

Barbara - I didn't mean to get on my soap box. Some of the committee are used to my lengthy memos so they won't be surprised

May 22, 1969

To: Bubis c.c. Ramey, Martin, Herman, May, Wackerbarth, SO

From: Duckworth

Re: Comments on Speech Outline

You have done an excellent job on the speech outline. I agree with ~~the~~ the idea that it should be all inclusive. It might be much too long if all of the areas were included in one speech. Unless the group was especially interested in or acquainted with the workings of the Legislature, I think they might get lost in the detail. It will be very easy for the speaker to pick up the particular areas that the group would be most interested in. Or the speaker could emphasize the area that would be in the newsmedia at that particular time. For instance, right now annual sessions, conference committees and even the conflict of interest areas would be already in the spotlight.

In the Introduction under A-2 you mention the \$5 billion annual budget. I know you would catch this in the next draft, but I will draw you attention to it just in case. It would be \$2.5 billion annually. You have the correct figure in II - A-3b.

Under IV Compensation - I have some figures on expenses that I got from Dick Cory during the last amendment election. I will send them to you later. I am not at home right now so cannot get to my files.

The present session should give many illustrations of some of the points. For instance the jealousy between the House and the Senate. It has certainly prevented the orderly flow of bills and resolutions through this session. The public should, if they are paying any attention at all, demand the closer cooperation between the two houses as in VII B.

There would also be ample illustrations under Conflict of Interest VIII in the current media. For instance, apparently France has controlled the length of campaigns. There was much talk after DeGaulle resigned of the beginning date of the campaign for election of his successor. Also the Abe Fortas case has brought a lot of comment in the press about disclosures of conflict of interest. Some of these comments should make good quotations and for instances to be included under that category.

RE: Other Comments

I note that the legislators have approved a \$2,000 a year pay increase for themselves if the pay raise amendment passes in August. Perhaps this would encourage the State Board to support that amendment. It would seem to make a better "package" to support if the LWV were for both of them. One without the other would not be a very workable arrangement, in my opinion. Although it may not be a good idea to tie the pay of legislators in with judges, the amendment seems to fulfill our criteria of adequate compensation and of getting the amount of the legislators' pay out of the constitution. As I remember several Leagues, including Houston, wanted the amount of compensation to be tied to the cost of living in some way. I will go back home and look up what I have on the chart to see just how many Leagues mentioned the sliding scale idea. We did support the last proposed amendment, which I think most Leagues felt raised the salary an inadequate amount. Perhaps my thinking is swayed by Dick Cory's activities, but I think many of our legislators are now already working "full time". I would guess that most urban legislators spend as much time on legislative business as Cory. He estimates that he spend 3 to 4 hours a day average on legislative business during interim periods. This includes speeches, phone calls, interim committee meetings, correspondence, etc.

If you then considered the amount of time a legislator must spend during a session, which easily amounts to a 10 to 12 hour day, I think you could consider that they are now full time. Another consideration is that they are on call, so to speak, 24 hours a day. Cory tells of phone calls asking him to use his influence on the part of constituents at all hours of the night and frequently on Sunday.

My thinking may be colored also by the remark of Senator Patman just before the present session. He closed his law office in Ganado and moved to Austin in September and devoted full time to studying proposed issues and taking care of legislative business. He was strongly of the opinion that this sort of thing was a necessity to be effective as a legislator. It occurred to me at that time, as he was telling me about it, that there would be very few legislators with the personal wealth to be able to do this. Is it really representative of the people to limit those able to serve as legislators to persons whose financial security is such that they can simply close up ~~W/~~ their business for months at a time? By the same token, there are few persons in his district who will try to run against him because of the matter of campaign expenses.

As you might have guessed, I am all for giving them a raise, even if it might be too large for right now. Only when we provide them a good living from the public till can we insist on better performance over-all and some sort of conflict of interest provision. It seems we have no leg to stand on right now when we ask them to shape up. I feel the legislature will be improved when we can really "sock it to them" on some of the shenanigans they pull. This session is furnishing many examples. Yet these men are up there working hard, most of them, and when it comes right down to it, are doing so out of the goodness of their hearts. They are not going to send their children to college on \$4,800 a year unless they ~~slight~~ their legislative duties long enough to make money some other way.

It is all extremely doubtful if the public can be sold on this, I realize. It is going to be difficult for the League to be influential in legislative reform unless we can get our whole package before the citizens. Although annual sessions and adequate compensation seem to come first, the rest should follow.

It always seemed to be the feeling of the League that the Legislature as a study item would eventually be absorbed by TCR. However we have a number of positions now that do not come under constitutional revision, so it does make a problem. I can't give you any suggestions on that. Perhaps leave the rest under a separate Legislative Reform item after you move the constitutional provisions under TCR.

Neither can I help you much on a title. I sort of favor the one you mention - although it is long. The only other thing I can come up with is "The Texas Legislature at the Crossroads".

The idea of two outlines is good. I get a bit doubtful at times if there is any way to make the voice of the average citizen heard by the legislature under their present way of doing things. But perhaps I have become too pessimistic in my old age.

May 18, 1969

Dear Barbara,

The typewriter I borrowed from the office supply store to use while they are fixing mine will not work! I will get this off to tell you that I do intend to comment on the speech outline to the committee, nothing stupendous - but sometimes all comments taken together help.

I am supposed to be receiving DPM from SO but I've apparently missed one or two. There are a couple of TFA and the latest legislative newsletter that I have not received.

I really need to get off for Iowa the 1st week in June but several considerations may delay me a week. There is a Bar Mitzvah that I should attend here on June 6. If reports on Dad's condition are good - I may delay. Called Helen Rae when I was in Corpus C last month so I realized you would be at Bd meeting the first week in June. It is so nice of you to offer your hospitality. My children are such a mess, we might get less done that way. Is there a motel near you with swimming pool? If I could find a ~~teen~~ teenager to watch them in the pool, we could confer with less interruption. Eliza Browncombe

and I tried a conference two years ago
and can testify that life with them
about is not tranquil.

Thursday, May 22

As you can see I did not get this off Sunday. Since then I have had a hospital sojourn for tests -- nothing wrong except muscle tension. It has improved since I have been under less strain, so now if I lose weight, take my daily outdoor exercise, etc. I should be okay.

Back to trying to get together -- I will have to make the decision on when to go up to Iowa on the news I receive from there. Will let you know. If we can ~~go up~~ not see each other going up, I hope we can on the way back. It certainly costs a lot to send the rest of the material through the mail. If you feel you don't need the many drafts of the F & I, it will lighten the weight considerably. I will keep them for awhile, just in case something would be questioned. I would much prefer to talk with you before State Board Meeting because after that anything I might have to contribute would be out of date, I am afraid. We probably will be coming back in about the middle of July, if my Father's condition is stable. There is a point where our visit becomes more of a burden ~~to~~ all of them than it is a help. And I just have to judge that as the time goes by.

Perhaps you noticed from the article I wrote for our VICTORIA VOTER that I made the statement that "We can support the pay raise amendment." Thank goodness I didn't make it more definite than that! However, it went to all Local League Presidents and I wonder if there should be some definite notification go out to local Leagues that the State Board decided not to support that amendment? When I wrote the article I looked over all the literature that I had and could find no mention of what you had decided to do. I will comment on the amendments on the other memo so that Ruth Martin will have a copy. I am making just one copy of this for you.

I will present you with the material from Citizens Conference as a gift. It will ease my conscience a bit for leaving the portfolio in such a mess for you to have to pick up.

You may guse any part of my editorial that you wish in any way that you wish. I sort of assumed as I wrote it that we would support both amendments and I would have to read it over to see if that was implied. I am at my husband's office this afternoon so have no access to my files. The office girl has gone off to a convention for two days. You might have noticed that I am not used to using this typewriter.

I will comment on the rest of your letter on the next page so I can send a copy to Ruth M. Please believe me that I understand how snowed you are with carbon copies of everything. I was so discouraged about it when I first took over the portfolio and had to keep up with all of the correspondence in addition to getting the Facts and Issues under way. So don't worry about corresponding with me unless there is something you really need to know.

Best wishes,

Helen

May, 11, 1969

To: Ramey, Martin, SO

From: Bubis

Re: Pre-Board, Legislature Speech

I don't know how much I have duplicated what Janice will say in her pre-Board report. It may be that I have done so, and you may want to eliminate several paragraphs, particularly the third and fourth.

In trying to find quotable quotes for the legislature speech, they seemed to me to be trite, pedantic, or written for the written rather than the oral word. Therefore, please eliminated this listing from the bibliography. If I find something better later on, it can be sent on.

I am enclosing the article on ~~xxxxx~~ retirement and the schedule of legislators' compensation in my mailing to Joan. I can have photocopies of the latter made here should Joan decide to use them. Would need to know how many she would need.

Bubis

To: Legislature committee, SO, ~~MEMPHIS~~
From: Bubis
RE: Pre-Board committee meeting
May, 1969

Please read the pre-Board report carefully before coming to Houston. I have pretty well outlined what we'll need to discuss at our committee meeting. First and foremost, of course, will be our plans for the activities supporting the constitutional amendment(s) this summer.

Since writing the pre-Board report, the legislature has reduced the enabling legislation amount from \$9800 per annum to \$6800 (a \$3000 increase). This seems to me reasonable, but we have no guarantees that they will not raise it substantially in the near future. Also the objection to the tie-in with district judges is still in the amendment. We may have a tough time explaining why we support salary increases and not this amendment, particularly to the legislators. I'm sure they did it this way so that there would be no money amount on the ballot; thereby increasing their chances of passage. Helen Duckworth has sent several comments supporting the amendment which I'll bring to the Board meeting. In the meantime, try to think about ~~HOUSTON~~ what you want to recommend to the Board. To support or not to support, that's the question.

Joan Kamey likes the idea of two speech outlines (one on lobbying). I'm hoping we can put this off until Jandice has had a rest and can help with the development ~~for~~ of an outline. Perhaps this could also be used as part of a packet for local lobbying schools.

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STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE LEGISLATURE

Standing committees are named by the presiding officer of each house after consultation with the individual members. Members are sent preference cards which they may return to the presiding officer before personal conferences with him. Both these indications may guide him in making his appointments, which are announced early in the session.

Assignments to Standing Committees, 61st Legislature (1969) Comparison with 59th (1965) in parentheses

Senate

Number of committees.....	332	27	(25)
Size of committees.....	5 to 21		(3 to 21)
Total number of committee assignments.....	321		(309)
Members on committees.....	31		(31)
Assignments per member.....	9 to 13		(7 to 13)
Members having 1 chairmanship or 1 vice chairmanship.....	9		(15)
Members having 1 chairmanship and 1 vice chairmanship.....	19		(10)
Members having 2 chairmanships or 2 vice chairmanships.....	2		(4)
Members having 3 top committee assignments.....	1		(2)
Members having no top committee assignments.....	0		(0)

House

Number of committees.....	45		(43)
Size of committees.....	5 to 21		(5 to 21)
Total number of committee assignments.....	735		(728)
Members on committees.....	149*		(149)
Assignments per member.....	4 or 5		(4 or 5)
Members having 1 chairmanship or 1 vice chairmanship.....	78		(78)
Members having 1 chairmanship and 1 vice chairmanship.....	5		(4)
Members having 2 vice chairmanships.....	1		(0)
Members having no top committee assignments.....	45		(47)

* Information not available on John E. Poerner who replaced R. C. Howard.

© Estimated

Note: This is for your information to give you an idea of what is happening under "Effectiveness of the Legislator." Of significance is the number of committee assignments per legislator, particularly for senators, and the fact that, despite discussion of reduction of assignments in the 60th legislature, the situation, if anything, is getting worse, not better.

Martin

LIV of Texas
May, 1969
Legislature Speech Kit

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Members having no top committee assignments.....	0 (0)

House

Number of committees.....	45 (43)
Size of committees.....	5 to 21 (3 to 21)
Total number of committee assignments.....	735 (728)
Members on committees.....	140* (140)
Assignments per member.....	4 or 5 (4 or 5)
Members having 1 chairmanship or 1 vice chairmanship.....	78 (78)
Members having 1 chairmanship and 1 vice chairmanship.....	3 (4)
Members having 2 vice chairmanships.....	1 (0)
Members having no top committee assignments.....	45 (47)

* Information not available on John McFerrer who replaced R. C. Howard.

Q Estimated

Note: This is for your information to give you an idea of what is happening under "Effectiveness of the Legislator." Of significance is the number of committee assignments per legislator, particularly for senators, and the fact that, despite discussion of reduction of assignments in the 60th Legislature, the situation, if anything, is getting worse, not better.

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STATES (In descending order of compensation)	Compensation Effective 1/1/1969			Biennial Total 1964-65	Date of Recent Adjustment	Increases Recommended by Citizens Commissions
	Salary	Expense Allowance	Biennial Total			
24. Nebraska	\$400/mo (24 mos)	..	\$9,600	\$4,800	1968	..
25. South Carolina	\$15/diem	\$20/diem	9,200	4,800	1966	..
26. Mississippi	\$5,000/ biennium	\$12.50/diem + \$100/mo(interim)	8,775	4,900	1968*	..
27. Washington	\$7,200/ biennium	\$25/diem + \$50/mo (interim)	8,700	4,800	1967	\$6,000/year
28. Oregon	\$20/diem + \$6,000/ biennium	..	8,400	8,400	..	..
29. Maryland	\$2,400/yr	\$25/diem	8,300	8,300(A)	..	\$6,500/year
30. Kansas	\$10/diem	\$25/diem + \$100 per month	7,050	4,000(A)	1967	..
31. Tennessee	\$1,800/yr	\$30/diem	6,300	1,124	1967	..
32. Iowa	\$40/diem	..	5,800	5,000	1967	\$6,000/year
33. Indiana	\$3,600/ biennium	\$20/diem	4,800	4,820	..	..
34. North Carolina	\$15/diem	\$20/diem	4,200	4,220	..	..
35. Connecticut	\$3,250/ biennium	\$750/biennium	4,000	4,000	..	..
36. Vermont	\$3,000/ biennium	\$15/diem or \$40/ week (whichever is less)	4,000	2,000	1967	..
37. Nevada	\$40/diem	\$25/diem	3,900	3,900	..	..
38. Arkansas	\$100/mo (24 mos) + \$20/diem	..	3,600	3,600	..	..
39. Kentucky	\$25/diem	\$25/diem	3,600	3,600	..	..
40. Virginia	\$600/yr	\$35/diem	3,300	1,800	1966	..
41. Utah	\$25/diem	\$15/diem	3,200	1,300	1968	\$1,000/year
42. Maine	\$2,000/ biennium	\$12/diem	3,044	3,044	..	..
43. South Dakota	\$3,000/ biennium	..	3,000	3,000(A)	..	..
44. West Virginia	\$1,500/yr	..	3,000	3,000	..	..
45. North Dakota	\$15/diem	\$20/diem	2,640	2,340	1967	..
46. Montana	\$20/diem	\$15/diem	2,100	2,100	..	\$7,500/year
47. New Mexico	\$20/diem	..	1,800	1,200	1967	..
48. Wyoming	\$15/diem	\$26/diem	1,640	1,280	1967	..
49. Rhode Island	\$5/diem	..	600	600	..	..
50. New Hampshire	\$200/biennium	..	200	200	..	..
NATIONAL AVERAGE			11,573	7,167		

ESTIMATED BIENNIAL COMPENSATION OF LEGISLATORS, BY STATES
EFFECTIVE JANUARY 1, 1969

STATES (In descending order of compensation)	Compensation Effective 1/1/1969			Biennial Total 1964-65	Date of Recent Adjustment	Increases Recommended by Citizens Commissions
	Salary	Expense Allowance	Biennial Total			
1. California	\$16,000/yr	\$25/diem	\$42,550	\$14,850	1966	..
2. New York	\$15,000/yr	\$3,000/yr	36,000	24,000	1967	..
3. Michigan	\$15,000/yr	\$3,000/yr	36,000	25,000	1968	..
4. Hawaii	\$12,000/yr	\$45/diem	29,400	8,700	1968	As passed
5. Massachusetts	\$10,000/yr	\$1,800/biennium + \$15/diem	28,250	16,800	1968	..
6. Ohio	\$12,750/yr	..	25,500	16,000	1968	..
7. Pennsylvania	\$14,400/ biennium	\$4,800/session	24,000	24,000	..	..
8. Illinois	\$24,000/ biennium	..	24,000	18,000	1969	..
9. Wisconsin	\$8,400/yr	\$15/diem + \$20-40/ mo. (interim)	17,500- 19,500	12,450	1967	..
10. Missouri	\$8,400/yr	\$10/diem	18,750	11,550	1967	..
11. Alaska	\$6,000/yr	\$35/diem	17,495	10,495	..	..
12. Oklahoma	\$8,400/yr	..	16,800	3,900	1968	As set
13. New Jersey	\$15,000/ biennium	..	15,000	15,000	..	..
14. Delaware	\$6,000/yr	\$25/diem	14,200	9,000	1967	..
15. Arizona	\$6,000/yr	\$12/diem	13,866	5,434	1968	..
16. Florida	\$2,400/ biennium	\$25/diem + \$300/ mo. while not in session	12,000	3,900	1968	..
17. Minnesota	\$9,600/ biennium	\$21/diem	11,742	11,742	..	"Sizeable"
18. Texas	\$4,800/yr	\$12/diem	11,040	11,040	..	..
19. Alabama	\$10/diem	\$20/diem, 300/mo.	11,000	3,780	1967	..
20. Georgia	\$4,200/yr	\$25/diem	10,775	4,250	1966	As passed
21. Idaho	\$10/diem	\$200/mo (24 mos) + \$35/diem	10,200	2,100	1968*	Expense allowance as set
22. Louisiana	\$50/diem	\$250 mo. (Interim)	9,750	9,750	..	..
23. Colorado	\$200/mo (24 mos) + \$35/diem	..	9,600	6,400	1967	..

MEMORANDUM FROM:

League of Women Voters of Texas

1841 BINGLE ROAD • HOUSTON, TEXAS 77055

TO:

Dear Barbara -

The speech outline would include such areas as you think someone giving a talk would want to cover - you may want to list sources of information for the areas in footnotes or at the side. I am sure Joan would like the outline to bring out points we have emphasized in our study and Consensus. Joan is very thorough and will let you know specifically ~~the~~ what she has in mind. I need not be long.

I feel so lucky that we have you on the Board - and I look forward to working together during

on

the months ahead.

Rich^d M.

THE TEXAS LEGISLATURE

I. Introduction

- A. If possible, tailor opening statement to the group you are addressing.
 - 1. For example, if PTA involved, stress importance of state legislation in public school education.
 - 2. For businessmen, might call attention to the \$5 billion ^{biennial} annual budget and the short amount of time legislators have to appropriate it and find revenue for it.
- B. League background
 - 1. Three year study
 - 2. Study included
 - a. Factual information about the Texas legislature
 - b. Interviews with the legislators
 - c. Opinions of experts nationally about state legislatures
 - d. Comparison with legislatures of other states
- C. During this study, League members began to see that changes could be made in our legislature to make it more efficient and to make the job of the legislator easier.

II. Annual sessions

- A. Present procedure
 - 1. Regular ~~140~~ day sessions (January through May) every other year (extended each session to 140 days)
 - 2. Special sessions of 30 days called by the governor
 - a. Governor specifies subject matter
 - b. Legislature may not call special session
 - 3. Volume of activity
 - a. Well over 1000 bills and resolutions introduced each regular session
 - b. \$5 billion ~~annual~~ biennial budget, increasing each biennium
 - c. 10 million people affected
- B. ~~A~~ Constitutional amendment election August 5, 1969 (Eliminate this section after this date)
 - 1. Amendment #9
 - 2. ~~Reduces 140 day session to 120 days~~ session first year (140 day limit)*
 - 3. Adds a 60 day session during the second year to consider budget and emergency measures
 - 4. League supports this ~~1~~ (tell why)

III. Conference committees¹

- A. Describe powers
 - 1. Powers specified by rules adopted in each house
 - 2. Use appropriations bill to describe what happens in conference committees
- B. League feels conference committees should be restricted to adjusting differences between the two houses.

IV. Compensation for legislators

- A. Present compensation
 - 1. Salary \$4800/year plus \$12/day expenses during first 120 days
 - 2. Expenses of \$12/day during special session
 - 3. 10¢/mile travel allowance to and from Austin one time during session
 - 4. Receive Social Security and retirement benefits⁶
- B. Ranking^{1,5}
- C. Costs of being a legislator
 - 1. Income lost while serving in Austin
 - 2. Traveling and living expenses (two households)
 - 3. Costs resulting from disruption of family life
 - 4. Expenses of being a legislator
 - 5. Expenses of becoming a legislator

* Legislature can adopt rules to extend session to 140 days in odd-numbered years

D. League position: Adequate compensation. Elimination of amount from constitution.

V. Powers of presiding officers^{# 1}

A. League position: Power of House and Senate should be increased in relation to the power of the presiding officers.

1. More voice for the legislators in determining committee membership
 2. Bills and resolutions referred to committees of appropriate jurisdiction
- a. State Affairs Committee

VI. Increased effectiveness of the legislator

A. Description of the day of a legislator (sometimes from 7 a.m. to 3:30 a.m.)

1. Include such items as meeting with lobbyists and citizens' groups, correspondence, committee assignments, lobbying for his own bills, etc.
2. Stress workload of legislators, great number of bills he must keep up with

B. To ease his workload and make him more effective, League recommends (expand upon):

1. Pre-session orientation
2. Fewer committee assignments⁴
3. Adequate professional and clerical help²
4. Improved facilities for research, information, and bill drafting, including use of electronic aids/²

VII. Orderly flow of bills and resolutions*

A. Reduction of the number of committees⁴ (Refer back to VI.B.2)

B. ~~RENAME~~ Closer cooperation between the two houses by such means as parallel, joint, and joint interim committees/(Define)

C. Deadlines for reporting bills and resolutions out of subcommittees and committees

1. Explain how presiding officers and committee chairman can kill a bill through present committee system, if you do not go into How a Bill Becomes Law.

D. Fewer local bills on the legislative calendar

1. Describe local and uncontested bills and the dangers inherent in their passage*
2. Choose a couple of your favorite bills to illustrate this point.
3. Point out how this clogs the legislative calendar.

E. Pre-session filing

F. Early introduction and circulation of bills and resolutions

1. E. and F. can be handled together to show how helpful it would be to the legislator to have more time to deliberate and to spend less time on bill preparation during the actual session. (This would be a constitutional amendment)

VIII. Conflict of interest³

A. Legislators ~~should~~ should be responsive to the public. Conflicts of interest should be lessened

1. Shorter campaigns to reduce campaign costs
2. All campaign contributions and loans reported, with clear identification of contributors and effective enforcement by an agency for this purpose/
3. Total expenses of lobbying filed
4. A workable code of ethics which clearly defines and discloses conflicts of interest

*How a Bill Becomes a Law has not been included in this speech because of time limitations. If you feel that it should be included for the group you are addressing, you might insert it either here or in your introduction.

IX. Procedures that facilitate public knowledge of legislative activities¹

- A. Record votes taken in committee meetings
- B. Committee meetings open to the public

X. Conclusion

- A. Quickly list the eight major points you have made in this speech.
- B. Concluding remarks about the importance of the state legislature in our system of government^{1,7}

~~XXXXXXXX~~ BIBLIOGRAPHY

(Note: Numbers after subject matter above refer to these publications)

- 1. The Framework and the Functioning
- 2. Aids for the Texas Legislator
- 3. The Influence of the Lobby
- 4. Standing Committees of the Legislature, 1969
- 5. Estimated Biennial Compensation of Legislators, By States, Effective January 1, 1969
- 6. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Legislators Leap at Retirement Hike*
- 7. ~~XX~~ Quotable quotes

*Use this information only if brought up by the audience. We don't want to stress it.

Bubis

To: Herman, May, Neckerbarth, Martin, Ramey, Dickworth, SO
From: Bubis
Re: Legislature speech

May 26, 1969

CORRECTIONS: Please make the following corrections in your outline:

- I.A. 32. Should read \$3 billion biennial budget.
- II.A. 1. Regular 120 day sessions (January through May) every other year.
I s usually extended ~~by constitutional provision~~ to the maximum of 140 days each ~~maximum~~ regular session.)*
- B. 2. 120 day session odd numbered years (Legislature may extend this to a maximum of 140 days.)*

*Article to be amended is found in the Texas Constitution, Article III, Section 5. The amendment does not touch Article III, Section 24, which states that "The Regular Session shall be of longer duration than one hundred and forty days." Per diem is based on 120 days of the Regular Session only.

* * * * *

Note to committee, Janice and Helen, particularly: Gladys called my attention to the error in the outline. I hope I have the information correct now. If it is not, would you let me know right away? I have gone through the Constitution and five texts, and they are very fuzzy. The rules adoption by the House, as far as I could tell, called for a 120 day session, but ~~the~~ rule 20 states, "it shall not be in order during the first 120 days of the regular session for" (any bill to appropriate money prior to the) "consideration, passage and certification by the Comptroller of ~~the~~ the General Appropriations Bill." I had always just taken it for granted that after the amendment in 1960 that sessions were 140 days, period.

COVER LETTER FOR LEGISLATURE SPEECH

To: Legislature Speakers Bureau
From: Barbara Bubis (Mrs. Ralph L.)
Re: Using the speech outline

The outline in this speech packet concerning the League recommendations for legislative modernization is of necessity comprehensive and long. Obviously, there is too much material for the average speech. Unless you are speaking to a group with a great deal of savvy about the legislature, you'll need to pick and choose what you'll say. Don't try to cover the waterfront. You'll only be confusing.

It seems to me that what you say should be governed by several factors:

- 1. The special interests of the group you are addressing;
- 2. The timeliness of the subject (what's in the news right now);
- 3. The relative importance of the statements (probably the most important first step is full-time pay for full time legislators.);
- 4. The possibilities of achieving anything of the positions in the near future.

Each session of the legislature has vivid illustrations of the points we want to make. You might use the most recent session to illustrate some of the points. For instance, they passed and will have on the ballot in August, 1969, constitutional amendments on annual sessions and compensation. (Watch carefully, however, on these as to League's support or non-support.)

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In most cases, the more you can dress up your statements with illustrations the more believable you'll be. You might use such examples as the practices of conference committees in regard to appropriation bills; the controversy over lack of definition of conflict of interest in the Neatly and Fortes cases; or you might use the example of how power struggles between the two houses can impede orderly flow of bills (VII. B.).

It might be a good idea to scan your publications for quotable & quotes and for up to date information, keeping your own clipping file for reference.

If you feel you want to have publications available for your audience, Facts and Issues for sale may be ordered from the State Office. You'll need to use your own judgment if you wish to suggest them or offer these for further reading.

or suggestions,

If you have any questions, please feel free to consult with me. My address is [REDACTED]



May 16, 1969

TO: Bubis, Martin, Duckworth, Herman, May, Wackerbarth, SO
FROM: Ramey
RE: Legislature "Speakers Bureau" material - board agenda

Barbara, I must apologize ~~for~~ being late in answering your memos - between working here to help Sue with the Mont. Co. League; regular League work, and going into SO on occasion, plus the fact that I am in the process of getting set up in the Real estate business, I'm meeting myself coming and going - and my League work is really beginning to show it.

The speech outline is very good - I particularly like the idea of the double outline. I agree with Ruth - re; don't cut any of it. The most important thing about it is the fact that the speakers will be aware of the material they need to know - much of this material may not be used in the formal speech, itself, but a passing knowledge will be essential for periods of ~~time~~ ~~will probably~~.

We may want to add a portion in the letter to organizations - in describing the two types of speeches available on this subject. We wouldn't need any additional speakers, but the different approach would appeal to different groups.

You had an excellent idea about the kit containing a copy of the consensus statement - we should do this with all the kits, where applicable.

As per your request for your committee meeting time - I have a feeling I answered this - at least I planned to, but I can't find the carbon. I couldn't work in a change of the groupings or committees without finding all sorts of conflicts - so I left it as originally planned - I thought you might have time to solve some of your problems ??? or have your questions answered by Janice during the all program committee in advance of the individual meetings. I also scheduled you to room with her - and that may help you somewhat. Hope so, anyway. Ruth will go over the agenda when she gets back, and may be able to come up with a better solution.

*Re: # copies of schedule of legislative compensation -
One for each speaker - plus 3 for S.O.*

May 12, 1969

✓
TO: Bubis, Ramey, Duckworth, Herman, May, Wackerbarth, SO

FROM: Martin

RE: Speech on the Legislature

Barbara, your memo did not reach me until Saturday, May 10 and with week end house guests I could not reply until today.

Your speech outline seems very complete to me. It is rather long but this is a long subject. Too, anyone using it can always cut down if limited by time whereas they might not be as able to add to the material if more is needed. So, I would not eliminate any of it.

I think you have covered all of the major elements. I have no suggestions for additions--at least not at this time.

Your idea of possibly needing two outlines has much merit. I hope that we can pursue this plan, for later implementation, during a forthcoming board meeting--whenever time permits.

5/7/69

To: Ramey, Martin, Duckworth, Herman, May, Wackerbarth, SO

From: Bubis

Re: Speech on the Legislature

Enclosed find draft for the speech for the state wide speakers bureau. Deadline from Ramey is May 12, so I need to get your comments on it quickly. Sorry for the time pressure, but it took me a little while to get it organized in my own mind.

The title I have in my files is "The Texas Legislature...of the people, by the people, for the people?" I feel that it is overlong and has a possible unfortunate connotation. However, cannot seem to come up with a title that has zip and meaning that I like. Does anyone have a good idea for a title?

I get the feeling that the League speakers bureau might need two outlines for a legislature speech. One, as outlined, to discuss the areas that the League feels need emphasis. The second to be a kind of lobbying tool so that organizations can understand how the legislature works and how to be effective in getting their voices heard. Perhaps this second speech needs to be done along with Janice's ideas for a lobbying school and for action possibilities under this legislative item. If we have time, perhaps we can discuss this in June; if not, at a later board meeting.

Note to State Office and Ramey: Please don't consider the enclosed outline final until I've had a chance to hear from the committee. Shall have to send you some of the materials in the bibliography at a later date.

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TO: PR Committee, SO, Herman, Bubis, McKinlay, Caine, Barstis
RE: Speakers Bureau

I would like to have the letters to organizations go out no later than the end of May. I will sum up for you the present status of the Bureau, listing speakers who have confirmed they will serve, as well as proposed topics for each item. If you have any comments to make, please have them in by the pre-board deadline of May 12th. Thanks much.

"The Texas Executive - Past, Present, and Future." (Outline in) (Herman)
Speaker confirmed - Gloria Herman

"The Texas Legislature - ...of the people, by the people, for the people?" (Bubis)
(outline not in)

Speakers confirmed - ~~#####~~
Mrs. Duane Jordan, and Mrs. George Watterworth.

Barbara: You had better check with Helen on this - my notes are all mixed up as to who is and who is not confirmed. I don't have a memo from Helen stating that she does have the specific approval of individuals.

"The Texas Constitution - a product of the past, failing to meet the needs of the future" (McKinlay)
(outline in)
Speakers confirmed - Janice May, Conklee Smith, Ina Mae McCollom

"The Texas Water Plan - what it means to Texans" (Caine)
(Outline in)
Speakers confirmed - Mrs. John Anderson, Mrs. William Aldrich

"A Citizens Role in a Changing Society" (Barstis)
(outline not in)
Speakers confirmed - Dorothy Brown, Mrs. Anderson, Mrs. Passmore, Mrs. Church, Mrs. Pollard.

Each speaker will receive a kit one month prior to the engagement - the kit will contain a copy of the letter to the organizations; a copy of "Who Me"; the resource material each chairman recommends for her. She will retain possession of the kit until such time as she feels she must leave the Bureau, and will then return the material.

Will each of you send me a list of the publications you wish to have for her resource material - also any give away material she could use at the engagement. Send this in to me with your comments.

A file card system has been set up to handle the engagements - listing all information re: contacts; dates, speakers sent, etc., File will also contain information on speakers and addresses. An initial letter of appreciation to the speakers will be sent as soon as the program is inaugurated, along with the kit.

TO: Bubis
FROM: Ramey
RE: Statewide speakers bureau

Barbara, this material re: the speech outline for Texas Legislature is for the purpose of being certain that the speakers are fully apprised of information relating to League positions, or possible support areas. In other words, we want the speakers to have the option to organize their own speeches, but since there are areas we want made known to the public, we want to have these pointed out to the speakers. What the other chairmen have been doing is to make-up an outline of information which should be included in the speech. This outline points out support areas, and in some cases, why we support them, to give added strength to our statements. The speakers can then take this outline, with her resource material, and compose a pretty good speech. They are not as expert as the chairmen of the material, and need to have concrete information on support positions, in case questions come from the floor.

In some cases, the outlines are pretty complete, and in others, quite broad. I think that under the Legislature item, the basic outline could be pretty broad, with some footnotes or something to point out important "League" areas. There is so much to cover in a speech with the Legislature - the speakers might want to condense much of the material, and utilize the information on League positions for future citizen support as more important points to cover.

The speakers for the Legislature item have already been contacted by Helen, and she has approval, I believe, on most of them. You might drop her a note and find out specifically if she does have approval, and if you have someone to add who might be interested in being on the statewide bureau for this purpose - present her name to the board in June, and then contact her for confirmation.

Barbara
Bubbs

September 23, 1968

To: Joan Ramey c.c. Fritz, Hemman, Joor, Martin
From: Duckworth
Re: Belated reply to memo of July 31 about Statewide Speakers Bureau

When I can get to it, I believe I can develop a speech from the one which is a sample of possible speeches for Constitutional Amendment 5.

Persons with a good grasp of the Legislature Study are:

Mrs. James Harvey

Mrs. Duane Jordan

Mrs. John Graham

Mrs. George Boller *given*

Mrs. E. R. Brownscombe

Mrs. George Watterworth *Jan*

Mrs. Edward Babenco

Miss Mary Glade

As you can see, all of these persons are very much involved with the League at the local level. I do not know if they would have time to do this, if asked. Some of them I do not know and therefore, have no idea of their speaking techniques. This information would have to be obtained from those who know them.

Of course, the members of my committee - Ruth Martin, Helen Noe, and Jo Prashner, as well as you and Eloise Wackerbarth would be able to do this, but I did not know if you wanted present State Board members.

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LWW of Texas
May 1968

TO: Local League Presidents and Public Relations Chairmen
FROM: Mrs. Darol K. Ramey, 3rd Vice-President
RE: Outline for Speakers Bureau

The enclosed outline will serve as an introduction to the new series of Speakers Bureau Kits developed for the Texas Leagues. Each kit is contained in an attractive folder, and will serve as a complete preparation for your speakers.

The kits include a prepared speech; a sample press release, a copy of the main resource tool, and a new "How to Speak" tool for the speaker.

The kits are available with or without the resource tool. It is recommended, however, that you do provide your speakers with a complete kit, either through excess publications you have on hand or by ordering a kit with the booklet.

TITLES AND PRICES

	(With Booklet)	(Without Booklet)
"Choosing the President"	\$1.50	.75
"Role of Political Parties"	1.00	.65
"Texas Constitutional Revision"	.75*	.50
"You and Your National Government"	.90	.65

* "Revision Quo Vadis" - new publication

ORDERS FOR THE ABOVE MAY BE PLACED WITH STATE OFFICE

OUTLINE FOR SPEAKERS BUREAU

1. Why have a Speakers Bureau?

This is the only direct contact between the League and the community. It is an ideal way to cultivate growth in three areas: a body of citizens informed on government; an understanding of the League per se; and support of a League position. The need for speakers is always present in every community, and the League is well qualified to meet this need. A Speakers Bureau is the most sophisticated and efficient manner we have to fulfill our purpose.

2. How to set up a Speakers Bureau

The first step in setting up a Bureau is forming a committee to serve under the general direction of the Board and with the responsibility to the Public Relations Chairman. The committee will have five jobs to do:

1. choosing the subjects for the Bureau
2. recruiting corps of speakers (resource people, or past leaders are a good source)
3. training the speakers
4. operating the Bureau
5. selling the Bureau in the community

CHOOSING THE SUBJECTS: Limit the subjects to those within the League's scope -- Voters Service, Local, State and National Program. General topics such as "Woman's Role As A Citizen" or "What's Your Political I.Q.?" provide the opportunity to bring League work to the attention of the audience besides providing topics of general interest. Keep current educational and legislative objectives in mind. Be sure to make the title interesting and finally, always have Board approval of subjects and general content of speeches.

RECRUITING SPEAKERS: Opportunities to qualify as speakers should be open to the general membership. However, quite often women will not volunteer, but will accept provided they are given a training session and are not being asked to make too many speeches. A "good" speaker unfamiliar with the subject matter would be able to learn the material without too much difficulty. In some cases, a "resource" person may go along to answer detailed questions which may be difficult for a "non-program" person to handle.

TRAINING THE SPEAKERS: A training course for prospective speakers might include:

1. Brief explanation by a Board member of the purpose of the Bureau and the policies that are to guide it.
2. Pointers on how to build a speech and other professional advice from speech experts.
3. Discussions within each subject area to determine the points to be covered and the method of presentation.
4. Possible demonstration speeches; helpful pointers on poise, etc.
5. Comments from past speakers to bring home helpful hints.

OPERATING THE BUREAU: Once a definite engagement has been made, the chairman gives the speaker, in writing, and in plenty of time, name and description of the organization she is to address; name of president and program chairman, address and directions for reaching the meeting place; purpose of the meeting and other pertinent matters; time, including length of meeting and length of speech.

(OVER)

She provides the speaker with all publications and material necessary for her to do her job. The Speakers Bureau chairman also notifies the organization requesting the speaker of the confirmation; the name and League title of the speaker; subject of her talk; how long she is to speak and at what time; pertinent background on the speaker; her home phone and address.

A card file record of the Speakers Bureau activities should include a note of each engagement together with comments from the speaker and the organization. Date, topic, speaker, and any other pertinent information should also be included.

SELLING THE BUREAU'S SERVICES: Letters, bulletins, clever post cards can be the main source of contacting other organizations. These should include facts about the Bureau and subjects covered by the speakers...titles of speeches and brief description of contents. These contacts should be made to the organizations while they are making up their programs for the coming year (generally in the spring). Generally, contacts should be made as far in advance as possible. If an organization has a campaign going and the League has something of particular interest to the campaign, a direct call may be acceptable and indeed welcomed.

3. Utilizing the Speakers Bureau Kits

Kits include a prepared speech which may serve as a means of outline for the speaker to work from; it may be used in its entirety (permitting even those persons not well "steeped" in the material to give the speech); or it may serve as a source of suggestions to the speaker. A copy of the main resource tool is included as part of the kit, in case Leagues have misplaced, or do not have enough copies of the tool. Keeping this tool in the kit always assures the League of having a complete set for the prospective speaker. A summary of "Hints" is included as a source of personal speaking training, or perhaps as a means of providing an outline for a training session. A sample press release which should be sent by the League or given to the organization requesting the speaker is also included. The League should keep this intact in the kit but could type a copy and fill in the necessary information for the newspaper.

All of the material in the kit should serve as a starting point and additional resource information, "Public Speaking" tips and any give-away material should be considered by the Bureau.

* * * * *

"WHO ME!!.....I JUST COULDN'T"

Has this been your reply when asked if you could serve on your local League's Speakers' Bureau? If so, don't feel alone. This is probably a universal cry from all of us. Actually, finding people who love to speak or who can do so without fear and trepidation, is a monumental task, and an unnecessary one. The best speakers are those who like people, who like to converse, and who enjoy the subject matter they have chosen. In other words, most of us are potential public speakers. After reading this, perhaps your reply will be "Who me?...O.K., I'll give it a try."

First of all, public speaking is not unlike carrying on a conversation with a friend, or discussing a subject in your unit meetings. Only the physical arrangements have been altered - instead of being among the group, you are at the head of the group. The size of the group is generally larger than you are usually used to, but should this really bother you? The number of people present has no effect upon the facts you are going to present. In fact, a public speaking situation should make you feel more comfortable. After all, you are better prepared than you would normally be in the direct conversation situation where you are speaking in an impromptu manner. Look upon your audience as a group in conversation with yourself. Direct your speech to them accordingly, and you will feel their reception.

BUTTERFLIES AND CONFIDENCE - All public speakers, regardless of the amount of experience they have had, experience some degree of discomfort prior to speaking. Indeed it has been said that this is good. Physically your system is more keyed up and your mental faculties better attuned to the situation. Only when these butterflies turn into a dry mouth and the room seems disconnected from reality or your mind seems to go blank, must you think of taking some direct action to counteract this problem. It is at this point that nervous excitement becomes fear. This fear, when analyzed, results from three causes, all of which you can control. 1. Fear of failure; 2. Fear of looking foolish; 3. Fear of breakdown.

Some hints to prevent these fears from becoming overwhelming have been compiled from leading public speaking textbooks. For example:

1. After your introduction, take your time. Look your audience over and try to establish some kinship with it. Smile. It does wonders for your confidence.
2. Be Prepared. Nothing can be more damaging to your confidence than partial preparation or lack of familiarity with your subject matter.
3. Use your notes correctly. Knowledge of the material will not help you when nervous tension builds up. Proper use of notes, as we will discuss later, will give you the added support needed.
4. When nervous, look at a member of the audience and speak to him as if you were in direct conversation. Starting this way, you will get over the hump of initial concern.
5. Remember that everyone in the audience, in the same situation, would react just as you are reacting.

THE IMPORTANCE OF YOUR DELIVERY - An audience reacts to a speaker in this order: First - they look at him. Naturally you would be conscious of this before reaching your engagement and would do your best to be physically attractive. However, it is advisable to wear something in which you feel comfortable in preference to a new outfit. Underdress if there is any question about the formality of the occasion. Walk to the speaker's podium with a purposeful air; relaxed as if you had walked into the home of a good friend; look pleased to see the audience. They really are quite friendly.

Remember that in direct conversation your face reveals your emotions. So it is when you are in front of a group. Be sincere - this shows in your every word and facial expression. Remember that your eyes are the most expressive feature of the face. Look at your audience. One caution to take here is not to look directly into the gaze of an individual for it may be enough to cause you to lose the thread of your discourse. Rather, look him in the face but not directly in the eyes. Keep your gaze in a slow, all encompassing motion, rather than speaking to one portion of the audience throughout your speech.

Next - the audience hears you. The biggest fault with most public speakers is the fact that they are inaudible. If you will try to project your voice to individuals in the back of the room, much of the problem will be solved. Don't try to shout, but just speak to the farthest point in a conversational manner. Take your time. Be certain that you have timed your speech so you do not feel the need to hurry. Allow the audience ample opportunities to digest certain facts before plunging into the next point. When you do not feel rushed, you will automatically overcome the problem of mumbling your words. Taking your time, breathing comfortably, and allowing yourself a brief moment of rest will improve your delivery while it assists to ease nervous tension.

Finally - the audience notices the speaker's actions. Approach the lectern or podium and stay there (unless referring to visual aids). Nothing is more disconcerting to an audience than a pacer. If you normally use your hands in conversing by all means continue to do so. However, if you feel uncomfortable using hand movements, allow them to lie relaxed on the podium. Don't fidget with your notes. Any repetitious action becomes a mannerism and is a distraction for the audience. Try to achieve a comfortable standing position. Constant shifting of weight also becomes a distraction. Are your knees shaking? Don't worry about it. You can feel them but it is unlikely your audience can see them. The shaking will stop as soon as the tension eases and you become enveloped in the subject matter. The longer you think about them, the more they shake. Try to balance your weight with one foot slightly ahead of the other.

Some key words to keep in mind during your presentation would be: TACT, ENTHUSIASM, FRIENDLINESS, SINCERITY, and RELAXATION. Your audience is human, too, and they won't expect more of you than you know you can produce.

BUILDING YOUR SPEECH - You have been asked to speak. You like the subject, and you want to know how to build your speech. Here are the main points for you to remember.

1. Know your subject.
2. Ask yourself this question. Why should the audience want to listen to me?
3. Before preparing a speech:
 - a. Think about it for several days. Try to pinpoint your thoughts. What do you want the audience to hear.
 - b. Research. You have basic resource material, naturally, but utilize newspapers, magazines, etc., and keep these little clippings or notes to assist you in writing your speech.
 - c. Ask questions. Be certain you are aware of the type of speech the organization expects from you. What about a question period at the end? Try to learn some pertinent facts about the group to utilize in your opening perhaps.
4. What kind of speech are you going to make?
 - a. Impart information - This comes very close to a lecture. Don't try to cram reams of knowledge into twenty minutes, for example. Rather, take one aspect of the subject and deal with it thoroughly. Don't talk over the heads of the audience. Make every point clear and summarize your main points both during the speech and at the end of it.

- b. Persuade - Don't appeal only to reason - use emotion, too. When presenting facts be certain they are accurate. Build up your case as a lawyer would. Think out every logical argument; give the opinions of others in the field; opinion, of course, favorable to your own case. However, be aware of the opposing views and be prepared to answer them. You may want to incorporate them into your speech, thus allowing you to refute them at the time.
 - c. Inspire - This is the easiest type of speech to deliver. When the speaker is enthusiastic about the subject, he has little difficulty inspiring others. Remember, however, that the inspiration of the speech will last as long as the speech lasts, unless some specific points or facts are brought out which the audience can remember. Keep your speech short. Fifteen minutes is plenty of time for this type of speech.
5. The main steps in your speech must be:
- a. The opening - This can be informal. The question opening, the mind-reading opening is used primarily for a skeptical audience. For example, "Gentlemen, if I were sitting where you are, without possessing knowledge of the facts which I possess, I would feel about the speaker just as you do. I appreciate the way you are thinking, but I know you will give this information I bring a fair hearing." Other openings include historical openings, at which time the speaker relates some past facts then brings the audience up to date and gets on with the main point of his speech. Keep these snappy. Factual openings take you directly into the speech. The YOU opening is one of the best openings of all. For example, "You are builders. This is something to be proud of. Why? Well if we walk out of this building, we can see new apartments, new homes." Finally there is the thank you opening, which must be kept very short. This is the most commonly used opening. Whatever type you choose, have it suitable for your personality and for the situation.
 - b. Creation of Interest - One of the high notes of your speech must come directly after the opening. This is the point where you are arousing the interest of the audience. This is where you really get your speech going. Do not make your first point controversial. This creates a lessening of concentration in your audience. They will be too angry to listen carefully. Briefly, do not try to bring forth a "no" response from the audience at once. Try to get a "yes" response to begin with. Controversy may come later. Another means of creating interest is "off the record" information. Exhibits are always good, provided they are well prepared.
 - c. The Body of the Speech - Find out the main wants of the audience, fill these wants, and you will make a good speech. The major wants of most audiences are to learn something, to gain money, to feel sentimental, to feel pleased, to benefit health, to have love and affection, proud, self-preservation, amusement, and faith. Try to fill each step of your speech with a want.
 - d. Closing the Speech - Don't give closing signals. You can spot an inexperienced speaker when he begins by apologizing and ends with a warning to the audience that he is about to finish. Too often nervous speakers use these warnings primarily because the speaker himself is so eager to reach this point that he is glad to announce it. When you decide to close, finish. Examples of closing techniques - the summary close, the question close, the quotation close, the story close.
- 6. Write down the main facts which will apply to each step.
 - 7. Cut out facts of little importance.
 - 8. Devise a good opening sentence for each fact.

9. Elaborate each sentence in this manner:
 - a. Give statistics to prove your point,
 - b. Present evidence to prove your point,
 - c. Give an historical fact,
 - d. Tell an anecdote,
 - e. Tell a humorous story,
 - f. Give an analogy,
 - g. Give a quotation.

You need not use more than one, two or three of these and you can place them in any order.

10. Remember these rules:
 - a. Statistics - make them live.
 - b. Quotations - make them apt.
 - c. Anecdotes - bring yourself into the story.

TYPES OF SPEECH PRESENTATIONS

1. Reading a speech - This is generally used during the lecture type of speech or at any time when accuracy is of prime importance. A speech that is read can be more polished than an extemporaneous one. You must be careful that you do not read down into your notes. Look at your audience and project your voice at the same time. A simple technique used by Mrs. Stuart, President of the League of Women Voters of the United States, is to type your notes double spaced, and only on the top half of the page. This permits you to have eye-to-eye contact with your audience constantly.
2. The Extemporaneous Speech - This is not advisable for anyone trying to impart specific information to the audience. Too often the material will be scattered and the points often forgotten.
3. Prepare your speech and work from notes - This is the most satisfactory from the audience viewpoint and can accomplish your purpose but it must have good preparation.

First, write out your speech in full. Then look for your key points - your opening, creation of interest, the six or eight steps in the body of the speech, the close. Underline the main sentences leading into each of these key points. Now polish up those sentences. Think about them, how can you improve upon them. You can also develop subsidiary sentences if you wish. Simplified:

1. Write the speech in full,
2. Extract your key sentences,
3. Polish the key sentences,
4. Memorize the key sentences.

HOW TO REMEMBER YOUR KEY SENTENCES - CONFIDENCE CARDS

1. Use as many cards as you have main steps in your speech.
2. Have the card divided into two sections. The top portion will be your main sentence leading into the step. The bottom part would carry any special points you want to make. Be sure to number the cards in the top right hand corner. Write on one side of the cards only. Use word identification as much as possible. Using lead-in words to a sentence will often be sufficient to spur your memory on and you can then speak in a more impromptu manner.

PUBLIC SPEAKING TIPS

1. Check the acoustics, if possible.
2. Check the lighting to be certain you can read your notes.
3. Ask the group inviting you to provide you with a lectern or podium.

(Who Me? I Just Couldn't - continued)

4. If you are using visual aids or props, see that they are in proper position early.
5. Ask the host group to avoid, if possible, a "U" shape seating arrangement. If not, you will be talking most of the time to an expanse of carpet.
6. If a microphone is to be used, check it in advance of your speech, then don't touch it! Do not stand too close; do not talk into the mike; do not let it hide your face.
7. Always use the pause during your speech - all professionals do.
8. Avoid stock phrases - "last but not least", "look with pride", "no stone unturned".

ONE FINAL GOLDEN RULE

Write down your speech. Check it for interesting points and make certain that you have a good interest point at frequent intervals. See that the subject matter which builds up each step is interesting. Check on your anecdotes and historical references and your facts.

* * * * *

LWV of Texas

SAMPLE PRESS RELEASE
Role of Political Parties

Mrs. _____, member of the League of Women Voters of _____ will be the guest speaker for the _____ (name of organization) _____, on _____ (date) _____, at the _____ (locale) _____.

The content of Mrs. _____ speech will include the background of our political party system, what it means in a democracy, and the role of the individual within the party of his choice.

Although the League of Women Voters is a nonpartisan organization and does not support or oppose any political party or candidate, it does work through its Voters Service activities to encourage all individuals to take an active part in a political party. Providing the voter with objective information and educating him to his responsibility within a democracy is one way in which the League can fulfill its purpose.

The Speakers' Bureau of the League of Women Voters of _____ has been organized to give the community information on such topics as _____ (list program topics) _____. Voter Education topics such as _____ (list VS speeches) _____ are chosen to provide various organizations interested in promoting more citizen participation in government with the material useful in expanding this interest.

Anyone interested in contacting the League of Women Voters for speakers may call Mrs. _____ at _____.

(To Local PR Chairman: A brief biographical sketch of the League member, e.g., her League position, past experience, other community activities, etc., may be included as the second paragraph.)

THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

"Papa knows best" is the oldest form of political society in the world. Papa being the king, dictator, Fuehrer or Caesar. Such a system, where "Papa" knows best for his children, has the advantage of producing a society where there is a minimum of internal political action, but it is contradictory to the American way of life.

Since our Constitution did not contemplate political parties we had this type of system in our early beginnings with George Washington playing the role of "Papa". Since his election was unanimous both times, he held a position never since enjoyed by any President in our society. However, this singularity of political views was short lived.

Our present day political life found its beginning in the George Washington Cabinet, as differences developed between Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton. The then Federalist party was an outgrowth of Hamiltonian financial and economic concepts. Thomas Jefferson built what was then called the Republican party for the purpose of thwarting "Hamiltonianism". The Republicans of our times are the heirs of the original Federalists by way of the Whigs, and the Democrats are the descendants of the Jeffersonian Republicans.

Thomas Jefferson founded his party on an alliance between the Virginia planters and the Tammany society of New York City and the Democratic party still shows traces of that curious and seemingly illogical partnership of the Southern aristocrat and the Northern city dweller.

The theory upon which Alexander Hamilton based the foundation of his party was that the function of government should be to encourage industry and commerce.

The history of the United States is liberally strewn with the wreckage of attempts to found third and fourth parties, none of which have survived very long. Contrary to political thinking in this country, Continental Europeans associate a party with a specific cause. The party serves as a vehicle for a social or ideological purpose. As new political theories evolve, new parties are formed and die with the cause they were built to bear.

In the two party society, the precept has been coined that a political party must be more durable than a particular cause. When political causes of minor parties were valid, the major parties absorbed their points into their own platforms, thus broadening the scope of political awareness of the major group.

Both the Republican and Democratic parties strive to avoid class, groups or cause labels. When the Civil War erupted, both parties faced the most stringent test of survival in the history of our two party system. The Democrats were strongly identified with the Confederacy, and were unable to win a national election for twenty years after the cessation of the war. The Republican party, in turn, identified itself with the Union cause and has yet to re-establish a vigorous position in the political life of the former Confederate states. However, as our population has become more mobile and political views less identified geographically, these barriers are lifting.

The Democratic and Republican parties are very much like great corporations engaged competitively in the business of selling something. The profit for the parties, if

we were to continue such an analogy, would not be measured in dollars and cents as in the business world, but in the profit of an intangible product called prestige.

Like large corporations, the political parties sell services for the purpose of making this profit and staying in business. They work to make their products generally appealing and they do their utmost to gain and hold the markets.

No corporation and no party can earn profits without rendering services of value. The voter expects and desires services ranging from consideration of special interests to just plain good and efficient government. The parties must therefore continuously seek ways and means of rendering service. The goals of the two parties may be quite similar but the theories of how to reach certain goals is the choice offered the voters by the two parties.

The two party system is a reflection of the competitive system in American business and industry, and the public benefits from such a competition in ideas. In contrast, a one party state is a political monopoly as witnessed in recent years in Italy, Germany and the Soviet Union. Nothing so effectively curbs arrogance and tyranny in politics as the ever present opportunity for the voter of taking his business elsewhere.

A simplified picture of the American party is that it is made up primarily of those persons who choose to work in that political corporation for the benefits which continued employment in it and service to it can render. Those voters who tend to support one party are the stockholders. The rest of the country consists of customers who tend to shop around for services in return for their votes.

Such a system provides us with a party IN power which tries to render services in the hope of remaining in power. It provides also an opposition which is ever vigilant in checking and criticizing the power in power. This constant struggle for approval by both parties provides an automatic check and balance system to test the desires of the electorate, and assures us of government most reflecting the wishes of the people. The interest of an individual voter may be better served at a given moment by one party, more than by the other, but his long term interest is best served by the existence of two parties.

"All power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." This kind of corruption can never infect American politics so long as there are two strong political parties potentially able to win the next election.

One of the major problems facing our political parties today is that of financing. The expense of nominating and electing public officials is an inevitable cost of democracy. Ideally, all accreditable candidates should be able to compete on fair financial terms. Candidates and parties ought to be able to get money without mortgaging their souls.

The most common means of financing the political parties is in some form of public subsidy or a broadening of the base of private contributions. Legislative sanction for free radio and television time is a form of indirect public subsidy. Direct personal contributions to the political parties has risen from 4% of the voting populace in 1952 to 11.5% in 1960, and it is estimated that another 17 out of 100 voters would have contributed had they been asked directly.

With more competition between the parties, and indeed within the parties, expenses are obviously going to rise. Adding to this problem of additional funds needed, there is the political fact that party loyalties are less likely to be inherited from one

The Role of Political Parties (continued)

generation to the next. Patterns related to economic groupings, race, national extraction and creed are breaking up. The parties must work harder to reach people with less fixed political loyalties and devise new ways of raising money.

There is a growing awareness in today's voter of the disadvantages of confining his political activity to the marking of a ballot on election day. Organizations such as the League of Women Voters are working diligently to encourage more party participation. Labor and management are both making efforts to direct their workers into political activity. Both companies and unions engage in nonpartisan work. The independent voter, that is, the voter who will not adhere to working with one specific party, pays a price for his so called freedom from political alliance. The independent voter misses out on the selection process for candidates and fails to participate in efforts to raise the level of candidate quality. The independent voter contributes to the concentration of party control in the hands of a few, and compared to his counterpart, the active party worker, he tends to be more apathetic, less lively, and less experienced. It is only when an individual takes an active part in the grass roots level of politics is his voice really heard in the over all political picture. It is this level of party work where resolutions are formed, planks of the party platforms are developed, and quality of candidates is established. The voter who goes to the polls only is voting for the candidates of the party workers choice, the principals developed by others, and the political theories established by more active individuals.

Active party workers are definitely in the minority of American voters, leaving the majority in a state of independence. Working as a stimulus to the political parties has been the segment of American voters shopping between one party and the other. Both parties have recognized this power of the independent voter; and try to reach him through various means. The fact remains, however, the independent voter would be a more effective political force were he to be a more direct part of the two party system, and indeed be a force within the parties molding them to the thinking of the electorate.

The American political party is not a cause organization. It accepts causes when they have been acceptable to a probable majority of voters. When this probable majority exists, then both parties will embrace the cause. The existence of a vigorous, healthy, effective opposition party is for us at least, the best means of keeping the government reasonably honest, reasonably responsive to our needs, and hesitant to employ the instruments of tyranny.

* * * * *

(Note to speaker -- this speech does not go into the details of the primary system, group interest or "fruits of political affiliation and their changes." It is designed to be an over-all picture of the parties, and it is advisable that you brief yourself on the publication "Role of Political Parties" as a source of information should there be a question and answer period in your speech.

LWV of Texas

SAMPLE PRESS RELEASE
Choosing the President

Mrs. _____ of the League of Women Voters of _____ will be the guest speaker of the (name of organization on _____ (date) _____ at _____ (locale) _____.

The content of Mrs. _____ speech will include information on the process of electing a President, from the early stages of Party candidate selection, through the official electoral college count.

With this being a Presidential election year, the League recognizes that more and more citizens need to be fully aware of the process by which we select our national leadership. Believing, too, in the importance of the citizen's role in party politics as being a valuable commodity within a democracy, the League of Women Voters works to provide more citizen information about such vital governmental matters as the selecting of a President.

The Speakers Bureau of the League of Women Voters of _____ has been organized to bring to the community information on such topics as (list program topics). Voter Education topics such as (list VS speeches) are chosen to provide any organization interested in promoting citizen education and participation in government with the material useful in expanding this interest.

Anyone interested in contacting the League of Women Voters for speakers may call Mrs. _____ at _____.

(To local PR Chairman: A brief biographical sketch of the League member e.g.; her League position, past experience, other community activities, etc., may be included as the second paragraph.)

SAMPLE SPEECH

LWV of Texas

CHOOSING THE PRESIDENT

published by

The League of Women Voters of the United States

August 1964

When President John F. Kennedy was assassinated, the whole world held its breath for a short moment in time. And when, in less than two hours, Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson was sworn in as the new President and the process of orderly transition to a new administration was set in motion, the world began to breathe again. Such are the tremendous potency of the office and the responsibility -- both of the man who fills it and of the man who must be ready to fill it at a moment's notice.

The exciting climax in the choosing of a President occurs on one day in November -- when the people vote -- despite the fact that the outcome of the election is determined not by direct popular vote but by the electoral college vote. But often the entire process of choosing has started years before, and many people have worked in many ways, sometimes for many years, to bring about the final choice.

Your exact role depends in part on where you live and what party you work in, because each state regulates the nominating process in its own way and each party makes its own rules for choosing delegates and for nominating candidates. You SHOULD participate in the nominating process in whatever way is open to you, for the power to nominate is as important as the power to elect.

The axis on which the process of choosing a President revolves is party organization. Our system of government since almost its beginning has operated through political parties which have no constitutional basis at the national level. The party system has remained almost untouched by federal legislation, with the exception of party financing and campaign practices. Party organization has not been regulated by federal law.

The presidential election first became a choice between candidates of two parties in 1796, when John Adams, a Federalist, won over Thomas Jefferson, a Democratic-Republican. Since that time a dual party system has always provided two major candidates for the presidency. Occasionally, a third minority party has put forth a candidate for the presidential election, but such a candidate has never been elected.

A major political party is organized according to state laws, the rules of its national convention, and its own rules adopted by state and local party authorities.

As in a wedding cake, each tier of political party organization is dependent on those below it. In addition, however, each tier, from precinct up to national committee, has a singular responsibility in the elections within its geographical area of control. A common cause motivates the necessary cooperation rather than a chain of command.

The precinct is a neighborhood of hundreds of voters and is the basic unit of political structure -- there are more than 170,000 of these across the country.

The County Committee consists of precinct executives or of persons chosen by them. Above this committee is the State Committee. Where states have conventions to select delegates to the National Convention, the State Committee wields great influence. This is the situation in Texas.

The National Committee is the top layer of the wedding cake -- it has at least one man and one woman from each state. National Committee members are usually wealthy, because membership is costly in both time and money. The men are often lawyers or businessmen. Many combine law, business and politics. The National Committeewomen usually have been state or county vice-chairmen of their parties. However, they enjoy very little power in comparison with the male party leaders. (For further information on the make-up see pages 62-64.)

Aiding the regular party organizations in the choosing of a President are a maze of volunteer political groups not directly connected with the official party organization.

The National Convention is the national party. It is the heart of the national party system. Neither the Congress nor the Constitution created it or have any control over it. It is the basic element of the national party apparatus, and its decisions are binding more from consent than from any sanctions. It is native to this country. Party government for the United States as a whole could scarcely exist without the National Convention.

The basic character of the national party convention as an institution is determined really by the method of allocating delegates and the way they are selected, state by state. Although the conventions have always held the right to apportion voting strength among the states, each party within a state has retained the right to choose its delegation. The allocation of delegates to national conventions is determined by each party's national committee and usually announced early in the election years. In 1964 Texas had 56 votes in the Republican Convention and 99 votes in the Democratic Convention. In Texas, delegates to both conventions are selected by the respective state conventions, but there are a variety of ways to do this.*

*(To make speech longer ask questions on page 21)

Pre-Convention campaigning by the various candidates is to present choices reflecting the tensions and cleavages within the party, as distinct from the task of the conventions which is to unite the party to support "a" presidential candidate. Campaign tactics of presidential hopefuls run the gamut from a fully mounted campaign to a "lie-low and be available for a draft" strategy. As you know, Texas does not have a presidential preference primary.

We are all familiar with the National Conventions -- the temporary officers, key-note address, permanent officers, permanent committees. There are four standing committees: credentials, permanent organization, rules and resolutions and platform. But do we know who the men and women are who are doing the voting? They are generally upper-middle class, usually college educated, probably professional or managerial, and surely some degree of politician. They are not typical of the voters who are their constituents but there is every reason to believe, however, that this is the kind of representative that most constituents wish to have. The actual nomination process is well known to all of us and really signifies the beginning of the campaign.

The sole purpose of a presidential campaign is to woo voters. And probably the net result of even the best of campaigns is to catch only some of the uncommitted voters, but this may be enough to swing an election. In 1960 the difference in the popular vote was only 118,263 between Nixon and Kennedy. There can be only one boss in a political campaign -- and who this is depends on whether the candidate is an incumbent, or an heir, or a challenger. (Describe Nixon, Stevenson, and Kennedy campaigns if desire longer speech -- pages 38-39.)

Choosing the President speech (continued)

All this campaigning takes money, of course, and the two major parties have slightly different methods of raising this. (See pages 42-44 for this information if desired.) The money in the campaign is one place where the Congress has stepped in through the Hatch Act which limits individual contributions in any one year to \$5,000.00 and the Federal Corrupt Practices Act which imposes some regulations on receipts and expenditures.

Many voters still do not realize that when they go to the polls on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November every four years, they are not voting directly for the President. Our founding fathers were afraid of direct election by the people. The device of the electoral college was suggested by Alexander Hamilton and adopted by the framers of the Constitution. It has survived more than 100 attempts in Congress to bring the people a proposed constitutional amendment to abolish it. On the Monday after the second Wednesday in December in each state the slate of presidential electors which has received a plurality of votes at the November election formally meets at the state capitol to cast the total state electoral vote for the party's candidates for President and Vice-President. The electoral college never meets as a body. On January 6, the President of the Senate in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives formally counts the electoral votes which have been sent by registered mail from each capitol, announces the count, and then, and not until then, are the President and the Vice-President of the United States legally elected. *

* If you wish to make the speech longer, at this point the special provisions for voting in Texas for President and Vice-President for those not having the required residence period to be regularly registered voters could be inserted. These provisions may be found in the VOTERS KEY TO 1968 and go into effect in 1968 for the first time.

* * * * *

LWV of Texas

SAMPLE PRESS RELEASE
You and Your National Government

Mrs. _____ of the League of Women Voters of _____ will be the guest speaker of the (name of organization) on (date) _____ at (locale) _____.

The content of Mrs. _____ speech will include basic information on the structure of our government, as well as information relating to the citizen's role within a democracy.

The League of Women Voters believes that citizens within a democracy have the responsibility to be informed and active within the framework of all three levels of government. The privilege of citizenship is one which is enhanced and fulfilled only when citizens are aware of their part in a democratic society, and have an understanding of the specific functions of our government.

The Speakers Bureau of the League of Women Voters of _____ has been organized to bring to the community information on such topics as (list program topic). Voter Education topics such as (list VS speeches) are chosen to provide any organization interested in promoting more citizen education and participation in government with the material useful in expanding this interest.

Anyone interested in contacting the League of Women Voters for speakers may call Mrs. _____ at _____. She will be most happy to assist any organization needing a speaker.

(To Local PR Chairman: A brief biographical sketch of the League member e.g.; her League position, past experience, other community activities, etc., may be included as the second paragraph.)

SPEECH NOTES AND OUTLINE

You and your National Government: the indivisible partnership
published by the League of Women Voters of the United States

- Suggestions:
1. Relate the speech to the audience in some way. For example, if you are talking to teachers, you might refer to federal programs in the field of education. Use current news items.
 2. This publication relies on figures that are now out of date. These figures will be changing. Check before using them. Examples:
a) the salary of a member of Congress is \$30,000; b) there are 12 executive departments, the newest being the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and the Department of Transportation;
c) there are at least 88 federal district courts.
 3. You may choose to talk at length about only one of the three branches of the national government.

INTRODUCTION

1. The citizen of the U.S. is governed by a great number of governments, not just one. Of all these governments, the national government is the only one common to all citizens of the U.S. It has jurisdiction over the entire territory, not just a portion of it. In certain respects it is the closest of all governments to the citizen. For example, more people vote in presidential elections than in any other kind of election. Also, the national government raises more money and spends more money than any other government. As a taxpayer and the beneficiary of a variety of national programs you have a big stake in the national government.
2. "Knowledge is power." This famous axiom can be applied to you in your role as citizen of the U.S. Knowing about the national government and how you can influence it enables you to keep the national government responsive to the people, which is a basic meaning of democracy.
(Note: many people call the national government the federal government.)

THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Generally

- ** The national government is organized into three branches -- the legislative, the executive, and the judiciary -- by the U.S. Constitution in Articles I, II and III.
- ** These branches are both independent and interdependent, each checking the others -- which illustrates the Separation of Powers and the Checks and Balances doctrines.
- ** The citizen has a role to play in each branch.

1. Congress, the Legislative Branch

- a. Its powers
- b. Its membership
 - 1) In the House
 - a) Selection - qualifications - salary
 - b) Apportionment

2) In the Senate

- a) Selection - qualifications - salary
- b) Apportionment (two Senators per state)

3) Individual members of Congress

- a) Representatives vs. Senators
- b) Responsibilities
- c) Party membership

c. Its organization

1) Generally --

- a) A new Congress every two years (1968 - 90th Congress; Second Session)
- b) Annual sessions
- c) Party organization
- d) Senate vs. House

2) Committee system: in general

- a) Selection of members and chairman -- note on seniority
- b) Functions of committees

3) Types of Committees

- a) Standing, with illustrations (include Rules Committee)
- b) Joint
- c) Select

d. Its procedure (How a Bill Becomes a Law)

- 1) Introduction
- 2) Committee action
- 3) Floor action
- 4) Second house -- repeat of 1, 2, 3 above.
- 5) Conference committee (if needed)
- 6) Presidential action (if needed)

e. Congress and you, the citizen

- 1) Method of influencing Congress
 - a) Voting in elections
 - b) Pressures between elections
- 2) Your responsibilities

2. President and Administration, the Executive Branch

a. The Presidency in general

- 1) Constitutional provisions
- 2) Qualifications - salary
- 3) Administrative aids
- 4) Many faces or many roles in one
 - a) Chief of State
 - b) Chief Executive
 - c) Chief Policy-Maker
 - d) National Party Leader
 - e) Commander-in-Chief

b. Legislative Role

- 1) Importance
- 2) Use of messages
- 3) Methods used to get Congress to pass the President's Program
- 4) Legislative box score: successes and failures

c. Administrative Role

- 1) Appointment powers
- 2) Administrative Structure
 - a) Executive Office of the President
 - b) Civil servants
 - c) Independent agencies

Speech Notes and Outline for You and your National Government (continued)

- d. The President and you
 - 1) Method of Influence
 - a) Voting in elections
 - b) Pressures between elections
 - 2) Your responsibilities
- 3. The Federal Courts, the Judicial Branch
 - a. Organization of the federal courts
 - 1) Basis
 - a) U.S. Constitution -- Article III
 - b) Congressional statutes
 - 2) Three levels
 - a) U.S. Supreme Court
 - b) Courts of Appeals
 - c) District Courts
 - 3) Special courts
 - b. Jurisdiction (powers)
 - 1) Types of cases and controversies
 - 2) Original and appellate jurisdiction
 - c. Judicial Review
 - 1) Origins and meaning
 - 2) Scope and importance
 - d. The Courts and you
 - 1) Method of influence
 - a) No vote or "direct" influence
 - b) Indirect influence -- upon nation's and party's leaders
 - 2) Responsibilities

Summary: You as an Active Citizen

- ** Ways in which you can participate actively in the national government
 - in the nomination of candidates for national office
 - in the election of candidates for national office
 - in the enactment of legislation
 - through individual action
 - through an organization
 - in affecting public opinion
- ** The League of Women Voters is dedicated to the proposition that all citizens should play an informed and an active role in government.

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League of Women Voters of Texas



TIPS ON TEXAS CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION TALKS
For Community Organizations, Television and Radio Audiences

TIPS INSTEAD OF OUTLINES Has your Speakers Bureau had fewer calls for TCR topics than for other subjects? Have you had trouble finding League members willing to make speeches on revision of the Texas Constitution? Do those you approach with high hopes because of their own lively response to Texas' problems turn you down because they do not feel competent to deal with this complex subject? Is your Board wondering if your League actually can take effective action on TCR through the Speakers Bureau?

The experiences of a number of you seem to say YES to these questions. Rather than offer you speech outlines which would inevitably require hours of individual work before your speech emerged, we bring you suggestions on a variety of factors involved in talking about TCR in the community. We hope some of these, skimmed from the evaluations and recommendations of many League people like yourselves, will assist you to increase and strengthen your League's promotion of Texas constitutional revision by talks to community groups and to television and radio audiences.

PLAY THROUGH STRENGTH Planning for TCR speeches must allow for a challenging combination of 1) complex subject, 2) too few League members admittedly thoroughly familiar with the subject and ready to speak on it, 3) large numbers of enthusiastic League "non-experts" on TCR, 4) countless clubs and civic groups in the market for short programs, 5) their hundreds of members ill-informed and disinterested in matters of state government.

What advantage can the League pluck from this bundle of seemingly contradictory factors? A close look reveals a potentially valuable resource if 1), 3), and 4) above are matched with care. Why not combine a greatly increased roster of League "talkers" (not speechmakers) with the expanding market for short talks on one or two facets only of the constitutional kaleidoscope? The willingness of many members to take on limited jobs is a strength the League can utilize to fill the urgent need for speakers.

Leagues will, of course, continue, as they can, to develop speakers who are equipped to answer the rare calls for full presentations on TCR. You will notice that some of the tips apply to such speeches rather than to the brief, informal talks this memo features.

GETTING "TALKERS" Start where you are in Board or committee meeting. Although these women, already responsible for a full load of work, do not have time for elaborate preparation, they all know something about TCR, are acquainted with handy tools like BRIEF CASE, and respond strongly to one or more inadequacies of the Texas Constitution. Enlist them to talk very informally for no more than ten minutes to a small group apt to agree with League position. Women who are not free to prepare and present full speeches will often accept a simpler assignment and enjoy the experience.

Take this enlistment a step further into unit meetings on TCR. A dialogue or panel of three persons (no more) will often interest an audience more than will one person. Panel members lend each other courage; such a team can appear comfortably before a larger group than can the single neophyte. Consider taking a later step to a workshop -- on speaker training or action in the community on Texas constitutional revision.

Enrich the roster with outside speakers, men and women who have knowledge of the subject and are willing to stress the League approach of good research. You may also find an expert from a nearby League willing to accept calls. Leagues geographically close can cooperate to good effect in building this section of the roster.

GETTING AUDIENCES Try for attention-getting (but not tabloid) titles to include in the list your Speakers Bureau sends annually to club program chairmen. Ask your public relations chairman, who keeps in close touch with the community, to help prepare a list of people whom you can approach on the basis of special interest. Then telephone them to offer the TCR talk that you think will match their program goals. Advance information about a League state-wide press release on TCR could be the signal for similar calls to selected groups. Also, holidays and important dates in Texas history will suggest adaptations of the TCR subject that will tailor it for particular groups.

Encourage all League members to volunteer to talk for ten minutes in a neighborhood coffee hour, sewing group, garden or bridge club - in sum, in any small, informal gathering where a person-to-person approach is natural and easy. Practice of this sort, while fostering assurance and perceptiveness in the talkers, may be able to develop a new category of groups interested to listen to and talk about issues of concern to the League.

ORGANIZING A TALK The League member will want first to establish rapport with her listeners. For this, she will draw upon her knowledge of them in choosing an opening. What will best capture attention and arouse curiosity without antagonizing the group? Will it be a "Did you know..." question? Or a "shocker" from the long list of the Constitution's inadequacies? Perhaps a capsule explanation of why the 1876 document was written as it was will have the most direct appeal for some. Others might respond best to an opening statement of the theme or goal of the talk.

Experienced speakers agree that, whatever is chosen for an opening, the theme should be made clear very early in the talk. The development easiest for audiences to grasp continues with the story of the 1876 Constitution, giving full credit to the earnest men who wrote this protective document. Next come examples of today's acute problems stemming from basic law designed for 1876. The examples selected and their number will depend on the speaker's evaluation of the audiences, on the total time available, and on the amplification she can add or thinks suitable. A ten minute talk may, without need for apology, be limited to the opening, the abbreviated history, and a summary of the effects on Texans today of one or two provisions of the Constitution.

The conclusion should embrace brief reference to the League's role in revision -- brief, since non-League audiences care little about this. Emphasis should fall instead on how changes can be brought about (research, methods of revision) and what the listeners themselves can do. The ten minute talk can leave the "how" and "what" to be brought out by questions and discussion. In fact, even longer speeches might hold back a striking point or proposal for release during the discussion period.

Few League members are ready to be quizzed on the Constitution. Therefore, the average speaker should make clear her amateur role and invite discussion of shared problems rather than questions on legal minutiae. This is one way she could find a new basis of rapport with the audience. Restating the principal points of the theme clarifies what has been said and sharpens impressions the audience takes home. This summation usually comes in the closing section of a talk but might follow the open discussion.

Since the League's purpose is to stimulate wide-spread interest in the Constitution and serious concern for its revision, every talk or speech on TCR should allow time at the end for audience participation. The discussion period is an integral part of the plan. A lively give and take provides members of the audience greater stimulus, more satisfaction, than simply listening and going home. Its favorable climate nourishes the tiny seeds of interest that grow into action.

TCR'S LIVELY ISSUES These change very little from one year to the next. If the selection of specific problems for the body of the talk is not made easy by the particular interests of audience and speaker, the following are recommended as having some priority today:

- 1) Large number of amendments submitted biennially. (A basic framework of law would not require such frequent amending.)
- 2) Lack of power of the governor. (Without power to appoint key officials responsible to him, his only tools for carrying out his ideas in a sprawling administrative organization are his prestige and his powers of persuasion.)
- 3) Financial problems. (Earmarked funds, numerous financial agencies, but no central office of finance result in a complex, uneconomic financial administration.)
- 4) Ineffective judicial system. (Overloaded dockets, anomaly of two final appellate courts, uncoordinated and related court administration, all are characteristic.)
- 5) Limiting aspects of the Constitution. (For example, it provides an identical pattern of government for all counties regardless of their population.)

KEEPING YOUR AUDIENCE WITH YOU Assuming that most audiences a League member addresses have little if any initial interest in or practical information about TCR, time is a vital factor. Experienced speakers concur in saying that twenty minutes is the maximum time allowance for a successful talk and that good discussion runs from ten to twenty minutes. They observe that this is ample time to arouse the appetite for information. More would satiate it. For the rare audience of already informed people seeking discussion in depth, this would not apply. Send or recommend an expert.

Visual aids, something to look at, help immeasurably to hold audience attention, we all agree. But the aids must be well done -- easy to see, easy to understand, and attractive (no amateurish printing). Otherwise, the audience will, perhaps unconsciously, write off the League as inept. The simple act of changing signs, charts, pictures, or slides helps focus attention. This is true too of picking up and later posting in full view a sheet of neatly mounted editorials and news stories from which you quote a sentence or two. To help an audience remember key points or topics, a blackboard or butcher paper, plus a grease pencil can be used by the speaker to write down a few words that will pinpoint each topic

as she introduces it. Main topics should be limited in number.

Many people, faced with a complex and difficult problem, quite naturally and unconsciously seek refuge from any demand to think or act by setting up weightless arguments (such as, the Constitution is a "sacred" document and untouchable). Cutting off for examination a single piece of a huge, confusing subject like constitutional revision reduces it to manageable size less apt to frighten new audiences and new speakers alike. Consideration of one part of the problem and one safe step towards correction having proved bearable, timid or very busy people will be encouraged to take a longer look another day.

TELEVISION AND RADIO PROGRAMS Availability of program time differs widely from city to city. During a preliminary interview with the program director of the station, you will not only strive to interest him in your ideas for a program. He will acquaint you with the station's policies governing subject, types of programs, free broadcast time, and so on - useful information to have on file.

First, what is the policy of the station on "slanted" programs? If the policy is one of approval of League positions on TCR, one obstacle is eliminated. If the policy is neutral, the station will accept the League program only if several views are expressed. In the latter case, an interview or panel program using prominent local persons as participants will be most likely to gain acceptance by the station. Moreover, the appearance of well-known citizens on a League-sponsored program attracts listeners and earns prestige.

If the League is granted more than a few minutes for TCR or is given free rein for something other than an interview conducted by a staff person, the League will wish to enlist its best speaker for the occasion. A 1958 memo from the national League office says: "Openings" - The opening of a radio or television program is extremely important. If it does not catch the attention of the audience, the station may be tuned out. On the other hand, the opening should give some idea of what is to follow so that it doesn't mislead the audience into thinking it is something it isn't."

The program director who plans to have League representatives interviewed on constitutional revision will probably expect the League to suggest questions on the subject. General agreement as to what will be said and what will be displayed is usually reached in advance. Careful preparation in terms of the station's limitations will assure the League a good production and a welcome the next time it has a program to offer. In areas where more than one League is served by a station, cooperation between Leagues (exchange of information about program plans, occasional joint effort) is a necessity to prevent loss of good will arising from frequent separate requests for program time.

RESOURCES The state PUBLICATIONS CATALOG is your first resource. Next is the every-member tool, TEXAS CONSTITUTIONAL REVIEW, revised 1966, and its Bibliography. WHAT YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE FACTS OF LIFE IN TEXAS, 1965, will be invaluable to beginners organizing the capsule-type talk. TEXAS LAW REVIEW for October 1957, and the current TEXAS ALMANAC supply details for those wishing to document or elaborate on points. The C.E.D. digest of MODERNIZING STATE GOVERNMENT, 1967, has nation-wide application. These are probably in your local League files.

as she introduces it. Main topics should be limited in number.

Many people, faced with a complex and difficult problem, quite naturally and unconsciously seek refuge from any demand to think or act by setting up weightless arguments (such as, the Constitution is a "sacred" document and untouchable). Cutting off for examination a single piece of a huge, confusing subject like constitutional revision reduces it to manageable size less apt to frighten new audiences and new speakers alike. Consideration of one part of the problem and one safe step towards correction having proved bearable, timid or very busy people will be encouraged to take a longer look another day.

TELEVISION AND RADIO PROGRAMS Availability of program time differs widely from city to city. During a preliminary interview with the program director of the station, you will not only strive to interest him in your ideas for a program. He will acquaint you with the station's policies governing subject, types of programs, free broadcast time, and so on - useful information to have on file.

First, what is the policy of the station on "slanted" programs? If the policy is one of approval of League positions on TCR, one obstacle is eliminated. If the policy is neutral, the station will accept the League program only if several views are expressed. In the latter case, an interview or panel program using prominent local persons as participants will be most likely to gain acceptance by the station. Moreover, the appearance of well-known citizens on a League-sponsored program attracts listeners and earns prestige.

If the League is granted more than a few minutes for TCR or is given free rein for something other than an interview conducted by a staff person, the League will wish to enlist its best speaker for the occasion. A 1958 memo from the national League office says: "Openings" - The opening of a radio or television program is extremely important. If it does not catch the attention of the audience, the station may be tuned out. On the other hand, the opening should give some idea of what is to follow so that it doesn't mislead the audience into thinking it is something it isn't."

The program director who plans to have League representatives interviewed on constitutional revision will probably expect the League to suggest questions on the subject. General agreement as to what will be said and what will be displayed is usually reached in advance. Careful preparation in terms of the station's limitations will assure the League a good production and a welcome the next time it has a program to offer. In areas where more than one League is served by a station, cooperation between Leagues (exchange of information about program plans, occasional joint effort) is a necessity to prevent loss of good will arising from frequent separate requests for program time.

RESOURCES The state PUBLICATIONS CATALOG is your first resource. Next is the every-member tool, TEXAS CONSTITUTIONAL REVIEW, revised 1966, and its Bibliography. WHAT YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE FACTS OF LIFE IN TEXAS, 1965, will be invaluable to beginners organizing the capsule-type talk. TEXAS LAW REVIEW for October 1957, and the current TEXAS ALMANAC supply details for those wishing to document or elaborate on points. The C.E.D. digest of MODERNIZING STATE GOVERNMENT, 1967, has nation-wide application. These are probably in your local League files.

Exploration of the files will undoubtedly turn up treasures - speeches, and speech outlines from previous years, reprints of articles and editorials. None of these is really out-of-date. However, up-to-date pertinent articles and editorials from local papers are powerful aids to local League speakers.

The best resources are the powers of imagination, perception, intelligence, and good judgment of League members. Exercised fully, they will kindle and direct numerous ideas for ways to lead through strength and notably increase the effectiveness of Texas constitutional revision.

* * * * *

Revised 1968



TCR
SAMPLE SPEECH

CONSTITUTION MAKING: FOR NOW OR ETERNITY?

When the members of the Texas Constitutional Revision Commission convened in Austin, January 30, 1968, for their first full meeting after their organizational meeting of the preceding September, it was necessary to decide early in their deliberations whether they were to write a completely new constitution or simply amend the old one. The decision they reached on this issue could be a decisive one for the future of the government of Texas. It could determine whether the state of Texas will play a central role in the American federal system or be content to act as a passive agent, if that, of the national government.

A decision to write a new constitution rather than patch the old one is not to be taken lightly. The high purpose, lack of bias or partisan action plus the high degree of expertise necessary for those who would frame the fundamental law of the land, places an exceedingly large burden of responsibility upon those confident enough to choose this course of action.

Let us briefly examine the circumstances that led the government of Texas into direct confrontation with this most serious decision.

Texas was formerly a part of Mexico and subject to the laws of Spain, but the entire territory was also claimed by France as a part of her American possessions. In 1803 France ceded to the United States all her territories bordering on Texas, and in 1819 the Sabine and Red Rivers were, under a treaty between the United States and Spain, established as the eastern boundary of Mexico.

In 1821, after many years of unsuccessful revolt, Mexico succeeded in breaking its bonds with Spain, and in 1824 the Republic of Mexico adopted a Constitution which along with defining the powers of the Federal Government, recognized Coahuila and Texas as a single state. This was supposed to be temporary.

Because of widespread objections to the government under the Constitution of Coahuila and Texas, a Convention of Texans met in April 1833 to take measures to secure a separate state constitution. This Constitution was drawn up and submitted to the Mexican Congress for approval. Stephen F. Austin's mission to Mexico City to bear the petitions of the Convention and proposed Constitution resulted in his imprisonment and was a significant development in the chain of events which led to the Texas Revolution.

In 1834 the Constitutional government of Mexico was overthrown; Santa Anna was proclaimed dictator and Mexico fell into a state of civil war. Uncertainty of government, resentment of corrupt military rulers and repudiation of the Mexican Constitution caused increased dissatisfaction on the part of Texans and in 1836 Texas declared its independence, established the Republic of Texas and adopted the constitution of 1836.

In 1845 the man who was President of the Republic of Texas, Anson Jones, called the Texas Congress to meet on June 16 and at the same time called a Convention to meet on July 4, to discuss offers by the United States to annex the Republic of Texas as a state. Both Congress and the Convention voted for annexation. A State Constitution, drawn up by the Convention, was ratified by the voters in October of 1845 and accepted by the United States Congress on December 29, 1845, date of Texas' legal entry into the Union. Transfer of authority from the Republic to the State was not made until February 16, 1846.

The new Constitution was almost twice as long as the Constitution of the Republic of Texas. The framers used the Constitution of 1836 as a working model but drew heavily on the newly adopted Constitution of Louisiana, the Constitutions of other Southern states, and on the proposed Constitution for the State of Texas drawn up in 1833.

The longest division of the Constitution was the Article on General Provisions. Most of its thirty-six sections were limitations on the Legislature. Creation of banks was prohibited; the Legislature was forbidden to authorize individuals to issue bills, checks, promissory notes or other paper to circulate as money and the State debt was limited to \$100,000 except in case of war, insurrection or invasion.

When Texas seceded from the Union on the eve of the War Between the States, the Constitution of 1861 (a modification of the Constitution of 1845 to conform with Texas' membership in the Confederate States of America) went into effect. A few substantive changes were made giving slavery greater emphasis and protection.

At the close of the War Between the States, Andrew Jackson Hamilton, Provisional Governor of Texas, issued a proclamation calling a Constitutional Convention to meet in Austin on February 7. The result of its deliberations was the Constitution of 1866. Though four required points concerning secession, abolition of slavery, status of freed men and repudiation of war debts were incorporated and the new Constitution ratified, Republican Congressional leaders invalidated the document and over the President's veto military governments were established throughout the south.

The Congressional Reconstruction Act of 1867 required that there be framed and ratified, new constitutions granting Negro suffrage and ratification of the fourteenth Amendment. This produced the longest and most unsatisfactory of Texas Constitutions. The Convention assembled in 1868 and delegates gave much time to matters over which they had no jurisdiction such as dividing Texas into two or three states; hearing complaints of lawlessness and chartering railroads. Ten days prior to adjournment, the delegates got down to the business of writing the Constitution, and broke up in confusion on February 8, 1869, having obtained only 45 of the 96 delegates' signatures on the partially assembled Constitution. The Convention work was gathered up under orders of the military officers and published as the Constitution of 1869.

The governing regime was one of oppression, corruption, graft and blackmail. It sought to centralize the government, and vested extraordinary powers in the Governor. Both militia and police were under the control of the Governor. This might not have been so bad except that some of the worst desperados in the state were accepted by the force.

When the voices of moderation finally prevailed, and Texas was given the opportunity to oust the carpetbag regime, the delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1875 determined to include in the state's basic instrument as many safeguards as possible to prevent the recurrence of such widespread and flagrant abuse of power.

Thus when the Constitutional Convention of 1875 drew up the new Constitution, the Constitution of 1845, rather than 1869, was used as a working model.

In the earlier Texas Constitutions, as in the Federal Constitution, the writ of habeas corpus was subject to suspension in case of rebellion, invasion, or when public safety might require. In view of their experiences, the framers of the 1876 document provided that in Texas the writ of habeas corpus may never be suspended. Furthermore, they stipulated that military power would always be subordinate to civil authority and the Bill of Rights was inviolate.

TCR Sample Speech (continued)

The Convention was determined to cut the governor's power to prevent a future renewal of executive despotic control. It decentralized executive authority by vesting power in other executive officers, most of whom were to be elected. It reduced his term from four to two years, debarred him from holding other office or commission and prohibited him from practicing any profession for profit while in office. It also reduced his salary and limited his powers by setting forth his duty in great detail.

To reduce the cost of government, the new Constitution provided for biennial sessions of the Legislature. The salary of the legislators was reduced from \$8 to \$5 a day for the first 60 days of the regular session and to discourage long sessions provided that it be reduced to \$2 a day for the remainder of the session. To prevent, insofar as possible, personal gain and profit by members of the legislature as a result of the office they hold, it was provided that no member may be interested in a contract with the state or county, authorized by a law passed during his elected term.

Matters formerly left to the discretion of the Legislature were now carefully spelled out including many rules of legislative procedure.

The authors of the present Constitution connected centralization with increased financial expenditures and wishing to reverse this trend, they set forth the major items for which taxes could be raised. What actually happened over the years was the exact opposite. As the state grew, the Legislature responded to the peoples' demands for additional governmental services to meet the state's economic and social needs. New agencies were created or new functions attached to existing agencies often poorly adapted to handle them. With haphazard growth came haphazard financing, and taxation in Texas today is a far cry from "revenue sufficient for the economical administration of the government" envisioned by the Convention of 1875.

The judiciary had also been subjected to severe criticism. Since the 1869 Constitution had give the Governor the power to appoint the judges, the 1876 Constitution provided that all judges were to be elected by popular vote with terms from two to six years, and reduced their salaries. A more essential change was the return of the county courts.

Taken as a whole, the 1876 Constitution satisfied the majority of the people of Texas. It was an extremely human document which reflected both national and state history. Its writers were not preoccupied with ideas of perfection. The issues facing them were great and perplexing; and the method of their solution was not to seek a constitutional document which itemized man's highest aspirations but rather to find practical answers to meet the challenge of the times.

The authors of the Constitution were experienced enough, shrewd enough and disillusioned enough to recognize no government could be based on the theory of generosity or goodness of men. Therefore they wrote into the Constitution as many limitations on potential temptations toward evil and selfish ends as they deemed necessary to maintain a reasonable amount of honesty and justice and a moderate amount of efficiency in state government. The main effort of the Constitutional Convention in 1875, without question, was devoted to the restraining of individuals in government positions from wrong doing.

Although the final document was exceedingly detailed, lengthy, and somewhat repetitive, it provided a fairly adequate government at the time of its adoption. But as the population and industries of Texas began to grow, bringing with them changing economic and social conditions, it was found that the governmental machinery was not adequate to meet situations unimagined by the framers of the 1876 instrument. So much administrative detail had been incorporated into that document it was necessary to alter; time and again, the fundamental law in order to keep abreast of the times. Fortunately, the Constitution makers had provided a rather simple method of amendment. Nevertheless, the fact that 184 amendments have been approved (with 14 more to be voted on in November 1968) would indicate the time has indeed arrived for a complete review of the Constitution of 1876.

In 1948 under the auspices of Governor Beauford Jester a Citizens Committee on the Constitution was formed. Even after his death, the movement for a revision of the Constitution refused to die & the L.W.V. began to actually promote the idea.

In 1957 under the auspices of Governor Beauford Jester, a revision attempt was made utilizing the services of the Texas Legislative Council with a group of dedicated citizens as an advisory committee. Two members of the State Board of the League of Women Voters of that time, were among those serving. The Citizens Advisory Committee entirely without compensation spent four years studying each section of the Constitution and recommended both substantive and non-substantive revision. The Texas Legislative Council, entirely without funds until 1959 when the 56th Legislature appropriated \$50,000 for research did not start extensive revision work until 1960. Because of insufficient funds and the short period of time left before a final report was to be made, the Texas Legislative Council decided that a thorough research job was not possible. Therefore a simplified format was employed. The final report recommended: that no Constitutional Convention was needed at that time; that the document was sound and reflected the governmental philosophy of the people; that 50 deadwood provisions be eliminated and that a study be made of the judicial article.

The 57th Legislature was not favorably disposed toward constitutional revision so there the matter lay until the House of Representatives of the 60th Legislature by simple House Resolution, established a Constitutional Revision Commission to make a revision of the Texas Constitution.

When the Constitutional Revision Commission assembled in Austin on January 30, 1968 one of the first questions they were called upon to decide was whether they were to write a new Constitution or simply amend the old one. The decision they reached could be decisive for the future of the government of Texas. This was a well worn thought to several of those present because they had worked on the earlier revision attempt. Being well familiar with the historical potpourri of our present Constitution and considering solemnly the mandate of HSR 429, they agreed that their obligation was indeed to draw up a new document.

As conscientious members of the Revision Commission, could they do less?

As concerned citizens of Texas, could they do more?

* * * *

SAMPLE PRESS RELEASE
(TCR)

Mrs. _____ of the League of Women of _____ will be the guest speaker of the _____
(name of organization) on (date) at (locale) . Mrs. _____ will
speak on Texas Constitutional Revision; the needs, and background of the issue.

The League of Women Voters of Texas after conducting a detailed study of the Texas Constitution, reached certain positions with regard to constitutional revision. The need for a Constitution designed to meet the demands of modern day state government is being felt across the entire nation. A truly effective constitution must be one designed to provide a framework of law from which a state may operate, with confidence and security, as well as a document enabling the citizens and legislators of a state to work for the growth and advancement of that state in today's society.

The Speakers' Bureau of the League of Women Voters of _____ has been organized to give the community information on such topics as (list other program topics) . Voter Education topics such as (list VS speeches) are chosen to provide any organization interested in promoting citizen education and participation in government with the material useful in expanding this interest.

Anyone interested in contacting the League of Women Voters for speakers may call Mrs. _____ at _____.

(To Local PR Chairman: A brief biographical sketch of the League member, e.g., her League portfolio, past experience, other community activities, etc., may be included as the second paragraph.)

TO: Local League Presidents

FROM: Mrs. Ralph McKinlay, Texas Constitutional Revision Chairman

RE: TCR Sample Speech corrections in Speaker's Kit

April 1968
LWV of Texas

On page four of the Sample TCR Speech in the Speaker's Kit distributed at the March 1968 Eleventh Biennial State Convention please insert after the first paragraph the following paragraph:

In 1949, under the auspices of Governor Beauford Jester, a Citizens Committee on the Constitution was formed. Even after his death, the movement for constitutional revision refused to die and the League of Women Voters began to actively promote the idea.

On the same page in paragraph two, line one, please delete the following:

under the auspices of Governor Beauford Jester

The sentence will then read:

In 1957 a revision attempt was made utilizing the services of the Texas Legislative Council with a group of dedicated citizens as an advisory committee..

* * * * *

®

File

September 27, 1968

To: State Office c.c. Martin
From: Duckworth
Re: Sample Speech For Constitutional Amendment 5

For the first time, as we approach this fall's general election, the attention of the American people is riveted on their government and their governmental institutions. Whether this attention is informed or confused is a matter of great debate. Which ever it is, the American citizen, usually apathetic towards his government, has seen, live and in color, how his democracy has been running without him. After many years of leaving it to "them" and maintaining a "Let George do it" attitude, he is wanting to participate actively in representative democracy.

In the midst of the flamboyant forms of political activity spot-lighted on our television screens, the people of Texas are going to go to the polls on November 5 and vote for or against 14 more patches on their old 1876 Constitution. There could seem to be nothing less glamorous or less worthy of spirited conversation than this yearly maintenance job on a creaky constitution. Many voters will not mark their ballots on the amendments. Many will try to do some last minute ^{voting} cramming with the Voters Guide ~~evening~~ before they go to the polls. ~~with the Voters Guide~~ Some will mark "yes" or "no" from their attempts to understand the issues in the few minutes at the polling place. All in all the majority of Texans ~~will~~ have their attention focused on the debate over who were the good guys or bad guys in Chicago.

But planted among the 14 proposed amendments to the Texas Constitution is ^a the seed of hope for ~~the~~ solution to the problems that make the headlines. As with most of the steps, which might lead us towards the better government we all want, it is only a beginning. But we must begin. Now is the time for us to accept the responsibility which goes with the privileges of our democracy. When we do - we will strike a blow for stability and strength in our governmental institutions which now seem in danger of falling.

Page 2 - Sample Speech

The amendment to which I am referring is #5 - to increase the pay of our Texas Legislators from \$4,800 to \$8,400 per year. It will also increase the \$12 per day expenses to the full 240 days of the regular sessions, and give mileage allowance of 10¢ per mile for one trip a month back to their home district.

So why is this such a big deal, you may ask! How can we save the world by paying state legislators more money? Well, to face the facts, we won't save the world, but we can begin to strengthen our state government so that the Texas Legislature can more effectively solve Texas problems.

Experts tell us that we are facing a decision in America today on whether we want a simplified form of government with decisions coming from a strong central government to regional administrative units, or whether we want to salvage state governments, so long neglected, that have the capacity to innovate and to solve the problems of urbanization, welfare, water and air pollution, and the other headline-making issues. They tell us that the key to strengthening state government is to improve our legislative branch - the ^{part of} state government that represents the people directly and which makes laws which affect them in many vital areas of their daily lives. Recommendations include: giving them more time to do their work in more frequent sessions; adequate offices and facilities; better staff and sources of information; and higher pay in keeping with the importance of their task. The big question they emphasize, is whether we can do this fast enough to keep pace with the growth of the crisis facing state government. This means within the next two, three, or four years.

The League of Women Voters of Texas has studied the Texas Legislature for the past two years and more. After a thorough look at its structure and functioning, we put the need for adequate compensation for state legislators near the top of the list of changes that we believe would

strengthen state government and allow the legislature to solve the complex problems of a modern Texas.

Now we would like to mention five good reasons why we urge you to vote For Amendment #5 on November 5th. First, we should pay our legislators on a level in keeping with the responsibility and importance of their position. After all, they make laws that affect the lives of 10 million Texans in the 5th largest state in the United States. They appropriate money for a yearly budget of \$2.5 billion a year. What business of that size would pay its Board of Directors \$4,800 a year?

Second, we need to pay our lawmakers from public funds so that their loyalty to their constituents will more nearly equal the influence of special interest groups who might seek to sway their opinions and votes with promises of financial gain or by financial favors. A legislators cannot maintain himself in Austin on the pay he now receives. Under these circumstances, it is easier for special interest groups to gain his attention. Higher pay will not insure that there will not be conflict of interest in some cases, but it will increase the chance that our legislators can vote and act independently when considering all legislation.

Third, more adequate pay will encourage more different kinds of people to run for the legislature. At the present time most legislators are lawyers or businessmen because they are the ones most able to arrange ~~their~~ time away from their occupations to attend sessions, study committees, make speeches and devote time to talking with constituents to discuss legislation. As our state becomes more diversified in its industry and economy, we need all of the areas of Texas life represented in our law-making body.

Fourth, adequate compensation will encourage men with legislative experience to remain in the legislature so that lawmaking might benefit from their knowledge. There is about a 30% to 40% turnover each session in the Texas Legislature. Most persons who have served as an elected representative will tell you that it takes at least one term to learn the ropes. Many leave reluctantly because they feel their first obligation is to maintain their families and educate their children. When the median income of all families in the United States is \$8,000, few men or women can justify the increasing amount of time necessary to perform legislative duties when the salary is only \$4,800 a year. Many of the more progressive states are already paying their legislators more than the proposed increase for Texas.

Fifth the League is asking you to vote FOR Constitutional Amendment 5 because, relieved of some of the necessity and pressure of making a living at another occupation, legislators can spend more time working, studying, and innovating to solve the problems which are already abundantly upon us. They can spend more time in dialogue with their constituents so they can be truly responsive to the will of the people. In short, they can devote more of their time to the public interest if they are paid in proportion from the public treasury.

Plato advised long ago on the importance and necessity of securing competent judgment in those who hold political power. Modern day experts tell us the same thing - only in modern times they remind us that to do this we must pay the price. Only by assuming the responsibility of strengthening our state government can we insure that it will still be there to hear us when we speak. It is just a step in assuming our responsibility to vote FOR Constitutional Amendment 5 - but an important one.

Nov. 11

Dear Helen,

Am happy to accept the challenge to be a member of the State Speakers Bureau. I do have a 5 year old, however, so any engagement will necessarily depend on my being able to arrange sitters.

Would appreciate any outlines of the material you have available, also any areas that you particularly like to see emphasized - usually these are helpful as the topics to be covered are so numerous.

Thank you again for asking me this - it is a great idea & will be much fun.

Sincerely,
Jan Watterworth
(Mrs. George)

Mrs. L.C. Hatterworth



Mrs. F.L. Duckworth

[REDACTED]
November 14, 1968

Mrs. F. L. Duckworth
Chairman, Texas Legislature
[REDACTED]

Dear Helen:

Sorry to wait so long to respond to your letter. My immediate response was "yes", but I did want to discuss it with my husband before I answered and he has been out of town.

After discussion, my answer is still "yes". This answer is based on the assumption that there would not be many such requests and that I would not need to be away from home more than a day or two at any one time.

It sounds like a "fun" way to work for League. I enjoy participating in our local Speaker's Bureau. Please do send an outline and any other information you think I should use.

I was pleased to note the article on the LWV in the "State Legislatures Progress Reporter" - front page and all! We were certainly disappointed about Amendment 5 on the November ballot. Lubbock County did endorse it though. How is that for the conservative West Texas area?

Sincerely,

Caulyn

Mrs. Duane P. Jordan



The travel expense from El Paso would be terrific to Dallas or Houston -
the most likely spots for conventions or meetings.

Will these two names be enough - along with mine - assuming that Carolyn Jordan
accepts? Do I need to send a speech outline to you or just to the speakers?
Joan Harvey c.c. to C.C. Martin

From: Duckworth

This is to let you know that I realize the deadline for lining
up details for the Speakers Bureau has come and gone. I have
definitely been "off the ball" on it and not tending to my
business. But here is my report:

Cindywood, Houston

Mrs. George Watterworth, 14342/graciously accepted. I have not
yet heard from Mrs. Duane Jordan, Lubbock. Mary Ann Harvey had
to decline because she felt it would be a conflict with her
Internship in the Legislature. Apparently the mention of her
being a LWV "spy" in the Legislature is a realy problem with her.
It would improve her position if we could let it be known that
she has severed her connections with the League. So I have taken
her off my "off-board" committee and will not contact her again
for any assistance on the Legislature item until her internship
is over in June.

My only other name is Mrs. Edward Babenco, El Paso and I have a ?
by it. If Carolyn Jordan from Lubbock accepts, I wonder if we
should have two people from west Texas on the list?

The travel expense from El Paso would be terrific to Dallas or Houston - the most likely spots for conventions or meetings.

Will these two names be enough - along with mine - assuming that Carolyn Jordan accepts? Do I need to send a speech outline to you or just to the speakers?

From: Buckworth

This is to let you know that I realize the deadline for lining up details for the Speakers Bureau has come and gone. I have definitely been "off the ball" on it and not tending to my business. But here is my report:

Cindywood, Houston
Mrs. George Watterworth, 14342 Graciously accepted. I have not yet heard from Mrs. Luanne Jordan, Lubbock. Mary Ann Harvey had to decline because she felt it would be a conflict with her internship in the Legislature. Apparently the mention of her being a "spy" in the Legislature is a real problem with her. It would improve her position if we could let it be known that she has severed her connections with the League. So I have taken her off my "off-board" committee and will not contact her again for any assistance on the Legislature item until her internship is over in June.

My only other name is Mrs. Edward Babenco, El Paso and I have a by it. If Carolyn Jordan from Lubbock accepts, I wonder if we should have two people from west Texas on the list?

File

League of Women Voters of Texas



1841 BINGLE ROAD • HOUSTON, TEXAS 77055 • TEL: A.C. 713 HO 5-3705

MRS. WILLIAM E. JOOR, President

November 4, 1968

Mrs. Duane Jordan



Dear Carolyn:

The State League is going to establish a state-wide Speakers Bureau which will offer League speakers on state program items to organizations outside the League. We would like very much to have you as one of the ones who will speak on the Texas Legislature Item.

Although material would not be a problem with you since you have already been deeply involved in the content of the item, there would be an outline of areas that could be covered.

All of the expenses connected with these speaking engagement would be paid by the group requesting the speaker. The number of times that each speaker would be asked to speak would be minimal unless we would have many more requests than we are now expecting. Probably you would have about one speech a year. Because of the problem of transportation expense, which will always be with us in Texas, we would probably ask you to fill any requests from your area in West Texas.

Could you give me your answer within the next week or so? I hope it will be "yes" because you already have the background in this item.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. F. L. Duckworth
Chairman, Study of the Texas Legislature

c.c. SDtate Office, Ruth Martin



File

November 4, 1968

Mrs. George Watterworth
[REDACTED]

Dear Jan:

The State League is going to establish a state-wide Speakers Bureau on some of the state program items, which will offer League speakers to groups outside of the League. We would like to have you as one of the speakers that would be available to speak on the Texas Legislature.

All of the expenses connected with these speaking engagements would be paid by the group requesting the speaker. The number of times that each speaker would be asked to speak would be minimal unless we would have many more requests than we are now expecting. Probably you would not have more than one speech a year.

Although material would be not problem for you because you have been with this study item for a couple of years, an outline would be available of areas that could be covered. As you already know there is a wealth of resource material available. I would be glad to contribute any items that I could if you felt that you lacked information in any one area.

Could you give me your answer within the next week or so? I hope it will be "yes" since you have been so highly recommended.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. F. L. Duckworth
Chairman, Study of the Texas Legislature

c.c. State Office, Ruth Martin

®

Feli

November 4, 1968

Dear Mary Ann,

Are you enjoying your work in the Legislature? I have been curious about your assignment and also your reaction to being part of the workings of that organization. However, I know that it must keep; you tremendously busy. Knowing that you would be pushed for time and feeling, also, that there might be some question about your being too closely involved with the Legislature study that it might be considered a "conflict of interest", I have not included you on all of the carbon copies since late summer. Or had you noticed? Sure enough, I heard at State Board meeting in September that you had been referred to as the "League's spy in the Legislature".

Now that we are about to consider the results of the consensus on the lobby, I would like to include you on the committees memos. What do you think? Do you think being an off-board member of the Legislature Committee would leave you open to criticism? I'll do whatever you decide, but we do need your expert opinion on the consensus, too.

As you no doubt have heard by now, the State League is going to offer a state-wide Speakers Bureau on various state government topics to groups outside the League. I would like very much for you to be one of the speakers that would be available to speak on the Texas Legislature. All of the expenses would be paid by the organization requesting the speaker. The number of engagements for each member of the state-wide Bureau would probably not be more than one a year or perhaps two years.

Although material would be no problem for you, there would be an outline available of areas that could be covered. This part of it would be the least of your problems, I am sure, as you have such extensive League background and experience in the Legislature besides. Could you let me know your answer within the next week or so? I hope it will be "yes".

Sincerely,

Helen Duckworth

c.c. State office, Ruth Martin



File

September 23, 1968

To: Joan Ramey c.c. Fritz, Hemman, Joor, Martin
From: Duckworth
Re: Belated reply to memo of July 31 about Statewide Speakers Bureau

When I can get to it, I believe I can develop a speech from the one which is a sample of possible speeches for Constitutional Amendment 5.

Persons with a good grasp of the Legislature Study are:

Mrs. James Harvey

[Redacted]

Mrs. John Graham

[Redacted]

Mrs. E. R. Brownscombe

[Redacted]

Mrs. Edward Babenco

[Redacted]

Mrs. Duane Jordan

[Redacted]

Mrs. George Boller

[Redacted]

Mrs. George Watterworth

[Redacted]

Miss Mary Glade

[Redacted]

As you can see, all of these persons are very much involved with the League at the local level. I do not know if they would have time to do this, if asked. Some of them I do not know and therefore, have no idea of their speaking techniques. This information would have to be obtained from those who know them.

Of course, the members of my committee - Ruth Martin, Helen Noe, and Jo Prashner, as well as you and Eloise Wackerbarth would be able to do this, but I did not know if you wanted present State Board members.

*Give Leg Points
to cover but
no canned speeches
write asking to do this
may never be asked.
maybe once a year or every 2 yrs.*

®

TO: State Board
FROM: Joan Ramey
RE: Statewide Speakers Bureau

LWV of Texas
July 31, 1968

The PR and VS committees have been in communication to lay the groundwork for the establishing of a Statewide Speakers Bureau, as approved at the June Board meeting.

The recommendations of the two committees are as follows:

Topics: 1. Broad speech of the citizen's responsibility in a democracy. One suggested title - "Political Responsibility - Earn Your Keep."
2. TCR
3. Legislature
4. Water - "Muddying the Waters in Texas."
5. VS speech in disadvantaged areas - "The Name of the Game is People Power." Considering the fact that local Leagues would be more in line for reaching these areas, we might want to develop this speech for them to use.

Responsibility of chairmen involved in portfolios included above:

1. The development of a speech - either full or outline form. Also her suggestions of give away material to the organization requesting a speaker.
2. The responsibility of contacting individuals whom she feels would be in a position to best represent the League for these engagements. There should be at least 3 people for each topic, so that when requests come in, we have a better chance of filling the date. These names should be submitted to the Board for approval before contacting them.

To clarify the purpose and scope of the Bureau, we will be in communication with organizations across the state, offering the service to them for district, regional, or statewide meetings of their organizations. This would include such functions as conventions, councils, etc. These groups will be screened by the committees before the letters will be sent. We would not want this service to encroach upon the service offered by the LLs. It will be clearly established that any expense incurred by the speaker will be reimbursed by the organization requesting the service.

It is necessary for all of you to make your comments as to topics, titles, etc. at this time, in order that the various chairmen involved will have time to line up prospective speakers before we contact the organizations. All of the work must be done first, so that when a request comes in, we will be able to respond to it affirmatively.

The committees were in agreement that the topics must be flexible from year to year, and that they be reviewed from time to time. An evaluation form will be planned for each speaker's use, and records will be kept of each engagement, utilizing the information from the evaluations. It is recommended that we have these topics ready to go before November.

Chairmen of Topics: Would you send into SO the names of individuals you feel could handle the speech in your area, aside from yourself? The chairmen should be in line to be available for an engagement, occasionally. When we get all the names in, we can send them on to the SB for approval.

Thanks.

* * * *

To: Joor
From: Bubis
Re: Lgislative speech, msc.
8-2-69

Just received this note from Dorothy Brown. Sorry for the delay. Dorothy also sent in the reservation form original for the August regional conference, so shall return your copy.

The original copy of the speech went to Joan Ramey along with several photocopied information sheets. She should have them in her files. She requested that they be sent to her, as she was going to include them in special kits. If SO would like fresh copied of the speech, I'll be glad to retype them and send them along.

I had sent a memo to SO right after they received the copy for Post Board Report asking that they delete the line about the kits. I'm glad you took it out. In further analysis it ~~was~~ was decided that they LLs probably would/~~nt~~ use much more material and anything sent would be wasted.

Have had good comments on the flyers.

Reservations for the regional conference have been coming in slowly. Have a few from Louisiana and one from Okla. It's early yet. Eloise Wackerbarth has been asked to be recorder. Have no suggestions to make about expenses for State Board. Your suggestion that they be treated like other member of ~~the~~ their LLs is probably the best one. Unless they have to fly, there is no overnight expense and the lunch is nominal, so their expenses would not be extra~~magant~~gant.

Jo Prahmer has sent the information about the convention.

Hope to circulate the Legislature Brief to the Legislature committee by the end of the week. This would put it into the SO by the end of the ~~month~~ month, I hope.

September 20, 1969

TO: Bubis, SO
FROM: Ramey
RE: Speakers for Legislature

Barbara, I know you must be tired of hearing of the statewide bureau, but I am still without speakers for the Legislature topic. I have only a memo from Helen D. suggesting 8 people to speak on the item. I have no memo confirming any acceptances, from her, or any carbons of acceptances. I checked through the material you gave me at the June board meeting, thinking I had misplaced a list of speakers, and couldn't find it.

If you could just jot the names down, and send them into the office - Joyce has all the other material ready for printing. I did not have the original copy of the speech in the packet of material you gave me in June. In that was copies of the compensation chart and copies of the standing committees for enclosure in the kit.

I took my carbon of the speech outline I received in May, made the corrections you suggested in a late May memo, and deleted that portion relating to the August 5th election. Hope this meets with your satisfaction. If you have any changes to make, just notify Joyce.

See you next week!!!



THE TEXAS LEGISLATURE

I. Introduction

- A. If possible, tailor opening statement to the group you are addressing.
 - 1. For example, if PTA involved, stress importance of state legislation in public school education.
 - 2. For businessmen, might call attention to the \$5 billion biennial budget and the short amount of time legislators have to appropriate it and find revenue for it.
- B. League background
 - 1. Three-year study
 - 2. Study included
 - a. Factual information about the Texas Legislature
 - b. Interviews with the legislators
 - c. Opinions of experts nationally about state legislatures
 - d. Comparison with legislatures of other states
- C. During this study, League members began to see that changes could be made in our legislature to make it more efficient and to make the job of the legislator easier.

II. Annual sessions

- A. Present procedure
 - 1. Regular 120 day sessions (January through May) every other year
 - 2. Special sessions of 30 days called by the governor
 - a. Governor specifies subject matter
 - b. Legislature may not call special session
 - 3. Volume of activity
 - a. Well over 1000 bills and resolutions introduced each regular session
 - b. \$5 billion biennial budget, increasing each biennium
 - c. 10 million people affected

III. Conference committees¹

- A. Describe powers
 - 1. Powers specified by rules adopted in each house
 - 2. Use appropriations bill to describe what happens in conference committees
- B. League feels conference committees should be restricted to adjusting differences between the two houses.

IV. Compensation for legislators

- A. Present compensation
 - 1. Salary \$4800/year plus \$12/day expenses during first 120 days
 - 2. Expenses of \$12/day during special session
 - 3. 10¢/mile travel allowance to and from Austin one time during session
 - 4. Receive Social Security and retirement benefits
- B. Ranking 1,5
- C. Costs of being a legislator
 - 1. Income lost while serving in Austin
 - 2. Traveling and living expenses (two households)
 - 3. Costs resulting from disruption of family life
 - 4. Expenses of being a legislator
 - 5. Expenses of becoming a legislator
- D. League position: Adequate compensation. Elimination of amount from constitution.

V. Powers of presiding officers¹

A. League position: Power of House and Senate should be increased in relation to the power of the presiding officers.

1. More voice for the legislators in determining committee membership
2. Bills and resolutions referred to committees of appropriate jurisdiction

a. State Affairs Committee

VI. Increased effectiveness of the legislator

A. Description of the day of a legislator (sometimes from 7 a.m. to 3:30 a.m.)

1. Include such items as meeting with lobbyists and citizens' groups, correspondence, committee assignments, lobbying for his own bills, etc.
2. Stress workload of legislators, great number of bills he must keep up with

B. To ease his workload and make him more effective, League recommends (expand upon):

1. Pre session orientation
2. Fewer committee assignments⁵
3. Adequate professional and clerical help²
4. Improved facilities for research, information, and bill drafting, including use of electronic aids²

VII. Orderly flow of bills and resolutions*

A. Reduction of the number of committees⁵ (Refer back to VI. B.2)

B. Closer cooperation between the two houses by such means as parallel, joint, and joint interim committees (define)

C. Deadlines for reporting bills and resolutions out of subcommittees and committees

1. Explain how presiding officers and committee chairman can kill a bill through present committee system, if you do not go into How a Bill Becomes Law.

D. Fewer local bills on the legislative calendar

1. Describe local and uncontested bills and the dangers inherent in their passage.
2. Choose a couple of your favorite bills to illustrate this point.
3. Point out how this clogs the legislative calendar.

E. Pre session filing

F. Early introduction and circulation of bills and resolutions

1. E. and F. can be handled together to show how helpful it would be to the legislator to have more time to deliberate and to spend less time on bill preparation during the actual session. (This would be a constitutional amendment.)

VIII. Conflict of interest³

A. Legislators should be responsive to the public. Conflicts of interest should be lessened

1. Shorter campaigns to reduce campaign costs
2. All campaign contributions and loans reported, with clear identification of contributors and effective enforcement by an agency for this purpose
3. Total expenses of lobbying filed
4. A workable code of ethics which clearly defines and discloses conflicts of interest

* How a Bill Becomes a Law has not been included in this speech because of time limitations. If you feel that it should be included for the group you are addressing, you might insert it either here or in your introduction.

- IX. Procedures that facilitate public knowledge of legislative activities¹
 - A. Record votes taken in committee meetings
 - B. Committee meetings open to the public
- X. Conclusion
 - A. Quickly list the eight major points you have made in this speech.
 - B. Concluding remarks about the importance of the state legislature in our system of government.¹

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(Note: Numbers after subject matter above refer to these publications)

- 1. The Framework and the Functioning
- 2. Aids for the Texas Legislator
- 3. The Influence of the Lobby
- 4. The Influence of the Governor
- 5. Standing Committees of the Legislature, 1969
- 6. Estimated Biennial Compensation of Legislators, By States, Effective January 1, 1969

* * * * *

TO: Legislature Statewide Speakers Bureau

FROM: Mrs. Ralph I. Bubis, Texas Legislature Chairman

RE: Using the speech outline

LWV of Texas
October 1969

The outline in this speech packet concerning the League recommendations for legislative modernization is of necessity comprehensive and long. Obviously, there is too much material for the average speech. Unless you are speaking to a group with a great deal of "savvy" about the legislature, you'll need to pick and choose what you'll say. Don't try to cover the waterfront. You'll only be confusing.

It seems to me that what you say should be governed by several factors:

1. The special interests of the group you are addressing;
2. The timeliness of the subject (what's in the news right now);
3. The relative importance of the statements (probably the most important first step is full time pay for full time legislators);
4. The possibilities of achieving any of the positions in the near future.

Each session of the legislature has vivid illustrations of the points we want to make. You might use the most recent session to illustrate some of the points. For instance, they passed and will have on the ballot in August 1969, constitutional amendments on annual sessions and compensation. (Watch carefully, however, on these as to League's support or non support.)

In most cases, the more you can dress up your statements with illustrations the more believable you'll be. You might use such examples as the practices of conference committees in regard to appropriation bills; the controversy over lack of definition of conflict of interest in the Heatly and Fortas cases; or you might use the example of how power struggles between the two houses can impede orderly flow of bills (VII. B.).

It might be a good idea to scan your publications for quotable quotes and for up-to-date information, keeping your own clipping file for reference.

If you feel you want to have publications available for your audience, Facts and Issues for sale may be ordered from the state office. You'll need to use your own judgement if you wish to suggest or offer these for further reading.

If you have any questions or suggestions, please feel free to consult with me. My address is [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

* * * * *

League of Women Voters of Texas



1841 BINGLE ROAD • HOUSTON, TEXAS 77055 • TEL: A.C. 713 HO 5-3705

MRS. WILLIAM E. JOOR, President

The League of Women Voters of Texas takes particular pleasure in announcing the inauguration of a statewide Speakers Bureau. Speakers are available for Conventions, Regional Meetings, District Meetings, or Conferences of your organization.

Subjects deal with governmental issues and responsibilities--subjects that engage thoughtful people of varied ages, varied backgrounds, and varied interests.

Whichever topic is selected by your organization, you can be assured that these speakers will bring unique information gathered from years of study by the League of Women Voters.

We invite your inquiry about speaking engagements or special appearances to be filled by our outstanding speakers. There is no fee for this service; only travel and lodging expenses of the speaker are to be assumed by your organization.

TOPICS BEING PRESENTED THIS YEAR ARE AS FOLLOWS:

"The Texas Executive--Past, Present, and Future"

"The Texas Legislature--...of the people, by the people, and for the people "

"The Texas Constitution--a product of the past, failing to meet the needs of the future "

"A Citizen's Role in a Changing Society"

Each speech is approximately twenty to thirty minutes in length (as per your request), and the speakers are available to answer questions at the conclusion of the speech.

Arrangements for speakers must be made at least two months prior to the engagement.

Sincerely,

Mrs. William E. Joor

RHJ/jec

STATEWIDE SPEAKERS BUREAU EVALUATION SHEET

Name of organization requesting speaker:

Type of meeting (convention, regional, district?)

Topic:

Speaker:

Physical Aspects of Engagement:

Location:

Attendance:

Date of engagement:

Audience Reaction to Speech:

1. Did the audience show interest in the subject matter?
2. Were there questions following the speech?
3. Were the questions relating to the need for more information on the subject?

OR

Did the questions indicate an attitude for or against the League position on the subject?

4. Did you feel there might be an interest in another topic?
5. Was there a request for material to be sent to the organization by the League? (Copies of publications, etc.?)
6. Were you given the names of other organizations which might be interested in receiving a letter about the Speakers Bureau?

TO: Speakers for Statewide Speakers Bureau
FROM: Mrs. Darol K. Ramey, 3rd Vice President
RE: Statewide Speakers Bureau

LWV of Texas
October 1969

The Speakers Bureau has been launched--and this is your reference kit. We have tried to supply you with either a speech outline, or a suggested speech from which you can formulate your own approach.

The state chairmen have tried to include in the speeches or outlines, points which we feel are necessary to give total information on the subject matter; however, you are in no way confined to their remarks or suggestions. You have been selected to serve in this capacity because of your outstanding knowledge of the subject matter and because you have the ability and finesse to represent the League of Women Voters of Texas.

As you will note in the enclosed letter to organizations, we are requesting a two month advance reservation for speakers, so you should not be called upon without ample notice. When a request has been made for a speaker, and if you are available to fill the engagement, an ample supply of the "give away" material (if such material is available) will be sent to you.

Some of the kits may contain additional copies of speeches which may relate to your particular topic. These have been sent to you as a means of providing you with additional material to assist you in your preparation. Copies of the suggested resource tool is also a part of your kit.

The enclosed evaluation sheet is an important part of this project. Upon completion of your engagement, please fill it out to the best of your knowledge, and send it into state office. From this information the state Board will be able to analyze the Bureau, subject matter offered, and potential for future engagements.

You might mention the availability of the publications pertaining to your topic when talking with the group. If you have copies of the publications for visual display, this could create interest in individuals ordering them.

Please send a brief biographical sketch of yourself--including League offices held; activities of interest to you, family, education, if you wish--anything which could be used in a press release. A press release will be sent from state office with each engagement made, for the organization to use for publication.

We all thank you for serving in this capacity and we look forward to a busy season ahead.

* * * * *



Speaker's Kit

*Texas Legislature - Texas State -
wide Speakers Bureau
Mrs Ralph I. Buhis*

League of Women Voters of Texas



THE TEXAS LEGISLATURE

A Study By

THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF TEXAS

First in a Series

AIDS FOR THE TEXAS LEGISLATOR

COMPLEXITIES OF LAWMAKING. The task of today's legislator is not an easy one. Every day he must make decisions on a vast number of complex problems, many in fields other than his own. He is, or must become, a "generalist." In addition to his role as a maker of public policy, he must attempt to evaluate the worth of a multitude of economic and social projects and, acting as a sort of economic umpire, apportion public funds among many competing forces. In doing so, our "generalist" legislator finds that he must deal with the problems of specialists—doctors in public health legislation, teachers in education, and economists in taxation, for example. Each professional group feels that its views on proposals dealing with its specialty are better than the legislator's views. In the final analysis, the lawmaker must rely largely on common sense in choosing between alternatives. Even so, he must have certain facts before he can make a choice. Where can he get them? Time is lacking for extensive personal research. To whom can he turn for information to aid him in making his decisions?

SERVICES AVAILABLE. To help meet the ever-increasing need for information and to assist with the work load, various clerical, technical, and research services are available to the Texas legislator. It is the aim of this publication to examine a number of these services, to compare them with services available in other states, and to discuss suggestions for improvement.

OFFICE SPACE. Texas now provides office space for all its legislators. Only a few other states do so, although the trend is to provide improved office and related facilities. North Carolina and New Mexico have just completed new buildings; New York and Hawaii have them under construction; and Connecticut, Indiana, Washington, Ohio, and others are considering the provision of office space for their legislators. Some states, notably Illinois, are even thinking of providing each legislator with funds to establish and run an office in his home district, as well. In contrast, thirty-six states furnish office space only to legislative leaders and a few committee chairmen.

Although Texas senators have had private offices in the capitol for years, representatives, except for leaders such as the speaker and later the committee chairmen, until 1961 had only their desks on the floor. Their secretaries worked shoulder to shoulder in a corridor behind the House chamber. At present, most offices are shared with other members. By 1969, however, when an extensive building program to provide new quarters for executive departments and the judiciary in other buildings is completed, members are to

have either private or semi-private offices in the capitol.

CLERICAL HELP. Texas provides the equivalent of three-and-a-half to four full-time secretaries for each senator during the session, and each representative has one full-time and one half-time secretary. In addition, a House member may draw from \$600 to \$800 per session and approximately \$500 between sessions for contingencies, such as stamps, office supplies, and telephone service. A senator may draw up to \$3,000 each biennium for the same purposes.

Although critics say that additional clerical assistance could be used, particularly by representatives with large constituencies, Texas is one of the few states providing any substantial amount of clerical help for its legislators. Individually assigned secretaries are provided in five other states (California, Florida, Iowa, Missouri, and Oregon). In Pennsylvania \$2,400 per biennium is allowed each legislator for clerical assistance. An additional twelve states maintain stenographic pools, but in roughly two-thirds of the states little or no secretarial or clerical service is furnished.

PROFESSIONAL STAFF. Full-time administrative or professional staff is provided legislative leaders in five states; Texas is not among these. Thirty states furnish *some* professional staff assistance to standing committees. Texas does so, particularly in the field of appropriations and taxation. It is one of only four states having committees served by more than one staff assistant, in this respect ranking with California, Hawaii, and Massachusetts.

TEXAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL. A number of research and information services are available both to the legislature as a whole and to the individual legislator. To provide information on subjects of interest to the legislature, the Texas Legislative Council was created in 1949. That such councils serve a very useful purpose is shown by the fact that forty-four states now have either a legislative council or a council-type agency which performs substantially the same service. Of the states which do not have them, California and New York rely on a system of staffed interim committees.

The Texas Legislative Council is composed of ten representatives appointed by the speaker of the House, who serves ex-officio as vice-chairman, and five senators appointed by the lieutenant governor, who serves as the chairman. The council is the official research arm of the legislature. It is required by law to meet quarterly; it employs a full-time executive

director and research staff. Its work is financed by legislative appropriation (\$538,000 for 1966-67). It has the power to subpoena witnesses and evidence during its investigations, but it does not ordinarily do so.

The council's research usually is undertaken at the request of the legislature, but any individual legislator or private citizen may submit a topic for consideration. Its reports, which are factual, often are accompanied by recommendations; frequently drafts of legislation are included. Many of these have been enacted into law. Members of the League of Women Voters will recall the report of the council on revision of the Texas constitution. Other reports, to name but a few, have dealt with taxation, local government, wildlife management, lobby regulation, juvenile delinquency, redistricting, and revision of the criminal code. Such studies have usually been made between sessions of the legislature.

During the session the council assists individual legislators and committee chairmen by preparing drafts and analyses of bills and resolutions. Such technical service to the individual legislator is limited by the size staff which the council's budget permits. There are always more requests than can be filled. It is estimated, however, that the council is responsible for drafting approximately fifty to seventy-five per cent of the bills which actually are enacted into law. Only five states (Nevada, Ohio, Alaska, Michigan, and Florida) provide larger appropriations for their legislative councils than does Texas.

The Texas Legislative Council has prepared and published a legislative manual, which contains the text of the constitution and the House, Senate, and joint rules. This has proved extremely helpful, especially to new legislators. It is kept up to date by issuing supplements.

ELECTRONIC AID. A magnetic tape typewriter was used by the staff of the Legislative Council to record the voter registration bill passed by the February 1966 special session of the legislature. Robert Johnson, council director, estimates that conventional typing of the bill would have taken four times as many man-hours. With this machine, amendments to a bill can simply be included on the magnetic tape, without having to retype the whole bill as has previously been done. Mr. Johnson points out that this would be an invaluable aid to both speed and accuracy in handling the extremely long general appropriations bill, where dozens of pages are untouched by amendments but have to be retyped several times each session.

COUNCIL OF STATE GOVERNMENTS. Each state has a commission on interstate cooperation, and the central agency of these commissions is the Council of State Governments. All branches of state government--executive, legislative, and judicial--receive the council's services, which are concerned mainly with research. The council and its eight affiliates (which include the National Governors' Conference and the National Legislative Conference) provide specific information in answer to inquiries, make studies of state and interstate problems and publish their findings, and sponsor regional and national conferences on a great many important public questions. Their services are available to legislators and to

other state officials. Every legislator receives the council's monthly bulletin, *State Government News*, and is offered a free subscription to its quarterly magazine, *State Government*.

INTERSTATE COMPACTS. Further sources of information to legislators are the commissions established by the interstate compacts of which Texas is a member. (Compacts have long been fostered by the Council of State Governments as an important means of cooperation between states.) The Interstate Oil Compact Commission and the Southern Regional Education Board are outstanding study-advisory-recommendatory bodies.

ORIENTATION. Approximately thirty-one states hold orientation conferences regularly or occasionally; sixteen hold them between the time of the general election and the beginning of the session. Designed particularly for new legislators, the subjects discussed include parliamentary procedure, the committee system, and aids for legislators. In some states administrative programs and revenue and spending procedures are also reviewed. Kentucky's conference, which has been held before each regular session of the legislature (except two) since 1949, seems to be particularly helpful to the legislators, and also to the few members of the executive branch who are invited to attend.

In Texas, Speaker of the House Ben Barnes held a two-day orientation meeting for new representatives a month before the 1967 legislative session began. This was the first time a special orientation session had been held. Previous orientation had been done by the House parliamentarian in several two-hour meetings during the busy first few days of the session.

BILL DRAFTING. Some states have special bill drafting agencies, but in Texas no one agency has this responsibility. The legislator who is also a lawyer may be well able to draft bills; the legislator who is not a lawyer will be at a great disadvantage in this respect. As has been noted above, the Legislative Council furnishes assistance, within the limitations of time and personnel available. However, the legislator is not entirely dependent upon the Legislative Council for such help.

First, he may refer to the *Manual for the Assistance of Members of the Texas Legislature*, prepared by the attorney general's office, which contains valuable information on the drafting of various types of bills and resolutions. The attorney general's office will give advice on the legality of bills and resolutions submitted to it by a legislative committee. But since several weeks are required for the necessary research, the service is of limited usefulness. Because of this time factor a bill may be killed by a committee's decision to request advice.

STATE LIBRARY. The legislator can also find assistance in the records kept by the Legislative Reference Division of the State Library. There he may procure copies of previous bills and resolutions, and from the legislative history maintained by the division, he can find out what happened to them after introduction. The division also has information on what legislative action has been taken in other states on any particular topic.

Originally the Reference Division was intended to serve also as an agency for more specialized research

than that provided by the Legislative Council, and to make this service available to the individual legislator concerned with problems not of interest to the legislature as a whole. In practice, however, this function has had to be subordinated to keeping current the very important legislative historical records; there remains little time during a session to do research for individual legislators. Between sessions, when time might be available, the staff is much reduced.

It has been suggested that the Reference Division be expanded. An alternative suggestion is to permit the State Library to continue keeping the historical records, but to move the research service to another agency (possibly one directed by the Legislative Council) which maintains a full-time, year-round director.

COMPUTERS. Much routine research work can be done by computers, which can be programmed, for example, to provide a rapid search of all statutes affected by new legislation. (In New York a computer-aided search for all laws affecting banking produced the astonishing total of 1,604.) The Texas legislature in 1965 made a special appropriation of \$100,000 to the Legislative Council for computer programming to assemble and print out a preliminary record of existing statutes and set up a statute information retrieval program. When this electronic project is completed, passage of laws in conflict with present statutes can be minimized. The University of Pittsburgh is working with several states to incorporate their entire statute law on rapid retrieval computer equipment. The Council of State Governments has led in bringing to the attention of the states the challenge, potentialities, and problems of computer use.

Chief among the problems are the recruitment of well-trained data processing personnel and the efficient use of equipment (for example, for most economical use computers should run twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week). Plans for management of automatic data processing equipment to be used by state agencies are being formulated by a division in the state auditor's office. A computer-based tax administration and accounting system already has been installed by the comptroller's department; one use of the equipment is to assemble data needed for preparation of budget estimates and revenue forecasts. An additional problem, beginning to be recognized as the use of computers increases, is in the field of public policy--who, for example, should have access to data being accumulated about individuals?

TWO BUDGETS. In fiscal matters Texas is unusual among the states, in that both legislative and executive budgets are prepared and submitted to the legislature. This practice is deplored by some as a duplication of effort, and, therefore, wasteful. However, the legislature has been reluctant to abandon the preparation of its own budget report.

LEGISLATIVE BUDGET BOARD. This board, created in 1949, is composed of four senators and four representatives, plus the lieutenant governor and the speaker of the House; these leaders appoint the members from their respective Houses. By statute, the chairmen of the committees handling revenue and appropriations must be among those who are appointed. The board employs professional staff members and a

full-time director of the budget (not to be confused with the director of the budget in the executive office of the governor). It makes a continuous study of state revenues and expenditures, and it reviews and analyzes the budget. It must submit a budget of estimated appropriations to the legislature and the governor within five days after the session begins. It also drafts the appropriations bills necessary for implementing the budget.

BUDGET REVIEW AND CONTROL BY LEGISLATURES. There is some provision for legislative budget review in twenty-five of the states. The legislative council provides this service in fourteen states, with some employing a special fiscal analyst. In eleven states budgetary review is a function of special or standing committees of the legislature. In three states these committees have special staff to assist in this work.

Missouri, New Jersey, Oklahoma, and Wisconsin require that each bill which will cost the taxpayers money carry a "fiscal note" estimating its impact on the state budget. This system has proved disappointing in some cases, as preparation of accurate estimates often requires more time than is available, and inaccurate estimates can be deceptive.

In Texas, the state comptroller, who is in charge of collecting taxes, must submit to the governor and to the legislature upon its convening a financial statement which includes the condition of the state treasury at the end of the last fiscal year, its probable condition at the end of the current fiscal year, and an itemized estimate of anticipated revenue for the next biennium based on the laws currently in effect. This estimate is subject to review by the Committee on State Revenue Estimates, composed of the governor or his representative, the director of the Legislative Budget Board, and the state auditor. Except by a four-fifths vote of each House, no appropriation bill may become law unless the comptroller certifies that the appropriation is within the amount estimated to be available in the fund from which the expenditure will be made; if not, the legislature must either find revenue sufficient to provide the money or reduce the appropriation, so that the budget remains in balance.

Twenty states, including Texas, have some form of post-audit of the state's financial transactions after their completion, in order to provide the legislature with "follow-up" information on revenues and expenditures. In this way the legislature can determine whether revenues have been collected in compliance with the laws and whether funds have been expended in accordance with legislative intent.

In Texas post-audits are performed by the Legislative Audit Committee, which is composed of the lieutenant governor, the speaker of the House, the chairmen of two Senate committees (Finance, and State Affairs), and the chairmen of two House committees (Appropriations, and Revenue and Taxation). This committee appoints the state auditor, who must have had five years of experience as a certified public accountant before appointment. He may not serve ex-officio on any board or commission. He is required to audit the financial records of all state agencies at least once every two years, and of certain ones annually or more often. Approximately eighty people assist in this work.

THE LOBBY. Aids available to the Texas leg-

islator include services performed by members of the lobby, who have furnished some of the most expert bill drafting and legal counseling obtainable by legislators. While it must be presupposed that no lobbyist would advise a legislator contrary to the interests of his client, at the same time, the blanket accusation that *all* legislation drafted by the lobby is biased, is not valid. An example is the bill prepared by the League of Women Voters of Texas providing for a permanent voter registration system.

TEXAS RESEARCH LEAGUE. This organization occupies an important place among those groups which furnish information to the legislature. Its publications state that it is "a privately supported, non-profit, non-political, educational corporation engaged in objective research into the operations, programs and problems of Texas government." It is further stated that "the League does no lobbying. It undertakes studies only upon official request. No charge is made for these studies. They are financed entirely by annual contributions paid by public-spirited individuals, firms and corporations as a public service to the government and the people of Texas."

Despite its policy of not lobbying, since the Texas Research League is financed by the business community (top executives of a wide range of corporations form its board of directors), critics feel that it is a "tool" of the lobby and that its findings tend to favor businessmen at the expense of other segments of the population. Various state agencies, however, as well as the legislature use the services of the TRL.

TEXAS LEGISLATIVE SERVICE. HOUSE AND SENATE JOURNALS. USE FOR A COMPUTER.

Another private agency which provides service to the legislature without charge is the Texas Legislative Service. It prepares daily summaries of legislative action and an index showing the status of each pending proposal at the time. The agency sells this service to the lobby primarily, although anyone may subscribe to it, and the League of Women Voters of Texas does so.

Such an index and summary service is classed as essential in the 1963 report of the Committee on Organization of Legislative Services, of the National Legislative Conference. The committee, however, feels that an agency of the legislature, rather than a private organization, should prepare these reports, so that better control can be maintained over their accuracy and content.

The committee also recommends publication of daily journals containing an official report of legislative actions. Texas publishers, on a daily basis, House and Senate journals, which contain rulings of the chair and all votes. Unlike the *Congressional Record*, they do not include a verbatim record of the proceedings. However, between the daily journals and the reports of the Texas Legislative Service, Texas lawmakers seem to be better informed than most. In many states an index of the status of legislation is published only once or twice during the session, although

daily reports are available in at least three states other than Texas.

This is an area in which automatic data processing could be used to great advantage, according to Vernon McGee, former director of the budget for the Legislative Budget Board. Such equipment could provide every member daily information on the status of all pending legislation.

STAFF RECRUITMENT AND THE BUDGET.

While budgetary problems admittedly are a factor in restricting the information and assistance which can be made available to the legislature, more money alone will not solve the problem. Staff recruitment, for example, depends only partly upon better salaries.

To help meet the need for additional staff, a program of "Legislative Interns" was initiated several years ago in California, financed partly by a grant from the Ford Foundation. Texas and eleven other states and Puerto Rico now participate in this program, which is designed to interest college-trained young people in careers as legislative professional staff. Chosen from graduate students in history, political science, law, and journalism, they are assigned to various committees of the legislature and, in Texas, also to the secretary of the Senate, the speaker's office, and the governor's office. Those assigned to committees have done considerable work in the analysis of bills.

California legislators are enthusiastic over the results obtained so far. In 1965 the legislature assumed full financial support of the program. In Indiana the feeling is that the program has demonstrated the desirability of a genuine legislative research organization. In Texas, which is participating in the program for the second time, the work of the interns is highly regarded.

STATE CIVIL SERVICE SYSTEM. In recruiting staff, the reluctance of many qualified persons to accept positions which depend on political considerations must be taken into account. For this reason, some people advocate a state civil service system based upon merit for selecting and promoting employees. Opponents claim that in such a system advancement often depends more on seniority than on merit, and, therefore, the best qualified talent would not find the positions attractive unless the salary scale was higher than in industry. Whether or not this is true is a matter for debate. At present only a very few departments of the state government operate under the merit system.

SUMMARY. Texas legislators have many more services and far better facilities available to them than do legislators in many other states. To what extent would additional facilities and increased services assist legislators in fulfilling their responsibilities as lawmakers? It is a complex problem. Which aids would be useful? Who shall provide them? And in what manner or form? There are no easy answers.

End.



THE TEXAS LEGISLATURE

A Study By

THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF TEXAS

Second in a Series

THE INFLUENCE OF THE GOVERNOR

GROWTH OF EXECUTIVE INFLUENCE. Under the first state constitutions, supreme power rested with the state legislatures. The powers of the governors, by contrast, were sharply limited. Usually, the governor was appointed by the legislature for a short term, was not expected to recommend legislation, and in only two states was given the veto power.

The twentieth century has seen the governor become increasingly important in the legislative process. In large part this development reflects a general desire for stronger executive leadership to cope with the urgent problems of modern life. State legislatures have difficulty in dealing with these problems for many reasons, among them lack of staff and shortness of time in which to consider the large number of bills presented. In Texas, however, the legislature is reputed to be the dominant branch of state government, although the influence of the governor has gradually increased.

The effectiveness of governors in influencing legislation depends upon their use of both the legal and the informal means of leadership available to them. What legal powers over legislation has the governor in Texas? And how effective are his informal methods of influence?

THE VETO. The governor's most effective constitutional tool for legislative leadership in Texas is the veto power, which is possessed today by the governors of all the states except North Carolina. He is almost completely in control of any measure which he vetoes or threatens to veto, because to override a veto requires the favoring vote of two-thirds of the members present in each house of the legislature. No veto has been overridden for well over two decades. During the period from 1875 to 1963, only a little over 8 per cent of the vetoes while the legislature was in session were overridden.

Of the 1,715 measures enacted by the 59th Legislature (1965), Governor Connally vetoed 40. He vetoed 40, also, of the 825 bills passed during the regular session of the 60th Legislature (1967). Through the years, consideration of public policy has been the reason most frequently given by Texas governors for their vetoes. Other reasons given have been unconstitutionality, improper drafting of bills, and fiscal imprudence.

In Texas, as in forty-one other states, the governor has the power to veto individual items in appropriation bills without vetoing the entire bill. Item vetoes may be overridden by the legislature in the same way as other vetoes, but in practice overriding does not occur because the major appropriation bills, which are usually itemized, are generally not passed until shortly before the end of the session.

Court decisions have somewhat restricted the Texas governor's power of item veto. For example, the governor cannot reduce items in an appropriation bill or eliminate qualifications or directions for their expenditure. Also, if the governor files objections to items in an appropriation bill during the session, he cannot later veto other items in that bill after adjournment of the legislature.

MESSAGES. The state constitution requires the governor to give to the legislature, by message, at the start of each session and at the close of his term of office, information as to the condition of the state. He is also required to recommend such measures as he deems expedient, and to present his budget within five days after the session begins. His "State of the State" message, delivered in person at the start of the session and given statewide coverage on TV, radio, and in the newspapers, presents his general recommendations for legislation and his estimate of which are most important. Governor Connally's message to the 60th Legislature (1967) dealt with some thirty major subjects, ranging from constitutional revision by convention to traffic safety.

How important are such messages in the governor's relationship with the legislature? They are his chief means of setting forth his legislative program and focusing public attention on it, but much more is necessary to get his program enacted. Bills must be drafted and managers found for them, and support in the legislature must be recruited for every step of the way from introduction to enactment. During the session the governor's staff includes administrative assistants who handle legislative matters, testify before committees, and obtain witnesses for particular bills. The effectiveness of messages in influencing the legislature seems to depend upon the governor's skill in using his other powers and devices for legislative persuasion.

SPECIAL SESSIONS. Another important legislative power granted to governors by state constitutions is that of calling special sessions. Governors call special sessions for many reasons: to complete passage of needed legislation, for example, or to deal with emergencies, or to put a program into operation more quickly. The special session may serve as a device for gubernatorial influence on legislation, as it is a means of drawing public attention to an issue which is part of the governor's program. Since legislators as a rule do not like to leave their jobs to attend special sessions, a threat to call one may be enough to get legislators to support the governor's program during the regular session.

The governor in every state is empowered to call special sessions. In all but fourteen states this power is

his exclusively, and in most of the states it is he who specifies the subjects of legislation to be considered. In seven states the governor must call a special session if he is petitioned to do so by a specified majority of each house. In six states the legislatures are authorized to call special sessions.

In Texas the governor's power to call special sessions includes the constitutional authority to specify what is to be considered in them. The number of special sessions he can call is not limited, but the maximum duration of each session is restricted to thirty days. Nor does the governor have complete control over the agenda, for although he can specify the subject matter for the session, he cannot limit the legislature's consideration to only the details he specifies. Simple and concurrent resolutions, which are not considered to be "legislation," are beyond his control. Too, his agenda must often include subjects particularly wanted by the legislators if he is to have their support for his projects. Furthermore, the courts have upheld the validity of legislation on topics not included in the governor's call.

From 1876 through 1967 there have been sixty-nine special sessions of the Texas legislature, called by twenty of the twenty-four governors who have held office during that period. Most of these sessions have dealt with financial crises or emergency conditions. Five special sessions, the largest number for any one legislature, were called in 1929 - 1930 by Governor Dan Moody, primarily to effect prison reform, provide more money for education, and establish civil service regulations for state employees. Governor Connally called a special session in 1966 to rewrite the voter registration system, as a result of the U. S. Supreme Court decision that ruled the requirement of a poll tax receipt for voting unconstitutional.

BUDGETARY POWERS. In forty-four states the governor is responsible for preparing and submitting the budget to the legislature. In one state—Arkansas—the legislature has this responsibility, and in the remaining states budget preparation is done by boards or commissions.

In Texas two budgets are presented to the legislature: one by the governor and the other by the Legislative Budget Board, which is composed of four representatives and four senators plus the speaker of the House and the lieutenant governor (who appoint the members from their respective houses). Ordinarily, the legislative budget is smaller than the executive budget, and the legislature tends to prefer the budget prepared by its own board to that of the governor.

The dispute over proposed new taxes was the main cause of the 60th Legislature's taking the unprecedented step, at the governor's urging, of appropriating money for the state government for only one year instead of the normal two.

INFORMAL POWERS. The governor's role as legislative leader comes only partly from his constitutional and statutory powers. There are many other factors that enhance his influence.

One of these factors is that, as chief of state, he is the best known state government official; he represents the state in national and state affairs, and he is responsible to a statewide constituency. The governor's activities, which are widely publicized, help him in exercising legislative leadership, even when they are purely social or ceremonial, because they add to his prestige and hence to his persuasiveness in dealing with members of the legislature. In exercising his power of appointment to some 110 boards and commissions, he can also exert influence on legislation by appointing individuals who will favor legislation he is promoting.

Another factor is the position of the governor as titular head of his political party. In Texas he can generally count on the state executive committee and many local party leaders to support his legislative program. At state conventions he can exert legislative leadership through his speeches, through the party platform, the writing of which he usually controls, and through his many contacts with the party faithful. His party position is also of importance in influencing the selection of legislative leaders. Unless he can have the cooperation of most of these leaders, his legislative program has little chance of adoption.

Another important factor is the personal qualities of the governor himself. Former Governor Allan Shivers has this to say: "The personality, persuasiveness, reliability, flexibility, determination and courage of the Governor can, and do, make the difference between success and failure of a legislative program."*

LEGISLATIVE SUCCESS OF GOVERNORS. How have the legislative programs of Texas governors fared? Governor W. Lee O'Daniel (1939-1949) probably had the least success in getting the important features of his legislative program passed. Governor Allan Shivers (1947-1957), with his previous experience of twelve years in the legislature and two and a half years as lieutenant governor, was especially successful with his legislative program. Governor John Connally (1963-) had notable success with the 59th Legislature (1965). He has estimated that 80 to 85 per cent of his program was enacted by the 60th Legislature (1967) in regular session although several of his major recommendations were not.

CONCLUSION. "I think it may be truthfully said that the Governor's relationships with members of the Legislature are the most delicate, the most fascinating, and the most rewarding of his activities." — Former Governor Allan Shivers.*

*Allan Shivers, "The Governor's Office in Retrospect," in *Governing Texas: Documents and Readings*, edited by Gantt, Dawson, and Hagard (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1966).



THE TEXAS LEGISLATURE

A Study By
THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF TEXAS
Third in a Series

THE FRAMEWORK AND THE FUNCTIONING

In the past decade American state legislatures have been under close scrutiny by educators, foundations, citizen groups, and by the legislators themselves. The focusing of attention upon this vital link in the American federal system and its ability to represent citizens in our complex modern society has resulted in proposals to alter its mode of behavior. In line with this national movement it would seem appropriate to assess legislative performance in Texas. What is the constitutional and statutory framework of the Texas legislature? How does it function within this structure? Are there alternatives that would make it more efficient and at the same time more responsive to the will of the people?

MEMBERSHIP. Although the constitutional requirements for serving in the Texas legislature are not very limiting, other factors, including voter preference and occupational background, play a role in determining the membership of this body. In the past lawyers have predominated in both houses, but legislators with a background in business or agriculture have also been common. The groups infrequently represented in Texas include women, Negroes, and Republicans. Men elected to the state senate usually have had previous political experience. The ease with which a person can absent himself from his regular occupation is an important factor in determining who seeks the office of legislator. This economic consideration also contributes to the high turnover in legislatures.

A recent report from the Committee for Economic Development (CED),¹ a nonprofit, nonpartisan group of leading businessmen and educators in the nation, in commenting on state legislatures in general, says, "Broad experience in a wide variety of modern institutions and affairs should be more characteristic of membership than at present." The report suggests that "the larger states should look forward to having full-time rather than so-called 'citizen legislators' who devote most of their attention to their own professions."

SIZE OF LEGISLATURE, APPORTIONMENT, TERMS OF OFFICE. The thirty-one Texas state senators are elected for a four-year term. In September of 1965, Texans approved an amendment to the state constitution that allows a single county with sufficient population to have more than one state senator, thereby making it possible for Texas to comply with the U. S. Supreme Court ruling on apportionment. Harris County now has five senators; at the other end of the scale is the senatorial district that contains twenty-seven counties.

The House has 150 members elected for two-year terms. A ratio obtained by dividing the population of the state by the number of House seats is used to apportion the members among the counties. After the 1960 census, the state was divided into eighty-six districts. Since the first reapportionment in 1881, the districts have increasingly deviated from the "ideally equal" district. In 1965, the legislature passed a House-redistricting bill complying with the "one man, one vote" ruling of the U. S. Supreme Court. A federal court decision upheld most of the act, but directed the legislature to make some corrections before August 1, 1967. The 60th Legislature (1967) passed a redistricting bill that permits a population deviation of 24.2% between the largest and smallest districts, that eliminates flatorial districts,* and that, for the first time in Texas history, creates districts that cut across county lines.

The 1967 redistricting bill continues to allow multi-member House districts. Critics of the system charge that it discriminates against minority groups and small rural areas included in urban districts. If the districts were single member, these groups or areas might be able to elect a candidate more representative of their interests. Supporters of multi-member districts claim that such districts will be better represented by legislators elected at large, and that single-member districts in metropolitan areas are likely to foster conflicts among the legislators that will retard the progress of the region.

The CED report¹ says: "No state legislature should have more than 100 members. Smaller size would elevate membership status, increase visibility, and help in recruiting qualified candidates." Its recommendation that terms of office should be for four years echoes the suggestions made in Texas that House terms should be lengthened. Proponents for longer terms argue that it takes time for newly elected legislators to become familiar enough with legislative procedure to make a positive contribution. Opponents stress that the present system forces the legislator to be more closely attuned to the desires of his constituents.

COSTS OF SEEKING OFFICE. Filing fees vary according to the population of the district that the candidate represents—from \$1 to \$300 per county. Candidates for state-wide offices pay a \$1,000 fee. The 60th Legislature (1967) failed to pass a bill that would have set filing fees at 10% of the salary of the legislative office.

*If a county has more than enough population for a district, it is given one representative, and then the surplus population is added to that from an adjacent county or counties to create another district — called a "flatorial" district.

The Texas Legislative Council reported on campaign expenditures in the first Democratic primary of 1956. Admittedly incomplete, the report indicated that candidates for the House had spent from \$250 to \$10,000, with the majority spending from \$2,000 to \$5,000. For Senate seats, campaign expenses began at \$3,000 and reached a maximum of \$40,000. Expenses a decade later are probably 25% higher.

COMPENSATION. It is commonly agreed that legislators' salaries and expense allowances should be high enough to enable any qualified person to serve without having to make a financial sacrifice. A constitutional amendment passed in Texas in 1960 provides for salaries of up to \$4,800 per year for legislators; each legislature since then has set the salaries at that figure. Expense allowances of \$12 per day are also paid for the first 120 days of a regular session and for the 30 days of a special session. Ten cents per mile is allowed for travel to and from Austin one time only at the beginning and end of a session. Legislators are covered by Social Security and belong to the state employee retirement system. A resolution proposing an amendment that would permit the salaries of the legislators to be set by the legislature itself, rather than through amendments to the constitution, failed to pass the 60th Legislature (1967). However, an amendment will appear on the ballot in 1968 that, if passed, could raise salaries from \$4,800 to \$8,400 per year and extend the per diem allowance to cover 140 days.

Each House representative is allowed one full-time and one part-time secretary during the session, while senators are allowed three to four full-time secretaries. In addition to this secretarial help, legislators are given a drawing account to cover the expenses of operating an office. Such allowances do not always cover expenses. (The power of the unethical lobbyist may be less when legislators break even on legitimate expenses.) The 60th Legislature (1967) passed a bill that raised the allowance for expenses between sessions to \$1,000 per month for senators and \$200 per month for House members.

In many states legislators are paid salaries that are for the entire legislative term. In other states they are paid on a daily basis. Biennial compensation ranges from \$200 in New Hampshire to \$20,000 in New York, with the median in the \$4,000 to \$4,800 bracket. Daily rates go from \$5 per diem in Rhode Island and North Dakota to \$50 in Louisiana, with a median daily rate of \$15.

Throughout the country, consideration is being given to increasing the salaries of legislators. Citizens' committees in Montana, Maryland, and Ohio have all recommended increased legislative salaries. In Idaho, Nebraska, North Carolina, Utah, and Washington, as well as in Texas, constitutional amendments that would either raise, or pave the way for raising, legislators' salaries will be voted on this year or next. The CED report¹ recommended that salaries be increased substantially (\$15,000 to \$25,000 minimum per year in the larger states) and indicated that such an increase was possible without increasing operating expenses "if the size of legislative bodies is reduced."

THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR'S POWERS. The lieutenant governor, who is elected by the voters of the entire state, is assigned by the Texas constitution the task of presiding over the Senate. In this position he is recognized as the Senate leader, because of the power

that current rules vest in the presiding officer. His leadership comes also from the fact that, as winner of a state-wide election, he represents powerful elements and groups in the state.

The lieutenant governor sets the size of the committees of the Senate and appoints their members and chairmen. In so doing, he can heavily influence what will emerge from committees and hence what business will be done by the Senate. Since he refers all bills to committee, the placement of a bill in a friendly or hostile one is at his discretion. (Bills, however, can be re-referred to other committees by a simple majority vote on the floor.) Through his power to make parliamentary rulings, the lieutenant governor can control Senate actions, and, in exercising the traditional power of recognition, he can control the consideration of bills on the Senate floor. The regular calendar order is often suspended by a two-thirds vote for the introduction of favored bills; persons sponsoring unfavored legislation may find it difficult to be recognized.

THE SPEAKER'S POWERS. The speaker of the House is formally elected by a secret ballot of its members at the beginning of each legislative session. In back of his election may lie several years of campaigning, for a candidate must line up support for his election no later than the session preceding the one in which he desires the speakership. Because he must have the votes of new members as well as returning members, he has to help in legislative contests throughout the state. His state-wide campaign is expensive. Just how expensive is not known because there are neither regulations regarding money received and spent nor requirements of sworn reports about contributions to his speakership campaign. However, the candidate who went on to win the speakership in 1961 had earlier told a reporter for *The Texas Observer* that his campaign would cost \$20,000. It can be assumed that the cost is now even higher—some mention a figure of \$70,000.

As presiding officer of the House, the speaker interprets House rules, refers bills to appropriate standing committees, and appoints all committee chairmen and vice-chairmen. Heretofore, the speaker has also appointed committee members, but new rules adopting a modified seniority system, to go into effect at the end of the 60th Legislature, limit him in future sessions to the filling of committee vacancies and the appointment of all members of the rules, House administration, and conference committees. The committee chairmen set the agenda and the date, time, and place of committee meetings, appoint sub committees, and refer bills to them. Thus the speaker, through his appointed chairmen, is in a position to control legislation. He also has the power to delay rulings.

SALARIES OF THE PRESIDING OFFICERS. At the present time, the speaker and the lieutenant governor receive the same compensation paid to other legislators. When the governor is out of the state, the lieutenant governor is paid compensation equivalent to that of the governor. In addition, each of them is furnished an apartment for himself and his family in the Capitol during the session. Proposals to raise the salaries of the lieutenant governor and speaker to \$18,000 a year were considered during the 1967 session, but they bogged down in the Senate. Supporters argued that because the position of presiding officer is more time-consuming than that

of the average legislator, the salary should be proportionately greater.

COMMITTEES. The Texas Senate has twenty-five standing committees. During the 1967 session, the House voted to reorganize and eliminate some of its forty-three committees. The House committees, if organized in future sessions under the same rules used in 1967, will also number twenty-five and will tend to parallel those already in existence in the Senate. This situation promises to encourage the use of joint hearings and the shared use of research material, which should save both time and money. Committee size ranges from five to twenty-one members. Members of each house serve on several committees; the activity and size of their committees determine their workload. In the House, the new rules attempt to equalize the workload by limiting members to serving on no more than three standing committees; chairmen of committees will be limited still further.

Lack of experienced legislators on committees can greatly impede the legislative process. Research covering the years 1935 to 1961 revealed that more than 70% of the legislators serving on the major House committees had had no previous experience on that committee; in the Senate, the figure was 35%. Among the committee chairmen in the House, 50% had had no previous experience on their committee; in the Senate, the figure was 17%. In an attempt to solve this problem in the House, where the situation is more acute because its members are elected for only two-year terms, pre-session orientation meetings have been held. In addition, a limited seniority system was established during the 60th Legislature to promote continuity and expertness on committees.

LEGISLATIVE SESSIONS. The Texas constitution states that the legislature is to meet in regular session once every two years. An amendment adopted in 1960 sets for the first time an explicit limit of 140 days on the length of a regular session. In addition to the regular session, the legislature may also be convened by the governor in any number of special sessions of no more than 30 days each. The governor is empowered by the constitution to specify what subjects these special sessions are to cover.

ANNUAL SESSIONS. The formulation and enactment of legislation demands and should receive a great deal of time and thought. The current nation-wide trend toward annual sessions of state legislatures has been brought about by their increased workload. Twenty-two states now have annual sessions, and three (Iowa, Idaho, and Utah) will vote on annual session proposals this year or next. Opponents of annual sessions in Texas state that the present system, with special sessions, allows for legislative sessions whenever they are necessary without the undue expense of annual sessions. Many recommendations have been made throughout the country, however, that legislative sessions should be on an annual or continuing basis without constitutional limits on subject matter or length. The reasons advanced for annual sessions are: they give more time for the study of problems and the proposing of legislation for their solution; they eliminate the long period between sessions when the legislative process can be initiated only by the governor; they reduce the number of ill-considered bills that are adopted in haste at the end of a session; they allow for more continuity; and they permit more effective use of

research and secretarial staffs. A pattern of annual sessions in Texas may have been initiated by the decision of the 60th Legislature (1967) to adopt a one-year budget, thus necessitating a special session in 1968. A change to annual sessions will probably increase the pressure on the public to give the legislators substantial salary raises.

FLOOR ACTIVITIES. A bill may be introduced in either house of the Texas legislature or simultaneously in both houses, except for a revenue bill, which must originate in the House. A bill may be conceived and drafted by someone other than a legislator (e.g., the governor, local governmental authorities, state agencies, pressure groups), but only a legislator may introduce it. He does so by filing the bill with the presiding officer or the Chief Clerk or by introducing the bill from the floor. Bills are numbered in the order in which they are introduced. The constitution limits the introduction of bills to the first thirty days of a session; this limitation, however, is regularly eliminated by the adoption of a simple or concurrent resolution at the beginning of each session that bills may be introduced in the first sixty days without restriction, with introduction after that by special consent. Pre-filing of bills, whereby bills to be considered are filed prior to the legislative session, would give legislators an opportunity to study the bills in advance and to consult with constituents about them before leaving for Austin.

After **first reading**, which is a reading of a bill's caption (a brief statement of its purpose and provisions), the presiding officer assigns the bill to a committee. After hearings and consideration of amendments, the committee makes its report. A favorable report (be passed) automatically means the bill will be printed, distributed to each member, and placed on the calendar. An unfavorable report (be not passed) can be overcome if a minority report is filed by committee members and accepted by the chamber; then the bill is printed and placed on the calendar.

In the Senate, bills are placed on the calendar in the order in which they are reported out of committee—regardless of number or importance. Placement on the calendar is no guarantee that a bill will be considered. In the House, under the new rules, bills reported out of committees will be arranged on the calendar by the rules committee in a manner ensuring priority to the most important. Special times can be designated for consideration of local and consent (uncontested) bills. Local and special bills, which cannot be studied in depth by the legislature in the little time available during its regular session, would be better handled at the local level or through executive agencies, but a change must be made in the state constitution if legislators are to be relieved of this time-consuming responsibility.

Second reading consists of consideration of the text of the bill by the entire membership. The bill is then rejected, accepted, or accepted as amended. If adopted, it is passed to engrossment (reprinting to incorporate amendments). **Third reading** consists of reading the title of the bill. It is followed by discussion, possible amendment by two-thirds vote, and then a final vote. The constitution specifies that bills are to be read on three different days, but a four-fifths majority can suspend this rule in the case of an emergency.

If expenditure of money is involved, the bill is sent to the comptroller for his certification that the amount appropriated is within the amount estimated to be available. If not available, he returns the bill to the legislature, where steps must be taken to reduce the appropriation or provide additional revenue. In case of an emergency or "imperative public necessity," a four-fifths vote of the total membership of each house can override this restriction.

Once a bill is passed in identical form by each house, it is sent to the governor for his signature or veto. A two-thirds vote in each house may override his veto. An unsigned bill can still become law if it is not returned to the legislature within ten days, or, in the case of an adjourned legislature, if the governor does not register his disapproval with the secretary of state and publicize his action within twenty days (Sundays excluded).

MECHANICAL AIDS. In the House, an electronic voting machine is used to tabulate totals on all votes; it also records names for record votes. In the Senate, all voting is done by voice. Therefore, unless voting is done by roll call, the presiding officer determines whether the yeas or nays have the majority. If a voting machine were used in the Senate, it would erase all doubts about the outcome of each vote.

A public address system is used in the House by the presiding officer and by members who wish to address the chamber. The Senate does not use microphones, making it difficult often for interested observers to hear the proceedings.

COMMITTEE ACTIVITIES. Standing committees have the function of considering the bills referred to them after initial introduction in the legislature. This procedure of referring all bills to committees serves the purpose of screening the bills presented so that impractical or undesirable legislation can be discarded. The use of subcommittees has a further screening effect. It is possible, but not too easy, for a member to request that a bill be re-referred to another (and, hopefully, more favorable) committee. If no action is taken by the committee on a bill, it dies.

Hearings in the House are conducted after at least a forty-eight-hour advance notice stating time and place. If the hearing is to be held with less than this notice, the committee must suspend the rules by a two-thirds vote; such a suspension usually occurs only at the end of a session. The forty-eight-hour advance notice is required of Senate committees only if a senator submits a written request in time to the chairman. Otherwise, the committee by majority vote can set the order of appearance and time allotted for interested persons to appear before it in public hearings. There has been some question whether the advance publicity and the subsequent newspaper reporting in the past have been adequate in fulfilling the function of committee hearings to establish a dialogue between legislator and constituent.

Conference committees are created to give final form to a bill when the two chambers of the legislature have passed differing versions. The chamber originating the bill requests a conference committee, by a simple majority vote, when it is unable to accept the amendment of the other house. A conference committee is called only if the second house agrees by a simple majority vote.

The speaker and lieutenant governor each appoint a five-member committee from their respective houses to serve on the conference committee; the chairman is selected by and from the members of the committee of the originating house. To resolve a dispute, a majority of each chamber's committee must be in agreement.

Conference committee reports must be accepted or rejected in total. This fact has given rise in the past to the practice of conference committees' attaching "riders" to bills (especially appropriation bills) that are not related to the bill's main subject. Although such riders are subject to point of order, they have frequently been passed because of the pressure of time and the necessity of passing essential legislation.

In the 60th Legislature (1967), the House proposed new rules that would limit the discussions and actions of conference committees to only those matters in disagreement between the two houses. Under these rules, which were adopted by the House, but not the Senate, committee members would not be permitted to change, alter, amend, omit, or add text on any matter not in dispute, or to add text on any matter not already included in either the House or Senate version of the bill. The presiding officer would determine whether or not the rules had been followed. Limitations on conference committees dealing with appropriations, tax, reapportionment, and recodification bills could be suspended by a concurrent resolution passed by a majority vote in both houses. Reports of bills from these committees were to be furnished to legislators forty-eight hours before any action could be taken. Other types of bills have a twenty-four-hour limit.

Interim committees, which meet between sessions to consider possible legislation, have not been fully utilized in Texas. The advantages of researching and considering legislation without the pressure of the legislative session are obvious. Seventy interim study and investigating committees were created by the 1967 Legislature, but shortage of funds and lack of time on the part of legislators have caused most of their business in the past to be conducted by letter rather than by meetings.

THE CHALLENGE. The task of making the structure of the state legislature most efficient and most responsive to the people's will is a complex one. But the price of failing to do so is exorbitantly high. The challenges are reflected in a statement by Jesse M. Unruh, Speaker of the California Assembly: "No other governmental body deals more directly and continuously with the quality of life in America than the state legislature. . . . The principal requirements of modern political structures are flexibility and imagination in response to the wide range of urgent problems which government has never dealt with before."² It will take the education and constant efforts of all responsible citizens to maintain a system that can meet the challenges.

1. Committee for Economic Development, "Modernizing State Government," as cited in *State Legislatures Progress Reporter*, June-July, 1967, Vol. 2, No. 9.
2. Jesse M. Unruh, "Reforming Our Legislatures" (address before the Young Democratic Clubs of Maryland, April 14, 1967), as cited in *State Legislatures Progress Reporter*, June-July, 1967, Vol. 2, No. 9.



THE TEXAS LEGISLATURE

A Study By
THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF TEXAS
Fourth in a Series

THE INFLUENCE OF THE LOBBY

The American citizen can use a variety of ways to influence legislation. Almost everyone is a member of some interest group in the wide spectrum of such groups that has developed as a result of the increasing complexity of modern society. Increased specialization in the production of goods and services has brought about an increase in the number of pressure groups and with it the need to convey their viewpoint to the legislator. The constitutional right of citizens or groups of citizens to petition their government is a legitimate and necessary part of the democratic process. Unfortunately, few people are actively involved in politics at the state level. If they do belong to an organized group, they are often poorly informed about the state legislative activities of that group. Therefore, lobbying has become the responsibility of group leaders or hired lobbyists, and the organized petitioning of lobbies has come to be the most effective way to influence the policies and decisions of government.

As an institution, the lobby makes positive contributions to the legislative scene. In serving, for instance, as a source of technical and political information for the public and for legislators, especially the newly elected, it supplies a need often not met in any other way. The competition between lobbyists can help a legislator arrive at a balanced view of the issues involved in a specific area of legislation. A lobby can have the effect of enhancing the value of the opinion of an individual or group, if the individual or group can afford a lobbyist's services. Finally, the lobby serves as a means of providing functional representation for groups whose interests are not identical with those of their geographical area.

The practice of lobbying is perhaps inherently susceptible to abuse. Although outright corruption is only occasional and difficult to prove, the lobby's often subtle, subsurface effect on the legislative process in general and on specific legislation should be of continuing concern to the general public. The task, however, of differentiating legitimate pressure from activities not in the public interest is not an easy one. In evaluating the influence of the lobby on the state legislature in Texas, we need to know who lobbies, how much they spend, what methods they use, and what controls exist.

LOBBYING DEFINED. The term "lobbying" itself is one of inexact reference. It may be simply defined as "the efforts of individuals or groups of people outside the legislative body to influence legislation." Legally defined, legislative lobbying is generally limited to "direct communication" with members of the legislature or Congress (in Texas, the governor and lieu-

tenant governor, as well) for the purpose of urging or opposing specific legislation. "Direct communication," however, is not confined in time to the legislative sessions or in place to the legislative halls of the capitol. Grass-roots communication from constituents back home, both before and during legislative sessions, can be a form of lobbying, although it is not subject to state or federal lobby controls. In addition, there are countless indirect ways for lobby groups to build community support or influence public opinion for or against legislation. Finally, lobbying activities are also directed toward the executive and judicial branches of government, so a comprehensive definition of lobbying should include all attempts by private groups or interests to influence government decisions.

THE REGISTERED LOBBY IN TEXAS. The 1957 Lobby Control Act requires three groups of persons to register as lobbyists: (1) Those who for compensation attempt to promote or oppose legislation by some form of "direct communication," defined as "arguing for or against legislation"; (2) those who do the same thing without being paid for it if done for the benefit of another person; and (3) those who acting on their own behalf and without any compensation spend more than \$50 in a legislative session to promote or oppose legislation by "direct communication." The Act provides that such persons in registering must give their own names, addresses, and occupations, and the same information concerning those whom they represent, as well as a brief description of the legislation in which they are interested. They must also make monthly reports during each legislative session on total expenditures for the purpose of "direct communication" with legislators.

Lobby registration figures furnished by the Texas House Chief Clerk's office are of interest:

		Number of Spending		Spending Amounts	
Year	Number	Reports Filed		(round figures)	
1961	3,153	235		\$77,000	
1965	2,022	185		64,000	
1967	1,996	156		65,000	

The figures seem to indicate a downward trend in the number of lobbies registering and reporting expenditures in Texas. This decrease, however, may reflect a lessening of seriousness in conforming to the 1957 lobby control legislation, rather than any lessening in lobbying activity. Also, the figures on expenditures probably cover only a small fraction of the total, as they do not include the tremendous amount of between-session spending by pressure groups, such as in campaign contributions and public relations activity.

It would be impossible to categorize all the groups involved in lobbying in Texas, for the range is wide. The list includes brewers, teachers, the oil and gas industry, and the Texas Municipal League. Since Texas is a large state with a diversified economy, it is also difficult to compare figures of registered lobbyists with those of other states, although some groups, such as public utilities and large industries, are involved in all states. According to a recent survey by the National College Press Service, the average number of lobbyists per session in states keeping a record is about 275. (A projection of this figure to fifty states would make a total of 13,750 lobbyists, or nearly twice as many lobbyists as legislators.)

Regarding lobby spending, the highest single expenditure reported in 1967 was made by the Texas Brewers Institute (\$6,871). Other spending groups included the oil and gas industry (\$12,342), public utilities (\$4,840), and the Texas State Teachers' Association (\$2,089). Of course, the power of an interest group is not necessarily dependent on its financial resources; some of the most effective lobbies in the state achieve their results through grass-roots pressure, which costs little.

Comparative information on lobby spending at the national level and in other states is difficult to obtain. Reports filed under the federal lobbying act have at times indicated annual group expenditures of ten million, although it seems safe to say that this is only a partial figure. In California, during recent sessions, reported expenditures have exceeded three million, although this figure is generally confined to the hiring and maintenance of registered lobbyists.

LOBBY METHODS. The word *lobby* probably brings first to the mind of the average citizen all the "for free" favors offered to the legislator, such as meals, beverages, passes, receptions, weekend parties, and trips. Such favors, which are a part of "social lobbying" (and which might be termed in Texas the "catfish and beer" or "beef and bourbon" circuits), are extended to legislators between sessions as well as when they are in the Capital. In Texas, social lobbying also includes financial contributions to the "Speaker's Day" and "Governor for a Day" celebrations, which have at times in the past involved much fancy food and many expensive gifts. The advantages gained from this type of lobbying are probably minimal when compared to those realized from the much more skillful methods employed by the professional lobbyist.

"Knowledge is power" for the skilled lobbyist. In the areas of special interest to him, he must be familiar with the existing laws and with the legislative proposals that are likely to be considered, as well as with ways to support or oppose them. He must be armed with the knowledge of the political power structure in the state government and the legislative process. (The experience of an ex-legislator is extremely valuable here.) His accumulated personal information on the legislators (and the candidates) should include their political views on specific issues, political commitments, other sources of income, and even personal habits. In addition, he needs to know who are the supporters and friends of each back home (especially those who may be influential), so that, if the occasion arises, pressure can be applied in the right places. The lobby tends to focus its attention on senators, for, since they represent larger districts and serve longer terms than members of the House do, and there are fewer of them, their votes have greater relative value.

It should be noted here that maintenance of a top-flight lobbyist is expensive. The bill alone for subscribing to Texas

Legislative Service, which provides the texts and status of bills, runs from \$500 to \$1,000 a session. This service is an important item in the budget of the League of Women Voters, a lobby group of limited scope and one that depends largely on the grass-roots type of lobbying. It might also be noted that lobbyists are not required by current statutory regulations to include such expenses as office rent, telephone bills, research, and publicity in their reports on lobbying expenditures.

The **political campaign** method of lobbying—investment by a pressure group in political campaigns—may or may not be the most important way to influence legislation. One writer suggests that the key is in recruiting candidates who lean the right way in the first place. Speaking for a political group recently, a leader emphasized that lobbying is done best on election day, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that election results reflect the lobbying that has been done before. As one politician puts it, "the game is over before the legislature meets."

From the viewpoint of political reality, it must be stated that present costs of campaigning have made it impossible to run for office without aid from some source. The costs of communicating with the electorate by mail, telephone, travel, and all news media, including television appearances (now considered essential), have increased greatly, and in addition the other expenses—filing fees, rental of campaign headquarters, clerical help, assistant campaigners, and the employment of public relations experts—are considerable. Reported expenditures for a gubernatorial campaign have been over \$500,000. Can we believe that the implicit financial aid behind such spending is completely altruistic? Are there any controls on this form of lobbying?

The Texas Election Code regulates political campaigns to some extent. There is no ceiling on campaign expenditures or contributions, but the code does require two itemized reports from each candidate, one filed from seven to ten days before the election, and the other not more than ten days after. Each candidate's statements must cover all gifts received, debts incurred, and loans and payments made in his behalf, and must include the names and addresses of all persons involved. The code also requires that any person making a campaign contribution of more than \$100 must ascertain if the candidate properly reported it. If not, it is the duty of the contributor to report. (One authority asserts that this requirement is honored almost entirely in the breach.) Corporations and labor unions may not contribute. The code provides penalties for those who violate its provisions.

There is, however, a crippling loophole in the Texas Election Code. The candidate's reports cover only those transactions *under his authority and subject to his control*. This means that much of the spending in political campaigns is not accounted for, since volunteer labor, free rental, free printing, and free public relations work are only some of the ways in which contributors can avoid the letter of the law. Unions help through funds raised by special political education groups. Corporations can make available to the candidate public relations experts, secretarial help, and other valuable assistance at no cost to the candidate. Another weakness of the Election Code lies in the inadequacy of its provisions for full examination of campaign reports and for investigation of possible violations.

What efforts are made in other states to control campaign

costs? The variations are many: thirty-two require filing of campaign receipts by political parties, thirty-four by candidates; thirty-four require filing of campaign disbursements by political parties, while forty-five require it of candidates. In thirty-three states, corporations are prohibited from contributing, while four prohibit contributions by unions (Indiana, New Hampshire, Tennessee, Texas, and Nebraska only if the union is a corporation). No states prohibit contributions from other sources, with the exception of a few specific limitations in eleven states. Twenty-nine states place restrictions on the character of expenditures, while thirty limit amounts spent on behalf of candidates. One of the most important factors in promoting public awareness of campaign contributions is the timing of the filing of statements. Timing requirements vary greatly: some states require the filing of statements both before and after an election, while others require statements only after elections. In general, the public needs such campaign information before the election, but in Texas, the pre-election report tends to be scant in information, and the total picture of campaign expenditures and sources of money is not revealed until the post-election report.

Another method used by pressure groups to influence legislation is through the payment of **retainer fees** to lawyer-legislators for professional services that may or may not involve legislation. There is no practical way of ascertaining the exact basis of such employment. Some argue that retainer fees constitute legalized bribery, while others maintain that prohibition of such would be a violation of personal rights. Thus arises the question—does the knowledge and expertise of a legislator in a special field justify involvement resulting in private gain?

A similar ethical problem is raised when a legislator lobbies for himself and his associates on behalf of legislation that will affect holdings in which he has a personal interest. The Texas Constitution provides that "a member who has a personal or private interest in any measure or bill, proposed or pending before the Legislature, shall disclose the fact to the house of which he is a member, and shall not vote thereon." In 1957 the 55th Legislature passed an act amplifying this provision in great detail and stating that noncompliance would constitute grounds for expulsion. It is of interest that the act uses the phrase "*substantial* conflict with the proper discharge of duties in the public interest." Legislation introduced, but not passed, in both the 1965 and 1967 sessions spelled out "substantial interest" as meaning more than ten percent.

Among the many suggestions for reforms in lobbying practices, perhaps the Report of the Twenty-ninth American Assembly* (held in 1966) represents the best composite of present thinking on the subjects of lobbying and conflict of interest. The report states: "Legislatures should address themselves to the important problem of campaign costs. Both the Congress and the state legislatures should consider adoption of tax incentives, such as limited tax credits and deductions, to encourage widespread popular financial support of candidates and parties. We also encourage the exploration of the possibility of government financing of legislative campaigns." The Assembly felt that "efforts to define and control conflicts of interest have satisfied neither the public nor the legislatures." It made the following recommendations: First, codes of ethics should be adopted for career, appointed, and elected public officials in all branches of state government; second, ethics committees or commissions should be created with advisory,

review, and investigative powers in regard to the activities of lobbyists; third, all instances of corruption should be vigorously prosecuted.

REGULATION OF LOBBYING. As noted in an earlier section, the 1957 Lobby Control Act in Texas defines lobbying as the attempt to influence legislation through direct communication either for pay, or on the behalf of others, or at a cost of over \$50 during a session. Any persons so qualifying as lobbyists are required to register with the Chief Clerk of the House and to furnish information both about themselves and their immediate employers. It should be noted that these provisions apply only to natural persons; they do not cover, therefore, corporations, labor unions, or other organized groups. They also permit the use of intermediaries, which means that the original sponsors of some lobbying activity and their expenditures need not be reported. The Act includes a prohibition concerning the giving or receiving of contingent fees (compensation dependent upon the passage or defeat of legislation), and a prohibition upon going on the floor of either house while in session unless by invitation. Penalties of up to \$5,000 in fines and/or two years' imprisonment are provided for willful violation of the Act's provisions.

It is generally agreed that the present definitions of lobbying in state statutes across the country are vague, ambiguous, and inadequate, thus making the task of interpreting and enforcing lobby regulations a difficult one. (The fact that lobby-control statutes have not often been challenged in the courts and only a few convictions have been upheld probably contributes to the lack of compliance with them.) For purposes of comparison, here are some of the variations to be found on the statutory meaning of lobbying:

- Corrupt solicitation—a felony (Alabama, California)
- Claim or representation of improper influence (rather than the act itself)—a felony (Arizona, California, Utah, Montana)
- Personal solicitation unlawful unless addressed solely to the judgment (Georgia)
- Personal, direct, or private influence limited to committee appearances and/or newspaper publications, public addresses, and written or printed statements or appearances as counsel (Idaho, Kentucky, North and South Dakota, Wisconsin)
- Defined as hinging upon private pecuniary interest as opposed to interests of the whole people (ten states)

Five states have no lobby regulation whatever, while five states have laws covering only improper lobbying practices and setting specific penalties. The other states have some form of registration, established either by statute or by legislative house rule. One common prohibition (appearing in the lobbying regulations of twenty-five states) covers contingent fees. On the whole, however, regulation and registration provisions vary as widely as the definitions of lobbying do. One of the most peculiar variations is that some states that define lobbying as corrupt solicitation, punishable as a felony, also have registration laws for lobbyists.

Although state legislatures became concerned about lobbying as early as the 1880's, the federal government had no lobby controls until the Legislative Reorganization Act was passed in 1946. The Act compelled lobbyists to register with

*The American Assembly, which was established by Dwight D. Eisenhower at Columbia University in 1950, holds nonpartisan meetings and publishes authoritative books to illuminate issues of U.S. policy. The sixty men and women comprising the Assembly represent a broad range of experience and competence in American leadership.

the U.S. House and Senate, but failed to designate any agency to be responsible for enforcing its provisions or for doing anything with the information except printing it in fine type in the Congressional Record. Such mere filing of information has been assessed as useless without an agency to classify, organize, and disseminate the information. Although the Act has been much criticized, it has not been rewritten.

Lobby regulations presumably have been based on the premise that public disclosure has value as a deterrent to undesirable conduct. The use of such information, however, by anyone "wishing to know," including the news media, is dependent on its being accessible in an organized, digestible form. Thirty-one states, including Texas, specify that registration records shall be "open for inspection"; and the state of Washington requires that all lobbying information be available in the President of the Senate's office for inspection by members. Some states make a real effort to make this information publicly available: California requires printing of registration and financial reports in the Assembly Journal; Wisconsin and Montana require that reports be delivered to the House at regular intervals; Michigan makes its Secretary of State responsible for furnishing copies of all registrations to members of the legislature; and Illinois requires a bulletin to be issued to the Assembly and to the press. In Texas the registration and expenditure reports of lobbyists are handled by the Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives, who provides the forms and maintains the records. Members of the legislature and the public have access to them.

EFFECTIVENESS OF LOBBY LAWS. Lobby control in its present forms has been called a "temporary disinfectant." Abuses now occurring in state legislatures would not be tolerated in the U.S. Congress. Yet some states began to regulate lobbying more than sixty years before Congress took such action. Why have state lobby laws failed? What are the alternatives to present methods?

At the root of the problem is the fact that in the strictest sense lobby regulation laws are not solutions at all. They are simply an application of a general principle to the more visible aspects of lobbying, the principle being that disclosure will serve the public interest by giving information about matters of public consequence. It assumes that if the facts are accessible, the public will seek them out and use where indicated.

Political interest groups, however, do more than hire lobbyists to represent them. This fact is not reflected in disclosure laws. The complicated procedure of lobbying, which has evolved in response to the demands of the interest groups and the increasingly complex legislative process, thus defeats the intention of disclosure laws as a means of lobby control. Factors contributing to the complexity of today's legislative scene are: proliferation of administrative agencies; growth of the legislator's workload; the pressures on him for specialization; decline of locality as the legislator's point of reference;

and his increasing role as middle man between his constituency and the executive branch.

The ambiguities and contradictions in the language of the statutes concerned with the definition and control of lobbying are another failing of the lobby laws. There is uncertainty as to just to whom they should apply. The requirements for registration and expenditure reports are demonstrably not comprehensive enough to ensure publicity on all lobbying activity. Penalties fail to specify the administrative procedures needed for enforcement. Whatever of value that could come from the disclosure laws has not yet sifted down into the mainstream of community opinion.

There are those who say that no lobby control laws will ever be effective in Texas unless all members of the House and Senate, as well as the lieutenant governor, are required to make public the sources of all their monthly and yearly income. Such a requirement, of course, would bring to light the retainer fee, which may or may not bring undue conflict of interest. The theory is that, as part of the public knowledge, the decision as to whether undue conflict of interest is involved could then be made by those interested in the public welfare. This requirement has been opposed in the past on the grounds that it is undue interference with personal liberty.

Two factors are of paramount importance in discussing lobby control laws and their effectiveness. First of all, the right of all individuals and groups to use legitimate means to make themselves heard in the legislative halls of our country must be preserved. This includes the rights of freedom of speech, press, petition, assembly, and association. Second, the men who serve as legislators should live and work by ethical standards that grow directly from the ethical standards of our society as a whole. Although we may want them to be more virtuous than the mainstream of society, the pressures upon them to be otherwise are at times compelling.

There are those who argue that what is needed most for effective lobby control are high quality legislators, sufficiently versed in the legislative process so that they are capable of recognizing any slanted or incomplete information or appeals made other than to reason. If we are to agree with this emphasis, then the key to effective regulation is not the formal control mechanism, but the legislator himself.

The second need may be for internal reforms that would make the legislator less dependent upon information from special interest groups. The legislator may wish to make wise and just policy in harmony with his own conception of the public interest, yet though he is exposed to the various sides of a public question, how can he evaluate this information unless he has an alternate source of informed opinion from his own experts? More competent professional assistance, more time to consider important legislation, and a lightened workload may be required if today's legislator is to achieve independence of judgment amidst the pressures of conflicting interests in the legislative arena.

TO: Speakers for Statewide Speakers Bureau

FROM: Mrs. Darol K. Ramey, 3rd Vice President

RE: Statewide Speakers Bureau

LWV of Texas
October 1969

The Speakers Bureau has been launched--and this is your reference kit. We have tried to supply you with either a speech outline, or a suggested speech from which you can formulate your own approach.

The state chairmen have tried to include in the speeches or outlines, points which we feel are necessary to give total information on the subject matter; however, you are in no way confined to their remarks or suggestions. You have been selected to serve in this capacity because of your outstanding knowledge of the subject matter and because you have the ability and finesse to represent the League of Women Voters of Texas.

As you will note in the enclosed letter to organizations, we are requesting a two month advance reservation for speakers, so you should not be called upon without ample notice. When a request has been made for a speaker, and if you are available to fill the engagement, an ample supply of the "give away" material (if such material is available) will be sent to you.

Some of the kits may contain additional copies of speeches which may relate to your particular topic. These have been sent to you as a means of providing you with additional material to assist you in your preparation. Copies of the suggested resource tool is also a part of your kit.

The enclosed evaluation sheet is an important part of this project. Upon completion of your engagement, please fill it out to the best of your knowledge, and send it into state office. From this information the state Board will be able to analyze the Bureau, subject matter offered, and potential for future engagements.

You might mention the availability of the publications pertaining to your topic when talking with the group. If you have copies of the publications for visual display, this could create interest in individuals ordering them.

Please send a brief biographical sketch of yourself--including League offices held; activities of interest to you, family, education, if you wish--anything which could be used in a press release. A press release will be sent from state office with each engagement made, for the organization to use for publication.

We all thank you for serving in this capacity and we look forward to a busy season ahead.

* * * * *

TO: Legislature Statewide Speakers Bureau
FROM: Mrs. Ralph I. Bubis, Texas Legislature Chairman
RE: Using the speech outline

LWV of Texas
October 1969

The outline in this speech packet concerning the League recommendations for legislative modernization is of necessity comprehensive and long. Obviously, there is too much material for the average speech. Unless you are speaking to a group with a great deal of "savvy" about the legislature, you'll need to pick and choose what you'll say. Don't try to cover the waterfront. You'll only be confusing.

It seems to me that what you say should be governed by several factors:

1. The special interests of the group you are addressing;
2. The timeliness of the subject (what's in the news right now);
3. The relative importance of the statements (probably the most important first step is full time pay for full time legislators);
4. The possibilities of achieving any of the positions in the near future.

Each session of the legislature has vivid illustrations of the points we want to make. You might use the most recent session to illustrate some of the points. For instance, they passed and will have on the ballot in August 1969, constitutional amendments on annual sessions and compensation. (Watch carefully, however, on these as to League's support or non support.)

In most cases, the more you can dress up your statements with illustrations the more believable you'll be. You might use such examples as the practices of conference committees in regard to appropriation bills; the controversy over lack of definition of conflict of interest in the Heatly and Fortas cases; or you might use the example of how power struggles between the two houses can impede orderly flow of bills (VII. B.).

It might be a good idea to scan your publications for quotable quotes and for up-to-date information, keeping your own clipping file for reference.

If you feel you want to have publications available for your audience, Facts and Issues for sale may be ordered from the state office. You'll need to use your own judgement if you wish to suggest or offer these for further reading.

If you have any questions or suggestions, please feel free to consult with me. My address is [REDACTED]

* * * * *

THE TEXAS LEGISLATURE

I. Introduction

- A. If possible, tailor opening statement to the group you are addressing.
 - 1. For example, if PTA involved, stress importance of state legislation in public school education.
 - 2. For businessmen, might call attention to the \$5 billion biennial budget and the short amount of time legislators have to appropriate it and find revenue for it.
- B. League background
 - 1. Three-year study
 - 2. Study included
 - a. Factual information about the Texas Legislature
 - b. Interviews with the legislators
 - c. Opinions of experts nationally about state legislatures
 - d. Comparison with legislatures of other states
- C. During this study, League members began to see that changes could be made in our legislature to make it more efficient and to make the job of the legislator easier.

II. Annual sessions

- A. Present procedure
 - 1. Regular 120 day sessions (January through May) every other year
 - 2. Special sessions of 30 days called by the governor
 - a. Governor specifies subject matter
 - b. Legislature may not call special session
 - 3. Volume of activity
 - a. Well over 1000 bills and resolutions introduced each regular session
 - b. \$5 billion biennial budget, increasing each biennium
 - c. 10 million people affected

III. Conference committees ¹

- A. Describe powers
 - 1. Powers specified by rules adopted in each house
 - 2. Use appropriations bill to describe what happens in conference committees
- B. League feels conference committees should be restricted to adjusting differences between the two houses.

IV. Compensation for legislators

- A. Present compensation
 - 1. Salary \$4800/year plus \$12/day expenses during first 120 days
 - 2. Expenses of \$12/day during special session
 - 3. 10¢/mile travel allowance to and from Austin one time during session
 - 4. Receive Social Security and retirement benefits
- B. Ranking ^{1,5}
- C. Costs of being a legislator
 - 1. Income lost while serving in Austin
 - 2. Traveling and living expenses (two households)
 - 3. Costs resulting from disruption of family life
 - 4. Expenses of being a legislator
 - 5. Expenses of becoming a legislator
- D. League position: Adequate compensation. Elimination of amount from constitution.

V. Powers of presiding officers¹

- A. League position: Power of House and Senate should be increased in relation to the power of the presiding officers.
 - 1. More voice for the legislators in determining committee membership
 - 2. Bills and resolutions referred to committees of appropriate jurisdiction
 - a. State Affairs Committee

VI. Increased effectiveness of the legislator

- A. Description of the day of a legislator (sometimes from 7 a.m. to 3:30 a.m.)
 - 1. Include such items as meeting with lobbyists and citizens' groups, correspondence, committee assignments, lobbying for his own bills, etc.
 - 2. Stress workload of legislators, great number of bills he must keep up with
- B. To ease his workload and make him more effective, League recommends (expand upon):
 - 1. Pre session orientation
 - 2. Fewer committee assignments⁵
 - 3. Adequate professional and clerical help²
 - 4. Improved facilities for research, information, and bill drafting, including use of electronic aids²

VII. Orderly flow of bills and resolutions*

- A. Reduction of the number of committees⁵ (Refer back to VI. B.2)
- B. Closer cooperation between the two houses by such means as parallel, joint, and joint interim committees (define)
- C. Deadlines for reporting bills and resolutions out of subcommittees and committees
 - 1. Explain how presiding officers and committee chairman can kill a bill through present committee system, if you do not go into How a Bill Becomes Law.
- D. Fewer local bills on the legislative calendar
 - 1. Describe local and uncontested bills and the dangers inherent in their passage.
 - 2. Choose a couple of your favorite bills to illustrate this point.
 - 3. Point out how this clogs the legislative calendar.
- E. Pre session filing
- F. Early introduction and circulation of bills and resolutions
 - 1. E. and F. can be handled together to show how helpful it would be to the legislator to have more time to deliberate and to spend less time on bill preparation during the actual session. (This would be a constitutional amendment.)

VIII. Conflict of interest³

- A. Legislators should be responsive to the public. Conflicts of interest should be lessened
 - 1. Shorter campaigns to reduce campaign costs
 - 2. All campaign contributions and loans reported, with clear identification of contributors and effective enforcement by an agency for this purpose
 - 3. Total expenses of lobbying filed
 - 4. A workable code of ethics which clearly defines and discloses conflicts of interest

* How a Bill Becomes a Law has not been included in this speech because of time limitations. If you feel that it should be included for the group you are addressing, you might insert it either here or in your introduction.

IX. Procedures that facilitate public knowledge of legislative activities¹

- A. Record votes taken in committee meetings
- B. Committee meetings open to the public

X. Conclusion

- A. Quickly list the eight major points you have made in this speech.
- B. Concluding remarks about the importance of the state legislature in our system of government.¹

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(Note: Numbers after subject matter above refer to these publications)

- 1. The Framework and the Functioning
- 2. Aids for the Texas Legislator
- 3. The Influence of the Lobby
- 4. The Influence of the Governor
- 5. Standing Committees of the Legislature, 1969
- 6. Estimated Biennial Compensation of Legislators, By States, Effective January 1, 1969

* * * * *

ESTIMATED BIENNIAL COMPENSATION OF LEGISLATORS, BY STATES
EFFECTIVE JANUARY 1, 1969

STATES (In descending order of compensation)	Compensation Effective 1/1/1969			Biennial Total 1964-65	Date of Recent Adjustment	Increases Recommended by Citizens Commissions
	Salary	Expense Allowance	Biennial Total			
1. California	\$16,000/yr	\$25/diem	\$42,550	\$14,850	1966	..
2. New York	\$15,000/yr	\$3,000/yr	36,000	24,000	1967	..
3. Michigan	\$15,000/yr	\$3,000/yr	36,000	25,000	1968	..
4. Hawaii	\$12,000/yr	\$45/diem	29,400	8,700	1968	As passed
5. Massachusetts	\$10,000/yr	\$1,800/biennium + \$15/diem	28,250	16,800	1968	..
6. Ohio	\$12,750/yr	..	25,500	16,000	1968	..
7. Pennsylvania	\$14,400/ biennium	\$4,800/session	24,000	24,000	..	..
8. Illinois	\$24,000/ biennium	..	24,000	18,000	1969	..
9. Wisconsin	\$8,400/yr	\$15/diem + \$20-40/ mo. (interim)	17,500- 19,500	12,450	1967	..
10. Missouri	\$8,400/yr	\$10/diem	18,750	11,550	1967	..
11. Alaska	\$6,000/yr	\$35/diem	17,495	10,495	..	..
12. Oklahoma	\$8,400/yr	..	16,800	3,900	1968	As set
13. New Jersey	\$15,000/ biennium	..	15,000	15,000	..	..
14. Delaware	\$6,000/yr	\$25/diem	14,200	9,000	1967	..
15. Arizona	\$6,000/yr	\$12/diem	13,866	5,434	1968	..
16. Florida	\$2,400/ biennium	\$25/diem + \$300/ mo. while not in session	12,000	3,900	1968	..
17. Minnesota	\$9,600/ biennium	\$21/diem	11,742	11,742	..	"Sizeable"
18. Texas	\$4,800/yr	\$12/diem	11,040	11,040	..	..
19. Alabama	\$10/diem	\$20/diem, 300/mo.	11,000	3,780	1967	..
20. Georgia	\$4,200/yr	\$25/diem	10,775	4,250	1966	As passed
21. Idaho	\$10/diem	\$200/mo (24 mos) + \$35/diem	10,200	2,100	1968*	Expense allowance as set
22. Louisiana	\$50/diem	\$250 mo. (Interim)	9,750	9,750	..	..
23. Colorado	\$200/mo (24 mos) + \$35/diem	..	9,600	6,400	1967	..

STATES (In descending order of compensation)	Compensation Effective 1/1/1969			Biennial Total 1964-65	Date of Recent Adjustment	Increases Recommended by Citizens Commissions
	Salary	Expense Allowance	Biennial Total			
24. Nebraska	\$400/mo (24 mos)	..	\$9,600	\$4,800	1968	..
25. South Carolina	\$15/diem	\$20/diem	9,200	4,800	1966	..
26. Mississippi	\$5,000/ biennium	\$12.50/diem + \$100/mo(interim)	8,775	4,900	1968*	..
27. Washington	\$7,200/ biennium	\$25/diem + \$50/mo (interim)	8,700	4,800	1967	\$6,000/year
28. Oregon	\$20/diem + \$6,000/ biennium	..	8,400	8,400	..	..
29. Maryland	\$2,400/yr	\$25/diem	8,300	8,300(A)	..	\$6,500/year
30. Kansas	\$10/diem	\$25/diem + \$100 per month	7,050	4,000(A)	1967	..
31. Tennessee	\$1,800/yr	\$30/diem	6,300	1,124	1967	..
32. Iowa	\$40/diem	..	5,800	5,000	1967	\$6,000/year
33. Indiana	\$3,600/ biennium	\$20/diem	4,800	4,820	..	..
34. North Carolina	\$15/diem	\$20/diem	4,200	4,220	..	..
35. Connecticut	\$3,250/ biennium	\$750/biennium	4,000	4,000	..	..
36. Vermont	\$3,000/ biennium	\$15/diem or \$40/ week (whichever is less)	4,000	2,000	1967	..
37. Nevada	\$40/diem	\$25/diem	3,900	3,900	..	..
38. Arkansas	\$100/mo (24 mos) + \$20/diem	..	3,600	3,600	..	..
39. Kentucky	\$25/diem	\$25/diem	3,600	3,600	..	..
40. Virginia	\$600/yr	\$35/diem	3,300	1,800	1966	..
41. Utah	\$25/diem	\$15/diem	3,200	1,300	1968	\$1,000/year
42. Maine	\$2,000/ biennium	\$12/diem	3,044	3,044	..	..
43. South Dakota	\$3,000/ biennium	..	3,000	3,000(A)	..	..
44. West Virginia	\$1,500/yr	..	3,000	3,000	..	..
45. North Dakota	\$15/diem	\$20/diem	2,640	2,340	1967	..
46. Montana	\$20/diem	\$15/diem	2,100	2,100	..	\$7,500/year
47. New Mexico	\$20/diem	..	1,800	1,200	1967	..
48. Wyoming	\$15/diem	\$26/diem	1,640	1,280	1967	..
49. Rhode Island	\$5/diem	..	600	600	..	..
50. New Hampshire	\$200/biennium	..	200	200	..	..
NATIONAL AVERAGE			11,573	7,167		

STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE LEGISLATURE

Standing committees are named by the presiding officer of each house after consultation with the individual members. Members are sent preference cards which they may return to the presiding officer before personal conferences with him. Both these indications may guide him in making his appointments, which are announced early in the session.

Assignments to Standing Committees, 61st Legislature (1969) Comparison with 59th (1965) in parentheses

Senate

Number of committees.....	232 27 (25)
Size of committees.....	5 to 21 (3 to 21)
Total number of committee assignments.....	321 (309)
Members on committees.....	31 (31)
Assignments per member.....	9 to 13 (7 to 13)
Members having 1 chairmanship or 1 vice chairmanship.....	9 (15)
Members having 1 chairmanship and 1 vice chairmanship.....	19 (10)
Members having 2 chairmanships or 2 vice chairmanships.....	2 (4)
Members having 3 top committee assignments.....	1 (2)
Members having no top committee assignments.....	0 (0)

House

Number of committees.....	45 (43)
Size of committees.....	5 to 21 (5 to 21)
Total number of committee assignments.....	735 (728)
Members on committees.....	149* (149)
Assignments per member.....	4 or 5@ (4 or 5)
Members having 1 chairmanship or 1 vice chairmanship.....	78 (78)
Members having 1 chairmanship and 1 vice chairmanship.....	5 (4)
Members having 2 vice chairmanships.....	1 (0)
Members having no top committee assignments.....	65 (67)

* Information not available on John KMPoerner who replaced D. C. Howard.

@ Estimated

Note: This is for your information to give you an idea of what is happening under "Effectiveness of the Legislator." Of significance is the number of committee assignments per legislator, particularly for senators, and the fact that, despite discussion of reduction of assignments in the 60th Legislature, the situation, if anything, is getting worse, not better.

LWV of Texas
October 1969

STATEWIDE SPEAKERS BUREAU EVALUATION SHEET

Name of organization requesting speaker:

Type of meeting (convention, regional, district?)

Topic:

Speaker:

Physical Aspects of Engagement:

Location:

Attendance:

Date of engagement:

Audience Reaction to Speech:

1. Did the audience show interest in the subject matter?
2. Were there questions following the speech?
3. Were the questions relating to the need for more information on the subject?

OR

Did the questions indicate an attitude for or against the League position on the subject?

4. Did you feel there might be an interest in another topic?
5. Was there a request for material to be sent to the organization by the League? (Copies of publications, etc.?)
6. Were you given the names of other organizations which might be interested in receiving a letter about the Speakers Bureau?



League of Women Voters of Texas



1841 BINGLE ROAD • HOUSTON, TEXAS 77055 • TEL: A.C. 713 HO 5-3705

MRS. WILLIAM E. JOOR, President

The League of Women Voters of Texas takes particular pleasure in announcing the inauguration of a statewide Speakers Bureau. Speakers are available for Conventions, Regional Meetings, District Meetings, or Conferences of your organization.

Subjects deal with governmental issues and responsibilities--subjects that engage thoughtful people of varied ages, varied backgrounds, and varied interests.

Whichever topic is selected by your organization, you can be assured that these speakers will bring unique information gathered from years of study by the League of Women Voters.

We invite your inquiry about speaking engagements or special appearances to be filled by our outstanding speakers. There is no fee for this service; only travel and lodging expenses of the speaker are to be assumed by your organization.

TOPICS BEING PRESENTED THIS YEAR ARE AS FOLLOWS:

- "The Texas Executive--Past, Present, and Future"
- "The Texas Legislature--...of the people, by the people, and for the people "
- "The Texas Constitution--a product of the past, failing to meet the needs of the future "
- "A Citizen's Role in a Changing Society"

Each speech is approximately twenty to thirty minutes in length (as per your request), and the speakers are available to answer questions at the conclusion of the speech.

Arrangements for speakers must be made at least two months prior to the engagement.

Sincerely,

Mrs. William E. Joor

RHJ/jec



"WHO ME!!.....I JUST COULDN'T"

Has this been your reply when asked if you could serve on your local League's Speakers' Bureau? If so, don't feel alone. This is probably a universal cry from all of us. Actually, finding people who love to speak or who can do so without fear and trepidation, is a monumental task, and an unnecessary one. The best speakers are those who like people, who like to converse, and who enjoy the subject matter they have chosen. In other words, most of us are potential public speakers. After reading this, perhaps your reply will be "Who me?...O.K., I'll give it a try."

First of all, public speaking is not unlike carrying on a conversation with a friend, or discussing a subject in your unit meetings. Only the physical arrangements have been altered - instead of being among the group, you are at the head of the group. The size of the group is generally larger than you are usually used to, but should this really bother you? The number of people present has no effect upon the facts you are going to present. In fact, a public speaking situation should make you feel more comfortable. After all, you are better prepared than you would normally be in the direct conversation situation where you are speaking in an impromptu manner. Look upon your audience as a group in conversation with yourself. Direct your speech to them accordingly, and you will feel their reception.

BUTTERFLIES AND CONFIDENCE - All public speakers, regardless of the amount of experience they have had, experience some degree of discomfort prior to speaking. Indeed it has been said that this is good. Physically your system is more keyed up and your mental faculties better attuned to the situation. Only when these butterflies turn into a dry mouth and the room seems disconnected from reality or your mind seems to go blank, must you think of taking some direct action to counteract this problem. It is at this point that nervous excitement becomes fear. This fear, when analyzed, results from three causes, all of which you can control. 1. Fear of failure; 2. Fear of looking foolish; 3. Fear of breakdown.

Some hints to prevent these fears from becoming overwhelming have been compiled from leading public speaking textbooks. For example:

1. After your introduction, take your time. Look your audience over and try to establish some kinship with it. Smile. It does wonders for your confidence.
2. Be Prepared. Nothing can be more damaging to your confidence than partial preparation or lack of familiarity with your subject matter.
3. Use your notes correctly. Knowledge of the material will not help you when nervous tension builds up. Proper use of notes, as we will discuss later, will give you the added support needed.
4. When nervous, look at a member of the audience and speak to him as if you were in direct conversation. Starting this way, you will get over the hump of initial concern.
5. Remember that everyone in the audience, in the same situation, would react just as you are reacting.

THE IMPORTANCE OF YOUR DELIVERY - An audience reacts to a speaker in this order: First - they look at him. Naturally you would be conscious of this before reaching your engagement and would do your best to be physically attractive. However, it is advisable to wear something in which you feel comfortable in preference to a new outfit. Underdress if there is any question about the formality of the occasion. Walk to the speaker's podium with a purposeful air; relaxed as if you had walked into the home of a good friend; look pleased to see the audience. They really are quite friendly.

Remember that in direct conversation your face reveals your emotions. So it is when you are in front of a group. Be sincere - this shows in your every word and facial expression. Remember that your eyes are the most expressive feature of the face. Look at your audience. One caution to take here is not to look directly into the gaze of an individual for it may be enough to cause you to lose the thread of your discourse. Rather, look him in the face but not directly in the eyes. Keep your gaze in a slow, all encompassing motion, rather than speaking to one portion of the audience throughout your speech.

Next - the audience hears you. The biggest fault with most public speakers is the fact that they are inaudible. If you will try to project your voice to individuals in the back of the room, much of the problem will be solved. Don't try to shout, but just speak to the farthest point in a conversational manner. Take your time. Be certain that you have timed your speech so you do not feel the need to hurry. Allow the audience ample opportunities to digest certain facts before plunging into the next point. When you do not feel rushed, you will automatically overcome the problem of mumbling your words. Taking your time, breathing comfortably, and allowing yourself a brief moment of rest will improve your delivery while it assists to ease nervous tension.

Finally - the audience notices the speaker's actions. Approach the lectern or podium and stay there (unless referring to visual aids). Nothing is more disconcerting to an audience than a pacer. If you normally use your hands in conversing by all means continue to do so. However, if you feel uncomfortable using hand movements, allow them to lie relaxed on the podium. Don't fidget with your notes. Any repetitious action becomes a mannerism and is a distraction for the audience. Try to achieve a comfortable standing position. Constant shifting of weight also becomes a distraction. Are your knees shaking? Don't worry about it. You can feel them but it is unlikely your audience can see them. The shaking will stop as soon as the tension eases and you become enveloped in the subject matter. The longer you think about them, the more they shake. Try to balance your weight with one foot slightly ahead of the other.

Some key words to keep in mind during your presentation would be: TACT, ENTHUSIASM, FRIENDLINESS, SINCERITY, and RELAXATION. Your audience is human, too, and they won't expect more of you than you know you can produce.

BUILDING YOUR SPEECH - You have been asked to speak. You like the subject, and you want to know how to build your speech. Here are the main points for you to remember.

1. Know your subject.
2. Ask yourself this question. Why should the audience want to listen to me?
3. Before preparing a speech:
 - a. Think about it for several days. Try to pinpoint your thoughts. What do you want the audience to hear.
 - b. Research. You have basic resource material, naturally, but utilize newspapers, magazines, etc., and keep these little clippings or notes to assist you in writing your speech.
 - c. Ask questions. Be certain you are aware of the type of speech the organization expects from you. What about a question period at the end? Try to learn some pertinent facts about the group to utilize in your opening perhaps.
4. What kind of speech are you going to make?
 - a. Impart information - This comes very close to a lecture. Don't try to cram reams of knowledge into twenty minutes, for example. Rather, take one aspect of the subject and deal with it thoroughly. Don't talk over the heads of the audience. Make every point clear and summarize your main points both during the speech and at the end of it.

- b. Persuade - Don't appeal only to reason - use emotion, too. When presenting facts be certain they are accurate. Build up your case as a lawyer would. Think out every logical argument; give the opinions of others in the field; opinion, of course, favorable to your own case. However, be aware of the opposing views and be prepared to answer them. You may want to incorporate them into your speech, thus allowing you to refute them at the time.
 - c. Inspire - This is the easiest type of speech to deliver. When the speaker is enthusiastic about the subject, he has little difficulty inspiring others. Remember, however, that the inspiration of the speech will last as long as the speech lasts, unless some specific points or facts are brought out which the audience can remember. Keep your speech short. Fifteen minutes is plenty of time for this type of speech.
5. The main steps in your speech must be:
- a. The opening - This can be informal. The question opening, the mind-reading opening is used primarily for a skeptical audience. For example, "Gentlemen, if I were sitting where you are, without possessing knowledge of the facts which I possess, I would feel about the speaker just as you do. I appreciate the way you are thinking, but I know you will give this information I bring a fair hearing." Other openings include historical openings, at which time the speaker relates some past facts then brings the audience up to date and gets on with the main point of his speech. Keep these snappy. Factual openings take you directly into the speech. The YOU opening is one of the best openings of all. For example, "You are builders. This is something to be proud of. Why? Well if we walk out of this building, we can see new apartments, new homes." Finally there is the thank you opening, which must be kept very short. This is the most commonly used opening. Whatever type you choose, have it suitable for your personality and for the situation.
 - b. Creation of Interest - One of the high notes of your speech must come directly after the opening. This is the point where you are arousing the interest of the audience. This is where you really get your speech going. Do not make your first point controversial. This creates a lessening of concentration in your audience. They will be too angry to listen carefully. Briefly, do not try to bring forth a "no" response from the audience at once. Try to get a "yes" response to begin with. Controversy may come later. Another means of creating interest is "off the record" information. Exhibits are always good, provided they are well prepared.
 - c. The Body of the Speech - Find out the main wants of the audience, fill these wants, and you will make a good speech. The major wants of most audiences are to learn something, to gain money, to feel sentimental, to feel pleased, to benefit health, to have love and affection, proud, self-preservation, amusement, and faith. Try to fill each step of your speech with a want.
 - d. Closing the Speech - Don't give closing signals. You can spot an inexperienced speaker when he begins by apologizing and ends with a warning to the audience that he is about to finish. Too often nervous speakers use these warnings primarily because the speaker himself is so eager to reach this point that he is glad to announce it. When you decide to close, finish. Examples of closing techniques - the summary close, the question close, the quotation close, the story close.
- 6. Write down the main facts which will apply to each step.
 - 7. Cut out facts of little importance.
 - 8. Devise a good opening sentence for each fact.

9. Elaborate each sentence in this manner:
 - a. Give statistics to prove your point,
 - b. Present evidence to prove your point,
 - c. Give an historical fact,
 - d. Tell an anecdote,
 - e. Tell a humorous story,
 - f. Give an analogy,
 - g. Give a quotation.

You need not use more than one, two or three of these and you can place them in any order.

10. Remember these rules:
 - a. Statistics - make them live.
 - b. Quotations - make them apt.
 - c. Anecdotes - bring yourself into the story.

TYPES OF SPEECH PRESENTATIONS

1. Reading a speech - This is generally used during the lecture type of speech or at any time when accuracy is of prime importance. A speech that is read can be more polished than an extemporaneous one. You must be careful that you do not read down into your notes. Look at your audience and project your voice at the same time. A simple technique used by Mrs. Stuart, President of the League of Women Voters of the United States, is to type your notes double spaced, and only on the top half of the page. This permits you to have eye-to-eye contact with your audience constantly.
2. The Extemporaneous Speech - This is not advisable for anyone trying to impart specific information to the audience. Too often the material will be scattered and the points often forgotten.
3. Prepare your speech and work from notes - This is the most satisfactory from the audience viewpoint and can accomplish your purpose but it must have good preparation.

First, write out your speech in full. Then look for your key points - your opening, creation of interest, the six or eight steps in the body of the speech, the close. Underline the main sentences leading into each of these key points. Now polish up those sentences. Think about them, how can you improve upon them. You can also develop subsidiary sentences if you wish. Simplified:

1. Write the speech in full,
2. Extract your key sentences,
3. Polish the key sentences,
4. Memorize the key sentences.

HOW TO REMEMBER YOUR KEY SENTENCES - CONFIDENCE CARDS

1. Use as many cards as you have main steps in your speech.
2. Have the card divided into two sections. The top portion will be your main sentence leading into the step. The bottom part would carry any special points you want to make. Be sure to number the cards in the top right hand corner. Write on one side of the cards only. Use word identification as much as possible. Using lead-in words to a sentence will often be sufficient to spur your memory on and you can then speak in a more impromptu manner.

PUBLIC SPEAKING TIPS

1. Check the acoustics, if possible.
2. Check the lighting to be certain you can read your notes.
3. Ask the group inviting you to provide you with a lectern or podium.

(Who Me? I Just Couldn't - continued)

4. If you are using visual aids or props, see that they are in proper position early.
5. Ask the host group to avoid, if possible, a "U" shape seating arrangement. If not, you will be talking most of the time to an expanse of carpet.
6. If a microphone is to be used, check it in advance of your speech, then don't touch it! Do not stand too close; do not talk into the mike; do not let it hide your face.
7. Always use the pause during your speech - all professionals do.
8. Avoid stock phrases - "last but not least", "look with pride", "no stone unturned".

ONE FINAL GOLDEN RULE

Write down your speech. Check it for interesting points and make certain that you have a good interest point at frequent intervals. See that the subject matter which builds up each step is interesting. Check on your anecdotes and historical references and your facts.

* * * * *