Women
3. Housing
4. Inefficiency in Government
5. State Civil Service - first proposed by League in 1935; bill passed in 1939 as a result of intense educational program followed by a lobbying program.

Discussion Period - no questions.

II. This is Your Job ! Discussion Leader: Mrs Hamilton Lufkin, 2nd Vice Pres. on State Board

A. Localize Responsibilities

The local leagues must keep their legislators informed of their opinion. This is direct help to league members who are actually lobbying at the capitol. These women lobby because they are actually on the scene and can appear in person. They need the trickle of letters from the local leagues to reinforce their points with legislators.

B. Pre-election

1. Why a local legislative chairman? To coordinate activity.
2. Candidates questionnaires. Legislative chairman gets these and should see that local league members know what they uncover. They may be sent out again.
3. Legislative chairman cooperates with Voters Service, Publicity (to get questionnaire findings before the public), Resource Chairman.
4. Present candidates at meetings

* Discussion Period discloses that in Duluth League the Voters' Service Ch. handles candidates questionnaires.

C. Post-election

1. Meetings with elected legislators. Present our study outlines, etc.
2. Files on legislators. Records should be kept on local legislators to include their voting record, make-up of their constituency (whether industrial, rural, mixed, etc.), what group constitutes their principle support, their clubs, friends. Local legislative chairman should keep this information and send it to the state organization to aid the Lobbyist.
3. State organization also needs file on league members by legislative district. Example: Duluth has 3 legislative districts with 2 representatives each. Where the districts are split, how and where do the League members fit in?
4. File of legislative programs of other organizations (AAUW, P-T A, Federated Womens' Clubs, Am. Legion, etc.) that tie in with League program. Key individuals of each group would also be helpful.

Discussion period - no questions

D. During the Session, We Lobby By:

1. Letter. The Leagues State Legislative Chairman, Marie Donohue, has designed a kit for lobbying by letter. Other organizations may order these kits from the state office for 25 cents. Warning was given that letters must not all go to the legislature at one time, as in an organized campaign.
2. In person, when the legislator comes home. See him; phone.
3. Tours. With the partisan Republican Workshop tours as a model, the League is arranging tours of committee hearings, lunches with the local legislators, House visits in the afternoon. Mrs Hamilton Lufkin is a tour guide. Local legislative chairmen will line up local groups to go on these tours.
4. Keep letters going to the letter columns of your local papers. They should deal with League items.
5. Interest others in lobbying with you.
6. A weekly, mimeographed, legislative newsletter is being planned to keep local Leagues informed on doings in the Legislature.
- * What else should be in the letter? Information on when to write. Would members be interested in subscribing? "Yes," says Duluth Board
Could this letter carry specific local program suggestions?
If so, how? This was thought an excellent idea and it was suggested the Duluth League send copies of its new League-o-Letter Bulletin to the state legislative chairman, Mary Donohue, so she might glean such ideas from it.
7. Calls for Action. This relates directly to items 1 and 6 above.
 - a. Not one letter for the whole group, but many; not all at once, but staggered.
 - B. Telephone committee could help speed action in writing

* Discussion period.

1. Has the League tried asking members to pledge to write? This puts the MEMBERS and the LEAGUE on the spot and smacks of coercion, said Mrs Lufkin. Letters must be a matter of interest and conscience.
2. Would repetition of these different ways of lobbying be good in our unit meetings? Yes
3. Has the cartoon approach been tried as a means of carrying League points? Mrs. Lufkin answered "Yes" and showed the group a pamphlet called "8 Reasons Why Minnesota Needs a New Constitution", which is liberally filled with cartoons. Mats are available on these cartoons. It was suggested that these ^{folders} be posted at bus stops, on bulletin boards etc. Same treatment was suggested for the Broadside on Amendment 2, which was distributed.
4. It was suggested that units have treasurers to handle sale of such literature.
5. Information was requested on the significance of Amendment 2 to the State Constitution.
6. Information was requested on the "Short" ballot.

LUNCHEON, 12 noon to 1:30. Guest Speaker, Senator Herbert Rogers, who asked for questions.

III. Legislative Facts of Life (1:30 - 3:30 P.M.) Leader - Mrs. Lufkin

The Minn. Legislature is one of the largest in the U.S. That its members are "non partisan" or without party designation is simply a means by which

legislators avoid and evade their constituents. Actually the legislature lines up in liberal and conservative groups. These caucus together. An Independent who does not align himself with one or the other of these caucusing groups is ineffective and is ostracized by them.

Important work is done in committee.

The Chairmen of key committees (ex: finance) are virtual autocrats and may hold up bills if they consider it strategic to do so.

Votes are not recorded in committees, or when the legislature meets as a committee-of-the-whole.

It is legal for legislators to be receiving retainers while they are serving in the legislature.

Legislators are subject to pressure.

Lobbying today is an extension of the right to petition.

A Legislative Manual is published after each session of the Legislature.

Discussion period - no questions.

IV. Your Program Quiz Show Leader - Mrs Young

Quiz blanks were handed out. These allowed for 3 reasons why the League supports 1. a state constitutional convention 2. fair employment legislation, 3; party designation and 4. revision of veterans' preference in Civil Service.

* Following the filling in of these Quiz Sheets, Mrs Young asked the assembled group to phrase replies to common objections to the League stand on these four items.

1. Constitutional Convention brought forth no questions.

2. F.E.P.C. elicited the following questions

- a. Wouldn't it be hard for a board of arbitration to prove or disprove the competence of a worker to hold the job for which he has not been hired (presumably for racial reasons)?
- b. Would the law prevent people from leaving the job? Ex. if a worker already employed did not wish to associate with a newly-hired worker of another race.
- c. How would the Board of Arbitration be appointed?
- d. What is the opposition to F.E.P.C. and where does it center, primarily?
- e. Why is there opposition to F.E.P.C.?

3 Party Designation prompted this question. Is there much breaking of legislators from the conservative to the liberal caucus, and vice versa?

4. Veterans' Preference brought forth this question. Is the League stand on this issue not a compromise?

Legislative Area Conference, Duluth, Minn. Sept. 18, 1952

Present:

Mrs. Hamilton Lufkin, St. Paul, State Board
Mrs. Basil Young, Hibbing, "

Duluth

Mrs. Gertrude Wallinder,	Pres.
Mrs. Kenneth Hanna	1st. Vice-pres.
Mrs. Joseph Quinn	2nd "
" Otto Lachmund	3rd "
" George C. Zeller	Secretary
" Irving Gerald	Corresponding Sec.
" Erling W. Harbo	Treas.
" A C Ott	Voters Service
" Paul Louisell	Pub. Relations
" E.C. L'Hevreux	Schools
" Claude Roemer	Unit Chairman
" Wm. Van Evera	Int. Relations
" A. T. Laird	Parliamentarian
" Gilbert Buffington	Bulletin
" C.M. Fredin	Membership
" Carl Westin	Telephone
" Philip W. Abalan	Hospitality
Mrs. John P. Berdie	Publications

Two Harbors: None

I tried very hard, but couldn't get anyone else to go from Hibbing -
guess I will have to hold a separate conference here later.

Basil Young

BRainerd Daily Dispatch - 9-23-52

Women Voters of Area In Session Here Today

Over 50 representatives of League of Women Voters groups in Brainerd, Bemidji, Park Rapids and Cass Lake are in session at the Club LaGuyal today studying state legislative issues and setting up a program for localizing proposed legislation.



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REPORT OF AREA CONFERENCE HELD AT BRAINERD, MINNESOTA, SEPTEMBER 23, 1952

MORNING SESSION

Mrs. McMillan opened the conference by quoting from a newspaper article the definition of the Greeks for the word "Idiot" - a citizen who does not exercise his right to vote. She stated that when the 19th amendment was passed, giving 20 million women the right to vote, the League of Women Voters was formed, expecting to get needed legislation for better government within five years. However, it was found that all women did not take seriously their right to vote, so now thirty-two years later we are still working to arouse an intelligent electorate to pass needed legislation. We have studied and obtained facts - now it is time to act. We are not public opinion, so we must reach the public as "study without action is abortive". Government is a reflex action of what we do. Action must start on the local level where the politicians get their start. We have the means to see if he is sincere or honest. We are a pressure group for better government - not selfish issues and we have established non-partisanship. "Preserve our strength - non-partisanship". The League was completely responsible for getting Civil Service.

Mrs. McMillan turned the meeting over to Mrs. Donohue who began her talk by telling us that we - the league - had planted a garden with four little flowers - Constitutional Revision, Fair Employment Practices, Party Designation, and Veterans Preference. She explained how a lobbyist works, saying her success depended upon letters from all league members. The important work of the local league is to lobby all year long by obtaining candidates answers to questionnaires, tacking up posters, and getting to all the people in the community. Mrs. Donohue then gave us information and held discussion periods on the following:

Pre-election job:

Legislative chairman (year round job), can and should listen to every word at the meetings to see how it applies to legislative action. She should have telephone committees for immediate action, push interviews with legislators, see that questionnaires do not sit in files.

Q. What do you suggest doing with the questionnaires.

A. Distribute them to the league members.

Q. Do you think questionnaires should be brought before the general meeting rather than mailing them to the members hoping they will read them?

A. Good idea to present it at a general meeting.

Q. Wouldn't it be interesting to get their views on other than the League issues on these questionnaires?

A. Candidates meetings let them talk on any issue, but we want to get their reaction to League program. We would run into the problem "what will we ask about? - Conservation? Road tax?. There are too many problems for each special interest group. It would be too confusing to get outside of our own program.

Post-Election

After election it would help if meetings were held with elected representatives

This year don't neglect your state senator because he isn't coming up for election. Have meetings a short time before legislative session. After election, call on representatives, take a copy of state platform and items we are supporting. Also be sure to thank them for past action on our program. This is best done locally, and in person. We are very fortunate because our program is on both political parties' platforms (has been for 15 years). Also after election we should write letters to our representatives. Those signed by local president, or board members not as effective as those written and signed by individual league members. NEVER UNDERESTIMATE THE POWER OF YOUR VOTE.

Files on Legislators

File cards should be made up in duplicate - one for state, one for local. Lobbyists use other organizations, i.e. if a man has labor backing and it parallels our own we can go to that group and ask them to help us

Duplicate files on members for larger leagues - 50 or more, according to legislative district.

Files on legislative program of other organizations.

Q. Do you mean men's organizations, too?

A. Yes - Lions, Veterans organizations, etc.

Q. Do you want to know if they have our same program?

A. No. Find out what their platforms are.

Q. Are we interested in our issues only?

A. We're interested in their programs, too.

Lobbying

We want everybody to lobby. Posters are lobbying. Outstate we first lobby by letter during session. Reference made to "Lobby by Letter", available to all members for twenty-five cents.

Q. Should it be filled out for the members?

A. They should know how to fill it out.

Q. Do you think they all do, though?

A. If you think ~~they~~ don't, maybe you should fill it out.

The Legislators don't know everything in the bills, and they depend on us for a lot of their information.

Q. Will the League get copies of the bill?

A. The League will explain the changes.

Lobbying in person will consist of coming to the Capitol on tours and seeing legislator when he is home. Definite programs for "Come and See" tours are being planned for leagues throughout the states - tour to consist of tour through house and senate, maybe lunch with your representative, and introduction from the floor.

Q. How will we get a list on how the legislators vote?

A. We have it here and it will be given to you.

A newsletter, "There's a Lady in the Lobby", will be published and sent to local leagues. Each local league is requested to feed into this newsletter.

Calls for Action

When calls for action are sent to leagues, they should respond by writing to their congressmen. Telephone committees should be set up so all members can be contacted. Leagues will be informed when bill is in committee. Staggered action has more force than a flood of mail at one date. Don't write postcards. Letters to editors are important.

Q. Do you mean the city league write the letters?

A. Not the league as a whole. Write under your name as a member of the League of Women Voters.

Influencing Others to Act

Your job is to arouse action on your program by talking. Get copies of "Lobby by Letter" to anyone who might write.

Q. Does the League put out in detail anything that tells how a bill is brought out?

A. That is coming this afternoon.

At twelve o'clock the session recessed for lunch and a speech by Senator Dickinson.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Legislative Facts of Life

Non-partisan Legislature

Legislators carry no party designation, but all administrative offices have party designation. However, candidates usually subscribe to the platform of one or another party. Therefore, we have never really had a non-partisan legislature. They caucus as Liberal (Democrats) or Conservative (Republican). Non-partisanship appeals to many for independence in legislature. However, there can be no independence. Both parties put up a man for speaker, and from the votes for speaker it can be determined to which party a man belongs.

Special Order:

Delaying actions. After a bill goes to committee, it can be delayed there, then the hardest work has to be done on the chairman who can call hearings when only opposition can be present or can give opponents half hour and proponents only fifteen minutes to speak.

Q. Do lobbyists have to be registered?

A. No. Our bill gets the silent treatment.

Q. The parties have no control over the people who caucus?

A. No. And party designation wouldn't necessarily do it, but he would have a party responsibility and probably wouldn't be up for re-election if he didn't follow the party platform.

Q. When a bill goes to committee do they either pass or not pass on it?

A. It can be passed out or passed with recommendation to pass.

Q. Any citizen can talk to the committee on a bill, can't he, and delay it?

A. Not too much. There's a specific time limit.

Q. There are closed sessions, aren't there?

A. No - there are too many watching.

Voting Records

It is hard to know how a man voted as only the final vote is recorded. The vote you don't see is in the committees. A man can vote against in committee and for on the floor.

Lobbies

There are two types of lobbies - Special Interest lobbies, consisting of private interests such as cooperatives, labor unions, etc. They usually have an **axe to grind**. They have unlimited expense accounts at their disposal. (2) Public interest lobbies consist of schools, churches, health groups, League of Women Voters. Their numbers and voting power are their most important tools with which to work. One thing that can destroy public interest lobbies is apathy.

Q. Are you lobbying on all four issues?

A. No. Just one. We have a lobbyist for each issue because she must know the issue inside and out to be able to answer any argument.

Q. If you know what money and special interests have put your representative in office, is it fruitless to write as a league member?

A. All you can do is continue to write and see him when he comes home.

Q. When the caliber of all candidates is low, how can we select one name for which to vote?

A. Perhaps better to vote for a politician, because pressure from the district might convince him.

Q. Do you argue with legislators in letters?

A. Never - it is pointless.

Q. Do we want party designation? Do we want a man who will stand up and use his mind or do we want him to follow his party?

A. We have to give him leeway. Some will vote their convictions regardless of party.

Q. We want to give a man the privilege of voting his own opinion?

A. They don't all have to follow all the party platform.

Q. Even if they have party designation, do we know what they stand for?

A. Yes, we study the party platforms. The League testified before the Republican platform committee. They invite various groups.

Party designation is not perfect, but is so much better than no party designation as it relieves trend of pressure groups and special interests.

Q. If Democrats are re-elected, won't they think pressure is wanted?

A. We can't blame the senators. It bureaus, etc., not voting records. It is mostly appointed men that are corrupt.

Q. Aren't appointments confirmed?

A. Yes, but you still don't know the man.

Q. Isn't that the main function of the league to watch these things?

A. Definitely. We can watch a man on the local level.

Q. Isn't the League definitely a minority in some parts of the state?

A. We can't gauge a man for disagreeing. Energize those with you. Evangelize those on the fence. Never fight with anyone. It is a good idea to write to representatives for some good vote.

The Area Legislative Conference was held at Graden Center, Alexandria, Minnesota, on September 23, 1952. The Alexandria and Battle Lake Leagues participated. Fergus Falls sent no representatives due to the fact that their Board and Units aren't completely organized for the year (explained in a letter recieved from Fergus Falls this past week.) Five members attended from the Battle Lake League, thirteen from the Alexandria League.

The discussion leaders were Mrs. Harold Richardson and Mrs. Vincent Dworak. Representative Carl Iverson, 48th district, spoke at the luncheon.

Outline of the Day's Schedule:

I Purpose Fulfilled

A. The role of the state league in the legislative year is

1. to stimulate interest in the state program.
2. to get active rather than passive participation. The purpose of the league is to put action behind its movements.

B. Review of Past Accomplishments

1. League grew out of the suffrage movement. People then had to educate themselves.
2. Study without action is abortive.
3. The Leagues state platform was reviewed.

C. Be aware of individual responsibilities. We are ruled not by the majority, but by the majority who make themselves heard. Our job is to reach the apothetic and spread information through informed personal contact.

II This is Your Job

A. Localize responsibility

1. Area conferences are held to acquaint all leagues with lobbying.
2. League members of the twin cities have previously done the lobbying for all the leagues.
3. Each league is to be responsible for their own legislator

B. Pre-election

1. Have a voters service booth during the pre-election week, with candidate questionnaires to hand out to the public.
2. Hold meetings with legislators open to the public.

C. Post-election

1. After election day get together with your legislators. Inform them about the league program, enlist their cooperation, and inform them you will be writing to them. Know their voting record so you can question them. Know what you are discussing, the details and facts about the bills you wish to support.
2. If you cannot have a personal interview send a letter to the legislator signed by the league board.
3. Keep a card file on each legislator.
 - a. What district he represents.
 - b. What groups are strong in the district.
 - c. What organizations he belongs to.
 - d. Who were his supporters.
 - e. If he is affiliated with a party-which one?

4. Keep a file on our own league members.

a. List the legislative district

b. If available for telephoning and other league workings.

5. Keep a cardfile on other organizations who study legislative programs similar to our own.

D. Lobbying---During the Session, We Lobby By:

1. League members write individual letters to legislators rather than form letters.

2. Contact legislators in person. Know what you are talking about and have specific reasons for your beliefs.

3. Have visitors day at the legislature for each league.

League members will visit legislative sessions and also special committees. They will have lunch with their legislators.

4. Write letters to the editor if this permissible in your local papers.

5. Influence your friends to lobby by letter and everyone you know.

6. A Legislative News letter will be sent out after the legislature convenes informing the leagues of what is happening. The leagues are asked to send in letters telling what they are doing.

7. The voters responsibility does not end with the casting of the ballot. We must let our legislators know what we want done by the writing them. Visit legislators when they are home.

a. When the call for action comes, a letter should

- be sent in the name of the league and also letters from individuals.
- b. A telephone committee is necessary for calling members to write letters when a call for action comes from the state.

Representative Carl Iverson of the 48th district ~~spoke~~ to the group.

- A. On the mechanics of a Bill Through the legislature.
- B. The legislators responsibility to constituents.
1. Represent fairly.
 2. Vote for their ultimate benefit.
- C. Constituents resposnibility to the legislator.
1. Be informed.
 2. Let legislator know what they want.
- D. Questions asked Mr. Iverson.
1. If you felt one way about a Bill and the people of your district wrote voicing the opposite opinion---how would vote?

Ans. He would vote according to the peoples instructions if he felt that the opinion voiced was representative of the peoples wishes. Heould vote according to his own opinion if he knew the people wre wrong or couldn't understand the technicalities of the Bill.

2. If something came up which would be bendficial to the national but harmful to the state or visa versa--how would you vote?

Ans. Would depend on the situation, but ordinarily would vote in favor of the state.

3. Do you read and study through all Bills before voting voting on them?

Ans. Ordinarily yes, but sometimes they rely on those who know more about it.

III Legislative Facts of Life

- A. Speaker of the house designates Bills to the different committees--in this way may help or hinder a bill.
- B. Committees may hold a bill indefinitely.
- C. Legislators support another legislators Bill in return for support on his own Bill.
- D. Some legislators are in office primarily to look out for the interests of companies whom they are employed by.
- E. Special interest groups lobby by influencing legislators with money and support for their campaign.
- F. Because legislators have no party designation they do not have to support a platform.
- G. A mans voting record does not necessarily represent his opinions---he may vote against a bill so that being on the majority vote he may later move for reconsideration of the Bill.
- H. A legislator may vote for a bill, but also cripple the Bill by adding amendments or working against it in other ways.
- I. The league is a lobbying group for the good of the people, they have no special interests to serve or benefits to gain.

VI Your Program Quiz Show

The quiz followed by a discussion was held on the four action items.. The leagues prepared facts on these items were read. Constitutional Convention, F. E. P. C. , Party Designation and Veteran's Preference were brought into the dicussion through

out day.

Because Mr. Iverson spoke over his designated time,
we had very little time for discussion in the afternoon.

Pat Hall, Secretary
(Mrs. George Hall

File Copy

Olivia, Minn.
Sept. 24, 1952.

Mrs. K. K. Mc Millan
Pres. of the League of Women Voters.
84 So. 10th St.
Minneapolis, Minn.

Dear Mrs. McMillan:

Tues. we had the Area Meeting held here in Olivia. and I thought that we had a nice turnout. It was not as large as one could expect from our own League of Women Voters here in Olivia, but that was due to the fact that it was held on a week day, when it is impossible to get baby sitters, and about three fourths of our members are young married woman with 3 or 4 little children that cannot be left alone.

At the beginning of the meeting Mrs. Lufkin remarked that she hoped that she could inspire her audience with her talk, and she and Mrs. Duncan did just that. We all felt that we were ready to go into action after this meeting. Mrs. Lufkin mentioned the Questionnaires that had been sent out to our Congressmen and others in office and as to the answers they got from these men. Some of the women spoke of the meetings they had when these men were given an opportunity to talk. I confess I did not know about this, and when I came home I immediately began to look for that material and failed to find it. Now I didn't take over as soon as I should of, that I realize now. but meantime our former Pres. moved away, and this material could have become lost. So would you please send some of these Questionnaires and we will see that they get out right away so that we can know the opinions of our men in office. Sen. Lauer- man is one and Evenstedt. another who seem very much to disagree with the League of Women Voter's Program and that we want to know. By the way Sen. Lauerman is going to speak at our next meeting and he is going to talk on Party Designation and the Ammendments. Would you also please send out some of these bul- letins on "3 REASONS WHY" on the 2nd. AMMENDMENTS so that we can do some advertising along that line.

*Send
Questionnaires
8 Reasons
Amend #2*

Again I want you to know and to let Mrs. Lufkin and Mrs. Duncan know that we really enjoyed that Area Meeting, and from the re- marks I heard from our visiting members I think that they did too. We also gained from our conversations with our visiting members. It was such a friendly informal meeting, each member feeling free to speak out and ask questions that it was really a day to remember. I might add that Sen. Walstrand of Willmar was our speaker, and again his speech was informal and we could talk to him in just such a manner and it was enjoyable. By the way, Sen. Walstrand seemed very much in favor of the League pro- gram and from his many friends in Willmar I have heard that he

is a very broad-minded man and has so many friends, both in labor and professional groups, and it was his friends who were connected with the labor group that passed on this information to me.

If I can possibly do anything I will surely try and keep up the idea that when the Legislature meets Olivia will have representatives down there to lobby, especially on the day that our men are on the scene.

Yours truly,

Mrs. Stanley Schnelle

P.S. Would you please notify Mrs. Palmer that Mrs. Bertha Erickson of Olivia is our UN Chairman and that we are going to have a group of women go out to the different organizations and give a Panel Discussion on the UN as our way of making the UN known.

Cass Lake, Minn.

September 29, 1952

League of Women Voters of Minnesota
84 So. Tenth St., Room 406
Minneapolis 3, Minnesota

Dear Mrs. Wilson -

First of all let me say how sorry we are here in Cass Lake that no one was able to attend the Legislative Conference at Brainerd. There was a big Legion Auxiliary dinner scheduled here that day which took several of our members who might have gone and illness and unexpected guests cancelled the trip for the rest.

I was very much impressed with the Lobby kit - I'm sure most of our members will want it. We are having our girls meeting on October 14 - plan to invite a large number for that meeting and will to have a program on Constitutional Revision. Those of us who were at the State Convention enjoyed so much the cartoon posters displayed in the back of the convention room. Would you by any chance have those in the

state office? If so, could we borrow them for that meeting on October the 14th? We don't have any artists in our group and w'd like to use them with the chalk talks. If we can't get them we'll have to get busy and think of something else - have considered dressing up members to represent the different features -

Then I'd like to order the following material -

✓ 20 copies of Nora Doolittle (see enclosed) sheet

✓ 5 Lobby by Letter Note (hope to order more after our meeting)

✓ 200 Amendment 2 broadsides

20 Facts About our State Constitution

20 " " State Employment Legislation

20 " " Veterans' Preference in Civil Service

20 " " Party Designation for Legislators

10 " " League of Women Voters

We are hoping to have a candidates meeting too in October but don't have anything definite yet -

Sincerely,

Quith Chubb

League of Women Voters of Austin

Austin, Minnesota



Sept. 30, 1952

League of Women Voters of Minn
Minneapolis, Minn

Dear Luella,

I am enclosing a report of the
legislative session which was held here.
Mrs Rickett would like to know exactly
what information goes on the card file of our
legislature. I must have it here but I cannot
find it so if there is such a list would you
send one? Also, an order for 2 copies of all
Amendments

✓ Would you also send 2 additional copies of
the Orientation Course & hereafter send 12 copies
of program material. Thanks!

Ruth Zillgitt

About fifty-five members of the League of Women Voters met for an Area Legislative Conference at the Presbyterian Church, Austin, Minnesota, today, September 23rd. The conference, which was open to members from Owatonna, Kasson, Red Wing, Rochester, Wabasha, and Austin, was planned to help members, particularly Legislative Chairmen, to understand and assume the responsibilities in putting the state program items across during this legislative year.

Mrs. J. A. Zillgitt, Austin League President, opened the session with an introduction of the conference leaders: Miss Hope Washburn, state organization committee member, and Mrs. Malcolm Hargraves, Rochester, a former state league president.

Miss Hope Washburn, in opening the discussion on the role the state league must play in a legislative year, first defined to her audience the purpose of our organization: "To promote political responsibility through informed and active participation of citizens in government", and then went on to give the three steps in league ACTION: to spread information, build public opinion, and lastly promoting legislation.

In reviewing past accomplishments of the League, Miss Washburn cited the following achievements on a national level:

1. Women's Suffrage
2. Welfare measures
3. Improved structure of government
4. Sound economic procedures
5. Working for America to assume her part -
such as in first League of Nations, then
United Nations, establishing of Reciprocal
Trade Agreements
and many others.

On a state level, the Minnesota League could be proud of its accomplishments, such as: child welfare, status of women, general welfare measures, improved educational opportunities, increased efficiency in the administration of government, and Civil Service.

Mrs. Hargraves, in continuing the discussion, first stressed the responsibility that league members must assume and emphasized the fact that local leagues carry the load, in that it is the only way of disseminating information to the community. Another responsibility is that the league must see that the legislators understand its program items.

In listing the "Pre-Election" responsibilities of Legislative Chairman, Mrs. Hargraves enumerated them to be: mobilization of members and the community and the preparation of background material, interviewing the legislators and keeping league members informed, constant and staggered action on letter writing, creating interest in organizing tours to the legislature, keep information flowing to the legislative newsletter, telephoning when action is needed. Mrs. Hargraves especially emphasized that the Legislative Chairman should cooperate with Voters' Service, Resource and Public Relations Chairmen in bringing to the members and others the qualifications of candidates.

As to "Post-Election" responsibilities, Mrs. Hargraves cited the importance of meeting with elected representatives and incumbent senators, discussing with them the league program and its views, amicably discussing differences and giving praise for support of program items. In other words, establish goodwill and understanding.

Mrs. Hargraves continued that it is the desire of the state office to establish a card-file on legislators in an effort to help lobbyists. Most helpful about legislators' districts would be such information as the type of community it is - labor strong, business groups strong or farm groups strong - find out about his organization affiliations, what political party does he affiliate with, who were his supporters or his opponents, etc. Local leagues should also gather information about legislative programs of the other organizations in their community, with the idea that some time it is wise to work with them on an item. Mention was made of Chamber of Commerce, Farm Groups, P.T.A., Labor Groups, etc.

Miss Washburn presented to the group "Lobby by Letter", a helpful booklet giving the do's and don'ts on letter writing to legislators, correct salutations to be used, and giving explanations on why the League is working for the various program items. Miss Washburn continued that during a legislative session, league members should by all means write letters - they do count - in other words, members can lobby by letter; they can also lobby in person by talking with their legislator, either at his home or coming to the Capitol on tours which are being planned. Legislative Chairmen have the responsibility of seeing to it that members of her group get to the session some time. It was also brought out that much can be done by getting letters to local editors of the newspapers, building public opinion outside of the league, giving information on amendments, etc. Mention was made of the Newsletter which will be coming to the members, keeping them informed how the program is progressing.

In closing the morning session, Mrs. Hargraves led an informal discussion as to the questions league members would like to ask Senator Duff, who spoke at the noon luncheon meeting. Members mentioned several, such as where does a legislator's greatest duty lie - with local constituents or on the state or Federal level, redistricting and reapportionment, why vote trading and several others.

The afternoon session opened with the conference leaders giving the "Legislative Facts of Life". In opening, Mrs. Hargraves defined a "lobbyist" as one who represented a pressure group, how they came into being, and informed members that the League is now admittedly a lobbyist for the general good, with no personal advantage.

Miss Washburn listed several things that a lobbyist is up against at the Capitol, such as fear of the legislator going out on a

limb on progressive legislation, the great competition with lobbyists who are heavily paid by special interest groups, the special interest of the legislators themselves who have gone into office for this very purpose, the various ways and degrees of stalling, buckpassing, such as referring to another committee, prejudice against women - thinking they are not informed - with special emphasis that League members are informed, and the silent treatment given many bills.

Mrs. Hargraves continued in informing the members briefly on 1951 legislative reports, in relation to the League Program, how the legislators from the various districts voted and the outcome of the vote on League items.

A greater share of the afternoon session was devoted to the questionnaires handed out on League program items. Members were given a few minutes to write down the reasons why they supported each of the items, and then Mrs. Hargraves and Miss Washburn led the discussions as outlined on the questionnaire, posing the questions as to if they say - tell them, etc. This proved to be an interesting portion of the session, with many questions brought out for discussion.

Revision of two practices in the State Legislature -- one legal and one extra-legal -- is part of State Sen. Philip Duff's program for the 1953 session, he told the League of Women Voters at a Tuesday luncheon in the Presbyterian Church lecture room.

Changing the constitutionally set 90-day limit for the legislative session and the methods of appointing committees, both in the House and Senate, were criticized by Duff. Five major appropriation bills totalling \$200 million were passed on the 89th day of the last session without any examination by senate members, he pointed out. The bills were sent into conference and thrashed out by committee members who could not answer specific questions because of the speed with which they had barreled through, Sen. Duff said. A million-dollar appropriation for the brucellosis program which both houses favored was left out in the rush and not discovered by Duff until two weeks after the session ended, he said.

Controls Legislation

And this haste further aids the Committee on Committees of the Senate and the speaker of the House who control appointments to various committees. This committee ultimately controls legislation in the Senate by controlling membership of the various committees.

The principle of proportionate representation between liberal and conservative groups in the Senate is generally ignored. For instance, Duff pointed out, the five members of the Education Committee are all from one group and a five-man subcommittee to investigate the question of iron ore taxation were all from the majority group.

Cracking this non-legal practice, established by custom, is probably more difficult than revising the constitution, Duff said. Only re-elected members of the majority group are invited to a post-election caucus at which time committee lists are drawn up. He was offered membership in the majority prior to his first session if he promised to vote for the committee recommendations as they were offered on the first day of business.

Barred From Favors

His refusal barred him from participation on more favored committees and he learned the committees, to which he was appointed, by reading a paper, he told the League.

In the House, on the other hand, Sen. Duff said, the conservative and liberal caucuses are held simultaneously and one member cannot attend both. A vote for candidate as speaker of the House places a man specifically in one camp or the other. No such distinction can be made in the Senate. However, once the committees are set up, a member is free to vote according to his conscience, he emphasized.

Duff believes that using party designations would partially relieve the situation and prevent members elected on a liberal ticket at home from joining the conservative coalition. Many senators must follow this practice in order to gain favored committee posts from which they can exert influence on legislation.

Hesitant on Annual Session

In the question and answer period which followed, the senator said he was not "sold" on the idea of an annual session. He said he believed in staggering the election of the senators and cutting the number of committees. Senators were elected in 1950 for four years. Representatives are elected every two years.

He also said that one of the important issues in the 1953 session would be that of using the school tax surplus built by the state income tax in lieu of passing additional taxation. This would only place an additional burden on the individual and on the property owner. He advocated further investigation of corporations and power companies as a source of revenue rather than dissipating the 50 million dollar school fund, even though he was opposed in principle to delegating tax revenues for specific purposes.

AREA CONFERENCE ON STATE LEGISLATION, OCTOBER 3, 1952

History of the League

I. Organization in 1920

- a. To awaken women to their new responsibility as voters.
- b. To channel action to do away with discrimination against women.
- c. Could and should the government work for the health of citizens?
- d. To study how public education could be improved.

II. Principle of League

- a. Look for the facts, study them, and then make a decision to be followed by political action.
- b. Learn the techniques and processes of law and democracy.

III. Past successes of the League in the State Legislature.

- a. In 1939 - League effective in passage of the Civil Service Law.
- b. In 1947 the Legislative Research Council was due mainly to the efforts of one League member (Mrs. Thomas) who sent to all other states having Research Councils for information.

This is Your Job!

A. Localize Responsibilities

1. Lobbyists are only as good and effective as the local league groups

B. Pre-election

1. Why a local Legislative Chairman?
2. Candidates Questionnaires
 - a. Sent to all candidates in St. Paul and suburban areas.
 - b. St. Paul had about 50% reply.
 - c. How used?
 1. Put up in public places in the suburban areas.
 2. Are available to League members.
 3. Used as basis for newspaper stories if possible.
 - d. Discussion and Suggestions for further use of questionnaires.
 1. Should be used in wider scope by:
 - a. Speakers bureau for other organizations
 - b. Information booths in stores or public places
 - c. Broadside.
 - d. Further newspaper coverage.
 2. Legislators should be consulted as to their view point on the questionnaires.
 - a. How can they be improved?
 - b. New uses.
 - c. May stimulate Legislators to use more League literature.
 3. Objections to questionnaires.
 - a. Legislators feel the information may be used as "a pistol at their head" during sessions of Legislature.

b. Question cannot be qualified in all cases.

3. Interviews

- a. Candidates Meetings of great merit if you can get a large audience.
- b. Candidates meet with the study groups.
- c. (Mrs. Richardson, I think the TV programs on Know Your Candidates should have been mentioned about here. I have heard so many complimentary remarks about it.)
- d. Talk with Legislators as individuals when ever possible

C. Post-election

1. Meetings with elected legislators
 - a. Mpls invited all elected legislators for lunch after election and prior to session.
2. Files on Legislators
 - a. Keep list of all organizations he belongs to
 - c. Party affiliation, if known.
 - d. Opposition and supporters during campaign.
 - e. This may be very useful to Lobby Group
 - f. How to get the information?
 1. Newspaper clippings
 2. Candidate questionnaire
 3. Who's Who in Minnesota
 4. Talk with people on his Volunteer Committee.
3. Files on League Members.
 - a. In large League areas have a cross-file according to Legislative District to facilitate a Call for Action. Telephone Committee can readily reach all league members in a given area.
4. Files on Other Organizations' Legislative Programs
 - a. Cooperation with other Organization may be effective to Lobbyists.
5. Discussion and Suggestions
 - a. Local Leagues write a letter of congratulation to elected legislators with an enclosed League program
 - b. Have the State League place before the Legislators the League's stand just before bills are to be voted on.

D. During the Session, We Lobby By:

1. Letter (Presentation of Kit)
 - a. From individuals written at strategic times.
2. In Person
 - a. This is done by members who are very well versed on the issue.
3. Tours
 - a. See Legislature in session, talk with representatives and Senators.
4. Letters to Editor
5. By influencing others to lobby
 - a. Cooperate with other organization. File useful here.
6. Feed to Legislative Newsletter
 - a. Sent out by State Board to local groups.
 - b. Information may be used for newspaper stories, esp in suburban areas.
7. Calls for Action
 - a. Telephone committee should call all members of the local study groups
 - b. Staggered letters when bills are in committee, to be voted on, etc.

3

LEGISLATIVE PROCEDURES by Senator Authur Gillan of So. St. Paul.

I. Legislative procedure hampered by old Constitution because:

- A. Has too many bills and amendments.
- B. Time of Session is limited to 90 days which is not adequate
- C. Size of Legislature.
 - 1. Senate has 67 Senators or 1 to 48,000 people
 - 2. House has 131 Members or 1 to 24,000 people.
 - 3. Reapportionment necessary.
 - a. Distribution of population and trend.
 - 1. 1850 - all rural
 - 1900 - 65% rural
 - 1940 - 50% rural
- D. No party responsibility
 - 1. The Governor is elected by party but the Legislature does not feel responsible to him.

II. Organization of a Session

- A. Begins in December before session convenes
- B. Majority and Minority Groups line up with a great deal of shifting. Liberals are the smaller group.
- C. When Session is called:
 - 1. Committee appointments are made by Majority Leader,
 - 2. Bills are drafted, then sent to Committee
 - 3. Hearings on Bills
 - 4. Debate on the floor
 - 5. Vote on passage

III. How to Pass a Bill

- A. Author writes a Bill and prepared copies for House and Senate
- B. Must be signed by sponsors, 5 for the House and 3 for Senate
 - 1. Choice of sponsors is very important to carry weight for the Bill
 - a. Signatures before the session starts to insure early consideration.
- C. Get the Bill into the right committee
- D. Introduce the bill early
- E. Notify authors and interested groups of hearing date.
- F. Start the Bill through both Houses at once to avoid delay/
- G. Keep authors informed with briefs.

IV. Points on Lobbying

- A. Start early, even before the Session
- B. Get to Committee Hearings
- C. Write or see your Representative or Senator.
 - 1. If it is important, make an appointment to see him.
 - 2. Contact him only once.
- D. Give your Representative and Senator respect.
- E. Be sold on the issue.
 - 1. Be well informed and enthusiastic.

V. Questions and Discussion

- A. Who sets hearings and order of appearance in Committee?
Answer: The Chairman of the Committee. He can be overruled by the committee.
- B. How are the Chairman appointed?
Answer:
In the House - By the speaker of the House. Members are given a chance to state their preferences.

11

Chairmen who served at last session are appointed to same committees unless they do not want to.
In the Senate - the Steering Committee made up of a member from each Congressional District. Last Sessions Chairmen are given preference.

- C. Is there a balance of Conservatives and Liberals on the Committee?
On House Committees - yes
On Senate Committees. - Not possible, only 10 Liberal in all in the Senate
- D. Is there outside pressure to get certain appointments to Committees?
Answer - Yes, interested groups will approach the Speaker before Session starts.
- E. Are there members of the minority party as Chairmen of Committees?
Answer - Only on unimportant committees
- F. What are the functions of the Majority Leader?
Answer - His power is overrated. He has voice in order of appearance of bills in committees because he is Chairman of the Rules Committee. He has Control of the procedure.

Marion Monahan
Recorder

Mi -

COLUMBIA HEIGHTS
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
COLUMBIA HEIGHTS, MINNESOTA

October 6, 1952

Minutes of Area Conference, Thursday, Sept. 25, 1952

The Area Conference held at the Columbia Heights Fieldhouse on September 25th was opened with a talk by Mrs. McNamara of the State League office. There were 36 League members in attendance. In presenting the topic for discussion "The League is in the Lobby", Mrs. McNamara stressed 3 important factors in selling our viewpoint to legislators; namely, knowledge of the subject, interest and enthusiasm.

The meeting was then turned over to Miss Florence Burton, who led the discussion for the rest of the morning session. Miss Burton stressed the importance of a Legislative Chairman for each League, so someone in the local league would have the responsibility for each State item. The Questionnaire to the legislative candidates and their answers were discussed. There was some question as to the importance of pre-primary candidates meetings. Some members felt they are important...others not. Local Leagues were told that every league should have a Publicity Chairman, as publicity in the local papers helps to mold opinion. We were told to try to get influential people in our communities to back our legislative issues as these people might also have some influence on the legislators. We were also told to keep a file on our Legislators and attempt to know all about them. Such as their political party, background, the organizations he belongs to, church group, PTA, etc., in fact, anything we can find out.

As to the types of lobbying, it was suggested by Miss Burton that post cards are not as effective as individual letters, and one league group should write only once on each bill. The Legislative Chairman should watch for the Newsletters about Bills and contact the legislators when Bills are up for vote or before as to the league's stand. Tours can be arranged when a Bill is scheduled to be heard. Local Leagues should arrange a tour thru the legislature and possibly arrange to lunch with their legislators and try to influence him if possible. When Bills are up for study, call up the Legislator and find out if he is on the committee studying our item. Also it is important to watch how our legislators vote or behave on a bill. Some will take credit for its passing but will help defeat it, or he may help write in a crippling measure.

Meeting adjourned for luncheon. Luncheon speaker was Senator Archie Miller who explained first the mechanics of choosing committees in the Legislature and how these committees work. It was his personal opinion that the League is working on too many items and should cut the number down to two. He stressed that the League should be careful of their manner in lobbying and now use too much pressure. Party Designation and Reapportionment were the two he suggested, possibly because he is in favor of them. He does not think a Constitutional Convention would improve or worsen our present constitution, as our present constitution was formed in a Convention. In other words he doesn't mind our lobbying as long as we lobby for the bills he is in favor of.

Respectfully,

Mrs. W. H. Ashford

Send to
Marie - I
read it to her.

October 26 1952
Fut Chisago, Minn

State office
League of Women Voters
Minneapolis, Minn.

Dear Madam,
We thought the women you
sent out for our area conference
were very fine and we appreciated
all the information they gave
us.

However, after we had asked
our Representative Ervil Ernst
about all the things she told
us about Ray Dunn's misused
power it seems almost like we
were getting D.P.L. propaganda
from the office of our non-partisan
organization.

Our Representative has very much
respect for Ray Dunn, thinks he
is very tolerant of everyone's ideas
while they are formulating
their plans and then uses proper
authority when needed as a majority
leader.

I don't think anyone from our
office should criticize individuals
from either party. I thought at the
time if it was all true it was

probably the best thing but if
it isn't then I think it's entirely
wrong for anyone to spread
such stories all over the state.

I hear Orville Freeman and
Hubert Humphrey are both
talking about some powerful
clique in the Republican party
which reminds me of what
we were hearing at our conference.

I agree with our National
President who said at the state
convention that one of the out-
standing features of our organization
is its non-partisanship and it's
very important to keep it that way.

Yours truly,
Wm. G. J. Breder

Oct. 29

Dear Mrs. Brende -

Your letter of Oct. 26 has been sent along to me for reply.

I am happy to know that you attended our Sept. Area conference on legislation and were able to get some helpful information from it.

Now, as to the matter of your concern over possible partisanship in the conference discussion, I am sorry that you feel that we have adopted an attitude of support or opposition to any legislator or party. Perhaps I can clear it up for you.

First, might I say that Mrs.

Livingstone, who led this part of the discussion, has a tremendous wealth of experience and know-how in state legislative matters. She is the immediate past legislative chairman, and, I'm sure would not have told you anything that is not true and for which she does not have a solid basis for belief.

Further, I believe that she was speaking from the standpoint of League program, and trying to give reasons for opposition to our program. If in so doing, it appeared that someone

individual legislator, - or some group of legislators, were responsible; - then the local League should know and understand it, - not from the viewpoint of what political party he belongs to; but from the viewpoint of how best we can put our action program across.

Inasmuch as we are a political organization - even though a non-partisan one - and as long as we are in the business of promoting responsible and efficient government, - I don't believe that we can afford ourselves the protection from

knowledge of power politics and
the unpleasantness that sometimes
accompanies political matters.

I hope this will help to
clear up this situation for you.
We are always so glad to hear
from our members either with or
without problems.

Thank you for writing - let
us hear from you again -

Sincerely
Dorothy

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNEAPOLIS

84 South Tenth Street, Room 407, Minneapolis 3, Minnesota

Telephone: Atlantic 6319

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March 24, 1953

TO MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE WELFARE COMMITTEE

The League of Women Voters of Minneapolis respectfully requests the exclusion of Minneapolis from H.F. 785 which, if passed, would abolish our city's Housing and Redevelopment Authority.

The purpose of the proposed legislation — at least the publicly stated purpose — is to increase efficiency, eliminate overlapping units of government, and make the local governing body responsible for public housing and redevelopment. The Minneapolis League has followed closely the work done by the Minneapolis Authority. In our opinion, based on first-hand observation over an extended period of time, its administration has been outstanding for both efficiency and economy. As for overlapping functions, we cannot see how the Council could take on this additional administrative responsibility without setting up a special staff to do the job, and there could be no saving in that. As for the third point, matters of major policy, under existing law, are already under Council jurisdiction.

The enclosed editorials point up some very interesting questions. Where is the support for this bill?

Two Minneapolis Council committees and a majority of the whole Council oppose it. Several civic groups opposed the bill at local and legislative committee hearings. Only a few individuals, perennial objectors to public housing and redevelopment, have spoken in support of the bill. What justification does the legislature have for insisting that the bill include Minneapolis (or St. Paul and Duluth, too, for that matter) when there is so much open opposition to it and no open support?

We sincerely hope the open and publicly expressed opposition to H.F. 785 will receive the serious consideration of the House Welfare Committee and that the result will be exclusion of Minneapolis from its provisions.

Very truly yours,

Mary O. Everson

Mrs. T. O. Everson
1st Vice President in charge of
Local Government

March 24, 1953

The Honorable C. Elmer Anderson
Governor of Minnesota
State Capitol
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Governor Anderson:

We should like to call your attention to the enclosed editorial which appeared in the Minneapolis Star on March 21.

It would be helpful to us to have your reaction to it. What is your conception of the role of the state director of housing and redevelopment, and are you satisfied that he is taking no position on H.F. 785 and S.F. 610?

The enclosed copy of a letter sent to members of the House Welfare Committee indicates the Minneapolis League's position on the bill.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. T. O. Everson
1st Vice President

MCE:j

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CIRCULATION MORE THAN 295,000

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Legislative Mystery

ONE of the chief mysteries of the 1953 legislature is a bill to abolish public housing and redevelopment authorities in Minnesota. Where does it get its impetus?

A number of state cities set up authorities under the present law, but Minneapolis, St. Paul and Duluth are principally concerned. They had the greatest need for housing for low income families at the end of the war. They have the blighted areas which need to be redeveloped so that private enterprise can rebuild there.



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LEGISLATIVE REORGANIZATION

CONSTITUTIONAL BASIS OF STATE LEGISLATURES

Introductory Material pertinent to the study of those aspects
of the State Constitution which relate to the Legislature.

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LEGISLATIVE REORGANIZATION

CONSTITUTIONAL BASIS OF STATE LEGISLATURES

Introductory material pertinent to the study of those aspects of the State Constitution which relate to the Legislature.

I. Historical Background

Earliest Constitutions. When the founders of the first thirteen states framed their constitutions, the memory of oppression by the executive branch of government was vivid in their minds. Their experience with representative assemblies, on the other hand, had been one of protest against the oppressive acts of the Crown. It was natural that the constitution framers of that day should translate their experiences into practice. An outstanding characteristic, then, of the earliest state constitutions, was the curbing of executive power and the conferring of almost unlimited power on the legislative bodies.

These original constitutions were short, concise, and limited to a statement of fundamental principles. Universal suffrage as a concept of democracy had not yet been born, and these constitutions restricted greatly the number of offices which could be elected by the people, besides setting up strict qualifications for voters. Although the three branches were rendered independent of one another, most of these constitutions hampered the executive with a council, and in nine of the states, the governor was chosen by the legislature.

Vast changes in state constitutions have taken place in the intervening years since those early times, although the basic principles of the bill of rights, the principle of separation of powers, the check and balance system, and the concept of the relation of the executive and legislative branches have remained much the same and have become a part of the American political tradition.

Mid-19th Century. Of the 48 state constitutions which exist today, 12 were drafted prior to 1870 (including Minnesota 1857), 23 were drafted between 1870 and 1900, and 13 have been drawn up during the 20th century. Those which were framed between 1850 and 1900 are in general lengthy and filled with a mass of detail, a large share of which is in the form of restrictions and limitations on the power of the legislature. The theory that all public officers should be elected by popular vote was predominant in constitutions of this era. The more recent movement to enhance the power of the executive branch and fix responsibility on the executive by the shorter ballot is not reflected in these constitutions. Gradually, however, the relative positions of the legislature vs. the executive have been reversed in the minds of the people, and this trend has continued up to very recent years. In part, this reversal has been due to the failure of state legislatures to live up to the trust that had been placed in them in colonial times. Failure to deal adequately with pressing problems, and actual instances of fraud and dishonesty have combined to undermine the confidence of the people in their legislative bodies. As a consequence, the executive departments of many states have been reorganized with emphasis being put on increased power and responsibility for the governor. This movement has speeded up since the turn of the century and is reflected in a few recent constitutional revisions. In the years since World War II, also, there has been an awakening to the need for strengthening the legislative branch and easing the restrictions on it.

Recent trends. Those states, however, which still retain their century old constitutions, have found themselves with their hands tied in times of emergency. They have been unable to cope with the vital issues of modern times, and power has moved steadily from the states to the Federal government. Allocations of money by the Federal government to the states for specific programs; increased leadership by Federal administrative agencies toward cooperation with the states in programs concerning roads, food and drug standards, agriculture, welfare, health and safety, etc.

the priority of Federal court decisions over state courts; decisions by the courts favorable to the Federal government through the years - all have diminished the power of the states to the extent that they have increased the powers of the Federal government. In many ways this has been the inevitable result of the increasing complexity of our needs and of the inability of the states to shoulder new responsibilities and meet emergencies with the resources and organization at their disposal. In addition, the enormity of many governmental services has required the leadership of the Federal government.

In recent times a new interrelationship between the Federal, state, and local governments has grown up, with the states as the key units of administration. More and more frequently, the states have been called upon to enact legislation providing for the organization and administration of Federal programs within the state. The rapid growth of state services has made demands on state government never dreamed of in the days of the founding fathers or even a century ago. Population shifts of enormous magnitude during the war years, and growth of population, have created school, housing, and welfare problems. It is generally recognized that there is great need for reorganization on the state level if the states are to be able to fulfill these new requirements. Many of these adjustments to modern conditions can be made by the legislatures themselves, but many others will require constitutional changes.

As an antidote to undue pessimism in regard to the condition of the states at this critical time in our history, a paragraph from "American State Government", by W. B. Graves of the Library of Congress, is quoted here:

"Even so, there is no reason to entertain any serious doubts as to the future of the states. They have been here for a very long time, and they will be here for a long time to come. They are considerably different now from what they once were, and they are still changing. Like all human institutions they have had their periods of progress and retrogression. The mid-period of the 20th century finds them operating as going concerns, relatively strong and vigorous, performing many new functions at a high standard of administrative efficiency, needing many important changes and improvements, but nevertheless looking forward with confidence to the years that lie ahead."

II. Constitutional Limitations on State Legislatures

10th Amendment. The tenth amendment to the Federal constitution states that "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people." This amendment firmly establishes our American government as "federal" in form, with a further provision in the constitution that national laws take precedence over any state law. The U. S. Constitution therefore is the basic and fundamental law of the land. Acts of Congress and treaties with other nations as authorized by the Constitution, are national law and stand above all types of state law.

Federal limitations. The tenth amendment establishes the national government as having "enumerated powers", and the state governments as having all the remaining powers. In other words, we may determine the powers of the states by the process of elimination. If a certain power has not been given to the national government in the constitution, nor denied to the states, then we may assume it belongs to the states. These residual powers are diminished by certain limitations in the national constitution on the states, such as that they may not make treaties with foreign nations, levy duties on imports or exports between themselves, and many others. Some restrictions are implied, or have been determined by court decisions.

Hierarchy of laws. Thus the states are bound by the provisions of the national constitution, but each state has its own constitution which serves as the fundamental law of that state. This document provides a set of governmental machinery and protects citizens from improper use of governmental authority. State constitutions

must not conflict with any provision of the Federal constitution, nor may any state legislative statute or state executive rule conflict with the state constitution. In this way, a hierarchy of laws has been set up in the U. S.

State limitations. "The state legislature is a repository of the residual powers of the people. Unless restricted by provisions in the state constitution itself, it can do anything that has not been delegated to the national government or expressly or impliedly denied to the states by the federal constitution."¹ However, as mentioned earlier, in many state constitutions framed in the latter half of the 19th century, many specific provisions relating to legislative action have been included or added, which have the effect of limiting the power of the legislatures.² These restrictions are found throughout the constitutions and are not confined to the legislative article. Many of them refer to local government, education, taxation, budget procedure, and other aspects of finance, in addition to the more commonly known restrictions on length and frequency of sessions, period for introduction of new bills, how special sessions may be called, and others. In the opinion of many students of government, the more detailed these restrictions are, the more difficult it is for legislatures to meet future problems and adapt to changing conditions. Furthermore, the more detailed these restrictions are, the greater the need for an easier amending process than most state constitutions provide. In times of crisis such as depression and war, and even in "normal" times, it is often necessary to make constitutional changes with reasonable speed.

Amending process. The extreme difficulty of the amending process (including that of Minnesota), has oftentimes prevented the legislatures from taking effective action in meeting emergencies. Whether by piecemeal amendment or by constitutional convention, the obstacles to be overcome in revising a state constitution are tremendous, requiring a great deal of time, leadership, courage, and some financial support in order to be successful. The multitude of problems confronting a constitutional convention make it necessary to prepare in advance detailed information and working materials for the delegates. It is the responsibility of the legislature to provide that this type of research on all subjects concerning the constitution be carried out prior to a convention.

III. Essentials of a State Constitution

We may well ask, what, properly, is constitutional law, and what should be left to statute? Chief Justice Marshall expressed the concept of the fundamental purpose of a constitution thus:

"A constitution, to contain an accurate detail of all the subdivisions of which its great powers will admit, and of all the means by which they may be carried into execution could scarcely be embraced by the human mind. It would probably never be understood by the public. Its nature, therefore, requires that only its great outlines should be marked, its important objects designated, and the minor ingredients which compose those objects be deduced from the nature of the objects themselves."

¹"American State Legislatures", American Political Science Association, 1954

²"A provision of the (Minnesota) constitution which puts obstacles in the way of the legislature's developing and from time to time amending a modern scientific revenue system is to be found in section 32 (a) of Article 4. By this provision, the system of gross earnings taxation on railroads is practically written into the constitution, and any law for the repeal or amendment of any law upon this subject cannot take effect unless approved at an election by the same majority of voters as is required for a constitutional amendment, i.e. a majority of all voting at the election." (Wm. Anderson, "Need for Constitutional Revision in Minnesota", Minnesota Law Review, 1927).

4.
Statutory vs. Constitutional law. Thus we might think of constitutional law as a framework of basic and fundamental concepts, unhampered by details best left to the discretion of the legislature to enact into statutes that can be more easily adapted to changing conditions. Some laws we traditionally think of as constitutional just because they have been in our constitution for such a long time, such as the length of the legislative session, which is not necessarily a basic concept at all. Other subjects we think of as statutory perhaps just because they have never been included in the constitution. An example of these would be the Legislative Research Council, a statutory action in Minnesota, but thought to be a basic concept and therefore properly constitutional, by the National Municipal League in its Model State Constitution.

Essential features. Certain features are essential to a constitution if it is to meet the needs which led to its adoption.¹ These are:

- A. An enumeration of the basic rights of citizens.
- B. Provisions outlining the framework of government.
- C. An enumeration of the powers which may be exercised by the established governmental machinery.
- D. A workable method of amendment.

Inasmuch as the state legislature is our main concern at this stage in our study of the constitution, we shall largely confine ourselves to the features B. and C.

IV. Legislative - Executive Relationships

The provisions of a state constitution outlining the framework of government must provide for the establishment of the three branches of government, and should provide for necessary extensions of governmental service by legislative act, and for the means of electing state offices. The framers of the original state constitutions established a system of checks and balances at the same time that they provided for three distinct branches. Although these two principles are somewhat inconsistent, the framers believed this arrangement would prevent the concentration of power in any one department of government. An interrelationship between the branches has existed to the present day, with each branch holding some control over the other two. An understanding of these relationships properly falls into our study of the legislature, as they constitute acutely practical problems which must be taken into account in any revision.

Legislative supervision over executive. Theoretically the legislature is responsible for exercising a general surveillance over the general administrative efficiency and fiscal operations of the executive department. In actual practice, this responsibility is not always fully carried out; for example, the post-audit of Minnesota's administrative expenditures is carried out by an appointee of the governor.² The legislature also has the constitutional power of impeachment of executive or judicial officers in cases of dishonesty or inefficiency. In actual practice, this has rarely happened, and it is generally thought that other means of control are more effective in promoting a working partnership.

Except for the powers delegated by the state constitution to the executive branch, the legislative branch provides for all the powers of the executive, by statute. Legislative influence over the executive, therefore, is very great, as it may modify these powers at will, eliminate administrative agencies, and determine the means and methods of its own supervision over the executive branch. The most certain method the legislature has of curtailing executive power is to reduce appropriations or to itemize in detail the use to which the appropriations will be put.

¹ W. Brooke Graves, American State Government, 4th edition 1953.

² It has been recommended by the Constitutional Commission of Minn. that this situation be changed and that a position of postauditor responsible only to the legislature be provided by the constitution.

Constitutional executive powers over legislature. Likewise, the executive branch has certain constitutional powers which may act as restrictions on the legislature. In all states but one (North Carolina), the governor has the power of veto over legislation. In Minnesota, as in the majority of the states, the governor has the power to veto specific items in bills. The executive veto, in Minnesota, may be overridden by a 2/3 rds vote of both houses of the legislature.

In 39 states, including Minnesota, the constitution imposes on the governor the duty of reporting to the legislature information on the condition of the state. These executive messages at various times before and during the legislative session do not of course, act as a "power" of the executive over the legislature, but rather as an influence on the legislature to enact the program of the current administration. The executive may suggest legislation, but the legislature must take full responsibility for determining the law. The effectiveness of these messages in promoting legislation often varies according to the political climate in the legislature.

The power to call special sessions is delegated to the governor in most state constitutions. The governor of Minnesota has this power but he does not have the power to limit the subjects which may be considered, as is the case in some states. The Constitutional Commission of Minnesota has recommended that he be empowered to limit the subjects when he calls a special session, but that the legislature also be allowed to call special sessions for consideration of subjects of its own choosing.

The power of appointment by the governor relates to the legislature only insofar as appointments must be approved by the Senate. The trend of modern reorganization tends to give more responsibility to the governor in his power of appointment, believing that in this way, citizens will be able to fix responsibility for government action, and that more effective and responsible government will result.

ExtraConstitutional powers of executive over legislature. Some legislative powers of the executive department are not enumerated in the constitution, but are of such importance that some mention should be made of them when considering the relationship between the two branches. One of these concerns the leadership which the governor may exert on the legislature in order to promote and advance legislation which will implement his program. The extent of his influence and the means which he uses may gain him a reputation for courageous leadership or, in some cases, determined opposition by the legislature. The number of important measures originating with the executive has risen steadily in recent years, an indication of the extreme complexity of governmental problems, and the ability of a responsible executive to see these problems perhaps sooner and more clearly than the legislature which meets infrequently and for short periods.

Another extra - constitutional power of the executive is that of rule - making. Being a body whose function is to lay down fundamental principles and policies, the legislature must of necessity leave matters of detail to the executive branch whose duty it is to enforce the laws. As state services have increased, these rules have necessarily become more intricate. In many cases, the law as the citizen finally meets it contains a great deal more than the original statute - it consists largely of the rules and regulations issued by administrative order. This power of the executive to translate the laws into practise by means of rules has caused some to fear that the intent of the legislature might be changed and that inconsistencies in policy may result. Others urge a continuance of this practise because of the availability of expert knowledge in the executive departments, the absence of partisan conflicts over details, and the inadvisability of freezing regulations which may need frequent change, into laws. The recommendation frequently made is for the legislature to be allowed to consider and approve rules made by the administration, and for the provision that there be a central filing and publication of rules and regulations.

It can be seen from the fore-going that the problems of legislative - executive relations are of extreme importance if the government is to operate smoothly and effectively in the public interest. "Realistic students of government have

recognized that the formulation of public policy is essentially an indivisible process that should be shared by both the legislature and the administration."¹ A balance must be maintained whereby the legislature retains its responsibility to properly supervise the executive and yet the essential independence of both branches is assured.

Certain provisions have been suggested² for the achievement of a closer and more co-operative relationship between these two branches:

- 1) A post - audit of fiscal transactions of all executive departments and agencies should be made by an agency of the legislature.
- 2) Legislative leadership should be strengthened by giving legislative leaders year - round responsibilities and an adequate staff.
- 3) All executive vetoes should be reviewed by the legislature.
- 4) Rules made by the administration in enforcement of statutes should be reviewed by the legislature.
- 5) All administrative proposals or requests for legislation by executive departments should be cleared through the office of the governor and receive his approval. This would tend to eliminate duplication and controversy when bills reach the legislature.
- 6) Bills submitted by the administration in the above manner should receive serious consideration and special treatment in the legislature.
- 7) The Governor's research staff should work closely with the legislative reference and bill - drafting services of the legislature on pending legislation.
- 8) Participation of both legislators and representatives of the governor in interim legislative committees and executive commissions should be encouraged.
- 9) A flexible arrangement of personal consultation between the governor and legislative leaders on pending legislation would lead to increased mutual respect and confidence.

In the field of legislative - executive relationships as in all other aspects of government, it can thus be seen that constitutional provisions alone will not insure efficient government. The constitution can, however, provide the framework necessary for the development of good relationships and cooperation in the public interest.

V. Enumeration of Powers in a Constitution

Implied limitations on legislature. It has been the practise of state courts for many years, generally speaking, to interpret broad constitutional provisions as limitations on the legislature. As a result, detailed provisions as to what the legislature may do in special cases have found their way into the constitutions in increasing numbers. Some examples of these detailed provisions in the Minnesota constitution are the road and bridge amendments passed between 1898 and 1912, and the trunk highway amendment of 1920. In the words of William Anderson, Prof. of Political Science, Univ. of Minn., "while these amendments authorized the state to engage in internal improvements which had formerly been forbidden, at the same time they stated definitely the amount or the method of taxation, and definitely restricted the expenditure of the proceeds to specific purposes."

Although provisions of this nature serve to extend the power of the legislature in a specific instance, in the long run they have been interpreted by the courts as further limitations on different or extended action in the same field. For example, a constitutional amendment authorizing the establishment of a particular type of workmen's compensation is, under the decisions of this country, almost certain to be held to prohibit the establishment of any other type of workmen's compensation. In short, the view has usually been taken that every grant of power to the legislature limits legislative action to just that particular thing. To offset this further detailed provisions have had to be added through the years, resulting in numerous matters

1 American State Legislatures, Amer. Pol. Sci. Assoc.

2 American State Legislatures, Amer. Pol. Sci. Assoc.
Donald Axelrod, New York state Joint Committee 1953 Report.

not properly fundamental being found in state constitutions. "Commands to the legislature and grants to the legislature have both in many cases found their way into the constitutions for the purpose of enlarging legislative power, although it should again be emphasized that when they are once placed in the constitution they almost certainly come by (court) interpretations to be also limitations upon that power."¹

Types of Constitution. In the manual prepared by Martin L. Faust, University of Missouri, for the Missouri constitutional convention of 1943, two alternatives as to the type of constitution which could be framed, are listed as:

- 1) The state may continue in the path of providing a detailed constitution which shall prescribe a good deal in the way of state legislative policy, or
- 2) The state may return to a brief constitution containing only matters of fundamental importance, seeking at the same time to lay down principles in such a way that they will not be construed as unduly restricting legislative power.

Dr. Faust enlarges upon these two alternatives by saying that if the first plan were adopted, it would be essential to provide a simple amending process (such as that which existed in Minnesota prior to 1898)² to enable these detailed provisions to be changed with changing conditions. It would also be necessary to prevent the imposing of implied limitations on the legislature by including a statement such as that of the Oklahoma constitution which states: "The authority of the legislature shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislation, and any specific grant of authority in this constitution upon any subject whatsoever shall not work a restriction, limitation, or exclusion of such authority upon the same or any other subject whatsoever".

Concerning the second plan, Dr. Faust states that a constitution of this kind could be construed favorably to state legislative power and to the theory that a legislature has all powers not clearly denied. Even yet, however, the possibility would exist that a simple constitution could be construed so as to prevent legislation which the people of the state may desire, unless the broad provisions are clearly stated.

The relationship between the legislature and the judicial branch centers mainly in the final responsibility of the courts for the fate of legislation in cases of controversy. In situations of this kind, the courts may determine the legislative intent in passing certain legislation, and may determine whether the statute is in conformity with the constitution. Unless an unconstitutional law is challenged, however, it does not come under the jurisdiction of the courts and hence may remain in use and be enforced in the same manner as a valid law. The courts are loath to interfere in the exercise of legislative discretion, as a rule, as can be seen in the reluctance of the courts to intervene in the problems of reapportionment and redistricting.

¹ Manual on the Legislative Article for the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1943.

² Prior to 1898, Minnesota's Constitutional amending process was relatively easy, requiring a simple majority of both houses to propose amendments and a simple majority of those voting on the question at the regular election, to pass. During this period there was a steady flow of amendments passed, few of which have been repudiated, and most of which have amply proved their worth down through the years. In 1898, however, an amendment was passed by this easy method, which made the amending process much more difficult, requiring a majority of all those voting at the election to pass an amendment. In the intervening years few amendments have passed, and time and again the will of the majority of informed and active voters has been defeated. "Need for Constitution Revision in Minnesota". William Anderson
Minnesota Law Review Feb. 1927.

VI. How These Theories may Apply in our Study of the Minnesota Constitution

Summary. We have discussed briefly some of the characteristics of early constitutions, and some of the reasons why constitutions of the age of ours were framed the way they were. We have discussed the fundamental limitations on state legislatures, and have attempted to understand why so many additional restrictions have been incorporated into the constitution, and the effects of these restrictions. We have attempted an overall view of the relationships between the executive and legislative branches because these relationships are vital to efficient government and should be taken into consideration when evaluating proposals for any one branch. We have considered the essential features of a state constitution.

With this birds-eye view of some of the theories relating to the legislative aspects of state constitutions, we may direct our attention specifically to Minnesota, and to those suggestions which have been made in regard to the legislature in the event of a constitutional convention or in the event of revision by amendment.

Constitution Commission of Minnesota. We are fortunate in Minnesota in that the groundwork for a constitutional convention has been laid by the Constitutional Commission of Minnesota, created by the 1947 legislature. This commission consisted of 8 members of the House of Representatives, appointed by the Speaker, 8 members of the Senate appointed by the Senate Committee on Committees,*1 member from the executive branch appointed by the Governor, and 3 citizen members appointed by the Governor. The commission began its work in July, 1947 and held its final meeting in Sept. 1948. The report is a result of diligent research and study and may well serve as a basis for effective constitutional revision in this state. All in all, the commission recommended 40 major changes in the constitution. It seems proper that the League should use these recommendations as a starting point in its study, using additional material as necessary to shed light on the many points which must be brought out if we are to obtain a well rounded picture of the problems in their entirety. (Insert: 1 member from the Supreme Court appointed by the Chief Justice)

Plan for Study. Provisions relating to the legislature which the commission considered in need of change are listed below to give us a broad idea of the subject we will be working on this year:

- 1) Frequency and length of sessions
- 2) Time limit for introduction of bills
- 3) Special sessions
 - a. how they may be called
 - b. limitation on matters which may be considered
- 4) The provision concerning a legislator holding other office during the time for which he is elected
- 5) Origin of revenue bills
- 6) Enactment of bills
 - Time allowed for executive veto
 - Roll call votes
- 7) Reading and passage of bills
- 8) Enrollment and presentment of bills
- 9) Form of taxation of railroads
- 10) Special legislation
 - With regard to individuals or corporations
 - With regard to local government
- 11) Executive offices - elected and appointed
 - Approval of appointments by the Senate
- 12) Restrictions on legislature regarding disposition of funds
- 13) Powers of taxation
- 14) Powers relating to highways
- 15) Creation of post - auditor responsible to legislature
- 16) The amending process

In addition to consideration of these major items, the commission has recommended that numerous obsolete sections be removed and has suggested many minor changes in conflicting or misplaced provisions.

The "Little Hoover Commission" made only one recommendation in regard to the legislature which would require constitutional change. This concerned the Legislative Emergency Committee, which will also be considered in our subsequent material, as well as other overall aspects of the position of the legislature in the framework of government.

Reference Material for Additional Study

- American State Government, 4th edition 1953, W. Brooke Graves
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- League Committee on State Government, report to St. Louis
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- Model State Constitution, prepared by the Committee on State
- Government, National Municipal League, revised 1948
- Report of Constitutional Commission of Minnesota, 1948