



League of Women Voters of Minnesota Records

Copyright Notice:

This material may be protected by copyright law (U.S. Code, Title 17). Researchers are liable for any infringement. For more information, visit www.mnhs.org/copyright.

9. S.W. -

suggest revision

<hr/>	<hr/>
<hr/>	<hr/>

Suggestion offered to bi-partisan committee and league legislative committee on subject of Party Designation

Luverne Graham

- I. If it is true that Minnesota's non-partisan law was offered by the bill's opponents and was passed in 1913 on a fluke without a word of debate on its merits, it is now 45 years late to re-examine the law and test it against the needs and wishes of Minnesota's people.
- II. If it is true that the two party system is the most valid expression of a democracy in action, if the two party system is to remain steadily vital through voter participation in party structure and action, and if party platform must spring from the people themselves beginning at precinct caucus and developing on up through the various conventions to the final adoption of platform planks, then the peoples' role in their own state government is being perverted in the non-partisan legislature.
- III. If the people, through their two party platforms, have shown since the 30's that they want to return to the party system in the legislature, if Amendment 3 (calling for a constitutional convention) in the last state election could pass resoundingly and then be ignored by the following session, if 250,000 citizens in the south half of rural Hennepin county can continue to be represented by a single senator (to give only 3 isolated examples) then the non-partisan legislature is obviously not responsive to mandates of the people.
- IV. If the governor must campaign on platform, stand on platform pledges after election, and then find his program frequently blocked to a standstill by legislators who do not have to stand on platform then there is a paralyzing short circuit in the function of govern-

ment. The people show their approval of the candidates program by electing him. He is accountable to the people for that program even though the legislators may choose to block him every step of the way.

- V. If legislators can rightfully claim unfettered independence, why do factional leaders, Conservatives and Liberals, frequently meet in advance of the session to agree on legislative offices? It was known before the 1953 session that the Conservative nominee would win the speakership because almost 2/3 of the House members committed themselves to support him as a candidate of their faction. A like situation existed in the Senate on the naming of the president pro tem.

- VI. If the legislature is truly nonpartisan why do legislators choose to be either Conservative or Liberal and generally choose for keeps? Note what subsequently happens in the assignments of members to committees. During the 1953 session in the House, the speaker excluded the minority faction from any participation whatever on the important Rules committee. To reserve this committee for Conservatives and to overlook deliberately every Liberal, however able or experienced, is a partisan method of selection. The speaker also named a Conservative as the chairman of each of the 39 standing committees and gave all the committee vice chairmanships to members of his faction.

Such factionalism is now a traditional practice in Minnesota's legislature. On the opening day of the 1955 session the Liberals captured the speakership of the House by a slim margin of 66-65. Even with this precarious margin the Liberal speaker excluded all Conservatives from the Rules committee and monopolized all committee chairmanships and vice chairmanships with members

of his faction.

- VII. If the Conservative-Liberal alignment appears clearly in the voting on controversial bills, it means that the legislator may not be voting as he does as a representative of all the people. There is no accountability on the part of the legislator to support or oppose legislation which may be of vital concern to the State as a whole.
- VIII. If what the Minnesota legislature has therefore is a legislative party system in which the majority "party" manages the machinery of law making through the well-known instrumentalities of party control -- selection of presiding officers, naming of committee chairmen, assignment of members to committees in sufficient numbers to control them, majority and minority leaders, caucuses and party discipline in voting, then it appears vastly evident that a body of 198 members could not function efficiently without such factional controls. Why do we not direct a clear bright light into the actual construction of Minnesota government and reveal that our legislature is not nonpartisan in any way. Nor can it ever be unless in some far off day the people might vote to reduce our governing body to a small unicameral legislature similar to Nebraska's. We have parties in wonderful form in the Minnesota legislature. The only thing missing is the peoples' participation in their own state government through party controls.

If the above premises are true and proveable then the people are entitled to a choice of the alternatives which our two parties can provide.

LEGISLATIVE ROLL CALLS - 1955

A brief picture of what happened to League bills during the 1955 Legislative Session is here included. Please attach this ROLL CALL to the 1955 LEGISLATIVE REPORT and refer to it for the complete picture of what happened to each bill.

Some bills, when amended, have an entirely different meaning than the original bill - for example, the Party Designation bill this session. If your legislator voted "no" on this bill, we have not attempted to interpret if he did so because he opposed party designation for legislators, or because he opposed the amended bill, which included party designation for county officials as well.

The League reports the recorded votes for you. Only your legislator can interpret his own vote for you.

CONSTITUTIONAL
CONVENTION
DEFEATED

This bill "Would submit this question to the voters in November, 1956: 'Shall there be a convention to revise the Constitution of the State of Minnesota?'"

Senate File # 23

Authors: Holmquist, Mullin, E. L. Andersen

Vote: 40 - no 27 - yes

House File # 65

Authors: Cina, Langley, H. R. Anderson, A. I. Johnson, Luther

Vote: Lost in the Senate, the Constitutional Convention bill never received final vote in the House.

REAPPORTIONMENT
DEFEATED

The Bergerud Bill. A statutory proposal for an act to prescribe the boundaries of senatorial and representative districts and to reapportion, concedes to the area principle: metropolitan legislators would represent an average of 18,121 people each; rural legislators would represent an average of only 13,834 people each.

Senate File - No companion bill introduced in the Senate, but House File # 279 was defeated in Senate Committee.

House File # 279

Authors: Bergerud, Popovich, Herzog, Wegner, French

Vote: 68 - yes 59 - no

PARTY
DESIGNATION
FOR
LEGISLATORS
DEFEATED

A bill to provide for party designation for legislators. Amended by the House to provide for party labels for county officials as well, and to entitle legislative nominees to sit on their parties' county central committees.

Senate File # 14

Authors: Vukelich, Peterson, E. L. Andersen

Vote: It never got to the point of committee discussion in Senate.

House File # 12

Authors: Grittner, Oberg, Wozniak, Rutter, Karth

Vote: 68 - no 62 - yes

FAIR
EMPLOYMENT
PRACTICES
BILL
PASSED

"A bill for an act for Fair Employment Practices creating and establishing a Fair Employment Practices Commission; preventing and prohibiting discrimination in employment based on race, color, creed, religion, or national origin; establishing methods and procedures for this purpose and providing an appropriation to carry out the purposes of the act."

Senate File # 722

Authors: Mullin, E. L. Andersen, Vukelich

Vote: 49 - yes 10 - no 8 - not voting

House File # 778

Authors: A. I. Johnson, Prifrel, Langley, H. R. Anderson, Cina

Vote: 96 - yes 30 - no 5 - not voting

CIVIL
SERVICE
SYSTEM
BILLS

VETERANS PREFERENCE - DEFEATED

This bill modified Veterans Preference based on recommendations of the Interim Committee on the Civil Service Program, regarding Veterans Preference.

Senate File # 950

Authors: Wefald, Root

Vote: League supported this bill but it never got out of committee.

House File # 1120

Authors: Parks, H. J. Anderson

Vote: This bill was voted to be indefinitely postponed (same as killed) in committee.

RELATING TO THE DIRECTOR - PASSED

A bill vacating the office of director of Civil Service and providing for his appointment by the governor with consent of the Senate. Senate amended to appointment by the Board, six year term, and no examination required if reappointed. The League opposed this bill because it did not provide for selection through competitive examination and the director was not given tenure.

Senate File # 32

Authors: Vukelich, Rogers, E. Peterson

Vote: No vote taken on Senate File 32 but did vote for substitute House File # 158.
54 - yes 0 - no

House File #158

Authors: Rutter, Dunn, Cina, Fugina, Dirlam

Vote: 97 - yes 15 - no

SENATE VOTES

Votes were taken in the Senate on Constitutional Convention, Fair Employment Practices, and Civil Service bills, relating to the director. Votes were not taken on Reapportionment, Party Designation, and Civil Service bills relating to Veterans Preference.

Senators	Cau- cus	Dis- trict	Cons.		Civil Serv.	Senators	Cau- cus	Dis- trict	Cons.		Civil Serv.
			Conv.	FEP					Conv.	FEP	
			SF 23	SF 722	HF 158				SF 23	SF 722	HF 158
Andersen, E.L.	C	42	Y	Y	Y	Masek	C	39	N	Y	Y
Anderson, A.A.	C	11	N	N	Y	Malone	C	17	N	Y	Y
Anderson, E.J.	C	7	N	N	Y	Mayhood	C	31	N	Y	Y
Anderson, M.H.	L	32	Y	Y	Y	Metcalf	C	21	N	N	Y
Behmler	C	48	N	N	Y	Miller	C	36	N	NV	Y
Bonniwell	L	22	Y	Y	Y	Mitchell	C	55	N	NV	Y
Burdick	C	4	N	Y		Mullin	C	35	Y	Y	
Butler	C	57	N	Y	Y	Murray	L	66	N	Y	Y
Carr	L	59	N	Y		Nelson	C	16	Y	Y	Y
Child	C	24	N	NV		Novak	L	38	N	Y	Y
Dunlap	C	3	N	N	Y	Nycklemoe	L	50	Y	Y	
Erickson	C	9	N	N	Y	O'Brien	C	52	N	Y	
Feidt	C	34	N	NV	Y	O'Loughlin	C	40	Y	NV	Y
Franz	C	10	N	Y	Y	Olson	L	23	Y	Y	
Fraser	L	29	Y	Y	Y	Peterson	L	60	Y	Y	Y
George	C	19	N	Y	Y	Quie	C	18	Y	Y	Y
Gillen	C	20	Y	Y		Richardson	C	45	N	Y	Y
Hanson, N.W.	L	54	Y	Y	Y	Rogers	C	58	N	NV	Y
Hanson, R.	C	6	Y	Y	Y	Root	C	33	N	Y	Y
Harren	C	46	N	N		Rosenmeier	C	53	N	Y	Y
Heuer	L	51	Y	Y	Y	Salmore	L	43	Y	Y	Y
Holand	C	5	N	NV	Y	Schultz	L	37	Y	Y	
Holmquist	C	26	Y	Y	Y	Sinclair	C	67	N	Y	Y
Imm	C	8	N	N	Y	Vadheim	C	12	Y	Y	Y
Johnson, C.E.	L	56	Y	Y	Y	Vukelich	L	61	Y	Y	
Johnson, J.A.	C	1	N	N	Y	Wahlstrand	C	25	Y	NV	Y
Johnson, R.W.	L	44	Y	Y	Y	Walz	L	63	Y	Y	
Josefson	C	13	N	Y	Y	Wefald	C	49	N	Y	Y
Kalina	L	28	Y	Y	Y	Welch	C	27	N	Y	Y
Keller	C	2	N	Y	Y	Westin	C	41	Y	Y	Y
Kroehler	C	15	N	Y	Y	Wiseth	L	65	Y	Y	
Larson	C	64	N	Y	Y	Wright	C	30	N	Y	Y
Lofvegren	C	47	N	Y	Y	Zwach	C	14	N	Y	Y
McKee	C	62	N	N	Y						

Y - yes

N - no

NV - no vote

HOUSE VOTES

Votes were taken in the House on Reapportionment, Party Designation, Fair Employment Practices, and Civil Service bill relating to office of director. Votes were not taken on Constitutional Convention and a Civil Service bill relating to Veterans Preference.

<u>Representative</u>	<u>Cau- cus</u>	<u>Dis- trict</u>	<u>Reappor- tionment HF279</u>	<u>Party Desig. HF12</u>	<u>FEPC HF778</u>	<u>Civil Service HF158</u>
Adams, James L.	L	31	Y	Y	Y	Y
Affeldt, Sr., Leland A.	L	66	Y	Y	Y	Y
Alderink, George	C	55	N	N	NV	Y
Allen, Claude H.	C	42	Y		Y	
Anderson, Delbert F.	C	47	N	N	N	N
Anderson, Floyd R.	L	58	N	Y	Y	Y
Anderson, G. A.	L	48	N	N	Y	Y
Anderson, Harold J.	C	33	Y	Y	Y	Y
Anderson, Harold R.	C	15	N	Y	Y	N
Anderson, Moppy	C	1	N	N	N	Y
Aune, Ole O. Jr.	C	50	N	N	Y	Y
Basford, Harry	L	63	N	Y	N	NV
Bassett, Wayne R.	L	11	Y	Y	Y	Y
Battles, Everett	L	67	Y	Y	Y	Y
Beanblossom, Sheldon	C	37	Y	N	Y	Y
Bergerud, Alf	C	36	Y	Y	Y	NV
Bergeson, Burnett J.	L	64	N	N	Y	Y
Berglund, Elmer E.	L	62	Y	Y	Y	Y
Biernat, Ted L.	L	28	Y	Y	Y	Y
Campton, Chas. E.	L	57	Y	N	Y	
Chilgren, E. J.	L	62	N	Y	Y	Y
Christie, Thomas N.	C	30	Y	Y	Y	N
Cina, Fred A.	L	61	Y	Y	Y	
Clark, Otto E.	C	47	N	N	N	Y
Conroy, Dan	L	48	N	N	Y	Y
Cummings, Roy H.	C	11	N	N	Y	
Cunningham, Lawrence	C	12	N	N	Y	N
Dahle, Omar C.	C	16	N	N	N	Y
Day, Walter E.	L	65	Y	N	Y	NV
Dirlam, Aubrey	C	14	N	N	Y	Y
Dunn, Roy E.	C	50	N	Y	Y	Y
Duxbury, Lloyd	C	1	N	Y	N	N
Eck, Carl W.	L	44	Y	Y	Y	Y
Eddy, Paul L.	C	27	N	N	N	Y
Enestvedt, Odean	L	23	Y	N	Y	Y
Erdahl, L. B.	C	7	N	N	Y	Y
Ernst, Emil C.	C	22	Y	Y	Y	Y
Fitzsimons, Richard W.	C	67	N	N	Y	Y
Franz, Sam	L	10	N	N	Y	Y
Freeman, G. W.	C	5	N	N	Y	Y
French, George	C	33	Y	Y	Y	N
Fugina, Peter X.	L	61	Y	Y	Y	Y
Fuller, Graham	C	12	N	N	N	N
Gallagher, Frank X	L	20	Y	N	Y	Y
Goodin, H. P. (Pat)	L	35	Y	Y	Y	
Graba, Clifford C.	L	51	N	Y	Y	Y
Grant, George E.	L	55	N	N	Y	Y
Grittner, Karl F.	L	39	Y	Y	Y	Y
Grussing, George	C	24	N	N	NV	Y

Representative	Caucus	District	Reapportionment HF279	Party Desig. HF12	FEPC HF778	Civil Service HF158
Hagland, Carl G.	L	31	Y	Y	Y	Y
Halsted, Chas. L.	L	53	Y	N	Y	Y
Hartle, John A.	C	16	Y	Y	Y	N
Herzog, Jacob J.	L	5	Y	N	Y	Y
Hofstad, Alvin O.	L	24	N	N	Y	Y
Howard, John F.	C	43	Y	N	Y	Y
Hussong, Louis H.	C	10	N	N	NV	Y
Iverson, Carl M.	L	48	N	N	N	Y
Jensen, Carl A.	C	14	N	Y	N	N
Johnson, Alfred I.	L	25	Y	Y	Y	Y
Johnson, Erwin P.	L	49	N	N	Y	Y
Johnson, O. L.	C	54		N	N	Y
Karas, Joe	C	56	N	N	Y	Y
Karth, Joe	L	42	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kelley, Jerry	L	37	Y	Y	Y	NV
Kennedy, R. B.	C	14	N	N	NV	Y
Kinzer, John J.	C	46		N	N	
Knudsen, Eugene P.	L	25	N	Y	Y	Y
Kording, Herman J.	L	32	Y	Y	Y	Y
LaBrosse, Francis	L	59	Y	Y	Y	
Langen, Odin E. S.	C	67	N	N	Y	N
Langley, Clarence G.	C	19	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lindquist, Leonard E.	C	36	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lovik, A. W.	L	63	N	N	Y	Y
Lund, Joyce	L	3	Y	N	Y	Y
Luther, Sally	L	30	Y	Y	Y	Y
McCarty, Glenn D.	C	34	Y	Y	Y	N
McGill, John D.	L	2	Y	N	Y	Y
McGuire, Michael	L	17	Y	N	Y	Y
McLeod, Donald	C	2	N	N	N	Y
Madden, Leo D.	C	4	Y	N	N	Y
Madden, Ralph	C	13	N	N	N	Y
Moriarty, Michael	C	21	Y	Y	Y	
Mosier, Leo D.	L	35	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mueller, August B.	C	15	Y	N	N	Y
Munger, Willard M.	L	59	Y	Y	Y	Y
Nordlie, O. Gerhard	C	26	N	N	N	Y
Noreen, Roger F.	C	57	Y	N	Y	Y
Oberg, A. F.	C	56	Y	N	Y	Y
O'Dea, Richard W.	L	43	Y	Y	Y	
Ogle, Arthur	C	8	Y	Y	N	Y
Olson, Carl G.	L	9	N	N	Y	Y
Ottinger, Howard	C	21	N	N	N	
Otto, Alfred	L	40		Y	Y	
Parks, Clifton	C	42	Y	Y	Y	Y
Paskewitz, Albert	L	51	N	N	Y	Y
Peterson, Oscar O.	C	13	N	N	N	Y
Phillips, Seth R.	L	52	Y	N	Y	NV
Podgorski, Anthony	L	38	Y	Y	Y	Y
Popovich, Peter S.	L	40	Y	Y	Y	Y
Prifrel, Joseph	L	38	Y	Y	Y	Y
Reed, Dewey	L	45	Y	N	NV	Y
Rutter, Loren S.	L	60	Y	Y	Y	Y
Schenck, Ely R.	C	49	N	N	Y	N
Schulz, Roy	C	8	Y	Y	N	Y
Schumann, Marvin C.	C	45	N	N	Y	N

<u>Representative</u>	<u>Cau- cus</u>	<u>Dis- trict</u>	<u>Reappor- tionment HF279</u>	<u>Party Desig. HF12</u>	<u>FEPC HF778</u>	<u>Civil Service HF158</u>
Schwanke, Fred W.	C	53	Y	N	N	Y
Shipka, Vladimir	L	52	Y	Y	Y	Y
Shovell, Bill	L	41	Y	Y	Y	Y
Skeate, John P.	L	29	Y	Y	Y	Y
Skoog, Evert A.	C	53	N	N	N	NV
Sorensen, Wm.	L	48	N	Y	Y	Y
Sundet, O. A.	C	18	N	N	N	N
Swenson, Glen	C	27		N	N	Y
Talle, Irwin M.	C	6	N	N	N	Y
Thompson, Teman	C	1	N	N	N	Y
Tiemann, Edmund C.	L	46	Y	N	Y	Y
Tomczyk, Edward	L	28	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tweten, Reuben H.	C	66	N	N	N	N
Ukkelberg, Cliff	C	50	N	N	Y	Y
Van De Riet, G. J.	C	9	N	N	N	Y
Volstad, Edward J.	L	32	Y	Y	Y	Y
Voxland, Roy L.	C	19	N	N	N	NV
Wanvick, Arne C.	L	58	N	Y	Y	Y
Wee, Reuben	L	12	N	N	Y	Y
Wegner, Carl O.	C	29	Y	Y	Y	NV
Wichterman, B. M.	L	65	N	Y	Y	Y
Widstrand, Paul S.	L	60	Y	Y	Y	Y
Windmiller, E. J.	C	50	N	Y	Y	Y
Wozniak, D. D.	L	39	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wright, F. Gordon	C	34	Y	Y	Y	Y
Yetka, Lawrence	L	54	Y	Y	Y	Y

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

February 11, '55
Additional copies, 4¢
LEADERS MATERIAL

LEGISLATIVE BULLETIN

*Time
for Action*

RE: PARTY DESIGNATION FOR
LEGISLATORS

HF 12 - Authors: Grittner (L), Oberg (C), Wozniak (L), Rutter (L), Karth (L)

It's time for ACTION! Write your representative now urging that the bill be passed in its original form without the amendment.

H.F.12 is a bill to provide for party designation for legislators. It was reported out of the House Elections Committee with a majority of the committee favoring it. During debate on the measure in the House however, an amendment to add county elective officials as well as legislators to the list of offices picked on a party ticket was offered and passed. The League of Women Voters cannot support the bill as amended, and it is hoped that the amendment can be defeated.

*Time
for Action*

RE: CONSTITUTIONAL
CONVENTION

SF 23 - Authors: Holmquist (C), Mullin (C), E.L.Andersen (C)
HF 65 - Authors: Cina (L), A.I.Johnson (L), Langley (C), H.R.Anderson (C), Luther(L).
HF 66 - Authors: Rutter (L), Karth (L)

It's time for ACTION! Write your Senators and Representatives now to support these bills! You might take a hint from the Rochester League. At a meeting recently, they brought notepaper (of various kinds), dealt it out to the many women there, then they wrote a letter on the spot, some on Constitutional Convention, some on Party Designation etc. Each was urged to get their husbands and neighbors to do likewise.

S.F.23 was heard in the Judiciary Committee on Feb.3. Proponents who spoke included Senators Holmquist, Westin, E.L.Andersen and Mullin, and Mrs. Malcolm Hargraves for the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Revision, Mr. Wm. B. Pearson, Master of the State Grange and President of the Governor's Advisory Committee on Constitutional Revision, Mr. Ralph Keller, Executive Secretary of the Minnesota Editorial Association, and Mrs. Basil Young, President of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota. The only opponent who spoke was Mr. Mike Galvin, lobbyist for the Railroads. At one point in his testimony, he stated that it might take millions of dollars to hold such a convention, and Mrs. Ralph Norgaard, League Chairman for Constitutional Convention, submitted a letter from the League of Women Voters of Missouri which refuted his statement by showing that the Missouri convention had cost only a little over \$200,000.

Senator Gillen called attention of the Committee to several other bills which would submit the question of a Constitutional Convention to the people. The Chairman stated that the Committee would consider these other bills and take action on them and on SF23 at a later meeting. On Feb. 10, the vote was postponed because some of the members of the committee said they "are not ready yet to vote."

REAPPORTIONMENT

SF 50 - Authors: Zwach (C), Mitchell (C), Schultz (L)

This bill proposes an amendment following the recommendation of the Minnesota Constitutional Commission. Hearings will begin in the Senate Elections and Reapportionment Committee on February 14. The authors have agreed to amend this bill so that we may support it.

HF 279 - Authors: Bergerud (C), Popovich (L), Herzog (L), Wegner (C), French (C).

The "Bergerud Bill" referred to sub-committee. The House Reapportionment Committee has divided into sub-committees to consider the two approaches to reapportionment - 1) a bill under the present constitution and 2) an amendment to the constitution. Both sub-committees are expected to report bills out soon.

What you can do: Write letters to your local papers and to Twin City papers (which are followed closely by the legislators) urging reapportionment legislation this session.

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

SF ____ - Authors: Mullin (C), E.L. Andersen (C), Vukelich (L).
Referred: Probably will be to the Judiciary Committee

HF ____ - Authors: A.I. Johnson (L), Cina (L), Prifrel (L), Langley (C), H.R. Anderson (C).
Referred: Probably will be to the Labor Committee.

Senate Judiciary Committee:

Welch (C) Chm.	Mitchell (C)
Dunlap (C)	Mullin (C)
Erickson (C)	Nelson, H. (C)
Feidt (C)	Nycklemoe (L)
Fraser (L)	O'Loughlin (C)
Gillen (C)	Root (C)
Hanson, R. (C)	Rosenmeier (C)
Kalina (L)	Schultz (L)
Masek (C)	Wefald (C)
Miller (C)	Wright (C)

House Labor Committee:

Karth (L) Chm.	Kinzer (C)
Berglund (L)	Madden (C)
Adams (L)	McLeod (C)
Anderson, F.R. (L)	Munger (L)
Aune (C)	Peterson (C)
Dahle (C)	Podgorski (L)
Fugina (L)	Prifrel (L)
Fuller (C)	Talle (C)
Herzog (L)	Volstad (L)
Kelley (L)	

The 1955 FEPC bill has had a long struggle to be born. We think that when it does make its appearance (this week, we hope) it will be a husky infant, the child of firmly united parents who are agreed on its destiny and who refuse to see it crippled in any way.

You remember that in December the state Board of the League of Women Voters voted that while we could not accept the incorporation of criminal penalties into the bill, since that would change it too much from the 1953 bill which our state convention voted in May of 1953 to support, we did agree that the League would join other organizations in the Minnesota Council for FEPC in insisting that a bill without court enforcement powers would be unacceptable.

In the negotiations which followed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Urban League leaders, deeply concerned for the suffering and injustice inflicted upon their people by discrimination, insisted upon what they considered the stronger safeguards of criminal provisions. Legislative and administrative leaders took the position that IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE TO PASS AN FEPC BILL WITHOUT THE SUPPORT OF THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS!

Reluctantly, then, the Negro leaders dropped the criminal provisions and spelled out instead the 1953 court enforcement procedures which the League has all along supported. The fact that these leaders felt so strongly about the provisions and that they willingly compromised their position to get League support, throws upon us a great responsibility to do everything within our power to support the bill which has been developed by such long and soul searching deliberations, in which League members have had an active part.

Although the bill will enter the legislative hopper about a week later than it did in 1953 session, we have several reasons to be hopeful. In the Senate we have the same experienced authors who piloted the bill in 1953. Among the five authors in the House are included the Speaker of the House, Mr. Johnson, and the House Majority Leader, Mr. Cina. This bill is an administration bill.

So far as can be learned from consultation with the authors the bill will go to the same committees in each House which considered it in the last session. The fact, however, that the new chairman of the House Labor Committee, Joe Karth, is a supporter rather than an opponent of the bill, will assure us a fair hearing with as little delay as possible.

We are holding a training workshop on February 10th for FEPC lobbyists, which will be attended by several authors of the bill. Our local lobbyists can do three things: first, they can supply your legislators with accurate information; second, speak to them as representative of a statewide organization to which many of their constituents belong; and third, try to awaken them to their responsibilities as lawmakers for the state toward problems which affect the state as a whole.

But it is YOU, their constituents, on whom we must depend for the real push. Particularly helpful in your letters or talks with your representatives would be a reference to the Minnesota Poll printed in the February 6 Minneapolis Sunday Tribune which showed that 85% of Minnesota adults favor an FEPC law (86% of the city residents, 85% of the people in small towns, 82% of the people on farms). Clearly Minnesota voters favor the passage of this legislation. When we talk to a man we are helpless if he says, as one representative did last week, "The League women in my town don't care how I vote on this." We should, therefore, like to correspond with some of you directly when your representatives in key positions are undecided as to how they should vote.

In January of this year FEPC ordinances were passed in both St. Paul and Duluth. One might assume that ordinances in the three large cities would take care of employment problems of Minnesota minority groups. That this is not the case is attested by the following facts:

1. Outside the corporate limits of the large cities are rings of important industries not regulated by city ordinances.
2. The large minority group in the state, our Indian population of about 19,600, is shifting more and more from the reservations in search of employment. To deal justly with the qualified and capable among these people and to interpret to the remainder the employment standards of a modern industrialized society requires the services of such trained and experienced men as are on an FEP Commission and its staff.
3. We have case histories of highly qualified minority group workers who have been refused jobs in outstate Minnesota communities because employers did not know how to handle integration.
4. An overall state FEPC administration would be more economical and efficient than several commissions in each of the large cities.

CIVIL SERVICE

- Time marches on! Copies of the Report of the Interim Committee on the Civil Service Program were mailed to you on the 24th of January. Drafting of bills based on the Report is underway now. These may be introduced as administration bills which will give them stronger backing. The state League board voted to support bills based on the Committee recommendation for modification of Veterans Preference. (See pp.82-84 in the Committee Report.)

We are awaiting your reaction to the Report, so hold those coffee parties now! If board members take turns reading, the report can be covered in one sitting. It is only by reading it all that you really have a sound basis for a careful discussion. If you think the League should take a position in support or opposition to any of the recommendations, or take no position at all, please let us know soon.

We wish to call your attention to a mistake in the letter of Jan. 21st re Civil Service. In the fourth paragraph the third sentence should read, "They all agree that the states are developing varied organizations but the movement is in the direction of the single state administrator responsible to the governor (not government, as we said) for successful administration of the merit system." (This is summed up on pp. 141-145).

Civil Service is one of our continuing responsibilities. Let's take it seriously. Read, study, and report your decisions on this first comprehensive study of our Minnesota Civil Service program.

FIN/NCE - Not for League action, this is for your information only.

The University of Minnesota, various state departments and the public welfare department have presented their financial requests to legislative committees and steps are being taken to handle hearings as speedily as possible. Eight sub-committees working in the same specific fields have been set up in both the Senate Finance Committee and the House Appropriations Committee. The sub-committees will concentrate on the fund requests for buildings, public institutions, education, conservation, agriculture, state departments, and welfare, with the eighth sub-committee being set up to act as a liaison unit to keep in touch with tax committee matters. Representative Chilgren, Chairman of the Tax Committee of the House, is a co-author with Speaker Johnson, Majority Leader Cina, and Mr. Wozniak of a withholding tax plan which was introduced on Feb. 9, and he has stated that he did not expect any other portion of Governor Freeman's revenue-raising plan to be introduced until after this date.

A review of the following sections in "Dollars & Sense" will be especially helpful as you watch the legislature work out the state's thorny financial problems.

- Section III - The Scope of State Finance
- Section V - Recent Trends in State Expenditures
- Section VI - Legislative Guide

The latter section points up the problems the 1955 session of the legislature faces in regard to finance, the factors creating these difficulties and suggests some of the sources from which additional revenue might be found.

P.S. Correct salutations sometimes stump the would-be letterwriter, so here are some samples:

The Honorable Carl Smith
Senate Chambers
St. Paul, Minnesota

The Honorable Paul Jones
House Chambers
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Senator _____:

Dear Mr. _____:

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

Extra copies 1¢

May 1, 1955

PARTY DESIGNATION FOR LEGISLATORS

CONTINUING RESPONSIBILITY

At the State Convention in 1953, and at the Council meeting in 1954, the League voted to continue to work for Party Designation for Legislators as a Continuing Responsibility.

BILLS PROPOSED

H.F. 12 - Authors: Grittner, Oberg, Wozniak, Rutter, Karth.
S.F. 14 - Authors: Vukelich, Peterson, E.L. Andersen

A number of other bills were introduced in both the House and Senate, but the above companion bills were the ones considered and voted upon.

In the 1953 session of the Legislature the Senate killed the bill calling for election of State Legislators with Party Designation. In the 1955 session it was the turn of the House to kill Party Designation for Legislators. It never got to the point of committee discussion in the Senate.

HOUSE ACTION

When the bill passed out of the Elections Committee and reached the floor of the House early in February, it was immediately amended to provide for party labels for county officials as well as legislators. This amendment was meant to make the bill unattractive to those who wanted Party Designation for the policy-making body of the state. It had the desired effect.

On Monday, February 14, the House sat as a Committee of the Whole. An amendment was adopted to entitle legislative nominees to sit on their parties' county central committees. This, said its supporters Rep. Iverson, Hartle and Dunn, would give the party governing bodies the benefit of legislative knowledge. When Rep. Sally Luther expressed amazement that the amendment was being offered in good faith the laughter of the other House members made it apparent to gallery watchers that "good faith" had little to do with the proposal. Rep. A.F. Oberg, an author of the bill, rose to say he was forced to withdraw his support of the amended measure. Rep. Carl Iverson moved that the bill be "indefinitely postponed." Mr. Iverson has been a long-time opponent of Party Designation for Legislators and this motion would have the effect of killing the bill. His motion was defeated 76 to 30. Preliminary approval of the amended bill was voted in the Committee of the Whole, 61 to 44.

There was a lot of corridor speculation on the final passage the next day. Twenty six members had not voted in the Committee of the Whole and the bill needed only 5 more votes to gain a majority vote of 66.

Along with many other supporters of Party Designation for Legislators, the League of Women Voters found it necessary to oppose the bill as amended. It was killed in the Tuesday, Feb. 15th session by a vote of 68 to 62

HOW ABOUT PARTY LABELS?

Although Minnesota's legislature is elected without them, it is nevertheless organized in two factions. By Ralph S. Fjelstad. Professor Fjelstad, associate professor of government on the Edward G. Congdon Foundation at Carleton College, Northfield, Minn. observed and studied the operations of the Minnesota legislature throughout its 1953 session under a fellowship grant of the Fund for the Advancement of Education.

National Municipal Review, July 1955

Minnesota and Nebraska are the only states where legislators are elected on ballots which do not reveal their party affiliation. In Nebraska provision for nonpartisanship was adopted as part of the constitutional amendment establishing a unicameral legislature in 1934. Minnesota eliminated party labels by statute in 1913. The reasons for electing lawmakers by nonpartisan ballots were thoroughly discussed, along with arguments favoring a one-house legislature in Nebraska. 1. In Minnesota, however, party labels were taken from one-house legislators with amendment to a bill extending nonpartisanship to certain county and judicial officers and with little discussion of the merits, weaknesses or consequences of such an arrangement. 2.

Reports from Nebraska indicate that the nonpartisan election of lawmakers has resulted in a legislature which functions not only without formal parties but also without the party spirit which may occur if certain permanent factions or groups assume the roles normally taken by parties. This is what the constitution requires. The legislature is also nonpartisan in the sense that no factions seem to exist within it and "amazingly little partisanship" is found in its proceedings. 3. To what extent is this achievement due to the limited size of the 32 member, one-house legislature?

Has elimination of party labels in Minnesota also resulted in the absence of permanently organized factions and formalized partisan activities in the bicameral, 198-member legislature of that state? The answer must be in the negative.

Under the election laws of Minnesota, all candidates for the legislature are nominated and elected upon "separate nonpartisan ballots," each of which is marked "ballot of candidates to be nominated without party designation." These election laws are followed to the letter. Party labels are not attached to lawmakers during their election campaigns and legislative records do not identify members with any party as they consider legislation. However, formalized partisanship does exist in the organization and functioning of the legislature. What is the nature of these legislative factions and to whom are they responsible? What is their relationship to the regular parties? How do the people of the state view these legislative factions and what are the attitudes toward a continuation of them?

SURRENDER OF INDEPENDENCE

Minnesota's legislators come to St. Paul without being bound to any party or officially committed to any platform. They appear to surrender much of their independence in a hurry, however. Members of both the House and the Senate divide into two factions, Conservative and Liberal, in the selection of presiding officers. It is no secret that these divisions are coming because factional leaders in each house often meet in advance of the session to agree upon candidates for legislative offices. Thus, it was known before the opening of the 1953 session that the Conservative nominee would win the speakership because almost two-thirds of the House members had committed themselves in a pre-session caucus to support him as the candidate of their faction. A like situation existed in the Senate on the naming of the president pro tem. 4. (next page.)

1. See John P. Senning, *The One-House Legislature* (1937), pages 55-58, 63; and Alvin W. Johnson, *The Unicameral Legislature* (1938), pages 133, 136, 143.
2. For a study of the beginnings of legislative nonpartisanship in Minnesota, see Chas. R. Adrian, "The Origin of Minnesota's Nonpartisan Legislature," *Minnesota History*, Winter 1952, pages 155-163.
3. Balla Zeller, Ed., *American State Legislatures* (1954), page 212.

The Conservatives had a three-to-one majority over the Liberals in the Senate and a slightly less than two-to-one majority in the House.

It is obvious that some division must be expected when two persons are candidates for the same office. What is important here is the fact that the division on the election of presiding officers is one which continues throughout a session. In voting Conservative or Liberal the legislator chooses sides and he generally chooses for keeps. Note what subsequently happens in the assignment of members to committees. During the 1953 session in the House the speaker excluded the minority faction from any participation whatever on the important Rules Committee. To reserve this committee for Conservatives and to overlook deliberately every Liberal, however able or experienced, is a partisan method of selection. The speaker also named a Conservative as the chairman of each of the 39 standing committees and gave all the committee vice-chairmanships to members of his faction.

Such partiality is now a traditional practice in Minnesota's legislature. On the opening day of the 1955 session in January the Liberals captured the speakership in the House by the slim vote of 66-65. Even with this precarious margin the Liberal speaker excluded all Conservatives from the Rules Committee and monopolized all committee chairmanships and vice-chairmanships with members of his faction.

The organization of the Senate reveals a similar control by the majority faction. In 1953 senators who voted for the defeated Liberal candidate for president pro tem got no places on the important Committee on Rules and Legislative Expense or on several of the other important committees. No chairman ship of a committee was given to a Liberal and Conservatives outnumbered Liberals on all significant committees. When the Conservatives also gained control of the 1955 Senate, Liberals were once again deprived of positions of leadership because they belonged to the minority faction.

The evidence shows that this division into Conservatives and Liberals also affects the legislators' votes on issues. During the 1953 session the House passed 38 bills which were sufficiently controversial so that ten or more of its members voted against them. With about one-third of House membership, the Liberals, as the minority faction, were responsible for 56% of the votes cast in opposition. It should be noted, however, that such a finding is based on the total "no" votes on all controversial bills. Some of these actually raised such matters as the urban-rural conflict rather than subjects which would cause a majority-minority division.

An even better indication of loyalty to faction is found by studying those bills which were opposed by a majority of the Liberals, thus making them factional issues. On these alone Liberals, with one-third of the membership, cast 74% of the votes in opposition. The Conservatives who supplied the remaining 26% of these votes were, for the most part, a small group of the majority which voted rather consistently with the Liberals. This is evidenced by the fact that 10% of the majority group was responsible for 35% of the Conservative votes in opposition.

The fact that the Conservative-Liberal alignment appears in voting on controversial bills means that this division also exists on important issues. An analysis of the voting on all measures considered during the 1953 session satisfies the writer that Minnesota legislators tend to follow their factional commitments in much the same way that lawmakers in a partisan legislature respect their party lines.

While the binding quality of factional alignments seems to be more pronounced in the House than in the Senate, the discipline of these groups is evident in both houses. What the Minnesota legislature, has, therefore, is a legislative "party" system in which the

4. The actual presiding officer in the Senate is the partisan and popularly elected lieutenant governor; the president pro tem is, therefore, the highest official named by the Senate itself

the majority "party" manages the machinery of lawmaking through the well-known instrumentalities of party control -- selection of presiding officers, naming of committee chairmen, assignment of members to committees in sufficient numbers to control them, majority and minority leaders, caucuses and party discipline in voting.

In further evidence of the similarity of these legislative factions to parties is needed, it may be found in the practice which both Conservatives and Liberals follow of seeking election of legislators who will caucus with their groups. Thus, the 1953 majority leader in the House has long been prominent in encouraging candidacies and finding financial help for those who promise to join the Conservatives if they are elected. A Liberal Legislators Volunteer Committee was organized for the 1954 elections and claims much of the credit for winning the seats which gave the Liberals control of the House in 1955 for the first time in sixteen years.

In reaching his conclusions the writer does not intend to imply that legislators in Minnesota are guilty of illegal conduct. There would seem to be no incompatibility between the concept of a nonpartisan or no-party-label election, which is all the law requires, and the practice of legislators organizing and functioning on the basis of two well defined factions after their election. Could a two-house legislature, with 67 members in the Senate and 131 members in the House, really function effectively in any other way? The writer tends to doubt that it could.

What is the relationship of the Conservatives and Liberals, to the two major parties which compete for executive offices in the state? Conservatives in the legislature have been, for the most part, supporters of the Republican party and Liberals have belonged to the Democratic-Farmer-Labor party. Leadership in the two legislative groups has often come from the corresponding parties. The 1953 Conservative majority leader in the House served for many years as national committeeman for the Republicans. The chairman of one of the most important committees in the 1953 session was, at that time, chairman of the Republican State Central Committee and was the candidate for lieutenant governor on the Republican ticket in 1954. At the present time the leader of the Conservatives in the House is state chairman of the Republicans. About 20% of the Conservatives in the House during the 1953 session held, or had held, offices in the Republican party.

PARTIES HINT AT AFFINITY

On the other hand, a most vocal spokesman for the Liberal cause in the 1953 and 1955 sessions as a member of the legislature was the 1948 Democratic-Farmer-Labor candidate for Governor. The DFL assigned its defeated candidate for the U.S. Senate in 1952 to work for the party platform in the legislature; he worked primarily with the Liberals, frequently joining them in their caucuses.

In their various activities the parties themselves hint at the affinity between Conservatives and Republicans, Liberals and the DFL. In preparing their 1954 platform Republicans sent questionnaires to Conservative members of the legislature for suggestions and advice; they did not solicit Liberal opinion. Republicans have sought candidates in those districts where a Liberal legislator has no opposition or where a Conservative is not running for re-election. They have been hesitant, on the other hand, to oppose any Conservative incumbent whatever may have been his lack of support of the Republican platform.

The Democratic-Farmer-Labor party has worked for the election of legislators who will caucus with the Liberals. Its attitude is reflected in Article VI, section 6, of its state constitution: "The Liberal members of the state legislature may be certified by the Credentials Committee as non-voting members of the state convention." Liberals are presumed to belong to the DFL while none of the Conservatives are, not even those who may be DFL outside the legislature.

It must not be concluded, however, that the Conservative "party" is simply the alter ego of the Republicanism or that the same relationship exists between Liberals and the DFL. These legislative "parties" are not included within either the official or

unofficial party organizations of the state. As factions of a nonpartisan legislature they are really irresponsible, being insulated not only from answerability to the regular party system but also from the voters because of no-party-label elections. The voter cannot even choose between a Conservative and a Liberal from any information officially available to him, for such a designation on the ballot would violate the law.

The writer has discovered that many citizens are unaware of the existence of these "parties" and do not know which of them their legislator has joined. The legislator can take advantage of nonpartisan elections by refusing to commit himself publicly to any platform or on any issue even after he has promised allegiance to a legislative faction. One sometimes hears legislators say that the truly nonpartisan lawmaker is the one who does not take a public stand on anything until presented with the problem in the legislature. This is a neat argument for evading a position on controversial legislation and avoiding an election contest.

PARTY NAMES DEMANDIED

There is a growing disenchantment with nonpartisanship in the Minnesota legislature. The evidence of this is the rising demand for a resumption of party designation. This demand does not come only from the parties, though both have been promoting the change for some time. Many important newspapers in the state are for it. The League of Women Voters regularly includes party labels for legislators on its state agenda. Labor groups have endorsed the change. The Minnesota poll of July 4, 1954, indicated that 53% of the voting-age population wanted party designation.

The legislature itself has seriously considered a return to party labels. During the 1953 session the House passed a bill to provide for the change and the Senate came within an inch of doing so, too. In the 1955 session the issue was clouded by an amendment adding county officers to the bill and party designation was defeated once more. Including party labels for county officials was an admittedly clever device for confusing the issue. Minnesotans have not lost faith in the value of nonpartisan elections for county and local offices but many of them doubt that under present conditions such a system is equally ideal for the state legislature.

Those persons and groups who favor a return to party labels for legislators feel a certain frustration about their inability to influence, if not control, the "party" system which exists in the lawmaking body. Certainly the parties feel this way. The legislature assumes no obligation to support the planks of either party and several important proposals consistently found in both platforms never get enough votes for passage. Legislative "parties" take sides on issues without being required to answer to the voters as "parties" for the sides they have taken. The governor and other state executives are elected as party men and are held responsible for the programs they espouse.

Nonpartisan elections are fine for subdivisions of the state where there should not be a Republican or Democratic way of doing things. But when a state legislature is so large that it probably cannot function effectively without the discipline of some kind of party system, and when it resolves problems for which the party system might provide alternative programs of action, should not the voters be given the machinery through which they can choose between these alternatives?

There is, of course, another side to this question. Would the legislature really do a better job of lawmaking if party labels were restored? The Minnesota lawmaking body seems to have done as well as many legislatures which do function under regular parties and may have done better than some. Would the legislature function more smoothly, more efficiently and more in the interests of the governed under formal party discipline? It would be difficult to establish that the extent or limits of the discipline within the Conservative and Liberal groups is any more or less rigid, any more or less responsible, any more or less desirable than the discipline which might result if the legislature should give up its nonpartisan character. The frustration of persons and groups who would like to influence a legislature more than they can or do is not a phenomenon unique to Minnesota. Whether this frustration would be eased under party designation, or whether such easing would necessarily make for better government, are difficult questions to answer.

PARTY DESIGNATION FOR LEGISLATORS

WHERE IS THE PROVISION FOR NONPARTISAN ELECTIONS FOUND?

Nonpartisan election of Minnesota's state legislators is not provided by the state constitution, but by a portion of an election act passed by the legislature in 1913. The act also provides for the nonpartisan election of all judges within the state and all county officers and officers of cities of the first and second class. No party designation is to be placed on the ballot for these candidates, nor are the candidates to state their party affiliations in filing for office.

WHERE DID THE DESIRE FOR NONPARTISANSHIP ARISE?

Nonpartisan election of local officials and judges was part of a reform movement, which appeared at all levels of government, and swept the country at the beginning of the 20th century. It stressed efficiency and economy and was a reaction to the low moral standards in politics occurring in some places. Primary elections, proportional representation, the short ballot, unicameral legislatures, initiative and referendum were some other reforms included in the movement.

There had, however, been no demand for or attempts at nonpartisan election of state legislators in any other state prior to the Minnesota law. Only one state, Nebraska--which has a unicameral legislature--subsequently adopted this plan.

MINNESOTA PASSES THE LAW --- THOUGHTFUL CONSIDERATION OR EXPEDIENCY?

Since nonpartisan elections of legislators had no precedent in the United States, it might seem that it would have become law in Minnesota only after careful consideration by the legislature. On the contrary--it was an amendment to a House-sponsored bill providing nonpartisan elections for judges, city and county officials. It was proposed by the bill's opponents in the Senate, and was designed as a ruse to kill the entire bill. The bill as amended passed the Senate in 1913 with almost no discussion and the House with little consideration of its merits or demerits.

Primary reason for its passage was political expediency. The Anti-Prohibitionists or "Wets," mostly Democrats, believed it would make getting control of the legislature easier; the city legislators felt it would eliminate the threat from Socialists; the Progressive wing of the Republican party thought it would solve the problem of whether to run as Progressive or Republican.

Nonpartisan election of legislators was adopted in spite of the fact that its original proponents had no intention that it should become law.

GENERAL PROBLEMS CREATED BY NONPARTISANSHIP

While there was concern by some that nonpartisanship would weaken party strength, there was no appreciation at that time of the problems it would create in legislative organization, executive-legislative relationships, or in the legislator's responsibility to the electorate.

WHY IS ORGANIZATION OF THE LEGISLATURE NEEDED?

The problem of how to organize a nonpartisan legislature emerged with the convening of the 1915 session and has continued since then. The major function of legislators is to decide questions of policy. These questions divide the legislature into opposing camps. In order to have issues put into bills and then into laws, there has to be an organization with speakers (leader of a faction), committees on rules,

committees on committees, and other organizational devices. Consequently, there will be alignments in choosing sides, in finding a speaker congenial to each faction, and in getting on committees with power to advance factional views.

DIVISIONS IN MINNESOTA'S LEGISLATURE

Prior to the passage of the nonpartisan law in 1913 the Republicans and Democrats were the two main parties in the legislature. The most pronounced cleavage after 1913 was between "wets" and "drys" and this continued until after the passage of the 18th amendment to the federal constitution. After that, and to the present time, the division has been between the Conservatives (generally identified with the Republican party) and, roughly speaking, those wanting change, usually called Liberals. The latter group was mainly composed of members who belonged to the Non-Partisan League in 1919, which grew into the Farmer-Labor party in 1929, and in 1944 became the Democratic-Farmer-Labor party.

The political balance between Republicans and the DFL in Minnesota has grown more even, so that the state has been able to boast a genuine two-party system. This contributes to spirited battles in gubernatorial campaigns and has been an important factor in producing a number of able chief executives.

HOW THE LEGISLATURE HAS ORGANIZED

From 1915 on, partisanship continued to be visible in the legislature's organization in that each house continued to split into caucuses. In the House, Conservatives and Liberals have always caucused to nominate a speaker. Representatives may choose the faction with which they wish to caucus, with the result that there has been a group of fence-sitters, comprising 15% to 20% of the membership, that move from one side to the other, depending primarily on which group they feel will gain control. These "independents" are approached before the caucus and induced by either or both groups to join their side with promises of appointment to coveted committees or jobs for their supporters as legislative employees.

In the Senate, the Conservatives have always had a substantial majority. In fact, since 1937 there has been no minority organization. The Conservative caucus is open to Senators only upon invitation.

HAVE FACTIONS TAKEN THE PLACE OF PARTIES?

Factions have developed in recognition of the fact that while some of the legislature's work is routine and nonpolitical, important questions rest on philosophical differences and hence are partisan issues. The Conservative and Liberal factions, however, have not taken the place of parties, for neither group has a party platform which members are to follow if they belong to that group. Membership is open to anyone and if a member does not vote along with the faction there is no way to disclaim him, as there would be under the party system. Defections from the factions have been common in our legislature.

Our governor, elected under party label, should be able to look to the faction representing his party in both houses and receive its help in making his program into law. This has not been the case. Some observers believe this to be particularly unfortunate inasmuch as Minnesota has grown to have a genuine two-party system, which serves to keep government alert and ever seeking to improve itself. Under nonpartisanship, we are not applying this advantage to our legislative body.

IS THE MINNESOTA LEGISLATURE RESPONSIBLE TO THE VOTERS?

Besides problems in organization, nonpartisanship has accentuated difficulties in making legislators responsible to the people. Responsibility to the electorate is always difficult in a large, complex democracy. Party designation does not solve the problem, but it does help make responsibility possible.

a. Party labels make choice between candidates easier.

While the complaint is made under party designation that people vote blindly for candidates of their own party, without party designation they are apt to vote just as blindly for the candidate with a favorable ethnic background, religion, or familiar name. The incumbent, therefore, is much more apt to win than would otherwise be true. This is sometimes claimed as an advantage for nonpartisanship since, compared with other states, Minnesota's legislatures have a high tenure and a low turnover. This is accomplished, however, at the cost of reduced responsiveness to changes in public thinking. Lacking the party platform, each candidate stands on his own individual record, which the voter is not apt to know. This is particularly true in urban areas; rural legislators are usually better known.

"One of the sentiments most dangerous to democracy may be the attitude expressed in the words, I never vote for the party, I vote for the man." This statement from an article by Dayton D. McKean illustrates his thesis: that it is easier for the busy voter to make broad and meaningful choices between parties than between individual candidates and their records.

b. Party platform tends to hold legislator to a course of action.

Proponents of the present system claim the nonpartisan legislator can objectively decide the merits or demerits of issues and stand by his reasons without hiding behind the party's decisions. There is supposedly an absence of blind allegiance to a party.

Because a candidate may have promised allegiance to a faction (Conservative or Liberal) does not mean he is bound to it upon election. As has already been indicated, he may caucus with either group. Under party designation the voter would be assured of the candidate's party affiliation and therefore the general direction of his legislative actions.

Actually, without the party framework, it is much easier to break promises made to the electorate. A party cannot break promises as easily. If it does, all its members must stand ready to pay for its mistakes. Nonpartisanship often means going off in all directions with little responsibility and leadership. While parties must consider the needs of the state as a whole, individual legislators under the present system have tended to feel their primary responsibilities are to the particular constituents who elected them. Questions like reapportionment, which affect the entire state, are voted on only in terms of one's particular constituents.

c. Pressure groups would have less influence.

"Pressure groups" or lobbyists wield more power under nonpartisanship. It is harder to bribe a whole party than it is an individual. It is easier for the legislator to say "no" to the lobbyist if he has the excuse of pressure from his party. Without a party treasury, candidates are more likely to turn to the lobbyist for campaign funds. Advocates of nonpartisanship say parties do not represent the "rank and file" of the people; but lobbyists represent them even less and their activities are, in great part, so unknown that they constitute a special danger.

WOULD PARTY LABELS CONFUSE NATIONAL WITH STATE ISSUES?

U. S. Senator Richard Neuberger in a recent magazine article has strongly recommended nonpartisanship for state legislators on the basis of his experiences in running for the legislature in Oregon. Under party labels, he states, a candidate is quizzed on stands his party takes on national issues with frequent disregard of pressing state problems. Also, national victories for a party often result in sweeping defeats for able state people of the opposite party.

Mr. Neuberger's desire for more concentration on state problems is certainly understandable. However, in the first place, he ignores Minnesota's experiment with its resulting problems; and, secondly, he does not mention the increasing relationship between national and state legislation. For example, school financing, labor legislation, public housing, highways, and public welfare are both state and national problems, and the party a legislator chooses reflects in general the stands he will take on these interrelated issues. This can make it easier for the voter to choose.

HAVE MINNESOTA GOVERNORS AND LEGISLATURES WORKED TOGETHER WELL?

Another general problem created by nonpartisanship is in the field of legislative-executive relations. Since the governor runs under party label, he is, unlike the legislator, held responsible for a program. The public holds him responsible for what happens during his term, including the actions of the legislature. Under party designation the governor would work with legislators who were accountable in the same way as he to a specific program.

Changes in public thinking have been reflected in the electorate's voting into office governors like Farmer-Laborite Floyd B. Olson during the 30's and liberal Republicans like Harold Stassen and Luther Youngdahl in the 40's. All these men promised reforms they had limited success in achieving because, for the most part, they had to work with extremely conservative legislators. Since 1913 all of Minnesota's governors except one have advocated a return to party designation.

WHO WANTS PARTY DESIGNATION?

Both state parties have carried party designation as a platform plank since the 30's. Organized labor has advocated it since 1927. In 1950, the Minnesota Association of Cooperatives joined the group. In 1951, nonpartisanship became an item for study on the agenda of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota and has been part of its program ever since.

Principal opponents are many of the legislators themselves who fear possible defeat under party designation and more involvement in party work. Some of the DFL legislators would be reluctant to abandon the seniority they have gained in the Conservative caucus. Some of the Republican legislators oppose party designation as a possible source of increased DFL strength. Other Republicans-especially the very conservative among them-fear the increased strength of the present Republican party organization with which they do not always agree. Certain powerful lobby groups, such as the Minnesota Employers Association, are particularly vocal in opposition.

WHAT HAPPENED TO PARTY DESIGNATION IN THE 1955 SESSION?

The 1955 defeat of the party designation bill was made certain in the House by an amendment to include county officials as well as legislators, and another amendment to entitle legislative nominees to sit on their parties' county central committees. It never reached the point of committee discussion in the Senate.

WHAT ARE THE PARTIES DOING TO STRENGTHEN THEIR ROLE IN THE LEGISLATURE?

Both parties are doing more than in the past to strengthen their control over the factions which supposedly represent them. Since the 1955 session the DFL has hired staff to go to legislative districts where there are no DFL candidates and obtain help from local DFL party people in finding candidates. In addition to this, the state party will continue its practice of endorsement by sample ballot, which means that once a candidate has received endorsement by his district's party workers, his name may be placed on the sample ballot, which includes all DFL candidates running for office, and is widely distributed. In addition to endorsement aid, the DFL is planning to give financial support to certain rural legislators.

The state Republican party is likewise actively recruiting people to become candidates. The state chairman has appointed a legislative committee to select one legislator from each of the nine Congressional districts and two party members at large to act as a committee in finding candidates for the legislature. This committee also has access to party funds.

WHAT WERE THE CONCLUSIONS IN ADRIAN'S STUDY ON NONPARTISANSHIP?

Charles R. Adrian, in a study made in 1950 on Minnesota's experiment in the nonpartisan legislature, concluded with these statements:

"The greatest weaknesses of nonpartisanship have been the lack of a collective program, the lack of an expressive opposition at times, the absence of delineated issues in campaigns and their replacement by popularity contests to a greater degree than is found in partisan elections, the lack of responsibility on the part of both the individual and the leadership, and the relative insensibility of the legislature to changes in public attitudes. The weaknesses . . . definitely overshadow the advantages. Despite the imperfections of the American political party, it is the best vehicle available for insuring responsibility of the law-maker to the people . . . it would be in the best interest of good government in Minnesota if the nonpartisan system, so far as it applies to the legislature, were to be abandoned."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Most of the material in this article is taken from the Ph. D. thesis, The Nonpartisan Legislature in Minnesota, 1950, written by Charles R. Adrian of the Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota.

Other sources include:

McKean, Dayton D., "The Politics of the States," The 48 States: Their Tasks as Policy Makers and Administrators. The American Assembly, Columbia University, 1955.

Neuberger, Richard L., "The Coat-Tailers Ride Again," The Progressive, November 1952.

Wright, Charles Alan, "Nonpartisanship Doesn't Work," The Progressive, January 1953.

Zeller, Belle, editor, American State Legislatures, Report of the Committee on American Legislatures, American Political Science Association, 1954.

PARTY DESIGNATION FOR LEGISLATORS

In American democracy the political party is the main channel of communication between Voter and Government. Parties help make government responsible and responsive to the people. A return to party designation would:

1. Help the voter choose wisely. The voter wants to know, as he does now, the candidate's personality and background; in addition, he has a right to know which issues he favors. Only allegiance to a party can insure this. (Only in Nebraska and Minnesota is the voter denied this aid.)
2. Help the legislator campaign effectively, by turning a popularity contest into a debate on issues. Once elected, the legislator would find it easier to resist the pressure of special interest groups; party pledges already given provide an effective counter-pressure.
3. Help the legislature function more efficiently. At present, organization waits almost until the session opens; a few independents or fence-straddlers are paid dearly for adherence to one faction or another by choice committee assignments; leadership is less effective; strategy suffers.
4. Help the governor pursue the program he has been elected to carry out. Lack of legislative responsibility for state-wide problems has hampered the program of every recent executive.
5. Strengthen the two-party system in our state. No legislative program can be realistic or effective unless legislators participate in its making. The majority party would shoulder responsibility for legislative action. The minority could become a healthy and really effective opposition.

The League of Women Voters will during the 1957 legislative session:

Support a bill for party designation for legislators. (The opponents of this bill defeated it last session by adding an amendment for party designation for county officials.)

P.D.

League of Women Voters of Minnesota
University of Minnesota
15 & Washington Avenue S. E.
Minneapolis 14, Minn.

Scaris
1967 #5



*Minnesota's
Non-Party
Legislature*

by

SENATOR DANIEL S. FEIDT
1031 NORTHWEST BANK BLDG.
MINNEAPOLIS 2, MINN.

Minnesota's Non-Party Legislature

FORWARD

The states of Minnesota and Nebraska have the unique distinction of electing their legislators without a designation of party affiliation of the candidate on the ballot. The Minnesota Legislature became non-party by a law enacted in 1913 and Nebraska by a constitutional change in the late 1930's.

The purpose of this writing is to consider, in summary form,

- (1) the historical background of the Minnesota law,
- (2) the present system of electing public officials in Minnesota,
- (3) the validity of arguments against the non-party elective system,
- (4) the record of the Minnesota Legislature since 1913, and
- (5) to evaluate the personnel, functioning and legislative results of the Minnesota system in comparison with her sister states who elect legislators on a party basis.

The author has been a member of the Minnesota Legislature for twenty-two years which has included service in both its House and Senate.

April, 1957

GEORGE WASHINGTON AND THE FIRST CONGRESS WERE ELECTED NON-PARTISAN

The federal constitution and the constitutions of the original thirteen states were drafted and adopted under the belief that these governments would function without political parties. George Washington and members of the first Congress were elected on a non-party basis, but by the close of Washington's second term as president, political parties were developing and thereafter for a period of about one hundred years the phenomenon of the American political scene was the strengthening of political party controls at all levels from the ward and township to the national capitol. By the early 1900's it was not the elected official who was making independent decisions in his representative capacity for the voters as had been intended by the founding fathers, but rather these decisions on public questions were frequently being made by subservient public officials under party dictation.

WITH POLITICAL PARTIES CAME POLITICAL SCANDALS

Political scandals followed the rise to power of the political party in much the same way that scandals followed the rise to power of the unscrupulous labor boss. Domineering, graft-corrupted political machines of both parties, of which Tammany Hall in New York and Boyse Penrose in Pennsylvania were perhaps the most notorious. The party boss became an accepted figure in the American political arena. The party boss selected judges, dictated judicial decisions, determined entire legislative programs, and it is common

knowledge that even presidents became subservient to party domination.

In the 1890's and by the early 1900's it was notorious that judgeships, postmasterships, seats in state legislature and even in Congress itself were being sold by political racketeers to the highest bidder. It was the heyday of the party boss and political racketeer.

POLITICAL BOSSISM TODAY

Despite the efforts of able men in many states opposing party bossism, we have seen much of it remain. Typical examples are Boss Crump of Tennessee, Boss Hague of New Jersey, Boss Pendergast of Missouri, Tammany Hall in New York, the Vare machine in Philadelphia and the Kelly-Nash machine in Illinois. Only in a state where party domination of candidates to the state legislature exists can party bosses gain control of political machines to the exclusion of the general public of a state.

REFORM LEADERS

By the early 1900's the great political reform movement of American History began to take shape. The reform leaders who today are best remembered are Senator Robert O. La Follette of Wisconsin; President Theodore Roosevelt and somewhat later, William Allen White of Kansas.

There were two principal objectives to these reforms. The one was trust-busting, which doesn't concern this article, and the second was the breaking of the corrupting grip of party domination on government.

POLITICAL REFORMATION

Political reformation in other states has been most successful as it has attacked party domination over the judiciary and to a lesser extent at the municipal and county levels. Many states have placed the election of these officials on a non-party basis; however, many states have not.

THE HISTORIC 1913 LEGISLATIVE SESSION

With the possible exception of Nebraska, political reform in Minnesota was carried further than in any other state. Minnesota's 1913 session was the most historic ever held. It enacted more laws of a fundamental nature than any other session during our one hundred year history. Included were the last reapportionment bill and our first Presidential Primary Law. No bill enacted by it, however, had greater political significance to Minnesotans than its Chapter 389 that gave Minnesota the distinction of being the first state to elect its legislature on a non-party basis.

The background of Chapter 389 of the 1913 session is interesting. It was at a special session called in 1912 that the election of the following was changed from party to non-party. They were: The Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court, District Court Judges, Probate Court Judges, Municipal Court Judges, and most significantly all county officers of all counties, and all municipal officers in the cities of the first class.

It has been incorrectly said that during the 1913 session there was before the legislature a bill to place the judiciary on a non-party basis and that in an effort to defeat that bill, the election of legislators on a non-party basis was added by the Senate to a House bill, in the belief that the House

would never re-pass such a bill. The story goes that support for the judiciary bill as thus amended came from legislators who did not believe in the principle of a non-party legislature with the result that passage of this act was a kind of legislative mistake.

OUR NON-PARTY LEGISLATURE WAS NO MISTAKE

An examination of the record, however, clearly establishes that the judiciary had already been placed on a non-party basis by the special session of 1912 and that the 1913 act that gave Minnesota our non-party legislature must necessarily have been drafted, considered, voted on, and signed by the Governor on its merits completely independent of the question of whether the judiciary should or should not be elected on a party basis.

WHO ARE ELECTED ON A PARTY TICKET IN MINNESOTA?

To what extent is Minnesota now committed to the non-party system of electing its public officials? What officials and how many are elected on a party basis and what officials and how many are not?

The following are elected on a party designated basis. They are the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, Secretary of State and State Treasurer and State Auditor, together with the three members of the Railroad and Warehouse Commission. Thus, Minnesota elects exactly nine of its public officials on a political party basis.

WHO ARE ELECTED ON A NON-PARTY BASIS?

The number of elective officials in Minnesota is difficult to determine, but the following figures have been supplied by the Information Service of the League of Minnesota Municipalities:

Kind of Unit	Total Approximate Number of Elected Officials
Counties	1,400
Towns	20,295
School Districts	12,300
Cities	1,075
Villages	7,845
District Court Judges	57
Legislators	198
<hr/>	
Total	43,170

Minnesota is presently committed to the non-party system of election as against the party system by the astonishing ratio of approximately 43,170 to 9.

THE MINNESOTAN IS PROUD OF HIS POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE

The average Minnesotan is proud of his political independence, proud of his independence to vote for the man irrespective of party. He is accustomed to vote independently and he wants to continue that independence.

Party leaders through the enactment of this bill will vest themselves with political power by gaining control of the legislature; yet, at the same time neither the Republican party nor the Democrat-Farm Labor party is the dominant

party in Minnesota today. The dominant political party in Minnesota is the independent. As the independent votes, so goes elections in Minnesota, and you may be certain that the independent is not in support of this bill to turn control of the legislature over to political parties.

Just why those who advocate placing the legislature on a party basis do not also support the election of all officials on a party designated ballot is difficult to understand, since their arguments, if valid, apply to all elective offices with the possible exception of the judiciary.

THE FOUR ARGUMENTS FOR PARTY DESIGNATION

Let us axamine the four reasons that are customarily advanced in favor of placing Minnesota's legislature under party domination. They are:

1. A PARTY DESIGNATED LEGISLATURE
WILL PROMOTE AND STRENGTHEN
POLITICAL PARTIES.
2. A LEGISLATOR SHOULD BE RESPON-
SIBLE TO A POLITICAL PARTY FOR HIS
PUBLIC ACTS.
3. ELECTIONS ON A NON-PARTY BASIS IS
ONLY A POPULARITY CONTEST.

4. CANDIDATES SHOULD BE PLEDGED TO
A PARTY PLATFORM AND SHOULD
STAND FOR ELECTION ON THAT PLAT-
FORM.

1. A PARTY DESIGNATED LEGISLATURE WILL
PROMOTE AND STRENGTHEN POLITICAL
PARTIES

The purpose of a legislature is not to build political parties. Reduced to simplicity, the function of a legislature is to enact such laws as will fairly and justly treat with state problems; that is, to enact such laws within the framework of the constitution as are necessary if we are to enjoy an orderly functioning of the state government and its lesser political sub-divisions, and also to levy such taxes and appropriate such amounts of money as are required to adequately perform the primary functions of the State. The legislature has no other purpose or duty. It follows that it is not and should not be the responsibility of any public official or group of public officials such as legislators to build or strengthen political parties.

2. A LEGISLATOR SHOULD BE RESPONSIBLE TO
A POLITICAL PARTY FOR HIS PUBLIC ACTS

It is argued that a person elected to political office should be accountable for his public acts to a political party, and that one of the beneficial results that will flow from a

party designated legislature will be what is called party discipline.

A writer in comparing politics in Minnesota with politics in Pennsylvania, a party dominated state, recently wrote as follows:

"One must realize that Pennsylvania is a disciplined, party organization state where politics operate on a basis startling to Minnesotans, used to fiercely independent political behavior.

Pennsylvania is ruled by county leaders . . . party chieftains who win power by political brains and who remain in power by an ingenious system of rewards and penalties for their supporters and opponents.

Under their control are disciplined party organizations which can produce votes in massive quantities, like turning a spigot on and off. For all practical purposes, they select party candidates, establish governmental policy, fix tax rates and reward or penalize their followers.

They're a tough, intensely practical crew.

It is understandable why party leaders desire to increase their power by gaining control of the Minnesota legislature, but the view of the independent voter is different, he does not want his legislator, alderman or school board member, to be subject to party responsibility. He does not want a political climate to develop where there might be brought back to Minnesota's scene the paid political hack, the ward healer or the ward boss. The independent wants Minnesota to remain as it is — the cleanest political state in the nation and the independent wants his public official, be he legislator or alderman, to be responsible to the voters not to some party boss.

3. ELECTIONS ON A NON-PARTY BASIS IS ONLY A POPULARITY CONTEST

If this argument is valid as applied to the election of legislators, then it is also valid as applied to election of every one of the 43,000 public officials elected on a non-party basis in Minnesota today. But how sound is this popularity contest argument? Why should not the voters have the right of voting for the man they want rather than a hand-picked candidate who has, through some means or another, honorable or otherwise, secured the favor of the party boss? Most candidates stand for re-election and when they do, it is not a popularity contest. The candidate for re-election puts his every public act in issue at each such election. If he has not been responsive to the will of the electorate, he is not returned to office.

4. CANDIDATES SHOULD BE PLEDGED TO A PARTY PLATFORM AND STAND FOR ELECTION ON THAT PLATFORM

An examination of the platforms of political parties leads to the conclusion that platforms are drafted not necessarily in the interest of the people but rather they are designed for the purpose of attracting votes. The two devices most frequently used in the writing of party platforms are to grant concessions to every special interest group the party leaders believe will be of significance in the voting and the second is to garnish it with platitudes and generalities such as being for the old people, the youth, the farmer, and the working man. What useful purpose would be served if legislators were to be pledged to such broad generalities or to the

sops offered the spcial interest groups? Better legislation will inevitably result if legislators arrive to take up their duties at the Capital unpledged to any person or any issue, except pledged to honestly, fairly, and to the best of their abilities represent their constituents and the people of the State. That they take up their duties with an inquiring mind determined to make no decision until they have had an opportunity of hearing in the committees and on the floor of the House and Senate all views on each controversial issue.

PARTY LEADERS IN MINNESOTA TODAY

No discussion of this subject would be complete without mention of political parties as they operate in Minnesota today. Present leadership of both the Republican and Democratic-Farmer-Labor parties is obviously drawn from our most able and public spirited citizens. They function in the manner you would expect from conscientious responsible leaders but without paid political hangers-on and all the rest of the tawdry, clap trap that has disgraced the name of politics in so many of the states that have party designated legislatures.

THE MINNESOTA LEGISLATURE HAS BEEN PROGRESSIVE AND LIBERAL

The laws enacted, the appropriations made and the record of our non-party legislature over the past forty-four years have been such that every citizen of our State can take pride in.

Scores of examples could be cited to establish the fact that during the forty odd years Minnesota has operated on a non-party basis, it has been a leader in progressive and liberal legislation. In the interest of brevity, I will cite only a few examples. It was the independent Minnesota senate that during the depts of the depression in the early 1930's

conceived the idea and then drafted and passed the first state mortgage moratorium law. Later almost every state in the union adopted some form of this humanitarian law which was first produced by our non-party legislature. Another example that can be cited is Minnesota's labor relations law which, although patterned to some extent after Scandinavian laws, actually was an original piece of legislation. This act also has proved itself in operation and has been copied by many states. Other examples of how excellently the non-party legislature functions might well include our mental health program, our fine schools, outstanding University, and our Presidential Primary Law that has had such a profound effect on the national political scene.

WHO IS ELECTED TO THE LEGISLATURE?

One of the unusual results of our non-party election is that it favors the election of the legislature of outstanding citizens without regard to politics. This has been particularly true of elections held in rural areas. Often these candidates from rural areas have distinguished themselves in community service and are elected to the legislature as a reward by the community they have served and there is little or no political significance in their election. They are apt to be persons of proven character, experience and judgment and they make excellent law makers.

EXPERIENCE IN A LEGISLATOR IS AN ASSET

The non-party election of legislators also has had the beneficial result of giving Minnesota a more experienced

legislature than her sister states. Non-party legislators are not as vulnerable to defeat on each occasion when voters change the political party in control of the state offices or the national administration. Those who work with legislatures will agree that experience is just as valuable as an asset to a legislator as it is to any other person who receives a responsible assignment in the professions, business or industry.

People who work with several legislatures including Minnesota have frequently said that the caliber of the Minnesota legislators, both in the House and Senate, and including members of the independent and liberal groups, is exceptionally high in comparison with party-dominated states. There is good reason for this. Scores of Minnesota legislators would find no challenge in serving as members of the legislature if their only function was to rubber stamp the decisions of a party boss. They stay with their work as legislators because the decisions they make are theirs alone and not those of some party politician whose only responsibility is to the party rather than to the people. The responsibility of the Minnesota legislator is to his constituents before whom he must stand for re-election.

LOBBYING EASIER IN PARTY LEGISLATURES

Legislative representatives, association executives and lobbyist who appear for their groups in Minnesota and also party-designated state legislatures say that in working in other legislatures, they have only to convince the majority party leader of their views since it is only he, and not the individual legislator, who makes the decision for all party members.

THE MINNESOTA SYSTEM IS NON-BOSS

This is not true of the Minnesota legislature where every measure is weighed by the individual legislator both in committee and on the floor of the House or Senate. Minnesota has the opposite of the party boss system; it has its own system — a non-boss system, in which every legislator is free to decide what is in the best interest for his constituents and what is in the best interest of the state on each issue. The Minnesota system, in my judgment, is infinitely more in the interest of the public.

POLITICS IN MINNESOTA IS CLEANER & BETTER

We who have taken an active part in Minnesota legislature have been taking for granted the benefits of the Minnesota non-party system; yet, at the same time we have also been somewhat remiss in failing to adequately explain to those not actively working with the legislature how superior the Minnesota system is in operation. Many persons do not realize that in Minnesota we enjoy cleaner and better politics and, at the same time, give to our people a more economical, effective and responsive government.

Once the consideration of the proposed repeal of the non-party status of the legislature is focused on something other than the repetitious conclusions which we have heard over the years from the proponents of this bill, such as "party responsibility" and the other well known arguments, and our people come to understand that the real issue is whether we are determined to retain better government in Minnesota, they not only will stand with us in demanding that we retain

our non-party system, but, in my judgment, a movement might well take form whereby other states will be encouraged to adopt the Minnesota system.

EXPERIENCE SHOWS THE MINNESOTA SYSTEM IS BEST

Above all, we who have the experience of actually working under the Minnesota non-party system should be determined that we retain what we know to be in the best interests of good government in Minnesota and determined to resist all efforts, regardless of how well intentioned they may be to turn our legislature over to political party control.



Program C-R - F3D3D4

FEB 9 - 1957

leg. - F2D2D 1957

February 8, 1957

Additional copies 20

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

LEGISLATIVE BULLETIN - No. 2

"TIME FOR ACTION *ON* PARTY DESIGNATION"

House File # 41 - Authors: Grittner (L, 39), Oberg (C, 56), Hartle (C, 16),
Karth (L, 41), Bergeson (L, 64).

The House Elections Committee recommended passage of the Party Designation Bill by a voice vote on Thursday, February 7th. According to newspaper reports, only two committee members were heard to say "no" -- Mr. Fuller and Mr. Grussing.

The Bill will come up for vote on the floor of the House very soon, possibly during the week of February 11 to 15th.

The Bill has more chance of passing this year than last session because steps have been taken to prevent an amendment that would call for Party Designation for county officials. In past sessions this amendment has been added to defeat the bill. This cannot be done this year because a separate bill has been introduced calling for Party Designation for County Officials. To quote from the House Rules: "45c. No bill or resolution shall at any time be amended by annexing thereto or incorporating therein any other bill or resolution pending before the House."

Five members of the bi-partisan committee attended the hearing, and Mr. P. K. Peterson spoke in favor of the bill as their representative. The only opponent who spoke was Rep. Iverson.

Now is the time to start your letters to your representatives!

LET'S TRY A NEW APPROACH!

Two things that will influence a legislator are: 1. What he reads in the newspapers from home; and 2. What he hears from his constituents. . . .

1. Here is a list of key legislators and the newspapers that will influence them. You can't make the news - but you can:

- a. Write a Letter to the Editor
- b. Alert your members to write a Letter to the Editor
- c. If your Editor favors Constitutional Convention, ask him to comment editorially
- d. Contact everyone you know who lives in one of these critical districts, and ask them to write the Editor of their papers.

2. What he hears from his constituents.

- a. Get as many people in your community as you can to write to your legislator.
- b. If your League is listed as the closest one to a legislator who represents a non-League district - find people in his district to write to him.
- c. Telegrams sent to your legislator marked for delivery while a Bill is under debate in committee or on the floor of the House or Senate are most effective. Encourage those you know in non-League areas to send telegrams, too.

* * * * *

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON GENERAL LEGISLATION WHO PASSED OR VOTED "NO"

<u>Name</u>	<u>Vote in Comm.</u>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Counties & Dist.</u>	<u>Newspapers in his Dist. (See Key Below)</u>
ALDERINK Geo. (C)	No	Pease	Mille Lacs Kanabec Sherburne (55)	Elk River - Star News* Clear Lake - Times Isle - Messenger Onamia - Independent Milaca - Times Princeton - Union Mora - Times Ogilvie - Sentinel
NEAREST LEAGUE - ST. CLOUD BRAINERD				

2.

Name	Vote in Comm.	Home	Counties & Dist.	Newspapers in his Dist. (See Key Below)
ENESVEDT Odear (C)	No	Sacred Heart	Renville Futchinson McLeod (23)	Renville - Star Farmer* (approved Const. Conv.) <u>Bird Island - Union*</u> Sacred Heart - News Olivia - Times-Journal Franklin - Tribune Fairfax - Standard <u>Hector - Mirror</u> Buffalo Lake - News Danube - Enterprise
NEAREST LEAGUE - GRANITE FALLS OLIVIA				
FITZSIMONS Richard A. (C)	No	Argyle	Marshall (67)	Argyle - Banner <u>Warren - Sheaf</u> <u>Middle River - Record</u>
NEAREST LEAGUE - BEMIDJI (Voted "no" because of possible unfavorable re- apportionment.)				
IVERSON Carl (L)	No	Ashby	Grant (48)	Hoffman - Tribune* Herman - Review <u>Elbow Lake - Herald</u>
NEAREST LEAGUE - ALEXANDRIA FERGUS FALLS				
LOVIE A.W. (C)	Pass	Park Rapids League	Fubbard (63)	<u>Park Rapids - Enterprise*</u> Nevis News
(He has reordered "State You're In" 3 times - if they wish to refer to it.)				
THOMPSON H. (C)	Pass	Staples	Todd (51)	Clarissa - Independent* Frowerville - Blade <u>Bertha - Herald</u> <u>Staples - World</u> <u>Long Prairie - Leader</u> Grey Eagle - Gazette
NEAREST LEAGUE - BRAINERD ALEXANDRIA				
THOMPSON T. (C)	No	Lanesboro	Fillmore (1)	Lanesboro - Leader* Chatfield - News Rushford - Tri-County Record <u>Spring Valley - Tribune</u> <u>Preston - Republican</u> Harmony - News Mabel - Record
("No" because of danger of unfavorable reapportionment) NEAREST LEAGUE - AUSTIN ROCHESTER				

Name	Vote in Comm.	Home	3. Counties & Dist.	Newspapers in his Dist. (See Key Below)
WINDMILLER E.J. (C)	no	Fergus Falls (League)	Otter Tail (50)	Fergus Falls - Journal (D) Battle Lake - Review Henning - Advocate N. Y. Mills - Herald Parker's Prairie - Ind. Pelican Rapids - Press Perham - Enterprise-Bulletin

* * * * *

SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE - VOTE LAST SESSION

WEICH Thos. P. Chrmn. (C)	No	Buffalo (League)	Wright (27)	Buffalo - Journal-Press* Monticello - Times* Annandale - Advocate Cokato - Enterprise Delano - Eagle Howard Lake - Herald Maple Lake - Messenger Waverly - Star
DUNLAP Robt. R. (C)	No	Plainview	Wabasha (3)	Zumbro Falls - Enterprise* Plainview - News Lake City - Graphic Mazeppa - Journal Wabasha - Herald
NEAREST LEAGUE - RED WING ROCHESTER				
ERICKSON Chris L. (C)	No	Fairmont	Martin (9)	Sherburn - Advance Standard* Truman - Tribune Triumph-Monterey - Progress Fairmont - Sentinel (D) Ceylon - Herald Welcome - Times
NEAREST LEAGUE - JACKSON WELLS				
HANSON R. (C)	Yes	Albert Lea	Freeborn (16)	Alden - Advance Albert Lea - Tribune (D) Clenville - Progress Emmons - Leader*
NEAREST LEAGUE - WELLS AUSTIN OWATONNA WASECA				
MILLER Archie (C)	No	Hopkins (Leagues in Dist.) Bloomington L. Deephaven L. Edina L. Excelsior L. Golden Valley L. Mound L. Richfield L. St. Louis Park L. Wayzata L.	Hennepin (36)	Bloomington - Sun* Deephaven - Argus* Edina-Mngside, Courier* Excelsior-Mtka. Record* Hopkins-Henn. Co. Review* Mound - Pilot* Osseo - Press G. Valley - Sub. Press* Wayzata-Mtka. - Herald Richfield-Bloomington News* Robinsdale-N. Henn-Post* St. Louis Park - Dispatch*

Name	Vote in Comm.	Home	4. Counties & Dist.	Newspapers in his Dist. (See Key Below)
MITCHELL C. C. (C)	Yes	Princeton	Mille Lacs Kanabec Sherburne (55)	Elk River - Star News* Clear Lake - Times Isle - Messenger Onamia - Independent Milaca - Times Princeton - Union Mora - Times Orilvie - Sentinel
NEAREST LEAGUE - ST CLOUD BRainerd				
NELSON H. (C)	Yes	Owatonna (League)	Taseca Steele (16)	Owatonna - People's Press (D)* Owatonna - Photo-News Blooming Prairie - Times Ellendale - Eagle
NYCKLEMOE Henry (L)	Yes	Fergus Falls (League)	Otter Tail (50)	Fergus Falls - Journal (D) Battle Lake - Review Henning - Advocate N. Y. Mills - Herald Parker's Prairie - Independent Pelican Rapids - Press Perham - Enterprise-Bulletin
ROSENMEIER Gordon (C)	No	Little Falls	Crow Wing Morrison (53)	Brainerd - Dispatch (D)* Brainerd - Review* Crosby-Ironton - Courier* Little Falls - Transcript (D) Pierz - Journal* Royalton - Banner Swanville - News* Upsala - News-Tribune
NEAREST LEAGUE - BRAINERD				
WEFALD Magnus (C)	No	Hawley	Clay Wilken (49)	Barnesville - Record Review Hawley - Herald Moorhead - News (D)* Moorhead - Red River Scene Ulen - Union Freckenridge - Gazette-Tel. Rothsay - Argus*
NEAREST LEAGUE - MOORHEAD				
WILLEN Arthur (c)	Yes	S. St. Paul	Dakota (20)	S. St. Paul - Reporter S. St. Paul - Booster* Hastings - Gazette Farmington - Tribune

5.

MINNEAPOLIS

FEIDT
Dan (C) No

FRASER
Donald (L) Yes

KALINA
Harold (L) Yes

MINNEAPOLIS STAR & TRIBUNE*

MULLIN
G. T. (C) Yes

ROOT
C. W. (C) No

WRIGHT
Donald (C) No

ST. PAUL

MASEY
J. P. (C) Yes

O'LOUGHLIN
H. J. (C) Yes

ST. PAUL PIONEER-PRESS & DISPATCH*

SCHULTZ
H. A. (L) Yes

* * * * *

KEY: (D) - Published Daily
* - Papers which have used state League releases or
wire service news at least once.

Largest papers are underlined.

PARTY DESIGNATION FOR LEGISLATORS

1957 Legislative Report

BACKGROUND

A bill calling for Party Designation for Legislators was put on the state current agenda in 1951. Legislative action was:

- 1953 - House passed the bill 88 - 36; Senate did not vote;
- 1955 - House defeated the bill 68 - 62; Senate did not vote;
- 1957 - House passed the bill 95 - 32; Senate defeated 41 - 24 a motion to call the bill to the floor for a vote.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

House File 41. Introduced January 16. Authors: Karl Grittner; (L,39), A.F.Oberg (C,56); John Hartle (C,16); Joe Karth (L,41); Burnett Bergeson (L,64). The House Bill was referred to the Elections Committee made up of:

Grittner, Chm. L,39
Fudro, V.Chm. L,28
Bergeson L,64
Christie C,30
Dunn C,50

Fitzgerald L,21
Fuller C,12
Grussing C,24
Jensen C,14
Karth L,41

Klaus C,20
Knudsen L,25
Langley C,19
Luther L,30
Yetka L,54

Senate File 705. Introduced February 14. Authors were:

Albert Quie (C,18); Stanley Holmquist (C,26); Donald Fraser (L,29). The Senate Bill was referred to the Senate Elections and Reapportionment Committee, made up of the following:

Erickson, Chm. C,9
Anderson, A.A. C,11
Anderson, M.H. L,32
Behmler C,48
Burdick C,4
Carr L,59

Feldt C,34
Holand C,5
Johnson, R. L,44
Keller C,2
Kroehler C,15
Mitchell C,55

O'Laughlin C,40
Peterson L,60
Root C,33
Rosenmeier C,53
Sinclair C,67

HOUSE ACTION

The Party Designation bill started out with the advantage of having its introducing author also the chairman of the Elections Committee. This accounted for the fast and efficient movement of the bill through the House. For several sessions the bill has been defeated by an amendment to include county officials. This session the authors were foresighted and took the necessary steps to prevent this happening again. Representatives Grittner and Karth introduced a separate bill for party designation for county officials. To quote from the House Rules: "45c. No bill or resolution shall at any time be amended by annexing thereto or incorporating therein any other bill or resolution pending before the House." This prevented the crippling amendment in the House.

FIRST COMMITTEE HEARING

The first committee hearing was held on Thursday, January 31. Mrs. Albert Richter, speaking for the League of Women Voters of Minnesota, said that party labels for legislators, in the League's opinion "are the best way to promote responsible government." William E. Carlson, St. Paul, DFL member of the Bipartisan Committee, spoke for that group.

SECOND COMMITTEE HEARING

The second committee hearing was on February 7. Five members of the Bipartisan Committee were present and Mr. P. K. Peterson testified for them. He said that if partisanship applies to state offices it should apply to legislators even more. Somebody has to carry

the ball to carry out the expressed desire of representative government and this should be done by the parties. Representative Carl Iverson spoke against the bill, saying that it would destroy the foundations of democracy and the people should carry the responsibility, not the parties. Mrs. Eugene Gould spoke for Hennepin County Republican Workshop. The room was filled with interested spectators. The bill was passed out of committee by voice vote, with only two members voting "no!"

HOUSE FLOOR

House floor action started a week later on February 14th. Representatives Oberg, Hartle, Murk, Searle, Jerry Kelly, Cina and Dunn spoke for passage. Representative Iverson led the opposition in a three-hour-long debate. He accused the Elections Committee Chairman of trickery in introducing a separate county official bill. He said the device was used to "ham-string, gag and shackle" legislators from voting their convictions. The opponents made several attempts to amend the bill. Iverson's motion to send the bill back to the Elections Committee was defeated by a standing vote of 41-68. His next motion to put a third "non-partisan" party on the ballot was also defeated. Representative Duxbury offered the next amendment, to add county officials to H.F.41. Cina ruled the amendment out of order because of the House rule previously mentioned. The fourth amendment, offered by Representative George French of Minneapolis, would entitle a legislator, or a person of his choice, to a seat on the county committee of his political party. This amendment was accepted by a voice vote. The House then voted preliminary approval of the bill 103-22.

House Floor action continued on February 15. Introducing author Grittner explained the bill briefly and agreed that the French amendment would make the bill much more acceptable.

Speaking against the bill were Representatives Halsted, Nordin, G. W. Swenson, Enestvedt and Carl Iverson. They stressed the facts that democracy would suffer by undue influence and interference of party bosses. Enestvedt said that the legislators should represent the constituent on the basis of issues instead of party.

Representative Iverson made a final impassioned plea to the House to defeat the bill. He said that some voting for the bill are prostituting their conscience because they are subservient to invisible government. He said, "Let us not listen to the voice of the Siren, but to our own conscience and the voice of the people." Mr. Iverson had carried the brunt of the opposition for several sessions. His voice quieted down at the end of the debate. It seemed that this time he knew he had lost. When the final vote was taken, there were 95 yeas and 32 nays.

SENATE ACTION

SENATE ELECTIONS COMMITTEE

House File 41 went to the Senate Elections Committee on Feb. 15. The committee chairman was known to be unfavorable toward the bill. He did not call a hearing on it until April 8. The end of the session was then only two weeks away. The authors spoke for the bill first. Senator Holmquist gave these reasons for offering the bill:

1. Party Designation strengthens the parties and it is essential to have a strong party system in a democracy.
2. Party Designation contributes to greater interest in writing the party platforms. Legislators in particular would have a greater interest in drawing up these platforms.
3. The people want party designation because it is in effect being practised now.

Senator Quie said the people could make themselves heard through their party. Senator Fraser pointed out that 46 states elect legislators by party designation -- and these states still maintain their independence. He feels party designation would lessen the individual pressure on legislators. Mr. William Carlson, Mr. John Mooty and Mrs. Marge Maki spoke for the Bipartisan Committee. Mr. Carlson asked that the Committee report the bill out because they have a responsibility to let the people know how their senators voted on the bill. Mr. Mooty suggested that party designation would permit the parties to form a clear-cut program before the legislature starts.

Senators A. A. Anderson, Sinclair, Rosenmeier, Feidt, and O'Loughlin spoke against the bill. Senator Feidt read a twenty-minute prepared statement to prove that the present system is more beneficial to the people of Minnesota. His statement was reprinted in the Minneapolis paper and repeated during Senate debate. He recalled the political corruption in the past; praised the number of officials in Minnesota elected on a non-partisan ballot and the independence of the Minnesota voter; he declared the legislature should not be a tool in building political parties by increasing the number of office holders tied to a party and certain to do the party's bidding.

On April 15th the Senate Elections Committee was overflowing with interested spectators. Several top party people were there. Senator O'Loughlin moved to amend the bill to include county officials, all city officials in cities of the first class and certain cities of the second class. The Committee voted to adopt the amendment by a vote of 8-4. Then by a 9-4 vote they voted to lay the bill over.

For laying over -- A. A. Anderson, Behmler, Feidt, Holand, Keller, Kroehler, O'Loughlin, Rosenmeier, and Sinclair.

Against laying over -- M. H. Anderson, R. Johnson, Peterson and Root

Absent -- Burdick, Carr and Mitchell

SENATE FLOOR
ACTION

Shortly after the committee had adjourned the Senate met. There Senator Harold Kalina, Minneapolis liberal, invoked Rule 71 under which any bill that has been in committee 25 days without receiving action can be called up for floor debate by a majority of the senators. He noted the Senate File # 705 had been in committee since Feb. 14.

Senators Quie, Holmquist and Fraser spoke for the motion. Senator Holmquist argued that the committee, in voting to lay the bill over, had not taken action on it. He felt it should be voted "up or down!" Senator Quie said he would have been willing to stand by the decision of the committee but the committee action of "laying over" was not action on the bill.

Senator Erickson defended the action of his committee and asked that their decision be upheld on the floor. Senator Rosenmeier, in speaking against the motion, said that the motion was contrary to the tradition and orderly procedure of this body. He said that an attempt to bring back a Senate File on which nothing could be done was an attempt to criticize the committee by overriding its decision. Furthermore it was an attempt to attack the integrity and validity of this body.

Senator Wiseth spoke for the motion and said the time had come to be recorded on party designation. Senator Nycklemoe, a liberal from an overwhelmingly Republican area, said even though the bill would mean defeat for him, he felt impelled to testify to its merits.

Senator Erickson spoke again in defense of his committee's decision. He added that several House members who voted for party designation said they hoped the Senate would kill the bill. Senator Welch said this motion is a forerunner of similar motions to put the Senate in an embarrassing position. "I call upon you to protect yourselves and the procedures of the legislature and to honor the chairman of the committee."

A rollcall was then taken. The motion to call S.F.705 to the floor for a vote was defeated 41 nays and 24 ayes.

SUMMARY OF ACTION Party Designation passed the House with the surprisingly large margin of 95 for and 32 against. Care was taken by the bill's authors to prevent amendments which could have resulted in its defeat.

An unfriendly Senate Elections Committee refused to pass the Party Designation Bill out of committee.

A Senator on the floor of the Senate invoked a Senate rule to get the bill out of committee, but Senators defeated his motion to bring the bill to floor debate by a vote of 41 - 24.

Both Senate and House bills had bipartisan authorship. The Senate liberals were successful in getting every one of their members present to vote for the bill. Of 48 Senate conservatives only seven supported the motion to call the bill to the floor for a vote.

League of Women Voters of Minnesota
University of Minnesota
15 & Washington Avenue S. E.
Minneapolis 14, Minn.

Please mail to me free of charge your 30 page
1957 Legislative Report.

Signed _____

Address _____

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

15th and Washington Avenue S.E. Minneapolis 14, Minnesota

Federal 8-8791

September 12, 1957

Dear Legislator:

The 1957 Legislative Report of the League of Women Voters is available to you upon request. This report contains an analysis of the legislative progress of the four items that were supported by the League during the last session:

Constitutional Convention
Party Designation for Legislators
Reapportionment
Fair Employment Practices Commission

We hope this informative report will be of value to you. If you would like a copy, please fill out and return the enclosed card.

The delegates at the last State Convention of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota voted to continue to work and support the above items and the convention body also voted unanimously to study the Minnesota Election Laws. Material on this subject will be ready next spring.

Mrs. O. H. Anderson, our new president, and the state board take this opportunity to say that we will make every effort to keep you informed about the League's program during the next two years.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Anderson

Mrs. O. H. Anderson
President

Mary Mantis

Mrs. Homer Mantis
Legislative Chairman



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

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 15th & Washington S.E., Minneapolis 14, Minn.
October 1958
What every Leaguer should know about.....

Fact Sheet 100358D-24

PARTY DESIGNATION

A ripple of laughter ran over the legislature that day in 1913 when Minnesota's nonpartisan law was passed. A search back into the newspapers of that day reveals that the original Haycraft Bill sought to remove county officials from party designation and that the opponents of the bill planned to defeat it by a time honored technic of lawmakers - that of tacking on a crippling amendment. They felt certain that adding legislators to the nonpartisan bill would insure its defeat. The bill passed without one word of debate on its merits. Some legislators predicted that the first action of the next legislature would be to repeal the law that nobody wanted. Now, 45 years later, the law is firmly entrenched, and its benefits to the legislators who should repeal it are well known by them.

The two party system is the bone structure of American democracy. The nonpartisan law, which by implication holds political parties in contempt, therefore weakens the structure of representative government. No other instrument exists by which the citizen can so effectively make known his political needs and wishes, yet the "independent" legislator condemns political parties as evil things fraught with corruption.

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota first studied party designation for legislators in 1951, voted in 1952 for repeal of the law, and has been working ever since toward that goal. In 1958-59, the League will keep in mind three goals which will help to clarify the present situation and to point the direction of work for the coming session:

1. To understand among ourselves and to make known to others that the Minnesota legislature is not now, nor has it ever been, nonpartisan.

It is as strongly partisan as any among the 48 and it would not be able to conduct the business of government if it were not. The term "nonpartisan" ought to be publicly revealed as a misnomer; we should work for some identification of legislative candidates on the ballot. Many legislators, newspaper editors and political scientists state flatly that there is no truly independent legislator in Minnesota. For example: during the 1957 session one legislator talked at length to a League of Women Voters member about the idealism of Minnesota's independent legislators. Later in reviewing his long voting record he said that for 26 years he had voted with the conservatives.

2. To make every effort to see that the Party Designation bill has an early hearing on the floor of the Senate.

Last session the House acted on the bill as soon as the session opened and passed it by an unheard-of majority, 95 to 32. It was sent to the Senate for early action, where it was buried in committee until after April 1 when a 2/3 vote became necessary. Watchers of the bill felt confident of a simple majority but knew they could never get 2/3. It is an abuse of Senate power to prevent its coming to open debate and a roll call vote so that the individual attitudes of Senators can be known. Opponents who spoke with pride of the high-principled non-partisan law fought a roll call vote in the 1957 session.

3. To challenge the cynicism of opposition forces, who claim that political parties are riddled with corruption.

The two-party system provides the most effective machinery by which interested people can influence their government. The opposition claims that people must be saved from the evils of their own political parties and that legislators are in a position to save them; that government cannot properly spring from the people who are governed, expressed by themselves in party platforms, but can only with safety be imposed on them by legislators who assume they know what is good for the people. There is a basic cynicism in an attitude which discounts and belittles the citizen's role in government. The benefits of the nonpartisan law are all on the side of the legislator and the indifference of too many voters works for the perpetuation of the law.

DEMOCRATIC FARMER LABOR STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
6 East Franklin Avenue • Federal 9-0701 • Minneapolis 4, Minnesota

RAY HEMENWAY
Chairman

MRS. GERI JOSEPH
Chairwoman

FEB 5 1959

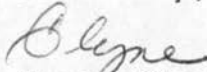
February 4, 1959

Dear Miss Wilson:

A few days ago you asked me to indicate the party affiliation of members of our state legislature.

It is impossible to do this with any degree of accuracy since even the people who caucus with the Liberals in certain cases are not always active party people. I have double checked the list you sent me as to whether or not those marked will be caucusing with the Liberals and I find that this list is correct. I don't feel that I am in a position to judge to what extent our people are active party people nor would I be willing to venture a guess as to the Conservatives who are active Republicans.

Sincerely,



Clyne Olson
Executive Secretary

Miss Grace Wilson, Secretary
League of Women Voters of Minnesota
15th and Washington Avenues S. E.
Minneapolis 14, Minnesota

MINNESOTA LEGISLATURE
1959

This list includes the name of each Minnesota Senator and Representative, his legislative district, how he is expected to caucus (C for Conservative, L for Liberal) and his county. The asterisk indicates he is a new member this session. His stand on three important state issues, as noted in his answers to the League of Women Voters Questionnaire, is indicated in the last three columns.

1. PARTY DESIGNATION - Do you feel the present system of organizing the legislature along Conservative and Liberal lines instead of Republican and Democratic-Farmer-Labor lines is satisfactory or do you favor party designation for legislators?

Party Designation?(Y) Present system?(N) Undecided?(U) Qualified Answer?(Q)

2. CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION - State constitutions are living documents which must be changed as times and situations change. The amendments to our constitution prove this. Do you feel the present amendment process is adequate or do you favor calling a constitutional convention for the purpose of revision?

Convention?(Conv) Amendments?(Amend) Undecided?(U) Qualified Answer?(Q)

3. LEGISLATIVE REAPPORTIONMENT - The State Constitution states that legislative reapportionment shall take place every ten years. Do you favor reapportionment by population only or do you favor a constitutional amendment providing for some compromise in favor of less populated areas?

Population only?(Pop) Area & Population?(Area) Undecided?(U) Qualified Ans.?(Q)

Address letters to your legislators, State Capitol, St. Paul, Minnesota.

SENATORS

<u>Dist.</u>	<u>Cau.</u>	<u>Name of Senator</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>P.D.</u>	<u>Con.R.</u>	<u>Reap.</u>
1	C*	Lew W. Larson	Fillmore-Houston	Y	Amend	Area
2	C	J. R. Keller	Winona			
3	C	Robert R. Dunlap	Wabasha			
4	✓L*	A. M. Keith	Olmsted	Y	Conv.	Pop.
5	C	P. J. Holand	Dodge-Mower	N	Amend	Area
6	C	Rudolph Hanson	Freeborn			
7	C	Ernest J. Anderson	Faribault			
8	C	Val Imm	Blue Earth			
9	C	Chris L. Erickson	Martin-Watonwan			
10	C	W. J. Franz	Cottonwood-Jackson	N	Amend	Area
11	C*	John L. Olson	Nobles-Rock			
12	C	Joseph Vadheim	Lincoln-Murray-Pipestone			
13	C	J. A. Josefson	Lyon-Yellow Medicine			
14	C	John M. Zwach	Brown-Redwood	N	Amend	Area
15	C	Franklin P. Kroehler	Nicollet-Sibley	N	Amend	Area
16	C	Harold S. Nelson	Steele-Waseca	U	Conv.	Area
17	✓L*	Michael E. McGuire	Le Sueur			
18	C*	A. O. Sundet	Rice			
19	C	Grover C. George	Goodhue	N	Amend	Area
20	✓L*	Paul A. Thuet	Dakota	Y	Conv.	Pop.
21	C	John A. Metcalf	Carver-Scott			
22	C*	Harold R. Popp	McLeod	Y	Conv.	Area
23	C*	Leo J. Lauerman	Renville			
24	C	Fay George Child	Chippewa-Lac Qui Parle	N	Amend	U
25	C	Harry L. Wahlstrand	Kandiyohi-Swift			
26	C	Stanley W. Holmquist	Meeker			

SENATORS, continued

(2)

<u>Dist.</u>	<u>Cau.</u>	<u>Name of Senator</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>P.D.</u>	<u>Con.R.</u>	<u>Reap.</u>
27	C	Thos. P. Welch	Wright			
28	✓L	Harold Kalina	Hennepin	Y	Conv.	Pop.
29	✓L	Donald Fraser	Hennepin	Y	Conv.	Pop.
30	C	Donald O. Wright	Hennepin	Q	Amend	Pop.Q
31	✓L*	Jack Davies	Hennepin	Y	Conv.	Pop.
32	✓L*	Herman J. Kording	Hennepin	Y	Conv.	Pop.
33	C	Chas. W. Root	Hennepin			
34	C	Daniel S. Feidt	Hennepin			
35	C*	H. P. Goodin	Hennepin	Y	Conv.	Area
36	C*	Alf Bergerud	Hennepin	Y	Conv.	Pop.
37	✓L	Harold W. Schultz	Ramsey			
38	✓L*	Edward G. Novak	Ramsey	Y	Conv.	Pop.
39	✓L*	Karl F. Grittner	Ramsey	Y	Conv.	Pop.
40	C	Harold J. O'Loughlin	Ramsey	N	Amend.	Pop.
41	C	Leslie E. Westin	Ramsey	Y	Conv.	Area
42	C*	Claude H. Allen	Ramsey	Q	Amend.	Q
43	✓L	Raphael Salmore	Washington	Y	Conv.	Pop.
44	✓L	Ralph W. Johnson	Anoka-Isanti	Y	Conv.	Area
45	C	John L. Richardson	Benton-Sherburne-Stearns	Y	Conv.	Area
46	C	Henry M. Harren	Stearns			
47	C	Clifford Lofvegren	Douglas-Pope			
48	✓L*	C. J. Benson	Big Stone-Grant-Stevens-Traverse			
49	C*	W. B. Dosland	Clay-Wilkin	Y	Conv.	Area
50	C*	Cliff Ukkelberg	Otter Tail	Y	Amend.	Area
51	✓L	Wm. C. F. Heuer	Todd-Wadena	Y	Amend	Area
52	✓L*	V. Shipka	Cass-Itasca	Y	Conv.	Area
53	C	Gordon Rosenmeier	Crow Wing-Morrison	N	Amend	Area
54	✓L	Norman W. Hanson	Aitkin-Carlton	Y	Conv.	U
55	C	C. C. Mitchell	Kanabec-Mille Lacs-Sherburne			
56	✓L	C. Elmer Johnson	Chisago-Pine	Y	Amend	Area
57	C	Gordon H. Butler	Cook-Lake-St. Louis	Y	Amend	Area
58	✓L*	Richard E. Ferrario	St. Louis	Y	Conv.	Pop.
59	✓L	Homer M. Carr	St. Louis	YQ	Amend.	Area
60	✓L	Elmer Peterson	St. Louis	Y		
61	✓L	Thomas D. Vukelich	St. Louis	Y		
62	C	John H. McKee	Beltrami-Koochiching-Lake o'Wood	N	Amend	Area
63	✓L	Norman J. Walz	Becker-Hubbard			
64	C	Norman Larson	Mahnomen-Norman			
65	✓L	Roy E. Wiseth	Clearwater-Pennington-Red Lake			
66	✓L	Louis A. Murray	Polk			
67	C	Donald Sinclair	Kittson-Marshall-Roseau			

24

REPRESENTATIVES

(3)

<u>Dist.</u>	<u>Cau.</u>	<u>Name of Representative</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>P.D.</u>	<u>Con.R.</u>	<u>Reap.</u>
1	C	Moppy Anderson	Fillmore-Houston			
1	C	Temam Thompson	Fillmore			
1	C	Lloyd L. Duxbury, Jr	Houston			
2	L	John D. McGill	Winona-1st Division			
2	C	Donald McLeod	Winona-2nd Division			
3	C	Frank Furst	Wabasha			
4	C	Donald T. Franke	Olmsted	Y	Conv.	Area
5	L	Alf Larson	Dodge			
5	C*	Emil Schaffer	Mower	U	Amend	Area
6	L	Edmond F. Conn	Freeborn			
7	C	L. B. Erdahl	Faribault	Y	Amend	Area
8	C	Roy Schulz	Blue Earth	U	Amend	Area
8	C*	Donald E. Swenson	Blue Earth	Y	U	Area
9	C	G. J. Van De Riet	Martin			
9	C*	M. K. Hegstrom	Watsonwan			
10	L	Sam Franz	Cottonwood			
10	L*	George Mann	Jackson			
11	L*	Wayne R. Bassett	Nobles			
11	C	Roy H. Cummings	Rock			
12	C	Graham Fuller	Lincoln			
12	L	Reuben Wee	Murray			
12	C	Lawrence P. Cunningham	Pipestone			
13	L	Dr. J. J. Kelly	Lyon			
13	L	Curtis B. Warnke	Yellow Medicine			
14	C	Harvey N. Paulson	Redwood-Brown at large			
14	C	Carl A. Jensen	Brown	Y	Amend	Area
14	C	Aubrey W. Dirlam	Redwood			
15	C	Harold R. Anderson	Nicollet			
15	C	August B. Mueller	Sibley			
16	C	John A. Hartle	Steele	Y	Amend	Area
16	C	Rodney N. Searle	Waseca			
17	C*	George B. Krenik	Le Sueur			
18	C*	Robert C. Kucera	Rice			
19	C	Roy L. Voxland	Goodhue-1st Division	N	Amend	Area
19	C	Clarence G. Langley	Goodhue-2nd Division	Y	Conv.	Area
20	C	Walter K. Klaus	Dakota	Y	Conv.	Pop.
21	C	Howard Ottinger	Carver			
21	L	John M. Fitzgerald	Scott			
22	C*	Walter C. Jungclaus	McLeod	Y	U	Area
23	L	Odean Enestvedt	Renville	N	Amend	Pop.
24	C	George P. Grussing	Chippewa			
24	L	Alvin O. Hofstad	Iac Qui Parle			
25	L	Eugene P. Knudsen	Kandiyohi			
25	L*	Martin J. McGowan, Jr.	Swift	Y	Conv.	Area
26	C	O. Gerhard Nordlie	Meeker			
27	L	Victor N. Jude	Wright			
27	C	Glen W. Swenson	Wright			
28	L	Stanley J. Fudro	Hennepin	Y	Conv.	Pop.
28	L	Edward J. Tomczyk	Hennepin			
29	L	George E. Murk	Hennepin			
29	L	John P. Skeate	Hennepin			
30	C	Thomas N. Christie	Hennepin	Y	Conv.	Pop.
30	L	Sally Luther	Hennepin	Y	Conv.	Pop.
31	L	James L. Adams	Hennepin	Y	Conv.	Pop.
31	L	Carl G. Hagland	Hennepin	Y	Conv.	Area
32	L*	Stanley A. Enebo	Hennepin	Y	Conv.	Area
32	L	Edw. J. Volstad	Hennepin	Y	Conv.	Area

Dist.	Cau.	Name of Representative	County	P.D.	Con.R.	Reap.
33	C	Harold J. Anderson	Hennepin			
33	C	George A. French	Hennepin			
34	C	Glenn D. McCarty	Hennepin	Y	Amend	Area
34	C	F. Gordon Wright	Hennepin	Y	Amend	Area
35	-L*	Robert Latz	Hennepin	Y	Conv.	U
35	-L	Leo D. Mosier	Hennepin	Y	Conv.	Area
36	-L*	Richard J. Parish	Hennepin North	Y	Conv.	Pop.Q
36	C*	C. Donald Peterson	Hennepin South	Y	Q	Pop.
37	-L*	Wendell Anderson	Ramsey North	Y	Conv.	Pop.
37	-L*	Richard W. Richie	Ramsey South	Y	Conv.	Pop.
38	-L	Joseph Prifrel, Jr.	Ramsey North			
38	-L	Anthony Podgorski	Ramsey South			
39	-L	D. D. Wozniak	Ramsey-Ward 5	Y	Conv.	Pop.
39	-L*	Ernest Beedle	Ramsey-Ward 6	Y	Amend	Area
40	-L	Alfred J. Otto	Ramsey-Ward 4			
40	-L	Peter S. Popovich	Ramsey-Ward 7			
41	-L*	William B. McKenzie	Ramsey	Y	Conv.	Pop.
41	-L	William L. Shovell	Ramsey	Y	Conv.	Pop.
42	C	John Tracy Anderson	Ramsey-North	Y	Conv.	Pop.
42	C	Clifton Parks	Ramsey-South	Y	Amend	Both
43	-L	Richard W. O'Dea	Washington	Y	Conv.	Pop.
43	C	Edwin T. Swenson	Washington	U	Amend	Area
44	-L	John H. Nordin	Anoka-Isanti	U	Conv.	Area
45	C	Marvin C. Schumann	Benton-Sherburne	N	Amend	Area
45	-L	Dewey Reed	Stearns	N	Conv.	Pop.Q
46	-L	Edmund C. Tiemann	Stearns-1st Division			
46	C	John J. Kinzer	Stearns-2nd Division			
47	-L	Julian Newhouse	Douglas			
47	C	Delbert F. Anderson	Pope			
48	-L*	Lem Kaercher	Big Stone			
48	-L	Carl M. Iverson	Grant			
48	C	Fred H. Huebner	Stevens			
48	-L	Dan Conroy	Traverse			
49	C*	Clarence I. Evenson	Clay			
49	-L	R. N. Nelson	Wilkin			
50	C	Roy E. Dunn	Otter Tail			
50	C*	H. J. Henning	Otter Tail	Y	Conv.	Area
50	C*	George W. Karvonen	Otter Tail	Y	U	U
50	C	E. J. Windmiller	Otter Tail			
51	C	Helmer Thompson	Todd	N	Amend	Area
51	-L*	Cliff Graba	Wadena	Y	Conv.	Area
52	C	Robert G. Renner	Cass			
52	-L*	George Wangenstein	Itasca			
53	C*	Fred W. Schwanke	Crow Wing-Morrison-at large			
53	-L	Chas. L. Halsted	Crow Wing	N	Amend	Area
53	-L	George P. Wetzel	Morrison			
54	-L*	Birger Nurminen	Aitkin	Y	U	Area
54	-L	Lawrence Yetka	Carlton			
55	C	Geo. L. Angstman	MilleLacs-Kanabec-Sherburne	Y	Amend	Pop.Q
55	-L*	George E. Grant	MilleLacs-Kanabec-Sherburne			
56	C*	Howard Nelson	Chisago			
56	-L*	Glenn Truesdell	Pine			
57	-L*	William H. House	Cook-Lake	Y	U	Area
57	C	Roger F. Noreen	St. Louis	N	Conv.Q	Pop.
58	-L	Jack M. Peterson	St. Louis			
58	-L	Arne C. Wanvick	St. Louis			

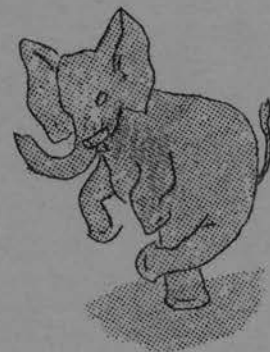
REPRESENTATIVES, continued

(5)

<u>Dist.</u>	<u>Cau.</u>	<u>Name of Representative</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>P.D.</u>	<u>Con.R.</u>	<u>Reap.</u>
59	-L	Francis LaBrosse	St. Louis	Y	Conv.	Area
59	-L	Willard M. Munger	St. Louis	Y	Conv.	Pop.
60	-L*	Jack Fena	St. Louis	Y	Conv.	Area
60	-L	Loren S. Rutter	St. Louis	Y	Conv.	Area
61	-L	Fred A. Cina	St. Louis	Y		Pop.Q.
61	-L	Peter X. Fugina	St. Louis	Y	Conv.	Area
62	-L	E. J. Chilgren	Koochiching			
62	-L	Elmer E. Berglund	Beltrami-Lake of the Woods	Y	Conv.	Area
63	-L	Harry Basford	Becker			
63	C	A. W. Lovik	Hubbard			
64	-L	Burnett J. Bergeson	Norman-Mahnomen			
65	-L	Walter E. Day	Pennington-Red Lake-Clearwater			
65	-L	B. M. Wichterman	Pennington-Red Lake-Clearwater	Y	U	Area
66	C*	Harveydale Maruska	Polk			
66	-L	Harvey A. Wilder	Polk			
67	-L*	Victor L. Johnson	Kittson			
67	C	Richard W. Fitzsimons	Marshall			
67	-L	Everett Battles	Roseau			

72

THE
MISSING LINK
IN
MINNESOTA
GOVERNMENT



A STUDY OF
PARTY DESIGNATION

"The greatest weakness of nonpartisanship has been the lack of a collective program, the lack of an expressive opposition at times, the absence of delineated issues in campaigns and their replacement by popularity contests to a greater degree than is found in partisan elections, the lack of responsibility on the part of both the individual and the leadership, and the relative insensibility of the legislature to changes in public attitudes. The weaknesses...definitely overshadow the advantages. Despite the imperfections of the American political party, it is the best vehicle available for insuring responsibility of the lawmaker to the people...It would be in the best interest of good government in Minnesota if the nonpartisan system, so far as it applies to the legislature, were to be abandoned."

Charles Adrian in his 400-page study of The Nonpartisan Legislature in Minnesota (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Minnesota, 1950).

THE PROBLEM

Political parties are essential to the operation of a democratic society. They aid the citizen chiefly by providing (1) election machinery through which he nominates, then elects, public officials, and (2) a party platform through which he communicates his wishes to those who make and carry out his laws.

Minnesota's legislature has had no such party links with the citizen for almost half a century. The League of Women Voters believes state government will be more responsible and more responsive when our lawmakers (like our administrative officials and like the legislators in 48 other states) again function within the party framework.

The main burden of our argument will be found in Section I, which enlarges on the theme that political parties are necessary in a self-governing society, with special reference to Minnesota; and Section II, which analyzes the effects nonpartisanship has had on the functioning of our state legislature.

Section III presents more specific legislative aspects, first reviewing the history of party designation. It then discusses modifications of party designation for legislators offered in recent legislative sessions. At least one of these amendments (party designation for county officials) has shown sufficient vitality that the League must evaluate its merits and assess its likely effects. Section IV presents a detailed comparison of how our legislature operates with factions and how it would probably operate with party control.

SECTION I. THE PARTY'S PART

All government is a process of apportioning and exercising power. In an absolute monarchy, or a dictatorship, the power is concentrated in one person; in an oligarchy, it is exercised by a few; in a representative democracy, it belongs to all. The central problem in a democratic society is to get all the citizens to respect and use that power. For what is not used is usurped. Plato looked at the decaying democracy of Athens and said, "The penalty people pay for not being interested in politics is to be governed by people worse than themselves."

Political parties are the means evolved for the orderly exercise and change of power in all societies where citizens govern themselves. In the United States, a two-party system is traditional. Several attempts have been made, at different times, at various levels, to form new parties; most of these attempts have been short-lived. Minnesota's legislative departure from the traditional party structure has been one, not of addition, but of elimination. However, we shall see that this experiment, too, has gravitated back to the traditional two-faction system. Minnesota's venture in nonpartisanship is therefore only another proof that partisanship is not dispensable.

Tasks Performed by Political Parties. A mere listing reminds us of the various kinds of responsibility assumed by political parties. They are indeed drawers of water and hewers of wood. But they are also charged with burdens of vision and statesmanship. (The functions listed below are discussed in Section II, which tries to show how lawmaking in Minnesota suffers from their absence or curtailment. Section IV gives a detailed, step-by-step description of these party activities.)

1. Recruiting candidates for public office
2. Helping voters nominate and elect public officials
3. Giving candidates support, financial and otherwise, during the campaign
4. Formulating and publicizing governmental issues (platform-making)
5. Providing the framework for legislative organization
6. Following candidates in performance of their administrative and legislative duties
7. Advising elected officials (lobbying)
8. Helping to coordinate (a) executive and legislative activities and (b) the two legislative branches
9. When not in power, acting as the loyal opposition
10. Between elections, enlisting new members, holding ward meetings, etc.; in general consolidating organization

Is there, in this list, a single dispensable activity? Evidently not, since they are all being performed, at least partially, by (a) the parties, in an informal, indirect way; (b) special interests; and (c) such public interest organizations as the League of Women Voters.

Reasons for the Persistence of Nonpartisanship. By now, you are probably asking, if a political party is such an important affair, why do so many citizens and legislators still refuse its invitation? There are three plausible reasons; the last has more than a little validity.

• Because belittling politics and the politician has been an American pastime from the very birth of our republic, when Madison spoke of the "mischief of factions" and Washington warned against their institution.

It is true that at one time parties merited charges of corruption and bossism. Yet even after the constructive reforms of the early 1900's (e.g., direct primaries; civil service), politics continued to be viewed as less than an honorable profession and the politician as an opportunist, if not worse. A Supreme Court justice, who has never been a politician, speaks of the harm this attitude can do the science of self-government:

"The art of governing has been achieved best by men to whom governing is itself a profession. One of the shallowest disdains is the sneer against the 'professional politician.' The invidious implication of the phrase is, of course, against those who pursue self-interest through politics. But too prevalently the baby is thrown out with the bath. We forget the most successful have been professionals."

Present-day Minnesotans have no valid reason to distrust either political party. Party business is conducted openly, honestly, competently. Party leaders are alert, able, genuinely interested in the state's welfare as well as the party's; as concerned with issues as with candidates. The philosophy of the two parties is distinct enough to attract a wide variety of voters. And their power is so evenly balanced that political life in Minnesota is as vital and interesting as anywhere in the country.

• Because the Independent Voter is a real factor in Minnesota politics. The motivation of the independent voter is mixed: some thoughtfully distrust parties; others feel independence is more respectable; especially in smaller communities, persons may fear a loss of social status or even economic reprisal.

Surveys have shown that about one-third of Minnesota voters say they are independent; also that a good portion of them have voted in one party all their lives. This is not the overwhelming mass we hear about from many legislators, but in communities where the spirit of independence is strong, it could certainly devitalize party life.

Although many legislators believe that Political Independence is a sign of robust health in a community, the condition is regarded by others as a chronic disease whose symptoms are inertia, lack of appetite, and poor vision.

The independent voter is a challenge to the parties, to the League of Women Voters, and to the increasing number of business, labor, and civic organizations that are urging more active participation in political parties as an adjunct to the informed vote. As President Eisenhower says, "Politics ought to be the part-time profession of every citizen."

Of all the arguments for party participation, the independent voter should respond especially to two: that the parties allow room for great freedom of thought and action; and that joining a party is not an irrevocable step. Independence is perfectly consistent with a strong party system; parties welcome members with widely divergent and strongly held opinions and gain in vigor and appeal as they assimilate them.

Many independent voters don't realize how easy it is in Minnesota to join a party and participate in its affairs. It is not even necessary to register formally as a party member. Precinct caucuses are open to anyone who subscribes in a general way to the aims of the party he chooses (a participant may be asked to state that he voted for the party's candidates at the last election or intends to next time). Since we have an open primary, every voting citizen may take a hand in nominating candidates of one party or the other, and without revealing his party affiliation.

- Because the parties are not fulfilling their purpose. Opponents of party designation assert that parties don't represent the interests or express the wishes of the people. This may be true, but parties are certainly doing the best they can with the cooperation they get.

The quickest, surest way to vitalize the parties would be for legislators to join them. In some states, incumbents and candidates successful in the primaries meet as a platform committee; in others they automatically become voting members of the state convention. (The French amendment to the party designation bill of 1959 provided that every legislator, or his appointee, become a member of his county party committee.)

The experience of legislators makes them particularly suited to drawing up a platform; upon returning to the state house, they are in a position to carry it out.

However, the party's need is not only -- or even primarily -- for the legislator. Politics must cease to be a spectator sport in America and engage the participation of every citizen. The League of Women Voters might well begin by persuading its own members of this need. A survey would probably show that a surprising number of League members are independent voters or have for various reasons kept aloof from partisan politics -- in spite of the fact that within its policy of nonpartisanship, the League of Women Voters strongly encourages party activity for its members.

In summary, it would be well for us to remember, as we work for party designation, that this is not a one-way street, marked "for legislators only." We ask legislators to accept party responsibility, but they should be able to expect from us party participation. If we ask them to accept a party tag, it should not identify them with a few party leaders and a meaningless platform, but with a broad segment of our population out of whose intelligence and purpose have come a program worthy of legislative battle.

SECTION II. EFFECTS OF A NONPARTISAN LEGISLATURE

The preceding discussion has pointed out that political parties function as a link between citizen and government. Although politics and government are, of course, not synonymous, should the political machinery in this country break down, chaos would result, and new parties would have to form. This has already proved true in our "nonpartisan" legislature.

Of all the roles played by the parties in the legislative process, the Big Three are Legislative Organization; Executive-Legislative Relationships; and Citizen-Legislator Relationships.

Legislative Organization

Many Minnesota citizens think their representatives function with complete independence. They do not realize that as soon as a legislator gets to St. Paul, he joins one of two factions (caucuses), which expect as great loyalty as do party organizations in other states. Legislators may disclaim political parties, but they cannot, it seems, disclaim politics.

Legislators who are DFL normally caucus with the Liberal faction; Republicans with the Conservatives -- but not always. Particularly in the Senate, nominal Democrats have sometimes caucused with the Conservatives, usually justifying this move because it gives them desirable committee assignments, thereby allowing their constituents a greater voice in the legislature.

Both factions caucus before the session. When the split is fairly equal, as it was in the House in 1955, delectable plums are offered to "fence-sitters" who would complete a majority. Before the session, presiding officers and committee chairmen and vice chairmen are decided on. On the important Rules Committees of both houses (the actual steering bodies), the minority faction has no representation. On other House committees, the minority has, at the present time, proportional representation. In the Senate, particularly this last session, the minority complained bitterly that their members were greatly underrepresented, especially on strategic committees, regardless of their ability or experience. Caucuses meet frequently during the session, and leaders keep a sharp eye on their members.

Most legislative observers would agree that, at present, DFL leaders have close ties with Liberal caucus activities -- partly because this party controls the executive branch. Republican leaders have little influence with the Conservative caucus. Many Senate leaders deny any link with the Republican party; in their words, there are three parties in Minnesota: the Republican party, the DFL party, and the Senate party.

Many legislators insist that the caucus arrangement allows them to remain independent, yet provides the machinery necessary to operate a large legislative body. We doubt this -- on three grounds.

1. Factions demand great loyalty from their members. Legislators therefore sacrifice as much independence to a caucus as they would to a party. Witness two events of the 1959 session: first, the quick tightening of the reins on House Liberals who were straying too far from the range early in the session. As a result, the majority whip and assistant whip were publicly dismissed. Secondly, the near-unanimity of caucus splits on all important issues in the Senate. Even reapportionment, which traditionally cuts across party lines and did in the House, was fought on strict factional lines in the Senate. Even a noncontroversial amendment offered to clarify ambiguous language was voted down by every single Conservative because offered by a Liberal.

2. Even though factions are well-oiled machines for carrying out legislative business, they cannot substitute for the philosophical differences finding expression in party platforms. Therefore issues become defined only late in the session, whereas they would be prominent at election time if carried in a party platform.

3. Factions do not provide as strong a link between like-minded members in both houses as would parties. The wide gulf between the two houses has been a surprise to League lobbyists, who are constantly asked "What is the Senate (or House) Committee (or author) doing about this?" Since parties are not present officially to provide a liaison between House and Senate members, this function must be handled by others, usually lobbyists.

Legislative-Executive Relationships

Intralegislativ factions may do quite well in running the legislative machinery, but they cannot substitute for the party link between governor and legislature. Electing administrative officials with party labels and legislative officials without them is like expecting two horses to pull a wagon when one is in harness and the other is not. The chief executive is standard-bearer, not for his own private program, but for ideas that have evolved from the voters, through their party representatives. Therefore, the voter is entitled to know if he is cancelling the vote he cast for governor by voting for legislators who, under a concealed banner, will work for a different program. Significantly, since 1913, all Minnesota's governors except one have asked a return to a partisan legislature.

The importance of the party tie between executive and legislative branches is especially important in the United States, where these branches are separate and distinct. In most European systems, the executive (prime minister, premier, etc.) is elected by the lawmakers, often from their own membership. In America, coordination between the two branches is supplied mainly by parties, through their election machinery (selecting a like team) and through their party platform (supplying the team with a like goal).

Charles Adrian, in his evaluation of Minnesota's nonpartisan legislature, makes two important points about the peculiar position of the executive in Minnesota's half-partisan setup:

The first point is obvious: "The governor's task has become more difficult and he has had to resort to sundry technics such as appearing before caucuses and committees, leading protest marches, organizing citizens' committees to work for specific measures, writing newspaper columns, and making radio appeals to apply pressure to legislatures.

"Less assertive governors have found more favor with the legislature but have accomplished less in the way of systematic program. If he does not assume leadership, there is no immediate substitute for him. If he lacks diplomacy and ability to rally public opinion, he is unable to lead the legislature and likewise there is no substitute for him.

"The effort required by our governor to achieve any comprehensive, well-oriented program is greater than needed in states with conventional lawmaking systems."

The second effect of nonpartisanship on Minnesota's executive noted by Adrian is surprising: The influence of the governor's office has been magnified by the lack of a program in the legislature. This directly refutes those legislators who oppose party designation because stronger ties with the executive would greatly increase the power of that branch over them and in the state.

"Under a system that chooses its legislators individually and not upon a party basis, leadership has gone to the chief executive largely by default. The governor is the only person elected who has a systematic program and is the one lawmaker truly under public surveillance." Beginning with Governor Burnquist, Adrian observes that "policy leadership has evolved more and more definitely toward the chief executive."

Legislative Responsibility to the Voter

The best reason of all for a political party is the link it forges between the wishes of the voter and the actions of the lawmaker. The most important element in this link of Responsibility is Knowledge. The voter can choose his legislators discriminately only if he knows their views, their backgrounds, their records; and the voter can influence those legislators effectively only by being well acquainted with the issues before the legislature. The legislator, on his part, can carry out the voter's views only if they are formulated for him and communicated to him.

The Minnesota citizen may be pardoned some degree of confusion on this matter of citizen-legislator responsiveness. For years, most legislators have been saying to their constituents: "Look, I can represent you much better if I owe all my allegiance to you and none to political parties." Now, others of us come along and say, "Our legislature lacks responsiveness to the voter because its members have no responsibility to party."

Even a swift reading of Section IV should convince anyone that getting and using legislative power is so complicated a process that the single, unaided citizen is deprived of any real participation. But joined into parties, citizens have a real part in:

Finding good candidates -

In the words of a prominent political scientist, "A prime function in the achievement of party purpose consists of the recruitment, development, and support of candidates for public office." Many legislators dispute this, feeling that our nonpartisan setup attracts men of high caliber who would not otherwise become entangled in political activity.

There are four answers to this "greater candidate fitness" argument for a nonpartisan legislature. First, when recruitment is not being done by a party, other groups often take over the task -- some with spurious motives.

Second, in recent years parties have been resuming, informally, this recruiting task and have been enlisting very good candidates; endorsement and financial aid have also been forthcoming. Under party designation, these party activities would be greatly intensified and increasingly successful.

Third, when one party puts up a strong candidate, the other is motivated to an equally good choice. In this, the voters are the winners. Even if a candidate is so strong that he cannot possibly be defeated, it is healthy for him to have a respected, vocal opponent. It increases citizen awareness of his record; sharpens his knowledge of issues; and generally keeps him on his toes.

Fourth, most independent-minded candidates would fit very comfortably into the party structure. Both parties contain great diversity of opinions and allow room for great independence of action. The party label gives the voter a general idea of what the candidate stands for; he still has the privilege of informing his constituents of points at which he differs from party views.

Campaign and Election -

Financing his own campaign is possible only for a wealthy candidate. At present, campaign funds for nominally independent candidates come mostly from other individuals and special interests, who are then in an excellent position to ask return favors. Under party designation, the candidate would receive aid from the party, a source to whose legislative aims he has already publicly subscribed.

Party designation would increase the voter's knowledge of candidates; this is its greatest recommendation. If the voter could know only that the candidate had been chosen to represent the party whose platform he, the voter, supports, he would know a great deal. Now, when the voter knows nothing of his candidate's views, he selects him on the insubstantial basis of ethnic background, religious affiliation, familiarity of name, or personal charm. Campaigns have too often degenerated into mere popularity contests. Even more important, party designation would not allow a candidate to be all things to all men. He would not be able to garner votes by tailoring his convictions to suit the audience.

Under our present nonpartisan system, the incumbent has a very strong edge. One authority points out that although the very low turnover among Minnesota's legislators has given us a highly experienced lawmaking body, that fact has also led to one of its two great weaknesses -- a callousness to change in public opinion.

Legislators who fear that under party designation, their fate would be tied to the choice of national candidates should remember that when Roosevelt went in with a huge majority, Minnesota elected a Republican governor and Conservative majorities in both houses. And when Eisenhower won this state's vote for president, a Democratic governor was elected.

Legislative Action -

Party politics and pressure groups are the main avenues through which citizens and groups approach their government and influence public policies.

The fear of many observers of Minnesota's nonpartisan legislature is that small but powerful pressure groups exert an undue influence on its actions. The withdrawal of parties left a power vacuum they were quick to fill up. The stresses to which the legislator is daily subjected from special interest groups is almost shattering. Certainly, League lobbyists have been amazed not only at the effectiveness of special interests but at how far outside their own orbits many of these groups operate -- taking an effective (if often concealed) stand on such statewide issues as reapportionment, a constitutional convention, ethics, and party designation. The interest of the special interests is to maintain the status quo under which they have learned to maneuver. The only organization capable of breaking this strong body hold on our legislature would be the political party.

The protective influence of the political party would be provided both by the presence of its representatives and by the party platforms, which cover the most important areas into which these special interests have gradually moved.

Two observers of Minnesota's nonpartisan legislature point to the necessity of a platform to supply information and guide action on issues of statewide importance.

Actually, without the party framework, it is much easier to break promises made to the electorate. A party cannot break promises as easily. If it does, all its members must stand ready to pay for its mistakes. Nonpartisanship often means going off in all directions with little responsibility and leadership. While parties must consider the needs of the state as a whole, individual legislators under the present system have tended to feel their primary responsibilities are to the particular constituents who elected them.

Nonpartisan elections are fine for subdivisions of the state where there should not be a Republican or Democratic way of doing things. But when a state legislature is so large that it probably cannot function effectively without the discipline of some kind of party system, and when it resolves problems for which the party system might provide alternative programs of action, should not the voters be given the machinery (party platform) through which they can choose between these alternatives?

In summary, then, a party platform makes for legislative responsibility and it directs legislative energy toward specific ends. Its offspring are thus Accountability and Accomplishment.

SECTION III - LEGISLATIVE HISTORY AND MODIFICATIONS OF PARTY DESIGNATION

History. What treatment has party designation received in the legislature during the sessions the League has been working for it?

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1953 - Passed the House (88-36)</p> <p>Did not reach the floor of the Senate.</p> | <p>The vote was on a bill limited to PD for legislators.</p> |
| <p>1955 - House defeated bill (68-62)</p> <p>Did not reach the floor of the Senate.</p> | <p>The vote was on an amended bill including county officials as well as legislators.</p> |
| <p>1957 - House passed bill (95-32)</p> <p>Senate defeated a motion to call the bill to the floor for a vote (41-24)</p> | <p>Bill's only amendment was to allow legislators to sit on the county committees of their party.</p> |
| <p>1959 - House defeated bill (65-61)</p> <p>Did not reach the floor of the Senate.</p> | <p>This, the only recorded vote, was on a motion to send the bill back to the House Elections Committee from the Committee of the Whole.</p> |

Explanation: While the House appears decidedly more friendly than the Senate to party designation, it is difficult to assess these voting records, because many House opponents could win friends among their constituents by voting for party designation and still be assured the bill would be killed in the Senate. In the 1959 session, the voting record was clouded by an amendment allowing candidates to file as Independents. Still, the failure to pass the House in 1959 was a step backward.

Senate members have had little chance to indicate their stand on party designation because a majority of the Senate Elections Committee have consistently opposed the effort to restore party labels. In 1957, all the Senate Liberals, supported by eight Conservatives, voted to call the bill to the floor without the approval of the Elections Committee. This motion lost 41-24, but provided some evidence of where individual senators stood on party designation.

Party Designation for County officials. The legislative history of party designation for legislators shows the rocky road it has traveled since '53. One of the obstacles has been the question of party designation for county officials. Because an amendment to include county officials was instrumental in defeating party designation in the House in 1955, a parliamentary maneuver was employed in the next two sessions to prevent this tactic. A separate bill calling for party designation of county officials was introduced so that House Rule 45c could be invoked; under this rule no bill can "be amended by annexing thereto or incorporating therein" any other bill before the House. Even though this county party designation bill died in committee on both occasions, it generated a great deal of interest in and out of the legislature.

Although the League has supported party designation for legislators since 1953, it has not explored the persisting question of covering county officials with party labels. One reason that the League convention of 1959 voted to return party designation to the Current Agenda was to reassess our position in the light of suggested modifications of the basic issue. By the end of this year's study, Leagues should be prepared to come to a consensus on the question of party designation for county officials (see separate sheet on consensus).

The subject will be discussed below in four main sections. First come general arguments for party designation that can be used to substantiate county party designation. The next two sections discuss arguments that apply particularly or solely to party designation for county officers; one is approached from the "pro," the other from the "con" point of view. Then some practical problems are presented; although these problems may have some influence on our decision, they should not be the sole basis for that decision.

1. What general arguments for party designation apply to county officials?

Some people say that arguments used in support of party designation for legislators, if they are valid, apply equally to county officials. First, if party designation brings responsible government, then we should have responsibility on the county level as well. Decisions and policies made by counties should be just as responsive to the will of the people (expressed through their parties) as decisions on any other level.

Secondly, if party designation for legislators will strengthen parties, the parties will gain still more by the inclusion of county officials. Strengthening the parties is only one argument for party designation, but it is important if the parties are to truly reflect the public point of view for the guidance of elected officials. For this to be the case, people must work through the party system and the parties need to have more elected officials active in the party ranks. Inclusion of county officials gives more ambassadors from each party to the people.

A third reason is help for the voters during a campaign. In large counties voters are likely to be particularly uninformed on county candidates, so arguments for identification of legislative candidates apply equally to county officials. Actually, both parties have been including their choices for county and legislative offices on the sample ballots they send to voters before each election. This technique is widely used in our state and seems to be appreciated by the voters.

2. Why should county officials be party designated?

Some legislators want county officials to join them on the party ballot to give them a "team" within the county. They feel that if they are alone in the county, they will be the party's "errand boys" and be solely responsible for total party policy in a given area without any room for independence of thought and action.

This argument has an answer. If a legislator is the lone representative of his party, the party money and machinery will all be geared to him alone and not be diluted by county candidates. While it is true that a legislator would have some party responsibilities, he would have an active organization behind him to do regular party chores. Independence is possible within the party structure, as already stated several times.

County offices would be a training ground for future party politicians. They could run for office on a smaller scale, become established and learn about service in government at a lower level before going on to higher office. Also, the party could appraise its candidates in action. True, this happens now to some extent although a politician doesn't choose a party until he runs for state executive office or a federal office.

It is interesting to note that most other states do designate their county officials by party. Our neighbor, Wisconsin, which is a "weak" party state in the sense that it has an open primary and a tradition of independence as we do, does have party designation on both state and county levels of government. Our own history shows that before the repeal in 1913 we had party designation for both state and county officials. Political scientists are divided on the desirability of party designation for county officials. Many agree that, in theory, party organization should extend through the county level even though some say that for practical reasons Minnesota shouldn't consider it at this time.

3. Why should county officials remain nonpartisan?

One prevailing point of view is that we don't need parties at the county level because of (a) the size and, (b) the character of counties.

(a) A county is a small enough unit of government for a candidate to be known to his constituents without recourse to party designation, through the services of groups interested in government, such as the League of Women Voters, parties, and local organizations. The closer to the local scene the more accessible to the voter. It doesn't take as much formal organization or money to campaign for a county office, which lessens the need for party help. (However, in urban areas, commissioner districts are often larger than legislative. A Hennepin County Commissioner represents more people than a U.S. Senator from Nevada.)

(b) To what extent do counties take independent action? Originally the county was solely a subdivision of the state to carry out state functions. Today, the county governmental unit is still an agent of the state, and by now of the federal government, implementing chiefly welfare and highway programs. Yet there are decisions to be made by counties; we have just recognized this fact by passing a constitutional amendment allowing for county home rule so that counties may govern without going to the state legislature for all decisions. The fact remains, however, that problems needing solution by counties are likely to be of a local nature and wouldn't need to be decided on the basis of party philosophy.

Certainly there is no "party way" to do the job of register of deeds or coroner. People interested in the short ballot say these jobs should be appointive and not on the ballot at all; that party designation for these offices might lessen the chance of ever removing them from the ballot. (The relation of party designation to the short ballot has often been raised on the state level, too, by people who believe the railroad and warehouse commissioners should be appointive and not elective, and who regard their party designation as a hindrance to this move. The League of Women Voters has worked for many years for a short ballot which would include top policy officials -- the governor, the lieutenant governor, possibly the attorney general -- and make ministerial offices like those of treasurer and secretary of state appointive.)

4. What are the practical problems?

The practical aspect of this issue must be considered. We want to know if party designation for county officials is desirable in its own right, but we are also concerned about how it affects the possibility of achieving party designation for legislators.

There is divided opinion among the experts on the interrelation of party designation for legislators and county officials; political scientists generally favor party designation on both levels in theory (the prevailing situation in most states), but they don't believe county designation is important enough to jeopardize (should this be the case) getting designation at the state level.

It's harder to assess the opinions of legislators. This question has not had as full debate on its merits as party designation for legislators so it's difficult to determine whether an opinion is based on any study of the issue. Several legislators sincerely feel that if we have party designation for legislators we should have the same for county officials, and have said that they would vote for party designation if this were the case. However, there are legislators who support the county issue because they hope to defeat any party designation. The largest bloc of opposition comes from the county officials themselves. In the past, they have been largely responsible for defeating this proposal and currently have a resolution, formulated by their two organizations, the County Officers Association and the State Assoc. of County Commissioners, opposing P.D. for county officials.

A Compromise Party Designation Bill. An interesting question was raised in the 1959 legislature but not definitively answered nor even well explored. It was the amendment to the party designation bill to allow a candidate to run as an independent in the primary election. This proposal was advanced strictly as a compromise measure in an attempt to win party designation. Since a compromise along these lines is likely to come up again in subsequent legislatures, the League should at least be aware of its implications.

The amendment to the party designation bill adopted by the House said that notwithstanding other provisions of the election laws, "any person eligible and desirous of having his name placed upon the primary ballot as a candidate to be chosen by the several political parties may file as an independent without designating himself as a member of any political party." Because implementation was not clear and because of inconsistencies with other election laws, the bill was sent to the Judiciary Committee and died there.

While arguments both pro and con can be stated for this compromise, we need to recognize that the real reason for its introduction was to make party designation voluntary in order to accommodate some powerful incumbent legislators.

The assumption made by some who favor a partisan legislature is that the independent slot on the ballot would be used most by these incumbent legislators who are unwilling to give up a tried and true method for what they believe to be a risky venture and that as new candidates come along, they would choose party support. If this proved to be true, we would move slowly in the direction of a partisan legislature and eventually eliminate the provision for independents. Others feel that this provision will lead to the establishment of a third party -- a quasi-party without a tie to the voters.

There is a way other than the accepted amendment (which puts the names of independent candidates on the consolidated party ballot) to accomplish "voluntary" party designation. Senator Fraser had drafted a bill to allow legislative candidates to indicate their party affiliation or the term "Independent" after their names on a ballot similar to the one now used for nonpartisan candidates. This plan would cause less disruption of the election laws and would probably lessen the chances of developing a third party.

Whether or not a compromise of this sort comes about is a question for legislative determination. It is reported here only as an interesting by-product of the 1959 legislative session and not to be considered as a problem for League decision.

SECTION IV. COMPARISON OF HOW MINNESOTA'S LEGISLATURE OPERATES WITH "FACTIONS"
AND HOW IT MIGHT OPERATE UNDER PARTY CONTROL

With Factions (no party designation)

A. Before Elections

1. The Republican and DFL parties often seek out strong candidates to run in districts where the opposition is in power. The Republicans do less of this than the DFL, because many of the conservative faction members are reluctant to assist the party recruitment.
2. Financial aid is often given strategic candidates by the parties.

B. At Party Conventions

1. The Republican state platform committee holds open hearings. On occasion Conservative legislators are invited to attend these to advise the committee. They may serve as delegates to the state convention if elected by their local caucus. In the DFL, Liberal legislators are ex officio members of the conventions and its committees and may advise as to what planks they would like to have in the platform. They may be elected as delegates to the convention, in the same way as other delegates are chosen.

Under Party Control

A. Before Elections

1. The two parties would do significantly more in finding candidates. Under party designation the primary election would result in a candidate from each party surviving to run in the general election. Therefore, both parties would be motivated to find candidates -- and good ones -- for all legislative districts.
2. Both parties would undoubtedly continue offering financial support in districts where it was especially important to win, and they might offer every candidate some financial help. Since candidates would not need financial help from special interests, they would not need to worry during the session about offending them and forfeiting their support.

B. At Party Conventions

1. Republican legislators probably would be much more involved in writing their party's platform. DFL legislators probably would continue to serve as ex officio members of the party conventions and its committees.

With Factions (no party designation)

B. At Party Conventions

2. The DFL party endorses its legislative candidates before the primary elections. The Republican party has not endorsed legislative candidates before the primary if there is a contest between Republicans.
3. Both parties tend to endorse their incumbents, even if an incumbent's record shows he has opposed major planks of the platform of the party to which he is showing some allegiance.

C. During the Campaign

1. Both parties (in their local units) endorse legislative candidates on sample ballots.
2. A legislative candidate may or may not indicate his party, or the faction he plans to caucus with, during his campaign. Without party labels some candidates tend to hide their party affiliations, particularly true in districts where the candidate is of a different party than the majority of the voters. Also, many feel the nonpartisan legislator is "one who does not have to take a stand on an issue before the issue is presented to the legislature."

Under Party Control

B. At Party Conventions

2. DFL candidates would continue to receive their party's endorsement before the primary, and Republicans would probably also decide on pre-primary endorsement. Candidates would have to be in general agreement with the party's platform or else satisfy the local party committee as to their party loyalty.
3. Both parties would continue to endorse most incumbents; closer participation of legislators in platform-making should reduce problem of endorsing noncooperators.

C. During the Campaign

1. Both parties would continue to indicate legislative choices on sample ballots.
2. The legislative candidate would run as a Republican or DFLer and, therefore, campaign on the record of his party in addition to his personal program and record. Merely by identifying his party the candidate would give the public a general indication of where he stood on many issues. Particularly in metropolitan areas, candidates would be much more likely to talk issues when the voters identified him with a party. There would be less doorbell ringing and handshaking and more arguing and discussing. The drama of the partisan election would awaken more voter interest. (It is an established fact that nonpartisan candidates draw fewer votes than party ones.)

With Factions (no party designation)

C. During the Campaign

3. A new development in the 1959 legislative races was for the DFL candidates for governor and other elective executive offices to campaign with Liberal candidates for the legislature. This angered many of the opposition, who felt this was creating too much partisanship in a supposedly nonpartisan legislature.

D. At the Polls

1. On both the primary and general election ballots, candidates are listed not under column headings "DFL" or "Republican," along with the candidates for the elective executive offices, but below this on a separate ballot or separate column (on voting machines), headed "candidates nominated without party designation." Therefore, voters are given no party guidance on ballot or voting machine.
2. The two candidates polling the most votes in the primary election run in the general election. Thus, the two who win may both be of the same "faction" or party, which gives the voter at the general election (in which there is much greater interest and heavier participation) no really clear-cut choice between candidates representing differences in policy. In many metropolitan legislative districts, two representatives run at large, so that in a heavily DFL or Republican district, the minority party has no choice among even four candidates.

Under Party Control

C. During the Campaign

3. In both parties, the candidates for the state executive offices and the legislative candidates of the same party would naturally do some campaigning together.

D. At the Polls

1. Legislative candidates would appear on party ballots at both the primary and the general elections.
2. From the primary election, a candidate from each party would emerge for the general election.

With Factions (no party designation)

D. At the Polls

3. The voter has no knowledge of the party affiliation (or caucus preference) of legislative candidates. This encourages choice of executive of one party, legislators of another; also a split between the two houses.

E. After Election but Before the Legislature Convenes

1. Both House and Senate have Liberal and Conservative caucuses. Many Conservative faction members identify themselves as Republicans and most Liberals as DFL. Those legislators who identify themselves by party are usually leaders in their respective parties.
2. The majority faction controls the selection of the committee chairmanships, and the assignment of members to committees, which results in considerable faction discipline.
3. Some legislators can be lured into the opposition faction with special rewards, e.g., promise of support for local bills or the promise of a desired committee chairmanship or a desired committee assignment; these methods are used particularly when neither faction has a clear-cut majority. The House in particular has a number of fence-straddlers. Senate Liberals have sometimes defected to the Senate Conservative faction for a desired committee assignment. Senate Conservatives need a 2/3 vote on "special order" issues so that a few additional votes can prove very helpful, even though they have always controlled the Senate by a good margin. Once committed, the legislator continues during the

Under Party Control

D. At the Polls

3. When the legislator's party is indicated, fewer cross-overs between parties would occur; party sample ballots would be easier to use; legislators would probably be more affected by swings in popular opinion.

E. After Election but Before the Legislature Convenes

1. The caucus system would continue but under the labels of Republican and DFL. Each caucus could elect its own leaders. They would, however, be responsible to their party and its platform.
2. The majority caucus would continue to control the selection of committee chairmanships and the assignment of members to committees.
3. Legislators would be much less likely to switch caucuses. Generally they would feel committed to the party which had endorsed them, under whose label they had campaigned, and under whose heading their names had appeared on the ballot.

With Factions (no party designation)

E. (continued)

3. session to caucus with his faction, although his vote may bear little relation to this commitment.

F. After the Legislature Goes into Session

1. The caucuses of the factions meet frequently during the session with their leaders and steering committees.
2. In caucus, the faction sympathetic to the governor attempts to determine ways to carry out his program. The opposition faction determines ways to revise, amend, or defeat the governor's program.
3. While varying amounts of independence exist, factions attempt to control members' votes. Studies of voting records show definite faction loyalty on important issues.

Under Party Control

F. After the Legislature Goes into Session

1. The party caucuses would meet frequently during the session with their leaders and their steering committees to determine ways to carry out their respective programs.
2. If the governor and the legislative majority were of the same party, there would be much pressure to evolve a program designed to carry out the party's platform. Teamwork between the governor and his party's legislators would be much closer. Minnesota governors have often been blamed for failing to accomplish things when members of their own faction were partly or chiefly responsible. With greater party discipline, the governor could be praised or blamed with more validity. The opposition party would determine ways to promote its own program by revising, amending, defeating, and adding to the governor's program.
3. Whether an individual legislator would have more or less independence under party designation is problematical. Some believe parties allow for wider variations of opinion than the present legislative factions have allowed, since factions are controlled by a few powerful leaders responsible only to their constituents and their conscience.

With Factions (no party designation)

F. After the Legislature Goes into Session

4. Faction members feel no great pressure to stand by party platforms, as evidenced by the defeat each year of some of the major planks of both party platforms.
5. Faction leaders can keep caucus discipline by withholding or promising support of a legislator's special or local bills, by trading votes, by promising or withholding interim committee appointments. Faction leadership also exerts some party discipline on party-active legislators by appealing to party loyalty and their desire to get ahead in that organization.
6. Lobbyists are powerful. To be effective in the nonpartisan legislature, they need influence only a certain number of influential legislators. Political parties, which are a much larger interest group, have less power than these small special interest groups.
7. Factions have not been effective in bringing to the voters' attention corrupt or unethical behavior of members of the opposing faction.
8. Legislative records do not identify legislators by party.

Under Party Control

F. After the Legislature Goes into Session

4. Major political planks of the party in power probably would be achieved.
5. The same methods of discipline would continue to function -- appealing to party loyalty, the withholding or granting of support for a legislator's local bills, the trading of votes, and the promise or withholding of interim committee appointments.
6. The power of lobbyists would be decreased, since each party would necessarily be concerned that legislators kept the party's reputation in mind as well as its goals.
7. The opposition party would have an easier time pointing to corruption among its adversaries. The corrupt legislator would also reflect on his party's reputation so that the party would be concerned over his behavior.
8. Legislative records would identify legislators by party.

A P P E N D I X

A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF THE LEAGUE'S WORK ON "PARTY DESIGNATION FOR LEGISLATORS"

When state convention time rolls around in 1961, we will have had "Party Designation for Legislators" on our program for 10 years. Why did it become part of our state program in the first place and how has our thinking about it changed over this period of time?

In 1951, the convention voted to add to an already crowded Current Agenda, "The League of Women Voters will study the present method of electing state legislators with a view to supporting party designation." Legislative lobbyists in particular believed it important for the League to inquire whether party designation would not make for more effective and responsible government. After a year of study, the 1952 convention voted to accept "Party Designation for Legislators" as an action item on the Current Agenda.

In 1955, party designation was moved to Continuing Responsibilities with the convention's decision to concentrate the League's efforts on constitutional revision. There it remained, with main League emphasis on constitutional reform, until the 1959 convention. Meanwhile, League lobbyists had grown in their appreciation of the need for party designation if other legislative reforms were to be accomplished. Their beliefs were reflected in the overwhelming support the 1959 convention gave to restoring party designation to the Current Agenda as part of our present three-headed, interrelated item.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

- Adrian, Charles R. The Nonpartisan Legislature in Minnesota, 1950.
Ph. D. thesis, University of Minnesota.
- Fjelstad, Ralph S. How About Party Labels? National Municipal Review, 44:359-364 (July 1955). A short article on the Minnesota legislature by the Congdon professor of government at Carleton College.
- Harsch, Joseph C. The Role of Political Parties U.S.A. New York: Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc. 1955. Discusses origin, functions, and actions of the two parties on the national level.
- Key, V.O., Jr. American State Politics. New York: Alfred Knopf. 1956. Discusses political party influences and activities in the various states.
- Key, V.O., Jr. Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co. 4th Edition, 1958. Reviews political party system, organization, and the party's relation to government.
- League of Women Voters of Minnesota. Party Designation for Legislators. 1956. Mimeographed pamphlet, basic resource material for party designation.
- Mitau, G.T. Politics in Minnesota. Listed for spring publication. A thorough study of Minnesota politics and politicians from 1858 to the present. An analysis of the legislature and lobby groups. We are indebted to Dr. Mitau for the use of his manuscript.
- Penniman, Howard R. Sait's American Parties and Elections. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc. 1952. A realistic and practical approach to the technical aspects of political parties.

A C K N O W L E D G M E N T S

Interviews and conversations with many legislators and political scientists provided a great deal of help in preparing this work. We are grateful to everyone who gave generously of his time and attention. We particularly want to thank the following people: --

Harold W. Chase, Professor of Political Science, University of Minnesota
Daniel S. Feidt, State Senator, 34th District
Donald Fraser, State Senator, 29th District
Dorothy Jacobson, Administrative Assistant to the Governor
Robert Knowles, Wisconsin State Senator, New Richmond, Wisconsin
G. Theodore Mitau, Professor of Political Science, Macalester College
Harry Newby, President, County Officers Association
Charles W. Root, State Senator, 33rd District

Suggested Reading

There are many fine books and pamphlets of interest as supplements to the study of parties and politics. A few are mentioned here.

Hinderaker, Ivan. Party Politics. New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1956.
An introductory text on political parties.

Kent, Frank. The Great Game of Politics. New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc. 1936. Presentation of the elementary human facts about politics, politicians, political machines and candidates.

League of Women Voters of Minnesota. Minnesota Needs Party Designation for Legislators. 1958. Capsule arguments in a short pamphlet.

League of Women Voters of the U.S. Is Politics Your Job? 1956.
A new treatment of the old theme of citizen participation in government.

League of Women Voters of the U.S. What's the U.S. to You? 1949.
A quiz about politics in comic book form.

Merriam, Robert E. and Rachel M. Goetz. Going Into Politics. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957.
A guide for citizen activity in politics, with emphasis on the necessity for work within existing political parties.

Van Riper, Paul P. Handbook of Practical Politics. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1952.
A detailed and comprehensive work, including many diagrams, forms and charts, illustrations and true success stories and anecdotes.

V1

May 7, 1959

To Mary Mantis from Luverne Graham

Report on Party Designation

Early in the 1959 session one of the political analysts who writes for the Mpls. Star observed that he believes that, aside from a handful of supporters, the Minnesota legislature fears and hates the party designation bill more than any other it must face each session. The LWV discovered an unexpected and disappointing opposition to PD before the session opened among both Conservatives and Liberals. Not a single Conservative senator could be found to author the bill. Even among those who supported it in the past none would do so this session. Some gave such reasons as: You know I'm with you on party designation. I've always supported it but if I give my name to this bill they'll blackball me. None of my bill will go through. One senator formerly a representative who has been an author in the past promised to support it in committee hearing. When the bill came up for its only Senate committee hearing he sat in silence. The Senate elections committee stood 18 to 1 against party designation with only Sen. Raphael Salmore for it. Thus it appeared as a minority report with three liberal authors-- Grittner, Fraser, and Salmore.

In the House, where it passed the 1957 session 95 to 32, the shock of disillusionment was even greater because the league had felt sure of passage even though we did not expect the large vote of the previous session. The House opposition was led by Iverson and Popovitch who attached an incredible number of incredibly bad amendments to the bill. Even Yetka, one of the authors, turned against the bill with a crippling amendment. The bill's main author, Mrs. Luther, called it as incongruous a monstrosity of a bill as anyone would want to see....nearly ridiculous enough for both houses to pass it.

Why do we seem to have taken a large step backwards in our quest for party designation? In an effort to analyze the character of the 1959 legislature we observe that:

1. the Liberals held a looser grip on the House than they did in 1957.

Caucus controls should have assured support of platform principles like PD in spite of personal animosities. Instead, factions within factions worked to help or injure individuals and general legislation became less important than personal loyalties and enmities. In the Senate some legislators nursed deep resentment at being nearly unseated and avenged their hurts at the cost of badly needed statewide legislation.

2. The treat of some kind of reapportionment seemed real enough to some legislators to insure a quick and irrevocable defeat for PD. If they had to submit to one sweeping reform this session, they were not likely to submit to two.

As the session advanced the urgency of reapportionment lessened in some legislators' minds and many felt the session could very well end without either of these unloved reforms.

3. The entrenchment of the 'independent' concept in Minnesota politics grows out of the looseness of party structure in this state. Dr. Ralph Felstad of Carleton believes that the people must be convinced that the government of Minnesota is neither non-partisan nor independent. This misconception is fostered by our 'nonpartisan' legislators at campaign time. They speak of the glorious independence of Minnesota's legislature untouched by the party bossism that dirties other state governments. The people of our state do not seem to want to be bound to tighter party organization and this is certainly their privilege. This loose party discipline is reflected in the failure of the two parties to deliver support from legislators for party platform planks. As long as the people are deceived by this nonpartisan independence and as long as the legislators continue to feed the deception, the outlook for PD is dim. Prof. Harold Chase of the UofM says that Minnesota legislators live in the best of all possible worlds and that they would be fools to change it.

Because the personnel of the legislature will be unchanged in 1961 the LNV would be realistic not to try to win votes for PD by active lobbying at the next session. Those legislators who work for PD will know we are with them. I believe we should use our woman power and our resources for two other goals:

1. To reveal to the people the character of the Minnesota legislature,

over

the structure and operation of the caucuses and committees, influence of special interests, responsiveness to changing needs of state, etc.

2. To work as individuals outside the league for the election of candidates who pledge support of league sponsored legislation, and

3. In order to be doers of the word and not hearers only, to participate as members in the party of our choice.

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 15th & Washington S.E., Minneapolis 14, Minn.
November 1959 112259CC

CONSENSUS ON PARTY DESIGNATION FOR COUNTY OFFICIALS

In addition to using the material in Section III of The Missing Link in Minnesota Government, your League should supplement its study and strengthen its consensus on county party designation by interviewing some of your county officials. A few questions you might ask are: What are the duties of the commissioners? What county officers are elected? Do they favor party designation for all county officials or for commissioners only? If they oppose, why?

Your consensus is due in the state League office by May 1st, 1960. We will discuss the results at the Council meeting on May 18 and 19.

"It is the duty of the local League Board to evaluate the consensus of the local League..... giving extent of coverage, i.e., number of and effectiveness of unit meetings and/or general meetings and approximate number of members involved in reaching the decision, areas of agreement or disagreement, or failure to arrive at consensus." (State Board Handbook, p. 24)

Do you support party designation for county officials? _____

(Please enlarge on your answer for the guidance of the state Board - use space below.)

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS
for
THE MISSING LINK IN MINNESOTA GOVERNMENT

Section I

1. What are the broad services of a party as well as the specific tasks that parties render?
2. What are three reasons for the persistence of nonpartisanship in our legislature?
3. In what two ways could parties be revitalized?

Section II

1. Does the caucus system substitute adequately for parties?
2. How has a nonpartisan legislature affected the role of governor?
3. In what ways would party designation change the relationship between the voters and their legislators?
4. Why is the party platform important?

Section III

1. Has the party designation bill ever passed either the House or Senate?
2. Why are we studying county party designation?
3. Give the pros and cons of party designation for county officials.
4. Why did the question of candidates running as independents arise and what effects could its passage have?

Section IV

1. Are parties active now in the legislature, even though it is nonpartisan?
2. State all the differences that might come with party designation.

TESTIMONY BEFORE SENATE COMMITTEE
February 8, 1959

I am Harold Chase, Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Minnesota. I come before you as an interested citizen speaking for no one but himself. It is with some misgivings that I proceed, for I have lived in the state for only two years and I am well aware of the fact that you all know far more about Minnesota politics than I do. But, on the theory that sometimes there is virtue in getting the perspective of an "outsider" on local problems, I have asked to impose upon you long enough to give you some views on the question of party designation. In this connection, I believe it is pertinent to mention that I have lived for a year or more in seven states, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Virginia, North Carolina, California, Delaware and Minnesota and have had professional reasons for observing closely the operation of the governments of those states.

In view of some of the things I'm about to say, I want to make it clear that like George Grim, "I like it here." I only regret that I didn't have the opportunity to come here sooner.

One more prefatory remark, I do not want to repeat the fine arguments which have been presented on behalf of party designation. I shall confine myself to stressing several points that have not been given much attention.

The first point I should like to stress grows out of my own brief experience in Minnesota. When I first came here, for professional reasons, I wanted to read myself into the local situation as fast as possible. I asked many questions of many people about our state legislators. I was amazed how few folks knew much about their legislators. This is undoubtedly a consequence of no-party designation. Busy citizens cannot devote much time to following legislative activities. This is not to imply that party designation is a sure index to any particular legislator's views. But it does serve to provide reference points for the public. Once a voters knows that a man is a DFLer or a Republican, he can learn relatively quickly in what particular ways he deviates from others in the party. The voter

attempting to get a line on a legislator needs base points just as the artillery man needs a few base points as guide lines to his targets. Nor do the labels "conservative" or "liberal" serve the purpose. I am convinced on the basis of questioning many people here in Minnesota that these designations have far less meaning in respect to issues than DFL and Republican.

My second point is that the concept of no-party designation stems from very faulty political theory. It grew out of the idea that the Progressives of yesteryear had that you must take politics out of politics. On its face, this is impossible. Electing a legislature is a political process. There is no virtue in making it more difficult for the voter to know what he is voting for. This puts a premium on pressure-group politics, for it makes it easier for single-purposed special interest groups to get their men in office when the general voters are duped or confused.

Test the theory another way. If there is virtue in having legislators elected on their own merits without regard to party platforms--wouldn't the same concept suggest that they should operate independently in the legislature, too? Yet, to accomplish legislative business, there are "party" caucuses in the legislature after the legislators are elected. In the same way, experience has indicated that the voters in a democracy must have organization to accomplish their business, i.e. telling the legislators what they want. History amply demonstrates that democracy works best where there are two virgorous, distinguishable parties. ~~Now, obviously, there must be some practical reasons for supporting non-party designation, otherwise there would be no problem about getting a party designation bill passed. Let's call a spade a spade. The practical reasons are not in the public interest however much they may serve some legislators' interests or other private interests. To be sure a legislator gets a kind of independence from election without a party label--independence from the voter. It is more difficult for the voter to keep track of his representative and to hold him accountable. What does the independent legislator stand for before~~

Now, obviously, there must be some practical reasons for supporting non-party designation, otherwise there would be no problem about getting a party designation bill passed. Let's call a spade a spade. The practical reasons are not in the public interest however much they may serve some legislators' interests or other private interests. To be sure a legislator gets a kind of independence from election without a party label--independence from the voter. It is more difficult for the voter to keep track of his representative and to hold him accountable. What does the independent legislator stand for before

election? Since he does not have to stand with a party for a party platform, he can stand for anything he wants. He can talk out of both sides of his mouth when making the coffee-party circuit. Consequently, he can pretend--as more than a few candidates did in the past election--that he is both conservative and liberal, DFL and Republican.

Another practical reason for favoring no-party designation is that it tends to favor the incumbent. At least this is suggested by Professor Adrian's very fine study. Although this may be desirable from the point of view of one already in the legislature, it is stacking the cards.

Further, the legislator who would serve private rather than the public interest stands a better chance of pursuing that private interest, where there is no party designation. It is with some reluctance that I proceed along these lines because what I am about to say is distasteful. But I believe, with all due respect, it must be said.

Last year, I read with a great deal of interest the very serious charges leveled at members of this legislature by John McDonald in the Minneapolis Tribune, March 24-29. On the basis of my study of government, I ~~thought~~ thought, "This will really blow the lid off the capital." I don't pretend to know or want to argue about the validity of these charges. The point I would like to make is that such serious charges warranted the healthy interest of the citizenry of the state. I was literally amazed that no public furore followed. Undoubtedly, the problem of conflict of interest is common to all state legislatures, but the publicizing of such serious charges in any other state I know about would not have been received with such apathy. I am not suggesting that anybody should be unfairly crucified, but, in a healthy body politic, the citizenry would insist on thorough airing of such charges. Why were Minnesotans so apathetic? My own hunch is that lack of party designation was the biggest contributing factor. We all more or less identify ourselves with one of the two major parties. We would have felt a greater involvement if the allegations were aimed at identifiable

Republicans or DFLers. Also, members of each party would be quick to insist that representatives of the other party be exposed. This kind of vigilance, if kept in civilized bounds, is all to the good. Further, the parties themselves would be more watchful of the activities of legislators wearing their label knowing that wrong-doing by one might reflect on the party as a whole.

One last thought. It has been urged by some of my friends that the Minnesota legislature is envied among sister states for the independence of its non-party designated legislature. Curiously, I have never heard the statement anywhere except here in Minnesota; nor have I ever seen it asserted in a solid study of state government; nor, more importantly, has any sister state--Nebraska is not an exception--seen fit in lo these many years to emulate our example.

(Testimony by Harold W. Chase, Associate Professor of political science, U of M, as reconstructed by him from his notes.)

98
11
98
98
10 78

TIPS ON PARTY DESIGNATION FOR LOCAL LEAGUES

You will remember that the League convention of 1959 voted to return party designation to the Current Agenda for two reasons: to study previously unexplored aspects of the subject (see the Missing Link in Minnesota Government); and to take the case for party designation to the community.

Suggestions for Action in the Community

1. Invite party leaders to a general meeting where they can either give formal talks or participate in a panel discussion on the party's role, the need for citizen participation in parties, etc.
2. Lobby "at home" by convincing key community leaders of the need for party designation for legislators.
3. Encourage League members to attend a precinct caucus. (Review the League's nonpartisanship policy, stated most recently in Let's Talk League, LWV of Minnesota, August 1959.)
4. If possible, send a representative to the course on political parties conducted by Dr. Ralph Fjelstad of Carleton College and sponsored by the Minneapolis Woman's Club to be held in January and February (see brochure for details), or to other meetings pertinent to our study. Present plans call for no League sponsored Area Workshops on party designation next spring. Dr. Fjelstad's course might serve as a substitute.
5. The state League has a supply of the flyer, Minnesota Needs Party Designation for Legislators (2 for 5¢) that can be given away at appropriate functions.
6. Check with your Public Relations chairman on other ways of reaching into the community with a program item. Share any successful ideas with the state board.

Suggestions for Study of "The Missing Link in Minnesota Government"

1. State item chairmen:
 - a. Read what you can of material listed in the Bibliography and Suggested Reading. Note the brief history of the League's work on party designation in the Appendix.
 - b. Keep in mind how much time your League has to spend on this item.
2. How to present the topic:
 - a. Several people on a topic are always best (panels, debates, etc.). If you must work alone, then vary your ways of presenting the material (for instance, use charts, questions and answers, summarize in your own words).
 - b. Sections I and II discuss generally the need for parties in a democracy and the shortcomings of our nonpartisan legislature. In your presentation, you could combine these sections to advantage with Section IV which deals with specific changes party designation could effect.
 - c. Section III will require special emphasis because of the consensus on county party designation.
 - d. You may wish to use the accompanying questions as a guide to your discussion or as a test of your League's understanding of the topic.

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL ON "PARTY DESIGNATION FOR COUNTY OFFICIALS"

The duties of the County Commissioners are important to know in evaluating whether they should be under party designation:

"The Board of County Commissioners is an administrative body which serves as the central agency of county government. The duties of this board are to set the county budget, to keep track of county funds, to appoint and to give general supervision to department heads, including the County Highway Engineer, the Supervisor of Assessments, the Budget and Purchasing Agent, and the Glen Lake Sanatorium Commission. The Board appoints the employees of all of the above-mentioned departments, except for Glen Lake Sanatorium, without benefit of a formal merit system. The Board determines the road and bridge program. It acts as County Board of Public Welfare. It is also the County Board of Equalization for assessments among the 48 cities, villages, and towns of the county. The Board also manages county property, awards contracts, passes on claims, and supervises elections. Although the Board has no direct jurisdiction over the work of other elected officials, it does exert some control through its power over appointments and expenditures." (From "Know Your County Government")

For duties of other county officials (auditor, treasurer, register of deeds, surveyor, superintendent of schools, court commissioner, clerk of District Court, attorney, sheriff and coroner see "Know Your County Government".

VIEWS OF HENNEPIN COUNTY OFFICIALS ON PARTY DESIGNATION FOR COUNTY OFFICIALS. (Officials interviewed included 4 county commissioners, treasurer, register of deeds, sheriff and auditor):

1. Do you favor party designation for county officials?

Three out of four commissioners favored it. One commissioner claimed the commissioners made policy hence they should be committed to a platform and be held accountable. One commissioner, who favored it, asserted, nevertheless, they made little policy and he did not know what kind of platform could be written for them since they are an administrative rather than legislative body and, for the most part, simply carry out the laws of the state. When counties are granted home rule he felt it would be much more important to have party designation. All three agreed party designation would better inform the voters on candidates and issues. The commissioner opposing party designation felt the five-man Board too small for party designation and that inasmuch as the current Board worked well together, party designation would only complicate their activities.

All four of the other officials opposed it. Reasons given were that it was difficult enough to do their jobs without dictation from a political party, their jobs are administrative not policy making, and time would be spent building a political machine that is now spent on the job.

2. Should some county officials be under party designation and not others? Should some be appointed?

Commissioners: One disapproved party designation for all officers, one approved it for all, one approved it for all but the coroner, who should be appointed, one approved it for all the elected county officials but believed in appointment for all officials excepting the commissioners and county attorney.

Other officials: All believed all officials should continue to be elected.

3. Do the parties play a large role in county government despite the absence of party labels?

All the officials believed the parties currently play a small role in county government despite both parties' activities in endorsing officers for their sample ballots, which does affect elections. Parties give little or no financial support to county candidates. They do pass resolutions from time to time hoping to persuade officials on a course of action. No commissioner admitted to party pressure over appointment.

4. What do the County Commissioners feel are their most important duties?

One commissioner described their job as mostly a matter of carrying out the laws of the state with their major chance to exert initiative coming through the appointments they made. However, major appointments are made infrequently. Another commissioner pointed to the large amounts of money they spend for roads, highways, and welfare purposes as an important duty. "Currently we are faced with deciding how the highway program is to be financed, and the use to be made of Glen Lake Sanatorium."

5. Specifically, how would your job be affected by party designation?

Commissioners: One felt it would be easier if he knew the party was backing him in his job. Another claimed policy affects two areas of a commissioner's job - wage settlements for county employees, and how our highway programs are to be financed. Party designation would make it clearer how a Commissioner stands on these matters. No one worried that the party would put pressure for party appointments. Although there is no merit system in the county, they felt their appointments had been based on merit and that this would continue. One stressed that without home rule, party designation wouldn't affect much.

Other officials: Most claimed they would have to declare their party; "party hacks" would run their campaign; they would be indebted to the party for their job and the party would dictate to them. One felt he would resign rather than be under party designation.

6. Why are the County Officials Association and the Association of County Commissioners opposed to party designation?

A variety of reasons were given. One felt that rural counties have different problems than urban, another that rural officials would have more party demands made on them, and another believed incumbents fear losing their jobs.