

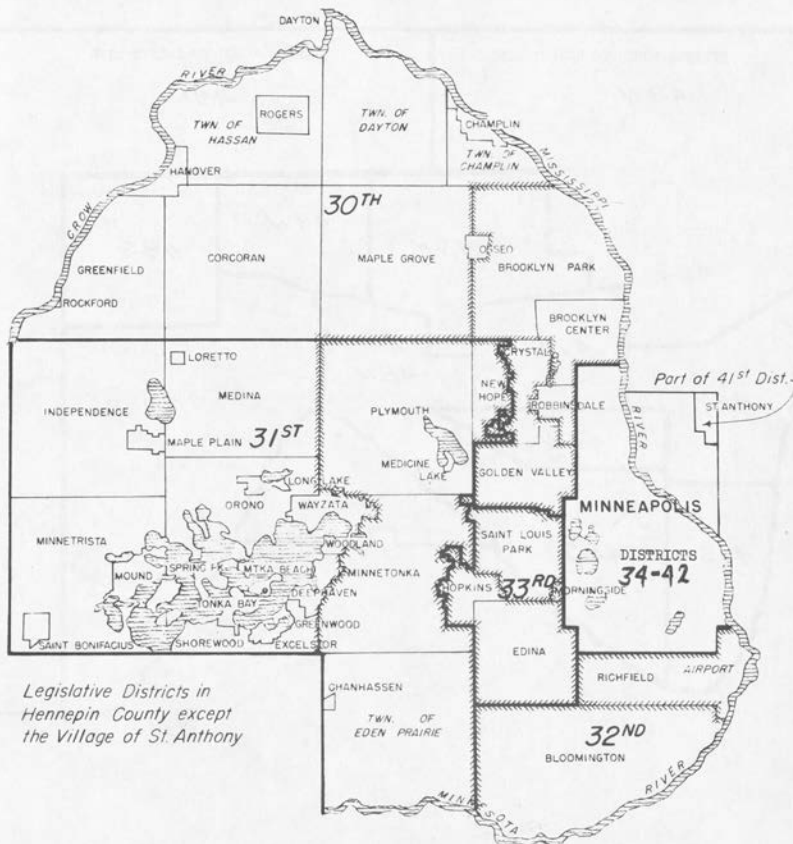


## League of Women Voters of Minnesota Records

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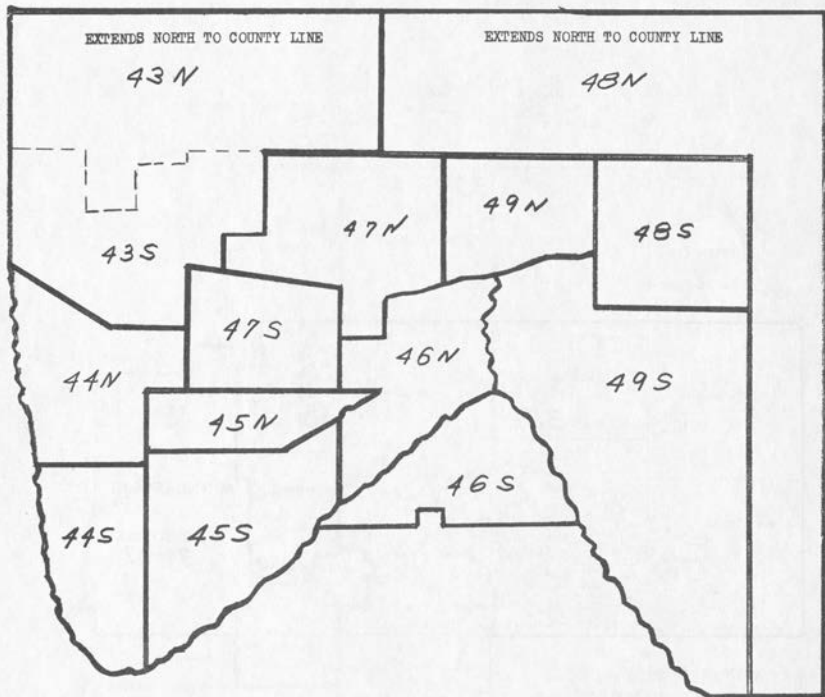
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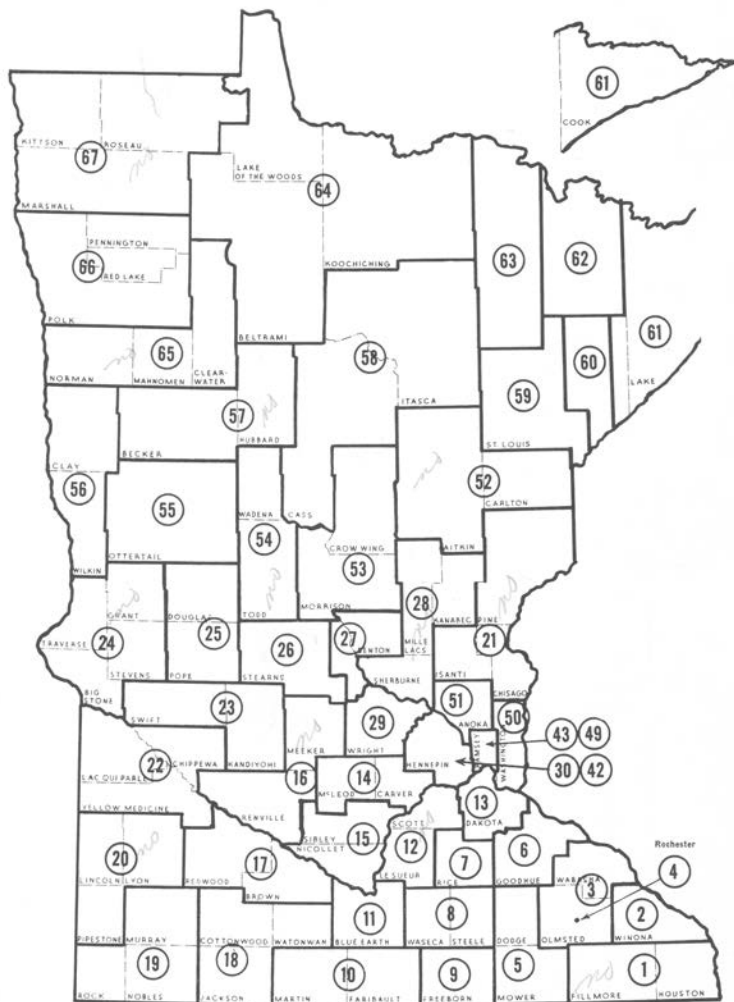
LEGISLATIVE DISTRICT MAP  
of  
HENNEPIN COUNTY, MINNESOTA  
Effective 1962



*Legislative Districts in  
Hennepin County except  
the Village of St. Anthony*

LEGISLATIVE DISTRICT MAP  
of  
RAMSEY COUNTY, MINNESOTA  
Effective 1962





LEGISLATIVE DISTRICT MAP 1962





**CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT MAP 1962**

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA  
 State Organization Service, University of Minnesota  
 Minneapolis 14, Minnesota

# LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

STATE ORGANIZATION SERVICE, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, MINNEAPOLIS 55, MINNESOTA

December 1964

Dear

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota congratulates you on your re-election to the Legislature of the State of Minnesota. The citizens of Minnesota are fortunate to have men of your ability who are willing to participate in politics, run for office and take the time from their normal activities to participate in our state government.

The members of the League of Women Voters look forward to working with you again during the 1965 session. As you know, the League is a nonpartisan organization whose purpose is to promote political responsibility through informed and active participation of citizens in government. We do not support or oppose any political party or candidate. We do, however, take action on governmental measures and policies in the public interest.

As you know, the League is interested in a number of areas and will lobby in these for the public interest. To bring you up to date on our Program I am enclosing a copy of a special edition of our Minnesota VOTER. I am also enclosing a copy of our latest publication Apportionment in Minnesota. We will not be working for a statute concerning reapportionment but are interested in amendments to the state constitution relating to apportionment.

We trust you will find this term in the Legislature as challenging and as interesting as the last term.

Sincerely,

Mrs. William Whiting  
President



# LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

STATE ORGANIZATION SERVICE, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, MINNEAPOLIS 55, MINNESOTA

December 1964

Dear

As we approach the beginning of another legislative session, the members of the League of Women Voters are looking forward to working with you again. As you know, the League is a nonpartisan organization whose purpose is to promote political responsibility through informed and active participation of citizens in government. We do not support or oppose any political party or candidate. We do, however, take action on governmental measures and policies in the public interest. The League is interested in a number of such measures and will lobby for them.

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Sincerely,

Mrs. William Whiting  
President



For Bulletin Editors:

Please reprint this page as part of your December or January Bulletin. Fill in blanks with your legislator's name.



# SO YOU'RE GOING TO WRITE YOUR LEGISLATOR.....

A letter to your elected representative can be an exciting and satisfying experience—one way you can have your "say" in our governmental process. But before you take pen in hand or sit down to peck at your typewriter, take a look at this League guide to letter writing:

A League of Women Voters letter is written for a specific reason—perhaps to ask for a "yes" vote on a bill or in opposition to another bill, or maybe it is an appreciative letter for a vote just cast. The League letter has two purposes:

- 1) It gives the writer an opportunity to demonstrate citizen responsibility; she will learn from the process (every letter will become easier to write); she will be better able to help others do the same.
- 2) Her letter can influence a decision by presenting pertinent and persuasive facts.

Lobby by letter can be effective. Here are some Dos and Don'ts for League letter writing.

- Do spell your legislator's name correctly and address him properly. During the session send letters to the Senate or House chambers, otherwise send to home or office address.

The Honorable \_\_\_\_\_  
Senate Chambers  
St. Paul, Minnesota

The Honorable \_\_\_\_\_  
House Chambers  
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Senator Smith:

Dear Mr. Jones:

- Do describe the bill by popular name and by number.
- Do keep your letters brief. A short statement of your reasons, well thought out, clearly stated in your own words, will best fill the bill. If you are not sure of specific background information, your legislative or resource chairman will provide it for you.
- Do remember the Four Ps: patience, precision (or accuracy), persistence with politeness.
- Don't write an irate letter because you will want to have future contact with your legislator.

- . Don't demand or insist he vote for or against a certain bill. Always ask him and tell him why. Don't threaten him with defeat at the next election.
- . Don't write a form letter or a postcard.
- . Don't be a chronic letter writer.

How do you sign your letter? A letter written in reply to a League Call to Action which is sent from your whole League should be written on League stationery and signed in the name of your League. Letters written by individual League members in answer to this same call need not be signed with the League identification. If you write a letter to your legislator about subjects on which the League has no position, you should not identify yourself as a League member.

**DFL** DEMOCRATIC FARMER LABOR STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
1637 Hennepin Avenue - Minneapolis 3, Minnesota - Phone 335-9421

Chairman  
GEORGE FARR

Chairwoman  
MRS. BETTY KANE  
701 Parkview Terrace  
Minneapolis 16, Minnesota

National Committeeman  
CONGRESSMAN JOHN BLATNIK  
Washington 25, D. C.

National Committeewoman  
MRS. GERRI JOSEPH  
5 Red Cedar Lane  
Minneapolis, Minnesota

First Vice Chairman  
DR. STEPHEN T. QUIGLEY  
1908 Selby Avenue  
St. Paul, Minnesota

First Vice Chairwoman  
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2200 Regent Avenue North  
Minneapolis 22, Minnesota

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Staff House No. 9  
Rosemount, Minnesota

Treasurer  
KINGSLEY HOLMAN  
10262 York Lane  
Minneapolis 31, Minnesota

Members at Large  
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Bagley, Minnesota

MRS. KAY NEE  
219 Logan Parkway  
Fridley, Minnesota

RUSSEL SCHWANDT  
Sarnborn, Minnesota

MARGARET THOMPSON  
College Apartments G-5  
Rochester, Minnesota

Finance Officer  
CLARENCE D. FISHER

Executive Secretary  
CLYNE W. OLSON

Public Relations Director  
FRANCIS HERRIGAN

January 29, 1964

JAN 31 1964

Mrs. William W. Whiting, President  
League of Women Voters of Minnesota  
Social Science Building  
University of Minnesota  
Minneapolis 14, Minnesota

Dear Mrs. Whiting:

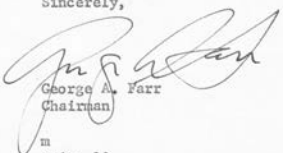
Thank you, very much, for your recent letter concerning the League of Women Voters plans for continuing the campaign for party designation.

As you know, I feel that a determined effort in this area can be successful in the next session of the legislature but it will require an intensive drive on the part of all those who are concerned with this particular election reform.

I am looking forward to working with Mrs. Murray and Mrs. Johnson.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

  
George A. Farr  
Chairman

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January 24, 1964

Mr. Robert Forsythe, State Chairman  
Republican Party  
585 Endicott Building  
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Mr. Forsythe:

Mrs. Johnson, Mrs. Murray and I appreciated the delicious luncheon with you. We also appreciated the opportunity to discuss with you and Mr. Johnson certain items of our program and other matters of common concern.

After today the principal fund raising activities should be behind you and you can proceed with the big task of Party promotion. As this activity develops we hope that we can work together in promoting legislative programs of mutual interest to the Republican Party and the League of Women Voters of Minnesota.

We are in the process now of planning our campaigns to promote party designation and the election law relating to new state residents voting for President and Vice President. Thank you for sending us the copies of the report of the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation -- you know we will put them to good use.

Most of our work will be carried on by our 61 local Leagues. We hope, however, to have the womanpower to reach into those 15 legislative districts where we do not have Leagues. If we are not able to do it personally, we will try to interest and cooperate with other organizations.

During the next 11 months we will be concentrating on informing the citizens on these issues and motivating them to assume real responsibility. We realize that at the same time we must be planning for the session. This means a realistic appraisal of the members of the legislature, their willingness to stand up and be counted on these issues, and a study of the best procedures to follow in 1965.

Mr. Robert Foraythe

January 24, 1964 - p. 2

We are looking forward to future meetings with you to discuss areas of mutual concern. We realize that it is only through the parties that we will be successful in our efforts to secure party designation.

I am sending you copies of our latest publication on the amendments. This was prepared especially for our members but we are finding that those citizens who are interested in the facts behind ballot issues value this pamphlet. Enclosed are several copies of the recent MINNESOTA VOTER with the articles on party participation we mentioned last week.

Sincerely,

Mrs. William W. Whiting  
President

AW:rw

Enc.



January 27, 1964

Mr. George A. Farr, Chairman  
Democratic Farmer Labor State Central Committee  
1637 Hennepin Avenue  
Minneapolis 3, Minnesota

Dear Mr. Farr:

Sometimes it may appear to you that we move too slowly but much of our prestige has been gained by the careful consideration we give to issues. We have been giving just that to your suggestions on party designation.

You must have realized that your ideas for legislative action on this item intrigued us. We all appreciated the opportunity of meeting you and Betty for lunch and discussing future plans for PD.

We have definitely decided to give priority again to party designation. We will also campaign for our position on the election law relating to new state residents voting for President and Vice President. The strategy for these two campaigns is now being planned. It will be conducted through our local Leagues in the 61 communities where we have Leagues and then we hope to work from the state level and through other organizations to reach the voters in other areas.

We realize that we need to work closely with the parties to achieve success on these items in the legislature therefore we will welcome the opportunity to meet with you from time to time to check our plans and progress.

Mrs. Larry Murray has replaced Ann Duff as our legislative chairman. Sue will be in touch with you and I know you and your staff will enjoy working with her as well as with Mrs. John and her committee who are working specifically on party designation and this election law.

Sincerely,

Mrs. William W. Whiting  
President

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TO: Annette  
CC: Sue, Ede, Irene  
FROM: Margaret  
SUBJECT July-August Voter

*file - Reapp.*  
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

STATE ORGANIZATION SERVICE  
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA  
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55455  
PHONE: 373-2959

DATE 8/11/64

Sally Luther called today to suggest that you send a copy of this Voter to each member of Gov's reapportionment committee with a covering letter. She prefers that you not mention that she suggested it as she is speaking as a League member not as an employee of Gov's office.

When reapportionment publication is ready she requests you also send it to members of this committee.

We have plenty of copies of the Voter. I will get the names and addresses of the committee from Sally if you decide to do this.

CERTIFICATE BOND

*file*

SEP 11 1964

September 4, 1964

Franklin Rogers, Editor  
Mankato Free Press  
Mankato, Minnesota

Dear Mr. Rogers:

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota appreciates the opportunity to send representatives to a public hearing of the Governor's Reapportionment Commission.

We have prepared a written statement for your members. My oral statement will be very brief as you requested. Mrs. Earl Colborn who is chairman of the committee preparing study material on reapportionment for our members will also be present at the hearing and will be glad to answer questions that your Commission may have about the work of the League in this area.

Mrs. Colborn and I expect to be in room 3 of the State Capitol at 10 a.m. next Friday, September 11 and would appreciate being included on your morning schedule.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. William W. Whiting  
President

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September 11, 1964

file  
STATEMENT OF MRS. WILLIAM W. WHITING, PRESIDENT  
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA  
BEFORE THE GOVERNOR'S REAPPORTIONMENT COMMISSION

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota, with 5800 members in 64 local leagues throughout the state, has been concerned with the problems of reapportionment for a number of years. This fall we will begin a study to reevaluate our position in the light of the recent Supreme Court decisions. We will not propose or support a specific statutory plan. We will examine the rules for apportionment laid down in the Minnesota State Constitution. We hope to determine what changes, if any, should be made to facilitate regular, equitable reapportionment. Since we are still in the study process and have reached no conclusions we cannot offer you an official League stand on reapportionment. However we would like to suggest some of the possibilities for constitutional amendments for your consideration.

The Supreme Court has indicated that the states should have some latitude in selecting apportionment formula within the framework of "one man, one vote". It is therefore desirable to consider the merits of such schemes as weighted voting and floterial districts. Another possibility is to specify whether representatives shall be elected from single member districts or whether two or more may be elected at large. Presently the Minnesota House has both kinds of districts. Or, it might be desirable to remove the present constitutional requirement that house districts may not be divided in the formation of senatorial districts. This would give the legislature flexibility and permit them to establish different plans for the two houses.

Even if it is decided that it is unadvisable to make a major change in our formula for representation, there are a number of different possibilities for specifying exactly how, when, and by whom redistricting shall be done.

First, should the constitution contain very specific instructions on how Minnesota is to be reapportioned, or should the details be left to the discretion of the legislature? In the past precise constitutional formulas have been thought of as a protection to the people against the possible malfeasance of their legislatures. However since the Sims decision courts have tended to follow state constitutional provisions, assuming they did not violate the basic premise of "population-only", so legislatures themselves may wish to establish more definite standards. Some possibilities here might include a definition of what is meant by "equal" such as a provision specifying the maximum deviation any district might have from the average or a provision establishing the minimum percentage of the people who could elect a majority of the legislature. Additional instructions could be given on the way district lines are to be drawn; here the major problem is whether or not district lines should follow county lines. Particularly in the House it is difficult to establish districts based on whole counties without having a number of districts substantially in variance with the average.

How often should reapportionment take place? The Supreme Court has indicated that every ten years in accordance with the availability of new federal census figures would meet minimal standards. A loss of identification with his district may be experienced by a voter whose district changes at intervals of less than ten years. Yet with a highly mobile population in ten years considerable changes will have taken place. A decision in favor of a

shorter period would require using different figures for population than those of the federal census. Most probable are either the number voting in the last election or the number of registered voters.

Who should apportion? Traditionally apportionment has been considered a function of the legislature, but in recent years there has been a trend toward giving the responsibility to some other agency such as a group of state officials or a commission appointed by the governor. If the legislature is to retain initial power should there be a constitutional provision establishing enforcement machinery if the legislature fails to act? True, the citizen now has recourse to the courts, but a court suit is not automatic and the process can lead to delay and uncertainty. Possibilities here include a special session of the legislature, a special commission or turning the problem over to the State Supreme Court. It would also be possible to establish a procedure for automatic court review of all reapportionment statutes.

All these proposals relate to the mechanics and formula of apportionment. It might also be advisable to consider some other aspects of the legislative process such as the size of the legislature and the length and frequency of legislative sessions or even the possibility of a unicameral house.

We hope that your deliberations will lead to recommendations that you as a voluntary group of laymen will want to promote.

This letter sent to all members of Governor's Commission on Reapportionment.

August 21, 1964

Mr. Charles H. Backstrom  
Associate Professor, Political Science  
70 Arthur Avenue S. E.  
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55414

Dear Mr. Backstrom:

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota congratulates you on your appointment to the Governor's Commission on Reapportionment. The citizens of Minnesota are fortunate to have men and women of your caliber who are willing to take the time to serve our state in this capacity.

I am enclosing a recent issue of THE MINNESOTA VOTER published by the League because the lead article is on reapportionment. The League has studied and worked in this area for many years. At the present time, as this article points out, our state program relates only to possibilities for constitutional amendments.

We are in the process of preparing basic resource material on reapportionment for our members. When it is published next month, I will send you a copy. Our members will study, discuss and make decisions for the League on reapportionment and the constitution.

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota, as an organization, will not be able to take any position on statutory reapportionment at this time. It will be disappointing, however, if after 44 years of training for active participation of citizens in government there were not a goodly number of League members who wanted to use that training and this information for individual action. Perhaps they will follow the leadership of our three members who are serving as individuals on your Commission.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. William W. Whiting  
President

Enclosure

JAN 27 1964

*Office  
copies also sent to Elmer  
Sue, Amette & Dean*

Mrs. Sally Luther, Executive Assistant  
The Governor's Office, 130 State Capitol  
St. Paul 1, Minnesota

January 23, 1964

Dear Sally,

In true League of Women Voters fashion, I have been doing some research. Here are the thoughts you wished on a reading list to start off the proposed Executive Reorganization Committee:

**TODAY -**

Commissioner Quigley's recommendations

1963-4 Blue Book:

- article, Minn. State Government (Backstrom) especially p. 412
- the entire Executive article, pp. 151-266 with the following sections
- Executive Dept. pp. 151-174
- Administrative dept., Boards, Commissions (39 of them) 175-239
- Policy, Advisory, Miscellaneous Boards & Commissions (31 of them) pp. 240-251
- Examining & Licensing Boards (21 of them) pp. 252-257
- Retirement Boards (5 of them) pp. 258-262
- Semi-State Societies (5 of them) pp. 265-266

Does the Governor's office have any chart of all this?  
National Municipal League's new 1963 Model State Constitution - just the two sections on the Executive. This gives the current political science thoughts on the hows and whys of administration of state government - mentions Minnesota too!

**LITTLE HOOVER DAYS - 1950**

copy of chart on p. 16 of the Report  
pamphlet, Reorganizing the State Government of Minn., Minn. Institute of Governmental Research, bulletin 29, July 1950. Very valuable summary of Little Hoover recommendations plus what went wrong in the action phase - very pertinent today.

**FREEMAN'S REORGANIZATION - 1955**

his original proposal - do you have this in the Governor's office?  
1955 Blue Book pp. 227-8 article on what passed the legislature but subsequently was declared not valid

**STASSEN'S REORGANIZATION - 1959**

St. Paul Pioneer Press, Sunday Aug. 15, 1959 p. 6 - excellent full page with large chart by Joseph H. Ball  
Minneapolis Tribune series by Orlin Folwick Oct. 9-14, 1959

MISCELLANEOUS - just for you, not the committee

Orientation Program for New Members of 1965 Minn. Legislature. Mr. Berger of the State Department of Education did this - interesting "school" perhaps adaptable for the committee. Also the format of the packet is good - cheap, easy to handle and holds lots of stuff.

New Dimensions for Minnesota - Project 70 of Gov. Andersen and Commissioner Stevenson. It has some good charts and capsule views of state departments, agencies etc. Parts of it might be adaptable for the reorg. committee; might save some valuable time for the administrative department personnel now.

I'm suggesting that the basic reading for the proposed committee be kept to a minimum. The above mentioned are quite ample. This by the way should be checked by some learned professor; I'm just a little old amature as you know. Then I think the committee should concentrate on learning through the eyes and ears - a go-see program on the order of the Orientation Program for new members of 1965 legislature. Tape the reports by constitutional officers, administrative department heads etc. (too much for the committee to absorb in one sitting) for more careful analysis later by the sub-committees. Lots of visuals too. Or instead of that, another kind of school could be held in late spring - 1 1/2 days at U. of M. Continuation Center - Seminar on the Executive Department. This is a very relaxed, delightful way to learn (spouses could come for drinks and dinner Friday night - speech by Governor etc.). Under this system, the department heads etc. would come to the committee - a whole of a lot of learning would take place very quickly. Lots of publicity possibilities here too - adult education a la Blue Ribbon! The newspapers, TV - and Stan Verberg too - would love it. The Continuation Center does this regularly (have to sign up long way in advance) for any group - Taxpayers Assn., Rusty Ladies or what have you - cheaply (committee members pay own way) and very nicely with excellent facilities, parking etc.

I'm suggesting we go back to the Stassen era for two reasons: 1) One common thread comes through with great clarity from 1939 and 1955 - the best public relations approach on this issue of executive reorganization is to stress prominently the financial savings. Both Governors Freeman and Stassen did this very effectively and it worked. 2) It's important to stress the bi-partisan nature of this issue - Gov. Stassen, Gov. Freeman, Gov. Rolvaag, Gov. Christianson (but heaven forbid going back to the '20s!) Then as the committee proceeds, I think it's important to stress the non-partisan aspects of this issue - simply good government irrespective of any personalities or political parties involved and also irrespective of the time element. Different aspects of the committee's recommendations - after passage by the 1965 legislature! - would be going into effect at different times, some over a long span of time. It's easier to think out ahead in time where the air is clearer!

Stassen's coming to town (U. of M.) next month - any publicity possibilities? By the way, Marj. Howard is probably our best contact with this 1939 era. Also serving in the Legislature then were House members: Butler (same one now in Senate ???), Cummings, Dorweiler, Dunn, Hartle, Zwach, Childgren, Iverson and also perhaps (but I don't remember them from my newspaper reading yesterday in the Library) Kinser, Prifrel, Nordin, Halsted and Wanvik all of whom are listed in the Blue Book as having been there in '39. Senate members: (I have no information from the newspaper clippings of the time but according to the Blue Book) Zwach and Vukobich (in House), Imm, Wright, Carr and Norm Larson. Mr. Leahy ('35) and Mr. Torrey ('51) were both there at the time and I mention these as possible newspaper feature stories if things should get hot and partisan a year from now.

Stress the action aspects for this committee rather than the study. We build on the fine work of the past but after all, "the past is prologue." Busy people want to move fast - not feel this is dragging out and then gathering dust on a shelf somewhere.



Hence my pitch for a few carefully selected, but thorough, research pieces, plus a concentrated "course" by ear and eye. This all comprises 2 meetings of the committee and takes us into the summer for sub-committees to hammer out specifics. Three meetings in the fall for the full committee to hash out sub-committee thoughts and throw together a report. Publication date Christmas 1964 for best news coverage. January, the legislators take over with Joseph Bright. February, committee chairman testify before both Senate and House Civil Administration Committees - lots of publicity, visuals etc. throughout the state's press plus articles in the publications of all the statewide organizations etc. etc.

June 1965, the committee may wish to reactivate itself for the long haul to finish up the job with constitutional amendments and the 1967 session. As you know, I have great sympathy for your long viewpoint concept of this committee. You have lived through this problem during the last decade and thoroughly know whereof you speak. However, there are many pluses on the side of a short range viewpoint too. Have fun with this difficult decision! And the best of luck to the Governor in his pursuit of the right personnel for this committee.

Again cordially,

Mrs. Nicholas E. Duff



STATE OF MINNESOTA

EXECUTIVE OFFICE

SAINT PAUL 1

December 6, 1963

KARL F. ROLVAAG  
GOVERNOR

Mrs. L. G. Murray  
Box 82  
Minnetonka Beach, Minnesota

Dear Mrs. Murray:

It was a pleasure for me to have you and Mrs. Whiting come into the office and review the program of the State League of Women Voters. I regard your group as one of the most valuable citizen action agencies we have in Minnesota, and extend my warmest wishes for your continued successful work.

Your suggestion for appointing a Governor's committee to consider ways of improving the state constitution is most constructive. I hope we can name such a committee and get it rolling as soon as possible.

With warm regards.

Yours very truly,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Karl F. Rolvaag".

GOVERNOR

*office file.*  
*dept*  
*March*

January 20, 1964

The Honorable Karl Rolvaag, Governor  
State of Minnesota  
The State Capitol  
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Governor Rolvaag:

Mrs. Murray, our state legislative chairman, and I appreciated the opportunity to review briefly with you the present Program of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota and to discuss particularly our members' interest in the appointment of a new Governor's Committee of legislators and citizens to continue the study of the state constitution and make suggestions for needed amendments.

Our main concern in working for continued revision of the constitution is to increase the efficiency of government so it was with real interest that we listened to your ideas on the need for a similar Governor's Committee to study the structure and administration of state agencies with the intent to reorganize for efficiency. Those of us who try to keep informed on current problems of state government appreciate the challenge to keep state government organization au courant with the changing needs of the state.

For many years the League of Women Voters worked to promote the recommendations of the "Little Hoover Commission." The work of this commission was not well received in the legislature because members of that body were not included in the deliberations. By your appointment of such a Governor's Committee including key legislators as well as laymen you would be making a positive move toward legislative approval of the suggestions for reorganization.

We respectfully submit the following suggestions for your consideration for appointment to both committees because of our sincere believe in the contribution to efficient government that can be made by both a Governor's Committee on constitutional revision and a Governor's Committee on reorganization. Our suggestions from the legislature are made because of their committee assignments in the last session.

Please let us know if we can be of any further service to you in the activation of these committees.

Sincerely,

Mrs. William W. Whiting, President

Enc.

January 20, 1964

Suggested Membership of a  
Governor's Committee for Reorganization

In the Senate

Gordon Rosenmeier  
Paul A. Thust  
Jerome Blatz  
Jack Davies

In the House

R. N. Nelson  
George French  
Martin McGowan  
Harold J. Anderson

Citizens

\*John Cowles Jr.  
Phillip Neville  
Robert Hess  
John Wendhorst, attorney  
Julian Baird, First National Bank, St. Paul  
Eugene Bangs, attorney, Chisholm  
Professor Charles Backstrom, University of Minnesota  
William Stevenson  
Mrs. Louis Ode, League of Women Voters, Red Wing  
Mrs. M. E. Duff, League of Women Voters, Deephaven  
Mrs. Kenneth Sigford, League of Minnesota Municipalities

January 20, 1964

Suggested Membership of a  
Governor's Committee for Constitutional Revision

In the Senate

Leo Mosier  
Wayne Popham  
Richard Parish  
Harold G. Krieger

In the House

Robert Mahowald  
Douglas Head  
E. J. Chilgren  
Martin Sabo

Citizens

\*Dr. G. Theodore Mitau, Macalester  
Albert Marshall, Red Wing  
Robert Carlson, Granite Falls  
Mrs. Esther Tomljanovich  
Mrs. Malcolm Hargraves, League of Women Voters, Rochester  
Mrs. Earl Colborn, League of Women Voters, Minneapolis  
Mrs. E. H. Newstrom, League of Women Voters, Bloomington  
Mrs. O. H. Anderson, League of Women Voters, Mahtomedi  
John Oberg, editor, Alexandria  
Charles Howard, attorney, Minneapolis

\*We respectfully suggest that these men, because of their interest and ability,  
might serve as chairmen.

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TO: Annette

FROM: Peggy

SUBJECT Governor's Committee

## LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

STATE ORGANIZATION SERVICE  
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA  
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55455  
PHONE: 373-2959

DATE

10/28/65

Don Wardle from the Governor's office called today. An Air Quality Control Committee is being formed dealing with, of course, air pollution. There will be four or five meetings spaced one to two months apart. They will be mostly in the metropolitan area - perhaps all of them. The first meeting will be the end of November or early December. Public Health officials will meet with the committee as well as other experts in the field - the idea being to come up with a program to present to the next legislature. They would like you to suggest some League members that might serve on the committee. They should be sent to Don Wardle in the Governor's office. If you want more information, you should contact Mr. Wardle.

*Mrs. Herbert Bond - St. Croix Val.*

*\* Ellen Carlson - Burlington*

*appointed*

December 2, 1964

Mrs. Steven Orey  
41 Arthur Avenue SE  
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Dear Mrs. Orey,

I would like to have you, along with the other League lobbyists, drop in on our state Board meeting on December 9. I know all the Board members are anxious to meet you, and this would provide an excellent opportunity to get acquainted.

Our meeting this month, because it is also Budget Building Day, is being held at the Inn Towne Motel in Minneapolis in the Futura Suite. We would like you to come into the Board meeting at 11:30 and then have lunch with us. We resume our meeting at 1:00 with members of the budget committee and observers, and perhaps you could stay long enough to be introduced to them.

We appreciate so much the job you will be doing for the League. It is an invaluable service.

Please let the office know if you can be with us the 9th. We all look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Mrs. William Whiting  
President

*To all lobbyists*

*Office Liberty Amend.*

October 13, 1964

Mrs. Steve Orey  
41 Arthur S. E.  
Minneapolis, Minn.

Dear Mrs. Orey:

Welcome to that select group of dedicated members known as lobbyists. We are very pleased that you are able to assume responsibility for following the Liberty Amendment for us during the 1965 Legislative Session.

On Thursday, October 29, we are having a meeting for all our League lobbyists. It is scheduled for 9:30 a.m. in the SCAD office - Room 59, State Office Building. At this time you will have an opportunity to meet the other League lobbyists and work out some of the mechanics of how we will function during the session. After the meeting, you will tour the Capitol.

This is a challenging and exciting assignment and I know you will enjoy it. We are all looking forward to working with you. Mrs. Grady Mann is Board chairman for your item and will soon be in touch with you for more specifics.

I am looking forward to meeting you.

Sincerely,

Mrs. W. W. Whiting, President

P.S. TO LOIS - be at meeting 29th? How about water lobbyist?



M  
E  
M  
O

TO: Ladies in the Lobby

FROM: Sue Murray

SUBJECT Meeting

**LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA**

STATE ORGANIZATION SERVICE  
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA  
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55455  
PHONE: 373-9959

DATE 10/5/64

We are going to have an orientation meeting for all lobbyists on Thursday, October 29 at 9:30 in the SCAD office - Room 59, State Office Building. It will be valuable to meet each other and to work out well ahead of time the mechanics of how we will function during the session. After the meeting, we will tour the Capitol. This promises to be a very exciting legislative session. You are going to enjoy being an integral part of it.

Office

January 9, 1964

Mrs. Thomas K. Young  
6 Lily Pond Road  
White Bear Lake 10, Minnesota

Dear Pat:

C  
O  
P  
Y

Have things settled back to normal at your house after the holidays? Sabra is back in the sunny south (she loves it at Rollins) and Tige is back on schedule at school so I am trying to pick up the loose ends. You know what this town is like so it takes a while for us to recover!

The League doesn't wait for me--we are already making plans for the next sixteen months relating to program promotion. We made preliminary plans earlier this week and are recommending to the Board that we give priority to party designation and to the election law relating to new residents voting for President and Vice President.

In order to concentrate on each of these we felt that we would need one person to head up a committee for each of them. Then we will need someone to lobby for us in corrupt practices and extending voter registration or any other items that might fall under our present positions in election laws.

You did such an excellent job during the last session and are continuing to follow the interim activity in this area so we wondered if you would assume responsibility for election laws except for the priority item through the 1965 session. The reason I am asking you now, Pat, is that we feel that we should strive for as much continuity as possible from now through the session and our recruiting will be done with this in mind. You were considering last fall going back to school or to work. If your plans are still very indefinite, would you suggest that we recruit someone to work closely with you now with the idea that she is available to take over if need be?

I will be in the office the 14th (afternoon) and will call you then to talk with you further about this and see what we can work out.

Sincerely,

MRS. William W. Whiting  
President

December 10, 1964

The Honorable Helen McMillan  
908 - 10th Street NW  
Austin, Minnesota

Dear Helen,

Congratulations on your re-election to the Legislature! You must realize how proud we are - in case you didn't know, we like to feel that you indirectly represent each one of our League members, and you are setting an example for each of us.

We are looking forward to working with you in this session. Our legislative program has many facets this year, and as a result we will have more lobbyists than usual. I hope they will all get to know you and to receive guidance from you (when you aren't completely swamped by your duties).

Of course, we want you to give strong support to League Program whenever you can. If there is anything we can do for you, please let us know. We are hoping you will feel free to make suggestions to us.

All of the members join me in wishing you success and satisfaction in the challenging days ahead. Merry Christmas and best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Mrs. William Whiting  
President

*similar to -  
Burchett  
Lansby*

LEGISLATIVE DISTRICTS OF LOCAL LEAGUES IN MINNESOTA

<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>LEAGUE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>LEAGUE</u>
2	*Winona	33	Edina
4	Rochester		St. Louis Park
5	Austin	34-42	Minneapolis
6	Red Wing	41	St. Anthony
7	Faribault	43S-49	St. Paul (except 48N)
8	New Richland	43N	Arden Hills
	Owatonna		Falcon Heights
9	Albert Lea		Roseville
10	Wells		St. Anthony
11	Mankato		Shoreview
13	South St. Paul	48N	Maplewood
	West St. Paul		North St. Paul
14	Hutchinson		White Bear Lake
15	St. Peter	50	Mahtomedi Area
17	New Ulm		St. Croix Valley
18	Jackson	51	Anoka
19	Worthington		Columbia Heights
22	Granite Falls		Fridley
23	Willmar	53	Brainerd
25	Alexandria	55	Battle Lake
27	St. Cloud		Fergus Falls
29	Buffalo	56	Moorhead
30	Brooklyn Center	58	Cass Lake
	*Brooklyn Park	59-61	Duluth
	Crystal	61	Silver Bay
	Golden Valley	62	Virginia
	Robbinsdale	63	Chisholm
31	Deephaven		Hibbing
	Excelsior	64	Bemidji
	Minnetonka Village		*International Falls
	Wayzata	66	*Crookston
	Westonka		
32	Bloomington		
	Richfield		

14 Legislative Districts with no Leagues - 1, 3, 12, 16, 20, 21, 24, 26, 28, 52, 54, 57, 65, 67.

\*Provisional

# CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS OF LOCAL LEAGUES IN MINNESOTA

<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>LEAGUE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>LEAGUE</u>
I	Albert Lea Austin Faribault Owatonna Red Wing Rochester South St. Paul West St. Paul *Winona	IV	Arden Hills Falcon Heights Mahtomedi Area Maplewood North St. Paul Roseville St. Anthony St. Croix Valley St. Paul Shoreview White Bear Lake
II	Hutchinson Jackson Mankato New Richland New Ulm St. Peter Wells Worthington	V	Minneapolis
		VI	Brainerd Buffalo Granite Falls St. Cloud Willmar
III	Anoka Bloomington Brooklyn Center *Brooklyn Park Columbia Heights Crystal Deephaven Edina Excelsior Fridley Golden Valley Minnetonka Village Richfield Robbinsdale St. Anthony St. Louis Park Wayzata Westonka	VII	Alexandria Battle Lake Bemidji Cass Lake *Crockston Fergus Falls Moorhead
		VIII	Chisholm Duluth Hibbing *International Falls Silver Bay Virginia

\*Provisional

# LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

STATE ORGANIZATION SERVICE, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, MINNEAPOLIS 55, MINNESOTA

December 1964

Dear

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota congratulates you on your election to the Legislature of the State of Minnesota. The citizens of Minnesota are fortunate to have men of your ability who are willing to participate in politics, run for office and take the time from their normal activities to participate in our state government.

The members of the League of Women Voters look forward to working with you in the 1965 session of our Legislature. The League is a nonpartisan organization whose purpose is to promote political responsibility through informed and active participation of citizens in government. We do not support or oppose any political party or candidate. We do, however, take action on governmental measures and policies in the public interest.

Two of these policies have been involved in this election. One is our concern for those new residents in our state who were not able to vote for the President and Vice President. We will continue to work for legislation to provide the presidential vote for these people who qualify except for length of residence. Another major concern of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota is for party designation of all Legislators. Through your election experience you no doubt recognize the role the political parties are now playing in the government of our state and therefore may want to join with us in support of party designation for all Legislators.

There are other areas in which the League will be lobbying in the public interest. One of considerable interest to all citizens is constitutional revision. At the present time our members are studying reapportionment and state constitutional amendments relating to this subject. I am enclosing our publication on apportionment and also a copy of a special edition of our Minnesota VOTER which outlines other areas of interest in which we will be working.

We know you will find your term in the Legislature challenging and an opportunity to contribute to better government for the State of Minnesota.

Sincerely,

Mrs. William Whiting  
President



# MINNESOTA-DAKOTAS ASSEMBLY

## MINNESOTA BACKGROUND PAPER

*Prepared  
by:*

Charles H. Backstrom, Associate Professor  
Department of Political Science  
University of Minnesota  
Minneapolis, Minnesota

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STATE LEGISLATURES IN AMERICAN POLITICS

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JUNE 7 - 10, 1967  
MOORHEAD, MINNESOTA

THE MINNESOTA STATE LEGISLATURE

Charles H. Backstrom  
Associate Professor of Political Science  
University of Minnesota

A paper presented at the Minnesota-Dakotas regional session,  
The American Assembly on State Legislatures in American Politics,  
Moorhead, Minnesota, June 7-10, 1967.

STATE ORGANIZATION SERVICE  
2001 Riverside Avenue South  
University of Minnesota  
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404



## MINNESOTA

Charles H. Backstrom

### I. LEGISLATIVE ORGANIZATION AND PROCEDURE

This paper was prepared for the Minnesota Dakotas Assembly on State Legislatures in American Politics. Conferees will hear many authorities on the Minnesota Legislature, as well as scholars and activists from all over the nation. They will discuss, and perhaps draw conclusions about, many aspects of the legislative process in the states today. This paper was intended as background reading for the participants. It attempts to be provocative about some of the major issues surrounding the legislative process in Minnesota. It is designed to stimulate discussion rather than to present answers. In the light of the knowledge and experience of participants, as well as other resources that will be available to them during the conference, no attempt was made to make this paper a complete description and analysis of the Minnesota legislature. Bill passing procedures are not explained. Moreover, the substance of public policies is ignored except as illustrations of a point about the legislative process.

Because of the paucity of scholarly studies of the Minnesota legislature, much reliance has had to be placed on personal observations and judgments based on informal contacts with legislators and legislative observers. The judgments offered are, therefore, tentative, and response is solicited from readers.

The Minnesota legislature is a remarkable body. The complexity of its processes and the dynamics of its influence are fascinating. To the extent that this paper encourages discussion about the legislature's roles and performance and stimulates increased participation in the legislative process, it will have achieved its goal.

#### Distinctive Traits of Organization

Minnesota's principal claim to fame in government circles is its non-partisan legislature. In any list of states, Minnesota rates a blank on division of seats between the parties. In actual fact, the organization of Minnesota's legislature is as rigidly dominated by caucus as any partisan state. The Minnesota legislature is under 100 percent majority caucus control.<sup>1</sup> All committee chairmen and the bulk of the committee members are members of the majority. The Rules Committee of each house consists of only majority members and all patronage appointments go to majority members.

<sup>1</sup>Two separate but related questions arise at this point: To what extent do the caucuses control the bodies, and to what extent are the caucuses related to political party organizations. At the risk of possible confusion, the points will be discussed in this order. The majority caucus will be referred to as "Conservative" and the minority as "DFL" (Democratic-Farmer Labor), with discussion on this terminology later.

The practice of the U.S. Congress in allocating the minority a proportionate share of all committee seats and allowing them to name their own members to these seats has been slow to come to Minnesota. Only recently have both houses moved toward this practice; however, seats are now proportional on most committees. The House of Representatives rules provide that the minority can suggest to the Speaker committee appointments for their members (the minority leadership declines), and the Senate majority in 1967 actually gave at least one assignment to each minority senator as suggested by the minority leadership. Further, a staff person has now been allowed for the minority group.

Caucus meetings are held by DFL-ers in both houses, and by Conservatives in the House, where legislation is explained, and sometimes, on measures such as reapportionment, party positions are laid down. In the Senate, the majority has preferred more informal communication.

The committee structure is the source of discipline in the Senate. The sole requirement of membership in the majority group (which is supposed to be by invitation) is that the senator will support committee recommendations. The leadership group maintains its substantive influence on the legislation through dominance of the committees. In the Senate this is done by overlapping memberships. Each senior member serves (in 1967) on up to eight subject matter committees. The senior members each chair one committee, and sit together as the Rules Committee as an extra assignment. The most senior of these members in turn, one per congressional district, constitute the Committee on Committees, which makes initial assignments to committees and subsequently to conference committees. Typically in the Senate, the number of committees has been tailored to the number of members in a given "class" (year of election), all of whom will get a chairmanship. In 1965, for example, the Senate had twenty-one members elected before 1958, and each was named to head a committee. Then in 1967, with eleven of these no longer in the Senate but seven more in the next class (elected in 1958), seventeen committees were named again, one for each. Each of the chairmen also serves on many other committees, so that the "inner circle," Rules committee group constitutes the senior membership of every committee. Clearly there is an interlocking directorate among the committees. No wonder there has been no need for the Senate majority to caucus--they meet each other over almost every bill in virtually every committee several times a week.

In the past, the relationship between the senior members seems to have been that of feudal barons, each with his preserve, mutually supported, as has been said, by cross-memberships on the committees. (Only Finance and Taxes have no overlapping members; each senior member gets only one of those two because of the workload.) At present, however, due to retirements and deaths, and the consequent accession to many chairmanships of Senators who served apprenticeships under other chairmen, informal power seems to have been centralized into fewer hands. The ravages of time will perhaps soon change this situation--whether back to the former, more widespread leadership, or perhaps to collective party domination of the process and substance of legislation remains to be seen.

The present and recent past caucus balance of the legislature is shown in the accompanying table.

CAUCUS STRENGTH, MINNESOTA LEGISLATURE\*

	<u>Senate</u>		<u>House of Representatives</u>		
	<u>Conservative</u>	<u>DFL</u>	<u>Conservative</u>	<u>DFL</u>	<u>Ind.</u>
1953	52	15	85	46	
1955	48	19	65	66	
1957	48	19	61	70	
1959	43	24	59	72	
1961	43	24	58	73	
1963	43	24	80	54	1
1965	44	23	78	56	1
1967	45	22	93	42	

\* Source -- Vote for Senate President Pro tempore, Senate Journal; vote for Speaker, House Journal, adjusted for absentees.

The table shows that the DFL controlled the House of Representatives between 1955 and 1961 inclusive, but never controlled the Senate. In fact "Liberal" caucuses have never in history controlled the Minnesota Senate.

Important Characteristics of the Legislative Process

Committee dominance of legislation is the single most important characteristic of the Minnesota legislative process. The bills moved out by the committees almost always pass. Those they don't report out never pass. Floor amendments are very seldom adopted. Much debate, especially in the Senate, seems pro forma.

The flow of bills to the floor from committees is not restricted, at least in the House, until very late in the session. Then bills tend to pile up on "General Orders" awaiting debate by Committee of the Whole, and to assure consideration, a bill must get a special order from the Rules Committee for debate at a time certain. Controlling entry into this sluice gate constitutes a real power over other members by the Speaker and majority leader, the latter being Chairman of the Rules Committee.

Debate until the last weeks of the session is almost always unlimited, except by the norms of the body--members become impatient of persistent talk, and will call for a vote.

The bulk of the members probably must vote on bills without thorough knowledge of the content of any bills except those coming from their own committees, and not always even then--62 percent of the legislators responding to a recent survey said that they did not have time to background



themselves adequately before voting in a committee.<sup>2</sup> Committee chairmen control the agenda, and often change the order of hearings at the last minute to accommodate another member. Bills are not printed by the legislature until and unless they are reported favorably by a committee. Members find it difficult to get copies of bills for advance consideration, although copies purchased from a private concern appear in committee folders at the time of hearing. Most committee chairmen consider as ideal the scheduling of a bill for a particular day, hearing witnesses on the bill, and taking final committee action the same day. And all this must take place in an hour, since committees are scheduled on a strict 60 minute basis in the same rooms, so it is impossible to continue even a few minutes past the deadline. Sometimes major bills, which cannot be disposed of at a single committee hearing, will be heard specially at an evening session. When the bill is reported, a printed copy must be available two days before consideration and the printed report of the committee may be printed in the Journal, but most members will not have had a chance to study the matter. They must therefore rely on information supplied by lobbyists, vouching by friends on the committee, floor debate, or personal knowledge. Major legislation will, however, likely be discussed in caucus.

The legislative business is generally carried on in a spirit of respect and good nature, the Senate formally, the House informally. Unlike Congress, names are used during debate. Towards the end of the 120-day session, the Minnesota Capitol experiences the fantastic crush, internal maneuvering, and fatigue-induced irritation common to every legislative body with or without statutory limits on length of session.

#### The Role of Interest Groups

Interest groups are thought by most Minnesota observers to be very powerful in the legislature. This stems from several conditions. The short session, the lack of legislative staff, and the increasingly complex issues faced by state government have made it difficult for ordinary members to cope with the decisions before them with only intuitive knowledge from prior experience. The part-time nature of the legislature, acknowledged by the \$4800 annual salary (this is double that paid in 1965) means that members must have other jobs, unless they are independently wealthy or retired. This makes for a built-in lobby; that is, members gravitate to committees handling measures they deal with in their normal vocation. Thus the counsel for the state insurance industry was the chairman of the House insurance committee, bar owners served on the liquor control committee, the School Boards Association counsel, a school bond attorney, sat on the education committee, labor union business agents are on labor committees, and so forth, to say nothing of the more common presence of lawyers who represent clients before state regulatory bodies during the interim and pass on the agencies' budgets during the session, or<sup>3</sup> school teachers or college professors who make decisions on school aids.

<sup>2</sup>Citizens League News, XVI, No. 9 (April 30, 1967), p. 2. (Tabulations of this survey were made by the present author.)

<sup>3</sup>For a complete inventory of "built-in" lobbies ten years ago, see series by John C. McDonald, Minneapolis Tribune, March 24-29, 1958. McDonald believed this phenomenon was less pronounced in later years. Minneapolis Tribune, Nov. 5, 1961.

The absence of party designation and the carefully preserved independence from party contact by the legislative leadership, while prized as keeping them out of the domain of "machine bosses," in fact can deliver a member more into the hands of pressure groups, because the member cannot claim party loyalty as a reason for not going along with what a lobbyist wants.

The most powerful groups in Minnesota are usually named as the Minnesota Employers Association, the Minnesota Railroads Association, the Minnesota Education Association, the League of Minnesota Municipalities, the Taxpayers Association, the University of Minnesota, and several state agencies. The state AFL-CIO has been until recently closely bound with the DFL and was influential when the DFL was in the majority. Groups are more effective than average for varying reasons--the status of their activity (business), their numbers (farmers), appeal of their program (mental retardation), effectiveness of their representatives (teachers), and political contributions (labor).

Lobbying activity is generally on a relatively high level, with scrupulous attention to facts, however partial. Legislators expect entertainment from some lobbyists, such as a continuous social room in a nearby hotel, but many of the larger pressure groups have only mass appreciation dinners. Observers have distinguished the large, broad-interest groups from the more short-term commercially oriented lobbying kind--one business trying to put another out of business, or trades and professions seeking restrictions on entry and licensing, or billboard lobbies working against highway "beautification." The broad-interest lobbies will be around again next session, and will be more circumspect than one-shot lobbies. But the day of the alleged "twenty dollar man" seems to have vanished, largely because of party endorsement activity gradually elevating the type of candidates seeking office. Lobbyists are now required to register name, employer, and type of legislation interested in with the clerk of the House and secretary of the Senate. More than 600 register each session. The leadership has successfully resisted attempts to require posting of expenses, on the grounds that this would mislead the public into thinking the highest spenders were receiving the greatest consideration.

Lobbyists are essential in Minnesota, given the utter lack of staff of most committees and all individual members, to perform information supplying, internal communications, and strategy functions.

#### Main Problems of Legislative Organization and Process

Heading the list of problems of legislative organization and process in the minds of most outside observers, but surely not on the part of the leaders of the legislature, is party designation.<sup>4</sup> The aim is to make the legislative power structure visible to the public in every constituency, to make majority control something more than an accident of seniority and statewide happenstance, and to reduce the influence of individual lobbies.

<sup>4</sup> It must be said that a majority of the general public has seldom supported party designation. See G. Theodore Mitau, Politics in Minnesota (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1960), p. 73.

The central leadership of both political parties and many civic groups believe party designation to be the first step toward achieving these goals. Surely party designation would not automatically guarantee responsible government, and just as surely, internal legislative party responsibility could be gained without formal designation on the ballot, if party endorsees held to their party togetherness after election. But the crucial variable of visibility and identification by the voters as to who was giving them what they were getting, and who might deliver them something else if they are dissatisfied would still be lacking. To preclude any change toward party designation, legislative leaders have insured domination of the relevant elections committees by non-party people, or by party members from constituencies won heavily in most races by the opposite party.

Beyond this identification gap between power and acknowledged responsibility, public visibility of the legislative process in general is low. Newspapers and electronic media carry only spot coverage, and it is impossible for even sophisticated political people to keep up with the progress of legislation. No transcripts or summaries of discussion or debates are taken in committees or on the floor. No hearings are published. No bills are printed until second reading (committee report), and then not again until the enrolled copy is prepared for the governor, so that amendments by either body never appear interlined into the bill, but only in the various Journal pages when submitted. Committee minutes, sketchy though they are--often consisting of only record votes upon reporting the bill--are now to be destroyed six months after the session, well before the next election campaign.

The lack of legislative staff has been referred to before. Three-fourths of all members believe all committees should be staffed, and 80 percent would like at least to share a legislative assistant with a fellow legislator.<sup>5</sup> Those few committees now authorized staff have generally not been able to hire people for the part time work available. Physical facilities are abominable. With no desks for individual members except in the chambers, apart from committee chairmen and a few others who share desks with several members, with no private offices for meeting constituents or discussing legislation, and with inadequate clerical assistance, being a legislator is a demeaning and frustrating life for the serious member.

This is true unless, and it is a big unless, he happens to be one of the top majority members. Then he has professional or clerical help on his committee. His standing committee probably is activated between sessions and provided with money to hire consultants to deliver high-powered research to him. This situation has the effect of further concentrating power in a few members, who add virtual monopoly of independently gathered information to the seniority prerogatives and experience that gives them two legs up already. This intense concentration of power in the hands of the majority, the committees, and the senior members is the most salient aspect of Minnesota legislative organization and procedure.

## II. THE STATE LEGISLATORS

### Background and Experience

Minnesota legislators represent a varied background. Contrary to popular belief, lawyers do not constitute a majority of the legislature;

<sup>5</sup>Citizens League survey.



in 1965 just over a quarter of the legislators were lawyers. Business, mostly small (25%), farming (23%), real estate and insurance (9%), professions (8%), and a few tradesmen, union business agents, and housewives made up the rest.<sup>6</sup>

Vigorous recruiting by party "search" committees has brought what are generally conceded to be a large number of well-educated, highly qualified, attractive, vigorous young members into the legislature. Despite the low pay and undesirable working conditions, political activists apparently are convinced that the legislature is a useful and important public service career. The rewards they cite are the feeling of importance of their role in policy making, the desire to support a governor of their party in a unified attempt to enact party programs, and the exhilaration of serving with other competent people. As one prominent member of the legislature put it, "You couldn't pay me enough to make me serve full time, but I wouldn't give up the opportunities I've had for a million dollars."

The legislature does constitute a training ground or stepping stone to other offices in the state. For example, only one of the State's present congressman had no experience in the legislature.

Yet the turnover in legislative seats has been high. As a result of the election of 1966, 34 percent of the members were newly elected, although only 23 percent were without prior experience in the legislature. Some of this turnover resulted from reapportionment, some from vigorous party campaigns that turned out veterans of both parties, and some from routine retirements. Many members cannot afford what amounts to more than full time work for a half year out of two, and up to half-time work in between, along with campaigning, so they quit. A solid core of members has long service, however: the average service of the Senate committee chairmen in 1967 is fifteen years. The average Senator, including freshmen, has served in the legislature more than eight years; the average House member has served just under seven years.

#### Effect of Laws and Traditions on Legislators and Their Election

Nonpartisanship in the Minnesota legislature means only that the ballot carries no party designation. The nonpartisan legislative races are in fact highly partisan. What has happened in Minnesota in recent years is to reenact in part the history of party growth in the United States of the early Federal period, as well as that of England. The legislative caucus leaders in Minnesota, seeking to enhance their power after the next election, have gone out into the state to recruit and help elect candidates who will caucus with them and thus insure control of the bodies. This phenomenon occurred well before the Minnesota state-national political parties got into the act of serving as a vehicle for candidate recruitment and support. Suffice it to say that in virtually every district, a candidate is supported by each party who is sure to caucus with their other members. Thus there are few surprises at legislative caucus time after the election. In 1958 a Minneapolis man, who had been elected to the Senate with DFL support, caucused with the opposition. He was promptly read out of the party, denied endorsement in the next election, and defeated. The numbers of DFL-ers with ideological or programmatic sympathy for conservative causes has been reduced through retirement and reapportionment until that caucus can, and does, call itself purely DFL. The other side is not so clearcut.

<sup>6</sup>Compiled from bibliographic data in Legislative Manual 1965-66 (St. Paul, Secretary of State, 1967), pp. 53-86.

Probably no DFL-ers caucus Conservative any more, and all Republican-supported candidates caucus Conservative, but not all Conservatives are acknowledged Republicans. A small group of senior members in both houses recognize no ties to the Republican party at all, and receive no Republican endorsement or open assistance in their campaigns. On the other hand, they are virtually never opposed by Republicans either. A larger group of Conservatives admit to being loyal Republicans, many seeking or accepting Republican endorsement, but once in the legislature, they state their independence of further party responsibility, and in truth grow ever more independent of Republican party appeals. A 1963 study showed that virtually all Conservatives were known Republican voters, but just over one-half in the House and about three-eighths in the Senate were active Republicans.<sup>7</sup>

Because of retirement and continued party recruitment efforts, the proportion of Republican party activists among Conservatives is now substantially higher. What is really significant in the legislature, however, is the portion of Conservatives who are party-oriented, that is, for whom Republican party positions play a significant role in their decisions.

One would estimate, in 1967, that two-thirds of the Conservative Senators and three-fourths of the Conservative House members can be classified as party-oriented in this sense; but since, by and large, they are the least senior portion of the bodies, they do not dominate the output of the legislature. In 1963, in a showdown vote for Speaker, the non-party group put its candidate in by a single vote. Since that time, the Speaker has accorded greater influence to the party group and has avoided further formal contests of power.

The common designation of the caucuses has been "Conservative" and "Liberal," but this is not an official designation. The DFL-ers in both houses, as has been indicated, call themselves the DFL caucus, and their opposition in the House calls itself the Conservative caucus. In the Senate, the non-DFL-ers do not even acknowledge that there is such a thing as a caucus. They meet as the "majority group" before the session to organize, and claim never to caucus thereafter. To illustrate the depth of this conviction, until 1967, the majority leadership would not permit the minority to hire any staff at state expense, since they maintained that existing staff hired by the leaders served the entire Senate. And they refused to allow a sign saying "DFL caucus" to be put up outside the minority's ward room.

Lack of party designation has some unexpected effects on elections. The highest two candidates survive the primary to appear on the general election ballot. Names of the two candidates for each office (four, in districts with two seats) are rotated on successive paper ballots, and in successive precincts where voting machines are used. The rationale for this practice is to give each candidate an equal chance at the desired first position. In practice, this works out as equality only in paper ballot areas. Since Minnesota uses the "office group" ballot, rather than

<sup>7</sup>Caroline M. Wolf, "Republican Party Activity in Minnesota Legislative Contests" (unpub. M.A. thesis, University of Minnesota, 1964), p. 87. See also Merle L. Kruschke, Minnesota Body Politic 1967 (Thief River Falls, Thief River Falls Times Publishing Co., 1967), pp. 17-23.



the "party column" ballot, a voter desiring to vote a straight party ticket has to go down the list of offices, picking out his party's labeled candidates under the title of the office. All party designated candidates of the party that received the highest number of votes for statewide office in the previous election always are listed first, while the non-party designated candidates on a separate paper ballot change positions. The mechanics of the old standard voting machines (the newer electronic models which are experimental in Minnesota are an exception) do not allow this format. Because of limited space on the voting machine with a long ballot, candidates for one office, say for governor, cannot all be put in a group in one column or line, but appear side by side, with the Democratic-Farmer Labor party's candidates always (in recent years) on the left hand column of vertical machines and on the top line of horizontal machines. When it comes to the non-party designated races, candidates for a single office also appear side by side, but since their names are rotated, a candidate for the state senate will appear in the "Democratic-Farmer Labor" column or line in one precinct, and in the "Republican" column or line in the next. The effect of this seems to have been to confuse many voters, who may think they are voting for their party's endorsed candidates for the legislature, while in effect they are voting for the opposition.

To illustrate this point, data are cited to compare the DFL percentage vote for governor with the percentage vote for the DFL-endorsed candidate for legislature in a Minneapolis District (34) in 1966. In the eleven precincts where the DFL-endorsed legislator was on the left (DFL side), he averaged 4.1 percentage points below the DFL vote for governor. In the eleven precincts where he was on the right (Republican side), he averaged 7.4 percentage points below the governor, a disadvantage of 3.3 points because of ballot position. This was true despite the fact that the non-party designated names have a yellow background to distinguish them from the white partisan races, and that the voting machines in Minneapolis were set up in 1966 for the first time to offset the nonpartisan races so as not to be directly under the party candidates as in elections of the past. It is hard to believe that personal or issue appeals across party lines, which of course do exist in legislative races, could be so neatly opposite in adjacent precincts of the same district. Therefore we must conclude the format of the voting machine sometimes may affect the results of elections.

A particular constitutional provision has had an inconvenient effect on the Minnesota legislators. The constitution forbids a member from holding any other office under the state during the term for which he was elected, or for one year after if the office is new or the pay is raised. It is not possible, therefore, for a legislator to resign to take another office, since he must usually sit out a year in between. Aspiring candidates for higher office have to think far ahead, and must leave the limelight as well as the public payroll long before they know if they can seriously hope to win another office. Constitutional amendments to allow resignations have not been accepted by the people.

Minnesota's constitution further restricts members from holding any other state or federal office concurrently. Thus legislators cannot simultaneously be an official of any local unit of government. Even though members may have been local officials at some time in their lives, and might therefore be especially sympathetic to local desires, they cannot wear two hats at once, as in Wisconsin. Minnesota legislators are probably free to take a more statewide view because of this.

### Suggestions for Reform

The most desired reform among Minnesota legislators according to a recent survey is moving to an annual session, 69 percent of the respondents favoring this.<sup>8</sup> Yet many of the most powerful members of the legislature oppose, on the ground that the change would result in a vastly different kind of legislator serving, namely, a professional politician. With the much higher pay required, at least \$15,000 to start, far more people who cannot earn this kind of money in private life would enter the races. Yet highly successful lawyers, businessmen, and professional people make more than this in private life, and could not give up their professions for full-time legislative service. If they quit, the legislature would be left with "hacks, multi-millionaires, and union business agents," as one member put it. Many members who do not favor annual sessions, however, think this change is inevitable.

Desire for a four-year instead of a two-year term for House members, and a six-year term for Senators shows up each session, but no amendments to effectuate it have been proposed to the people. The constitution now requires that half of the Senators be elected every two years, but this is not done. No one tries to enforce the provision, mostly because no Senator wants an initial short term, but partly because it would be awkward when a new reapportionment law was to go into effect to have holdover Senators partly from overlapping districts, or to have to make a new start on staggered terms every ten years.

### III. REPRESENTATION AND REAPPORTIONMENT

#### Reapportionment Problems

Minnesota's constitution is explicit in requiring population-only redistricting in both houses. There was no "little Federal Congress" plan of area representation in one house to prevent redistricting. But Minnesota was an exhibit of the classical problem of a fairly close apportionment in 1913 becoming obsolete with the uneven growth of parts of the state, to the extent that the largest Senate district was nine times as large as the smallest and the largest House district was almost fifteen times the size of the smallest. Were it not for hasty legislative action in 1959, the Minnesota case would be cited across the nation instead of Baker v. Carr as the leading case in reapportionment. Federal District Court in Minnesota accepted jurisdiction over legislative districts in 1959, but the judges allowed the legislature to correct some imbalances in the next session, and the suit was not pressed. Since the new districting was made on the basis of 1950 population data, and did not seek substantial equality even then, by 1964 a Federal Court decision ruled that the 4 to 1 population imbalance in the Senate and 7 to 1 in the House was unconstitutional. The legislature again redistricted in 1965, but the Governor vetoed the act on the principal ground that it still contained a 2 to 1 population imbalance in the House. A contest over the Governor's power to veto reapportionment acts was resolved in favor of the Governor, and a special session in 1966, after another veto for partisan considerations, finally wrote a new act. The remaining

<sup>8</sup>Citizens League survey.

disparities of up to 25 percent from the average<sup>9</sup> may still be unconstitutional in the light of the 1967 decisions of the United States Supreme Court, but most Minnesotans have had enough district juggling till 1971, so no serious suit is likely to be started.

A special problem in reapportionment, beyond the usual ones of procrastination, partisan gerrymandering, and tortured districts to preserve incumbents, exists in Minnesota. The constitution requires that no Senate district be divided to form a House district. Since the constitution sets no limits on numbers of members in each body, the problem could be resolved by having an equal number of Senators and Representatives, or running two or more House members at large in each Senate district. But trying to have two Representatives to every Senator (plus one to avoid a possible tie) in mostly single-member districts means that imbalances in population among Senate districts are aggravated in the House districts. For example, a Senate district that is on the small side requires one or both House districts to be also on the small side, thus overrepresenting those people in both bodies. Also, the legislature is frustrated in its attempt to preserve county and municipal lines because the plan for one House cannot be independent of the plan for the other.

#### Effects of Malapportionment

Before the recent two reapportionments, the rural areas of western Minnesota were heavily overrepresented while the suburban areas around Minneapolis and St. Paul were heavily underrepresented. A few outstate cities, such as Moorhead and Rochester, where substantial population growth had occurred, were also underrepresented. Rural views, on those few matters where such views are opposed to urban views, carried extra weight. Thus banning of the sale of yellow oleo and keeping the state on "God's time" (as opposed to Daylight Savings Time), probably persisted longer than they would, had reapportionment been periodic, as required in the constitution. School aid formulas were biased in favor of outstate areas. Yet it is ironic that reapportionment has given the wealthy, prosperous, growing, more self-sufficient parts of the state more say in forming state public policy, and has taken representation from those areas with the poorest resources, the lowest economic and educational levels--the least self-sufficient areas. If these underdeveloped areas of the state are to prosper by state political decisions, it will have to be by the indulgence or broad views of metropolitan area members, who will exceed 50 percent of the legislature after 1970. The full political effects of reapportionment have not been felt in the legislature, since the holders of the newly created suburban seats, by definition, have no seniority. When they outlast the outstaters who now run both bodies, the rural areas will have lost their last special advantage. It remains to be seen whether the urban areas, who prospered in spite of any imbalance against them in the legislature, will repay the outstaters in kind. Actually, most serious state issues are not urban against rural, but are matters of conservative against liberal ideology or relative emphasis among tax sources, so will not necessarily be affected by reapportionment. Since many conservative interest groups worked against reapportionment, they obviously

<sup>9</sup>The latter figure was calculated by the Legislative Research Committee. The post-1959 and post-1965 figures were calculated by the author. The pre-1959 figure is from John A. Bond, Legislative Reapportionment in Minnesota (unpub. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1956).



feared losing power. That the Republican-oriented group in the legislature gained handsomely after each reapportionment act may have reassured them somewhat.

#### IV LEGISLATIVE-GUBERNATORIAL RELATIONS

##### Character of Gubernatorial-Legislative Relationships

The leaders of the Minnesota legislature have exhibited a passionate, almost fierce independence of the Governor. This is especially true in the Senate, and has shown up in every administration in the modern age, regardless of party affiliation of the incumbent governor. Leading legislators have a superexalted view of the role of the legislature in the government that surpasses the accepted norms of institutional loyalty found in the national Congress. This strong Whiggish attitude leads them to resent the governor's attempt to outline, or at least to push vigorously to enact a program bearing his label. This situation has been exacerbated by a long period of split party control between the branches. Since 1930, the Governor and one or both houses of the legislature have been of differing political persuasions eleven times and alike only nine times. From 1954 to 1966, control was split in every year.

Actually, the contest is to a large extent institutional as well as partisan, because Republican governors have also had grave difficulties in agreeing on a program with conservative legislators. Some Republican governors have shared, at least at first, the view of legislative preeminence in policy-making, only to find their popularity dropping among the general public, who seems to insist upon strong executive leadership.

Minnesota governors have not practiced the day-to-day executive lobbying that is reported from some other states. Often they have seemed to deal at arm's length with the legislature, carrying on rather formal negotiations late in the bill production schedule.

The legislature has not looked with favor upon administrative government reorganization proposals that would put the Governor unequivocally in control of state departments. Under existing traditions, department heads work directly with the legislature for their aims. The Governor is regarded as an interloper if he tries to intrude into this relationship. Nor has the legislature wanted to authorize a large staff to assist the Governor nor to advance his control over information with a central computer system.

Despite the foregoing statements, Minnesota must be classed as having, institutionally speaking, a relatively strong governor. The Governor appoints a Commissioner of Administration who acts as a Director of the Budget in assembling a "Governor's Budget." Despite much scrutiny, the legislature is unlikely to cut the budget by over five percent. The Governor has an item veto on appropriations. The Governor is, however, only one of a six-member elected Executive Department, with whom he shares some authority. Boards and commissions and department heads with longer terms than the Governor further weaken his control.

The key to the Governor's influence is not to be found in constitutional or statutory authority, but in how effective he is as a party leader, as a public opinion formulator, and in direct negotiations with groups in and out of government. A few governors have been strong personal and party leaders

who therefore made significant impacts on state policy, though at great persuasive cost in garnering majority support in the legislature. Others have not represented majority currents in their parties, or have not been able to project a commanding image to the people. They have consequently been eclipsed by the legislature.

The secret of enlarging the effective powers of the governor probably lies in electing to that office people who possess such political skills. They may then be able to engineer statutory and constitutional changes that could formalize their new position of influence.

#### V. FUNCTIONS AND POWERS OF THE LEGISLATURE

The Minnesota legislature has all the powers of the British House of Commons at the time of the Revolution, except as they have been limited by the United States Constitution and the action of the people of Minnesota in their own constitution. The legislature has not been unduly hampered by constitutional restrictions in the exercise of its powers.

Here it should be stated that the sole channel to revision of the constitution is through the legislature. No constitutional initiative is available to the people of Minnesota to bypass the legislature. Proposals to call a constitutional convention have been urged upon the legislature, which refuses to open that Pandora's box. Thus any limitations of the legislature have been self-imposed, with the people agreeing. The Taconite Amendment of 1964, which limited the power of the legislature to raise taxes on low-grade iron ore, was a power that the legislature surrendered with alacrity, in the hopes of getting rapid exploitation of this resource. The legislature proposed limiting its powers to legislate specially for units of local government in 1959 without their consent, but left a loophole through which by general law the legislature might well push coordination of metropolitan government in 1967. Highway funds are apportioned in the constitution, out of the legislature's hands. General borrowing authority was virtually prohibited by the constitution until 1962, but the legislature had used a ruse--"certificates of indebtedness"--to get around the former stricture against bonds until squelched by the state Supreme Court.

There is a bill of rights, much like the United States Bill of Rights, with the addition of a prohibition against requiring licenses to peddle one's farm and garden products. In recent years Minnesota has not passed laws that threatened basic freedoms, although an anti-obscenity bill and Sunday closing in 1967 raised some worries. The constitution contains a very specific prohibition against using tax money for religious societies or seminaries, but the legislature is always on the verge of assisting bus transportation of parochial school children. Taxation is supposed to be for a public purpose, but the legislature will probably pass an authorization for municipalities to bond themselves for attracting industry. The legislature's discretion in spending is limited by dedicated funds, but these mostly exist by statute, so are also self-imposed.

The constitution specifies some limits on the legislature's own operations: a 120-day session limit (this was recently raised from 90 days without much fuss); no bills can be passed on the last day (they jam them through on the second to the last day or cover the clock); they must read all bills at length at least twice (but the "Journal entry" rule forbids the court

from looking behind the record to see whether the bill was actually read as indicated). In practice, any procedural rules can be set aside when considered necessary.

Clearly the legislature has adequate legal and constitutional powers to perform its tasks. Whether it can perform the tasks adequately, because of other weaknesses, is another argument.

#### Functions of the Legislature

Typically, legislators see their institution as a giant bill-passing factory. Most of them believe that by turning out bills they are performing their principal function--making state policy. The most common simile members use to describe their job is that they are the board of directors for a \$1 billion plus corporation. Besides erroneously equating government goals with private corporate goals, this analogy overlooks other non law-passing functions of the legislature, such as representing the diverse interests found in the state, humanizing the bureaucracy by serving as an intermediary between it and their constituents, conferring legitimacy on the acts of officials, educating their people on public problems, and giving people a sense of participating in important decisions that affect their lives.

Considering only the policy-making aspect of the legislature's authority, and bypassing the question of the degree to which the legislature exerts initiative on policy, the legislature appears to have plenary powers. These are the vast, vaguely defined powers of state government: the protection and improvement of society and individual through regulation of public safety, health, morals, social welfare, and education; the regulation and promotion of political life--parties, elections, and local government; the protection and improvement of economic welfare and process through consumer protection; regulation of banking, labor, and working conditions; the promotion of agriculture, marketing, and transportation; and the conservation and development of natural resources. The only limitations on these powers (or any others not expressly denied in the Federal or State Constitutions) is that of the Federal Government when it is acting constitutionally and occupies a whole area so thoroughly that state action would be disruptive.

The foregoing list states what is constitutional, not what is wise or politically feasible, all of which are pertinent to legislation. Minnesota is considered by its legislators, and probably by most observers as well, to be a relatively progressive state in the extent to which it has actively entered the fields within its power. Per capita taxes and expenditures for education and welfare are among the highest in the nation. This feeling of self-satisfaction demonstrates itself in protestation by legislative leaders that Minnesota needs no changes in the way its legislature works. Yet there is no absolute standard of excellence against which Minnesota's stature can be measured. The federal government is constantly promulgating new standards for water purity, air pollution, highway safety and beautification, urban planning and development, standards that Minnesota does not seem to be meeting. A prominent conservative legislator recently remarked facetiously that the state should probably just pass an overriding authorization stating: "Minnesota hereby enacts whatever standards on whatever subjects the United States government should choose to set on whatever subjects now or hereafter." Then it would be up to someone other than the legislature to decide what those standards, seemingly so enigmatic and changeable, might be at any



time, but this state would be in on every cent of every program. Despite this advice, legislators are not about to give up their power to decide the scope of participation in each federal program.

Despite their proud but defensive attitude, a sense of inefficacy is beginning to show up among formerly confident legislative leaders. Their feeling is coming to be that the world, or at least this part of it, is moving so rapidly into such complexities of social problems and resulting corrective governmental programs that the old "accounting mentality" of the legislature, where it ruled on whether an agency should hire one more clerk or two for the next year, or whether a gross too many of paper clips had been ordered, is simply inadequate, even irrelevant, for this day. A new concept of legislative activity is forming in their minds: trying to get instant access to all relevant social and governmental data on public problems, and developing a capacity for researching the probable effects and costs of varying alternative suggested programs to solve them. To do this, which is to say, to intelligently plan public policy, the legislature will have to provide itself with top quality, true professional staff or consultants who have the capacity to assemble and display data in a form usable to answer the questions that the legislature should be asking.

The state may not have any choice whether to do this kind of sophisticated decision making. The federal government may force the issue if it adopts "creative federalism." Creative federalism means that the federal government now recognizes it can neither assess the problems completely from Washington nor devise solutions that will effectively solve the problems, and certainly that federal officials cannot operate the programs so devised. The states are being challenged to take up the task of building a quality life in a quality environment. Or, local governments may be aided to develop a better capacity to understand and meet people's needs. This seems to be the aim of the Federal government's Demonstration Cities program. If this program is funded in a big way, municipalities could then ignore the state legislature except for a minimum of housekeeping matters. If the state is to remain a major level of government the legislature will have to make itself competent to guide the efforts.

What are the chances of Minnesota's legislature moving to equip itself for this new age? Some signs of progress are evident, notably in the recent authorization for professional staffing for major legislative committees, which have also been authorized to continue operating during the interim between sessions. Unfortunately, not all committees have been able to hire people to fill their authorizations. All jobs would have to be made full-time, with a far higher salary level to get the quality of trained staff the legislature needs. The use of private consultants has also been tried by a few committees. When top-notch firms have been retained, the legislature has been well served. Only the barest minimum of this kind of work has gone on up to now. The haphazard, impressionistic, off-the-cuff, dependent mode of operation of the Minnesota legislature up to now is unlikely to be able to operate effectively in the kind of problem-solving stance just described. Perhaps the state administrative agencies could develop this new dimension of capacity themselves, and supply good information, however self-serving, to the legislature. This is unlikely, unless the legislature drastically changes salary levels and the rather oppressive civil service policies. Perhaps the Federal government will inject even larger sums for state departmental planning staffs and will finance computerized information gathering and problem analysis.

The Governor, if he could master and control these techniques, would probably dominate the legislature from thence forward, because the legislature would be helpless before his avalanche of knowledge and data and proposals. But how can any Governor build up such a capacity without the assistance and authorization of the legislature? With private or political party slush funds available to the Governor, he could build himself a ghost staff outside of the state service, as some governors in other states have done. This would be a dangerous precedent, however, since an election turnover would not then turn over the real reins of power to the new popular commander.

## VI. CONCLUSIONS

Here it would be useful to try to appraise the legislature as a representative body in a twentieth century political system.

It seems more likely that the Minnesota legislature will see and seize the opportunities that lie before it to become a more effective and efficient body for significant public policy making, as described immediately above, than that it will become a successful modern democratic institution in all its representative functions. The Minnesota legislature is not moving to let the people in to a greater degree on what happens in government. Rather than to enlarge the opportunities for public understanding by moving to greater publicity, more widespread attention to legislative discussions and decisions by recording debates and committee hearings, the legislature has voted this year to destroy whatever inadequate committee records were previously kept. No action has been taken to print bills when introduced, to print an explanation of a bill after its title, to include a fiscal note on probably cost of a bill, nor to print new copies of bills in their current form as they progress through the legislature. The legislature has allowed the only central research facility it has, the Legislative Research Committee, to fossilize. Since other research is controlled by the senior committee members concerned, the ordinary junior member has no one to turn to for assistance in gathering and evaluating information, except, of course, lobbyists.

The legislature resists change in the direction of party responsibility that might facilitate more coordinated policy making between branches of government, and would present clearer alternatives to the voter to simplify difficult choices and to make the majority voters' will effectual. The legislature continues to resist full disclosure of lobbying activities and spending, contributing to public cynicism about the source and legitimacy of public decisions.

The legislature allows itself to be so divided in policy making among a welter of committee jurisdictions that the process becomes too complex for most people to follow. Then it proliferates committee assignments of a given individual so that he cannot possibly be adequate to judge the many matters that come before him in a day or a week or a session.

That these conditions exist is understandable. Members are grossly underpaid for the jobs they are expected to do, although a majority now think the pay is "about right." The urgency of the problems before them is so great that there seems to be no time for introspection about their own



housekeeping needs or for the necessary discussions and compromises required to make changes in the legislative process itself. The powerful members, successful by their own definition, are reluctant to share their power with other members or outside groups, as could happen were changes allowed.

Another reason legislators have been hesitant to act on these matters that affect their work so critically is fear of adverse public reaction. When the legislators spend money on themselves, someone always makes the charge that they are feathering their nests. Imaginative action for increasing public understanding in this field is required.

But most inaction comes about because members as they gain seniority are bound up in substantive policy questions--trying to enact bills they favor--and they therefore simply do not have time to study their own processes in the abstract.

Those who have said goodbye to legislative bodies all over the world should visit Minnesota. The legislature is very much alive and involved in the governing process of the State. It is likely to be so for a number of years. The question to be answered in the near future is whether the legislature will make constructive, timely, and appropriate responses to the state's program needs, and whether the legislative process can be opened up to public view and, ultimately, control. Will the legislature be the democratic, vital, equal first branch the founding fathers of the state had in mind? That decision is not entirely out of human hands to make. The legislators themselves, with the urging and support of interested and concerned citizens who make up effective public opinion on such issues, can redirect goals to some extent, and can vastly change the immediate circumstances under which they work. Hopefully, the Minnesota-Dakotas Assembly will provide an opportunity to forward this task.

## COUNTY COMMISSIONERS

Chmn. Nels Wangen  
R. R. 2  
Albert Lea, MN

Phone: 826 - 3347

District		Term expires
1	Wallace Fjone . Hartland	Jan. 1977
2	Milo Belshan . Glenville	Jan. 1975
3	Fred Brabec . Albert Lea	Jan. 1977
4	Otis Olson . Albert Lea	Jan. 1975
5	Nels Wangen . Albert Lea	Jan. 1977

Meetings: First and Third Tuesday of each month.

## CITY COUNCIL

Mayor Paul Larimore

Term expires  
Dec. 31, 1974

Ward	Councilman	
1	Harry C. Brown	1976
2	Glen Hammer	1974
3	Gordon Register	1976
4	Richard Michaelis	1974
5	Harlan Nelson	1976
6	Arliss Bachtel	1974

City Manager: John Elwell

## CITY COMMISSIONS AND BOARDS

- Board of Health
- Park and Recreation Advisory Board
- Advisory Planning Commission
- Airport Advisory Board
- Library Advisory Board
- Housing and Development Authority
- Human Rights Commission

## SCHOOL BOARD FOR INDEPENDENT DISTRICT 241

	Term expires
Chairman: Tom Speltz	1975
John Buley	1973
Tom Butler	1973
Harold Knudson	1975
John Pappas	1974
Phil Tennis	1974

Meetings: Second Tuesday of every month.

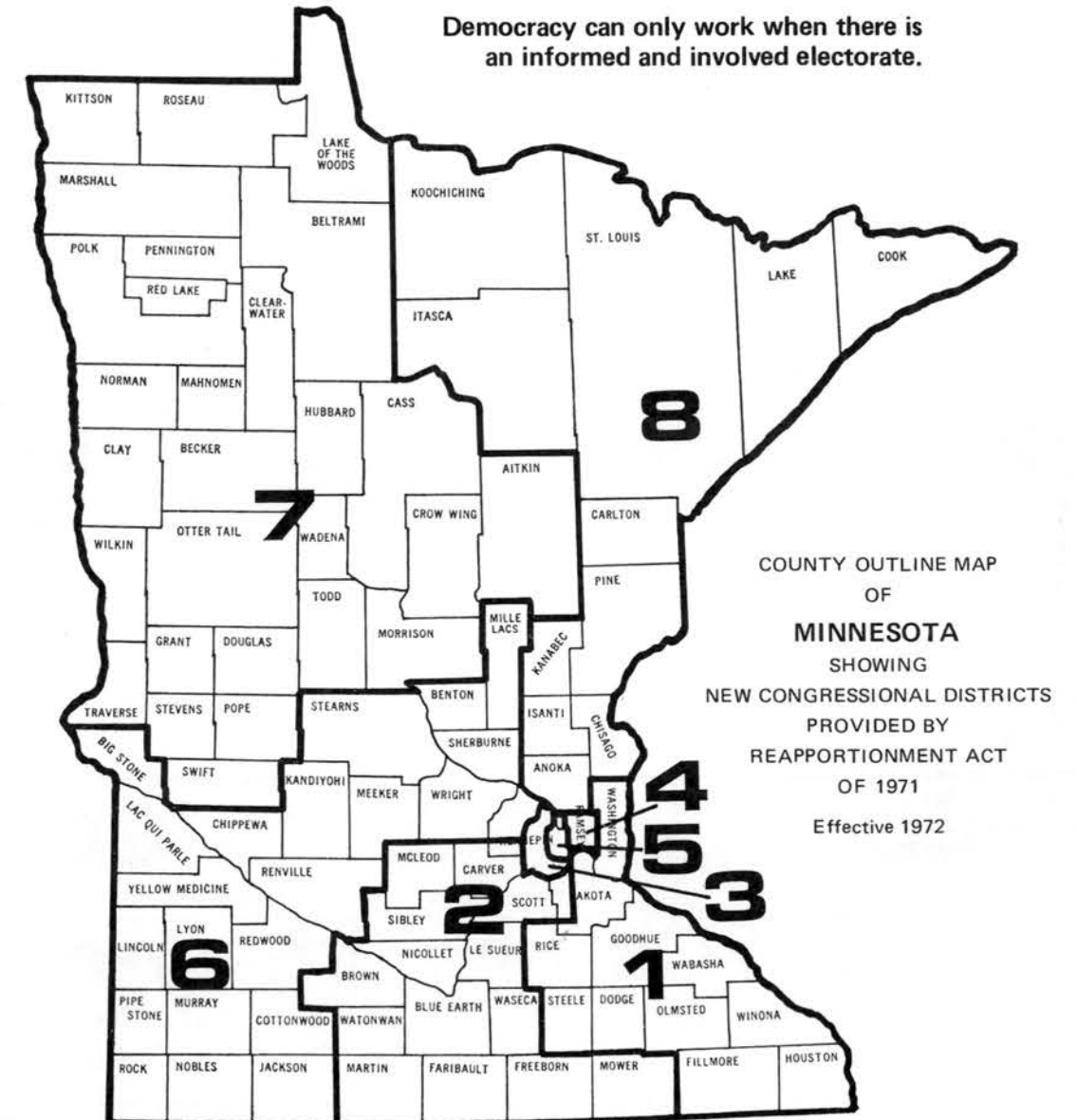
Annual Elections: Third Tuesday in May.

Any person desiring to be a candidate for an office shall file with the clerk of the district a written application to be placed on the ballot for such office, or any five voters of the district may file such written application for or on behalf of any qualified voter in the district that they desire shall be such candidate. The application shall be filed not more than 45 nor less than 21 days before the election.

# YOUR VIEWS COUNT!

## MAKE THEM KNOWN TO YOUR ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES

Democracy can only work when there is an informed and involved electorate.



## HOW TO REACH YOUR U. S. CONGRESSMEN

### REPRESENTATIVE FROM 2ND DISTRICT

Ancher Nelsen  
2329 Rayburn Bldg.  
Washington, D.C. 20515  
Phone: (202) 225 - 2472

### U. S. SENATOR

Walter Mondale  
443 Old Senate Office Bldg.  
Washington, D.C. 20510  
Phone: (202) 225 - 5641

### U. S. SENATOR

Hubert Humphrey  
232 Old Senate Office Bldg.  
Washington, D.C. 20510  
Phone: (202) 224 - 3121

Prepared by the League of Women Voters of Albert Lea for Voters in Freeborn County — 1973

**A LETTER TO AN ELECTED REPRESENTATIVE IS ONE WAY THE PUBLIC CAN HAVE A SAY IN THE GOVERNMENT PROCESS. Constituents' mail gets top priority.**

**In Writing Letters:**

Discuss only one issue in each letter; identify a bill by number and title if possible.

Feel free to ask questions dealing with the procedures of governmental departments.

Write early in the session before a bill has been introduced, if you have ideas you would like to see incorporated into legislation.

If you are "lobbying" for or against a bill and your representative is a member of the committee to which it has been referred, write when the committee begins hearings.

If your representative is not a member of the committee handling the bill write just before a bill comes to the floor for debate and vote.

Don't write to members of the house while the bill is being considered in the Senate, and vice versa. The bill may be quite changed before it leaves one chamber.

Write to the chairman or members of a committee holding hearings on legislation in which you are interested. However, remember you have more influence with representatives from your own district.

**CHECK ON BILL STATUS . . .**

To find the current status of bills before the Minnesota State Legislature, or get copies of bills in the House, contact House Index at 296 - 6646 or stop by Room No. 211. You may call Senate Index at 296 - 2887 or stop by Room No. 231 to find the current status of senate bills or get copies of same.

# **LOBBY BY LETTER** **. . . it CAN be effective!**

The League of Women Voters, founded in 1920, is committed to promoting political responsibility through informed and active participation of citizens in government. There are 1300 local Leagues in the 50 states, District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

There are 68 local Leagues in Minnesota with a total membership of 5,600. There are 50 members in the Albert Lea League. Membership is open to all women of voting age. Member dues help support the League as do contributions from businesses, unions and individuals.

## **LEGISLATIVE DISTRICTS**

The Minnesota Senate has 67 members and the Minnesota House has 135. Each Senatorial District elects 2 house members.



Redistricting Plan for Minnesota by the United States District Court for the District of Minnesota 4-71 Civ. 151.

JUNE 2, 1972

Senate Districts  
House Districts

## **HOW TO REACH YOUR STATE LEGISLATORS**

**DISTRICT 30**

Senator John Patton  
Senate Chambers  
St. Paul, MN 55101  
Phone: (612) 296 - 4103  
Home phone:  
(507) 526 - 2214  
Blue Earth, MN

**DISTRICT 31**

Senator C. R. (Baldy) Hansen  
Senate Chambers  
St. Paul, MN 55101  
Phone: (612) 296 - 4153  
Toll free:  
Zenith 8823  
Austin, MN

**DISTRICT 30A**

Representative Dale Erdahl  
House Chambers  
St. Paul, MN 55101  
Phone: (612) 296 - 3266  
Home phone:  
(507) 526 - 3774  
Blue Earth, MN

**DISTRICT 30B**

Representative Rodney Searle  
House Chambers  
St. Paul, MN 55101  
Phone: (612) 296 - 4339  
Home phone:  
(507) 835 - 4085  
Waseca, MN

**DISTRICT 31A**

Representative Henry Savelkoul  
House Chambers  
St. Paul, MN 55101  
Phone: (612) 296 - 4327  
Local phone:  
(507) 373 - 0671  
Albert Lea, MN

## **STATE LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS**

- C. R. Hansen . . . Rules and Administration, Taxes and Tax Laws, Transportation and Legislation, Labor and Commerce
- John Patton . . . Education, Local Government, Crime Prevention and Corrections
- Dale Erdahl . . . Agriculture, Appropriations, Environmental Preservation and Natural Resources
- Henry Savelkoul . . . Judiciary, Taxes, Environmental Preservation and Natural Resources
- Rodney Searle . . . Appropriations, Rules and Legislative Administration, Environmental Preservation and Natural Resources, Higher Education

BRADLEY G. PIEPER  
DISTRICT 53B  
DAKOTA COUNTY  
804 E. 134TH STREET  
P.O. BOX 1205  
BURNSVILLE, MINNESOTA 55337  
TELEPHONES:  
HOME: 890-7683  
STATE CAPITOL: 296-4359



*Willene "JyL"*

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LOCAL GOVERNMENT  
MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS SUBCOMMITTEE  
LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS  
COMMERCE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT  
FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND INSURANCE

## State of Minnesota

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARTIN OLAV SABO, Speaker

June 21, 1973

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

Dear Friends:

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the members of the League of Women Voters for the tremendous amount of information you supplied me with during this session of the Legislature. It was always good to hear from you. I especially enjoyed receiving your Capitol Letter. I look forward to hearing from you during the interim and during next year's session.

Sincerely,

*Brad Pieper*

Bradley G. Pieper  
State Representative

BGP:ce





May 30, 1973

The Honorable Bill Frenzel  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Bill:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your recent statement on congressional reform. It is indeed a subject of interest to me and to our membership in Minnesota and nationally.

Jerry Jenkins and I enjoyed our visit with you earlier this month, and we have shared your remarks on upcoming trade legislation and on congressional budgeting with Fran Kieffer and Ruth Sims of our national League legislative committee.

My congratulations to you upon your appointment to head a national Republican party task force on election reform. The timeliness of such a study and the review of campaign laws by the House Elections subcommittee on which you serve are of particular significance to League members as we complete a national study of campaign financing and spending as part of our concern for congressional reform. I am enclosing material Minnesota Leaguers developed when we evaluated Minnesota laws in this area and a copy of the subsequent program for action being developed.

As new materials are prepared we'll send them to you. We look forward to news of your task force findings as well as the subcommittee's activities.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Mary Ann McCoy  
State President

MM:jm  
enc.

cc: Mary Ann McCoy, Liz Ebbett,  
✓ Helene Borg, B. Steinkamp  
enc: Our Feb. 13, 1973 Position on  
Campaign Financing  
Campaign Financing VOTER -  
Sept.-Oct. - 1972

# LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

TO: The Members of the Minnesota Legislature

FROM: Helene Borg, Action Chairman  
League of Women Voters of Minnesota

November 9, 1973

On behalf of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota I would like to thank you for your co-operation with our local League members during the 1973 legislative interviews, and with our League lobbyists during the regular session and the interim.

Enclosed is a copy of PROGRAM FOR ACTION. This is the state Program of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota for 1973-1975. In seven of these subject areas studied by all the Leagues in the state, consensus has been reached, and we are prepared to act. Corrections is our new study; we shall follow the action in the Legislature as part of our study, but we shall not support any legislation until we have reached consensus.

The Metropolitan Area Leagues have additional Program listed near the back of this book. If you would like further information about any of our Program, please call or write our office.

We look forward to continuing to work together to promote good government in Minnesota.



April 25, 1974

The Honorable Robert J. Tennesen  
304 Title Insurance Building  
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401

Dear Senator Tennesen:

Your letter regarding the March 20 issue of the Capitol Letter was referred to me as Action Chairman for the League of Women Voters of Minnesota.

We are aware of the error in Ann Thomas' article and are sorry we did not catch it before it went to print. It should have read "Open Meeting Rule" instead of "Law." In the April 3 issue of the Capitol Letter, in the article on flexible sessions, this rule is explained more fully. We included this on the first page as a correction of the previous error.

Making a mistake is almost reassuring. We quickly discover how many alert readers pay close attention to this publication.

Thank you for your concern. We appreciated receiving your letter.

Sincerely,

Helene Borg  
Action Chairman

HB:jm

cc: Helene Borg, Mary Ann McCoy, Ann Thomas



April 21, 1974

Robert J. Tennesen  
304 Title Insurance Building  
Minneapolis, MN 55401

Dear Senator Tennesen:

Your letter regarding the March 20 issue of the CAPITOL LETTER was referred to me as Action Chairman for the League of Women Voters of Minnesota.

We are aware of the error in Ann Thomas' article and are sorry we did not catch it before it went to print. It should have read "Open Meeting Rule" instead of "Law". In the April 3 issue of the CAPITOL LETTER, in the article on flexible sessions, this rule is explained more fully. We included this on the first page as a correction of the previous error.

Making a mistake is almost reassuring. We quickly discover how many alert readers pay close attention to this publication.

Thank you for your concern. We appreciated receiving your letter.

Sincerely,

Helene Borg

check this with Mary Ann before typing  
correctly on Lg stationery ~~B~~  
Perhaps Ann Thomas should see  
Tammason's letter if she hasn't.

Thanks  
Helene



ROBERT J. TENNESSEN  
SENATOR 56TH DISTRICT  
304 TITLE INSURANCE BUILDING  
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55401



State of Minnesota  
SENATE

APR 17 1974

COMMITTEES  
VICE CHAIRMAN, JUDICIARY  
CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON  
JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION  
FINANCE  
HEALTH, WELFARE AND CORRECTIONS  
CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON CORRECTIONS

April 15, 1974

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

ATTN: Olive Leikvold

RE: March 20 issue of "Capitol Letter"

Dear Ms. Leikvold:

Although I enjoyed reading the League's summary of legislation in action, I was a little surprised on reading the article on "The Conference Committee" by Ann Thomas. Her statement that

"Formerly meetings of the conference committees were closed meetings, but this year, with the Open Meeting Law in effect, they are open to the public."

indicates she is unaware of the rules of both the House and Senate for the last two years which have required open conference committees. The rules predate the "Open Meeting Law."

Sincerely,

Robert J. Tennessen

RJT:mm



**LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS  
OF MINNESOTA**

PHONE (612) 224-5445

555 WABASHA • ST PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

UPDATE: Legislative Compensation

To: Local Leagues

From: Ruth Ann Michnay and Karen Anderson, Government Committee

Date: November 28, 1977

**BACKGROUND**

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota (LWVMN) first began to study legislative salaries in 1967 as part of an adopted study of organization of state government. The study resulted in a 1968 position supporting various improved procedures for the legislative branch as well as support of "realistic compensation for legislators." League members agreed that legislative salaries were neither adequate nor realistic at that time and supported increases.

Since then, several bills affecting salaries and/or per diem living expenses have been passed, the most recent in April, 1977. While League members have not re-studied the legislative salaries issue specifically, they have indicated, through the financing state government study and consensus, that increasing legislative compensation has a low priority at this time. In discussion of setting priorities for state spending, League members strongly supported cuts in spending for the legislative branch, general state government, and the governor and related agencies in times when cuts are necessary and opposed increases in the same areas when other state spending increases are proposed.

What changes have been made since 1968 affecting legislative salaries and per diem? What are present salaries (including per diem) and those to go into effect in 1979? What do legislators in other states get paid? What other issues are affected by the level of salaries? These are some of the questions addressed in this Update.

**HISTORY**

In 1968 Minnesota legislators were receiving an annual base salary of \$4,800 plus a per diem living expense of \$14 for metropolitan area legislators and \$24 for outstate legislators. The LWVMN supported the base salary increase from \$4,800 to \$8,400 per year (a 75% increase) which was passed in 1971 and took effect in 1973. Per diem was increased in 1973 to \$25 for metropolitan area legislators and \$33 for outstate legislators.

Additional base salary increase bills have been proposed. In 1974 Governor Anderson vetoed a salary increase bill, and in 1975 a compromise base salary increase bill was not accepted in the conference committee. At the beginning of the 1977 legislative session, the per diem was again raised, to \$40 for metropolitan area legislators and \$48 for outstate legislators.

**PRESENT COMPENSATION**

House of Representatives

The base salary of each member of the House of Representatives is \$16,800 for the biennium (\$8,400 annually). In addition, a per diem is paid seven days a week during the time the Legislature is meeting. For 1977 the per diem covers every day from January 4th to May 23rd, at the rate of \$48 per day to each member who has moved from his or her usual place of lodging during a substantial part of the session, or \$40 per day to each member who has not changed his or her place of lodging. The per diem covers all living expenses except travel, which is reimbursed at 16¢ per mile. If a representative must go outstate for a meeting, lodging is reimbursed; if he or she leaves the state on official

## Legislative Compensation - 2

business, meal reimbursement may also be included. The Speaker of the House of Representatives receives an additional \$5 per day during any session of the Legislature.

During the Interim, the period between the annual sessions of the biennium, House members receive a \$48 per diem. This does not include their lodging or travel expenses, which are reimbursed if requested. The House allows \$25 a day for hotel expenses.<sup>1</sup> Previously, a committee chairperson had to approve the days a committee member spent at the Capitol for per diem to be paid, but present policy allows a representative to receive two days per week per diem without a committee chair's approval.

Besides the interim per diem for expenses at the Capitol, a \$30 to \$200-a-month District Activities fee was granted by the Rules Committee in July, 1975. This fee is to cover the House members' travel expenses in their home districts.

### House of Representatives (Outstate Member) Average Salary (chart based on figures from the House Finance Office)

	<u>1976 (off-year session)</u>	<u>1977 (regular session)</u>
Base Salary	\$ 8,400	\$ 8,400
Session - per diem	2,376 (\$33 per day for 72 days)	6,720 (\$48 per day for 140 days)
Interim - per diem	825 (\$33 per day for 25 days)	2,160 (\$48 per day for 45 days*)
Mileage (16¢ a mile)	520	750**
Lodging during Interim	?	?
District Activities fee*** (\$30 to \$200 per month)	?	?
	<hr/> \$12,121	<hr/> \$18,030

(Average salary [including per diem] in 1975 was \$13,499; five members topped the \$15,000 level, and 37 members received more than \$14,000. The 1974 average was \$12,906. [Rochester POST, January 17, 1976])

\*1975 interim was 37 days

\*\*1975 average mileage was \$745 (Average mileage for Twin City Area members is much less)

\*\*\*In 1975, 24 members applied for the fee, and 17 took the maximum amount.

### Senate

The base salary for a four-year Senate term is \$33,600 (\$8,400 annually). A per diem is also paid seven days a week during the legislative session. This covers all expenses except lodging, which is reimbursed as in the House.

The interim per diem of \$33 for the rank and file Senator varies from that of Representatives. Senate per diem may only be requested for official committee meetings. Committee chairpeople and Senate party leaders receive per diem for all days spent at the Capitol. Besides a travel reimbursement, there is also a lodging reimbursement, for which there is no maximum.<sup>2</sup> The Senate Rules Committee adopted a District Travel Fee in June, 1977, which covers travel expenses in the Senators' home districts up to a maximum of \$200 a month. At that time, a \$25-per-day ceiling on housing expenses and 16¢-a-mile travel reimbursement were set.

	<u>Senate Compensation</u>	
	<u>1976 (off-year session)</u>	<u>1977 (regular session)</u>
Base Salary	\$ 8,400	\$ 8,400
Per Diem - session	2,376 (\$33 - 72 days)	6,720 (\$48 - 140 days)
Per Diem - interim	825 (\$33 - 25 days)	2,160 (\$48 - 45 days)
Mileage	437	300
Lodging - interim	?	?
District Travel Fee	?	?
	<hr/> \$12,038	<hr/> \$17,580

(The average salary [including per diem] in 1976 was \$11,011.25 [Office of the Senate-Fiscal Services]; in 1975, 31 of the 67 Senators received more than \$13,000, and 3 received more than \$14,000 [Duluth HERALD, January 15, 1976])

#### ATTEMPTS TO INCREASE COMPENSATION

During the 1975-76 session, Senator Edward Gearty (D-Mpls.) proposed a salary bill which would have raised a legislator's base salary from \$8,400 to \$16,500. The bill also proposed to abolish the per diem and allow reimbursement for expenses instead. Reaction around the state was mixed. The CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR published an editorial research report on February 24, 1976, titled "Should Legislators Get Paid More?" It said, "Raising legislators' salaries may be an unwise move politically in a time of budget retrenchment at all levels of government. But if the effect is to reduce the high rate of turnover among legislators and thus provide a greater degree of professionalism, the additional cost may come to be seen as a bargain."

In a Minnesota newspaper, an article appeared entitled "Pay Raise Needed." It cited a need for competent people, not professional, full-time people, and stated that legislators need more compensation for the time and family life they will be sacrificing.<sup>3</sup> Another article called "Striking a Balance in Legislators' Pay" appeared in a Red Wing, MN, newspaper. It said, "The pay should never be high enough to be the only reason to run, but should not be so low it is impossible for good people to sacrifice a few years to state service."<sup>4</sup>

The salary bill introduced during the 1975-76 session was defeated. Much of the opposition came from rural outstate areas. Senator Gearty stated, "If the pay is not raised, the Legislature will be controlled by people who are independently wealthy, retired, or unable to maintain another job."<sup>5</sup> The scene was set for the 1977 session.

The first attempt to increase compensation was made not by the introduction of a bill but by a Resolution adopted on January 17, 1977, which raised the expense allowance, or per diem, for all legislators. This daily "housekeeping" resolution (see Appendix A) increased the per diem from \$25 to \$40 a day for metro legislators and from \$33 to \$48 for outstate legislators. The resolution also provided for travel to and from the Capitol at the rate of 15¢ per mile (with a limitation of one round trip per week of the session). Reaction was again mixed, with the opposition questioning the method of increasing compensation via the per diem instead of addressing the base salary issue head on.

The Minnesota Constitution (Article IV, Section 9) states, "The compensation of Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed by law. No increase in compensation shall take effect during the period for which the members of the existing House of Representatives may have been elected." The question raised was whether the per diem, which was retroactive to the start of the 1977 session, was considered to be "compensation." Citing an Iowa case where the Supreme Court ordered the legislators to return a pay increase with interest, James Goetz, former Minnesota Lt. Governor, asked Governor Perpich to protect the taxpayers of Minnesota from an unconstitutional increase in legislative compensation.<sup>6</sup> In June, 1977, Ramsey District Judge J. Jerome Plunkett decided the per



diem was not compensation and was, therefore, valid. However, while the legislators were awaiting that decision, they proceeded to increase salaries by bill, following the procedures stated in the Constitution.

#### THE 1977 SALARY BILL

The 1977 Salary Bill was a comprehensive bill of which the legislative salary increases were only a small part. It provided for increases in salaries for state Constitutional offices, commissioners and heads of state departments, the Governor's appointees to the Metropolitan Council and commissions, and certain judicial offices as well as legislators (see Appendix B). The bill was signed by the Governor on April 21, 1977, but its passage was not an easy one for the authors, Senator Gearty and Representative Sieben (D-Hastings).

On April 7, 1977, the Salary Bill was passed in the Senate after a heated debate. It included the following provisions relating to legislators' salaries:

- . Base salary in 1979 of \$16,500 per year;
- . Base salary in 1980 of \$18,500 per year;
- . Each member shall receive mileage for necessary travel in going to or returning from the place of meeting to his place of residence;
- . Each member shall receive a per diem living expense during regular and special sessions; it will be 50% less than the per diem allowance at the present time (lowered to \$20 and \$24);
- . The majority leader and minority leader of the Senate, Speaker of the House of Representatives and the minority leader of the House shall receive 140% of the compensation of other members;
- . The president, assistant majority leader, chair of the finance committee of the Senate, and the majority leader and chair of the Appropriations Committee of the House shall be paid 125% of the compensation of the other members;
- . During the interim, a legislator will be reimbursed for expenses incurred while engaged in official business of the Legislature. The reimbursement shall not exceed \$48 per day as a per diem expense allowance. The member shall also be reimbursed for travel and lodging expenses in the same manner and amount as state employees.

The Salary Bill passed the House of Representatives on April 14, 1977, by a close vote of 70 yeas and 61 nays after a previous defeat April 13. Several attempts were made to amend the Senate version (S.F. 483); most of them failed, but a few passed, creating a difference in the version passed by the Senate.

The two major differences in the Senate and House versions were the per diem and the higher compensation for the legislative leaders. The House version stated:

- . The per diem during a regular or special session of the Legislature shall not exceed \$27 for each member who has moved from his usual place of lodging during a substantial part of the session and not exceed \$17 for the other members.
- . The Senate Committee on Rules and Administration for the Senate and the House Committee on Rules and Legislative Administration may each designate for their respective bodies up to three leadership positions to receive up to 140% of the compensation of other members.
- . Interim per diem will be \$48 per day as stated in the Senate version of the bill.

On April 21, 1977, the Senate concurred with the House version of the Salary Bill. For individual votes on the bill, see Appendix C.

The following is a projection of the salary the legislators will receive in 1979 and 1980 according to the new bill. The 1976 and 1977 figures are used for comparison.

HOUSE/SENATE - Outstate Member  
1977 Salary Bill, Projections for Legislators

	<u>'76 Off-Year Session</u>	<u>'77 Regular Session</u>	<u>'79 Regular Session</u>	<u>'80 Off-year Session</u>
Base Salary	\$ 8,400	\$ 8,400	\$16,500	\$18,500
Session - Per Diem	2,376 (\$33/72 days)	6,720 (\$48/140 days)	3,780 (\$27/140 days)*	2,700 (\$27/100 days)*
Interim - Per Diem	825 (\$33/25 days)	2,160 \$48/45 days)	1,920 (\$48/40 days)*	1,200 (\$48/25 days)*
Mileage * <sup>1</sup>	520	750+	750*	520*
Interim - Lodging	?	?	?	?
Leadership benefits* <sup>2</sup>	?	?	?	?
Activities Fee - House (\$30-200 per mo.)	?	?	?	?
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$12,121	\$18,030	\$22,950	\$22,920

+Estimate

\*Projections based on the 1975, 76, 77 figures

\*<sup>1</sup>Mileage for Twin City Area members average \$15-20

\*<sup>2</sup>Leadership Benefits - Speaker, Majority Leader and Minority Leader shall receive  
5 days per diem each week during the 1977 and 78 interims of the 70th Legislature

## LEGISLATIVE PENSIONS

The 1977 Salary Bill included changes in the Legislators' Pension Plan. The amount of the pension received starting at age 60 is determined by multiplying a per cent factor by the final monthly salary received in the Legislature. These per cent factors were changed as shown below. No member is eligible for pension benefits until after eight years of service.

<u>Years of Service</u>	<u>Per Cent Factor</u> OLD PLAN	<u>Per Cent Factor</u> NEW PLAN
1	5%	2 1/2%
2	10	5
3	15	7 1/2
.	.	.
.	.	.
.	.	.
8	40	20
9	42 1/2	22 1/2
10	45	25
11	47 1/2	27 1/2
.	.	.
.	.	.
.	.	.
20	70	50
21	72 1/2	50
22	75	50
.	.	.
.	.	.
.	.	.
30	95	50

## ISSUES OF CONTROVERSY

The major objection to the Salary Bill was the retention of the per diem along with the increase in salaries. Another objection was the dramatic 96% increase in the base salary. The third objection was the change in the pension plan. The size of the Legislature and the length of the sessions have remained the same. Desire has been expressed to cut the size of the Legislature, or to lengthen the session, to match the salary increase.

Listed here are a few of the comments expressed by people and the press on the per diem issue:

- . The per diem has not been eliminated. Senator Gearty, author of the 1977 Salary Bill, was always opposed to the per diem. During the 1975-76 session he was an advocate of a straight salary and no per diem because "it was more in keeping with a citizens' Legislature." He said a per diem "lends itself to making more work, especially in the interim. It's an incentive to be here most of the time."

- . University of Minnesota Professor Charles Backstrom in October, 1975, presented a Citizens League report on salaries. "Adequate salary is needed for the average person to serve...the per diem should be dropped." "Let's be open and honest, and let's pay salary and not have this misuse of per diem." He predicted that a reduction of interim activities would result.
- . The Rochester POST BULLETIN published an editorial February 24, 1976, titled "Cut legislators' per diem pay, boost salary," which stated, "We believe that the Minnesota electorate would support a higher salary for legislators coupled with reimbursement for reasonable expenses of meals, lodging and travel."
- . "The part-time, citizen-legislator is still a Minnesota ideal. That's what the public wants, and it will be intolerant of salary increases so substantial as to open the door to a full-time Legislature," stated the Duluth NEWS TRIBUNE on January 28, 1977.

The second objection arose from the 96% base salary increase. Many more moderate suggestions for salary increases had been made:

- . In October and November, 1975, the State Personnel Board recommended a base salary for the legislators of \$13,500 (61% increase) plus reimbursement for vouchered personal expenses or an expense payment reduced to \$10 and \$17.50 a day.
  - . The Duluth HERALD in January, 1976, suggested the new base salary level should be \$12,906. The one payment per diem for Twin City area members would be \$1,000 and for outstate, \$2,000.
  - . The Citizens League thought the base salary should be adequate enough to be the sole income; they favored increased compensation but suggested dropping the per diem.
  - . The Minnesota Association of Commerce and Industry polled members on the legislators' salaries:
    - 40% favored \$12-14,000
    - 31% favored \$14-16,000
    - 17% favored \$16-18,000
    - 12% favored \$18-20,000
- All levels included reimbursement for legitimate on-the-job expenses and removed per diem.<sup>9</sup>
- . The REPUBLICAN EAGLE stated November 15, 1976: "Certain members wish to make the Legislature a full-time job. Therefore, they seek to expand and expand state government to justify their full-time service. To prevent this, salary must be designated as only one-half the members' time because state policy is for one-half time rather than full-time."

The third objection to the salary bill was the changed pension plan. The St. Paul PIO-NEER PRESS (August 2, 1977) listed the following points about the new pensions:

1. A legislator's job is part-time; pension plans in private industry rarely cover part-time employees.
2. Vesting (the point when one claims pension benefits) is usually at 10 years; legislators now in office are guaranteed at least 40% of their last pay level if they have served eight years before the start of 1979. Newcomers will get only 2 1/2% after 1979.
3. There is nothing in the law to prevent or compensate for "double dipping"; since legislators are part time, they may also have other benefit incomes.
4. Full benefits are paid starting at age 60. Most programs pay in full at age 65; early retirement means a loss in benefits. If a private company set up a retire-at-60 plan for its employees, the size of its annual contribution to fund the system would be double the amount needed for retirement at 65. This system won't be funded at all, except for the contributions made by individual legislators, and benefits will simply be paid out of available tax monies. Members will not be able to accumulate more than 20 years' credit (50%) toward their pensions; neither will they pay any after 20 years.

Many other newspapers contained articles on the pension plan, but the above four points summarize the objections.



## LEGISLATIVE COMPENSATION IN OTHER STATES

The biennial compensation for legislators is less than \$10,000 in 11 states: North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Utah, New Mexico, West Virginia, Rhode Island, Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine. Minnesota ranks in the \$20,000 to \$29,000 range with Colorado, Arizona, Oklahoma, Mississippi, Iowa, Florida, New Jersey and Delaware. Nine states rank in the \$30,000-plus range; they are: California, Alabama, Wisconsin, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania, New York and Massachusetts. The following states give figures that include annual salary, interim session allowances, but not per diem during session: California (\$60,569), New York (\$47,000), Michigan (\$46,500); Illinois (\$45,256); Pennsylvania (\$37,400); Wisconsin (\$36,036).

The median pay in the nation is \$19,260 to \$20,000 per biennium. Using the figures in the chart for Minnesota legislators' 1976 and 1977 pay, the biennial compensation would average \$21,000, excluding \$10,000 for session per diem allowances.<sup>10</sup>

Many states are in the process of increasing their legislative salaries. Minnesota will experience a 96% increase effective in 1979. The biennium expenses could average \$42,800 excluding \$3,200 session per diem. The California Assembly approved a 10% increase effective December 4, 1978. Their annual salary will be raised from \$23,232 to \$25,555 or a biennium of over \$50,000 excluding per diem and other living expenses.<sup>11</sup>

Following is a chart the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures prepared in 1975 on Compensation and Session Length for State Legislatures. LWVMN included the size of each Legislature.

Compensation and Session Length for State Legislators

<u>Legislature Meets</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Size of Legislature</u>	<u>Total Biennial Compensation - 1975*</u>		<u>Legislative Days 1973-74**</u>	
			<u>Rank</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Regular Session</u>	<u>Special Session</u>
Annual	Alabama	141	32	\$13,200	36	6
Annual	Alaska	50	4	44,928	138	-
Annual	Arizona	90	24	19,170	151	82
Odd	Arkansas	135	28	15,605 H	61	19
				16,060 S		
Even	California	120	1	82,640 A	246	4
Annual	California			71,160 S		
Annual	Colorado	100	30	15,200	203	-
Annual	Connecticut	213	33	13,000	126	-
Annual	Delaware	58	17	21,000	107	11
Annual	Florida	107	12	24,000	87	1.5
Annual	Georgia	251	26	17,460	67	-
Annual	Hawaii	75	10	30,460	121	2
Annual	Idaho	105	40	7,881	122	-
Annual	Illinois	235	3	45,976	166	52
Annual	Indiana	149	14	23,565	88	-
Annual	Iowa	150	16	21,580	195	-
Annual	Kansas	165	31	14,250	118	-
Even	Kentucky	138	34	12,050	49	-
Even	Louisiana	144	27	16,500	67	15

Compensation and Session Length for State Legislators

<u>Legislature Meets</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Size of Legislature</u>	<u>Total Biennial Compensation - 1975*</u>		<u>Legislative Days 1973-74**</u>	
			<u>Rank</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Regular Session</u>	<u>Special Session</u>
Even	Maine	183	41	\$ 7,825	107	61
Even	Maryland	185	11	25,000	132	29
Even	Massachusetts	280	9	30,716	294	-
Even	Michigan	148	6	38,000	249	-
Odd	Minnesota	201	13	23,895	120	-
Annual	Mississippi	174	29	15,790	133	-
Odd	Missouri	197	18	20,725	157	78
Annual	Montana	159	44	6,954	120	12
Annual	Nebraska	49	38	10,000	150	-
Odd	Nevada	60	43	6,970	74	-
Odd	New Hampshire	324	50	200	79	15
Annual	New Jersey	106	20	20,000	65	-
Annual	New Mexico	112	46	3,600	67	3
Annual	New York	206	2	55,800	220	2
Odd	North Carolina	170	22	19,560	161	-
Odd	North Dakota	147	42	6,505	53	-
Annual	Ohio	132	7	35,000	172	-
Annual	Oklahoma	147	15	22,745 H	155	-
				22,945 S		
Odd	Oregon	90	19	20,010	122	14
Odd	Pennsylvania	253	8	31,200	166	-
Odd	Rhode Island	150	49	600	134	-
Odd	South Carolina	170	21	19,675	227	25
Odd	South Dakota	110	45	6,875	75	-
Odd	Tennessee	131	23	19,433	89	-
Odd	Texas	181	25	18,600	87	3
Annual	Utah	107	48	3,200	61	5
Odd	Vermont	177	39	8,010	117	-
Annual	Virginia	140	37	10,950	44	34
Odd	Washington	148	36	11,200	48	41
Annual	West Virginia	134	35	11,400	100	50

Compensation and Session Length for State Legislators

<u>Legislature Meets</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Size of Legislature</u>	<u>Total Biennial Compensation - 1975*</u>		<u>Legislative Days 1973-74**</u>	
			<u>Rank</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Regular Session</u>	<u>Special Session</u>
Annual	Wisconsin	132	5	41,381 H 36,531 S	150	26
Annual	Wyoming	90	47	3,417	60	-

\*Includes salary and vouchered expenses based on the 1973 and 1974 regular sessions. Does not include salary or expenses for special sessions, per diem while on legislative business in the interim, nor vouchered expenses.

\*\*Days on which one or both houses of the Legislature are convened and conducting business. In cases where the length of session varies between the houses, an average number of days has been used.

Source: Conference on State Legislatures, Research Memorandum No. 18, 1975.

Considering the issues of legislative session length, size of membership, and part-time versus full-time representation, it is difficult to determine just what "realistic" compensation for legislators is. At this time, LWVMN members have decided Minnesota legislative compensation is adequate. However, as we have seen before, the terms "adequate" and "realistic" may well change with the times.

## APPENDIX A

### Resolutions

"Some legislative work is done through joint, concurrent, assembly, or Senate resolution, rather than through bills. A joint resolution...originates in one house and the concurrence of the other house...is used to propose state Constitutional amendments and to ratify federal Constitutional amendments...a Senate or assembly resolution is used to accomplish internal housekeeping of the body...for example, resolutions are used to adopt the rules of the house, to establish committees, to initiate investigations, to authorize and hire employees. The day-to-day work of the body is conducted through simple floor motions."

From Senator Jack Davies' book, LEGISLATIVE LAW AND PROCESS, page 26

## APPENDIX B

## The 1977 Salary Bill (S.F. 483)

	<u>Effective July 1, 1977</u>	<u>Previous Salary</u>
1. Constitutional Offices		
Governor	\$58,000	\$41,000
Attorney General	49,000	36,500
Lt. Governor	36,000	30,000
State Auditor	30,000	26,000
State Treasurer	30,000	25,000
Secretary of State	30,000	25,000
2. The Commissioners and Heads of Departments: effective July 1, 1977		
3. The Governor's appointees to the:		
Metropolitan Council (Chairman - \$39,000)		
Metropolitan Airport Commission (Chairman - \$10,000)		
Metropolitan Transit Commission (Chairman - \$33,000)		
Metropolitan Waste Control Commission (Chairman - \$15,000)		
4. Certain Judicial Offices:		
Chief Justice of Supreme Court	52,000	40,000
Associate Justice of Supreme Court	49,000	36,000
District and County Court Judges	40,000	32,000
5. The Legislators, effective January, 1979		



## APPENDIX C

S.F. 483 - House of Representatives - April 18, 1977

70 yeas

64 nays

Affirmative

Abeln	Cohen	Jacobs	Metzen	Sieben, H.
Anderson	Corbid	Jaros	Moe	Sieben, M.
Arlandson	Cummiskey	Johnson	Munger	Skoglund
Battaglia	Dahl	Kahn	Murphy	Stanton
Beauchamp	Eken	Kelly, R.	Nelson	Suss
Berg	Ellingson	Kelly, K.	Norton	Swanson
Berglin	Enebo	King	Pehler	Vanasek
Brandl	Faricy	Kostohrys	Petrafeso	Voss
Braun	Fudro	Kroening	Reding	Waldorf
Carlson, A.	Fugina	Langseth	Rice	Wenzel
Carlson, L.	George	Lehto	St. Onge	White
Casserly	Gunter	Mangan	Samuelson	Williamson
Clark	Hanson	Mann	Scheid	Wynia
Clawson	Haugerud	McCarron	Sherwood	Speaker Sabo

Negative

Adams	Dean	Jude	Nelsen, B.	Searle
Albrecht	Den Ouden	Kaley	Nelsen, M.	Searles
Anderson, B.	Eckstein	Kalis	Niehaos	Simoneau
Anderson, D.	Erickson	Kempe, A.	Novak	Smogard
Anderson, G.	Esau	Kempe, R.	Osthoff	Spanish
Anderson, R.	Evans	Knickerbocker	Patton	Stoa
Begich	Ewald	Kvam	Peterson	Tomlinson
Berkelman	Fjoslien	Laidig	Pleasant	Welch
Biersdorf	Forsythe	Lemke	Prahl	Wenstrom
Birnstihl	Friedrich	McCollar	Rose	Wieser
Brinkman	Heinitz	McDonald	Sarna	Wigley
Byrne	Hokanson	McEachern	Savelkoul	Zubay
Carlson, D.	Jensen	Neisen	Schultz	

S.F. 483 - Senate - April 7, 1977

40 yeas

25 nays

Yeas

Anderson	Johnson	Moe	Sikorski
Benedict	Keefe, S.	Nelson	Solon
Borden	Kleinbaum	Ogdahl	Spear
Coleman	Lessard	Olson	Staples
Davies	Lewis	Perpich	Stokowski
Dieterich	Luther	Peterson	Stumpf
Gearty	McCutcheon	Purfeerst	Tennessen
Hanson	Menning	Schaaf	Vega
Hughes	Merriam	Schmitz	Willet
Humphrey	Milton	Sieloff	

APPENDIX C (Continued)

Negative

Ashbach	Dunn	Keefe, J.	Penny	Sillers
Bang	Engler	Kirchner	Pillsbury	Strand
Bernhagen	Frederick	Knoll	Renneke	Ueland, A.
Brataas	Gunderson	Nichols	Schrom	Ulland, J.
Chmielewski	Jensen	Olhoft	Setzepfandt	Wegener

Senate Concurring with House Version of S.F. 483 - April 21, 1977

41 yeas

25 Nays

Affirmative

Anderson	Johnson	Milton	Sikorski
Benedict	Keefe, S.	Moe	Solon
Borden	Kleinbaum	Nelson	Spear
Chenoweth	Knoll	Ogdahl	Staples
Coleman	Laufenburger	Olson	Stokowski
Davies	Lessard	Perpich	Stumpf
Dieterich	Lewis	Peterson	Vega
Gearty	Luther	Purfeerst	Willet
Hanson	McCutcheon	Schaaf	
Hughes	Menning	Schmitz	
Humphrey	Merriam	Sieloff	

Negative

Ashbach	Jensen	Schrom
Bang	Keefe, J.	Setzepfandt
Bernhagen	Kirchner	Sillers
Brataas	Knutson	Strand
Chmielewski	Nichols	Ueland, A.
Dunn	Olhoft	Ulland, J.
Engler	Penny	Wegener
Frederick	Pillsbury	
Gunderson	Renneke	

FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>"Senate Changes Reimbursement Policy," The Minnesota Taxpayer, Vol. II, No. 6 (June, 1976).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>"Pay Raise Needed," THE PIONEER (Bemidji), (January 14, 1976).

<sup>4</sup>Barb Hunter, "Striking a Balance in Legislators' Pay," REPUBLICAN EAGLE (Red Wing), (November 25, 1975).

<sup>5</sup>Duluth NEWS (February 4, 1976).

<sup>6</sup>"Goetz Again Asks Action on Pay Issue," Minneapolis TRIBUNE, (February 2, 1977).

<sup>7</sup>Cathie Nertge, "Aborted Solon Pay Raises Might Affect Two Other Branches," Mankato FREE PRESS (February 4, 1976).

<sup>8</sup>St. Paul PIONEER PRESS (December 18, 1975).

<sup>9</sup>"Act Now on Legislators' Pay," REPUBLICAN EAGLE (Red Wing), (March 13, 1976).

<sup>10</sup>Mike Miller, "Wisconsin Lawmakers Rank 5th in U.S. in Compensation," CAPITOL TIMES, (June 1, 1977).

<sup>11</sup>Jerry Gillam, "Assembly OKs 10% Legislative Pay Hike," Los Angeles TIMES, (June 23, 1977).



# memorandum

JAN 9 1978

December 1977

This is going on DPM

TO: State and Local League Presidents (for the attention of Government Chairmen)

FROM: Judith B. Heimann, Government Chairman

RE: UPDATE ON GOVERNMENT: Perspectives on Sunset (enclosed)

The second in the UPDATE ON GOVERNMENT series, Perspectives on Sunset, focuses on current sunset proposals in Congress. The sunset issue has been much in the news both nationally and at the state level. Perspectives on Sunset addresses the arguments both for and against it, and discusses proposed alternatives.

Be certain to get a copy into the hands of your Government Chairman. The Government Committee can use this timely presentation of a current issue to:

- . inform League members about the issue -- make sure copies get distributed to them for units or for individual reading.
- . inform other citizen groups; try scheduling a discussion meeting with a civic or business group, using Perspectives on Sunset as "assigned reading."
- . complement background information presented in Congress and the Budget: From Chaos to Control (pub. #368, 40¢); offer mini-courses with these two publications to colleges, libraries, adult education programs, continuing education programs.
- . encourage discussion of the issues in your local press; Perspectives on Sunset lends itself to a series or serves as the basis for columns in your daily or weekly paper, or on local TV talk shows on public issues.
- . add a new subject to your Speakers Bureau repertory.

LEAGUES BY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

1st Congressional District

Cottage Grove  
#Houston County  
Mahtomedi Area  
Northern Dakota County  
Northfield  
Owatonna  
Red Wing  
Rochester  
St. Croix Valley  
Winona  
Woodbury

2nd Congressional District

Austin  
Chaska  
East Faribault County  
Excelsior-Deephaven Area  
Fairmont  
Freeborn County  
Hutchinson  
Mankato Area  
Northern Dakota County  
Northern Scott County  
New Ulm  
St. Peter  
Wayzata Area  
West Dakota County  
Westonka

3rd Congressional District

Bloomington  
Brooklyn Center  
Brooklyn Park  
Crystal-New Hope  
Edina  
Golden Valley  
Minneapolis - also 5th  
Minnetonka-Eden Prairie-Hopkins  
Richfield  
Robbinsdale  
St. Louis Park

4th Congressional District

Arden Hills  
Falcon Heights  
Mounds View  
New Brighton  
Roseville  
St. Paul  
Shoreview  
White Bear Lake

5th Congressional District

Columbia Heights  
Fridley  
Minneapolis - also 3rd  
St. Anthony

6th Congressional District

Buffalo-Monticello  
Granite Falls  
Jackson Area  
Marshall  
Rock County  
St. Cloud Area  
Willmar  
Worthington

7th Congressional District

Alexandria  
Battle Lake  
Bemidji Area  
Cass Lake  
Crookston  
Detroit Lakes  
\*Fergus Falls  
Moorhead  
Stevens County  
\*Wilkin County

8th Congressional District

Anoka-Coon Rapids Area  
Blaine  
Duluth  
Grand Rapids Area  
Hibbing  
Mid-Mesabi

# - not provisional until fall

\* - provisional



TESTIMONY BEFORE  
THE WELFARE REFORM SUBCOMMITTEE  
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
FIELD HEARINGS ON

HR 9030, BETTER JOBS AND INCOME ACT  
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA  
NOVEMBER 16, 1977

I am Lois DeSantis, Human Resources Chair for the League of Women Voters of Minnesota. The League of Women Voters appreciates this opportunity to share our views on HR 9030. In Minnesota we have over 4500 League members located in 69 local Leagues throughout the state. Since 1970, when we undertook a national study of alternatives to welfare as a means of combating poverty and discrimination, our Minnesota League, along with all others in the country, has had welfare reform as one of its major concerns. Our support position has been in favor of a system of federalized income assistance. In an effort to attain this, we have lobbied both alone and in coalition with like-minded groups. Currently in Minnesota our League is a member of the Minnesota Coalition for Welfare Reform.

I would like to begin by stating what our organization likes about HR 9030.

We applaud: Increased federalization of cash assistance

Federal equalization of cash assistance benefits among the states

Expansion of coverage to two-parent families

Expanded job opportunities, especially part-time jobs for women

The day care deduction for single parent families

The intent (we hope it proves to be a reality) of providing some fiscal relief to state and local governments

The numerous work incentives, including the \$3800 income disregard, the low benefit reduction rate, the wage supplement, and the earned income tax credit.

From the League point of view, the worth of any welfare reform proposal will depend upon the extent to which it provides adequately for the needs of the poor. We would support a program which would raise the income levels of all Americans to the poverty line. We recognize that this would be expensive, but we believe that in the long run it would pay off by gradually eliminating many of our social problems. Can a country as rich as the United States continue to condemn 26 million people to a life of bare subsistence?

I would like now to turn your attention to some of our major concerns. It will not surprise you to find that we consider the cash assistance benefit levels to be too low. In Minnesota as of July, 1977, the flat cash grant for an AFDC family of four was \$404 per month or \$4848 per year. We would never want to reduce this to the suggested federal level of \$4200. Similarly, a single individual unable to find employment would receive \$1100 a year or about \$92 per month under HR 9030. As of July, our minimum general assistance grants in Minnesota for single individuals were \$145 per month, while a majority of the counties paid more than \$180.

If the cash assistance benefits cannot be raised, we would suggest as alternatives:

1. Retaining the food stamp program to supplement each grant
2. Providing greater incentives to states to supplement the grants by:
  - A. Increasing the federal funding from 90% to 100% of the \$4200 cash benefit
  - B. Increasing the federal matching monies for state supplementation from 75% to 90% of the first \$500 above \$4200 and from 25% to 50% the difference between \$4700 and the poverty line.

We would also strongly recommend the provision of an automatic cost of living increase for cash assistance benefits.

Our second main concern is with the accountable period. We do not think it is realistic to believe that low income families can save money in today's economy, and therefore, we find the six-month retrospective accountable

period unacceptable. We would advocate the definition of the accountable period which is contained in the current food stamp legislation - namely a period that considers income in the previous month and anticipated income in the coming month.

Our third great concern is with the jobs program as it might affect women. League members have been somewhat disillusioned with previous work incentive programs, as it has been found that many jobs for which women were trained did not pay enough to support a family. Also, in many instances, women in public service jobs were found to be doing the same tasks as regular employees but for less pay. We are concerned about women not just because we are primarily a women's organization but because increasingly, low income families are headed by women. According to the census bureau, while women headed only one household in eight in the general population in 1975, nearly half of all poor families were headed by women in that year.

Some of the changes we would like to see in the job portion of the bill are:

- A. Changes in eligibility criteria based on previous earnings or hours worked which denigrate work performed inside the home and give men the edge in the competition for public service slots.
- B. Extension of the day care deduction to two-parent families and the provision of more day care facilities
- C. Provision for some research so that it is known that jobs for which women are being trained are jobs which will be in demand in the future and where there is some chance for upward mobility
- D. Greater emphasis on affirmative action programs so that a fair proportion of jobs go to women and written-in safeguards against discrimination
- E. Fringe benefits extended to part-time jobs to prevent the displacement of full-time workers by what might be considered "cheaper" part-time workers.

Ideally we would like the Administration to move toward making public service jobs an entitlement to all who are eligible, just as cash assistance is an entitlement to all those eligible. And we would like to extend the eligibility from a parent of a family with children to include single individuals and childless couples.

Testimony given to  
the Income Tax Subcommittee  
of the Minnesota Tax Study Commission

December 7, 1977

I am Karen Anderson, Government Chair of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota (LWVMN). The LWVMN appreciates the opportunity to testify before you in order to present our position on state income taxes, which is a part of a new LWVMN position on financing state government.

I'd like to give you a brief explanation of how the position was formed. There are about 4,500 members in 69 Leagues throughout Minnesota. At the 1975 state Convention, League members adopted a study of financing state government. Members of a state committee then spent a year and a half doing research on Minnesota taxation and expenditures and producing a series of papers on governmental financing in Minnesota. Copies of the papers were distributed to legislators, public officials and business and community groups throughout the state as part of a public education project. Leagues also used workshops and a variety of speakers to familiarize themselves with the subject. Earlier this year, League members participated in small discussion groups where they made their wishes known on subjects relating to state taxation and expenditures.

The resulting position statement, arrived at in these discussion groups, addresses the major taxes as well as some areas of state expenditures. The Minnesota income tax is a pivotal part of this position. League members did not support major changes in any other state taxes; they agreed that the income tax should be the flexible state tax, adapted to reflect economic conditions and state needs.

Generally, League members favor an equitable and flexible system of taxation, using the income tax as the elastic tax. We support more progressive rates when there is a need for increased state revenues and a decrease in rates when there is a budget surplus. We'd prefer this to be an across-the-board rate decrease, with some relief for all taxpayers. Besides the preference for using the income tax for flexibility, we support income tax exemptions being retained as they are now, not expanded to provide relief to certain segments of taxpayers, or removed. We also support retaining deductibility of federal income taxes as a feature of the Minnesota income tax.

While League members support a continuation of support for most state services, there is some concern about the continued budget surplus the state has been experiencing. League members oppose a general tax refund and would prefer that the money not be collected at all, by a reduction of income tax rates.



HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
MINNESOTA

DEC 28 1977

*United States Senate*

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

December 23, 1977

Ms. Helen Borg  
555 Wabasha  
St. Paul, MN 55102

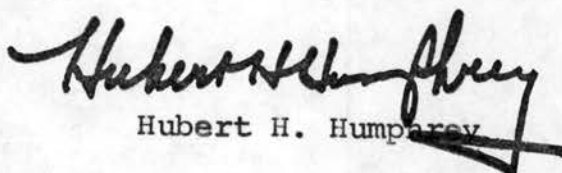
Dear Ms. Borg:

Thank you for your thoughtful message and kind concern  
for my health.

I have much to be thankful for, including many friends  
and countless persons who have wished me well. Your kind  
thoughts and helpful suggestions mean a great deal to me.

With best wishes for the holiday season.

Sincerely,

  
Hubert H. Humphrey



To: Members of the Minnesota Legislature  
From: Karen Anderson, Government Co-Chairperson  
Re: Financing State Government Position  
Date: December 15, 1977

After two years of research, study and discussion, the League of Women Voters of Minnesota (LWVMN) has recently arrived at a new position on financing state government. This position represents the attitudes of League members who reside in every senatorial district in the state.

The enclosed position covers major state taxes as well as some areas of state expenditures. On December 7, 1977, the LWVMN delivered testimony to the Income Tax Subcommittee of the Minnesota Tax Study Commission on the income tax portion of the position. You will note that the position supports a decrease in individual income tax rates when measures are taken to decrease state taxation.

The LWVMN will be lobbying at the Legislature in support of its financing state government position statement.

The Honorable Rudy Perpich  
Governor of the State of Minnesota  
130 State Capitol  
St. Paul, MN 55155

Dear Governor Perpich:

After two years of research, study and discussion, the League of Women Voters of Minnesota (LWVMN) has recently arrived at a new position on financing state government. This position represents the attitudes of League members who reside in every senatorial district in the state.

The enclosed position covers major state taxes as well as some areas of state expenditures. On December 7, 1977, the LWVMN delivered testimony to the Income Tax Subcommittee of the Minnesota Tax Study Commission on the income tax portion of the position. You will note that the position supports a decrease in individual income tax rates when measures are taken to decrease state taxation.

We are pleased to see that your staff made a similar recommendation to the Income Tax Subcommittee on October 12, 1977. In view of the state budget surplus, we support such a recommendation.

The LWVMN will be lobbying at the Legislature in support of its financing state government position statement.

Sincerely,

Karen Anderson  
Government Co-Chairperson

A:M  
Enclosure



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 Wabasha Street, St. Paul, Minn. 55102 - 612/224-5445

November 23, 1977

Kathy Gaylord, Executive Assistant  
MN Tax Study Commission  
B46, State Capitol  
St. Paul, MN 55155

Dear Ms. Gaylord,

Thank you for arranging for the League of Women Voters of Minnesota (LWVMN) to testify before the Income Tax Subcommittee of the Tax Study Commission.

Enclosed is a copy of the LWVMN position on Financing State Government. I will give the Subcommittee a brief background of the LWV study and concentrate on the income tax provisions of the position.

Please let me know when the Subcommittee meeting date is finalized.

Sincerely,

Karen Anderson, Government Chair  
League of Women Voters of Minnesota



## LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

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

November 15, 1977

The Honorable Bill Frenzel  
180 Federal Building  
Minneapolis, MN 55401

Dear Mr. Frenzel:

Thank you for informing us of the December 14 public hearing by the Oversight Subcommittee of the Ways and Means Committee. The League of Women Voters of Minnesota recently completed a two-year study of taxation and spending in Minnesota; however, the position statement cannot be used in reference to federal taxes. I'm enclosing a copy of the Minnesota position statement for your information.

Please keep us informed of future hearings; we appreciate the opportunity to present our views.

Sincerely,

Karen Anderson  
LWVMN Government Co-chairperson

A:M  
Enclosure

**WILLIAM G. KIRCHNER**

Senator 37th District  
6625 Lyndale Avenue South  
Richfield, Minnesota 55423  
Phone:  
Office: 296-4115  
Home: 869-6830

**Senate**  
**State of Minnesota**

November 10, 1977

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

ATTENTION: Ruth Ann Michnay and Karen Anderson

I commend you on the concept, the structure and the composition of your article on Legislative Compensation. I feel it is well done. If I routinely received and read the document I probably would not have spent very many moments in mental disagreement or debate with the article.

I understand you would like critical analysis and comments so I will offer them but urge you to keep in mind the comments I have made in my opening paragraph.

I am a little concerned in regard to the way per diem is referenced in the writing. Even though per diem for the legislator may have gone too high to be strictly a reimbursement of expenses, theoretically it is so regarded by statute. I recognize that generally it has come to be accepted as salary for a legislator. On page 3 and in several other instances the word salary is used and includes both per diem and base salary. On page 3 immediately following the arithmetical table in parenthesis is a sentence starting "Average" and the next word is salary. I believe there should be a better word.

Occasionally the first few comments in dealing with the House of Representatives would not make clear that you were speaking about the House and not both bodies. It might be possible to more sharply delineate between the two.

On page 3 the last paragraph raised a philosophical question in my mind. Your document was directed toward the approach of how many dollars a legislator received for his service. In the last paragraph on 3 you are no longer speaking to that issue. If you wish to broaden the subject to cover the State cost to support one legislator you should broaden that last paragraph; otherwise, not mention the aids hired to help a legislator. The chairperson presiding at a Senate committee, in addition to the personnel which you list, traditionally has a researcher assigned either entirely or partially to the committee. He also probably has a couple of pages available who will work part time in his office, as well as assist in committee errands. The intern system at one time was almost

entirely without tax dollar support. Now there are cost reimbursements to interns with the dollar amounts increasing rapidly. The word intern rather hints at a student part time office-person concept. Actually some of these interns are quite competent people with some maturity who may work full time for several months. They can be law school students or very competent men or women who have available time. The cost reimbursement for these individuals would suggest that a little more should be said about their part in the picture. The number of research assistants has been rapidly expanding. The Senate minority group has researchers and the majority group has researchers. The same is true in the House. There is also a number of staff researchers for each body in addition to those specifically designated to the caucus.

On page 7 should there be any indication of the salary situation for 1978?

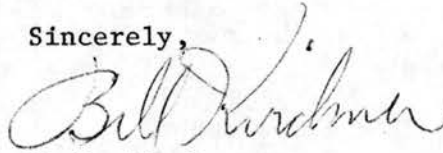
On page 7 and in some other tables assumptions are made as to the mileage drawn by each House or Senate person. I note the label 'Outstate' at the top is so obscure that it is almost misleading. Actually, a metropolitan legislator might collect no more than \$15 or \$20 mileage in a session. Do you feel at ease with the tabular figure?

On page 6 a minor item which I assume you will find, in the second paragraph the fourth word should be 'yeas' not years'.

On page 8 under the title of Issues of Controversy is it the intention of the writers to editorialize? At the beginning of the fourth sentence are the words "Even with all three increases. . ." I believe this indicates a position on the part of the writers. If those words were dropped and the rest of the sentence remain the same it would probably remove the editorializing element.

If you have any questions about any of my thoughts or suggestions I would be most happy to visit with you further by phone or answer any correspondence. I hope my observations are helpful to you. I repeat, I think you have done a good job.

Sincerely,



W. G. Kirchner

WGK:cah





H.B.

## LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

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

November 9, 1977

Ms. Sally Laird, Director of  
Legislative Action Division  
League of Women Voters of the United States  
1730 M Street Northwest  
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Ms. Laird:

Attached is a copy of a letter sent to the House Welfare Reform Subcommittee indicating that the League of Women Voters of Minnesota will testify at the hearings in Minneapolis on November 16th.

We will send you a copy of our testimony when it is prepared.

Sincerely,

Lois DeSantis, Co-Chair  
Human Resources

D:M  
Enclosure



## LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

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

October 26, 1977

Mr. John M. Martin, Jr.  
Chief Counsel,  
Committee on Ways and Means  
1102 Longworth House Office Building  
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Mr. Martin:

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota would like to make a brief statement at the hearing of the House Welfare Reform Subcommittee in Minneapolis, Minnesota on Wednesday, November 16th. The person who would testify would be Mrs. Lois DeSantis, 6508 Newton Ave., So., Minneapolis, MN. 55423, 612-866-5171. She is the Human Resources Chairperson of the Minnesota League of Women Voters.

The portions of the President's welfare reform proposal which will be addressed will be:

1. The cash assistance level
2. The accountable period
3. The job program

Under cash assistance level, we would testify that the proposed level is not high enough. Minnesota recipients are currently receiving considerably more than what is quoted for a family of four, and we would not like to fall below our present level. Also, we would like to see the food stamp program retained, we would be in favor of increasing the federal funding of the cash assistance benefit from 90% to 100%, and we would be in favor of increased federal matching monies for state supplementation.

As to the accountable period, our organization favors the definition of accountable period as that currently used in the food stamp program - namely, a period which considers income in the previous month and anticipated income in the coming month, as the basis for eligibility.

Under the job program our main concern is for fair treatment of women. This would include creation of a significant number of part-time jobs, training programs for women in the private, as well as the public, sector job market, and jobs which are not injurious to the health of participants nor take them too far from their homes.

Sincerely yours,

Lois C. DeSantis,  
Human Resources Chair



## LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

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

November 7, 1977

The Honorable Hubert Humphrey  
United States Senate  
2113 Dirksen Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Humphrey:

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota would like to express how pleased it is with your return to Washington, D.C. Whenever our members travel out of state - to the League of Women Voters of the United States National Council, to the UN, to the many places our activities take us - we always hear how fortunate we Minnesotans are to have you representing us in the Senate.

Through the years we have had numerous opportunities to thank you for your work in promoting legislation of concern to both of us. The League of Women Voters of Minnesota looks with special pride on the many instances when we stood together in support of innovative legislation, particularly in the field of human rights.

As Minnesota's senior Senator, and as an American statesman, it's good to have you back.

Sincerely,

*Helene Borg*

Helene Borg, President  
League of Women Voters of Minnesota

B:M

NOV 7 1977

RICHARD BOLLING, MO., CHAIRMAN  
HENRY S. REUSS, WIS.  
WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD, PA.  
LEE H. HAMILTON, IND.  
GILLIS W. LONG, LA.  
OTIS G. PIKE, N.Y.  
CLARENCE J. BROWN, OHIO  
GARRY BROWN, MICH.  
MARGARET M. HECKLER, MASS.  
JOHN H. ROUSSELOT, CALIF.

JOHN R. STARK,  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

# Congress of the United States

## JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

(CREATED PURSUANT TO SEC. 5(a) OF PUBLIC LAW 304, 78TH CONGRESS)

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, MINN., VICE CHAIRMAN  
JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA.  
WILLIAM PROXMIRE, WIS.  
ABRAHAM RIBICOFF, CONN.  
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JACOB K. JAVITS, N.Y.  
WILLIAM V. ROTH, JR., DEL.  
JAMES A. MC CLURE, IDAHO  
ORRIN G. HATCH, UTAH

November 3, 1977

Ms. Helene Borg  
President  
League of Women Voters of Minnesota  
555 Wabasha  
St. Paul, Minnesota 55012

Dear Ms. Borg:

Thank you for sharing with me copies of the League's instructive material on Minnesota taxation and expenditures.

My staff has assured me it will be referred to frequently as issues related to State problems arise. The development, publication, and distribution of such detailed but readable information has been a hallmark of the League of Women Voters over the years -- making citizens more effective participants in their own governance. Please convey my appreciation to the various organizations that have provided funding for the project, too.

Best wishes, and keep up the great effort!

Sincerely,



Hubert H. Humphrey  
Vice Chairman

OCT 25 1977

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
MINNESOTA

*United States Senate*

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

October 19, 1977

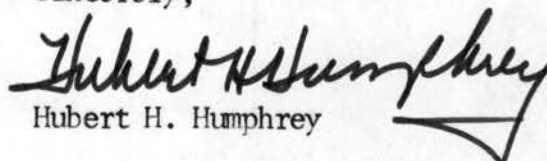
Ms. Helene Borg, Pres.  
League of Women Voters of Minnesota  
555 Wabasha  
St. Paul, Mn. 55102

Dear Ms. Borg:

Many thanks for letting me know of your support. This is just a short note to tell you how grateful I am and to let you know that I will be working hard on behalf of the legislation in which you are interested.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

  
Hubert H. Humphrey



Berkwitz

SEP 8 1977

HERMAN E. TALMADGE, GA., CHAIRMAN  
JAMES O. EASTLAND, MISS.  
GEORGE MC GOVERN, S. DAK.  
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DICK CLARK, IOWA  
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EDWARD ZORINSKY, NEBR.  
JOHN MELCHER, MONT.  
ROBERT DOLE, KANS.  
MILTON R. YOUNG, N. DAK.  
CARL T. CURTIS, NEBR.  
HENRY BELLMON, OKLA.  
JESSE HELMS, N.C.  
S. I. HAYAKAWA, CALIF.  
RICHARD G. LUGAR, IND.

MICHAEL R. MC LEOD  
GENERAL COUNSEL AND STAFF DIRECTOR

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON  
AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

August 16, 1977

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

Dear Ms. Borg:

It would be hard to trace the exchange of correspondence to which your recent letter refers, but be assured that I have no doubts at all about the commitment of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota to equal rights.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

  
Hubert H. Humphrey



Judy - How did our request manage to get to D.C.? AUG 12 1977  
GOVERNMENT RELATIONS

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION • 1201 16th St., N.W., Washington, D C 20036 • (202) 833-5411  
JOHN RYOR, President  
WILLARD H. MCGUIRE, Vice-President  
JOHN T. MCGARIGAL, Secretary-Treasurer

TERRY HERNDON, Executive Director

August 10, 1977

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

Dear Ms. Borg:

President Ryor referred your recent letter to our office for response. NEA, of course, has a strong and long standing commitment to secure ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. Recently our 11,000 delegates to the Representative Assembly, NEA's supreme governing body, reaffirmed their commitment to ERA ratification and pledged new initiatives to that end.

At the national level, NEA works with a variety of organizations such as the League, BPW, AAUW, NWPC, NOW, the religious community and others to secure ratification. We coordinate our efforts through ERAmerica so that all our efforts will be complimentary. ERAmerica is housed in our building and we provide additional resources to assist its campaign program for ratification and fund-raising efforts. Of course, much of our effort is directed toward our affiliates and members in the unratified states. We are working with them to mount both an education and political action program for ERA ratification. In all instances we urge our affiliates to work with other groups in this most important effort.

We had been aware of the League's fundraising plan nationally, and we wish you much luck in achieving the million dollar goal. Unfortunately we will be unable to make a contribution to that effort. We look forward to continuing to work with the League of Women Voters in other areas to secure ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Rosalyn H. Baker  
Assistant Director for  
Federal Agency Relations  
Office of Government Relations

RHB/tvg  
cc: John Ryor

AUG 11 1977

BILL FRENZEL  
THIRD DISTRICT, MINNESOTA

WASHINGTON OFFICE:  
1026 LONGWORTH BUILDING  
202-225-2871

STAFF DIRECTOR  
RICHARD D. WILLOW

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

August 8, 1977

DISTRICT OFFICES:  
MAYBETH CHRISTENSEN  
120 FEDERAL BUILDING  
MINNEAPOLIS 55401  
612-725-2173

SANDRA KLUG  
3601 PARK CENTER BOULEVARD  
ST. LOUIS PARK 55416  
612-925-4540

Ms. Helene Borg  
League of Women Voters of Minnesota  
555 Wabasha  
St. Paul, MN 5510

Dear Ms. Borg:

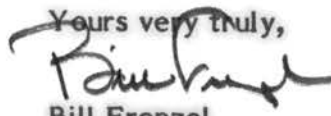
Thank you for your communication in support of the Universal Voter Registration Bill.

H.R. 5400 originally was based on the misconception that the federal government could implement a national registration procedure without any significant negative impact on the intricate and fragile elections process. It was assumed that what works for the states of Minnesota and Wisconsin will work for the rest of the nation.

However, it doesn't even appear that it particularly works well in Minnesota. In Minneapolis, after 4 years of experience with instant registration, and after training sessions for precinct election officials, 48% or nearly half of the walk-in voters, were found to be registered illegally. These figures do not represent the total city but only about 3/4 of the wards that have been reviewed in the 9 months since the last election. To say that there has been no fraud in Minnesota is misleading, there hasn't been a fraud check on the 1976 election to date.

As is well-known, since the President announced his proposal, I have been a strong proponent of the optional approach. The Administration's acceptance of the state option amendment reflects an understanding of the strong Congressional allegiance to the dynamic spirit and strength of our federalist system. Election systems are widely divergent among the 50 states. This optional amendment will allow each state to weigh the advantages of election day registration in light of its own electoral traditions.

Floor action on this bill has been postponed several times. Now, I believe the Committee on House Administration will probably rework the bill in light of the new approach sometime in September. I will reserve judgment until the Committee reports out a revised version.

Yours very truly,  
  
Bill Frenzel  
Member of Congress

BF:km



## LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

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

August 11, 1977

Mr. Fred Gates  
Office of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey  
462 Federal Building  
110 South 4th Street  
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401

Dear Mr. Gates:

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota would like request an appointment with Senator Humphrey to discuss areas of League concern, such as employment, income assistance, energy, water, land use, direct election of the President, election laws and the urban crisis. We would like to hear from him his present positions and insights in those areas.

We look forward to hearing from you about a meeting with the Senator. Approximately ten League members will be attending the session.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

*Helene Borg*

Helene Borg, President  
League of Women Voters of Minnesota

Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

AUG 3 1977

August 1, 1977

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

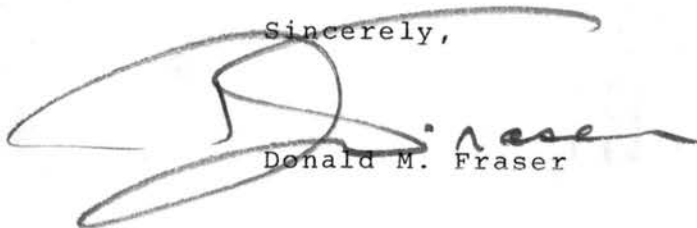
Dear Ms. Borg:

Thank you for your recent letter.

It is good to get this reaffirmation of  
the League's support of equal rights for  
all.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

A large, stylized handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'D. Fraser', is written over the typed name. The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large loop at the beginning and a long, sweeping tail.

Donald M. Fraser

AUG 8 1977

BILL FRENZEL  
THIRD DISTRICT, MINNESOTA

WASHINGTON OFFICE:  
1026 LONGWORTH BUILDING  
202-225-2871

STAFF DIRECTOR  
RICHARD D. WILLOW

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

DISTRICT OFFICES:  
MAYBETH CHRISTENSEN  
120 FEDERAL BUILDING  
MINNEAPOLIS 55401  
612-725-2173

SANDRA KLUG  
3601 PARK CENTER BOULEVARD  
ST. LOUIS PARK 55416  
612-925-4540

August 3, 1977

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

Dear Ms. Borg:

Thank you for your letter of July 27. I did receive a letter from Ms. Bedor, and had hoped that she was speaking as an individual. I do, therefore, appreciate your affirmation that the League is indeed strongly in favor of equal rights for all. After some of the letters I receive from anti-feminist groups, letters like yours are most welcome.

Yours very truly,

*Bill Frenzel*  
Bill Frenzel  
Member of Congress

BF:pce



DEC 28 1978

Arlen Erdahl

for

"He Fits the District"



33 WENTWORTH AVE.  
WEST ST. PAUL, MN 55118  
PHONE: 612/451-3405

Congress

Dec. 26, '78

Dear Mrs Borg & Berlewitz,

Thank you for your letter of some days ago. Rather than delay a response any further until my staff is aboard next month, I'll scratch out this reply.

Yes, I welcome your comments, concerns & input. Ever since I was elected to the legislature in 1962 I have enjoyed and appreciated a good association with "The League". I want and look forward to its continuation, and would appreciate the liason between your district, state & national offices with me.

Sincerely,  
Arlen Erdahl

P.S. I plan to have  
district offices in Rochester  
& W. St. Paul.

JAMES L. OBERSTAR  
8TH DISTRICT, MINNESOTA

Room 323  
CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING  
(202) 225-6211

DISTRICT OFFICE:  
Room 231  
FEDERAL BUILDING  
DULUTH, MINNESOTA 55802  
(218) 727-7474

DEC 22 1978

COMMITTEES:  
PUBLIC WORKS AND  
TRANSPORTATION  
MERCHANT MARINE AND  
FISHERIES  
SELECT COMMITTEE ON  
CONGRESSIONAL OPERATIONS

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

December 19, 1978

Ms. Helene Borg  
President  
Ms. Pam Berkwitz  
Action Chair  
League of Women Voters of Minnesota  
555 Wabasha  
St. Paul, Minnesota 55102

Dear Ms. Borg and Ms. Berkwitz:

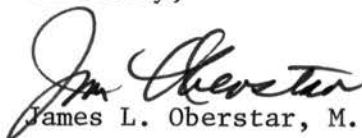
Thank you for your kind words of congratulations on my re-election. It certainly gives me a feeling of great pride to know that once again the people of my District have given me their overwhelming vote of confidence to represent them in the U. S. Congress for another two years. I will, of course, do all I can to justify the trust they have placed in me.

I have talked with the League of Women Voters of Minnesota several times during the past four years and feel that this organization has been doing an outstanding job of informing the general public and getting people involved in their government.

I would, of course, be most pleased to meet with you or any other members of your League to discuss matters of mutual concern. I will be looking forward to hearing from representatives from the 8th District and will arrange a meeting with them at a mutually-convenient time.

With warm wishes for a happy holiday season.

Sincerely,

  
James L. Oberstar, M. C.

JLO/jb

W/B



## LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

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

December 13, 1978

The Honorable James Oberstar  
Room 231  
Federal Building  
Duluth, MN 55802

Dear Mr. Oberstar:

Congratulations on your reelection to the United States House of Representatives from Minnesota's Eighth District.

The League of Women Voters, a nonpartisan organization, works to promote the active, informed participation of citizens in their government. Following membership study and consensus, the organization also takes action on selected governmental issues. We look forward to working, and cooperating, with you on these issues raised in the public interest on the public's behalf.

A member of one of the local Leagues of Women Voters in the Eighth Congressional District will contact you soon to set up an appointment to discuss the upcoming Congressional sessions. Among the areas we would like to talk about are oil policy, civil rights, electoral college reform, trade.

We look forward to further contact with you on issues of mutual concern.

Sincerely,

Helene Borg, President

Pam Berkwitz, Action Chair

Similar letter sent to other Representatives and two Senators

B/B:M

DAVE DURENBERGER  
MINNESOTA

Xerox for Borg ✓  
Pam  
files

DEC 11 1978

**United States Senate**

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

December 7, 1978

Ms. Jean Tews  
Co-Chair, Human Resources  
League of Women Voters of Minnesota  
555 Wabasha Street  
St. Paul, Minnesota 55102

Dear Ms. Tews:

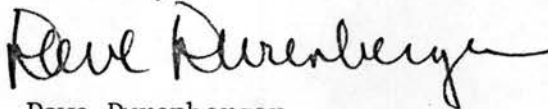
Many thanks for your thoughtfulness in sending to me a copy of your letter to The President protesting the reduction in Section 8/public housing units set by the Office of Management and Budget.

This kind of communication is most helpful to me for it is essential that every elected official understand the attitudes and concerns of the people he represents. I can assure you that I will keep your views in mind, and I hope that you will continue to let me be the beneficiary of your views and judgements.

I look forward to working with you and your associates on matters of mutual interest.

Best wishes for a happy holiday season and a bright new year.

Sincerely,



Dave Durenberger

Fran Boyden  
Karen Anderson  
✓ Helene Borg  
Pam Berkwitz

LWV Letterhead

To: Minnesota Legislators  
From: Helene Borg, President  
Karen Anderson, Government Co-Chair  
Frances Boyden, Tax Lobbyist  
Date:

THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA HAS ~~MORE THAN 4000 MEMBERS AND~~  
LOCAL LEAGUES IN EVERY MINNESOTA SENATE DISTRICT. *+ in most legislative districts*

League members STUDY - ADOPT POSITIONS - TAKE ACTION.

The League has studied FINANCING GOVERNMENT IN MINNESOTA and will work for the following positions during the 1979 Session:

We support

- A flexible Minnesota multi-tax system.
- Decreased taxation when there is a budget surplus.
- Lowering income tax rates for all income levels.
- Continued state aids to local school districts and local governments.
- Retaining the 4% Minnesota sales tax with no increase in exemptions.
- More efficient state administrative and legislative expenditures.

We oppose

- Increasing individual income tax exemptions.
- A general tax refund.
- Increases in spending for general state government and the legislative branch.
- Increases in spending for public retirement benefits.

We appreciate your attention to these opinions of our members.



DRAFT

Okay \_\_\_\_\_ Borg ✓  
\_\_\_\_\_ Berkwitz

To: Dave, Rudy, Arlen, Tom, Bill, Bruce, Marty, Rick, Arlen, Jim:

Dear \_\_\_\_\_

Congratulations on your (re) election to the U. S. Senate (House of Representatives from Minnesota's \_\_\_\_\_ District).

The League of Women Voters, a nonpartisan organization, works to promote the active, informed participation of citizens in their government. Following membership study and consensus, the organization also takes action on selected governmental issues. We look forward to working, and cooperating, with you on these issues raised in the public interest on the public's behalf.

A member of the state Board (of one of the local LWVs in the \_\_\_\_\_ Congressional district) will contact you soon to set up an appointment to discuss the upcoming Congressional sessions. Among the areas we would like to talk about are oil policy, civil rights, electoral college reform, trade.

Send them a publication? What?

We look forward to further contact with you on issues of mutual concern.

Sincerely,

Helene Borg, President

Pam Berkwitz, Action Chair

DRAFT OF LETTER TO GOV. QUIE

Okay \_\_\_\_\_ Borg  
\_\_\_\_\_ Berkwitz

Dear Mr. Quie:

Our sincere congratulations on your election as Governor.

As you know, League of Women Voters (LWV) members throughout Minnesota inform themselves and their communities about issues and challenges that face us as we seek to make Minnesota an even better place in which to live and work. We are enclosing our publication, "Program For Action," which will give you an idea of the areas that have been studied by our members and on which they have reached consensus. We invite your comments on, and study chairpersons could provide you and/or your staff with additional details about, any of these issues which are of particular interest to you. LWVMN's office phone is 224-5445.

The League of Women Voters believes that efficient and economical government requires competent personnel and the clear assignment of responsibility. The League also supports policies to ensure equality of opportunity in employment, and an open appointment process. (HH note: only CMAL has a flat-out statement to that effect.) We applaud your purported utilization of task forces to review resumes and recommend top administrative personnel finalists for interview. Since the League has studied many areas for which new administrators will be chosen, we would welcome the opportunity to serve on those task forces.

We look forward to further contact with you on issues of mutual concern.  
Sincerely,

Helene Borg, President

BORG and PAM: Could we have your comments and okay on this, letter to MN Reps. and Congressional Delegation (which you already have) by Tuesday a.m. so we can get started on the typing. Thanks.

AUG 21 1978

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

August 12, 1978

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

Dear Ms. Borg:

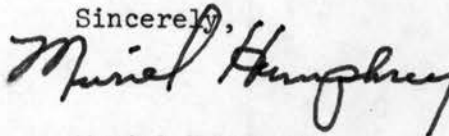
Thank you so much for your recent letter.

I appreciate your taking the time to get in touch with me. I am happy to see that you are following my activities and hope that I continue to merit your support.

Thank you again for writing. It was good to hear from you.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Muriel Humphrey". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

Muriel Humphrey



## LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

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

Hune 13, 1978

The Honorable Muriel Humphrey  
2113 Dirksen Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Humphrey:

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota (LWVMN) has learned that on June 2, IRS rescinded Revenue Ruling 78-160 which might have prohibited 501(c)(3) organizations from publishing voters guides containing candidates' views on issues of public interest. We had written you on May 19 expressing our concern about this ruling.

We believe that the interest and concern expressed by members of Congress was one reason for the rapid recission of IRS Revnue Ruling 78-160.

Subsequently IRS issued a new ruling, 78-248. This newer ruling is one satisfactory to us and one which once again allows organizations such as the League of Women Voters Education Fund to use tax deductible monies for publishing nonpartisan voters guides.

Sincerely,

Harriett Herb  
Executive Director

Copy: Borg  
Same letter sent to Anderson, Quie, Hagedorn,  
Frenzel, Nolan, Oberstar



## LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

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

May 19, 1978

The Honorable Donald Fraser  
2268 Rayburn Office Building  
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Mr. Fraser:

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota has recently been informed of IRS Revenue Ruling 78-160 which holds that 501(c)(3), nonprofit educational organizations may not use tax deductible monies to publish responses to questionnaires sent to all candidates running for a particular office.

IRS' interpretation of section 501(c)(3) was that "...any participation or intervention which affects voter acceptance or rejection of a candidate." would be in violation of that section of the code. In effect, the ruling prohibits organizations like the League of Women Voters Education Fund from publishing voters guides which contain statements from candidates on issues of concern to the general public as well as to the organization itself. Who is not interested in such issues as taxes, the environment or education? Previous IRS rulings were not so restrictive about using tax deductible monies for such publications.

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota was contemplating using tax deductible monies to publish a voters guide of statewide and congressional candidates' views following the September 12 primary election. We intended to distribute the guides to approximately 75,000 people. Unless this ruling is changed, we, and all other Leagues who had contemplated such publications, will be required to sell same or to distribute such information only to our own members, a substantially smaller number of people than first contemplated.

We respectfully request that you ask IRS why they promulgated such a ruling without advance notice and public debate. If you are also so inclined, we would appreciate your filing a formal objection and requesting remedial action.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Harriett Herb  
Executive Director

Same letter to each member of the Minnesota delegation.  
cc: H. B., Mary Waldo, Pam, Office

Xerox Karen & Kahlenberg MAR 16 1978  
orig to HS ✓

JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA., CHAIRMAN

FRANK CHURCH, IDAHO  
CLAIBORNE PELL, R.I.  
GEORGE MC GOVERN, S. DAK.  
DICK CLARK, IOWA  
JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR., DEL.  
JOHN GLENN, OHIO  
RICHARD (DICK) STONE, FLA.  
PAUL S. SARBANES, MD.  
MURIEL HUMPHREY, MINN.

CLIFFORD P. CASE, N.J.  
JACOB K. JAVITS, N.Y.  
JAMES B. PEARSON, KANS.  
CHARLES H. PERCY, ILL.  
ROBERT P. GRIFFIN, MICH.  
HOWARD H. BAKER, JR., TENN.

NORVILL JONES, CHIEF OF STAFF  
ABNER E. KENDRICK, CHIEF CLERK

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

March 13, 1978

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

Dear Ms. Borg:

Thank you for your letter. I was pleased that one of my first votes in the Governmental Affairs Committee was to report out a Resolution to implement Rule 50, to provide needed protection for fair employment by the U. S. Senate.

I will continue to give this measure my strong support.

Sincerely,



Muriel Humphrey



Xerox for Board

MAR 13 1978

March 10, 1978

The Honorable Muriel Humphrey  
2113 Dirksen Office Building  
Washington D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Humphrey:

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota would like to invite you to a luncheon honoring "Women in Government". The purpose of this luncheon would be to raise money for the League's national ERA ratification fund drive.

We would be glad to plan the luncheon for any time in April when you will be in Minnesota. It could be during the week or on a weekend, at your convenience. We would then hope to invite other Minnesota women in government to also be honored, but your presence would surely attract many to this benefit for the Equal Rights Amendment.

If you would care to be our keynote speaker on behalf of equal rights, we would be delighted. If you would prefer, however, you could simply be our honored guest and perhaps make a few brief remarks on behalf of the ERA, in company with some of the other guests.

We hope very much that you will be able to accept our invitation on behalf of this cause for which we have all been working so long and hard.

Sincerely yours,

Helene Borg,  
President

Jeannette Kahlenberg,  
ERA Coordinator  
(612) 429-6070



## LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

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

**To:** Members of the Minnesota House of Representatives  
**From:** Helene Borg, President  
Pamela Berkwitz, Action Chair  
**Date:** February 27, 1978

As you know, the League of Women Voters of Minnesota (LWVMN) works through the legislative process to promote its program. Program positions have been reached after careful study by local League members, followed by discussion and ratification at state League Conventions.

Enclosed is the new PROGRAM FOR ACTION, which details the positions of the LWVMN. Also enclosed is the LWV's recently reached position on Collective Bargaining and Tenure. The materials used by League members in their study, FACTS AND ISSUES: EDUCATION, a series of three publications on collective bargaining and tenure, are enclosed too.

We look forward to working with you on issues of League concern.

Same letter sent to members of the MN Senate

Xerox for Borg, Berkwitz, Anderson, Buffington

FEB 10 1978

**Arne H. Carlson**

Assistant Minority Leader  
District 58B  
Hennepin County  
**Committees:**  
Criminal Justice  
Education  
Environment and Natural Resources  
Rules and Legislative Administration



# Minnesota House of Representatives

Martin Olav Sabo, Speaker

February 9, 1978

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

Dear Jerry:

I just noticed in the February 1 report the statement the League of Women Voters is endorsing Senate File 1006. This bill has tremendous implications to the process of open elections in Minnesota and I cannot believe that the League of Women Voters could possibly support a bill that so grossly discriminates against Republicans and Independents and protects highly favored advantages to incumbents.

I would like very much to meet with the League of Women Voters Board and go over this issue. I very much appreciate your help in this matter and look forward to working with you.

Warmest regards,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Arne H. Carlson", is written over the typed name.

ARNE H. CARLSON  
Assistant Minority Leader

AHC:mcp

DONALD M. FRASER  
5TH DISTRICT, MINNESOTA

1111 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING  
202-225-4755

DISTRICT OFFICE  
180 FEDERAL COURTS BUILDING  
MINNEAPOLIS, MN 55401  
612-725-2081

Xerox for Borg Berkwitz  
Brown Kahlenberg  
Orig. to P.S.L.  
Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
COMMITTEE

SUBCOMMITTEES:

CHAIRMAN, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND COMMERCE

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
COMMITTEE

February 7, 1978

FEB 8 1978

Dear Friends:

Last year Senator James Abourezk introduced S. 1214, the "Indian Child Welfare Act of 1977." This legislation was introduced to establish uniform adoption and foster care policies throughout the United States for the protection of Indian youth.

The bill has been passed by the Senate and will be considered by the House of Representatives during this session of Congress. I feel that this is an extremely important initiative which will have far-reaching effects.

Hearings on the "Indian Child Welfare Act" have been scheduled by the House Subcommittee on Indian Affairs and Public Lands for February 9 and March 9. I intend to testify before the Subcommittee on March 9.

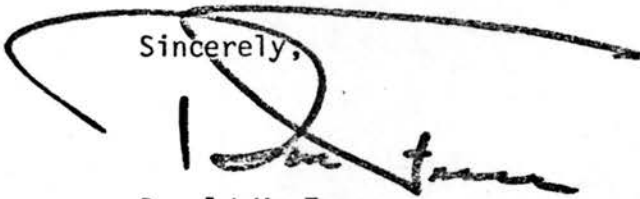
In order to familiarize myself with concerns of the community and hopefully to provide a useful exchange of information between concerned agencies and citizens, I have scheduled a meeting from 10:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. on Monday, February 20 to discuss the Indian Child Welfare Act. The meeting will be at the Minneapolis Regional Native American Center at 1530 East Franklin.

The meeting will be of a general discussion nature. All interested persons are invited. If you wish to make a statement to the group or would like information concerning the meeting please call Art Benson in my Minneapolis office at 725-2081.

Following the presentation of statements general discussion of the bill will be invited.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

  
Donald M. Fraser