

**Urban Concerns Workshops Inc.**

***Project 120***

## PREFACE

As a part of the Bicentennial Celebration, URBAN CONCERNS WORKSHOPS INC. developed PROJECT 120. The idea behind the program was to give one hundred and twenty Minnesota high school juniors and seniors the opportunity to see Minnesota government in operation. With a grant from the Minnesota Bicentennial Commission and the Minnesota Government Learning Center, URBAN CONCERNS WORKSHOPS INC. took six groups of twenty students to the Minnesota Capitol during the 1976 Legislative Session. The students had the opportunity to observe the Legislature in operation for one week, meet with state elected officials, Congressmen, Legislators, lobbyists, reporters, and legislative staff members. Representatives of both political parties talked with the students and mock precinct caucuses were conducted. Each student also had the chance to visit with his or her legislator.

With the success of the 1976 program, URBAN CONCERNS decided to continue the program even after the Bicentennial Celebration was over. Funded by the Minnesota Government Learning Center and individual contributors, the 1977 program was expanded. Even though the name remains PROJECT 120, one hundred and sixty Minnesota high school juniors and seniors will go to the Capitol in 1977. Instead of six weeks the program will run eight. More emphasis will be placed on what the students can do when they return home. Political education workbooks have been put together by URBAN CONCERNS and will be given to each participant and his or her high school teacher. In this way URBAN CONCERNS hopes to expand the PROJECT 120 experience to more than just the one hundred and sixty students who actually come to the Capitol.

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## PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

The program in which you will be participating will attempt to meet the following objectives:

1. To give you a better knowledge and understanding of the procedures, organization, and effectiveness of state and federal government.
2. To make you more aware and give you a better understanding of the various aspects of the political system in the United States and Minnesota.
3. To familiarize you with political parties.
4. To better inform you on some major issues of the day and to help you form your own opinion on these issues.
5. To introduce you to Minnesota's various state and national political governmental leaders.
6. To inform you on the many different aspects of political participation, how and why people do participate, and how you might go about involving yourself.



MINNESOTA: FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Every state has two United States Senators. They are elected state wide and serve for a six year term. Minnesota's Senators are:

\_\_\_\_\_ Party \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ Party \_\_\_\_\_

Based upon our population, Minnesota is divided into eight Congressional Districts. These Districts are roughly equal in population and are the basis for representation in the United States' House of Representatives. Each District elects a Congressman in the even numbered years. Congressmen serve for two years. Minnesota's Congressmen are:

First District \_\_\_\_\_ Party \_\_\_\_\_  
Second District \_\_\_\_\_ Party \_\_\_\_\_  
Third District \_\_\_\_\_ Party \_\_\_\_\_  
Fourth District \_\_\_\_\_ Party \_\_\_\_\_  
Fifth District \_\_\_\_\_ Party \_\_\_\_\_  
Sixth District \_\_\_\_\_ Party \_\_\_\_\_  
Seventh District \_\_\_\_\_ Party \_\_\_\_\_  
Eighth District \_\_\_\_\_ Party \_\_\_\_\_

Which District do you live in? \_\_\_\_\_

Each of the Congressmen has an office in Washington, D.C. and an office in the District. What are the addresses for your Congressman's offices?

In Washington, D. C.:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

In Minnesota:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

MINNESOTA: LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

Minnesota has a bi-cameral legislature. The State Senate has 67 members and the House of Representatives has 134 members. The state is divided into 67 Senate Districts and each Senate District is divided into two House Districts. Senators serve four year terms and Representatives serve two year terms.

President of the State Senate \_\_\_\_\_

Senate Majority Leader \_\_\_\_\_

Senate Minority Leader \_\_\_\_\_

Your Senate District Number \_\_\_\_\_

Your State Senator \_\_\_\_\_

Speaker of the State House of Representatives \_\_\_\_\_

House Majority Leader \_\_\_\_\_

House Minority Leader \_\_\_\_\_

Your House District Number \_\_\_\_\_ (Either A or B)

Your State Representative \_\_\_\_\_

MINNESOTA: EXECUTIVE BRANCH

Minnesota elects six state officials. They are: Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, Secretary of State, State Auditor, and State Treasurer. They are elected every four years in even numbered non-presidential years (1978, 1982, 1986, etc.).

Governor \_\_\_\_\_ Party \_\_\_\_\_

Lieutenant Governor \_\_\_\_\_ Party \_\_\_\_\_

Attorney General \_\_\_\_\_ Party \_\_\_\_\_

Sec. of State \_\_\_\_\_ Party \_\_\_\_\_

State Auditor \_\_\_\_\_ Party \_\_\_\_\_

State Treasurer \_\_\_\_\_ Party \_\_\_\_\_

Besides these elected officials, there are over 50 administrative departments and agencies within the Executive Branch. The governing bodies and administrative heads of these departments are appointed by the Governor and are responsible to him.

Some of the more prominent department heads are:

Executive Director  
Pollution Control Agency \_\_\_\_\_

Director  
Office of Consumer Services \_\_\_\_\_

Commissioner  
Department of Human Rights \_\_\_\_\_

Commissioner  
Department of Corrections \_\_\_\_\_

Chairman  
Board of Regents  
University of Minnesota \_\_\_\_\_

Commissioner  
Department of Education \_\_\_\_\_

Chancellor  
State College Board \_\_\_\_\_

Commissioner  
Department of Agriculture \_\_\_\_\_

## MINNESOTA: JUDICIAL BRANCH

### SUPREME COURT

The Minnesota judicial system is headed by the Supreme Court, the state's court of last resort. There is a Chief Justice and eight Associate Justices. How many can you name?

Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court \_\_\_\_\_

Associate Justices \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

### DISTRICT COURT

District Courts have original jurisdiction in all civil and criminal cases. There is one District Court for the State of Minnesota divided into ten judicial districts. Judges are elected for six year terms without party designation.

Which Judicial District do you live in? \_\_\_\_\_

### COUNTY COURT

All of Minnesota's 87 counties, except Hennepin and Ramsey, have a County Court. This court has civil jurisdiction where the amount in controversy does not exceed \$5,000. It has criminal jurisdiction over misdemeanors, petty misdemeanors, and preliminary hearing. This court also has jurisdiction over cases arising out of the family relationship, divorce, adoption, commitments, juvenile matters, etc. This court also has jurisdiction over traffic violations and conciliations.

### MUNICIPAL COURT

Hennepin and Ramsey counties still have separate Municipal Courts which have basically the same jurisdiction as the County Courts. Hennepin and Ramsey counties also have separate Probate Courts for the administration of estates.

### JUSTICES OF THE PEACE

Justices of the Peace operate in counties where the County Court does not meet regularly. Justices of the Peace can receive pleas of guilty where no sentence of imprisonment is involved, to set bail in misdemeanor cases, to handle matters up to \$100, and to perform marriages.

MINNESOTA: POLITICAL PARTIES

INDEPENDENT REPUBLICANS OF MINNESOTA

State  
Chairman \_\_\_\_\_

State  
Chairwoman \_\_\_\_\_

National  
Committeeman \_\_\_\_\_

National  
Committeewoman \_\_\_\_\_

County  
Chairman \_\_\_\_\_

County  
Chairwoman \_\_\_\_\_

District  
Chairman \_\_\_\_\_

District  
Chairwoman \_\_\_\_\_

DEMOCRATIC FARMER LABOR PARTY OF MINNESOTA

State  
Chairman \_\_\_\_\_

Associate  
Chair \_\_\_\_\_

National  
Committeeman \_\_\_\_\_

National  
Committeewoman \_\_\_\_\_

County  
Chairman \_\_\_\_\_

County  
Chairwoman \_\_\_\_\_

District  
Chairman \_\_\_\_\_

District  
Chairwoman \_\_\_\_\_

Both of these parties have offices in the Twin Cities. What are their addresses and phone numbers?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

There are a number of other political parties which periodically appear on the Minnesota Ballot. How many can you identify?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

MINNESOTA: LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The Regional Development Act of 1969 provided for the creation of Regional Development Districts. The state is now divided into twelve of these districts plus the Metropolitan Council. Each district elects a commission to promote intergovernmental cooperation and insure coordination of planning programs.

Which region do you live in? \_\_\_\_\_

Minnesota has 87 counties, all of which elect their own officers.

Who is your County Commissioner? \_\_\_\_\_

Other county officers usually include: Auditor, Treasurer, Registrar of Deeds, Sheriff, Attorney, Surveyor, Coroner, Clerk of Court, Assessor, and Engineer. Some of these may be appointed rather than elected.

There are over 900 cities, municipalities, and villages in the state. There are many different types of government represented in these different places. Some of the more typical forms of government are: Strong Mayor-Council Plan, Weak Mayor-Council Plan, City Manager Plan, Commission Plan, Council-Manager Plan.

Which type of plan does your city have? \_\_\_\_\_

Who is the Mayor? \_\_\_\_\_

Who is the President of the City Council? \_\_\_\_\_

Who is the City Manager? \_\_\_\_\_

Who is your City Councilman (Alderman)? \_\_\_\_\_

Most cities have elections for school board, park board, library board, and the taxation board.

Who is your School Board President? \_\_\_\_\_

Who is your Park Board President? \_\_\_\_\_

Who is your Library Board President? \_\_\_\_\_

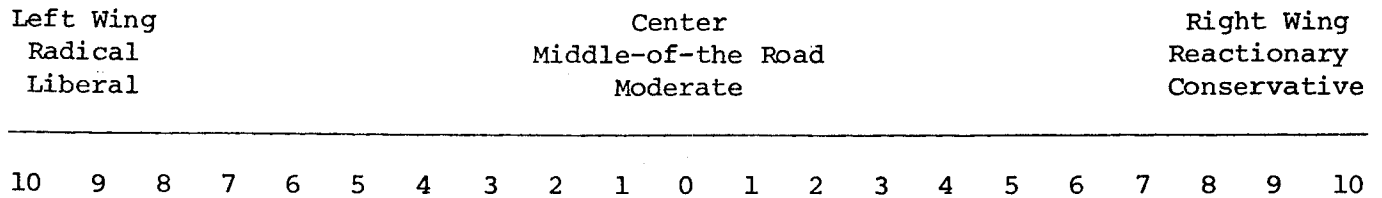
Who is the Chairman of your Board of Taxation? \_\_\_\_\_

What Precinct (Ward) do you live in? \_\_\_\_\_

Where is your polling place? \_\_\_\_\_

## POLITICAL HOCKEY

As we discuss the wide range of political thinking we do it in terms of various labels: left wing, right wing, center; liberal, conservative, moderate; or radical, reactionary, middle-of-the-road. Use the chart on this page to place where you perceive various national and state political personalities to be on such a scale. Start with your perception of the two major political parties.



Now . . .where are you?      Where are the majority of Americans?

### POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Please respond to the following questions on political attitudes. Circle the number of your response: 1 means strongly agree; 2, agree; 3, maybe agree, maybe disagree; 4, disagree; and 5 means strongly disagree.

\*\*\*\*

This country has many important unsolved problems.	1	2	3	4	5
People should be involved in attempting to solve the problems.	1	2	3	4	5
If a person becomes involved in the political system, he or she can have an effect on public policy.	1	2	3	4	5
The political system welcomes new participants, and is responsive to them.	1	2	3	4	5
The political parties are the most important and effective part of the political system.	1	2	3	4	5
There are no differences between the two major parties.	1	2	3	4	5
Only through a third party can real change be brought about.	1	2	3	4	5
Being an independent makes a person more effective in the political process.	1	2	3	4	5
Becoming involved in a political party is a necessary part of exercising a person's political rights and responsibilities.	1	2	3	4	5
Working for a candidate is a necessary part of exercising a person's political rights and responsibilities.	1	2	3	4	5
Voting is all that is necessary to fulfill a person's political rights and responsibilities.	1	2	3	4	5
Most politicians and office holders are dishonest.	1	2	3	4	5
Government in this country no longer represents the people.	1	2	3	4	5
The political system in this country is totally worthless and should be abolished.	1	2	3	4	5
I have some interest in becoming involved in politics someday.	1	2	3	4	5
Elected officials always vote the way the people who elected them want them to.	1	2	3	4	5
For most Americans economic issues are the most important.	1	2	3	4	5

\*\*\*\*

After this course is over, go back and see if any of your attitudes have changed.



POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

TYPE OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY:	YOUR ESTIMATE OF THE PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE PARTICIPATING (NATIONALLY)	ACTUAL PERCENTAGE
WRITING TO A SENATOR OR CONGRESSMAN		
TALKING TO OTHERS ABOUT VOTING FOR A PARTICULAR CANDIDATE		
HOLDING MEMBERSHIP IN A POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OR CLUB		
ATTENDING A POLITICAL RALLY		
WEARING A CAMPAIGN BUTTON OR DISPLAYING A BUMPER STICKER		
VOTING IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS		
RUNNING FOR PUBLIC OFFICE		
CONTRIBUTING MONEY TO A PARTY OR CANDIDATE		
ATTEMPTING TO INFLUENCE THE OUTCOME OF A GOVERNMENTAL DECISION IN YOUR COMMUNITY		
ATTEMPTING TO INFLUENCE THE OUTCOME OF A GOVERNMENTAL DECISION ON THE NATIONAL LEVEL		
ATTENDING A PRECINCT CAUCUS (MINNESOTA)		

Name any problem you can think of.

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What do you think should be done about the problem?

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Who has the authority and/or ability to solve this problem?

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Who else is concerned about this problem?

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How can you get them to help?

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How can you influence the decision makers to solve the problem?

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## GLOSSARY

Ad hoc: For a specific purpose. Usually used to describe a committee which is set up to deal with a specific problem and which disbands when the problem is over.

Adversary: An opponent. Often used to describe opponents in an election or a debate. Also used in the courts to describe opponents in law suits.

Aldermen: Members of the legislative branch of a city. Some cities have city councils, others have boards of aldermen.

At large: A term used to describe an election where the candidates are chosen by all the voters in a state or city rather than by a smaller district of that state or city.

Bloc: A group of persons, parties or nations united for a common purpose. For example: farm bloc - members of Congress from farm states who unite to pass legislation favorable to farmers.

Boycott: To combine together to stop buying, using, or dealing with a particular nation, company or organization as a means of protest and to force action.

Bureaucracy: Any administrative system that carries out policy on a day to day basis, that uses standardized procedures, and that is based on a specialization of duties. Some negative uses of the word include: excessive growth of administrative agencies, concentration of power in administrative officials, excessive "red tape", dedication to routine and resistance to change.

Canvass: To go about a region to seek votes or opinion. (Can also be done by phone.)

Carpetbagger: Originally, a Northerner who went to the South after the Civil War for political or financial advantage. Now, a non-resident politician who represents or seeks to represent a locality for political self-interest.

Caucus: A policy setting group of persons with common interests. For example: the black members of the State Legislature have formed a Black Caucus: the female members have formed a Women's Caucus.

Coalition: A union of parties or persons for the purpose of promoting a common cause, legislative policy or electing candidates.

Consensus: A collective opinion or general agreement.

Conservative: (see Political Labels)

Constituent: A resident of an elected official's district. Example: All the residents in Minnesota are constituents of Senator Hubert Humphrey.

Constitution: A document recording the fundamental laws and principles that govern a nation, state or association.

Constitutional (unconstitutional): Authorized by the written Constitution, not in conflict with its terms. Usually, when the words "constitutional" or "unconstitutional" are used, they refer to the Constitution of the United States.

Dark horse: A surprise candidate for public office in an election. A person nominated without advance publicity whose chances for success are better than generally supposed.

De facto: A condition existing in fact. Most often used in the phrase "de facto segregation" which means the separation of the races whether supported by the law or not.

De jure: A condition existing by law. Most often used in the phrase "de jure segregation" which means the separation of the races as sanctioned by law or encouraged by the acts of people holding political office.

Delegate: A person selected by others and given the authority to represent or act for them, usually at a meeting or convention.

Demagogue: A politician who lacks moral scruple and who attempts to gain popular favor by flattery, false promises and appeals to mass prejudice and passions.

Detente: Relaxation of military and diplomatic international tensions.

Elite: A narrow and powerful clique. People who exercise a major influence on, or control the making of, political, economic and social decisions. Elites achieve their power position through wealth, family status, caste system, or intellectual superiority.

Executive: The branch of government responsible for determining and carrying out policy.

Fat cat: Political slang. A person of wealth from whom a politician or party expects (and gets) large campaign contributions.

Felony: A serious crime punishable by a minimum of one year's imprisonment in a penitentiary to a maximum of death. Although the character of felony varies from state to state (and is defined by law) generally it includes: murder, arson, robbery, aggravated assault and forgery. A felony is more serious than a misdemeanor.

Filibuster: The use of obstructionist tactics, such as the making of long speeches or the introduction of irrelevant material, for the purpose of delaying legislative action. "Talking a bill to death."

Fiscal; fiscal year (abbreviated fy): Fiscal pertains to finances. A fiscal year is the twelve month financial period used by a government for record keeping, budgeting, and other aspects of fiscal management. The fiscal year of the national government runs from July 1 to June 30.

Fourth estate: The journalistic profession; the press. In Europe, the three principal social and political "estates" were the clergy, the nobility, and the common people. At one time, the term "fourth estate" was used to refer to the army or a mob.

Franchise: A special privilege granted by public authority to an individual or corporation to use streets or other public property. The privilege to vote.

Grass roots: The origin or basis of something. In politics, "grass roots" refers to the common citizen rather than the political leadership.

Gubernatorial: Relating to the governor. For example: in a gubernatorial election, one votes for the governor of her/his state. From Latin "gubernare". meaning to steer or govern.

Hierarchy: A group of persons arranged in successive classes, each of which is subject to or dependent upon the one above it. For example: the military is a hierarchy.

Impeachment: A formal written accusation by the lower house of a legislature sent to the upper house for the purpose of removing an elected official (other than a member of the legislature) for treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors. The House of Representatives has the sole power of impeachment of national officers, and through a committee, it presents evidence and manages the prosecution. The Senate must try all impeachments.

Incumbent: Holding an office at this time. Example: Albert Quie is an incumbent United States Congressman.

Indictment: The formal accusation drawn up by the prosecutor and brought by a grand jury, charging one or more persons with having committed a serious crime.

Judicial: The branch of government that is responsible for the administration of justice through courts of law.

Jurisdiction: The authority of a court to hear and decide cases and controversies concerning persons and subjects. The territorial or other limits within which the authority of a government, court, legislative committee or labor union may be exercised.

Jurisprudence: The philosophy of law. A study, using historical, philosophical and social methods, of the nature of law and its relationship to customs and morals.

Lame duck: A politician who has been defeated, but still holds office until his/her successor takes office. Such a person usually has little power and is seen as a "lame duck".

Left wing: (see Political Labels)

Legislative: The branch of government responsible for making laws.

Levy: To collect a tax.

Liberal: (see Political Labels)

Lobby: To lobby is to try to influence the executive and legislative branches for or against an issue.

Lobbyist: Lobbyists, often called "The Third House" of the legislature, are usually experts who testify before committees presenting important background information which can support their (and their client-group's) point of view.

Memorandum: A written record. A short note written as a reminder.

Metropolitan area: A large city and its surrounding suburbs which though administratively separate, are physically and economically identified together. The term "metropolitan" comes from the Greek word, "meter", meaning mother, and "polis", meaning city.

Middle of the road: (see Moderate)

Misdemeanor: A minor criminal offense. The precise nature of a misdemeanor varies from state to state, where it is defined by law. It may include such offenses as traffic violations, petty theft, disorderly conduct and gambling. Punishment is usually limited to light jail terms or fines. Lower courts such as justices of the peace or municipal courts generally hear such cases without a jury. A misdemeanor is less serious than a felony.

Moderate: (see Political Labels)

Moratorium: A delay of action. For example: a moratorium of the testing of nuclear bombs would mean that no bombs would be tested until the moratorium was over.

Ordinance: A legislative enactment of a local governing body. A law.

Partisan: A strong support of a party, cause, faction, person or idea. (Non-partisan means having no relationship to a party. For example: the League of Women Voters is a non-partisan organization.)

Patronage: The power to make appointments to office and to grant contracts and various special favors. Patronage powers are usually exercised by elected officials.

Petition: A method of placing a candidate's name on a primary or general election ballot by submitting a specified number of signatures of registered voters to an appropriate or local official for certification. A request to a public official that seeks to correct a wrong or to influence public policy.

Platform: A statement of principles, policies and objectives to be followed by a party or candidate that is used during a campaign to win support from voters. Platforms are typically written at national, state, and county party conventions by platform committees and are then adopted by the conventions.

Political Science: One of the social sciences, dealing with the theory and practice of politics, government and administration. Included are the fields of political theory, government institutions, public law, politics and public policy, public administration and international relations and foreign policy.

Politician: One who is actively involved in politics, especially party politics.

Politics: The policies, affairs or goals of a government or the groups of parties within it. The methods or tactics involved in managing a state or government.

Poll: The counting of voters' preferences for different candidates and/or opinions on issues. The result of such a count. The election precinct; that is, the place you go to vote. A series of interviews in order to determine the public's point of view.

Precinct: The smallest subdivision of a city or town used as a voting area. Most wards consist of several precincts (see Ward).

Primary: A preliminary election used to nominate candidates for office, party committees or delegates to a party convention.

Propaganda: Organized efforts to influence the thoughts, emotions, opinions, impulses and actions of people collectively and as individuals by means of words, pictures, music, symbols or public demonstration.

Quorum: The minimum number of members of an organization who must be present in order that there be valid transaction of business. The United States Constitution specifies that "a majority of each (house) shall constitute a quorum to do business".

Quota: The maximum number of persons who may be admitted, such as to a nation, group or institution. (Currently used to refer to categories of people. For example: men, women, hispanics, Asian-Americans)

Radical: (see Political Labels)

Ratification: The approval of an agreement or treaty by the legislature and/or chief executive.

Reactionary: (see Political Labels)

Red tape: The following of official routine procedures. The routing of requests and orders "through regular channels" and procedures which result in delay and inaction. The term "red tape" comes from the color of the cotton tape in which official letters and documents were formerly tied together.

Referendum: The process of asking the voters to approve or reject an amendment to the constitution or a law passed by the legislation.

Revenue: The income of the government, the major source being taxation.

Right wing: (see Political Labels)

Status quo: The existing condition or state of affairs.

Statute: A law enacted by Congress or by a state legislature.

Straw vote: An unofficial vote or poll indicating the trend of opinion on a candidate or issue.

Subpoena: An order of a court, grand jury, legislative body or committee requiring the attendance of a person as a witness under penalties for failure to appear.

Subsidy: Money or property given by a government to assist a private person in the establishment or operation of a service.

Tenure: The right to hold a position or office free from arbitrary dismissal.

Veto: A legislative power vested in a chief executive to return a bill unsigned to the legislative body. A legislative body may override a veto, usually by a 2/3 vote.

Ward: A division of a city or town for representative, electoral or administrative purposes. (see Precinct)

Watchdog committee: A committee established by a legislative body for the purpose of overseeing the administration of laws.

Whip: An assistant floor leader who aids the majority or minority leaders of each party in each house of Congress or state legislature. The duties of the whip include canvassing fellow party members so as to inform party leaders of the number of votes which can be counted. Takes action to bring full voting power of their party to bear on key issues. Acts for the floor leaders when they are absent from the chamber.

\* \* \* \*



## COMMONLY USED TERMS IN THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS...

Adjournment — the time called to end a session.

Bicameral — two bodies of legislature — in Minnesota 134 representatives elected to two-year terms in the House of Representatives; 67 senators elected to four-year terms in the Senate.

Bill — a proposal to change or abolish an existing law, or create a new one.

Calendar — a list of bills awaiting final action by the legislature.

Chief Author — legislator who sponsors a bill and whose name appears (in parentheses) after the file number on the bill.

Committee of the Whole — the entire membership of the House or Senate acting as a single committee with the presiding officer as chairman.

Companion Bills — identical bills introduced in both the House and the Senate.

Compromise — a conference committee agreement on different or conflicting versions of the same legislation which both houses have passed.

Consent Calendar — list of non-controversial bills which usually pass without debate.

General Orders — a list of bills awaiting preliminary action in the House and Senate each day during a session.

Hearing — committee meeting for the purpose of listening to arguments — for and against an issue — by concerned groups and individuals.

House File, H.F. — a bill introduced in the House of Representatives.

Line Veto — the governor vetoes a portion, or portions, of an appropriations bill, thus allowing other provisions of the bill to become law. This veto applies to appropriation bills only.

Non-controversial Bills — bills requiring little debate which usually pass routinely.

Pocket Veto — if the governor does not sign or return a bill he receives — on the final three days of a session — before the session adjourns, or within fourteen days after final adjournment, he exercises a pocket veto; and the bill does not become law.

Revisor of Statutes — a legal authority office which puts bills into proper legal form, properly places approved amendments in the language of the bill (a procedure known as engrossing), and updates the Minnesota Statutes to include new laws.

Senate File, S.F. — a bill introduced in the Senate.

Standing Committee — a group of legislators that acts on bills and makes recommendations to the House and Senate.

## POLITICAL LABELS

Some words gain their meaning from the person who is using them, and the context in which they are used. Such is the case of the political labels we have listed below. At the risk of irritating person who proudly identify themselves as liberals, conservatives, radicals, etc., we have attempted to give the most common usage of these terms.

Conservative - tending to favor the preservation of the existing order (status quo) and to regard proposals for change with distrust.

Left wing - People ranging from liberals to radicals and revolutionaries who generally advocate change, an expanded role by democratic government, and policies that give power to the masses. (Origin: from the practice of European parliaments of seating conservative parties to the right and liberal parties to the left of the presiding officer.)

Liberal - tending to favor non-revolutionary progress and reform, based on the belief that government should respond to the needs of the time.

Moderate - tending to oppose rapid change; favoring the preservation of the existing order (status quo) or very gradual change.

Radical - tending to advocate immediate and substantial political, social and economic changes.

Reactionary - tending to favor a return to an earlier, more conservative system. Suspicious of possible excesses caused by "too much democracy".

Right wing - People ranging from conservatives to reactionaries, advocating either keeping things the way they are (status quo) or returning to an earlier time; favoring a "hands off" policy by government toward economic affairs (laissez-faire).

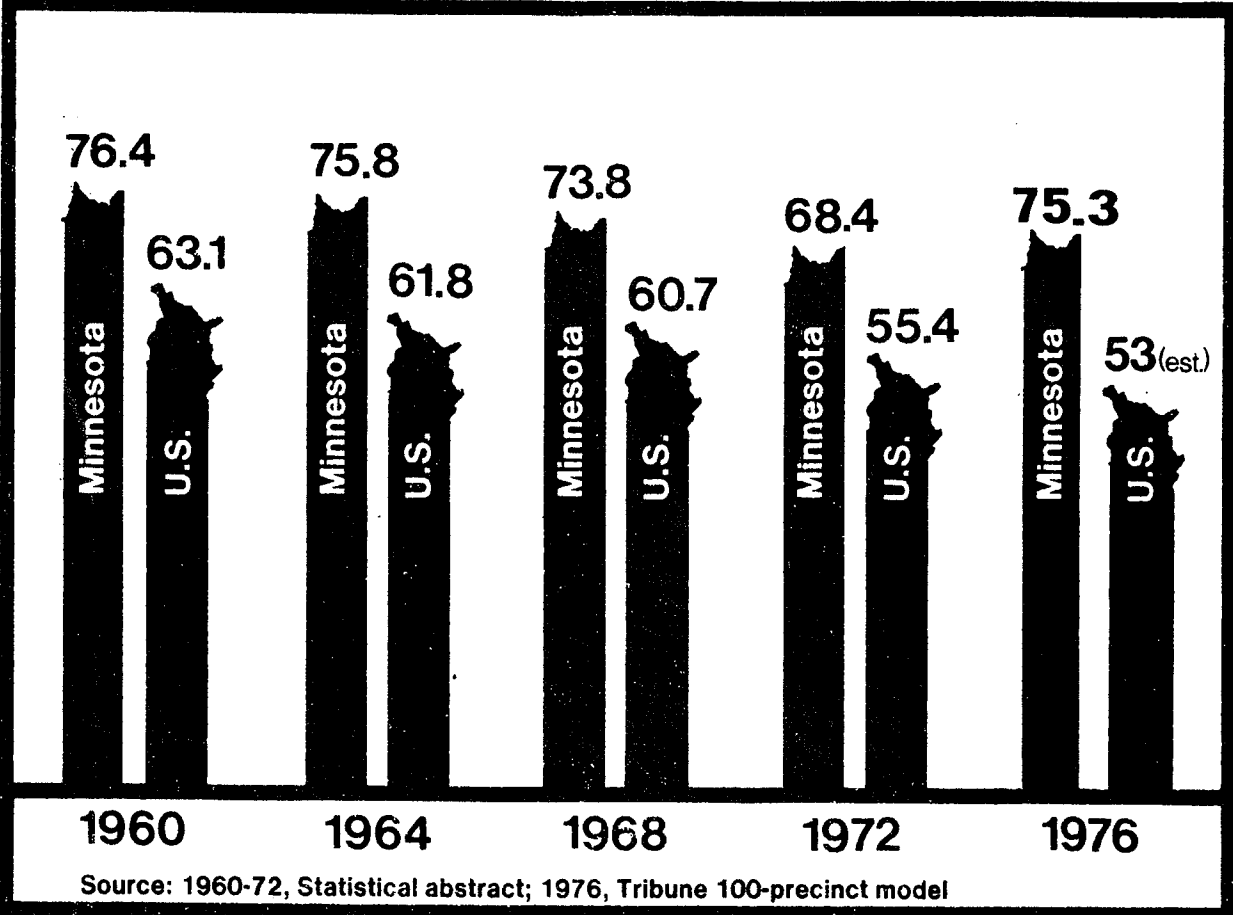
## IT'S A MATTER OF DEGREE

If seen on a scale ranging from extreme left to extreme right, these labels usually cluster in the following way:

LEFT WING. . . . .	.CENTER. . . . .	RIGHT WING
(liberal, radical)	(moderate)	(conservative, reactionary)

It is important to remember that these are tricky words to use when you want everyone to receive the same impression. For example, even though the Democratic Party is usually thought of as more liberal than the Republican Party, some people disagree. Furthermore, people speak of liberal Republicans and conservative Democrats. It should be obvious that you have to use your own judgement when hearing these words. We recommend that you analyze a person's or party's positions and see how they compare to your ideas for good government.

# Voter turnout, Minnesota and U.S., 1960-1976



## 53-percent nationwide vote turnout is lowest since election of 1948

Associated Press

Tuesday's nationwide voter turnout was about 53 percent of the voting-age population — above the level predicted by many experts, but lower than in any year since 1948.

The percentage of the voting-age population balloting in presidential elections has declined steadily since a record 62.8 percent turned out for the 1960 race between Richard Nixon and John F. Kennedy.

"For the fourth consecutive election, voting as a percentage of eligible population declined," said Curtis Gans of the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate.

The committee said in July that

its poll showed voter turnout might be less than 50 percent of those eligible. That would have been the lowest turnout since the 51.1-percent showing in the 1948 race between Harry Truman and Thomas Dewey. The record low turnout, 43.5 percent of the voting-age population, came in 1920, when universal suffrage was in effect for the first time.

Gans said Wednesday that the committee had cited three factors

that could boost the turnout: the presidential debates, a race that appeared close and Carter's appeal to the South.

He said that the debates had little effect on the turnout, but that the number of people voting in the South was larger than normal. The narrowing of the gap between Jimmy Carter and President Ford also brought out more people, Gans said.

**MINNESOTA POLL RELEASE  
MINNEAPOLIS TRIBUNE**

Tuesday, August 24, 1976

# Neutral voters key to elections

Copyright 1976 Minnesota Poll

Independent voters in Minnesota continue to hold the power to decide elections, an analysis by the Minneapolis Tribune's Minnesota Poll indicates.

A third of the people interviewed throughout Minnesota this spring and summer said they are independents, that they vote for the person not the party. Among those who choose a major political party, DFLers outnumber Independent-Republicans 2 to 1.

This is the political make-up of Minnesotans:

Democratic Farmer Laborites	39%
Independent-Republicans	20
Independents	34
Other, not sure	7
	100%

The 1,213 people interviewed represent a balanced sampling of men and women living in Minnesota households with telephones. The question they were responding to was:

*"On the whole, do you consider yourself an Independent-Republican, a Democratic Farmer Laborite, or what?"*

Little difference in political affiliation is found between men and women. The following table shows the strength of the parties among various groups of Minnesota adults. The figures read

## Minnesota Poll

across the column and would add to 100 percent if the other — not sure — category were shown.

	DFLers	IRs	Independents
All adults	39%	20%	34%
Men	38	20	36
Women	41	20	32
18-25 years	39	13	38
26-34 years	41	16	37
35-49 years	40	19	34
50-64 years	36	26	32
65 and over	42	28	25
Protestants	35	26	34
Catholics	47	11	34
Liberals	57	10	27
Moderates	40	17	38
Conservatives	22	37	35
Union households	56	11	27
Southern Minn.	33	24	37
Twin Cities area	44	16	33
Northern Minn.	38	24	32

Compared with 1975, the number of DFL supporters is down slightly, Independent-Republicans unchanged and independent voters slightly stronger. This change may be due to a sampling fluctuation, a shifting of party preferences, or both.

This is how the current figures compare with 1975 reports:

	Early 1975	Late 1975	Mid. 1976
DFLers	44%	43%	39%
Independent-Republicans	21	21	20
Independents	29	29	34
Others, not sure	6	7	7
	100%	100%	100%

In a typical election campaign, some independent voters identify with the political party to which they plan to give a major portion of their support on election day.

This Minnesota Poll is based on telephone interviews taken May 13-16 and July 22-25 with 1,213 men and women 18 and over throughout Minnesota. As a scientifically based opinion survey, it provides an approximation of the response that could be expected if all adult Minnesotans had been interviewed.

Results of such surveys are subject to sampling error. For a random sample of this size, it is possible to say that the error will be less than 4 percentage points either way. Since this sample is taken only from telephone owners, the error may be slightly larger than for a completely random sampling. For subsamples of the entire population — for example, men alone or women alone — the error could be larger.

The 1975 surveys cited in this report are based on face-to-face interviews, each with about 1,200 men and women.

Reprinted with permission from the Minneapolis Tribune.

## VOTER ELIGIBILITY

### You are qualified to vote if:

- You are 18 years of age.
- You are a citizen of the United States.
- You have lived in Minnesota 20 days.
- You are registered to vote in those areas with voter registration.

### You are not qualified if:

- You are convicted of treason or a felony and not yet restored to your civil rights.
- You are under a guardianship of your person.
- You are adjudicated mentally incompetent.

### How is residence determined?

- Your residence is that place where you actually live and call home. In Minnesota a voter may live in more than one place and therefore has a choice of residence for voting. You may vote in only one precinct.

### Can a student vote from his/her school address?

- A student may vote from either school address or home address depending upon which address the student considers to be his/her place of residency.

### Name Change?

- In those areas of the state with voter registration, if you have changed your name since you last voted or registered you must re-register before you will be permitted to vote.

### Change of address?

- In those areas of the state with voter registration, if you have changed your residence since you last voted or registered you must re-register before you will be permitted to vote.

## REGISTRATION

### Does everyone have to register?

- In all but one of Minnesota's 87 counties—Pope—voter registration is required.

### Where do I register?

- You may register to vote by mail in Minnesota by completing a voter registration card and mailing it to your county's voter registration office.
- At the County Auditor's office in the county seat of your county in areas with voter registration prior to election day. At the City Clerk's office in most cities with voter registration prior to election day.
- At the polling place on election day in all counties with voter registration with one of the following pieces of identification:
  1. A valid Minnesota Driver's License or receipt therefor.
  2. A non-qualification certificate issued by the Department of Public Safety or receipt therefor.
  3. A registered voter from the precinct to confirm your residence.
  4. Notice from the registration office of an insufficient registration.
  5. A current registration in the same precinct indicating a previous address.

### Do I declare my party when I register or vote?

- No.

### Will I ever have to re-register?

- No, not unless you:
  - a. change your address.
  - b. change your name.
  - c. fail to vote at least once every four years.

## PRIMARIES

### What is the difference between a primary and a general election?

- In a partisan primary election, voters nominate candidates to the general election ballot among those who filed within their party for each office.
- In a nonpartisan primary twice the number of candidates to be elected are nominated by the electors. Nonpartisan primaries occur only when more than twice the number to be elected file for a nonpartisan office.

### May I "split my ticket" in a primary election?

- No. The purpose of a partisan primary election is to allow the voters to select the nominees of their party.

### How do I select which party's ballot I wish to vote?

- Each voter may select either party's primary ballot in the privacy of the voting booth.

## ABSENTEE VOTING

### You may vote by absentee ballot if:

- You are going to be absent from the precinct on election day.
- Illness or physical disability will prevent your going to the polling place.
- Religious holiday or discipline prohibits your attendance at the polling place.

### How do I apply?

- Write to your county auditor or city clerk or stop into the office and give the following information:
  - Your name and residence address;
  - Reason you will be away from the polling place on election day; date; address to which you wish ballots sent;
  - Signature

From Election '76 in Minnesota  
by the Election Division Office  
of the Secretary of State.

# THE COLLEGE OF CONTROVERSY

No American going to the polls on November 2 is going to be allowed to directly vote for President!

Fiction or fact? Fact.

Rather, we will be voting for *slates of electors* pledged to certain candidates but under no legal obligation to subsequently follow the instructions of the electorate.

One of the political wonders of our national history must certainly be the survival of this method of election. Harshly criticized by every generation of Americans, the Electoral College has managed to withstand more than one thousand attempts in Congress to drastically change or eliminate it.

Time and time again it has been castigated by political leaders and analysts who warn that it is an "archaic disgrace which threatens us with a Constitutional crisis every four years and which we have survived only by the grace of God and plain American luck."

In November of 1968, many political pundits thought that our luck had finally deserted us. As the early election returns were analyzed and it appeared certain that the election would be forced into the House of Representatives, few "expert" analysts did not predict *certain* reform of the system.

It is not that most leaders of Congress have not agreed that reform is necessary, even urgent; it is that they cannot agree on the kind of reform.

## ELECTORAL COLLEGE REFORM PROPOSALS

The following are outlines of Electoral College reform proposals that have been introduced in Congress. Pros and cons are included. Whether you support or oppose reform, communicate your decision to your representatives in Congress.

**Direct Popular Election:** This plan awards the election to the winner of the nationwide popular vote, providing the candidate receives over 40% of the vote. If no candidate achieves such a plurality, a run-off election between the two leading candidates would be required.

**Proponents Argue:** This method eliminates all of the abuses of the present system. Whatever the merits of other reform proposals, only direct popular election assures that the candidate receiving the most votes will be elected.

**Opponents Argue:** Close elections would cause dangerous delays in determining a victor because of the need for a nationwide recount.

Most importantly, only the mechanics of the electoral college make it necessary for a Presidential candidate to be aligned with a major party. If we adopt this system, a candidate could capture the office solely through his glamour and shrewd use of the mass media. With our system of government based largely upon party discipline, a maverick President might find it impossible to effectively govern the country.

**District Plan:** This plan preserves the office of Elector but provides that they be chosen by Congressional districts, with two elected at-large in each state.

**Proponents Argue:** This would reduce the influence of populous states, strengthen the federal system, more accurately reflect popular vote totals, and make it impossible for vote frauds to swing the vote of entire states.

**Opponents Argue:** This plan would minimize the influence of minorities by isolating them in individual districts and would fail to eliminate the possibility of electing a President who trailed in the popular vote.

**Proportional Plan:** Retaining the concept of the electoral vote, the office of the Elector would be abolished and the vote automatically cast.

Candidates would receive the same proportion of the electoral vote as their share of a state's popular vote, with 40% required for election. If no candidate receives 40%, Senators and Representatives, voting as individuals, would choose the President.

**Proponents Argue:** The plan would more accurately reflect the popular vote while retaining the federal system, decrease the strength of organized minorities, and reduce the profits of fraud since the votes of an entire state could no longer be gained through the theft of a few votes.

**Opponents Argue:** Not only does it fail to eliminate the chance of electing a man who trailed in the popular vote, it would have forced the 1968 election into the House. In a close election, proportional allocation could prove catastrophic if the country had to await the result of a national recount.

**Minor Modifications:** Retaining the concept of the electoral vote, the office of the Elector would be abolished and the vote automatically cast. A run-off election would be held if no candidate receives 40% of the electoral vote.

**Proponents Argue:** This proposal eliminates the possibility of Electors accepting bribes, disobeying the instructions of the electorate, or entering into political deals.

**Opponents Argue:** Freezing into the Constitution the worst element of the existing system, the winner-take-all casting of a state's electoral votes, is no answer. If adopted, it will preclude meaningful reform in the future.

**Q** Under what conditions are Presidential elections decided by the U.S. House of Representatives?

**A** If no candidate receives a majority of the electoral votes (270), the House elects a President from among the three leading candidates.

All Representatives from each state combine to cast one vote for their state, giving the smallest states a voting power equal to the largest! A majority vote is necessary to elect.

The potential for backroom deals between the supporters of two of the candidates is, of course, unlimited under these conditions.

**Q** Did the Founding Fathers anticipate that many elections would be decided by the House?

**A** Confident that no candidate, after Washington, would receive a majority vote of the Electors more than once in twenty elections, they viewed the Electoral College only as a *nominating* mechanism. Members of the House would, they thought, usually elect.

Except for the unforeseen rise of political parties, making possible national candidacies with a broad base of support, their intent would likely have become reality.

**Q** How are Electors chosen?

**A** With minor exceptions, the people have been given the power to choose since the 1830's. Any state legislature, however, has the Constitutional right to take the choice away from the people at any time and do the job itself!

**Q** Has the popular will ever been denied because of the Electoral College mechanism?

**A** In 1824, Andrew Jackson received 13% more of the popular vote than John Q. Adams, but Adams was elected.

In 1876, Samuel Tilden was denied election even though he won a majority of the popular vote.

Another loser who led in the popular vote was Grover Cleveland in 1888.

It is also interesting to contemplate what would have happened in 1860 if we had elected by direct popular vote. Though Lincoln won a majority of the electoral vote, his popular vote was below the required 40% and a run-off between Lincoln and Douglas would have been required. Lincoln's defeat in such an election may have effected profound changes in our national history.

**Q** How would recent elections have been affected by the electoral reform proposals?

**A** *Direct Popular Election*—In 1960 and 1968 the results would have still elected Presidents Kennedy and Nixon.

*Proportional Plan*—President Nixon would have been denied a majority in the Electoral College in 1968 and the election would have been decided by the House.

*District Plan*—President Nixon would have been elected in 1968. Nixon would have also defeated John Kennedy by a resounding 279-244 electoral vote margin in 1960 even though he trailed in the popular vote!

**Q** Why did the Founding Fathers decide upon the Electoral College method of electing our Presidents and Vice Presidents?

**A** Living in a time when there was little effective communication among the citizens of the various states, they did not believe the people to be qualified to make an intelligent choice from among a list of national candidates.

Other factors were considered but little faith in the ability of the people was the main argument.

# Electoral college should be abolished

By Lawrence D. Longley

Appleton, Wis.

The 1976 presidential election provided a startling reminder of the need to abolish the arcane vote-counting device of the electoral college. Fundamental problems inherent in the electoral college were shown in this election — defects far beyond problems with electors or contingency election of the president by the House of Representatives. As the electoral college meets in the various state capitols at noon on Monday, we should be ensuring that the 1976 electoral college is the last one.

The electoral college provides opportunity for third-party candidates to exercise magnified political influence in the election of the president. In 1968, George Wallace came within 53,000 votes of achieving his goal of deadlocking the electoral college and basing the determination of the American president upon sordid deals and switches in the electoral college meetings or the House of Representatives.

In 1976, third-party candidate Eugene McCarthy, with less than 1 percent of the popular vote, also came close to tilting the election through his strength in close pivotal states. In fact, had McCarthy been on the New York ballot, it is likely that Gerald Ford would have carried that state with its 41 electoral votes, and with it the election.

The electoral college has major impact on candidate strategy—as shown by the obsession of Carter and Ford strategists in the closing weeks of the campaign, with the nine big electoral-vote states having 245 of the 270 electoral votes necessary to win.

The electoral college does not treat voters alike—a thousand voters in Scranton, Pa., are far more strategically important than a similar number of voters in

Wilmington, Del. This also places a premium on the support of key political leaders in large electoral-vote states.

This could be observed in the 1976 election in the desperate wooing of Mayors Rizzo of Philadelphia and Daley of Chicago by Jimmy Carter because of the major roles these political leaders might have in determining the outcome in Pennsylvania and Illinois. The electoral college treats political leaders as well as voters unequally—those in large marginal states are vigorously courted.

The electoral college also encourages fraud—or at least fear and rumor of fraud. New York, with more than enough electoral votes to elect Ford, went to Carter by 275,000 popular votes. Claims of voting irregularities and calls for a recount were made on election night, but later withdrawn because of Carter's clear national popular-vote win. If fraud was present in New York, only 275,000 votes determined the election; under direct election, at least 1.7 million votes would have to have been irregular to determine the outcome.

Analysis of the popular-vote returns shows several additional problems of the electoral college. If about 3,800 votes had switched from Carter to Ford in Ohio, Carter would have lost that state and had only 272 electoral votes, two more than the absolute minimum needed of 270. In that

case, two or three individual electors seeking personal recognition or attention to a pet cause could withhold their electoral votes and make the election outcome very uncertain.

Similarly, if slightly more than 6,300 popular votes had shifted in Delaware and Ohio, the result would have been an exact tie in electoral votes—269 to 269. The presidency would have been decided not on election night, but through deals or switches at the electoral-college meetings on Monday or the later uncertainties of the House of Representatives.

Finally, there was a real possibility of a divided verdict, with one candidate winning the popular vote and the other the presidency by means of the electoral vote. In 1976, if 7,500 votes had shifted to Ford in Ohio and Hawaii, Ford would have become president with 270 electoral votes, the absolute minimum, despite Carter's 51 percent of the popular vote and margin of 1.7 million votes.

One hesitates to contemplate the consequences of a non-elected president being inaugurated for four more years despite having been rejected by a majority of the American voters in his only presidential election.

These defects of the contemporary electoral college cannot be dealt with by patchwork reforms such as abolishing the office of elector. This distorted and unwieldy counting device must be abolished, and the votes of the American people—wherever cast—must be counted directly and equally in determining who shall be president of the United States.

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*Prof. Longley teaches political science at Lawrence University in Appleton, Wis. With John H. Yunker, a graduate student in economics at the University of Minnesota, he is co-author of "The Electoral College."*



PRESIDENT

The President  
The White House  
Washington D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

VICE PRESIDENT

The Vice President  
Executive Office Building  
Washington D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Vice President:

SENATOR (U.S.)

The Honorable Hubert Humphrey  
United States Senate  
Washington D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Humphrey:

CONGRESSMAN (U.S.)

The Honorable Donald Fraser  
House of Representatives  
Washington D.C. 20515

Dear Congressman Fraser:

MEMBER OF THE CABINET (U.S.)

The Honorable Henry Kissinger  
Secretary of State  
Washington D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. Secretary:

SUPREME COURT JUSTICE (U.S.)

Mr. Justice Stewart  
The U.S. Supreme Court  
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. Justice Stewart:

GOVERNOR

The Honorable Rudy Perpich  
Governor of Minnesota  
Capitol Building  
St. Paul, Minnesota 55155

Dear Governor Perpich:

LT. GOVERNOR

The Honorable Alec Olson  
Lt. Governor of Minnesota  
Capitol Building  
St. Paul, Minnesota 55155

Dear Lt. Governor Perpich:

SENATOR (STATE)

The Honorable Nancy Brataas  
113 State Office Building  
St. Paul, Minnesota 55155

Dear Senator Brataas:

REPRESENTATIVE (STATE)

The Honorable Linda Berglin  
217 State Office Building  
St. Paul, Minnesota 55155

Dear Representative Berglin:

MAYOR

The Honorable Charles Stenvig  
Mayor of Minneapolis  
City Hall  
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55414

Dear Mayor Stenvig:

DISTRICT COURT JUDGE (STATE)

The Honorable Judge Barbeau  
District Court  
Hennepin County Government Center  
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55414

Dear Judge Barbeau:

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURES AT A GLANCE

Page 1.

To Do This: <sup>1</sup>	You Say This:	May You Interrupt Speaker?	Must You Be Seconded?	Is The Motion Debatable?	Is The Motion Amendable?	What Vote Is Required?
Adjourn the Meeting	"I move that we adjourn."	No	Yes	No	No	Majority Vote Required
Recess the Meeting	"I move that we recess until . . ."	No	Yes	No	Yes	Majority Required
Complain about noise, room temp., etc.	"Point of privilege."	Yes	No	No <sup>2</sup>	No	No Vote Required <sup>3</sup>
Suspend further consideration of something.	"I move we table it."	No	Yes	No	No	Majority Required
End Debate	"I move the previous Question."	No	Yes	No	No	Two-thirds Vote Required.
Postpone consideration of something	"I move we postpone this matter until. . ."	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Majority Required
Have something studied further	"I move we refer this matter to a committee."	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Majority Required
Amend a motion.	"I move that this motion be amended by. . ."	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Majority Required
Introduce business (a primary motion)	"I move that. . ."	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Majority Required.

<sup>1</sup>The motions or points above are listed in established order of precedence. When any one of them is pending, you may not introduce another that is listed below it, but you may introduce another that is listed above it.

<sup>2</sup>In this case, any resulting motion is debatable.

<sup>3</sup>Chair decides.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURES AT A GLANCE

Page 2.

To Do This: <sup>1</sup>	You Say This:	May You Interrupt Speaker?	Must You Be Seconded?	Is The Motion Debatable?	Is The Motion Amendable?	What Vote Is Required?
Object to procedure or to a personal affront.	"Point of Order."	Yes	No	No	No	No Vote Required: Chair Decides
Request Information.	"Point of Information."	Yes, if urgent.	No	No	No	No Vote Required
Ask for a vote by actual count to verify a voice vote.	"I call for a division of the house."	No <sup>2</sup>	No	No	No	No Vote Required unless Someone Objects <sup>3</sup>
Object to considering some undiplomatic or improper matter.	"I object to consideration of this question."	Yes	No	No	No	Two-thirds Vote Required
Take up a matter previously tabled.	"I move we take from the table. . ."	No	Yes	No	No	Majority Required
Reconsider something already disposed of.	"I move we now (or later) reconsider our action relative to. . ."	Yes	Yes	Yes <sup>4</sup>	No	Majority Required
Consider something out of its scheduled order.	"I move we suspend the rules and consider. . ."	No	Yes	No	No	Two-thirds Vote Required
Vote on a ruling by the chair.	"I appeal the chair's decision	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Majority Required

<sup>1</sup> The motions, points, and proposals listed above have no established order of precedence. Any of them may be induced at any time - except when the meeting is considering one of the top three matters listed on Page 1. (motion to adjourn, motion to recess, point of privilege)

<sup>2</sup> But divisions must be called for before another motion is started.  
<sup>3</sup> Then majority vote is required.  
<sup>4</sup> If original motion is debatable.



CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

SENATE

100 members  
Elected for 6 year terms

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

435 members  
Elected for 2 year terms

QUALIFICATION AND SALARY:

Senate

1. At least 30 years of age.
2. Citizen of the United States for 9 years.
3. Resident of the state from which he is sent to Congress.

House of Representatives

1. At least 25 years of age.
2. Citizen of the United States for 7 years.
3. Resident of the state from which he is sent to Congress.

\$42,500 annual salary for Senators and Representatives. President pro tempore of the Senate and the Majority and Minority Leaders of both Houses receive \$49,500. The Speaker of the House receives \$62,500.

\*\*\*\*\*

U. S. SENATORS FROM MINNESOTA

Hubert H. Humphrey (DFL)

Committees: Chairman - Joint Economic Committee

Select Committee: Nutrition and Human Needs

Subcommittees: Chairman - Foreign Agricultural Policy

Chairman - Foreign Assistance and Economic Policy

Elected to the U. S. Senate in 1948. Re-elected in 1954 and again in 1960. Senate Majority Whip, 1961-64. Vice President of the United States, 1964-68. Democratic nominee for President 1968. Elected to U. S. Senate 1970 and 1976.

Wendell R. Anderson (DFL)

Appointed to the Senate to fill vacancy created by Walter Mondale's becoming Vice President. Elected Governor of Minnesota 1970; re-elected in 1974.

U. S. REPRESENTATIVES FROM MINNESOTA

District

1. Albert H. Quie (IR)  
Committees: Education and Labor, Standards of Official Conduct,  
Republican Policy Committee  
  
Elected to Congress in February 1958. Re-elected November 1958 and  
served in Congress since.
2. Tom Hagedorn (IR)  
Committees: Agriculture, Public Works and Transportation  
  
Elected to Congress in 1974. Re-elected in 1976.
3. Bill Frenzel (IR)  
Committees: Ways and Means, House Administration, Chairman - House  
Republican Task Force on Reform.  
  
Elected to Congress 1970. Re-elected 1972, 1974, and 1976.
4. Bruce Vento (DFL)  
Elected to Congress 1976.
5. Donald M. Fraser (DFL)  
Committees: International Relations Committee, District of Columbia  
Committee  
Subcommittees: Chairman - International Organization, International  
Trade and Commerce, Government Operations, Bicentennial,  
The Environment, International Community.  
  
Elected to Congress in 1962. Re-elected to subsequent Congresses.
6. Richard Nolan (DFL)  
Committees: Agriculture, House Small Business  
  
Elected in 1974. Re-elected in 1976.
7. Bob Bergland (DFL)  
Committees: Agriculture, House Small Business  
Subcommittees: Chairman - Conservation and Credit, Livestock and  
Grain, Dairy and Poultry, Small Business Administra-  
tion Legislation, Commodities and Services  
  
Elected in 1970. Re-elected 1972, 1974, 1976.
8. James L. Oberstar (DFL)  
Committees: Public Works and Transportation, Merchant Marine and  
Fisheries.  
  
Elected to Congress in 1974. Re-elected in 1976.

# Candidate Factory

## Minnesota Produces Multitude of Runners For National Offices

This Year Alone, Two Sons  
Seek Presidency, and One  
Tries for Vice Presidency

Are They Hardy, or Lucky?

By FREDERICK C. KLEIN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL  
MINNEAPOLIS—If Virginia and Ohio deserve fame for producing Presidents, Minnesota would seem to deserve at least a cheer for producing candidates for national office.

Three of Minnesota's native sons are plying the trade this year. Gus Hall of Cherry, in the northern part of the state, is the Communist Party candidate for President. Former U.S. Sen. Eugene McCarthy is running for the presidency unattached, as they say at track meets. And Walter "Fritz" Mondale, one of the state's U.S. Senators, is the vice presidential running mate of that Georgia fellow who gives frank interviews.

It's a nice turnout, but then Americans have grown so accustomed to seeing political leaders emerge from this smallish (population, four million) upper Midwestern state that it hardly seems remarkable anymore.

First there was Harold Stassen, the "boy wonder" governor who made a strong run at the Republican presidential nomination in 1948 and weaker ones ever after. Gov. Orville Freeman was mentioned as a Democratic vice presidential possibility in 1960. Hubert Humphrey made it to the vice presidency in 1964 and just missed being elected President in 1968, the year Sen. McCarthy won several presidential primaries.

### Another Prospect

Waiting to see how Mr. Mondale fares next month is Wendell Anderson, the state's governor since 1970; some observers believe that he eventually might be the most successful Minnesota politician of all. A photogenic, energetic man of 43 with a solid liberal record, Gov. Anderson performed well on television last July as head of the platform committee of the Democratic National Convention. If Mr. Mondale becomes Vice President, Gov. Anderson will appoint his successor in the Senate. The governor isn't saying what he would do, but the betting is that he would appoint himself.

"Washington likes Hubert and Fritz, all right, but it's going to love Wendy," predicts a veteran political observer here.

So something of note obviously is up in Minnesota, and a closer look at the state and its politics seems appropriate in this election year. What one sees is a curious blend of populism and conservatism, where government programs are far more extensive than elsewhere, but where budgets balance and state bonds carry a triple-A rating. It's a place where political parties exert strong discipline but where participation is widespread and rapid advancement is the rule rather than the exception.

It's also that rare state in which a nicely diversified economy, a homogeneous population (98% white, mostly of Scandinavian or German origin) and a reputation as a pleasant place to live combine to make its politicians look good instead of bad. "When I look at some of the problems my colleagues face, I count my blessings," Gov. Anderson says. "Even-Tempered State"

"Minnesota is a very realistic, even-tempered state when it comes to politics," says Gordon Rosenmeier, a 68-year-old lawyer in rural Little Falls. Mr. Rosenmeier, a staunch independent, was a leader in the Minnesota legislature for 30 years before bowing out in 1970.

He goes on: "Our taxes are burdensome, but we pay them because we accept the idea that we're getting something of value in return. We don't get swept away by labels or slogans. A politician can call himself a conservative or a liberal or a socialist or whatever, but we'll hear him out. Then we'll look at what he's done to back up his words. I like to think we're pretty special in that respect."

Indeed, one doesn't have to search far to find ways in which Minnesota politics differs from that of the rest of the country. For starters, it's the only state where neither of the two major parties goes by its national name. Democrats here call themselves the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party (DFL). The official Republican title is Independent Republican (IR).

The latter name was adopted last year strictly as a public relations ploy; the GOP, the state's minority party for the past two decades, took a survey and found that voters liked the "independent" prefix, so it was simply tacked on. "Minnesotans are accustomed to doing things their own way politically," Charles Slocum, IR chairman, notes. **Party Merger**

The DFL designation is more legitimate. It resulted from the 1944 merger of the national Democrats with the state Farmer-Labor Party, the last and most successful of a long list of radical third parties organized in Minnesota around the turn of the century.

Radical parties abounded throughout the upper Midwest during the first 40 years of this century, but they did best and lasted longest in Minnesota. Drawing support mainly from the state's Scandinavian farmers and East European iron miners, the Populists, Progressives, Non-Partisan Leaguers, Socialists and Communists all scored electoral victories around the state during that period.

The Farmer-Labor Party, an amalgam of left-wingers of various stripes, outshone them all. In the 1920s and '30s, it elected three U.S. Senators and three governors in the state, breaking the Republicans' 60-year domination of those offices. A Farmer-Laborite last occupied the Minnesota governor's chair in 1938, just six years before internal dickerings and Communist infiltration led to the party's demise via the merger.

Left-wing third parties haven't resurged in Minnesota, but their economic offspring—the cooperative movement—still is robust. Farmers' co-ops not only market crops but also own grain elevators, livestock sales lots, meeting halls, gasoline stations

consumer movement, a cooperative food-processing and grocery-store network that flourished in some Midwestern states in the '20s, survives in northern Minnesota, where middlemen still get a chilly reception.

The general tenor of the state's politics remains much more liberal than that of the U.S. as a whole. The claim that both major parties in Minnesota are more liberal than either major party in most other states probably isn't true, but it's widely agreed that DFL-IR fights typically center on the means to implement government programs, not on the need for them.

"I think it's safe to say that both national parties look upon their Minnesota affiliates as somewhat peculiar relatives," notes the DFL chairman, Ulric Scott, who is on leave as a philosophy professor at St. Mary's College in Winona.

Another legacy of Minnesota's history of prairie radicalism is its continuing high level of citizen participation in politics. Both major parties in the state are run under the caucus system, which puts party posts, platforms and candidate endorsements in the hands of delegates elected every two years at meetings on the precinct, county, legislative-district and state levels.

At the foundation of this system are the precinct caucuses held the fourth Tuesday of even-year Februaries. To participate in one of these meetings, a Minnesotan of voting age need only show up and sign a paper attesting to membership in the appropriate party. Last February, about 140,000 citizens—a sizable figure by any standard—turned out.

### Few "Bosses"

Because Civil Service pervades Minnesota government, the desire for patronage jobs plays only a small role in promoting political activity. This, coupled with the open nature of party deliberations, has kept Minnesota politics issue-oriented and out of the hands of would-be "bosses" in recent years, observers say.

Those same factors also have given party endorsements in Minnesota more weight than in most states. Minnesota has primary elections, but party-endorsed candidates routinely are approved by the voters (a notable exception: In 1966, the DFL passed over Karl Rolvaag, the incumbent governor, in favor of Lt. Gov. A. M. Keith, only to have Mr. Rolvaag defeat Mr. Keith in the primary). Earlier this month, all 150 persons backed by the DFL for state legislative posts won in the primary, as did all but two of 160 IR-backed candidates.

Another important consequence of Minnesota's strong-but-open party system, it is said, has been to enable young people of modest means to pursue political careers without a lot of irritating waiting around.

"The people who take the trouble to go to the caucuses usually are very well-informed about government, so they're not as easily swayed by flashy campaigns as people who only pull a lever on primary day," asserts David Lebedoff, a Minneapolis lawyer, writer on political subjects and DFL activist. "They also appreciate it if a candidate has put in time doing the undramatic kind of work that goes into political campaigns. Young people are willing to do this; while older, more established people often aren't. I think that's one reason we run so many young people and so few who have already made it in business or a profession."

### Similar Biographies

Whatever the reason, biographies of Minnesota's foremost politicians have been strikingly similar, regardless of their party affiliation or when they ran. All come from families of average wealth or less, all hold degrees from Minnesota universities, and did political work as youngsters and all were elected to high office while quite young. Their youthful success, of course, enabled them to stay in the public eye an unusually long time.

Harold Stassen, for instance, was elected a county prosecutor at age 22 and governor at 31. Hubert Humphrey became mayor of Minneapolis at 34 and a U.S. Senator at 37. Eugene McCarthy won a seat in the U.S. House at 33 and in the Senate at 42. Orville Freeman was governor at 36. Wendell Anderson was elected to the state legislature at 25 and to the governorship at 37.

Minnesota's present state auditor and treasurer both are 28 years old, and were elected at 26. IR Chairman Slocum is 29, making him the youngest state party head in the nation.

On the other side of the coin, there seems to be a tribal custom among Minnesota politicians not to stage pesty comebacks after they leave office. Some, once out of office, facilitate the periodic changing of the guard by moving out of the state altogether. Mr. Stassen left Minnesota in 1948 to become president of the University of Pennsylvania, and he now is a Philadelphia lawyer. Mr. Freeman is a businessman in New York. Mr. McCarthy lives in Washington.

### Humphrey's Big Role

There are, of course, other reasons that Minnesotans have shone so brightly on the national stage. Members of both parties here give much credit to Sen. Humphrey,

who is clearly the state's dominant figure and its sole prominent breaker of the "no-comeback" rule. (He was returned to the Senate in 1970, two years after his losing presidential bid.)

As a young college professor, Mr. Humphrey helped engineer the 1944 merger that formed the DFL, and he has unstintingly aided the party's candidates ever since. "His name on a speakers' list is worth an extra \$10,000 to us, and he's appeared at so many of these it would be impossible to count them," testifies DFL Chairman Scott. Mr. Lebedoff adds, "every important Minnesota Democrat of the last 20 years has been a Humphrey protege."

Some Minnesotans also make much of the proximity between the state capitol in St. Paul and the University of Minnesota in next-door Minneapolis. Among other things, they say the continuing professor-politician contacts elevate the tone of state politics, and the chance to watch closely government in action stirs a lasting interest in politics among the university's students. Teachers long have been prominent in Minnesota politics (Messrs. Humphrey and McCarthy taught before and after holding office), and they currently outnumber lawyers in the legislature.

Finally, there are Minnesota's brutally cold winters; Minneapolis averages 35 zero-or-below days a year, more than any large American city, and International Falls, in the north of the state, averages 68 such days. Proud of their ability to withstand the rigorous climate, Minnesotans seem to think it's only natural that their institutions are equally hardy.

"Extraordinary people make extraordinary politics," declares Harold Chase, a political science professor at the university. "It's a classic case of the survival of the fittest."



## THE MINNESOTA LEGISLATURE

### MINNESOTA STATE SENATE

67 members  
Elected for 4 year terms.

### MINNESOTA STATE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

134 members  
Elected for 2 year terms.

### Qualifications and Salary:

1. Qualified voter.
2. Twenty-one years old.
3. Resident of Minnesota for one year.
4. Resident of the legislative district for six months immediately preceeding the election.

\$8,400 annual salary; plus round trips between home and Capitol,  
and a per diem allowance for living expenses during the session.

\*\*\*\*\*

### PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE -

#### Important Duties and Powers

1. Presides over the Senate and the regular order of business.
2. Signs all acts, memorials, addresses and resolutions, plus all writs, warrants, subpoenas issued by the Senate.
3. Becomes Lieutenant Governor if a vacancy occurs in that office.
4. Assigns proposed bills to appropriate committees.

Elected by the entire Senate.

### MAJORITY LEADER OF THE SENATE - Nicholas Coleman

#### Important Duties and Powers

1. Serves as the floor leader of the Senate.
2. Is chairman of the majority party caucus (political leader of caucus).
3. Is chief administrator for the Senate and its employees.

Elected by the Senate majority caucus.

MINORITY LEADER OF THE SENATE - Robert Ashbach

Important Duties and Powers

1. Serves as Chairman of the minority group caucus (political leader of caucus).
2. Is leader of the minority group in the public eye:
  - a. deals with minority public relations;
  - b. points out shortcomings of the majority;
  - c. organizes goals and alternatives for the minority;
  - d. attempts to keep the majority honest.
3. The current Minority Leader of the Senate is a member of the Rules and Administration Committee, the Finance Committee and the Committee on Committees.

Elected by the Senate minority caucus.

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE - Martin Sabo

Important Duties and Powers

1. Serves as president officer of the House of Representatives and is also a voting member.
2. Presides over joint sessions of the House and Senate.
3. Has the authority to appoint members to committees and to name committee chairmen.
4. Is the leading spokesman of the House majority group and its caucus policies.

Elected by the entire House.

MAJORITY LEADER OF THE HOUSE - Irvin Anderson

Important Duties and Powers

1. Serves as Chairman of the majority group caucus in the House of Representatives.
2. Is chief spokesman for the majority on the House floor.
3. Acts as a public relations person for the majority.
4. Is Chairman of the House Committee on Rules and Legislative Administration:
  - a. hires personnel;
  - b. sets salaries;
  - c. assigns duties;
  - d. establishes rules for operation of the House and the administration of its business.

Elected by the House majority caucus.

MINORITY LEADER OF THE HOUSE - Henry Savelkoul

Important Duties and Powers

1. Serves as Chairman of the minority caucus in the House.
2. Is floor leader for the minority group.
3. Is the main spokesman for the minority group:
  - a. rebuts Governor and majority party policies;
  - b. keeps opposition party on its toes politically.

Elected by the House minority caucus.

MINNESOTA STATE SENATE

1977 Session

<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>SENATOR</u>	<u>ADDRESS</u>
1	Marv Hanson	R. R. 2, Hallock, 56728
2	Roger D. Moe	706 East 3rd Ave., Ada, 56510
3	Robert Lessard	Box 432, Island View Rt., Int'l. Falls, 56649
4	Gerald Willet	207 Mill Road, Park Rapids, 56470
5	George F. Perpich	104½ West Lake St., Chisholm, 55719
6	Douglas J. Johnson	Box 14, Cook, 55723
7	Sam G. Solon	1005 Glen Place, Duluth, 55806
8	James Ulland	Box 181, Rt. 6, Duluth, 55804
9	Douglas H. Sillers	Rt. 2, Moorhead, 56560
10	Collin C. Peterson	Rt. 4, Detroit Lakes, 56501
11	Wayne Olhoft	Herman, 56248
12	Myrton O. Wegener	Bertha, 56437
13	Winston W. Borden	P. O. Box 411, Brainerd, 56401
14	Florian Chmielewski	Sturgeon Lake, 55783
15	Roger Strand	R. R., Cyrus, 56323
16	Ed Schrom	Albany, 56307
17	Jack Kleinbaum	1100 - 23rd Ave. N., St. Cloud, 56301
18	Robert Dunn	708 - 4th St. S., Princeton, 55371
19	Jerald C. Anderson	Box 460, North Branch, 55056
20	Jim Nichols	Box 163, Lake Benton, 56149
21	Alec G. Olson	R. R. 1, Spicer, 56288
22	John Bernhagen	Rt. 1, Hutchinson, 55350
23	Earl W. Renneke	Rt. 2, LeSueur, 56068
24	Clarence M. Purfeerst	Box 319A, Rt. 1, Faribault, 55021
25	Steve Engler	R.R. 1, Randolph, 55065
26	Marion Menning	100 E. Central Ave., Edgerton, 56128
27	Howard D. Olson	Rt. 3, St. James, 56081
28	Carl Jensen	209 1st Ave. S., Sleepy Eye, 56085
29	Arnulf Ueland, Jr.	2013 Roe Crest Drive, N. Mankato, 56001
30	Timothy J. Penny	Rt. 2, Apt. 102, New Richland, 56072
31	Tom Nelson	1206 - 5th Ave., Austin, 55912
32	Mel Frederick	414 Clyde St., West Concord, 55985
33	Nancy Brataas	839 - 10½ St. SW, Rochester, 55901
34	Rober Laufenburger	Box 428, Lewiston, 55952
35	Jerome O. Gunderson	R. R. 2, Mabel, 55954
36	Robert J. Schmitz	Rt. 1, Jordan, 55352
37	W. G. Kirchner	6830 Newton Ave. S., Richfield, 55423
38	Robert M. Benedict	10215 Humboldt Circle, Bloomington, 55431
39	Otto T. Bang, Jr.	5200 Duggan Plaza, Edina, 55435
40	John Keefe	201 Oakwood Rd., Hopkins, 55343
41	B. Robert Lewis	7010 Highway 7, St. Louis Park, 55416
42	George Pillsbury	1320 Bracketts Point Road, Wayzata, 55391
43	Emily Anne Staples	1640 Xanthus Lane, Wayzata, 55391
44	Hubert H. Humphrey, III	IDS Center - 38th Floor, 80 S. 8th St., Mpls., 55404
45	William P. Luther	6925 Dallas Rd., Brooklyn Center, 55430
46	David D. Schaaf	6550 E. River Rd., Fridley, 55432
47	Gene Merriam	2924 - 116th Ave. NW, Coon Rapids, 55433

<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>SENATOR</u>	<u>ADDRESS</u>
48	Robert O. Ashback	1585 Lake Johanna Blvd, St. Paul, 55112
49	John Milton	4101 E. County Line, White Bear Lake, 55110
50	Jerome M. Hughes	1978 Payne Ave., St. Paul, 55117
51	Gerald Silkorski	9367 Otchipwe, Stillwater, 55082
52	Conrad M. Vega	407 - 11th Ave. S., S. St. Paul, 55075
53	Howard Knutson	1907 Woods Lane, Burnsville, 55337
54	Edward J. Gearty	3810 Xerxes Ave. N., Minneapolis, 55412
55	Gene Stokowski	2231 Stinson Blvd., Minneapolis, 55418
56	Robert J. Tennessen	2522 Thomas Ave. S., Minneapolis, 55405
57	Allan Spear	2204 Seabury Ave. S., Minneapolis, 55406
58	Harmon T. Ogdahl	5026 Morgan Ave. S., Minneapolis 55419
59	Steve Keefe	4217 Garfield Ave. S., Minneapolis, 55409
60	Jack Davies	875 Summit Ave., St. Paul, 55105
61	Frank Knoll	5316 - 1st Ave. S., Minneapolis, 55419
62	Neil Dieterich	2171 Knapp St., St. Paul, 55108
63	Ron Sieloff	1934 Rome Ave., St. Paul, 55116
64	Peter Stumpf	1283 Danforth, St. Paul, 55117
65	Nicholas D. Coleman	208 State Capitol, St. Paul, 55155
66	John C. Chenoweth	1126 E. Ivy Ave., St. Paul, 55106
67	Bill McCutcheon	2238 Edgebrook, St. Paul, 55119

# MINNESOTA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Members 1977-78

<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>REPRESENTATIVES</u>	<u>ADDRESS</u>
1A	Braun, Art	Greenbush, 56726
1B	Corbid, John	RR 2, Oklee, 56742
2A	Kelly, William	430 10th Ave. N., E. Grand Forks, 56721
2B	Eken, Willis	Twin Valley, 56584
3A	Anderson, Irvin	909 13th St., Int'l Falls, 56649
3B	Prahl, Norman	826 3rd Ave., NW, Grand Rapids, 55744
4A	St. Onge, Douglas	P.O. Box 751, Bemidji, 56601
4B	Sherwood, Glen	Star Rt. 60, Pine River, 56474
5A	Fugina, Peter	5 Merritt Dr., Virginia, 55792
5B	Spanish, John	2202 1/2 11th Ave. E., Hibbing, 55746
6A	Begich, Joseph	1001 W. 2nd St., Eveleth, 55734
6B	Battaglia, Davis	1803 7th Ave., Two Harbors, 55616
7A	Munger, Willard	1121 70th Ave. W., Duluth, 55807
7B	Jaros, Mike	1014 W. 3rd St., Duluth, 55806
8A	Lehto, Arlene	901 E. 7th St., Duluth, 55805
8B	Berkelman, Tom	1830 Melrose Ave., Duluth, 55803
9A	Beauchamp, David	1211 25th Ave. S., Moorhead, 56560
9B	Langseth, Keith	Rt. 2, Glyndon, 56547
10A	Evans, Jim	1424 Lori Ave., Detroit Lakes, 56501
10B	Anderson, Robert	Box 28, Battle Lake, 56515
11A	Wenstrom, Gene	313 1st S.E., Elbow Lake, 56531
11B	Fjoslien, Dave	Rt. 2, Brandon, 56315
12A	Nelson, Bruce	Rt. 1, Staples, 56479
12B	Wenzel, Stephen	312 SE 3rd St., Little Falls, 56345
13A	Samuelson, Don	1018 Portland Ave., Brainerd, 56401
13B	Nelsen, M.B. (Doc)	Fleming Route, Aitkin, 56431
14A	Carlson, Douglas	Sandstone, 55072
14B	Murphy, Mary	6794 Arrowhead Rd., Duluth, 55811
15A	Anderson, Delbert	RR 2, Box 57, Starbuck, 56381
15B	Anderson, Glen	Bellingham, 56212
16A	Niehaus, Joe	Rt. 3, Sauk Centre, 56378
16B	Brinkman, Bernard	Box 435, Richmond, 56368
17A	Patton, Al	4th St. NE, Sartell, 56377
17B	Pehler, Jim	734 14th Ave.S., St. Cloud, 56301
18A	Welch, Dick	RR 1, Cambridge, 55008
18B	McEachern, Bob	601 N. Walnut St., St. Michael, 55376
19A	Clawson, John	Box 336, Center City, 55012
19B	Mangan, Tom	533 Bean St., Anoka, 55303
20A	Smogard, Ellsworth	Rt.2, Madison, 56256
20B	Stanton, Russell	Arco, 56113
21A	Gunter, C. L. (Shorty)	703 Meadow Lane, Raymond, 56282
21B	Setzepfandt, A.O.H.	Box 356, Bird Island, 55310
22A	Kvam, Adolph	25 W. Lockerbie, Litchfield, 55355
22B	Dahl, Harold	Howard Lake, 55349
23A	Albrecht, Raymond	Brownston, 55312
23B	Johnson, Carl	Rt. 3, St. Peter, 56082
24A	Vanasek, Robert	807 3rd St., NE, New Prague, 56071
24B	Birnstihl, Orville	Rt. 5, Western Ave., Box 266, Faribault, 55021

<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>REPRESENTATIVES</u>	<u>ADDRESS</u>
25A	White, Jim	512 Oak St., Farmington, 55024
25B	Schulz, Victor	RR 1, Goodhue, 55027
26A	Anderson, Buzz	RR 3, Slayton, 56172
26B	Erickson, Wendell	Box 575, Hills, 56138
27A	Mann, George	Rt. 4, Windom, 56101
27B	Peterson, Darrell	Rt. 3, Fairmont, 56031
28A	Esau, Gilbert	502 9th St., Mountain Lake, 56159
28B	Eckstein, Tony	411 S. State St., New Ulm, 56073
29A	Cummiskey, David	112 Bradley, Mankato, 56001
29B	Wigley, Richard	Rt. 2, Lake Crystal, 56055
30A	Kalis, Henry	Box 55, Walters, 56092
30B	Searle, Rod	Rt. 1, Box 55, Waseca, 56093
31A	Savelkoul, Henry	1100 Cedar, Albert Lea, 56007
31B	Reding, Leo	709 12th Ave. NW, Austin, 55912
32A	Biersdorf, John	422 N. Cedar, Owatonna, 55060
32B	Friedrich, Don	RR 3, Rochester, 55901
33A	Kaley, Dick	1409 29th St. NW, Rochester, 55901
33B	Zubay, Ken	1326 2nd St. NW, Rochester, 55901
34A	Lemke, Richard	RR 1, Lake City, 55041
34B	Stoa, Tom	763 E. Front St., Winona, 55987
35A	Haugerud, Neil	RR 2, Preston, 55965
35B	Wieser, Al	704 S. 4th St., LaCrescent, 55947
36A	McDonald, Kenneth	200 Carter St., Box 471, Watertown, 55388
36B	Suss, Ted	R.R. 2, Box 37, New Prague, 56071
37A	Hokanson, Shirley	7345 Russell Ave. S., Richfield, 55423
37B	Swanson, Jim	6827 5th Ave. S., Richfield, 55423
38A	Williamson, Bruce	121 W. 90th St., Bloomington, 55431
38B	Abeln, Lyle	10930 Thomas Ave. S., Bloomington 55431
39A	Forsythe, Mary	4605 Edina Blvd., Edina 55424
39B	Pleasant, Ray	9841 Xerxes Curve, Bloomington, 55431
40A	Ewald, Doug	15025 Highland Trail, Minnetonka, 55343
40B	Knickerbocker, Jerry	920 9th Ave. S., Hopkins, 55343
41A	Arlandson, John	1304 S. Tyrol Trail, Golden Valley, 55416
41B	Petrafeso, Pete	7727 Division St., St. Louis Park, 55426
42A	Jude, Tad	5230 Sulgrove Rd., Mound, 55364
42B	Searles, Bob	575 N. Ferndale Rd., Wayzata, 55391
43A	Heinitz, O.J.	2555 Queensland Ln., Wayzata, 55391
43B	King, Dwayne	4025 Wasatch Ln., Golden Valley, 55422
44A	Carlson, Lyndon	5819 Halifax Ave. N., Brooklyn Center, 55422
44B	Adams, Leo	3657 Maryland Ave. N., New Hope, 55428
45A	Scheid, Linda	5316 81st Ave. N., Brooklyn Park, 55443
45B	Ellingson, Robert	7015 Brooklyn Blvd., Brooklyn Center, 55430
46A	McCarron, Paul	732 82nd Ave. NE, Spring Lake Park, 55432
46B	Simoneau, Wayne	465 57th Place NE, Fridley, 55432
47A	Jacobs, Joel	11932 Zion St. NW, Coon Rapids, 55433
47B	Voss, Gordon	11120 7th St. NE, Blaine, 55434
48A	Novak, Steve	747 Redwood Ln., New Brighton, 55112
48B	Rose, John	1211 Brooks Ave. W., Roseville, 55113
49A	Neisen, Howard	5150 Irondale Rd., Moundsview, 55112
49B	McCollar, Maurice	3563 White Bear Ave., White Bear Lake, 55110
50A	George, Mike	1140 Park Ave., Mahtomedi, 55115
50B	Kostohryz, Dick	2478 E. Indian Way, N.St.Paul, 55109
51A	Laidig, Gary	504 S. Greeley St., Stillwater, 55082
51B	Sieben, Mike	1652 Cedar Lane, Newport, 55055
52A	Metzen, James	227 14th Ave. S., S.St.Paul, 55075

House of Representatives, cont.

<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>REPRESENTATIVES</u>	<u>ADDRESS</u>
52B	Sieben, Harry	90 Valley Lane, Hastings, 55033
53A	Kempe, Ray	310 Christine Ln., W. St. Paul, 55118
53B	Jensen, Robert	17837 Flagstaff Ave. W., Farmington, 55024
54A	Kroening, Carl	3539 Vincent Ave. N., Minneapolis, 55412
54B	Rice, Jim	2220 Vincent Ave. N., Minneapolis, 55411
55A	Fudro, Stanley	2322 2nd St. NE, Minneapolis, MN 55418
55B	Sarna, John	2837 Ulysses St. NE, Minneapolis, 55418
56A	Casserly, Jim	1100 Vincent Ave. N., Minneapolis, 55411
56B	Berg, Tom	2112 Newton Ave. S., Minneapolis, 55405
57A	Kahn, Phyllis	100 Malcolm Ave. SE, Minneapolis, 55414
57B	Sabo, Martin	3129 E. 22nd St., Minneapolis, 55406
58A	Dean, Bill	5225 York Ave. S., Minneapolis, 55410
58B	Carlson, Arne	4301 Fremont Ave. S., Minneapolis, 55409
59A	Berglin, Linda	2309 Clinton Ave. S., Minneapolis, 55404
59B	Nelson, Ken	4201 Garfield Ave. S., Minneapolis, 55409
60A	Clark, Janet	3025 Cedar Ave., S., Minneapolis, MN 55407
60B	Enebo, Stanley	3304 E. 25th St., Minneapolis, 55406
61A	Brandl, John	310 W. Elmwood Place, Minneapolis, 55419
61B	Skoglund, Wesley	5701 10th Ave. S., Minneapolis, 55417
62A	Wynia, Ann	1550 Branston, St. Paul, 55108
62B	Hanson, Walter	1136 Hague Ave., St. Paul, 55104
63A	Faricy, Ray	2240 Goodrich Ave., St. Paul, 55105
63B	Cohen, Richard	2043 Montreal Ave., St. Paul, 55116
64A	Osthoff, Tom	766 W. Maryland Ave., St. Paul, 55117
64B	Byrne, Peggy	524 Van Bruen, St. Paul, 55103
65A	Norton, Fred	701 Fairmont Ave., St. Paul, 55105
65B	Moe, Donald	11 Summit Court, St. Paul, 55102
66A	Waldorf, Eugene	1176 E. Orange, St. Paul, 55106
66B	Kelly, Randy	1901 Hyacinth, St. Paul, 55119
67A	Kempe, Arnold	28 Amelia Ave., W. St. Paul, 55118
67B	Tomlinson, John	2176 Glenridge Ave., St. Paul 55119



## HOW A BILL BECOMES A LAW...

1. The Idea - Anyone can propose an idea for a bill — an individual, a consumer group, corporation, professional association, a governmental unit, the governor — but most frequently ideas come from members of the legislature.
  2. The Revisor of Statutes - The revisor puts the idea into the proper legal form as a bill for introduction into the House of Representatives or the Senate, usually both. The revisor also updates Minnesota Statutes to include all new laws.
  3. The Chief Author - Each bill must have a legislator to sponsor it and introduce the bill in the legislature. He may be the chief author, or he may find another member to author the bill and make the introduction. The chief author's name appears on the bill with the bill's file number to identify it as it moves through the legislative process.
  4. Other Authors - The chief author of a bill, under legislative rules, may select other authors but no more than a total of five in the house and three in the Senate. These author's names also appear on the bill.
  5. Introduction in the House of Representatives and the Senate - When the author introduces the bill in the House of Representatives, it gets a House File number (H.F. 2642, for example), indicating the chronological order of the bill's introduction in the House. In the Senate it gets a Senate File number (S.F. 224, for example), indicating the bill's chronological order of introduction in that body.
  6. Committee Consideration - Next the bill has its first reading (the Minnesota constitution requires three readings for all bills - on three separate days), and the presiding officer of the House or Senate refers it to an appropriate standing committee for committee action. All committee meetings are open to the public. A committee may —
    - recommend passage of a bill in its original form.
    - recommend passage after amendment by the committee.
    - make no recommendation, in which case a bill may die when the session ends.
- After acting on a bill, the committee sends a report to the House or Senate, stating its actions and recommendations.
7. General Orders - After adoption of the committee report in the House and Senate, the bill has its second reading and goes onto General Orders of the Day. In Committee of the Whole legislators discuss bills on General Orders; they may debate the issues, adopt amendments, present arguments on the bill, and they may vote to —
    - recommend that a bill "do pass".
    - recommend postponement.
    - recommend further committee action.

8. The Calendar - The calendar is a list of bills the Committee of the Whole recommends to pass. At this point —

- a bill has its third reading.
- amendments to the bill must have the unanimous consent of the entire body.
- legislators vote on it for the final time.

By committee recommendation, bills of a non-controversial nature can bypass General Orders and go directly onto a "consent calendar", usually passing without debate.

Every bill requires a majority vote of the full membership of the House and Senate to pass.

9. Conference Committee - When the House and the Senate both pass the same version of a bill, that bill goes to the governor for his approval or disapproval. If the House and Senate do not agree, a conference committee, made up of three to five senators, and an equal number of representatives, meets to reach an agreement.

If both bodies then pass the bill in compromise form, it goes to the governor.

10. The Governor - When a bill arrives at the governor's office, he may —

- sign it, and the bill becomes law.
- veto it (return it, with a "veto message", stating his objections) to the body where it originated.
- pocket veto the bill (after final adjournment of the legislature).
- exercise his right to line veto portions of appropriations bills.

If he does not sign or veto a bill within three days after receiving it, while the legislature is in session, the bill becomes a law.

From A Bill for an Act by the Minnesota House Information Office.

MINNESOTA STATE GOVERNMENT: A BRIEF LOOK AT ITS LEADERS

GOVERNOR - Rudy Perpich

Important Duties and Powers

Salary \$41,000

1. Serves as chief executive officer of the State.
2. Is responsible for informing the Legislature of the general conditions of the State.
3. Submits proposed budget of the financial needs of the State to the Legislature.
4. Reviews and signs or vetos all bills passed by the Legislature.
5. Makes over 240 appointments, including the majority of state department heads and a majority of the members of most state boards and commissions.
6. Makes appointments to fill vacancies which occur in municipal, district and supreme court judgeships.
7. Is commander-in-chief of the military forces in Minnesota.
8. Issues extradition papers and restores civil rights to felons.
9. Prepares long range plans for the orderly growth of the State and recommends their implementation to the Legislature.

Qualifications and Term

Qualifications: 25 years of age; one year resident of State; United States citizen.  
Term: Four years.

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR - Alec G. Olson

Important Duties and Powers

Salary \$30,000

1. Is first in line of succession when a vacancy occurs in the office of Governor.
2. May assume the duties of the Governor when the Governor is out of the State.
3. Performs certain duties delegated by the Governor, including:
  - a. serving as Chairman of the Human Services Council;
  - b. developing and coordinating a program to preserve and enhance the aesthetic environment in Minnesota;
  - c. discharging ministerial and ceremonial duties and representing the Governor at public events as requested by the Governor;
  - d. serving as the Governor's liaison officer to certain boards, agencies and commissions.
4. Reports to the Governor regarding discharge of duties and responsibilities.

Qualifications and Term

Same as for Governor

SECRETARY OF STATE - Joan Growe

Important Duties and Powers

Salary \$25,000

1. Serves as chief election official of the State and is custodian of many of the official records of the State.
2. Presides over the House of Representatives until the Speaker of the House is elected.
3. Is the Keeper of the Great Seal; certifies the authenticity of official records, documents and proclamations and executive orders of the Governor and acts of the Legislature.
4. Is official custodian of all the acts of the Legislature.
5. Approves articles of incorporation and issues certificates permitting corporations to do business in Minnesota.
6. Prepares rules and regulations governing the administration of voter registration laws and hears and decides on appeals of challenged votes.

Qualifications and Term

Qualifications: 21 years of age; resident of the State (30 days); United States citizen.

Term: Four years.

STATE AUDITOR - Robert Mattson

Important Duties and Powers

Salary \$26,000

1. Chief financial examiner of the State:
  - a. examines financial records of all counties and certain other governmental units (by law);
  - b. examines financial records of cities, villages, townships and school districts (by request).
2. Serves as a member of various boards and commissions.

(Note: The state Department of Finance has the responsibility for the administration of the financial affairs of the State government and the pre-audit of all receipts to and disbursements from the State Treasury.)

Qualifications and Term

Same as for Secretary of State

STATE TREASURER - Jim Lord

Important Duties and Powers

Salary \$25,000

1. Is custodian of all State funds.
2. Keeps accounts of receipts and disbursements of all State funds.
3. Acts as paymaster of the State.
4. Receives tax collections from various sources as well as other income items deposited by state departments and institutions.
5. Dispenses liquor tax stamps.

Qualifications and Term

Same as for Secretary of State

Important Duties and Powers

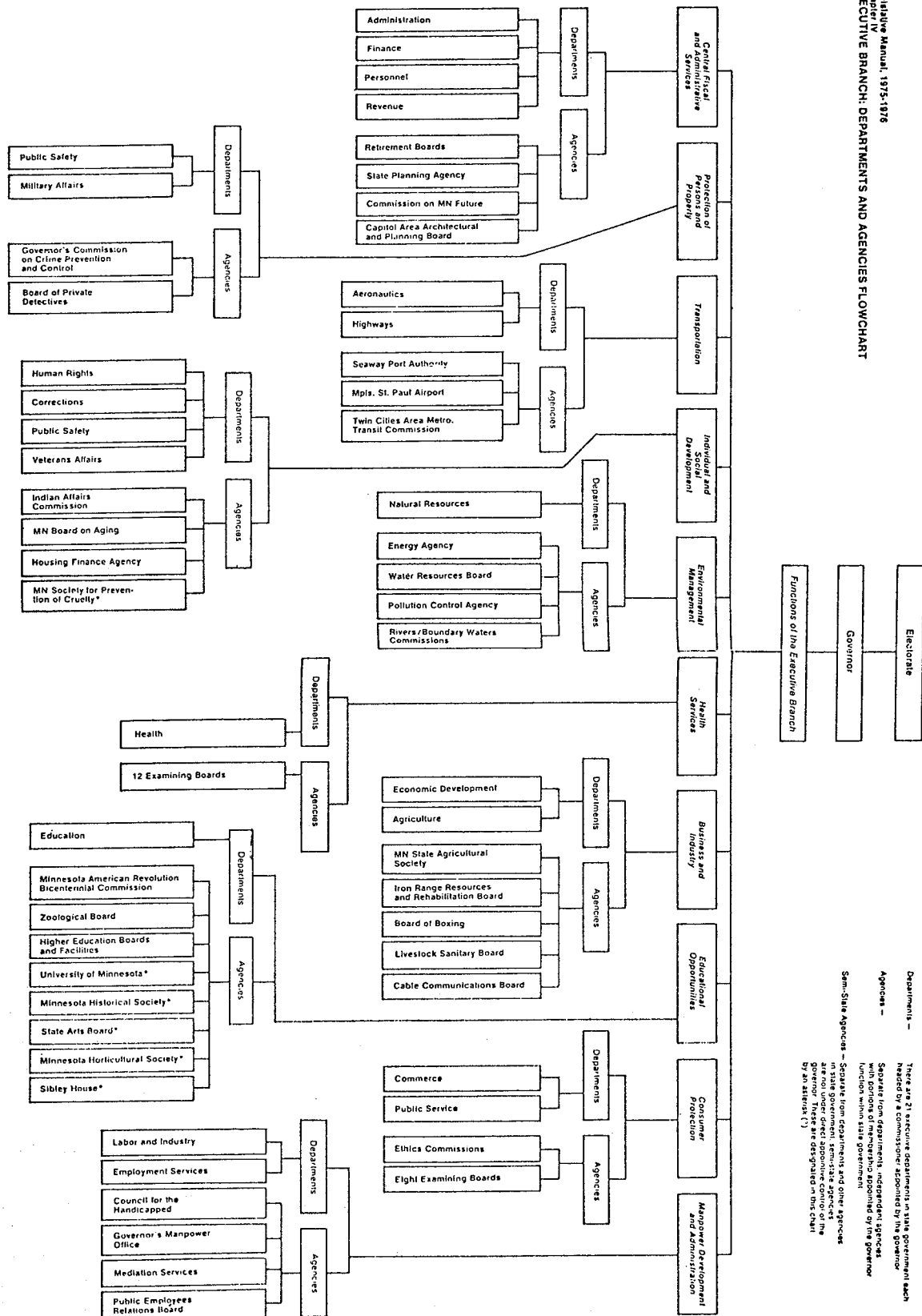
Salary \$36,500

1. Serves as chief legal officer of the State.
2. Acts as legal advisor to the Governor, all other constitutional officers, the Legislature and all of its committees.
3. Assists members of the Legislature in drafting new legislation or amendments to existing laws.
4. Appears for the State in all cases in the Supreme and Federal Courts, in all civil cases in the District Courts, and upon request of the Governor or any county attorney in any criminal case in the District Courts.
5. Prosecutes all actions against persons who claim an interest adverse to the State and any claims of the State against the Federal government.
6. Sets standards for police training.
7. Provides legal services to various divisions of the State government.
8. May institute, conduct and maintain any action he deems necessary for the enforcement of the laws of the State, the preservation of order and the protection of public rights.

Qualifications and Term

Same as for Secretary of State

Legislative Manual, 1975-1976  
Chapter IV  
EXECUTIVE BRANCH: DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES FLOWCHART



## MINNESOTA SUPREME COURT

Judges: One chief justice and eight associate judges. Vacancies are filled by governor's appointment.

Salaries: \$40,000 chief justice, \$36,000 associate justices

Chief Justice Robert J. Sheran: Appointed Associate Justice of the Minnesota Supreme Court on January 8, 1963. Resigned July 1, 1970. Reappointed to the Supreme Court as Chief Justice December 18, 1973. Elected 1976. Term expires January, 1983. Home: St. Paul.

Associate Justice James C. Otis: Appointed Associate Justice of Supreme Court in 1961. Term expires January, 1981. Home: St. Paul.

Associate Justice W. F. Rogosheske: Appointed Associate Justice of Supreme Court, February 1, 1962; elected for full term 1963, 1970, 1976. Term expires January, 1983. Home: Little Falls.

Associate Justice C. Donald Peterson: Elected Associate Justice of Supreme Court, 1966; re-elected 1972. Term expires January 1979. Home: Minneapolis.

Associate Justice Fallon Kelly: Appointed to Supreme Court July 6, 1970. Term expires January 1979. Home: St. Paul.

Associate Justice John J. Todd: Appointed to Supreme Court January 3, 1972. Term expires January 1981. Home: Inver Grove Heights.

Associate Justice Harry H. MacLaughlin: Appointed Associate Justice, Minnesota Supreme Court on May 1, 1972. Term expires January 1981. Home: Minneapolis.

Associate Justice Lawrence R. Yetka: Appointed to Supreme Court on June 2, 1973. Term expires January, 1981. Home: Cloquet.

Associate Justice George M. Scott: Appointed to Supreme Court on June 22, 1973. Term expires January, 1981. Home: Minneapolis.

## THE JUDICIARY IN MINNESOTA

The following introduction describes the jurisdictions of each of the six divisions of the state judiciary. Supplementary information about these courts in this manual is indicated by page references.

### Supreme Court

#### **Jurisdiction:**

The Minnesota judicial system is headed by the supreme court, the state's court of last resort. The court consists of one chief justice and eight associate justices. Vacancies on the court are filled by governor's appointment.

To the supreme court may be taken appeals from decisions of the state's district court and certain municipal courts. In some cases, matters may be presented directly to the supreme court without having been heard previously by a lower court.

Under a 1957 law the chief justice of the supreme court is required to supervise and coordinate work of the state's district courts. In order to carry out these additional duties, the supreme court may provide by rule that the chief justice not be required to write opinions as a member of the court. This same law permits the court to provide by rule to hear cases in divisions, rather than have all members present at the hearing of a case.

#### **Terms:**

The supreme court has one court term each year beginning the first Tuesday after the first Monday in January. This term generally continues until the end of the calendar year, with recesses at the discretion of the court.

#### **Election:**

Under the law, a candidate seeking election to the supreme court must specify that the candidate is filing for a specific justice's office which would otherwise become vacant.

Pursuant to law, the supreme court each court term has appointed a judge of district court to act as a justice of the court in hearing and deciding cases. In recent years, the volume of cases before the court has been such that it has been necessary for the court to retain services of two commissioners for the predisposition screening of cases.

### District Court

#### **Jurisdiction:**

There is one district court for the state of Minnesota, divided into ten judicial districts. The chief justice of the supreme court has the power to assign judges from one district to serve in another district.

The constitution provides that the district court shall have original jurisdiction in all civil and criminal cases and shall have such appellate jurisdiction as may be prescribed by law. At present the law provides for appeals from county court, probate court, municipal courts, and justices of the peace.

In Ramsey and Hennepin counties the district courts have jurisdiction of juvenile court matters. In Ramsey county the district court judges assign a specific district judge to the juvenile division for a period of one year during which time the judge handles juvenile matters exclusively. In Hennepin county a judge is elected by the voters to the specific office of "District Court Judge, Juvenile Division", whose duty also is to give priority to juvenile cases.

#### **Election:**

Judges are elected by the voters of their respective districts for six-year terms. Candidates file for a specific judgeship, and this information is stated on the ballot. Judges are nominated and elected without party designation.



## **County Court**

### **Jurisdiction:**

The county court system combines probate, municipal, and justice courts into one court and in some instances combines two or more counties into a single county court district. Hennepin and Ramsey counties are excluded from the county court law.

The county court is divided into three divisions, civil and criminal, family court, and probate. The county court has civil jurisdiction where the amount in controversy does not exceed \$5000 exclusive of interest and costs. The county court has criminal jurisdiction over misdemeanor, petty misdemeanor and preliminary hearing cases. The family court division includes all cases arising under the juvenile court act over which the county court has original exclusive jurisdiction and all cases arising out of or affecting the family relationship including civil commitments. The county court has concurrent jurisdiction with the district court over actions for divorce, separate maintenance, adoption, and change of name. The probate division hears all cases in law and in equity for the administration of estates of deceased persons and all guardianship and incompetency proceedings. In addition the county court may establish a traffic violations bureau and a conciliation court within the civil and criminal division.

### **Election:**

Judges are elected by the voters of their respective county court districts for six-year terms. Candidates file for a specific judgeship, and this information is stated on the ballot. Judges are nominated and elected without party designation.

## **Probate Courts**

### **Jurisdiction:**

Probate court jurisdiction is incorporated into the county court except in Hennepin and Ramsey counties which have a separate probate court with judges elected for six-year terms. The probate court has unlimited original jurisdiction in law and equity for the administration of the estates of deceased persons and all guardianship and incompetency proceedings.

## **Municipal Court**

### **Jurisdiction:**

The only separate municipal courts in Minnesota are in Hennepin and Ramsey counties. Designated as Hennepin County Municipal Court and Ramsey County Municipal Court, these courts have jurisdiction in civil matters where the amount in controversy does not exceed \$6000. Each county has a conciliation court with jurisdiction limited to civil actions involving \$500 or less.

### **Election:**

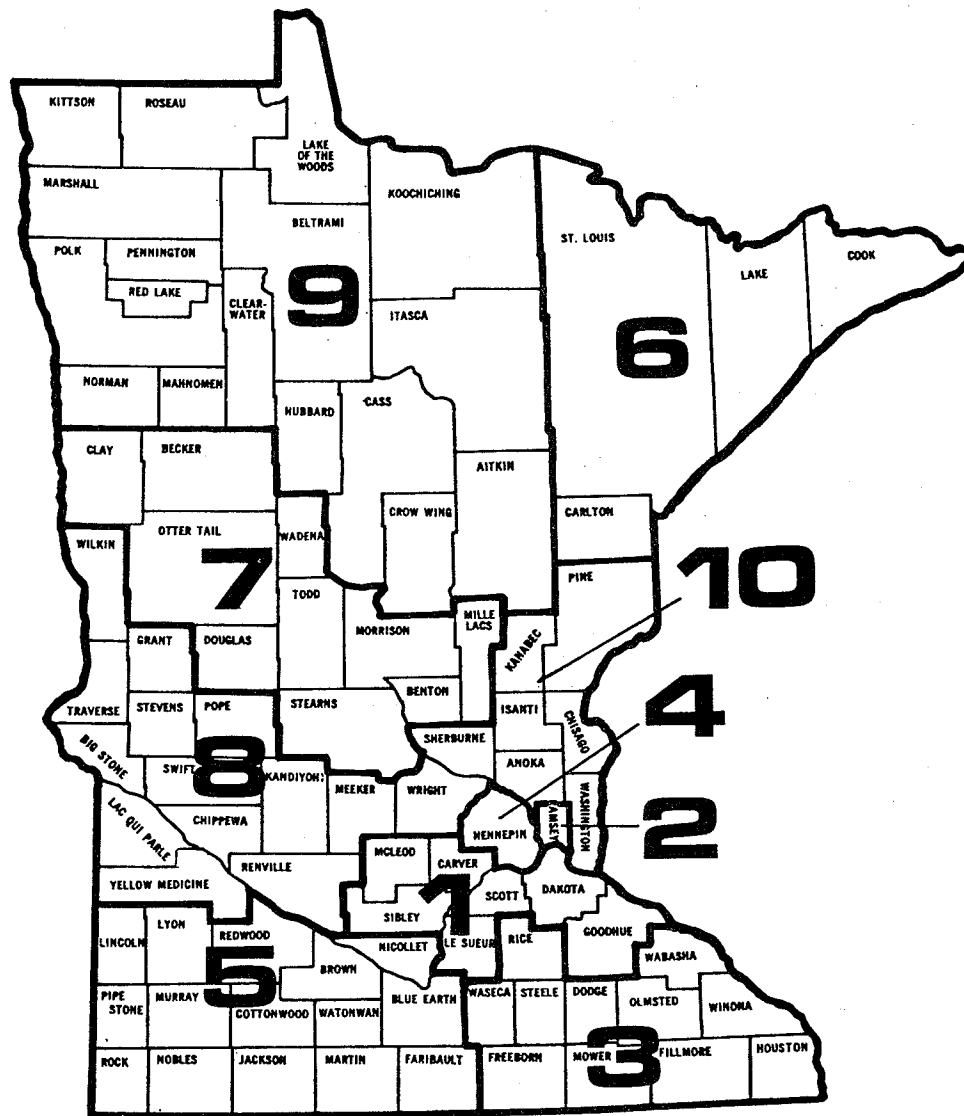
Municipal court judges are elected by voters of Hennepin and Ramsey counties for six-year terms.

## **Justices of the Peace**

### **Jurisdiction:**

Elected for two-year terms in townships and cities which do not have regular county court sessions or a traffic violations bureau, justices of the peace have authority to receive pleas of guilty where no sentence of imprisonment is involved, to set bail in misdemeanor cases, to exercise civil jurisdiction in default matters up to \$100 and to perform the marriage ceremony.

## DISTRICT COURT MAP



Minnesota's 87 counties are divided into 10 judicial districts which comprise the District Court.

## POLITICAL PARTIES

Minnesota Statutes 200.2 subd. 7 defines political parties in this state as a political group whose candidates have received votes in every county and at least 5% of the total vote cast in the last general election. Each precinct is then allotted delegates on the basis of votes cast in that precinct for the party's candidates in the last general election. At the present time, there are three parties in the state that fit these qualifications: The Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party, The Independent-Republicans of Minnesota, and The American Party.

Each precinct elects its allotted number of delegates and alternates to the next level convention, either county or legislative district. From here delegates to the district and state conventions are chosen. District and state conventions, in turn, select delegates to the respective national conventions that ultimately choose the presidential candidate for the party. Along the way, delegates to the various conventions have decided the candidates for city and state offices.

Attendance at a particular precinct caucus does not prohibit personal political difference and it does not prevent a person from changing his or her affiliation in the future.



# INDEPENDENT REPUBLICANS OF MINNESOTA

A VIEW OF THE INDEPENDENT-REPUBLICANS OF MINNESOTA

By Charles A. Slocum, State Chairman

The role our party plays in the life of citizens of this country hasn't changed substantially in over one hundred years. The party was founded at the time of Abraham Lincoln (1854) out of concern for the individual--more particularly a concern with the denial of the individual rights of an entire segment of our society--the Black American. The basic principles haven't changed. What has changed is an increasing recognition by larger numbers of our citizens of the importance of individuality and personal rights.

The great issues which our society faces today are easily identified, no matter what individual political persuasions are involved. There is agreement on the need to protect our environment, to care for those who are unable to care for themselves, to provide services to our citizens which they can afford, and to protect an economic system which is the foundation of our country. The solutions to these problems are mechanical, but within that term "mechanical" lies the role which must be played by our political parties.

For many years now, governmental trouble-shooters have all too often been addressing our nation's problems without giving consideration to the ultimate effect on the individual rights and freedoms of our citizens. This lack of concern has caused a new, far-reaching issue to develop. What, indeed, is happening to the individual in our ever-growing, increasingly complex society? It is almost ironic that in the year of our Bicentennial the freedom of the individual has again become, in my judgement, the prime concern of our citizens, just as it was to the founders of our country.

Since the time of the New Deal government has grown with abandon, become impersonal and complex. Government intervention has long been popular, but now more and more people are realizing the price that has been paid. That price has been destroying our sense of individual significance and subverting our feeling of what it is to be a citizen of a free, representative, and self-governing society. In a sense, the individual is becoming a victim of our government.

What then is the role of the National Republican Party or the "Independent-Republicans of Minnesota"? Its role is to protect the individual and make plausible the principles with which we believe the majority of Americans agree:

1. That the basic purpose of government is to serve and protect the people, not to rule. Our government should prevent concentrations of power, whether public or private, at the expense of the individual.
2. That our free enterprise system must be protected and enhanced, not shackled. Over-regulation destroys an environment conducive to the creation of jobs and a decent standard of living for the greatest number of people.



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3. That all people are indeed created equal. This must be a commitment to the equal rights and dignity of each American as an individual, not as a class, sex, or race.
4. That the family and community are the basis of our society. Government actions which subvert either, will undermine the foundations of a humane society.
5. That our country's great strength lies in the responsibility and industry of free men and women, not in government.

These principles are broad and all inclusive. They even permit disagreement. But, they are the principles upon which our party seeks the mechanical solutions to the important issues which confront us.

For 100 years now we have been talking about the responsiveness of government; the role of the community, voluntary, and private organizations, the decentralization of power--generally the ultimate responsibility of one individual for other individuals.

Dwight Eisenhower, while seeking re-election to the Presidency in 1956 said:

"The spirit of our people is the strength of our nation. America does not prosper unless all Americans prosper. Government must have a heart as well as a head. Courage in principle, cooperation in practice make freedom possible. The purpose of government is to serve, never dominate. To stay free we must be strong. Under God, we espouse the cause of freedom and justice and peace for all peoples."

It is with these principles that our party seeks to build its constituency. It is with these principles that we seek a new and greater future for our families, friends, and neighbors. It is with these principles that the Independent-Republicans of Minnesota seek to serve our state, nation and world.

# DFL

## A POLITICAL PARTY IN CONCERT

The Minnesota Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party is unique among political parties. It is the result of a merger of two self-governing political parties who sought each other out, reached an accord and became one. The D.F.L. carries on the traditions and programs of the State and National Democratic Party — the Party of Jefferson and Jackson, and those of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party — the Party of Floyd B. Olson.

Prior to 1940 the Democratic Party in Minnesota was of minor importance. Its members were mostly middle class, white-collar, city dwellers — a less significant political force then. Rural Minnesotans were wary of the Democrats, viewing them as not much better than the exploiting Eastern Establishment. Philosophically, these Democrats differed greatly from those who came to power during the depression.

Between 1860 and 1930, Democratic attempts to gain political office were frustrated by the existence of disident third party movements. Among these were the Populist, Bull-Moose, Progressive, Greenback, and Prohibitionist parties, the Grange movement and the non-partisan leagues. Though detailed programs differed these parties shared similar concerns and believed that state government should actively promote economic justice through regulation of monopolies and provision of assistance to the unemployed, the aged and the infirmed. Generally the third party supported candidates nominated by the Democrats or Republicans who were in sympathy with their programs. Most often these were Republicans who, in carrying on the tradition of Lincoln, believed "that government must do for people what they cannot do for themselves".

The picture changed after World War I. Increased industrialization and the hardships endured by the workingman added many more workers to the ranks of the reform parties. Neither Minnesota farmers nor laborers shared in the prosperity of the 20's. Both felt the hunger and despair of the depression of the 30's.

By 1920 neither major party put forward candidates willing to support programs acceptable to the farmers or workers. An alliance of farmers and workers came into being which, by necessity, ran its own candidates on a Farmer-Labor Party ticket. By 1923 the Farmer-Labor Party had elected two U. S. Senators and two Representatives. In 1930 the party elected Floyd B. Olson governor and in 1932 a Farmer-Labor majority in the Minnesota House. With a conservative Senate as a check, Olson was able to elect only a small part of the Farmer-Labor Party program. However, the Legislature did act to forestall mortgage foreclosures, to prohibit labor injunctions and "yellow dog" contracts and to initiate a state income tax and an old age pension plan.

During the Depression, the Democrats and Farmer-Laborites found themselves in agreement on many points of program and policy. In 1932 the Minnesota Democratic and Farmer-Labor Parties united to carry the state for President Franklin Roosevelt. For the first time Minnesota's electoral votes went to a Democrat.

During the 1930's, the Democrats and Farm-Laborites met to try to arrange a merger. These meetings were unsuccessful. However, the increasingly liberal stands of the National Democratic Party and the difficulty of either party to win elections made an alliance more desirable and attractive. In April of 1944, after several months of negotiations, the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party came into being.

Since that time the D.F.L. has provided strong and consistent opposition to the state's Republican Party. It has been successful in winning state and national elections, and many prominent DFLers have been appointed to federal offices.

The internal history of the D.F.L. has been stormy. Ideologies and personalities have often come into conflict. This conflict has, however, not been destructive. The conflicts and confrontations within the party are a healthy sign of its openness and vitality. The outspokenness of its members and the diversity of their interests have kept the party free from patronage and self-perpetuation. In fact, when the National Democratic Party called for a reform of state party procedures after the 1968 Chicago Convention, the Minnesota DFL was found to be in compliance with almost all major reform guidelines. Within the DFL all members have a voice, a vote and a chance for advancement. It is because of the multiplicity of interests and backgrounds of its members, and because of the openness of the party structure, that the D.F.L. has been able to meet new challenges with insight, information and imagination.

Although the D.F.L. may be the arm of the National Democratic Party, it is more than that — it remains an independent and unique combination of interested Minnesotans, a coalition of groups working to achieve the economic and social well being of all on an inhabitable earth.

By: Linda Wallace, DFL State Central Committee, 730 E. 38th St., Mpls., MN 55407

# ***Helm's vote may help party get on state ballot***

By John Carman  
Minneapolis Star Staff Writer

The American Party of Minnesota yesterday apparently gained an automatic place on state ballots in the 1978 general election.

The conservative party won a ballot position because its candidate for U.S. Senate Paul Helm, captured more than 5 percent of the vote in his race.

With 96 percent of the precincts in Minnesota reporting, Helm had 121,382 votes of 1.8 million votes cast in the Senate race. The figure is lightly less than 7 percent of the vote total.

**STATE ELECTION LAW AWARDS AN AUTOMATIC BALLOT SPOT TO POLITICAL PARTIES THAT MAINTAIN PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AND, IN THE LAST PRECEDING GENERAL ELECTION, GOT VOTES FROM EACH COUNTY AND PRESENTED AT LEAST ONE CANDIDATE WHO WON 5 PERCENT OF THE STATE TOTAL.**

Political parties without a candidate who got 5 percent of the votes cast in the last election must circulate petitions to be placed on ballots, as the American Party did this year.

In 1978, Minnesota voters will choose a governor, lieutenant governor and other state constitutional officers. Congressmen and many state legislators also will be dr;rvyrf.

**THE AMERICAN PARTY, AN OFFSHOOT OF George Wallace's 1968 presidential campaign, had candidates on the Minnesota ballot this year for president (Tom Anderson), vice-president, U.S. senator, U.S. representative in three districts and in three legislative races.**

Helm, a former Twin City broadcaster, showed his greatest strength in Hennepin, Ramsey, Stearns and Anoka Counties. He campaigned largely as an anti-abortion candidate and far outdistanced other American Party candidates.

Mike Burns, Watertown, chairman of the American Party of Minnesota, today called upon Minnesota conservatives to abandon the Independent-Republican Party and to support his group.

"It is now time for all Minnesota conservatives to unite into one political organization free of Rockefeller, Rison Society (a liberal Republican group) and ADA (Americans for Democratic Action) control," Burns said.

From the Minneapolis Star, November 3rd, 1976.



# What Is a Liberal? A Conservative?

Most political candidates in the U.S. are described as "liberal" or "conservative" in viewpoint. But definitions for both terms are many—and confusing. *U.S. News & World Report* asked a dozen members of Congress to define the viewpoint with which each is associated in the public mind. Their replies follow.



**Senator Adlai E. Stevenson** (Dem.), Illinois:

The liberal really is a conservative who tries to protect the freedom of the individual from encroachment by the state and other forces beyond his control, with a minimum of government activity. People are threatened by

big business, big unions and big government. In contrast, that which is defined now as conservatism is a defense of the *status quo*.



**Senator Hubert H. Humphrey** (Dem.), Minnesota:

Liberalism means freedom. It means freedom for the individual from the forces of oppression, discrimination and prejudice and the freedom to enjoy the widest possible opportunity—to become the best that we can be.

In government, it means the commitment to make our institutions as responsible as possible in creating and maintaining those freedoms.



**Representative Morris K. Udall** (Dem.), Arizona:

For the liberal there are two central themes—a passion for personal liberty and a passion to help the disadvantaged. In the 1960s, the liberal agenda included such issues as civil rights and ending the Vietnam War.

For the 1970s, it is full employment, coping with economic concentration, getting a handle on the Pentagon budget and the arms race, women's rights and expanding voting rights.



**Representative Andrew Young** (Dem.), Georgia:

Liberalism to me is an allegiance to people rather than to things and abstract principles. In any situation, the human factors are most important. Nations are judged, and they will progress, by virtue of how they take care of

the weak and lowly—to see that they have money and opportunity. Normal free enterprise will allow the powerful to get their share, but large profits don't trickle down to the poor.



**Senator George McGovern** (Dem.), South Dakota:

Liberals embrace a positive, activist role for the State and the Federal Government... and believe we have a special obligation to the weak, the poor and the unorganized. They believe the redistributive effect of social-assistance programs benefits everybody by stimulating the economy and reducing crime and the incidence of physical and mental breakdown.



**Senator Jacob K. Javits** (Rep.), New York:

Liberalism to me is the Lincolnian concept—government must do for people what they cannot do for themselves. That extends to the catastrophes of life—ill health, unemployment, deprivation of educational opportunities. And a liberal sees a role for government as a leader, a crystalizer. But a liberal is one who understands the preservation of freedom requires the free-enterprise system.



**House GOP Leader John J. Rhodes**, Arizona:

A conservative believes that, fundamentally, the individual is responsible for his own well-being, but that government should do those things for him that he can't do for himself. The liberal's first reaction to a problem is to ask: "How can government solve it?" The conservative first asks: "How can we help the individual solve it and should we?"

lem is to ask: "How can government solve it?" The conservative first asks: "How can we help the individual solve it and should we?"



**Senator Robert Taft, Jr.** (Rep.), Ohio:

One principle is individual freedom to the maximum degree consistent with the freedom of others. Another is equality of opportunity. Another principle is economic freedom as represented by the private-enterprise system.

Also, conservatives believe in a sufficiently strong defense to insure that we can maintain our freedoms and the economic system necessary to them.



**Senator Jesse Helms** (Rep.), North Carolina:

My view of true conservatism is Jeffersonian—the advocacy in the political arena of a society which embraces change, while seeking the implementation of certain moral, economic and cultural values. The miracle of America

has been based on freedom of the individual—a freedom that demands personal responsibility and genuine faith in God in order to survive.



**Senator Roman Hruska** (Rep.), Nebraska:

The conservative philosophy, I like to think, is liberty and freedom of the individual to make decisions. Thus, in government, the more programs and the more regulations we have, then the more we are going to have

proscription of conduct in business and personal choice. All these programs impinge on the individual's freedom of choice, and therefore they impinge on liberty, too.



**Senator James Buckley** (Cons.), New York:

Underlying principles: the primacy of liberty in the political life of America; confidence in private initiatives; hostility to any concentration of power; distrust of government planning and regulation; a commitment to the traditional fiscal virtues; a belief in our system of free enterprise; a subordination of government to the individual, and a rejection of government as an instrument of social manipulation.



**Senator Harry Byrd, Jr.** (Ind.), Virginia:

The word "conservative" comes from the same root as the word "conservation." I believe that is what it's all about: conservation of fundamental principles, of natural resources, of human liberty and dignity and of the taxpayers' hard-earned dollar. Another important element is the idea of limits on power, whether power of big government, big unions or big business.

WAYS IN WHICH STATES SELECT THEIR NATIONAL CONVENTION DELEGATES

PRECINCT CAUCUS SYSTEM

Washington  
Alaska  
Hawaii  
New Mexico  
Colorado  
Minnesota  
Iowa  
Oklahoma  
Mississippi  
South Carolina

CONVENTION SYSTEM\*

Utah  
Arizona  
Wyoming  
North Dakota  
Kansas  
Missouri  
Louisiana  
Virginia  
Delaware  
Maine

PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARY\*\*

Massachusetts, March 2  
Florida, March 9  
North Carolina, March 23  
New York, April 6  
Wisconsin, April 6  
Texas, May 1  
Alabama, May 4  
District of Columbia, May 4  
Indiana, May 4  
Tennessee, May 6  
Connecticut, May 11  
Michigan, May 18  
Arkansas, May 25  
Idaho, May 25  
Kentucky, May 25  
Nevada, May 25  
Oregon, May 25  
Rhode Island, June 1  
Montana, June 1  
South Dakota, June 1  
California, June 8  
Ohio, June 8

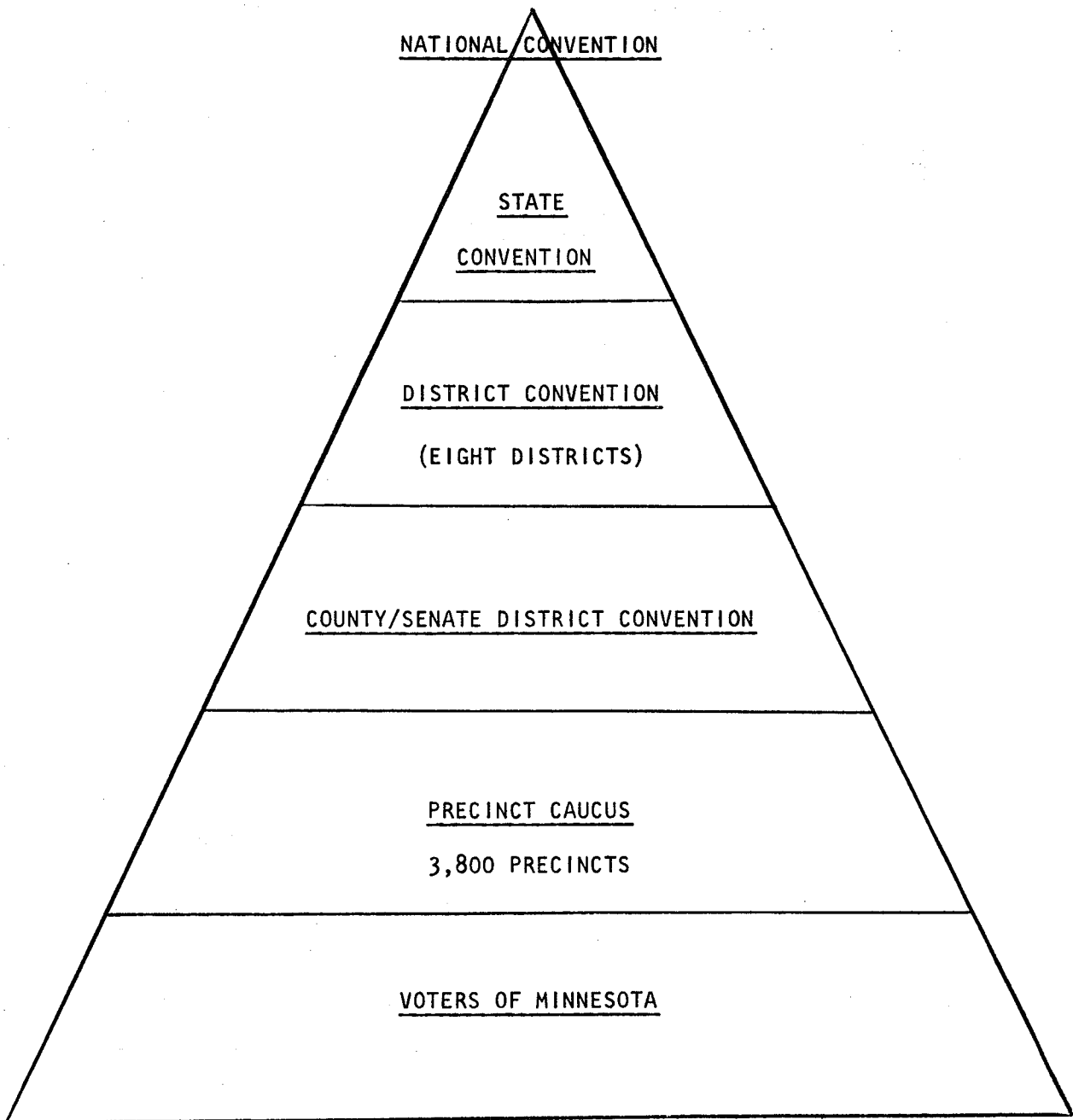
ADVISORY PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY

New Hampshire, February 24  
Vermont, March 2  
Illinois, March 16  
Pennsylvania, April 27  
Georgia, May 4  
Nebraska, May 11  
West Virginia, May 11  
Maryland, May 18  
New Jersey, June 8

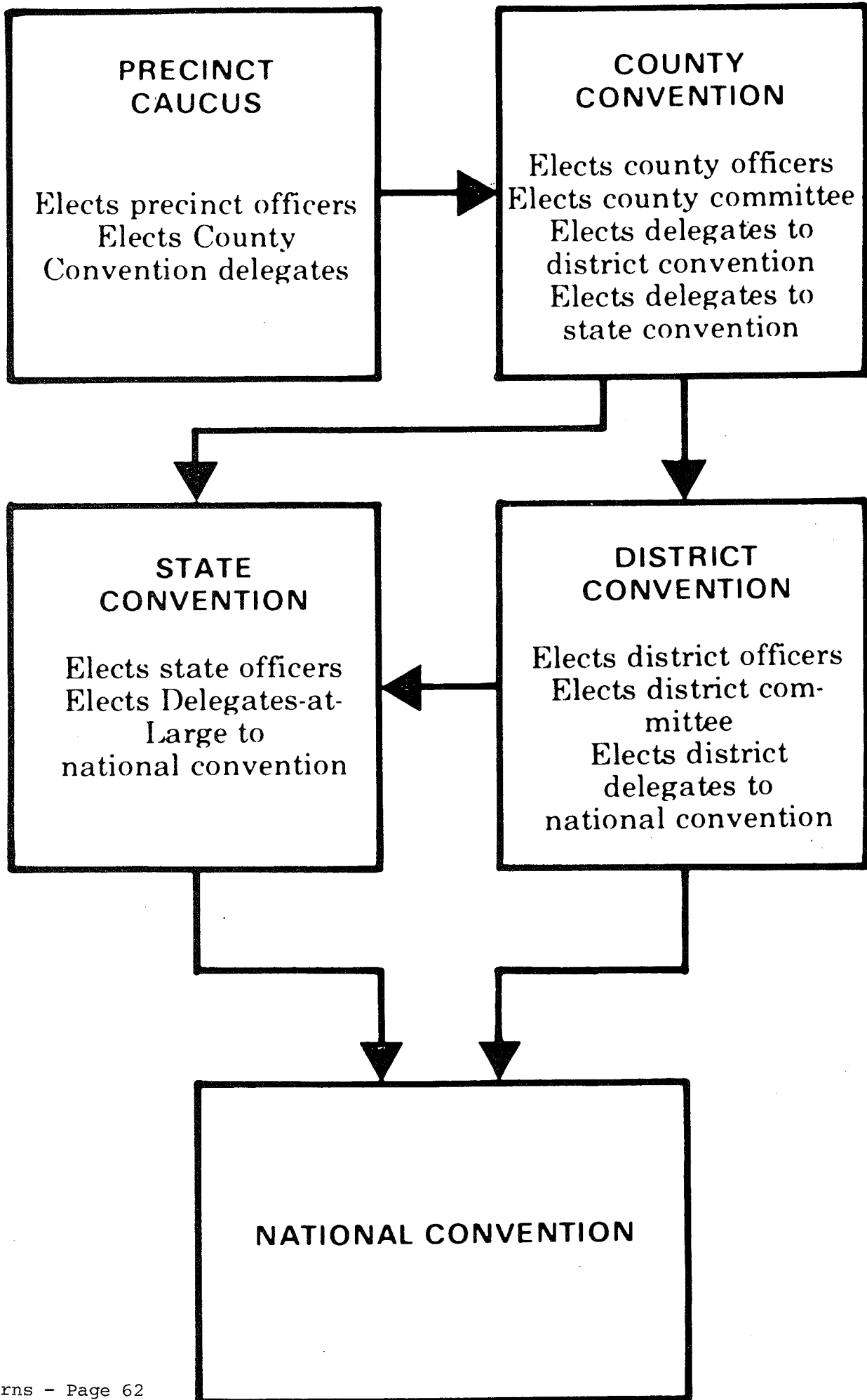
\*States using some form of convention system, usually choose delegates at a county, district, or state convention based upon either their stated preference or a candidate puts up a slate of delegates to be elected.

\*\*States using this system have different ways to insure that the delegates follow the people's preference. Some states bind their delegates on only the first ballot, some bind them until the candidate releases them, some bind them forever, some bind them unless the convention is deadlocked, and some do not strictly bind them at all. There is no uniformity.

Compiled by Urban Concerns Workshops Inc. from data supplied by the Democratic National Committee Research Department and Facts on File 1976 Edition.



Precinct caucuses are the grass roots level of the political process. This pyramid depicts the total process. In Minnesota, delegates begin the selection process at the neighborhood level and decisions flow up from the broad base of voters at the bottom of the pyramid to the national convention at the top.



## POLITICAL PARTY CONVENTION STRUCTURE

### PRECINCT CAUCUSES

Held on the fourth Tuesday of February in even numbered years by both parties. Open to all people in each party. Precinct officers are elected, resolutions are passed concerning issues, party policy and candidates. Delegates to state and district conventions are elected.

### LEGISLATIVE DISTRICT OR WARD-VILLAGE CONVENTIONS

The two parties are organized by different geographic areas in different parts of the state. Each party holds the conventions it wants and needs to endorse candidates, pass resolutions and elect party officers. Attended by delegates elected at the precinct caucus in that area.

### COUNTY CONVENTIONS

The GOP and DFL hold county conventions in the spring of even numbered years attended by delegates elected at the precinct caucus. Delegates and alternates are elected to district and state conventions. Endorsements are made of county wide offices, and for the legislature if legislative district conventions are not held. Resolutions are passed, and the DFL elects county officers. The GOP holds odd numbered year conventions to pass resolutions and elect county officers.

### CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT CONVENTIONS

In the DFL and GOP congressional district conventions are held in the spring of even numbered years. Attended by delegates elected at the county convention. Candidates for congress are endorsed, platform is adopted and resolutions passed. Delegates and alternates are elected to the national convention. DFL elects district officers; GOP holds odd year conventions to revise constitution, pass resolutions and elect district officers.

### STATE CONVENTIONS

In the GOP and DFL a state convention is held in June of the even numbered years. The convention is attended by delegates elected at county conventions. The convention endorses candidates for state-wide offices, adopts platform, and passes resolutions. Delegates are elected to the national convention. DFL elects National committee representatives; GOP holds conventions in odd numbered years to revise party constitution and pass resolutions.

### NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

Held in the summer of the presidential election years. Attended by delegates elected at district and state conventions. Nominates candidates for president and vice-president. Adopts a party platform.

## PARTY GOVERNING COMMITTEE STRUCTURE

Each party has committees that govern the operations of the party at the various levels. These committees carry out party policy between the conventions. This structure parallels the convention structure.

### LEGISLATIVE DISTRICT OR WARD/VILLAGE COMMITTEES

Depending on the organizational structure of the party, a committee for one of these units is organized to conduct the affairs of the party, recruit volunteers and plan the needed conventions.

### COUNTY COMMITTEES

GOP composed of elected and appointed county officers and other members as described by the party constitution. DFL composed of county executive committee and resident members of the State Central Committee. This committee recruits, trains and motivates people for the county wide programs of the party, governs party affairs in the county, and organizes precinct caucuses, county conventions and meetings.

### DISTRICT COMMITTEES

GOP composed of district officers, and county chairmen and chairwomen, or ward and village chairmen and chairwomen. DFL composed of district officers plus all State Central members in the district. Conducts congressional campaigns and manages the party affairs for the district. Helps the county organizations and plans the convention.

### STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

GOP composed of state party officers, state elected officials, District chairman and chairwoman, county chairman and chairwoman, plus additional representatives from the districts appointed by GOP vote. DFL composed of state DFL officials and representatives from the counties apportioned by last DFL vote. The committees are the governing bodies of the state parties and coordinate all state campaigns and activities.

### NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Composed of a National Committeeman and National Committeewoman from each state, and the National Party Officers. This committee directs the national campaigns and coordinates the efforts of Senatorial and Congressional campaigns. The National Committee representatives from the states serve as liaisons between the National Committee and the State Central Committees.

## WHAT IS A PRECINCT CAUCUS?

The precinct is the smallest geographic political unit. The caucus is the first step on the political ladder. It is the only occasion when all people of the same political party have the opportunity to express themselves in a meaningful way on party issues, candidates, party officers and delegates.

## WHO IS ELIGIBLE TO ATTEND?

Any resident of the precinct who will be 18 by the next state general election, has supported the party's candidates in the past, or who intends to in the next election, and is in general agreement with the principles of the party.

## WHEN IS THE PRECINCT CAUCUS HELD?

Precinct caucuses are held the fourth Tuesday of February in every even numbered year. Thus they are held early in the same year as state wide and national elections.

## WHERE IS THE PRECINCT CAUCUS HELD?

The Precinct caucus announcements list the time and place of the caucus and are published in the local newspapers two weeks before the caucus. In addition to the notice of the caucus, another notice must be posted for six days before the caucus at the caucus location. Caucuses are usually held at the polling place for the precinct, in schools or community centers. Several caucuses may be held in the same building - be sure you are at the right one!

## WHY PRECINCT CAUCUSES?

The precinct caucuses are the basis for the two party system. The caucus insures that the two parties are open to all people, and exclude no people or groups. Citizens can make their voice heard on any issue of any size, and discuss and comment on candidates for all offices. Decisions concerning party officers, candidates and platforms start at the precinct level.

## WHAT IS DONE AT A PRECINCT CAUCUS?

The people in each precinct elect delegates to represent them at the party conventions. The resolutions are adopted reflecting the will of the people present, party officers for the precinct are elected, and candidates for all offices may be endorsed or supported. Any eligible person attending the caucus may be elected a delegate, alternate or party officer. Any person may also present a resolution.

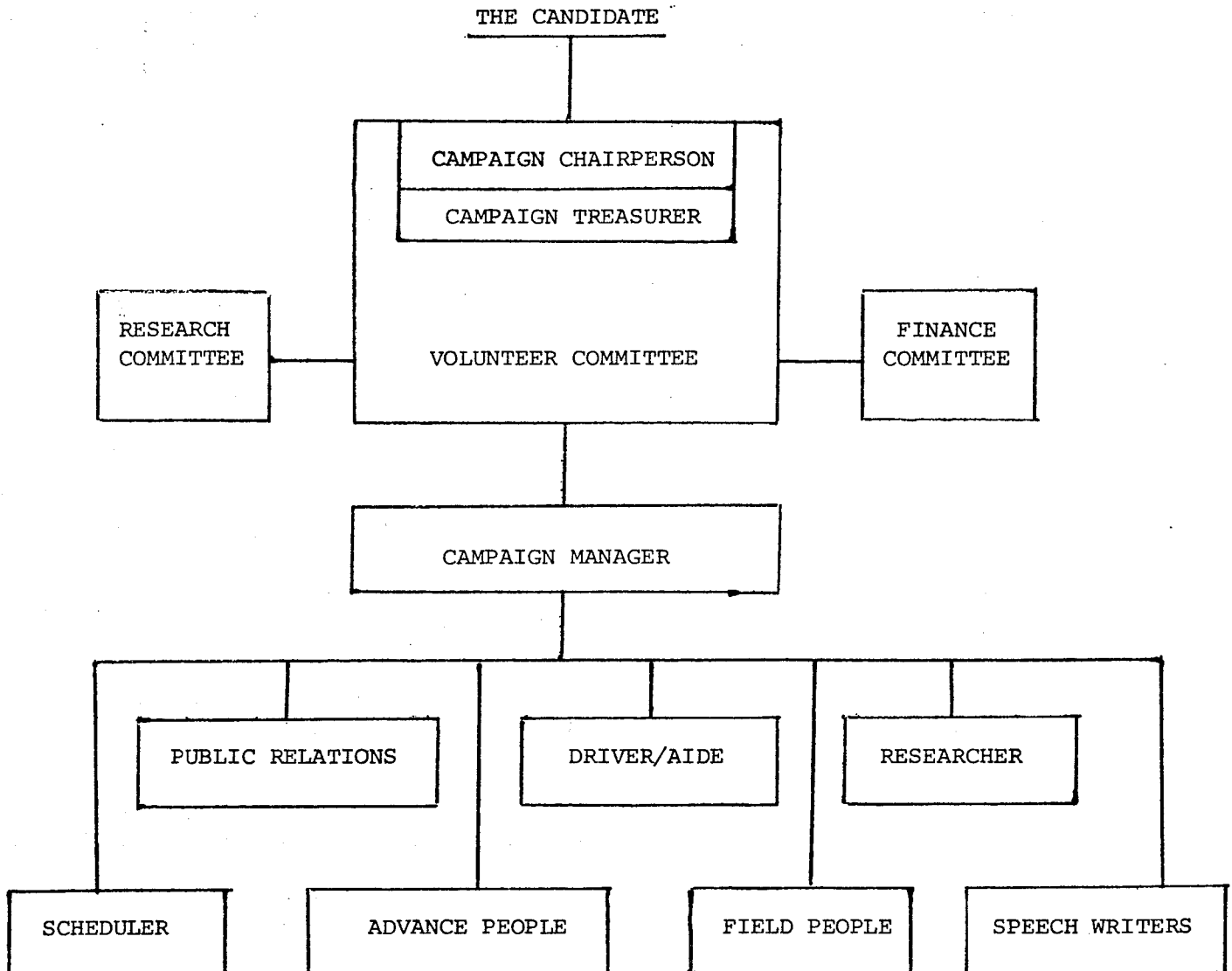
## MOCK CAUCUS AGENDA

- I. Welcome and Call to Order by Temporary Caucus Convener
- II. Explanation of Caucus Rules
- III. Nomination and Election of Permanent Caucus Convener  
(Chairman)
- IV. Nomination and Election of Caucus Secretary
- V. Appointment of Parliamentarian
- VI. Nomination and Election of Precinct Officers
- VII. Nomination and Election of Delegates and Alternates
- VIII. Discussion and Adoption of Resolutions
- IX. Adjournment

Urban Concerns Workshops, Inc.



EXAMPLE OF A CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION



The size of the campaign organization and the staff will vary greatly, depending upon the office being sought, the amount of money in the campaign, and the specific needs of the candidate. This structure is typical of a statewide campaign.

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## METHODS OF CAMPAIGNING

PUBLIC APPEARANCE: Candidates have to get out and meet the people, the best way to do this is by making appearances at such things as parades, meet the candidates meetings, public gatherings, picnics, festivals, county fairs, conventions, etc.

DOOR TO DOOR: This is usually used in a local race. Candidates actually go out knocking on doors and talking to people in their homes or apartments. This is by far the most personal type of campaigning.

COFFEE PARTIES: Some one in the neighborhood will get a group of neighbors together to meet the candidate. This way the candidate does not waste time going from house to house, instead the neighbors come to him.

STREET CORNERS: A candidate running in a metropolitan area may just stand on a street corner and meet people as they pass by. A busy intersection is usually a very good spot to meet a lot of people and hand out literature or buttons.

PLANT GATES: The candidate meets workers as they are going into or coming out of the plant where they work. This is particularly effective at large plants.

LITERATURE DROPS: A candidate's workers will take materials to shopping centers, fairs, etc. to pass out to people. They may also take it from house to house and leave it in the mail boxes.

DIRECT MAIL: This is a very expensive method because of the cost of postage. Usually it is only done in the most important races and usually only when some other information is being sent along.

PAID ADVERTISEMENTS: Depending upon the campaign budget, the candidate may run TV and radio spots, buy space in newspapers and magazines, etc. Radio and TV spots are kept very short and don't really tell much about the candidate. They are used mostly for name recognition and to get out the vote. Newspaper ads may tell more about the candidate and the candidate's family or list people who are supporting the candidate.

PRESS CONFERENCES: A major source of free publicity is on the news. Candidates hold as many press conferences as they can in order to keep their name and face in front of the public

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR: A candidate may write a letter to the editor to explain his position or to respond to some statement made about him. The candidate's friends may organize a letter writing campaign to support him.

TELEPHONE CALLING: Candidates may organize a calling campaign so that their volunteers will call all the potential voters and tell them a little bit about the candidate.

YARDSIGNS: These are particularly effective along well traveled routes. They also show the neighbors who is supporting whom.

BUYING BILLBOARDS AND SPACE ON BUSES: Again, these are probably more effective in the urban areas where lots of people will see them. They are used for name recognition and party identification.

CAR CARAVANS: This is a way to generate enthusiasm, planned in advance people know they are coming through and can watch for them. They are also usually geared to the media.

RALLIES: Usually a political rally serves two purposes: one is to stir up enthusiasm and the second is to raise money. Usually a big name speaker is invited to help the local candidate. Groups of candidates may rally together in order to use the coat tail effect of one candidate for another.

BUTTONS, BADGES, BUMPER STICKERS, POSTERS, PLACARDS, BALLOONS, HATS, ETC.: All of these "traditional" symbols of the campaign are designed to keep the spirit of the campaign going and to have people identify with the candidate.

OTHERS: The list of other methods of campaigning is endless. One of the most valuable people on the candidate's staff is his media person who can think up endless ways to get the candidate before the public and the press. Examples of the varied and unique forms of campaigning are:

Walking: A number of candidates have been very successful in taking their campaigns to the people. A candidate will walk from one end of the state to the other or through the entire district. This is both a way to meet people and also to get lots of local press. Nightly news programs like to make progress reports and follow walkers.

Working with the people: Some candidates like to mix in with the people on their jobs and find out what they are doing. So a candidate will be a farmer for a day, or work in a factory for a day, or be a milkman for a day, etc. This is usually a media event as well as a way for the candidate to identify with the working men and women of this country.

Rye Grass Signs: This is a little different concept. In the early spring rye grass is planted in open fields or along freeways. The grass is planted in such a way as to spell out a candidate's name. Then in the fall, as the election approaches, the rye grass comes up and the candidate's name appears as if by magic.

Good Deeds: A candidate's workers will go through a parking lot at a football game and wash everyone's car windows. Then they will leave a little sign under the windshield wiper saying, "This window was washed by \_\_\_\_\_ campaign volunteers. Please vote for \_\_\_\_\_ on election day."

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## SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

When people try to solve problems at the school or community level, there are certain procedures that, when followed, will achieve the greatest effectiveness. These steps are outlined below:

- I. Identification
  - a. The problem must be identified and defined.
  - b. It should be determined how the situation got the way it is.
  - c. It should be determined who is affected by the situation both favorably and unfavorably.
- II. Determining what should be done about the problem
  - a. All possible solutions to the problem should be determined.
  - b. The possible solutions must be researched completely.
  - c. The best possible solution should be chosen.
- III. Locating the source of authority
  - a. It should be determined who has allowed the problems to come into existence.
  - b. It should be determined who has the authority to change the situation.
  - c. The best possible solution should be chosen.
- IV. Gaining the support for your proposal
  - a. Public meetings can be held to dramatize the problem and create support.
  - b. Other community groups can be approached to lend their support.
  - c. Community leaders can be approached to lend their support.
  - d. Petition campaigns can be started.
  - e. The mass media can be used, both as news and paid advertising.
  - f. Demonstrations, etc., have a definite limited value.
- V. Influencing policy makers
  - a. Policy makers are impressed with thorough research, logical proposals presented in a creative manner.
  - b. Policy makers should be made aware of the support for your proposal.
  - c. Opposition arguments must be anticipated and countered.
  - d. You can talk to friends of the policy maker and ask them to help you.
  - e. Letter writing campaigns and petitions are helpful.
- VI. Results
  - a. One result may be that you achieve your goals.
  - b. You may have to compromise with others to get part of your goals.
  - c. You may get nothing, then you will have to determine why you did not succeed, and what you can do differently and better the next time, then try again!

## FORMS OF CITY GOVERNMENT

There are three principal forms of city government in the United States today: the mayor-council, commission, and council-manager forms.

### Mayor-Council Form

The mayor-council form is the oldest and the most widely used type. It features a council to pass the laws (or ordinances) and a mayor to enforce them. The council usually consists of five, seven, or nine councilmen, but there are more in many larger cities. Chicago, for example, has the largest council with fifty members.

The city's voters nearly always elect the councilmen (sometimes called aldermen). Their terms in office vary from one to four years. They are usually elected from wards (or districts) within the city, but the trend today is toward election at-large (from the entire city).

The mayor is elected by the voters, too — usually for the same term of office as the councilmen. His duties include presiding over council meetings, voting in cases of tie, and recommending and vetoing ordinances. In almost all cities, a mayor's veto can be overridden by a two-thirds vote of the council.

The mayor-council form is either the strong-mayor or weak-mayor type, depending on the powers of the mayor. In the strong-mayor type, the mayor heads the city administration, usually has the power to hire and fire city employees, prepares the city's budget, and has other powers to conduct the city's business. The mayor's actions are, however, usually subject to council approval and control.

The mayor has much less power in the weak-mayor type. Sometimes he does not have veto power and can not appoint or dismiss city officials. Often his role is chiefly ceremonial.

The larger mayor-council cities in the United States are almost all of the strong-mayor type. The strong-mayor plan helps to solve the problems of leadership, but it is often criticized for being complicated and difficult to understand by the average citizen.

### Commission Form

This form of city government is rather simple and uncomplicated. Three, five, or seven persons (usually five) are elected "commissioners". Together they form the city council; individually they are the heads of various departments of the city administration. In other words, both executive and legislative powers are centered in the one body.

One of the commissioners is designated mayor by the voters in some cities, by the commissioners themselves in others. Along with his duties as a commissioner, the mayor presides over council meetings and represents the city on ceremonial occasions. He seldom has any more authority than his five fellow commissioners.

## Council-Manager Form

The council-manager form is really a modification of the mayor-council form. Essentially, it consists of a strong council and a weak mayor with a city manager appointed by the council. The manager is usually for an indefinite term, is responsible for city administration, and is held accountable by the council at all times. This form, then, leaves the responsibility of policy-making in the hands of the elected councilmen. It places the responsibility for administration in the hands of a nonpartisan expert.

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### Strong Mayor-Council Plan

- The Voters Elect .....1. Municipal Judges  
2. City Council: the City Council prepares a budget, hires a city clerk, grants franchises, and draws local laws.  
3. Mayor: The mayor appoints directors, commissioners, and boards to administer Police, Fire, Public Works, Civil Service, Public Welfare and Health, Assessments, Utilities and Transportation.
- The Voters sometimes elect, the mayor sometimes appoints: Finances and Education

### Weak Mayor-Council Plan

- The Voters Elect.....1. Mayor  
2. City Council  
3. Finance Officer  
4. Other elected officials
- Acts and appointments must be approved by the council.

### Commission Plan

- The Voters Elect.....1. Board of Commissioners which acts as a city council. Each Commissioner also heads one of the Departments of the city government (e.g. Fire, Police, Public Works, Public Welfare, Finance). One commissioner is designated to act as Mayor.

### Council-Manager Plan

- The Voters Elect.....1. City Council - The Council employs a professionally trained City Manager who administers the various city departments.  
2. Mayor (optional)

## THE METROPOLITAN COUNCIL

### Purpose:

To coordinate the planning and development of the Twin Cities Metropolitan area.

### Jurisdiction:

Seven County Area - Anoka, Carver, Dakota, Hennepin, Ramsey, Scott, and Washington counties.

### 17 Members Appointed by Governor:

One Chairman (serves at Governor's pleasure); sixteen District Representatives (4 - year terms).

### Responsibilities:

Prepares Metropolitan Development Guide (regional plan), including policy plans for several regional commissions. Review capital budget, capital improvement programs, and development programs of several regional commissions. Reviews comprehensive plans of local governments. Reviews proposal projects for "metropolitan significance" impact. Reviews capital improvement plans of Metropolitan Area school districts.

The Metropolitan Council was created in 1967 by the Minnesota State Legislature to coordinate planning and development in the Twin Cities Metropolitan area.

The Council was born out of a recognition by the Legislature that, first, there were a number of urgent, region-wide problems needing solutions and, second, that no existing governmental unit had a broad enough perspective or capability to forge a reasonable valid consensus of what ought to be done to provide these answers.

The Legislature, in creating the Council, created a regional agency, but one with carefully defined duties. The Legislature intended that the Council would, in reality, make existing units of local government stronger and more effective.

Unlike general-purpose local governmental units, the Council can not pass codes or ordinances, nor does it have zoning powers. Neither can it set its own property tax levy for operating purposes. On the other hand, the Council, beginning in mid-1980, can require local governments to modify their comprehensive plans so they are consistent with "metropolitan systems", and also presently reviews requests for federal and state aid. It also mediates disputes between local governmental units.

METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ORGANIZATION

Metropolitan Council Committees:

Human Resource Committee  
Physical Development Committee  
Personnel and Work Program Committee

Metropolitan Commissions:

Metropolitan Waste Control Commission  
Metropolitan Transit Commission  
Metropolitan Parks & Open Space Commission

Metropolitan Advisory Boards:

Metropolitan Health Board  
Metropolitan Housing and Redevelopment  
    Authority Advisory Committee  
Transportation Advisory Board  
Communications Advisory Committee  
Criminal Justice Advisory Committee  
Aging Advisory Committee  
Local Officials Advisory Committee  
Metropolitan Land Use Advisory Committee  
Modest Cost Housing Advisory Committee  
Solid and Hazardous Waste Disposal Committee

Council Members - John Boland, North St. Paul - Chairman

1. John J. Costello, St. Paul
2. Todd J. Lefko, St. Paul
3. Charles L. Rafferty, St. Paul
4. Stanley B. Kegler, Minneapolis
5. George Dahlvang, Minneapolis
6. Joan Campbell, Minneapolis
7. Gladys S. Brooks, Minneapolis
8. Alton J. Gasper, Minneapolis
9. Robert L. Hoffman, Bloomington
10. Betty Kane, Golden Valley
11. Robert Short, Edina
12. Charles R. Weaver, Anoka
13. Marcia Bennett, Columbia Heights
14. Opal M. Petersen, Stillwater
15. Gary Pagel, West St. Paul
16. Kingsley H. Murphy, Jr., Orono



## ISSUES

### I. Criminal Justice

- A. Capital Punishment
- B. Mandatory Sentencing
- C. Juvenile Treatment

### II. Trust in Government

### III. Environment

- A. Energy
- B. Land Use

We will be considering these issues during the program. Keep the following questions in mind as you read through the articles in this section. The articles should prepare you for the discussions we will conduct on these issues.

## QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

### I. Criminal Justice

#### A. Capital Punishment

1. Does society have the right to take someone's life?
2. Should there be a death penalty for certain crimes?
3. Should a person have a choice between life imprisonment and death?
4. Is capital punishment a deterrent to crime?

#### B. Sentencing

1. What are some of the problems created by indeterminant sentencing?
2. Would mandatory sentencing do away with the problems of indeterminant sentencing? Would it create any new problems?
3. Should state and federal statutes be rewritten so that there is a specific sentence for each crime?

#### C. Juvenile Treatment

1. Should minors who commit serious or violent crimes be treated any different than minors who commit lesser crimes?
2. Should all criminals, regardless of age, be treated in the same way?
3. What are some possible results, both positive and negative, of juveniles being treated in the same way as adult criminals.

### II. Trust in Government

- A. What aspects of government do people in this country today, including you, tend to distrust?
- B. What reasons are there for this distrust?
- C. What are some possible ways of solving this problem of distrust in government?
- D. Should candidates for public office receive public funds (your tax dollar) for their campaigns?
- E. Does public campaign funding have positive or negative effects on campaigns and on public confidence in government?
- F. Who is a legitimate candidate for public funding (nudist, grandmother, abortion spokesman, anybody)?
- G. Should there be a limit on the amount of money a candidate can spend for campaigns?

### III. Environment

#### A. Energy

1. What can be done about the rising cost of gasoline?
2. How do we become less dependent upon foreign oil?
3. What are some alternative forms of energy? Which should be developed? Which should not?
4. Should oil companies be able to control all aspects of the business: drilling, refining, transportation, and distributing?
5. What can you do individually to conserve energy?

#### B. Land Use

1. Who should be responsible for land use planning: local, regional, state, or federal government?
2. What are some of the land use problems of your town or area? How might these problems be solved?
3. What should be done when environmental concerns come into conflict with economic or energy policies?

Consider: Reserve Mining question  
Meeker County Power Line Dispute  
Disposal for Nuclear Waste

# BRING BACK THE DEATH PENALTY?

**Yes—"The Only Penalty Available That Could Possibly Deter"**



**Interview With  
Ernest van den Haag**  
Psychoanalyst and  
Adjunct Professor,  
New York University

**Q** Professor van den Haag, why do you favor the use of the death penalty?

**A** For certain kinds of crimes it is indispensable.

Thus: The federal prisons now have custody of a man sentenced to life imprisonment who, since he has been in prison, has committed three more murders on three separate occasions—both of prison guards and inmates. There is no further punishment that he can receive. In effect, he has a license to murder.

Take another case: When a man is threatened with life imprisonment for a crime he has already committed, what reason has he not to kill the arresting officer in an attempt to escape? His punishment would be the same.

In short, there are many cases where the death penalty is the only penalty available that could possibly deter.

I'll go a step further. I hold life sacred. Because I hold it sacred, I feel that anyone who takes someone else's life should know that thereby he forsakes his own and does not just suffer an inconvenience about being put into prison for some time.

**Q** Could the same effect be achieved by putting the criminal in prison for life?

**A** At present, "life imprisonment" means anything from six months—after which the parole board in Florida can release the man—to 12 years in some States. But even if it were real life imprisonment, its deterrent effect will never be as great as that of the death penalty. The death penalty is the only actually irrevocable penalty. Because of that, it is the one that people fear most. And because it is feared most, it is the one that is most likely to deter.

**Q** Authorities seem to differ as to whether the death sentence really does deter crime—

**A** Usually the statistics quoted were compiled more than 10 years ago and seem to indicate that the absence or presence of the death penalty made no difference in murder rates.

However, in the last 10 years there have been additional investigations. The results indicate, according to Isaac Ehrlich's recent article in the *American Economic Review*: Over the period 1933 to 1969, "an additional execution per year . . . may have resulted on the average in seven or eight fewer murders."

In New York in the last six years, the murder rate went up by 60 per cent. Previous to the abolition of the death

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**No—"Who Is to Decide Who Should Live and Who Should Die?"**



**Interview With  
Louis B. Schwartz**  
Professor of Law,  
University of  
Pennsylvania

**Q** Professor Schwartz, why do you oppose the death penalty?

**A** For a number of reasons. In the first place, mistakes do occur in our trial system. And, if the victim of a mistake has been executed, that mistake is irremediable.

For example: I myself once represented a man who had been frightened into confessing a murder. He was afraid he'd get the electric chair if he stood trial. So he pleaded guilty and got life imprisonment. Twelve years later I was able to prove he was innocent. That would have been too late if he had been executed.

In the second place—and, for me, very important—the death penalty, rarely administered as it is, distorts the whole penal system. It makes the criminal procedure so complex that it turns the public off.

**Q** How does it do that?

**A** People are so reluctant to administer the death penalty until every last doubt is eliminated that the procedural law gets encumbered with a lot of technical rules of evidence. You not only get this in the trial, but you get habeas corpus proceedings after the trial.

This highly technical procedure is applied not only to capital cases but to other criminal cases as well. So it makes it hard to convict anybody.

I believe the death penalty actually does more harm to security in this country than it does good. Without it, we would be safer from criminals than with it.

**Q** Do you think the death penalty is a deterrent to crime?

**A** The evidence is inconclusive about that.

The best studies I know, done by Thorsten Sellin, Marvin Wolfgang and their students at the University of Pennsylvania, would indicate that there is no deterrent effect. This study compared States using the death penalty with next-door States that did not use it. They also compared the homicide rates in the same State during periods when it used the death penalty and when it did not. And they found no statistical differences in homicide rates—with or without the death penalty.

I agree that there may be cases where a robber will not shoot because he doesn't want to risk "the hot seat." But, in my opinion, there are also situations where the death penalty stimulates a criminal to kill. I'm talking about cases, for instance, where a kidnaper decides to kill the only witness who could identify him, or where witnesses or informers get

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## INTERVIEW WITH MR. VAN DEN HAAG

[continued from preceding page]

penalty, about 80 per cent of all murders committed in New York were so-called crimes of passion, defined as crimes in which the victim and the murderer were in some way involved with each other. Right now, only 50 per cent of all murders in New York are crimes of passion.

**Q** How do you interpret those figures?

**A** As long as the death penalty existed, largely only people in the grip of passion could not be deterred by the threat of the death penalty. Now that there's no death penalty, people who previously were deterred—who are not in the grip of passion—are no longer deterred from committing murder for the sake of gain. Murder is no longer an irrational act, least of all for juveniles for whom it means at most a few months of inconvenience.

Even if you assume the evidence for the deterrent effect of the death penalty is not clear—I make this point in my book "Punishing Criminals"—you have two risks. Risk 1: If you impose the death penalty and it doesn't have an additional deterrent effect, you have possibly lost the life of a convicted murderer without adding to deterrence and thereby sparing future victims. Risk 2: If you fail to execute the convicted murderer and execution would have had an additional deterrent effect, you have failed to spare the lives of a number of future victims.

Between the two risks, I'd much rather execute the convicted murderer than risk the lives of innocent people who could have been saved.

**Q** You noted that the death penalty is irrevocable once it is imposed. Does this make death such a different penalty that it should not be used?

**A** It makes it a different penalty. This is why it should be used when the crime is different—so heinous and socially dangerous to call for this extreme measure. When you kill a man with premeditation, you do something very different from stealing from him. I think the punishment should be appropriate. I favor the death penalty as a matter of justice and human dignity even apart from deterrence. The penalty must be appropriate to the seriousness of the crime.

### "WE HAVE CHEAPENED HUMAN LIFE"—

**Q** Can you elaborate on your statement that the penalty should match the seriousness of the crime?

**A** Our system of punishment is based not just on deterrence but also on what is called "justice"—namely, that we feel a man who has committed a crime must be punished in proportion to the seriousness of the crime. Since the crime that takes a life is irrevocable, so must be the punishment.

All religions that I'm aware of feel that human life is sacred and that its sacredness must be enforced by depriving of life anyone who deprives another person of life. Once we make it clear to a person that if he deprives someone else of life he will suffer only minor inconvenience, we have cheapened human life. We are at that point today.

**Q** Some argue that capital punishment tends to brutalize and degrade society. Do you agree?

**A** Many of the same people also argue that the death penalty is legalized murder because it inflicts on the criminal the same situation that he inflicted on his victim. Yet most punishments inflict on the criminal what he inflicted on the victim. The difference between the punishment and the crime is that one is a legal measure and the other is not.

As for brutalizing, I think that people are more brutalized by their daily TV fare. At any rate, people are not so much brutalized by punishment as they are brutalized by our failure to seriously punish brutal acts.

## INTERVIEW WITH MR. SCHWARTZ

[continued from preceding page]

wiped out because the criminal says: "If I'm convicted, I'm going to get the chair anyway, and I'm safer if I kill him."

So if the death penalty is not demonstrably helpful in saving innocent lives, I don't think we ought to use it—especially considering the risk of mistakes.

**Q** Are there no criminals who commit crimes so heinous that they ought to be executed for society's safety?

**A** My view is that society is not well enough organized to make a list of those people who ought to be executed. Sometimes I think if I were permitted to make up the list of those to be executed I wouldn't mind eliminating some people. But the list that society or the Government might make would probably not be the same as my list. Who is to decide who should live and who should die?

Now we're getting to the essential basis of what the Supreme Court must decide. This is whether the processes for choosing the ones to be killed are inevitably irrational, arbitrary and capricious.

**Q** Do you think this element of arbitrariness or capriciousness can ever be eliminated—even by making the death penalty mandatory for certain crimes, as many States have?

**A** No, I don't. No society has ever been able to make the death-penalty system operate fairly, even by making it mandatory. Look at the British system, which operated for a century with mandatory death penalties. They found juries just wouldn't convict in many cases where the conviction meant execution. And even if the death penalty was imposed, the Home Office eventually decided who would actually be killed by granting or withholding clemency.

Taking human nature as it is, I know of no way of administering a death penalty which would be fair. Not every problem has a solution, you know—and I think this is one of those insoluble problems.

**Q** Have we given the death penalty a chance to prove its deterrent effect? It hasn't been applied in this country in recent years—

**A** Not just in recent years. Use of the death penalty has been declining for decades. In 1933, there were something like 233 people executed in the United States. Since then, the figures have been going down steadily. And, of course, there haven't been any executions since 1967 because of the litigation over the death penalty's legality. But even before that, the American public was turning against the death penalty.

If you take a poll, you find people overwhelmingly in favor of the death penalty. But when you ask a person to sit on a jury and vote to execute a defendant, you find a great reluctance—increasingly so in the modern era.

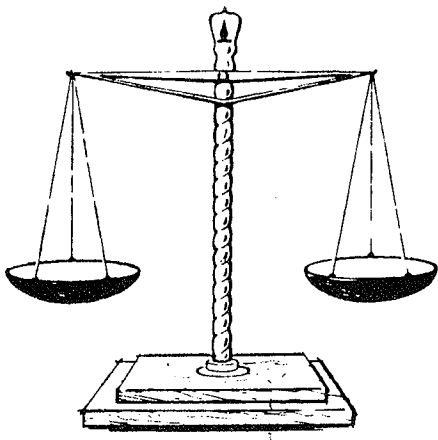
### IF JUDGES AND JURIES HAD TO KILL—

**Q** It has been suggested that jurors and judges who impose a death penalty be required to push the buttons that would carry out the execution—

**A** Of course, society would reject that at once. You couldn't get 12 or 13 people who would do it. They may be willing to vote for it to be done, but they don't want to be a part of it. If you really want to make execution a deterrent, make it public—put it on TV—so people can see what it can be like if they kill someone. But, of course, we won't do that. We keep it hidden away from ourselves.

**Q** Do you regard it as immoral to execute a criminal?

**A** I steer away from that question because I know people's views on the morality of it are varied—and almost unchangeable. I'm a pragmatist. I just don't think it can be made fair or workable.



# The Controversy Over Mandatory Sentences

*He Who Decides a Case Without Hearing the Other Side . . . Tho He Decide Justly, Cannot Be Considered Just—SENECA*

## FOREWORD=

OVER THE PAST decade few, if any, subjects have preoccupied the American public more consistently than that of violent crime and what steps should be taken by government as well as private citizens to bring it under control.

At the heart of the problem, many authorities agree, is the question of sentencing policy followed by the various trial court systems throughout the country. U.S. criminal justice, at both the Federal and State levels, has for some years been strongly oriented toward a philosophy which in many jurisdictions has tended to stress the rehabilitation of offenders rather than their deterrence by punishment. A growing controversy has emerged within the past few years over efforts to curtail violent crime through major reassessment and revision of present sentencing practices and concepts. Feeding the controversy have been crime statistics which reflect that an exceptionally high proportion of crimes appear to be committed by repeat offenders, frequently individuals on probation or parole or under suspended sentence from previous similar offenses.

In the current 94th Congress, much of the debate over pending omnibus legislation to recodify and revise the Federal body of criminal laws (see page 201) has arisen over questions of sentencing policy. Should criminal sentences be concerned primarily with the rehabilitation of the offender? With protecting the public against him? With deterring others from similar offenses? With punishment alone? Should convicted offenders be imprisoned—if that sentencing option is chosen by the court—for a definite period of time, or for an indeterminate period with release dependent upon rehabilitative progress? Should certain offenses or repeat offenders be subject to automatic mandatory prison sentences or should courts possess flexibility to determine appropriate penalties within broader parameters?

Strong public concern over the crime problem has

resulted in recent years in the adoption by a number of States of criminal statutes imposing or expanding mandatory prison sentences for certain offenses, most commonly those involving violence or the threat of violence. Representative statistics presently in force at the State level are described in the article on page 200.

At the Federal level, a growing inclination to reexamine present sentencing policy and to consider more rigorous anti-crime measures, including mandatory sentencing, has been similarly evident. In his 1975 crime message to the Congress, President Ford called for broader use of mandatory sentences for certain offenses. Similarly, a number of bills pending in the current Congress (see page 201) call for broader use of the mandatory sentence. And while such bills are constitutionally limited to those offenses falling under Federal jurisdiction, an objective of many of them is to spur State and local jurisdictions to adopt similar statutes.

Notwithstanding the frequent charge that much of the crime problem is attributable to lenient courts or individual judges, there is growing awareness that the problem is essentially a legislative one—that present sentencing policy operates within limits prescribed by statutory law, and that changes, if any, are a legislative responsibility.

Recent State actions, and those proposals pending for further mandatory sentencing action at both Federal and State levels, have generated an intensive and growing controversy. The soundness of the basic rationale behind mandatory sentencing—stated simply, a guaranteed penalty for a proven crime—is sharply contested by many organizations and individuals involved in the criminal justice system. As will be seen in this month's Pro & Con discussion, beginning on page 202, a major array of arguments on both sides of the question has already emerged, and is expected to characterize the further debate on this highly complex subject as it develops in the period ahead.

by Hon. Sam Steiger

United States Representative, Arizona, Republican

*From a speech presented on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives on April 1, 1976.*

ONE OF THE NATIONAL problems the American people are frustrated about is the crime problem. They are naturally unhappy that there is so much of it, and that the rates have been going up since the end of World War II. What really frustrates them, however, is the perception that our criminal justice system, as presently administered, not only fails to solve the crime problem or keep it from growing bigger, but that it actually promotes and sustains the problem.

I remember once reading that the criminologist—and let us not forget that criminology, indeed sociology in general, is a relatively new discipline—that the criminologist naturally tends to be more concerned about the criminal, and identified with him, than he is about the criminal's victims. The criminal—especially the criminal who is caught and becomes a part of the justice process—is the fellow who is the object of the criminologist's study. Most criminologists, during the past 30 or 40 years, have preached the doctrine of rehabilitation, which they generally insist is the natural opposite of vengeance. They have not hesitated to blast as stupid and reactionary any call for a toughening of the laws or procedures governing the treatment of offenders.

The criminologists and their supporters have been successful in America to an extraordinary extent. Many key judiciary decisions have been influenced by the general philosophical climate these people have created, if not always by specific ideological points. These decisions, along with the fact that our judges are themselves not immune from the prevailing attitudes of the academics, have resulted in an almost intolerable situation in many areas of America today.

How often have we read the newspaper accounts—or heard it directly from our friends or acquaintances—of the case where the perpetrator of a crime was caught redhanded, with no question about guilt, but somehow was never brought to trial? Moreover, how often do we read or hear about the case where the accused stood trial, was duly convicted, and then was granted a suspended sentence or probation? And then, how often do we read or hear about the crime committed by a person on probation or who has had a felony sentence suspended?

A great part of the reason for so many suspended sentences and such frequent granting of probation appears to stem from the success, within the American judiciary, of the offender treatment philosophy that says: "The only or major purpose of a penal system is rehabilitation." Judges who believe this—and they seem to be in the great majority—are reluctant to send a man to an overcrowded prison when there are no signs that any of the prisoner rehabilitation efforts of the past 40 or 50 years have had any good effect.

Where does all this leave the public? It leaves them with the same bunch of thugs turned loose on them again and again. And it leaves them very sour on the American criminal justice system. Most citizens believe, and rightly so, that a fundamental purpose of government is the provision of some protection for the law-abiding public.

Maybe the trouble lies in the dominant correctional philosophy itself. Maybe the rehabilitation of the criminal should not be the major goal of a penal system. Maybe the major goal should be the welfare of the public through the prevention of crime, with offender rehabilitation a secondary concern.

Now, it is apparent that we have had very little success at criminal rehabilitation—either in the prisons or in the elaborate probation systems we have developed, along with the halfway houses, the work-release programs—all of those fine-sounding concepts. I think it is time we admit we just do not know how to rehabilitate a criminal and start thinking about the criminal's victims for a change. If we do this, we can immediately see that the great benefit of a term of imprisonment is that it gets that criminal out of circulation for a period of time and puts him where he cannot continue to rob and kill for the duration of that time.

If the courts are too slow in perceiving the truth of the present situation and continue to be guided by discredited sentiments, I think there is no alternative left to lawmakers but to turn to mandatory penalties. Understand me, I would prefer to leave sentencing to judicial discretion; I recognize that there are certain problems with shackling the judges in this regard. However, I think the courts have left us no alternative.

The House Judiciary Committee has been considering a far-reaching bill providing for additional Federal interference into firearm commerce, with many of the amendments offered in committee having a great impact on the ability of private individuals to buy and transfer certain types of guns. The only really good feature of the legislation the committee has been considering is a provision making it mandatory that anybody convicted of using a gun in committing a Federal felony should go to jail for at least one year.

A number of other proposals have been introduced, in both Houses, which would reinstate mandatory penalties for certain narcotics trafficking offenses. Additionally, the principal bills for the reform of the Federal criminal code either have such provisions, or amendments have been offered to this effect.

Of course, the various proposals I mentioned are aimed at only the Federal criminal jurisdiction and consequently would have a very limited direct impact on the general national problem. However, as we all know, the Federal Government and Federal laws seem to act like a magnet on the States—sometimes unfortunately—and often we find a Federal statute being viewed as a model by the State legislatures. For this reason, I think the ball is in our court, right here on Capitol Hill.

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by Sol Rubin

Attorney at Law

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*From a paper presented at a Conference on Criminal Justice Policy Making, United Presbyterian Church, Zion, Illinois, on November 19, 1975. Mr. Rubin serves as Counsel Emeritus to the National Council on Crime and Delinquency.*

THE MOST FAMILIAR element in sentencing is the mandatory prison term for specified offenses. Their fault is well illustrated by the action of the Michigan Supreme Court which invalidated a statute mandating a minimum penalty of twenty years imprisonment for the sale of marijuana. It said of the mandatory sentence: "The provision is equally applicable to a first offender high school student as it is to a wholesaling racketeer . . . If we apply the goal of rehabilitation, it seems dubious, to say the least, that now this 26-year-old will be a better member of society after serving a prison sentence of at least 10 years, 7 months, and 6 days."

A similar decision was handed down by the Supreme Court of Illinois, which



invalidated a statute that arbitrarily placed marijuana in the same legal category as heroin, and imposing the same mandatory minimum penalties on both. The sentence of 10 years and a day imposed on the defendant who had no prior convictions, was voided. It is of special interest to note that the court said this statute mandating equal sentence for unequal deeds "offends the equal-protection clause of the United States Constitution" and of the Illinois constitution.

But the penal codes are filled with mandatory prison sentences, and they are rarely held to be unconstitutional. The possibility of such decisions being rendered in marijuana cases reflects a wide-spread revulsion in our society to punishing marijuana use at all; but other cases, equally punitive and repressive, without any social justification in rehabilitation or deterrence, remain in the codes untouched by the courts.

Another mandatory sentencing mechanism is the habitual offender statute. With only one or two exceptions, every state in the United States as well as the Federal Government has one or more laws providing for increased punishment for a crime committed by a person who had been previously convicted. Although such acts existed earlier, the greatest impetus to their enactment came in the 1920's with rare repeals since then.

The statutes are mandatory in several respects. The second or additional convictions may mandate a longer prison term before parole eligibility; it may bar the defendant from eligibility for probation or parole; and it always results in an increased prison sentence, or a life term of imprisonment.

Several "justifications" have been suggested for the statutes, but none have much validity. At one time they were said to be addressed to the punishment and deterrence of racketeers or professional criminals, but in practice neither are deterred nor often sentenced under these statutes. It is sometimes said to protect against the dangerous offender, but is characteristically a loser, often a compulsive petty thief.

The principal use of these statutes is obtaining guilty pleas, a prosecutor charging a crime that would bring a severe mandatory sentence into operation, inducing a plea of guilty to a lesser charge. This usually requires, to avoid the recidivism penalty, reduction of a felony charge to a misdemeanor; or a commitment by the prosecutor to recommend a sentence without regard to the habitual offender statute. The result is that in practice the laws are not mandatory. Characteristically, where the habitual offender laws are mandatory in terms, they are actually rendered discretionary by the prosecutor's powers. And, because of their common use to obtain guilty pleas to reduced charges, they contribute to dangerous offenders receiving inadequate sentences.

The statutes have been upheld, despite the fact that they impose greater punishment than the penal code assesses for the crime, on the ground that the defendant is being sentenced to greater punishment not for the crime, but for his repetitive criminal character. But the cases are poorly reasoned.

The simplest remedy is legislative. There have been a small number of repeals of particular mandatory provisions. Whatever hope of recourse there is in the courts, the simple and prompt remedy is legislation.

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# COMING: TOUGHER APPROACH TO JUVENILE VIOLENCE

As youth crime soars, pressure is growing to change the way society deals with juvenile offenders. The emerging answer: Send more of the real criminals to prison—but provide help outside the courts for those whose offenses are minor.

The juvenile-justice system is on the verge of its first radical reforms since juvenile courts were created in 1899.

If enacted, these reforms would mean:

- Courts would deal more harshly with violent juvenile criminals, some of whom literally get away with murder under the present system.
- But more humane and lenient treatment would be given to nonviolent juvenile offenders by "decriminalizing" some specific juvenile offenses.

The reforms would especially benefit thousands of youths charged with truancy, curfew violations and other actions that are not crimes for adults. Such youths are known as "status offenders."

**Reasons for action.** The move toward reform is prompted by two major factors. One is widespread criticism that juvenile courts and prisons neither punish juvenile criminals nor reform or help them. The other is the growing alarm at the rising crime rate among youths. Since 1960, arrests of those under 18 years of age have risen 254 per cent for murder, rape, robbery and aggravated assault. And persons under 18 years of age account for nearly half of all serious crime, although they constitute only 30 per cent of the nation's population.

Just recently, reform efforts have intensified to such an extent that many experts are predicting that fundamental change is just around the corner. The direction of that change is indicated in a major study that was completed on May 15 after six years of work by the Juvenile Justice Standards Commission.

The Commission, made up of leading psychiatrists, sociologists, penologists, youth workers,

judges and lawyers, was sponsored by the Institute of Judicial Administration and the American Bar Association. It produced 23 volumes of reform recommendations, which will eventually be proposed as models for legislation to be passed by the States.

If adopted, the reforms "would substantially alter the concepts now prevailing in juvenile courts and youth agencies throughout the country," says Judge Irving R. Kaufman, Chief Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, who is Chairman of the Commission. In his view:

"It has become increasingly apparent that our traditional system of juvenile justice is a failure. It neither safeguards our society from violent juveniles nor provides adequate protection for the alarmingly large number of children reared in brutal environments . . . which breed hostility and failure."

**Strict guidelines.** A principal thrust of the reforms the Commission recommends is to focus on the misdeeds of juveniles who commit major crimes, rather than on what may be conceived as their social needs. "Let the punishment fit the crime" would become the rule of thumb for juvenile courts.

Specifically, the Commission urges:

- Juveniles aged 16 and 17 who commit violent crimes could be processed as adults, subject to the longer sentences now reserved for adults.

- Definite and, in some cases, longer prison terms should replace "indeterminate sentences," which have been criticized for being too lenient for violent offenders, too strict for nonviolent juveniles and unevenly applied to offenders committing similar crimes.

• The juvenile-justice process should be changed from a quasi-civil, secret, nonadversary proceeding, in which reform of the child is the main goal, to a public, adversary trial process in which punishment plays a greater role. As part of this change, juvenile defendants would be provided with lawyers.

At the same time, the Commission calls for more lenient treatment of some juveniles. Most importantly, it calls for removing "status offenders" from court jurisdiction, urging that they be handled instead by social agencies or by the family, free of the stigma of being certified "delinquent."

Status offenses, such as incorrigibility, immoral conduct, and running away from home account for about half of the 1 million cases that juvenile courts handle each year, according to Milton G. Rector, president of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, whose primary focus for 1976 is juvenile justice.

"This is a national scandal," he says. Mr. Rector argues that in many cases a child is in court because of the fault of parents or teachers who use juvenile courts as a "dumping ground" for unruly children—usually those from poor families.

The frequent result is that children who have committed no real crime are put in institutions where they come under the influence of true criminals. "We're creating our own crime problem," says Mr. Rector.

Those who favor removing status offenses from the courts argue that it would relieve current court congestion, allowing judges more time to concentrate on violent offenders.

The National Council of Juvenile Court Judges, however, opposes taking status offenders out of judges' hands. The Council fears that troubled youths

will be put out into the streets because today's social agencies are inadequate to deal with the problems.

The move to improve treatment of status offenders got a boost from passage of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974, in the view of Senator Birch Bayh (Dem.), of Indiana, chief sponsor of the legislation. Among

other things, the 1974 Act provides substantial financial incentives for States to come up with alternatives to prisons and jails for youths, such as small, community-based facilities or foster homes. By August 1 some 44 States are expected to sign up for the money.

**Local measures.** There have been reform efforts on the State and local level also. New York Governor Hugh Carey on April 19 proposed reforms, including a recommendation that juveniles who commit violent crimes, such as murder or rape, be sentenced to longer prison terms.

In Springfield, Va., a civic group recently asked local officials to make public the names of juveniles convicted of burglary and larceny, two crimes plaguing the community. The group also asked that the youths be made to work off their crimes by doing kitchen or janitorial work at the local jail.

In a letter to local officials, the group said that it was "continually frustrated by the impunity with which juveniles and young adult offenders can perpetrate crimes upon the community, knowing they will receive no more than a judicial slap on the wrist."

Those seeking better treatment for juveniles have been active, too. Lawsuits have been filed by the Children's Defense Fund and the National Juvenile Law Center, seeking new rights for children, such as the right to be treated instead of just warehoused if they are imprisoned.

In Pennsylvania, Jerome Miller, commissioner of children and youth, is attempting to close down most of the juvenile prisons in the State, keeping in secure settings only those who present a true threat to the community.

In 1972, in a similar post, Mr. Miller did the same thing in Massachusetts, reducing that State's juvenile prison population from about 1,000 to 100.

Mr. Miller has encountered some opposition to his plans because they involve placing more juvenile delinquents in the community. He notes, however, that preliminary results of his Massachusetts project indicate that juveniles put in the community do no worse than

those put in prisons, in terms of being rearrested. Additionally, he cites an analysis indicating that Utah juveniles placed in the community do much better than those who were imprisoned.

"Prisons just beget violence," says Mr. Miller. "I wouldn't give you a nickel to reform them. If you had Sigmund Freud and Harvard criminologists run a prison, it would still fail."

Community-based facilities in addition have the advantage of being cheaper than prisons. A study released last November by the National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections at the University of Michigan showed the average cost per juvenile in State institutions was \$11,657 a year, with costs exceeding \$19,000 a year in four States. "For that money," says Mr. Miller, "you could send a kid to the finest college."

In contrast, the study revealed, the average figure per juvenile for community treatment was only \$5,501 a year. Notwithstanding the cost savings, only 18 per cent of juveniles in custody are in community programs, the study found.

Public support for reforming juvenile justice has risen with the juvenile crime rate. Since 1969, arrests of those under 18 years of age have increased 49 per cent for murder, rape, robbery and aggravated assault. And, looking at all age groups, offenders under 20 years are the most likely to be rearrested for new crimes after conviction.

School violence and youth-gang murders are also on the rise.

A general feeling that juveniles believe they can "beat the system" also fuels the drive for reform. In New York City, a recent investigation showed that only 4.4 per cent of juveniles arrested for violent crimes are sent to prison.

**Causes of crime.** At the same time, reformers have been disturbed by the abuse children are subjected to in institutions and at home.

Judge Kaufman points out that in New York State in 1975 there were about 30,000 reported cases of child abuse and neglect. Both lead to hostility and a feeling of failure, he says, and eventually contribute to causing a life of crime.

Reformers expect opposition to the changes they urge, particularly from political appointees and prison-industry workers who stand to lose jobs. Even some parents are opposed to the proposal because they fear a loss of the threat of juvenile-court punishment as the ultimate tactic in child discipline.

But reformers are expected to win. Even if they do, says Mr. Rector, reform of the juvenile-justice system will be a failure if it does not "link up to social and economic planning" to get at what he sees as a major cause of crime—social conditions.

## 69% distrust our political institutions, mass media

Copyright 1976 Minneapolis Tribune

Nearly seven out of every 10 Minnesotans are distrustful to some degree of their political institutions and the mass media.

Despite the view of many older people that the young are most critical of today's society, young Minnesotans — by a wide margin — are the least distrustful of any age group in the state.

And the middle-aged and elderly, regarded by some young people as defenders of the status quo, are the most cynical about political and media institutions.

These findings emerge from a study of data collected by the Minneapolis Tribune's Minnesota Poll and reported in Sunday's Tribune. That report dealt with state residents' views on elections, elected officials, television news, newspapers and advertising claims, as well as social issues.

Using the replies to the six political and media questions in that survey, a "trust index" was constructed by Quayle, Plessner & Co., the Poll's consultants.

The six questions were in the form of statements with which respondents were asked to agree or disagree:

*"You can generally trust what an elected official says."*

*"Elections are less important than they used to be."*

*"Elected officials don't pay attention to what their constituents think."*

*"You can generally believe advertising claims."*

*"You can generally believe what you read in the newspapers."*

*"You can generally believe what you see and hear on TV news programs."*

Here is how the "trust index" looks over-all and with men and women separated:

### Minnesota Poll

	All Adults	Men	Women
Very cynical	28	24	30
Somewhat cynical	41	40	42
Somewhat trusting	19	20	19
Very trusting	12	16	9
	100%	100%	100%

Each person questioned was scored on a scale of plus 1 for each statement on which he held a positive attitude, minus 1 for each statement he was negative toward and 0 if he had no opinion or was unsure. The sum of the six replies placed each respondent somewhere on a 13-point scale running from plus 6 to minus 6, with zero counted as the midpoint.

(Four categories were then created: Very trusting, plus 6 to plus 3; somewhat trusting, plus 2 or plus 1; somewhat cynical, 0 to minus 2; very cynical, minus 3 to minus 6.)

The most marked variation in cynicism-trust ratings among the sample was found between different age groups. Forty-four percent of those 18-25 and 40 percent of those 26-34 fell into either the "somewhat trusting" or "very trusting" groups.

By contrast, only 26 percent of those between 50 and 64 are in that category.

The only other statistically significant variations from the over-all trust-cynicism figures were found when respondents were separated by political party affiliation and by ideological preferences.

Those who identified themselves as Republicans were markedly less cynical than either DFLers or independents. Sixty-one percent of Republicans fell into either the "somewhat cynical" or "very cynical" categories, while 70 percent of both DFLers and independents were classified that way.

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## ELECTION SQUEAKY CLEAN

# Campaign spending law stamps out corruption

By JEAN HELLER  
Newsday

WASHINGTON — In a town that loves politics and scandal — especially when they come in tandem — an old, familiar post-election syndrome is missing this year.

No one is speculating which fat cat contributors bought themselves ambassadorships or judgeships from the victorious presidential contender.

**NO ONE** is whispering about which corporations are in line for padded government contracts because officers and directors greased the right congressional campaigns.

There are no known pending charges of laundered cash or extorted contributions in the 1976 federal elections.

The biggest single contributor to the squeaky clean monotony of last week's election was the new federal campaign law, adopted in the post-Watergate frenzy for election reform. It apparently was successful in weeding financial corruption from the federal election process.

The biggest question about the law is whether the weeding process was too complex and went too far. The next Congress will have to answer that question with guidance from the Federal Elections Commission (FEC), which oversees administration of

**SPENDING**  
Turn to Page 4A

## SPENDING: Is law too good?

Continued from Page 1A

the campaign law.

There are several problem areas that almost certainly will come under scrutiny:

There is considerable sentiment for easing the spending restrictions on presidential candidates in the general election. Both President Ford and Jimmy Carter agree that the \$22 million in spending allowed for each candidate was not sufficient to cover the expenses of a media-oriented, 10-week national campaign.

Ford saved money by staying home and campaigning from the Rose Garden until mid-October.

Carter, scrambling around the nation, came up seriously strapped for cash late in the campaign.

Candidates in both the congressional and presidential races have complained that the complexity of the new law has forced them to hire batteries of accountants and lawyers to keep their campaigns within legal parameters.

"This is the easiest law to violate inadvertently I've ever seen," said Bob Visser, general counsel to the President Ford Committee.

As one example of the problem, candidates for federal office must submit five detailed contribution and expense reports with the FEC

between mid-October and the end of the year.

There has been griping that all Senate and House candidates are limited on the size of contributions received, but not limited in the amount of their own funds they can spend to be elected, apparently giving an edge to wealthy candidates.

On the plus side, the reporting requirements of the campaign law have created the largest bank of data on election financing ever available in this country.

When all financial information is computerized by year's end, it will be possible with the push of a button to cross check all individual and corporate campaign contributions with all candidates for federal office to determine exactly what money was going where and how it was spent.

"This probably is a good part of the reason this year's election was so clean," one FEC official said. "Every candidate out there knew somebody was watching."

The new law also forced candidates to broaden their appeal. There were no more fat-cat contributors in the old sense because individual campaign contributions were limited to \$1,000.

**IN THE** presidential primaries

and in both the primary and general congressional elections, that limit meant candidates had to appeal to a wider segment of the population to draw the money to run an effective campaign.

In a related development, it has now been determined that the \$1 income tax checkoff can supply sufficient funds to publicly finance presidential elections.

"We figure now that the 26 percent of American taxpayers participated in the checkoff," the FEC official said. "Our total public finance pool was \$95 million. We were able to pay out matching funds in full to 15 presidential candidates running in the primaries, we fully funded the conventions and the two presidential candidates in the general election and we have \$24 million left over to begin with in 1980."

From the Minneapolis Star,

Nov. 11, 1976.

# Experts say campaign law had big impact on election

By Warren Weaver Jr.  
New York Times Service

## Washington, D.C.

The campaign law that Congress enacted in 1974 in the wake of the Watergate scandals had a profound impact on this month's election, although the political revolution it brought about was nearly invisible to the voters.

Political veterans in both parties are in general agreement that the campaign law, in its first test, had the following significant results:

■ Federal matching funds in the primary campaign enabled Jimmy Carter, an obscure former governor of Georgia, to win the Democratic nomination despite an initially narrow base of geographical and financial support.

■ The same public subsidization of primary competition allowed Ronald Reagan, the former governor of California, to make—and very nearly win—a challenge to the renomination of an incumbent president.

■ The first spending ceilings ever imposed on a presidential general election—\$21.8 million each for President Ford and Carter—almost certainly, in the light of the very close result, produced a Democratic victory. Without the limits, most politicians believe, millions of dollars more invested in the Republican campaign probably would have reversed the result.

■ The power of wealthy individuals and well-financed special interest groups to buy a future interest in presidential and congressional candidates was reduced by new limits on the size of contributions.

The contest between Carter and Ford and the earlier, sharply contested primaries in both parties looked and sounded very much like past national campaigns, but they were conducted under a fundamentally different set of



## Analysis

ground rules that almost certainly affected the outcome.

Although many of the candidates and politicians involved complained about the restrictions and burdens that the new law imposed, the first blush of postelection reaction indicated that its basic changes in the electoral process have been widely accepted and are likely to remain intact for the foreseeable future, with only minor adjustments.

By setting limits of \$1,000 on contributions by individuals and \$5,000 by political committees, the new law, also curbed the infusion of special interest funds into Senate and House races although no over-all ceilings were in effect for these races.

Last January, the supreme court eliminated spending limits for congressional races from the law as an unconstitutional curb on free speech while upholding limits on spending by presidential candidates who accepted public subsidies, as all the Democrats and Republicans did.

When all the reports are in, the new law will also have provided politicians, lawmakers and scholars with the most complete record of a presidential and congressional election ever produced—a fully detailed statement of how millions of dollars of private contributions were raised and how many more millions, including \$72 million in federal subsidies, were spent.

This information will play an essential role in prospective congressional attempts to create a system of subsidies for Senate and House campaigns in 1978 or 1980.

The matching fund system introduced into the primary contests not only helped sustain early

campaigning by candidates with marginal financial resources, but also attracted, as Congress had intended, a wider field of candidates than had appeared in the past.

As a practical result, although Congress could not have foreseen it, the liberal Democratic vote was split among a number of contenders, and Carter was able to win some important early primaries with considerably less than a majority of the vote.

Some campaign officials maintain now that the low presidential spending limit for the general election also changed the appearance of the election by compelling both the president and Carter to concentrate their resources on television advertising rather than other forms of campaigning.

There is no assurance, however, that had the presidential candidates had another \$5 million available, they would not have invested most of it in still more television. This is particularly true of Ford, whose strategy until the last 10 days emphasized television exposure, both paid and unpaid, rather than travel.

While the campaign law eliminated the traditional advantage that the Republican candidate enjoyed in the past as a result of superior fund-raising capacity, it did not eliminate the countervailing Democratic advantage resulting from volunteer political manpower furnished by organized labor.

Union efforts to communicate with their members in the interest of a political candidate—by mail, telephone and door-to-door canvassing—are fully protected by the law. It also gives corporations paralleled authority for partisan campaigning among their executives and stockholders, but few of them exercised that right on behalf of the president.

Special interest groups—out to get their share of influence in Washington—donated more money to Congressional candidates during this year's election campaign than ever before, almost doubling that invested in 1974.

While the interest groups—such as business, professional, labor and agricultural—invested \$12.5 million in the 1974 Congressional races, over \$20 million poured into them in 1976.

"It became a nuclear arms race," said Fred Wertheimer, CC Vice President and director of CC's Campaign Finance Monitoring Project which gathered the spending figures.

"The money poured into this year's House and Senate races dramatically demonstrates the need for public financing of Congressional campaigns. It shows what happens if you do just half the job," Wertheimer said.

The flood of money into the Congressional races resulted in large part from the inability of the special interests to influence the Presidential campaign with large donations. This money that once would have gone to the Presidential candidates went into Congressional campaigns instead. The 1976 Presidential election was financed primarily by public funds derived from the voluntary tax-checkoff, while no such funds were available to 1976 Congressional candidates.

Also contributing to the money flood, Wertheimer said, was a campaign law change that

"The phenomenal growth of special interest giving reflects a view that this country will tolerate a return to the old system of campaign contributions being used to influence government decisions," Wertheimer said. "This represents a fundamental misreading of the American public by Congressional candidates and interest groups alike."

During the 1976 campaign, Common Cause issued two major news releases to the national media disclosing details of the special interest contributions. A complete CC report on campaign spending in this election will be issued early next year after the federal deadline for filing final campaign spending reports, Dec. 2.

Among the "horror stories" which surfaced in the 1976 House-Senate races were those which resulted from the loophole opened in the federal campaign spending law by the U.S. Supreme Court ruling invalidating limits on the amount which a wealthy candidate could spend on his or her own campaign.

At least seven senatorial candidates invested \$100,000 or more of their own money. H. John Heinz III, the soup and catsup heir, plowed \$2.2 million in personal funds into his Republican Senate candidacy in Pennsylvania—more than any other Senate candidate raised from all outside contributors. And Richard Lorber, (D-R.I.) spent more than \$630,000 of his own personal resources in the small state of Rhode Island.

This clearly shows, Wertheimer said, that Congress must make a new effort to control the use of private wealth in politics.

During the campaign, Common Cause filed formal complaints with the Federal Election Commission against the American Medical Association (AMA) and the National Educational Association (NEA).

The CC complaint charged the AMA with more than 20 violations of the \$5,000 limit on federal campaign contributions. The NEA was charged with raising political funds from members by a method that did not result in completely voluntary donations as required by law.

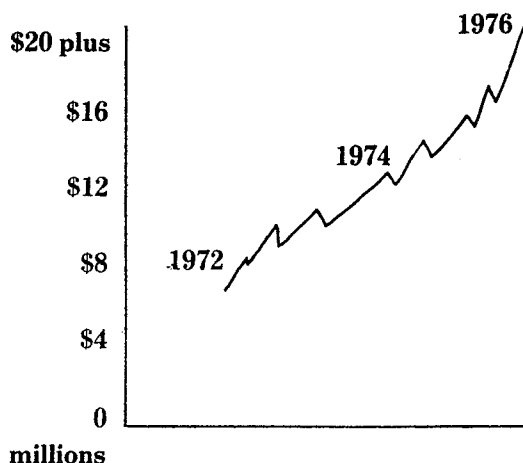
The AMA, as of Oct. 1, was the leading single interest group contributor with more than \$1.5 million in contributions.

The heavy control of Congress by special interest donors could influence the relationship between Congress and the President, who will enter office free of any ties to big financial contributors.

"Members of the 95th Congress will owe little or no allegiance to the President," said CC Chairman John Gardner. But, he said, they will owe very heavy allegiance to their multiple masters, the special interest groups who financed their campaign.

"There is hardly any measure more crucial to a President's capacity to govern than the public financing of Congressional campaigns," Gardner said.

### CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS



permitted government contractors to set up political action committees and to solicit employees for contributions.

The number of corporate political action committees rose from 85 in 1974 to more than 400 in 1976, and it is expected that business-related committees will more than double their 1974 giving of \$2.5 millions.

# Public financing crimps presidential campaigns

By R. W. Apple Jr.  
New York Times Service

Philadelphia, Pa.

Martin Hamberger, executive director of the President Ford Committee in Pennsylvania, one of the pivotal states in this year's election, has a headquarters' staff of seven — "hardly a phalanx by anyone's standard," he noted.

A Ford tactician in Ohio, worried that the president would not visit the state often enough to carry it, complained, "One of the real problems is that it costs so bloody much to move the man around."

A Chicago Democrat, disdainfully appraising the \$180,000 allotted to Jimmy Carter's campaign in Illinois, scoffed: "In the old days we spent that much just buying votes." All over the country, presidential campaign managers are learning to live with the new system of full federal financing of major party general election campaigns. It is a system that frees them of the need to grub for dollars to put their television commercials on the air, but it also is a system that severely limits the amount they can spend and forces them to account for every last expenditure.

The resulting campaigns, if not austere, are far leaner than those of the last two decades, especially the lavishly funded showdown between George McGovern and Richard Nixon only four years ago.

The itinerant observer of the presidential scene in 1976 sees few bumper stickers, few lapel buttons, few billboards, few storefront offices. He sees greater reliance on volunteers and far less activity in the smaller states. And he saw a very slow start by organizers forced to hoard their dollars.

## Campaign '76

Under the new financing law, Ford and Carter are limited to expenditures of \$21.8 million each on the general election campaign. That comes out of a special fund established on the basis of income tax check-offs, and it must pay for everything from national television commercials to the candidates' travel expenses to the lowliest mimeographed handbill.

The candidates can raise no money directly from private sources. They can, however, raise funds for their respective party national committees, which in turn are authorized to spend up to \$3.2 million each on the presidential campaign.

The Republicans are expected to raise and spend their limit; the Democrats are not, giving President Ford an over-all edge.

Both camps have centralized spending for advertising, and, of course, for candidate travel — the two items that eat up most of the budget. Even though spending in both categories is down from four years ago, it is substantial enough to leave relatively little for the nitty-gritty of organizing on the state and city level. Neither Ford nor Carter expects to spend much more than \$200,000 in any one state, and only the biggest states will get that much.

In Illinois, for example, the Democrats have \$180,000, the Republicans \$196,000, an increase from the \$170,000 initially budgeted. Both campaigns are far less visible than that of James R. Thompson, the Republican candidate for governor, who will spend \$2 million on his campaign, including \$500,000 or

more on items not connected with advertising.

In Pennsylvania, Hamberger has only 18 full-time paid workers statewide, compared with at least 75 for Nixon four years ago.

But he thinks the new reality is just fine, primarily because he thought the 1964, 1968 and 1972 campaigns were "too commercial," taking things out of the realm of ordinary citizens. The federal financing law, he said, "has put the control of their political destiny back into the hands of the general public" and forced managers like himself to look to volunteers to provide most campaign manpower.

However, Hamberger's counterpart in Illinois, former Gov. Richard Ogilvie, who is chairman of the Ford campaign in that state, is chafing under the limitations. "Congress will have to do something or all the vitality is going to go out of our presidential campaigns," he said the other day.

Because of the danger that unauthorized expenditures might push total spending beyond the ceiling, both campaigns have instituted rigorous bookkeeping methods and centralized disbursement procedures.

Ogilvie, a prosperous Chicago lawyer, said he found himself being required to personally sign vouchers for items such as "\$39 to the postmaster of the city of Chicago for incidental mailings."

Minneapolis Tribune  
Tues., Oct. 5, 1976



*Evaluation of energy options for the United States*

Option	Estimated availability*			Estimated net energy	Potential environmental impact†
	Short term (present to 1985)	Intermediate term (1985 to 2000)	Long term (2000 to 2020)		
Conservation	Fair	Good	Good	Very high	Decreases impact of other sources
Natural gas	Good (with imports)	Fair (with imports)	Poor	High but decreasing‡	Low
Oil					
Conventional	Good (with imports)	Fair (with imports)	Poor	High but decreasing‡	Moderate
Shale	Poor	Moderate to good?	Moderate to good?	Probably very low	Serious
Tar sands	Poor	Moderate? (imports only)	Good? (imports only)	Probably very low	Moderate
Coal					
Conventional	Good	Good	Good	High but decreasing‡	Very serious
Gasification (conversion to synthetic natural gas)	Poor	Good?	Good?	Moderate to low	Very serious
Liquification (conversion to synthetic oil)	Very poor	Poor to moderate?	Good?	Moderate to low	Serious
Wastes					
Direct burning	Poor to fair	Fair to poor	Fair	Moderate (space heating) to low (electricity)	Fairly low
Conversion to oil	Poor	Fair to poor	Fair	Moderate to low	Low to moderate
Hydroelectric	Poor	Poor	Very poor	High	Low to moderate
Tidal	Very poor	Very poor	Very poor	Unknown (moderate?)	Low
Nuclear					
Conventional fission	Poor	Good	Good to poor	Probably very low	Very serious
Breeder fission	None	None to low	Good?	Probably low	Extremely serious
Fusion	Poor	Moderate to low?	Moderate to low	Unknown (could be low)	Unknown (probably moderate to low)
Geothermal	Poor	Moderate to low?	Moderate to low	Unknown (probably moderate to low)	Moderate to low
Solar	Poor (except for space and water heating)	Low to moderate?	Moderate to high?	Unknown (probably low)	Low
Wind	Poor	Poor to moderate?	Moderate to high?	Unknown (probably moderate to low)	Low
Hydrogen	Negligible	Poor	Unknown§	Unknown (probably moderate to low)	Unknown§
Fuel cells	Negligible	Poor	Unknown§	Unknown (probably moderate to low)	Unknown§

\* Based on estimated supply as a fraction of total energy use and on technological and economic feasibility.

† If stringent safety and environmental controls are not required and enforced.

‡ As high grade deposits decrease, more and more energy must be used to mine and process lower grade deposits, thus decreasing net energy.

§ Depends on whether an essentially infinite source of electricity (such as solar, fusion, wind, or breeder) is available to convert water to hydrogen and oxygen gas by electrolysis or direct heating. Impact will vary depending on the source of electricity.

G. Tyler Miller, Jr., Living in the Environment: Concepts, Problems, and Alternatives (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company Inc., 1975), p. 231.

# BREAK UP BIG OIL COMPANIES?

**Yes—in Order to Get  
“Genuine Competition”**



USNS/WA

**Interview With  
Senator  
Gary Hart  
Democrat,  
Of Colorado**

**Q** Senator Hart, why do you advocate that the big oil companies be broken up, as proposed in bills now before the Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly?

**A** Because, in my judgment, there is not genuine free enterprise and competition in the oil industry. There are 15 to 20 major, vertically integrated petroleum companies in this country that control anywhere from 75 to 80 per cent of the market.

**Q** Does the legislation you are backing spell out how the oil companies would be broken up?

**A** It would require that, within one year, the top 15 oil companies in this country propose to the Federal Trade Commission a plan of reorganization and divestiture, to be carried out within the following four years.

These companies would divide themselves along functional lines: First, exploration and production. Second, transportation. Third, refining and marketing. Presumably, the course selected would be a fairly classic spin-off arrangement, with assets and shareholder interests divided in proportion to the value of the subsidiaries.

**Q** Would this mean lower prices for gasoline and other petroleum fuels?

**A** There is no guarantee that it would mean lower—or higher—prices. But at least prices would reflect genuine competition and principles of supply and demand rather than manipulation.

**Q** If this may not cut the cost of gasoline for motorists or heating oil for home-owners, why go to all the trouble?

**A** There are several reasons which relate to public policy and to our fundamental economic principles. One is that a product so central to the economy of this country and the world should not be controlled by just a handful of people—as I think it now is.

Second, it would permit the Government to get out of the price-control and price-regulation business. It's a farce and a myth to talk about decontrol of prices when, in fact, they are susceptible to manipulation, both internationally by OPEC [Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries] and domestically by a handful of producing companies. It's ridiculous to talk about returning petroleum prices to the “free market” when no such market exists.

*(continued on next page)*

**No—“It Would Increase Price  
Of All Petroleum Products”**



11-17-68/WA

**Interview With  
H. J. Haynes  
Chairman,  
Standard Oil Company  
Of California**

**Q** Mr. Haynes, do you think the big oil companies should be broken up?

**A** No, because it is not in the best interests of our country. Those who advocate what they call “divestiture” give only one reason: They claim it would increase competition. They ignore the fact that the petroleum industry, by any accepted measurement, is one of the most competitive and least concentrated businesses in America. I have yet to hear just how their plan would benefit the motorist, the home-owner, our employees, our stockholders, or the economy and security of America.

**Q** What evidence is there to show that the oil industry is competitive?

**A** There are more than 40,000 oil and gas companies in the United States. Ten thousand are engaged in exploration and production, but the largest accounts for less than 8 per cent of the crude-oil output in this country. There are a total of 131 companies that operate 270 refineries, but the largest refiner has less than 9 per cent of total U.S. refining capacity.

There are approximately 200,000 service stations in the United States, but the largest share of the gasoline market held by a single company is only 8.2 per cent.

The top eight firms in our industry control about 57 per cent of the business. Compare that with the concentration in other industries. To give a few examples: The top eight firms in steel have 65 per cent; copper, 98 per cent; motor vehicles, 98 per cent; aircraft, 87 per cent.

**Q** Critics say that oil companies are a special case because they are vertically integrated, controlling their product from oil well to gas pump. Is that true?

**A** That is absolute nonsense. Perhaps 50 companies in the oil business are vertically integrated to some degree. On the other hand, no company in the industry is totally integrated.

Take my company, for example. We're in exploration, producing, transportation, shipping, refining, distribution and marketing. But we don't own our own drilling rigs; we contract all our drilling activity. We buy an awful lot of the oil we refine. In fact, our company produces, in the United States, only about half of the oil that we refine in the United

*(continued on next page)*

## Interview With Senator Gary Hart

[continued from preceding page]

**Q** Are you saying that there is monopoly now in the oil industry?

**A** It's a sophisticated monopoly based on two principles: vertical integration among the major oil-producing and marketing companies, and the horizontal arrangements they have with each other. Through joint ventures in transportation and exploration, through exchange agreements, through interlocking banking connections and all kinds of other horizontal activities, the net effect is that over three quarters of the industry is not competitive.

**Q** Is there a danger that the new, smaller companies—with most of the same shareholders and with top officials who once were associates—might be less than competitive?

**A** I see no danger. Extensive testimony before Senate subcommittees in the past 10 years strongly indicates that, once you separate the control of the crude product from the refining and marketing, you will have genuine competition, regardless of who's in charge.

Apparently some companies are finding this diversified-management principle a very healthy one. Gulf, Sun and Continental Oil have all adopted, in effect, voluntary internal-divestiture measures to separate management of functions along the line I advocate. Some say the companies would be too small. Actually, you could separate a company like Exxon, which is the largest corporation in the world, into three or four functionally operating units, and each of those units still would be larger than U.S. Steel.

## MEASURES WITH "BLOCKBUSTER" IMPACT—

**Q** Would you bar oil firms from branching out into coal, nuclear power and other forms of energy?

**A** As you know, there is a horizontal-divestiture proposal which would do that. I voted for it. These are two blockbuster economic measures. However, my own interests are devoted to vertical divestiture. I think the pressure for horizontal divestiture would be much less if you had genuine vertical divestiture.

**Q** Will you push for divestiture in this session?

**A** Yes. Last year, as an amendment to another bill, it fell short in the Senate by 45 votes to 54, and that was the first time this ever got to a vote in either house.

I think it is not accidental that it did make the floor almost immediately after the passage of campaign-finance reforms. There is no question in my mind that bills of this sort did not get out of committee because of the dominant influence of some of these companies on individual legislators. Now that you have campaign financial reform, Congressmen are more free to vote their conscience, and not worry about loss of campaign funds from the oil companies or other special-interest groups.

**Q** What are the chances for passage in the 1976 session?

**A** I think divestiture has wide public support. But I fully expect to see a massive public campaign by the major oil companies to head it off. I just hope the battle is conducted on a high plane.

I'm not antioil, nor am I out to get anybody. I'm not up for re-election in 1976. I don't need this as a political issue. I am just convinced that it's the right and necessary thing to do. So I would hope that if the companies spend millions, if not tens of millions, of dollars for newspaper ads and television ads, they will not say that the proponents of this bill want to nationalize oil, because my aim is exactly the opposite. And I would hope that they would not frighten the people by saying it will mean increased prices and a lot of other awful things.

## Interview With Oil Executive Haynes

[continued from preceding page]

States. The balance is either purchased from others or imported.

**Q** How would vertical divestiture—breaking companies up into functional units—affect prices at the gas pump?

**A** In my judgment, it would increase the price of all petroleum products to the American consumer. My own company, which is somewhat indicative of the industry, had profits in 1974 equal to 1.6 cents a gallon. If something were done to eliminate completely that profit, it obviously would have only minimal effect on the price of petroleum products to the consumer.

Fuel prices in this country show that the U.S. oil industry is efficient. Gasoline, for example, has doubled in price since 1960, but it is still sold to the American motorist at less than in any other developed nation in the world.

## EXCESSIVE PROFITS? "HARDLY"—

**Q** Oil-company profits have been described as "unconscionable" and "obscene." Can the profits be justified?

**A** Over the past decade, oil-industry profits have averaged 13.1 per cent on its net worth, and that compares with 13 per cent for U.S. industry as a whole. That hardly suggests that oil profits are excessive.

For my own company, earnings in 1973 were 844 million dollars. That represented a rate of return of about 15½ per cent. In 1974, our earnings were 970 million dollars, up about 15 per cent. But our investment base was also up and, therefore, our rate of return stayed at about the same level. In 1975, oil-industry earnings, at least through nine months, were off about 30 per cent. Our company's rate of return in the first nine months of 1975 declined to 11 per cent. There was an awful lot said in 1974 when the earnings were showing rather significant increases, but I've never heard anyone outside the industry express any great concern that earnings are down.

**Q** Does vertical integration give your firm and others the ability to freeze out independent operators?

**A** Indeed, it does not. Between 1960 and 1970, the number of companies that participated in outer-continental-shelf leasing activity more than doubled. During that same period, 14 new refiners of 50,000 barrels a day or more entered the industry.

Independent marketers have grown from 23.2 per cent of the gasoline market in 1968 to 31.9 per cent in the first half of 1975.

**Q** Why should oil companies be allowed to become even bigger by getting into coal, nuclear power and other forms of energy?

**A** Because the oil industry has something to contribute. We've been engaged in research and development for alternate-energy resources for years and years. I think it would be a shame for the alternate-energy resources not to have the input of the technology and the expertise and, indeed, the ability for capital formation, which the oil industry could provide.

**Q** If Congress does pass a bill forcing oil companies to split up, what would be the impact on the drive to reduce U.S. dependence on imported oil?

**A** It would be absolutely catastrophic. In the first place, it would take years to implement divestiture. During that time, there would be absolutely no possibility for capital formation. Those companies directly involved would approach a standstill. Less oil would be found and produced. Our dependence on foreign sources and our vulnerability to embargoes would be greatly increased.

*Comparative environmental impacts of energy options*

Energy option	Air pollution	Water pollution	Solid waste	Land use impact	Occupational health	Possible large scale disasters
Conservation	Decreased	Decreased	Decreased	Decreased	Less	None
Natural gas	Low	Low	Negligible	Low	Low	Pipeline explosion; earthquakes if nuclear blasts used for stimulating wells
Oil						
Offshore wells	Moderate	Serious	Very low	Very low	Low	Massive spill on water from blowout or pipeline rupture
Onshore wells	Moderate	Serious	Very low	Low	Low	Massive spill on land from blowout or pipeline rupture
Imports	Low to moderate	Serious	Very low	Very low	Low	Massive spill from tanker accident
Shale	Moderate	Moderate to serious	Serious	Serious	Low	Massive spill on land from blowout or pipeline rupture; earthquakes if nuclear blasts used for production in wells
Tar sands	Moderate	Moderate to serious	Serious	Moderate	Low	Massive spill on land from blowout or pipeline rupture
Coal						
Deep mined	Very serious	Very serious	Moderate	Moderate	Very serious	Mine accidents
Surface mined	Very serious	Very serious	Very serious	Very serious	Serious	Landslides
Gasification	Low	Very serious (more coal mined)	Very serious (more coal mined)	Very serious (more coal mined)	Very serious	Mine accidents; landslides; pipeline explosion
Liquification	Low	Very serious (more coal mined)	Very serious (more coal mined)	Very serious (more coal mined)	Very serious	Mine accidents; landslides; spills from pipeline rupture
Wastes						
Direct burning	Moderate	Very low	Decrease	Decrease	Low	Fire or explosion in furnace
Conversion to oil	Moderate	Low	Decrease	Decrease	Low	Fire or explosion in furnace
Hydroelectric	Negligible	Negligible	Negligible	Serious	Low	Rupture of dam
Tidal	Negligible	Negligible	Negligible	Low to moderate	Low	None
Nuclear						
Conventional fission	Negligible for normal pollutants but serious for radioactive releases	Low for normal sources but serious for radioactive releases	Low but very serious for radioactive releases	Low but very serious for radioactive releases	Low but very serious for radioactive releases	Meltdown of reactor core; sabotage of plants; ship-ping accidents; highjacking of shipments for use in nuclear bombs or for release into environment
Breeder	Negligible for normal pollutants but serious for radioactive releases	Low for normal sources but serious for radioactive releases	Low but extremely serious for radioactive releases	Low but extremely serious for radioactive releases	Low but extremely serious for radioactive releases	Meltdown of reactor core; sabotage of plants, shipping accidents, highjacking of shipments for use in nuclear bombs or for release into environment (radioactivity more dangerous than from conventional reactors)
Fusion	Negligible for normal pollutants but moderate for radioactive releases	Low?	Low?	Low	Low	Meltdown or explosion of reactor with release of gaseous radioisotopes
Geothermal	Moderate	Moderate to serious	Very low	Low to moderate	Low	None
Solar	Negligible	Negligible	Negligible	Low to moderate	Low	None
Wind	Negligible	Negligible	Negligible	Low to moderate	Low	None
Hydrogen*	Variable	Variable	Variable	Variable	Variable	Variable
Fuel cells*	Variable	Variable	Variable	Variable	Variable	Variable

\* The systems themselves have low environmental impacts in all phases, but the environmental impact of the systems of electricity used to generate these fuels must be added.

G. Tyler Miller, Jr., Living in the Environment: Concepts, Problems, and Alternatives (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company Inc., 1975), p. 232 .

# U.S. looks to Sweden for hints to help save energy

New York Times Service

New York, N.Y.

The people of Sweden, who live about as well materially as average Americans, consume a lot less energy in pursuit of the good life.

Attention to the Swedish success in using energy at only 60 percent of the American rate has intensified this year among conservationists and other energy analysts in the United States.

These experts know that the easy energy savings have been achieved since the 1973 multiplication of world oil prices. Yet the nation's domestic oil and gas production continue to erode, increases in coal mining are slow and environmental, financial and technical problems hobble the construction of new coal or nuclear electricity plants.

While environmentalists continue to urge drastic change in American life styles, others, including executives of electric utilities, are beginning to search for new ways to save energy with a minimum of change in the American home or work place.

Earlier attempts to compare American energy use with Western Europe were dismissed as too sketchy, or neglecting differences in population densities and industrial patterns.

But the attention of energy analysts has turned to Sweden, with a standard of living, industrial "mix" and population distribution comparable to the United States.

In the last two years, three comparative studies have been made in this country by Andres Doernberg of Brookhaven National Laboratory on Long Island, N.Y., S. I. Kaplan of Oak Ridge National Laboratory in Tennessee, and by Lee Schipper and Dr. Allan L. Lichtenberg of the Energy and Resources Group of the University of California at Berkeley.

The California study, most detailed and recent of the three, is receiving widest attention. It was issued first in April as a report of the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory and then as published in Science magazine.

In a interview, Lichtenberg elaborated on the report, whose comparisons chiefly involved data from 1971, before the oil crisis intensified pressures for conservation. He said the report took about a year's work, including a special trip to Sweden by his Swedish-speaking collaborator, Schipper.

Reviewing a mass of published information from the two countries, the California researchers found that the Swedes achieved their energy savings in many sectors of the economy, most dramatically in transportation.

The average weight of automobiles in Sweden was only 2,400 pounds, 60 percent of the American figure of 3,700 pounds. Apparently because of reliance on better mass transit, there were only 0.3 cars per person in Sweden, compared with 0.45 in the United States.

In Sweden, where "second cars are replaced by mass transit and a significant number of families have no car at all," people used their long-lived cars (14 years versus less than 10 in the United States) for only 55 percent of their trips shorter than 6 miles, compared with 90 percent in the United States.

Lichtenberg said, "It appears that the best and highest use of a car is recreational." This is what Swedes tend to use their cars for, relying on mass transit for shopping and commuting.

Stiff taxes on gasoline and the actual weight of cars put on pressure for low-maintenance, high-efficiency, low-weight cars. Sales taxes were about \$500 for a 2,500-pound car, and rose to \$900 for the American average weight. Annual user charges began at \$32 for the 2,400-pound car and increased \$8.40 for each additional 220 pounds.

Over-all, the California researchers found, the American transportation sector used about 24,000 out of a total budget of 100,000 kilowatt hours of heat per person. In Sweden, transportation required 7,800 kilowatt hours of a total of 60,000, and the proportion of all energy used for transportation, 13 percent, was just over half that of the United States. In 1971, the United States "burned" 17 kilowatt hours of heat for each 1972 dollar of economic output, and Sweden con-

sumed 10. The U.S. figure had been virtually level since the 1950s, after a rapid shift from reliance on coal to inexpensive domestic oil and natural gas.

Sweden, having shifted from coal to expensive imported oil, and

lacking natural gas, experienced a 25-percent increase in energy use per unit of output in the 1960s.

Examples of the pressure came from Swedish homes, which take an average of 9,000 "degree-

days" of heating each winter to maintain a temperature of 68 degrees fahrenheit, in contrast to an average of 5,500 such days in the United States. The Swedish figure is comparable to North Dakota's.

The average heat loss through the walls of a Swedish home, either apartments or single-family dwellings, was half the U.S. figure. And so, over-all household heat-energy use in Sweden was 10 percent below that of the United States.

1. A number of "new towns" or cities should be planned holistically and built far away from today's metropolises.
2. Existing small cities of around 5,000 to 10,000 in carefully chosen small growth centers should be stimulated to grow to communities of 25,000 to 100,000.
3. Growth in present large cities should be strongly discouraged so that these cities can be revitalized rather than swamped with additional problems.
4. Satellite "new towns" and revitalized "new intowns" should be built around and in existing cities, using ecological planning methods.
5. To prevent Megalopolis, permanent large "open spaces" (100 square miles or more) should be purchased now by local, state, and federal governments and preserved against urbanization to provide "green space", recreation, and land and water conservation. Natural areas provide ecological buffer systems able to repair the errors we will inevitably make.
6. A large number of micro open spaces should be purchased and used within existing urban areas.
7. Instead of wiping out entire neighborhoods with monotonous urban renewal, a diverse mixture of new and old buildings and neighborhoods should be preserved much like the mix of young and mature trees found in a climax forest. Build more small buildings rather than monuments that must be preserved. Think of a city as a self-recycling system of diverse neighborhoods where buildings are thinned out and replaced continuously.
8. Plan and use transportation as a major tool to shape and direct desired growth patterns. Any city will be in size, form, and function only what its transportation system allows it to be. The decision to develop a freeway system 20 years ago is responsible for what Los Angeles is today.
9. Plan cities, neighborhoods, and buildings to preserve and reinforce the positive elements of ethnic and cultural groups — thus preserving essential personal identity and cultural diversity (Watt 1973).
10. Establish a new arm of federal government with funds and authority to plan and put into effect this national land use policy in cooperation with similar regional, state, and local bodies.
11. Local government units (in 1967 the 227 major metropolitan areas had 20,703 local governments) should be grouped into regional systems, perhaps planned and governed on the basis of airshed, watershed, or major types of land ecosystems.
12. Instead of planning for growth consider growth as a variable that can be controlled. Once growth is planned for, its absence is disastrous and growth must then occur — self-fulfilling and defeating policy.
13. Land use policy must be coupled with a national policy for limiting growth. Planning should be based on balanced economic-ecological principles using cybernetic or systems modeling, with computers to project some of the long term effects of various policies.

The above suggestions for a comprehensive land use policy were made by G. Tyler Miller, Jr. in his book Living in the Environment: Concepts, Problems, and Alternatives, p. 197.

## **Minnesota's tax load is 7th-highest**

Minnesotans had the nation's seventh-highest state and local tax burden in 1975, about \$100 more than the national per capita average of \$665.60, a New York taxpayers group has reported.

The per capita tax in Minnesota last year was \$767.53, up from \$695.84 the previous year when Minnesota ranked ninth nationally, according to the Citizens Public Expenditure Survey of New York.

The survey, using figures supplied by the federal government, found that New Yorkers had the highest tax load in 1975, \$1,008.79. California's \$889.71 was second.

Among Minnesota's neighbors, only Wisconsin, which ranked 10th with a per capita tax of \$737.14, had a comparable tax burden.

Iowa ranked 25th at \$632.61, North Dakota 26th at \$627.09 and South Dakota 33rd at \$548.90. Arkansas had the lowest per capita state and local tax level, \$405.34, according to the report.

The Public Expenditure Survey has been active in New York since 1938, according to senior research analyst Gertrude Wilber. The group monitors financial practices in state government.



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